

THE
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

(Official Report)

Volume IV, Part I

(30th January, 1924 to 18th February, 1924)

FIRST SESSION

OF THE

SECOND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 1924



DELHI
GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS
1924

Legislative Assembly.

The President :

THE HONOURABLE SIR FREDERICK WHYTE, KT.

Deputy President :

DIWAN BAHADUR T. RANGACHARIAR, M.L.A.

Panel of Chairmen :

SIR CHIMANLAL H. SETALVAD, KT., M.L.A.

COLONEL SIR HENRY STANYON, KT., C.I.E., V.D., M.L.A.

MR. M. A. JINNAH, M.L.A.

MR. K. C. NEOGY, M.L.A.

Secretary :

SIR HENRY MONCIEFF SMITH, KT., C.I.E., M.L.A.

Assistants of the Secretary :

MR. W. T. M. WRIGHT, I.C.S.

MR. L. GRAHAM, C.I.E., I.C.S.

MR. S. C. GUPTA, BAR.-AT-LAW.

MR. G. H. SPENCE, I.C.S.

Marshal :

CAPTAIN SURAJ SINGH, BAHADUR, I.O.M.

Committee on Public Petitions :

DIWAN BAHADUR T. RANGACHARIAR, M.L.A., *Chairman of the Committee.*

COLONEL SIR HENRY STANYON, KT., C.I.E., V.D., M.L.A.

HAJI WATHUDDIN, M.L.A.

RAJA RAGHUNANDAN PRASAD SINGH, M.L.A.

MR. HARCHANDRAI VISHINDAS, C.I.E., M.L.A.

CONTENTS.

VOLUME IV, PART I—30th January, 1924 to 18th February, 1924.

	PAGES.
Wednesday, 30th January, 1924—	
Members Sworn	1-4
Message from His Excellency the Viceroy	4
Thursday, 31st January, 1924—	
Inauguration of the Fourth Session of the Council of State and the First Session of the Second Legislative Assembly	5-14
Friday, 1st February, 1924—	
Members Sworn	15
Statement laid on the Table	15-22
Questions and Answers	23-106
Unstarred Questions and Answers	107-123
Governor General's Assent to Bills—	
(1) The Mahendra Partab Singh Estates Act, 1923,	
(2) The Moorshedabad (Amendment) Act, 1923; (3) The	
Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Act, 1923; (4)	
The Indian Income-tax (Further Amendment) Act, 1923;	
(5) The Indigo Cess (Repealing) Act, 1923; (6) The Code	
of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Act, 1923; (7) The	
Special Marriage (Amendment) Act, 1923; (8) The Indian	
Territorial and Auxiliary Forces (Amendment) Act, 1923;	
(9) The Indian Lunacy (Amendment) Act, 1923; (10) The	
Indian Army (Amendment) Act, 1923; (11) The	
Cutchi Memons (Amendment) Act, 1923; (12) The Code	
of Criminal Procedure (Further Amendment) Act, 1923;	
(13) The Indian Paper Currency (Amendment) Act, 1923;	
(14) The Code of Criminal Procedure (Second Amend-	
ment) Act, 1923; (15) The Land Acquisition (Amendment)	
Act, 1923; (16) The Indian Ports (Amendment) Act, 1923;	
(17) The Indian Electricity (Amendment) Act, 1923; (18)	
The Charitable and Religious Trusts (Amendment) Act,	
1923; (19) The Mussalman Wakf Act, 1923; and (20) The	
Indian Stamp (Amendment) Act, 1923	123
The Indian Penal Code (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	123-124
The Indian Coinage (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	125
The Indian Income-tax (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	125-126
The Indian Cotton Cess (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	126-127
Election of the Public Accounts Committee	127
Election of the Standing Finance Committee	128 •
Monday, 4th February, 1924—	
Members Sworn	129
Questions and Answers	129-166
The Indian Penal Code (Amendment) Bill—Referred to Select Committee	166-175

CONTENTS—*contd.*

	PAGES.
Monday, 4th February, 1924—<i>contd.</i>	
The Indian Cotton Cess (Amendment) Bill—Taken into consideration and passed	175-176
Election of the Deputy President	176-177
Election of Panels for Standing Committees	176-177
Tuesday, 5th February, 1924—	
Members Sworn	179
Questions and Answers	179-216
Unstarred Questions and Answers	217-221
Resolution <i>re</i> the Grant of full Self-Governing Dominion Status to India—Debate adjourned	221-222
Resolution <i>re</i> the Amalgamation of the Indian Territorial Force With the Auxiliary Force—Adopted as amended	123-252
Wednesday, 6th February, 1924—	
Member Sworn	253
The Indian Tariff (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	254-255
The Indian Merchant Shipping (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	255-259
The Central Board of Revenue Bill—Introduced	259-260
The Indian Coinage (Amendment) Bill—Referred to Select Committee	260-272
The Indian Passport (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	272-273
Election of the Public Accounts Committee	273
Election of the Standing Finance Committee	274
Message from His Excellency the Governor General	275
Thursday, 7th February, 1924—	
Member Sworn	277
Questions and Answers	277-281
Unstarred Questions and Answers	281-284
Election of the Standing Finance Committee	284
Resolution <i>re</i> the Imposition of a Countervailing Duty on South African Coal imported into India—Adopted	285-329
Resolution <i>re</i> reduction of the Provincial Contributions—Debate adjourned	330-346
Friday, 8th February, 1924—	
Election of Panels for Standing Committees	347
Message from H. E. the Governor General	348
Resolution <i>re</i> the Grant of Full Self-Governing Dominion Status to India—Debate Adjourned	348-400
Election of Panels for Standing Committees	400-401
Statement of Business	401
Monday, 11th February, 1924—	
Member Sworn	403
Questions and Answers	403-440
Unstarred Questions and Answers	440-445
Panel of Chairman	445
The Library Committee	445

CONTENTS—*contd.*

	PAGES—
Monday, 11th February 1924—<i>contd.</i>	
The Indian Penal Code (Amendment) Bill—Referred to Select Committee	446
The Indian Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill—Introduced ...	447-448
The Indian Income-tax (Amendment) Bill—Referred to Select Committee	448-449
The Indian Tariff (Amendment) Bill—Referred to Select Committee	449-455
The Indian Passport (Amendment) Bill—Withdrawn	455-467
Tuesday, 12th February, 1924—	
Member Sworn	469
Questions and Answers	469-482
Unstarred Questions and Answers	482-484
Resolution <i>re</i> the Vesting of the Revenues of India in the Governor General in Council—Not moved	484-485
Resolution <i>re</i> Muhammadan Representation—Not moved	485
Resolution <i>re</i> Questions put by Non-official Members on subjects over which the Governor General in Council has control and superintendence—Adopted	485-494
Resolution <i>re</i> the provision of conveniences for Indian Railway passengers—Adopted	494-512
Exercise of Mr. President's discretion under Standing Order 8(4)	512-515
Wednesday, 13th February, 1924—	
Member Sworn	517
Message from the Council of State	517
The Central Board of Revenue Bill—Referred to Select Committee	517
The Indian Coinage (Amendment) Bill—Constitution of the Select Committee	517
Standing Committee for the Department of Education, Health and Lands	518
Resolution <i>re</i> the grant of full Self-Governing Dominion Status to India—Debate adjourned	518-582
Thursday, 14th February, 1924—	
Member Sworn	583
Questions and Answers	583-588
Unstarred Questions and Answers	588-594
Statement of Business	595
Message from the Council of State	595
Election of the Standing Committee for the Department of Education, Health and Lands	595
Resolution <i>re</i> the approval by the Indian Legislature of Government Contracts—Adopted	596-620
Resolution <i>re</i> Transferred Subjects in the Provinces—Consideration adjourned	620
Resolution <i>re</i> Tenders for Government Stores—Adopted as amended	620-648
Resolution <i>re</i> Greetings of the Assembly to the Labour Party—Adopted	648-653

CONTENTS—*contd.*

	PAGES
Monday, 18th February, 1924—	
Members Sworn	657
Questions and Answers	657-690
Unstarred Questions and Answers	690-703
The Indian Coinage (Amendment) Bill—Report of Select Committee presented	703
The Central Board of Revenue Bill—Report of Select Committee presented	703
Message from the Council of State	703
Death of Sir Frank McCarthy...	703-705
The Criminal Law Amendment Bill—Referred to Select Committee	705-708
The Indian Tariff (Amendment) Bill—Constitution of the Select Committee	708
Election of Panel for the Standing Committee for the Department of Education, Health and Lands	709
Resolution <i>re</i> the Grant of Full Self-Governing Dominion Status to India—Adopted as amended	709-769

THE
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

(Official Report)

VOLUME IV

FIRST SESSION

OF THE

SECOND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

1924



DELHI
GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS
1924

THE
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

(OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE SECOND
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY)

VOLUME IV

FIRST VOLUME OF SESSION 1924.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Wednesday, 30th January, 1924.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber at Eleven of the Clock, being the first day of the meeting of the Second Assembly, pursuant to S. 63D (2) of the Government of India Act, and the President (the Honourable SIR ALEXANDER FREDERICK WHYTE, Kt.) took the Chair.

Mr. President: In order that this, the first meeting of the Second Legislative Assembly, may be fully constituted, Members will now take the Oath or make the Affirmation in the manner prescribed.

Mr. President then, standing, took the Oath.

MEMBERS SWORN:

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. (Home Member); the Honourable Sir Charles Innes, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. (Commerce Member); the Honourable Mr. Atul Chandra Chatterjee, C.I.E. (Industries Member); the Honourable Sir Basil Phillott Blackett, K.C.B. (Finance Member); Mr. Ernest Burdon, C.I.E., M.L.A. (Army Secretary); Sir Henry Monieroff Smith, Kt., C.I.E., M.L.A. (Secretary, Legislative Department); Mr. Evelyn Berkeley Howell, C.S.I., C.I.E., M.L.A. (Foreign Secretary); Mr. Alfred Alan Lethbridge Parsons, M.L.A. (Financial Commissioner, Railways); Mr. Alexander Robert Loftus Tottenham, M.L.A. (Member, Board of Inland Revenue); Mr. James Alexander Richey, C.I.E., M.L.A. (Educational Commissioner); Mr. Laurence Frederic Rushbrook-Williams, C.B.E., M.L.A. (Director, of Public Information); Mr. Wilfrid Thomas Mernoud Wright, M.L.A. (Joint Secretary, Legislative Department); Mr. Thomas Eyebon Moir, C.S.I., C.I.E., M.L.A. (Madras; Nominated Official); Mr. Julius Mathison

Turing, M.L.A. (Madras: Nominated Official); Mr. Geoffrey Rothe Clarke, C.S.I., O.B.E., M.L.A. (Director General of Posts and Telegraphs); Mr. Philip Edward Percival, M.L.A. (Bombay: Nominated Official); Mr. Lewis Sydney Steward O'Malley, C.I.E., M.L.A. (Bengal: Nominated Official); Mr. Girish Chandra Nag, M.L.A. (Bengal: Nominated Official); Mr. Henry Edward Holne, M.L.A. (United Provinces: Nominated Official); Mr. Hubert Calvert, M.L.A. (Punjab: Nominated Official); Rai Bahadur Shyam Narayan Singh, M.B.E., M.L.A. (Bihar and Orissa: Nominated Official); Mr. Rustomji Faridoonji, M.L.A. (Central Provinces: Nominated Official); Mr. Basil Copleston Allen, C.S.I., M.L.A. (Assam: Nominated Official); Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Charles Owens, M.L.A. (Burma: Nominated Official); Diwan Bahadur Tiruvenkata Rangachariar, M.L.A. (Madras City: Non-Muhammadan Urban); Mr. Bhupatiraju Venkatapatiraju, M.L.A. (Ganjam *cum* Vizagapatam: Non-Muhammadan Rural); Diwan Bahadur Mocherla Ramachandra Rao Pantulu Garu, M.L.A. (Godavari *cum* Kistna: Non-Muhammadan Rural); Mr. Kakutur Venkataramana Reddi Garu, M.L.A. (Guntur *cum* Nellore: Non-Muhammadan Rural); Mr. Chetluru Duraiswamy Aiyangar, M.L.A. (Madras ceded districts and Chittor: Non-Muhammadan Rural); Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, M.L.A. (Salem and Coimbatore *cum* North Arcot: Non-Muhammadan Rural); Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, M.L.A. (Tanjore *cum* Trichinopoly: Non-Muhammadan Rural); Mr. K. Sadasiva Bhat, Avl., M.L.A. (West Coast and Nilgiris: Non-Muhammadan Rural); Haji Syed Abdul Khader Saheb Jeelani, M.L.A. (North Madras: Muhammadan); Maulvi Sayyid Murtuza Saheb Bahadur, M.L.A. (South Madras: Muhammadan); Mr. Kunhi Kammaran Nambiyar Chandroth Koodali Thazhethveetil, M.L.A. (Madras: Landholders); Mr. Vithalbhai Javerbhai Patel, M.L.A. (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban); Mr. Nowroji Maneckji Dumasia, M.L.A. (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban); Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas, C.I.E., M.L.A. (Sind: Non-Muhammadan Rural); Mr. Jamnadas Madhavji Mehta, M.L.A. (Bombay Northern Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural); Mr. Narsinha Chintaman Kelkar, M.L.A. (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural); Mr. Krishnaji Govind Lohokare, M.L.A. (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural); Mr. Dattatrya Venkatesh Belvi, M.L.A. (Bombay Southern Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural); Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinna, M.L.A. (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban); Mr. Mahomed Ebrahim Makan, M.L.A. (Bombay Northern Division: Muhammadan Rural); Mr. Henry Richard Dunk, M.L.A. (Bombay: European); Mr. Hugh Golding Cocks, M.L.A. (Bombay: European); Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Kt., C.I.E., M.B.E., M.L.A. (The Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau: Indian Commerce); Sardar Vishnu Narayan Mutalik, M.L.A. (Gujarat and Deccan Sardars and Inamdars: Landholders); Seth Kasturbhai Lalbhai, M.L.A. (The Ahmedabad Millowners' Association: Indian Commerce); Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, M.L.A. (Calcutta: Non-Muhammadan Urban); Mr. Tulsi Chandra Goswami, M.L.A. (Calcutta Suburbs: Non-Muhammadan Urban); Mr. Amarnath Dutt, M.L.A. (Burdwan Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural); Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Roy, M.L.A. (Presidency Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural); Mr. Kshitish Chandra Neogy, M.L.A. (Dacca Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural); Mr. Kumar Sankar Ray, M.L.A. (Chittagong and Rajshahi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural); Mr. Almuzzaman Chowdhry, M.L.A. (Dacca Division: Muhammadan Rural); Khwaja Abdul Karim, M.L.A. (Dacca Division: Muhammadan Rural); Mr. Krishna Aiyangar Rama Aiyangar, M.L.A. (Madura and Ram-

nad cum Tinnevely: Non-Muhammadan Rural); Mr. Muhammad Kazim Ali, M.L.A. (Chittagong Division: Muhammadan Rural); Mr. Kabeerud-Din Ahmed, M.L.A. (Rajshahi Division: Muhammadan Rural); Sir Campbell Ward Rhodes, Kt., C.B.E., M.L.A. (Bengal: European); Mr. Darcy Lindsay, C.B.E., M.L.A. (Bengal: European); Mr. Runglal Jajodia, M.L.A. (Marwari Association: Indian Commerce); Pandit Motilal Nehru, M.L.A. (Cities of the United Provinces: Non-Muhammadan Urban); Pandit Shamlal Nehru, M.L.A. (Meerut Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural); Mr. Narayan Das, M.L.A. (Agra Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural); Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer, M.L.A. (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural); Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya, M.L.A. (Benares and Gorakhpur Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural); Pandit Harkaran Nath Misra, M.L.A. (Lucknow Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural); Dr. Kishenlal Nehru, M.L.A. (Fyzabad Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural); Haji Wajihuddin, M.L.A. (Cities of the United Provinces: Muhammadan Urban); Nawab Ismail Khan, M.L.A. (Meerut Division: Muhammadan Rural); Dr. Lodhi Karim Hyder, M.L.A. (Agra Division: Muhammadan Rural); Maulvi Mohammad Yakub, M.L.A. (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Muhammadan Rural); Colonel Sir Henry John Ludlam Stanyon, Kt., C.I.E., V.D., M.L.A. (United Provinces: European); Raja Amarpal Singh, M.B.E., M.L.A. (United Provinces: Landholders); Lala Duni Chand, M.L.A. (Ambala Division: Non-Muhammadan); Lala Hans Raj, M.L.A. (Jullundur Division: Non-Muhammadan); Mr. Chaman Lal, M.L.A. (West Punjab: Non-Muhammadan); Mr. Abdul Haye, M.L.A. (East Punjab: Muhammadan); Sheikh Sadiq Hasan, M.L.A. (East Central Punjab: Muhammadan); Khan Sahib Ghulam Bari, M.L.A. (West Central Punjab: Muhammadan); Chaudhri Bahawal Baksh, M.L.A. (North Punjab: Muhammadan); Sayad Ghulam Abbas, M.L.A. (North-West Punjab: Muhammadan); Makhdum Syed Rajan Bakhsh Shah, M.L.A. (South-West Punjab: Muhammadan); Sardar Kartar Singh, M.L.A. (East Punjab: Sikh); Sardar Gulab Singh, M.L.A. (West Punjab: Sikh); Baba Ujagar Singh Bedi, M.L.A. (Punjab: Landholders); Mr. Syamacharan, M.L.A. (Tirhut Division: Non-Muhammadan); Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh, M.L.A. (Tirhut Division: Non-Muhammadan); Mr. Nilakantha Das, M.L.A. (Orissa Division: Non-Muhammadan); Mr. Bhubanananda Das, M.L.A. (Orissa Division: Non-Muhammadan); Rai Hari Prasad Lal, M.L.A. (Gaya cum Monghyr: Non-Muhammadan); Mr. Ganganand Sinha, M.L.A. (Bhagalpur, Purnea and the Santhal Parganas: Non-Muhammadan); Mr. Devaki Prasad Sinha, M.L.A. (Chota Nagpur Division: Non-Muhammadan); Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Husain Khan, M.L.A. (Patna and Chota Nagpur cum Orissa: Muhammadan); Maulvi Miyan Asjad-ul-lah, M.L.A. (Bhagalpur Division: Muhammadan); Maulvi Muhammad Shafee, M.L.A. (Tirhut Division: Muhammadan); Raja Raghunandan Prashad Singh, M.L.A. (Bihar and Orissa: Landholders); Mr. M. V. Abhyankar, M.L.A. (Nagpur Division: Non-Muhammadan); Mr. Sambhu Dayal Misra, M.L.A. (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan); Seth Govind Das, M.L.A. (Central Provinces: Landholders); Sriji Tarun Ram Phookun, M.L.A. (Assam Valley: Non-Muhammadan); Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda, M.L.A. (Surma Valley cum Shillong: Non-Muhammadan); Mr. Ahmad Ali Khan, M.L.A. (Assam: Muhammadan); Maung Tok Kyi, M.L.A. (Burma: Non-European); Maung Ba Si, M.L.A. (Burma: Non-European); Mr. Edward Gibson Fleming, M.L.A. (Burma: European); Mr. Piyare Lal, M.L.A. (Delhi: General); Rai Sahib M. Harbilas Sarda, M.L.A. (Ajmer-Merwara: General); Mr. M. Saminullah Khan, M.L.A. (Central Provinces: Muhammadan); Mr. Madhao Srihari Aney, M.L.A. (Berar Representative);

Sardar Bomanji Ardeshir Dalal, M.L.A. (Bombay: Nominated Non-Official); Mr. Keshav Chandra Roy, C.I.E., M.L.A. (Bengal: Nominated Non-Official); Honorary Captain Hira Singh, Sardar Bahadur, M.B.E., M.L.A. (Punjab: Nominated Non-Official); Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum, K.C.I.E., M.L.A. (North-West Frontier Province: Nominated Non-Official); Mr. Walter Stuart James Willson, M.L.A. (Associated Chambers of Commerce: Nominated Non-Official); Dr. Surendra Kumar Datta, M.L.A. (Nominated: Indian Christians).



MESSAGE FROM HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY.

Mr. President: I have a Message from His Excellency the Viceroy which Members, according to custom, will hear standing:

"In pursuance of sub-section (3) of Section 63B of the Government of India Act, I, Rufus Daniel, Earl of Reading, hereby require the attendance of the Members of the Legislative Assembly in the Assembly Chamber at Eleven O'clock in the morning on Thursday, the 31st of January 1924.

(Sd.) *READING,*

Viceroy and Governor General."

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, the 31st January, 1924.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Thursday, 31st January, 1924.

INAUGURATION OF THE FOURTH SESSION OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE AND THE FIRST SESSION OF THE SECOND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

His Excellency the Viceroy with the Presidents of the Council of State and Legislative Assembly having arrived in procession, His Excellency took his seat on the dais.

H. E. the Viceroy: Gentlemen, when I last addressed you, the Members of the Indian Legislature, the last Session of the first Legislative Assembly was at its close. A new Legislative Assembly has since been constituted; and the Members of the Council of State and of the Assembly are now about to enter upon the labours of the Delhi Session, to face new responsibilities and to strive to solve fresh problems in the best interests of India.

Let me in the first place extend a welcome to all the Members. I see many who have already notable achievements to their credit in the annals of the Indian Legislature. They need no special word of welcome and encouragement from me because they are aware of the high regard I entertain for their services; and in my address of last July, I set forth my view of the supreme importance of their work to the development of self-governing institutions in India and of the great value of the influence and traditions established by them. I miss, with regret, from this assemblage the faces of others (of the same fold) who had rendered yeoman service to the cause of constitutional progress. I see many new Members before me. I wish them welcome and shall watch their work in their new environment with keen interest. In their new responsibilities they will find the fullest opportunity for the display of the highest patriotism and for the noblest work for the service of India.

Before I pass to review the work before the Legislature and the internal affairs of India, let me dwell on a few questions of importance outside India, but closely affecting her welfare. Progress towards economic recuperation in Europe proceeds but slowly and the reaction of commercial dislocation still affects India together with the rest of the world. Nevertheless, there are indications of activity and trade revival in India; and there is good ground for hope that her period of convalescence will be more brief in duration and marked by more rapid and steady advance to strength than elsewhere.

A treaty was signed with Turkey at Lausanne in July last and its ratification by the signatory powers at an early date is anticipated. Tension has been relieved in the Middle East; and the Treaty has been welcomed by responsible Indian Muslim opinion as affording a solution to many problems exercising their minds.

[H. E. the Viceroy.]

On the Northern boundary of India the traditions of amity, subsisting for a century past with her neighbour Nepal, have found a happy issue in a Treaty signed at Khatmandu in December last which is a legitimate cause of satisfaction to both the parties.

Beyond the North-West Frontier, India has another neighbour closely connected with her. The relations of India with the Kingdom of Afghanistan are conducted by His Majesty's Government and, as you are aware, a treaty of neighbourly relations exists between the two Governments.

I have read assertions recently in the press that these relations have been strained. There have been allegations on the one hand of the entertainment of aggressive feelings towards Afghanistan by His Majesty's Government and on the other hand of an unreasonable attitude on the part of that country. Our relations with Afghanistan, as I have said, are in the charge of His Majesty's Government. But there has been speculation in the Indian Press regarding these rumours, and considerations of propinquity and past intimate associations evoke a warm solicitude in India for the welfare of Afghanistan and for the maintenance of relations of amity. It is right in order to remove misconception in India that I should state that these rumours as to the alleged intention of His Majesty's Government and the alleged attitude of the Afghan Government are without foundation.

Certain questions have however been under discussion between His Majesty's Government and Afghanistan. Those discussions are now nearing a satisfactory solution. The discussions had their origin in outrages notably those at Barshore and Spinchilla committed on our frontier by Wazirs domiciled in Afghanistan. They were complicated by the execution of these outrages from a base in Afghanistan and by the removal of loot to Afghan territory. In some cases also the perpetrators were deserters from British Indian militia units who had found employment in Afghanistan. The raids were serious in their results. In addition to private losses, four British officers and 81 Indian Sepoys of our regular and militia Indian units lost their lives. Subsequent to these events, two Afghan subjects murdered two unarmed British officers near Landi Kotal and fled to Afghanistan where they were arrested by the order of their Government, but later escaped from custody. Meanwhile the members of the Kohat gang, who were not Afghan subjects, the men who had murdered Mrs. Ellis and abducted her daughter, made good their escape to Afghan territory.

In reply to the vigorous representations made by the British Government the Afghan Government admitted its obligations, furnished ample assurances and took action to implement them. Its action at first however proved abortive. The lives of British Frontier officers and the security of British Indian subjects depended upon the fulfilment of these assurances. But on our side His Majesty's Minister exercised patience and forbearance, as he was aware that the difficulties of the Afghan Government in securing effective results were greater than can generally be realised.

Before the close of the year his representations were successful; the outrages to which I have made allusion were completely liquidated. During the present month the active steps taken by the Government of Afghanistan, after inviting the co-operation of our officers, have ended in

the rounding up of the Kohat gang, who are in process of transportation to Turkestan. During the last few days Afghan troops have come in contact with the men charged with the Landi Kotal murders and in the encounter one of them named Ardali has been killed, though the other Daud Shah has effected his escape. Information has also been received that the militia deserters above-mentioned have been dismissed from Afghan service. As delicate negotiations were in progress you will realise that it was not possible to make a statement about these developments at an earlier date.

Of the other murderous outrages committed on our frontier, in one case suspicion fortified by constructive evidence points to members of the Kohat gang having been among the perpetrators of the murders at Parachinar, while the murder of Major Finnis and of the two Indians accompanying him is still under investigation. Two of those implicated in the crime have been arrested and every attempt is being made to bring those responsible for the outrage to account.

Before I close my observations regarding the position of affairs on our Frontiers, let me acquaint you with the progress achieved in the solution of the problem of Waziristan. We have continued to pursue the policy adopted by us after most careful consideration and with the approval of His Majesty's Government. We occupy a dominating position at Razmak in the country of the Utmanzai Wazirs with our regular troops at the request of the Wazirs themselves. A circular road more than 70 miles in length, running from Idak in the Tochi past Razmak and through Mahsud country to Jandola, has been efficiently constructed in a short space of time. A second road fringing the Mahsud country on the south-east is under construction from Jandola to Sarwekai. These roads have been constructed in the main by the tribes. They are protected throughout the greater part of their length only by irregular forces—scouts and locally recruited Khassadars; and under their protection they are beginning to carry the trade of the country and to exercise the civilising and pacific influences which are the special and beneficent characteristics of a road policy. Except for a few technical troops, there are now no regular troops in Mahsud country. Military expenditure has been steadily reduced; and more settled conditions on the border offer good prospects of a more than temporary success for our policy. We should be unduly sanguine if we declared that our difficulties are at an end. Nevertheless in our judgment, arrived at after much investigation and deliberation, this policy spells the best hope for progressive improvement in the future.

You will remember that when I last addressed the Legislature, the position of Indians in the Empire was a cause of serious concern to me and my Government no less than to Indian opinion generally. Since then, except in directions to which I shall subsequently refer, the results of the labours of the Secretary of State, the Maharaja of Alwar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru at the Imperial Conference have undoubtedly improved the situation. The Premiers of four Dominions have shown deep sympathy and expressed their earnest desire to remove the disabilities affecting Indians. There is good ground for hope that the attainment of a solution acceptable to India is only a matter of comparatively short time, except possibly in the case of Canada where there are some special difficulties. India most cordially appreciates their sympathy and encouragement; and I speak for India when I say that this recognition of India's position in the Empire is the source of high satisfaction to her.

[H. E. the Viceroy.]

The position in South Africa, however, is different. The Union Government has reaffirmed its unwillingness to adopt the attitude of the other Dominions; and in addition proposals for legislation which are expected in practice to affect Indians adversely have been brought forward. The Natal Township Franchise Amending Act, vetoed on previous occasions by the Governor General of South Africa in Council, has again been passed in the Natal Legislative Council; and a Class Areas Bill has been published by the Union Government. Vigorous representations have been made by my Government which, we trust, will have success in regard to the Township Act. The Union Government have given an assurance that it is their desire and intention to apply the measure, the Class Areas Bill, if it becomes law, in a spirit of fairness to the interests and reasonable requirements of Indians. My Government, however, whilst welcoming the assurance, cannot rest satisfied with this position; and we shall continue our efforts to persuade the Union Government to incline to our view. We are aware of the strength of public opinion in India upon this subject and shall strive to give effect to it by all legitimate means within our powers.

The position as regards the Crown Colonies has materially changed owing to the acceptance of the proposal for a Crown Colonies Committee to be appointed by my Government which will confer with the Colonial Office on all pending questions including Kenya.

The late Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin, has promised that there shall be full consultation and discussion between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Committee appointed by the Government of India upon all questions affecting British Indians domiciled in British Colonies, Protectorates and Mandated territories. I hope for nothing but benefit from these discussions; and we shall gratefully take the fullest advantage of the opportunity offered.

As regards Kenya the views of my Government were explained at length by me in my last address to the Legislature and formed the subject of a Resolution issued by my Government in August last. While acknowledging the difficulties of the issues and the great care and attention His Majesty's Government devoted to India's claims, we did not conceal our feelings of disappointment at the result; and we reserved the right to make further representations, with a view to re-opening these decisions, when a legitimate opportunity offers.

At the Imperial-Conference His Majesty's Government have given an assurance that, while they can offer no prospect of the decisions being modified—"Careful attention will be given to such representations as the Committee appointed by the Government of India may desire to make to the Secretary of State for the Colonies." This assurance gives us the opportunity we have been seeking and is a substantial gain.

Following upon the decisions, statutory action has been taken as regards the Franchise question in Kenya. The Kenya Government has treated Indians on the same lines as Europeans and granted adult suffrage. Given communal Franchise, this method of working may be accepted, and it has now become law. It is open to our Committee, however, subsequently to make representations setting forth our contention that there are grounds for an increase in the number of seats to Indians and that in

our view all voters should be registered on a common electoral roll. We shall continue to press our views by means of the constitutional channel opened to us by the assurance of His Majesty's Government.

As regards immigration, the decision of His Majesty's Government was stated in the White Paper in the terms of a general principle only; and His Majesty's Government issued in addition an instruction to the Governor of Kenya to "explore the matter further on his return to the Colony and in concert with the Governor of Uganda to submit proposals to the Secretary of State for the Colonies for giving effect to that amount of control of immigration which the economic interests of the Natives of both dependencies require."

When we received a copy of the Ordinance, which had been drafted by the Governments of Kenya and Uganda and submitted to the Imperial Government, we took immediate steps to urge the postponement of the introduction and consideration of the Bill until the Government of India were able fully to present their objections; at the same time we strongly pressed that the Colonies Committee appointed by the Government of India should also have an opportunity of examining the question of the restrictions on immigration embodied in the Bill. These representations were accompanied by a preliminary statement of our objections to the provisions of the Bill. We received in reply an assurance by telegram from Lord Peel, the Secretary of State, that the introduction of the Bill had been postponed at the instance of the Duke of Devonshire, the Secretary of State for the Colonies. His Majesty's present Government have now informed me that the late Secretary of State for the Colonies found the Ordinance unsatisfactory and returned it to East Africa to be re-drafted. At the same time he called upon the Government of Kenya for certain information regarding immigration and for an explanatory statement respecting the method proposed for the administration of immigration measures.

His Majesty's present Minister for the Colonies will await the reply to these inquiries and the revised draft of the Ordinance and will be guided by further information received when these documents are before him. Meanwhile he has given me an assurance that ample opportunity will be afforded to my Government to express their views, and that he will give his earnest attention to any representations which the Colonies Committee appointed by the Government of India may desire to make regarding the measure whether in the form of a Bill or of an enacted Ordinance.

I desire to express my deep obligations to the late and to the present Secretary of State for the Colonies for the consideration given to the representations of my Government which have received the continuous support of Lord Peel and his successor. The steps taken are strong testimony to the sense of justice and fairness with which His Majesty's Government have been animated in dealing with the proposals.

As regards events in India, the two murderous outrages which have recently occurred in Bengal have caused as deep concern to my Government as they have excited reprobation and abhorrence in the minds of all good citizens of every community. It is the primary duty of Government to vindicate the law against such outrages and to bring their perpetrators to justice; and my Government is entitled to look for the moral support and active co-operation of all sections of the public in the task. We owe to the families of those who have been victims our deep and

[H. E. the Viceroy.]

respectful sympathy, but we have an even wider duty—the duty to safeguard others from similar calamity. My Government have for some time been aware of the existence of conspiracies having as their object the assassination of public servants and of the correspondence of persons implicated in these conspiracies with communist agencies directed by organisations outside India. It was out of question to permit these sinister designs to advance on their way to results that no process of law can remedy. Our officers, on whom devolve the dangerous task of the prevention and detection of crime, must look to us for at least that measure of safety, so far as the law can give it, which their own services secure to the public. Punishment in cases of outrages of this nature is not an efficient substitute for prevention. It became necessary to take steps to confine certain of the persons concerned in these conspiracies under the provisions of Regulation III of 1818. The necessity for these measures has recently received tragic confirmation in the murder of Mr. Day and the injuries to three Indians who attempted to stop the flight of his assailant. I trust that these steps to combat an evil which not only destroys innocent lives, but is a menace to society as a whole and a grave obstacle to political progress, will command the approval of all those to whom security and progress are objects of vital and common concern.

Need I assert that it was only with the greatest reluctance that I assented to the use of these measures for the protection of the public and in the public interest. I am firmly impressed by the consideration that it is essential strictly to confine these special and extraordinary measures to extreme cases of emergency; and I fully appreciate and sympathise with the views of those who wish to protect the liberty of the subject with strict exactitude. In these days the strong light of publicity, both in the Legislatures and the Press, is brought to bear upon the use of emergency measures of this character; and this in itself acts as a safeguard against their abuse. Before any action is taken, I and my Government submit these cases to a scrupulously careful examination. If we decide that a case for arrest has been established and no other course is possible, in view of the serious character of the emergency, a warrant is issued. After the arrests in Bengal were made, as you are aware, all the documents and evidence relating to each individual have been placed before two Judges of the High Court for the purpose of thoroughly sifting the material on which action was taken, of submitting it to the technical tests of judicial knowledge and experience and of framing recommendations regarding each case. I shall myself re-examine the case of each man concerned with the greatest care in the light of the recommendations of the Judges in each case and with the assistance of their detailed scrutiny of the evidence and the documents. In this manner the greatest possible precautions will be exercised to secure that no individual shall run the risk of suffering injustice because of the gravity of a situation; and his right to an impartial investigation of a charge will never be imperilled by the immediate necessity for measures of prevention.

I attach great importance to the labours of two Committees at present engaged in the examination of certain aspects of the administration of the law. The first, which has been dealing with the subject of the Bar in India, is reaching the conclusion of its labours. The general question of the creation of an Indian Bar and special features of the varying systems in different Provinces in India regulating the appointment, practice and privileges of Advocates and Vakils attracted considerable interest among

the members of the late Assembly and were the subject of a number of private Bills, Resolutions and questions. The whole problem has now been examined by an expert and representative committee; and their recommendations will be of special interest.

The second Committee is entering upon the task of the examination of civil judicial procedure with a view to increasing the efficiency of the machinery, and in particular of expediting the technical processes for arriving at the final decision in civil suits and for securing to the successful litigant the fruits of his decree. Reproach for delay in these operations has been levelled at our administration; it is essential that for ends of justice and efficiency all cause for criticism should be removed. Any improvement, which it may be found possible to effect, will, I need scarcely point out, be of the greatest value to all litigants and as regards commercial cases will have re-actions of importance on the general commercial and industrial prosperity of India.

Another question of first importance connected with the administration is the problem of retrenchment. Though less than a year has passed since Lord Inchcape presented the report of his Committee, I am glad to inform you that most of the recommendations of that Committee have already been carried into effect; and the great benefit of reduction of expenditure will again be patent when the budget comes under discussion in the Legislature. Considering the far-reaching nature of the changes involved by the recommendations, the expedition with which they have been put into effect is to be commended. As you are aware, the reduction of troops as recommended by my Government on the basis of the report of Lord Inchcape's Committee was accepted in full by His Majesty's Government save in respect of the British cavalry regiments. As regards these regiments His Majesty's Government agreed to withdraw two, but not the third; as a result of discussion however His Majesty's Government have agreed to pay £75,000 annually as a contribution for the maintenance of the third regiment for a period of two years. At the end of that time, if the military situation is still unchanged, it will be open to my Government to raise again the question of the retention of the third cavalry regiment.

In addressing myself to the internal affairs of India I would remind you that a change of Government has happened in England within the last few days. In consequence, ordinary courtesy and also constitutional propriety render it incumbent upon me to refrain from some observations upon Indian affairs I should otherwise be tempted to make, until there has been opportunity for discussion with the new Secretary of State and His Majesty's Government. If therefore,—contrary to your expectation—I do not express myself upon some matters, you will understand the reason. But it need not prevent my making some reference to the Reforms and the work before the Legislature.

With the institution of a Legislative Council in Coorg and the grant of representation in the Assembly to Ajmere-Merwara, the reformed constitution has become an integral part of the institutions in the smallest administrative units in this country. The attendance at the polls and the close contest between candidates during the recent Election demonstrate the increasing interest which the system claims from the electorate and the country at large. Within the walls of the Council Chambers parliamentary traditions have begun to be established. Representative institutions are being built up on a firm basis. The people of India are taking a share in the maintenance and activities of government which stands—as all

[H. E. the Viceroy.]

civilised administrations must stand—for security against external aggression, for internal security by the maintenance of the law and the preservation of order, for the protection of the rights and liberties of individual citizens of every class and creed, for the development of the material and political welfare of the country and for ordered continuity of progress.

As you are aware, the policy of the Reforms in India was introduced with the approval of all political parties in England and all stand committed to it as the fundamental policy in relation to India of His Majesty's Government, however constituted, and apart from other political controversies which mark lines of division in Parliament. It is not un instructive in this connection to pause for a moment and reflect upon the succession of Prime Ministers and of Governments that has taken place in England since I became Viceroy nearly three years ago. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, who has so recently attained his present exalted office, is the fourth Prime Minister with whom I have served during my period of office as Viceroy. None of these Governments has wavered for one moment regarding the policy of the Reforms in India. Each in succession has immediately accepted the policy of the Reforms as the rock-foundation of British policy in India. Governments may, and doubtless always will, vary as regards details of administration and may differ in opinion regarding the stages of progression and periods of advance; but the cardinal policy of the Reforms remains the same for all. It is the policy of the British nation and not of any party. I commend these facts to the consideration of those—if there be any—who may still regard the promises held out as illusory and never to be fulfilled.

I came to India charged with the solemn duty of carrying out those Reforms, inspired by the earnest desire to make them a success and imbued with the firm determination to carry forward the conception along the road to further stages in its ultimate development. I have anxiously watched the consolidation of the foundations. I have seen the first courses of the edifice of parliamentary institutions and traditions and I stand pledged to carry onward the erection of the structure and to continue the building in the full hope of its ultimate completion. But be it remembered that the successful issue of the Reforms cannot depend solely upon the intentions and actions of His Majesty's Government, or the Viceroy, or the Government of India, or of all combined. The future must largely depend upon the people of India and the actions of the Legislature.

A first stage was passed when the first Assembly was dissolved. My own appreciation of the value of the achievements of the first Legislative Assembly and of the Council of State was expressed in my prorogation speech. We have now entered upon a second stage by the election of the new Assembly. I look and hope for continuity of the new Assembly of the same valuable tradition, for continuity is an essential condition of well-ordered political progress. A considerable advance has been made on the road. Many difficulties have been successfully overcome and obstacles surmounted by the Legislature. Differences have occurred, but I am convinced that these have left no bitterness in their wake. Opinions varied but there was a common objective, the advancement of India. To-day marks the opening of a new stage; it chances to happen at a specially important moment and when the future actions of this Legislature will be fraught with the deepest interest and significance to India. There is now a Government in England which numbers among its members some of the most ardent supporters of the Reforms and the most sympathetic

friends of India. There is now a spirit in India, if I am to credit all I read, which is bent upon destruction of the Reforms unless it immediately attains that which it is impossible for any British Government to grant forthwith, that is, complete Dominion self-government. I am well aware that words are often used in the heat of political conflict which perhaps convey more than is really intended. Moreover, it is but natural that when faced with the responsibility of action there should be deeper reflection upon its true significance and probable consequences. I cannot foretell the future; I do not know what it holds; but I cannot conceal from you that the political situation in India in its constitutional aspects causes me some anxiety for the future of the Reforms. I should be doing a disservice to India if I failed at this moment to give expression to my views formed not upon a hasty or cursory survey, but as the result of as profound study and reflection as I can bring to bear upon a subject of supreme interest to me. In October last I sounded a note of warning which I must now repeat in the friendliest spirit but with all gravity. I spoke with the object of presenting the picture of the future, as I then saw it, to those in India who had not failed in their support of the Reforms policy, although they had on occasions felt bound to oppose the actions of Government. You may remember that I adverted to the possible prospect, according to the then indication of events, of a check, which I deplored, in the onward progress of the Reforms. The possibility of this check has come nearer to us, indeed it is in a degree already with us in some aspects, although it has not yet happened and, I devoutly trust, it will not happen in the Central Legislature. If the position should become more acute in the Provinces, the Local Governments may rely upon my fullest support. I still wonder—as I wondered in October—what purpose beneficial to India will be served by any course destined to destroy the continuity of progress in the Reform movement. No change in the Constitution can be effected by legitimate and peaceful methods save with the assent of the British Parliament, that is, the British people. The British Parliament has already set up the machinery now in operation for some time past. It is working with efficiency through well ordered processes towards the creation of responsible self-government. It is difficult to conceive that any responsible body of opinion can ignore the purpose it has in view, or can desire to check its creative activities and to risk the injury which must result to the fine fabric already in process of being woven upon its looms. Nevertheless, I gather that there is a disposition in some quarters to believe that the hands of the British Parliament can be forced, and that a situation may be created which may impair the Reforms and thus cause Parliament to act contrary to their desire and better judgment. It may appear easy to impair and even to destroy and to re-create. Doubtless, destruction is always easier than construction. Violent revolutions have destroyed the institutions of nations. Neglect and apathy in other cases have induced their decay and extinction; but I beg you to remember that when influences of this nature have been set in motion, restoration and re-creation become infinitely more difficult and sometimes impossible. These influences make no appeal to the British people and the British Parliament would emphatically repudiate and reject them. Rather rest the real hopes of the consummation of India's desires in the promises already made and in the intentions already manifested and to be manifested by that great champion of liberties, the British Parliament. As a devoted friend of India, I am convinced that action based on reason and justice will alone prevail with the British people and will prove the only safe road to the ultimate goal to be attained. I feel sure that you will keep steadfastly in mind in the course of the deliberations of this Session that the eyes of all friends of Reform will be fixed

[H. E. the Viceroy.]

upon the harvest which the Legislature will sow and reap. It is of the greatest moment to India at this juncture that her elected representatives, in the responsibilities of their present position, should make a wise choice as regards the course they will pursue. I do not doubt that they are imbued by those ideals which have from the outset inspired this Legislature and that they seek the welfare of India. I earnestly pray that calm judgment and a desire for mutual understanding and good-will may characterise this Session of the Legislature and may thus carry India further forward to the fulfilment of her legitimate aims and aspirations. (Applause.)

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, the 1st February, 1924.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Friday, 1st February, 1924.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber at Eleven of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

MEMBERS SWORN:

Honorary Captain Ajab Khan, O.B.E., I.O.M., M.L.A. (Punjab: Nominated Non-Official); Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, M.L.A. (Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural); Mr. Surendra Chandra Ghose, M.L.A. (Bengal: Landholders).

STATEMENT LAID ON THE TABLE.

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee (Industries Member): Sir, I lay on the table a statement furnished by the High Commissioner for India in the United Kingdom of cases in which tenders other than the lowest in respect of stores purchased for India have been accepted by him during the half year ending 30th June, 1923. This is done in accordance with a promise I gave to the Assembly in September, 1921.

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA,
INDIA STORE DEPARTMENT.

16

ABSTRACT OF CASES in which Tenders, other than the lowest offering suitable goods, were accepted on the grounds of superior quality, superior trustworthiness of the firm tendering, greater facility of inspection, quicker delivery, etc.

HALF YEAR ENDING 30TH JUNE, 1923.

PART A.—Cases in which lower foreign tenders, including British tenders for foreign made goods, have been set aside wholly or partially in favour of British tenders.

Stores ordered.	Contract Number.	Name of Contractor.	Amount of Contract.	Lowest Tender not accepted.	Reason for acceptance.
			£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
Bottles, Water . . .	C. 216-1126, 11th January 1923.	Eveson Bros.	4,125 0 0	3,403 2 6 (Czecho-Slovakian Manufacture).	To secure sure delivery. An order for 70,000 bottles was placed with the foreign firm but it was not considered advisable to place the whole order with them, mainly because it is most unwise to depend entirely on foreign sources of supply for consumable articles of military equipment.
Bottles, Water . . .	C. 535-1126, 25th January 1923.	Macfarlane & Robinson, Ltd.	4,125 0 0	3,403 2 6 (Czecho-Slovakian Manufacture).	Orders for 33,000 bottles were placed with each of the two lowest English firms. This completes the purchase of the water bottles now under consideration. (This action taken will, it is hoped, lead to development of a source of supply which would be available in war time and enable us to obtain water bottles at a reasonable price in this Country, when we are again buying them.)

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

13TH FEB. 1924.

PART A.—Cases in which lower foreign tenders, including British tenders for foreign made goods, have been set aside wholly or partially in favour of British tenders—contd.

Stores ordered.	Contract Number.	Name of Contractor.	Amount of Contract.	Lowest Tender not accepted.	Reason for acceptance.
			£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
Wheels and Axles	C. 221-6848, 11th January 1923.	W. Beardmore & Coy., Ltd.	14,495 15 0 (374 pairs).	9,256 10 0 (Skoda-Works, Czecho-Slovakia).	To ensure suitable delivery. The foreign firm was given an order for 500 pairs of Wheels and Axles but on account of the long delivery promised these wheels and axles will not arrive in India until 5-6 months after the wagons for which they are required. It was accordingly considered advisable to give a proportion of the order to Beardmore & Coy. on account of the much quicker delivery offered.
Cloth, Tracing	C. 769-7677, 6th February 1923.	Winterbottom Book Cloth Coy.	6,770 8 4 (plus cost of packing).	5,592 10 0 (German Manufacture).	Greater reliability and more certain delivery. A trial order was placed with the lowest firm and the result will be watched for future action.
Machine Punching	C. 1391-7938, 10th March 1923.	Craig & Donald	1,521 0 0	1,260 0 0 (German Manufacture).	Desire to meet indenting department's wishes as to delivery. The lowest tender offered machines of German manufacture for delivery in 7-8 months.
Wheels and Axles	C. 1499-6676, 26th March 1923.	Owen & Dyson, Ltd.	19,812 0 0	13,844 0 0 (Czecho-Slovakian). 17,886 8 0 (Lowest German).	Greater reliability. The lowest tenderer has yet to complete a trial order and the two other lower tenderers (German) offered stores made in the Ruhr District and were passed over on account of the unsettled conditions there which make deliveries problematical.

STATEMENT LAID ON THE TABLE.

PART A.—Cases in which lower foreign tenders, including British tenders for foreign made goods, have been set aside wholly or partially in favour of British tenders—concl'd.

Stores ordered.	Contract Number.	Name of Contractor.	Amount of Contract.	Lowest Tender not accepted.	Reason for acceptance.
			£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
Portland Cement .	C. 1736-1156, 23rd April 1923.	T. Beynon & Coy., Ltd.	2,406 5 0 F. O. B. Bristol- Channel Ports.	2,173 0 0 F. O. B. Antwerp. (Belgian.)	Most favourable offer, having regard to shipping facilities. The cement is to be shipped to Cochin.
Axles, Engine .	C. 1764-1184, 25th April 1923.	Vulcan Foundry, Ltd.	5,370 0 0	5,274 6 5 (Czecho-Slovakian).	Greater reliability. The lowest tenderer has yet to complete a trial order and the two other lower tenderers (German) offered stores made in the Ruhr District and were passed over on account of the unsettled conditions there.
	C. 1816-1184, 2nd May 1923.	North British Loco. Coy., Ltd.	827 15 0 6,197 15 0	5,650 14 0 (Lowest German).	
Paint, Red Lead, Dry .	C. 1994-1903, 17th May 1923.	Walkers Parker & Coy., Ltd.	316 0 0	314 0 0 (German Manufacture offered by a British Firm).	Superior reliability. Also the lowest tenderer has refused to admit Indian Students. In the case of the tender for German paint it would not be possible to inspect as required by Specification.
Tubes, Copper .	C. 2150-1898, 28th May 1923.	Birmingham Battery & Metal Coy., Ltd.	225 19 0	194 16 6 (German Tender).	Desire to meet indenting department's wishes as to delivery. Extra cost of inspection in Germany would amount to about £10.

PART B.-- Cases in which the discrimination is between British or between foreign firms and not between British and Foreign.

Stores ordered.	Contract Number.	Name of Contractor.	Amount of Contract.	Lowest Tender not accepted.	Reason for acceptance.
			£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
Steam Hammer	C. 99-7891, 2nd January 1923.	B. & S. Massey	220 0 0	190 0 0	Better value.
Irons, Branding	C. 125-8136, 8th January 1923.	Arnold Bros.	81 8 7	16 8 4	Lowest suitable, in view of the urgency of the requirements.
Pump	C. 305-7893, 15th January 1923.	Tangyes Limited	101 0 0	93 0 0	Better value.
Lubricators	C. 516-98, 25th January 1923.	Kingfisher (24881) Leeds	19 5 9	17 19 0	Ditto.
Wheel Centres	C. 581-414, 27th January 1923.	Taylor Bros. & Co.	1,342 10 0	1,428 15 0	Lowest, giving the necessary delivery.
Arms	C. 600-412, 29th January 1923.	Steel Coy. of Scotland, Ltd.	2,735 0 0	2,663 15 0	Superior trustworthiness (a small trial order was also given to the lowest tenderer).
Lamps	C. 607-8967, 30th January 1923	The General Electric Coy., Ltd.	537 12 0	537 0 0	Desire to meet indenting department's wishes as to delivery.
Wire Rope	C. 678-7227, 1st February 1923.	Ernstons	416 10 5	416 5 0	
Ditto	C. 679-7227, 1st February 1923.	J. & E. Wright	681 15 0	664 11 7	Ditto ditto.
Ditto	C. 680-7227, 1st February 1923.	Hall's Barton Ropery Co., Ltd.	184 19 0	178 17 6	
Gutters, etc.	B. 5338-7068, 28th December 1922 as amended by letter dated 1st February 1923.	Thos. Marshall & Son	262 12 8	244 17 8	Better value.

PART B.—Cases in which the discrimination is between British or between foreign firms and not between British and Foreign— contd.

20

Stores ordered.	Contract Number.	Name of Contractor.	Amount of Contract.	Lowest Tender not accepted.	Reason for acceptance.
			£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
Millboards	C. 694-8064, 2nd February 1923.	Bells United Asbestos Co., Ltd.	111 13 6	95 15 8	Better value.
Electric Horns	C. 754-44, 5th February 1923.	J. Lucas, Ltd.	5 12 6	5 4 0	Ditto.
Wheels and Axles	C. 800-9053, 7th February 1923.	Taylor Bros. & Coy.	8,424 0 0	8,268 0 0	Desire to meet indenting department's wishes as to delivery.
Tape, Cotton	C. 836-7732, 9th February 1923.	J. Bonas & Co.	500 0 0	489 11 8	To secure reasonable delivery, the order was shared between the three lowest firms.
Ditto	C. 837-7732, 9th February 1923.	J. & N. Phillips & Co.	1,575 0 0	1,526 11 8	
Brushes, tooth	C. 680-7360, 12th February 1923.	W. R. Tilbury & Son	204 3 4 (7,000 Brushes).	189 11 8	Desire to meet indenting department's wishes as to delivery. The lowest firm received an order for 15,800 brushes.
Varnish, black	C. 981-9379, 15th February 1923.	London Varnish & Enamel Co., Ltd.	67 10 0	57 10 0	Better value.
Canvas, packing	C. 1019-658, 19th February 1923.	Baxter Bros. & Co.	422 7 7	417 13 1	Ditto.
Red Lead	C. 1193-9377, 28th February 1923.	Champion Druce & Co.	165 0 0	158 2 6	Ditto.
Wire	C. 1299-1097, 8th March 1923.	The Shropshire Iron Coy.	1,035 0 0	990 0 0	Desire to meet indenting department's wishes as to delivery.
Netting, Mosquito.	C. 1326-7353, 9th March 1923.	A. W. Black & Bros.	2,832 15 0 (56,655 yds. at 1).	2,537 13 5 at 10½d.	Lowest suitable, having regard to India's delivery requirements.
Ditto	C. 1327-7353, 9th March 1923.	T. Adams, Ltd.	4,895 16 8 (100,000 yds. at 11½d.)	4,479 3 4 at 10½d.	

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

[1ST FEB. 1924.]

PART B.—Cases in which the discrimination is between British or between foreign firms and not between British and Foreign—contd.

Stores ordered.	Contract Number.	Name of Contractor.	Amount of Contract.	Lowest Tender in it accepted.	Reason for acceptance.
			£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
Paper, Waterproof	C. 1328-708, 10th March 1923.	J. Blackwell & Sons	105 0 0	104 0 0	Better value.
Oil Engine, etc.	C. 1405-1915, 19th March 1923.	Robey & Co., Ltd.	75 0 0	70 4 4	Ditto.
Steel, Rod	C. 1620-1280, 9th April 1923.	Shropshire Iron Coy.	1,863 12 9	1,854 14 1	Desire to meet indenting department's wishes as to delivery.
Girder Bridges	C. 1805-1691, 1st May 1923.	The Horsehay Coy., Ltd.	3,802 10 0	3,656 5 0	Ditto ditto.
Ditto	C. 1043-1988, 14th May 1923.	Patent Shaft & Axletree Co., Ltd.	1,392 7 9	1,338 17 6	Ditto ditto.
Sheets, Mild Steel	C. 2121-2300, 26th May 1923.	Gorse Galvanizing Coy., Ltd.	2,640 18 6	2,538 17 5	Quicker delivery, having regard to shipping facilities.
Hack Saw Blades	C. 2149-1738, 28th May 1923.	Sanderson Bros. & Newbould, Ltd.	83 16 0	69 15 3	Better value.
Tickets, Railway	C. 2158-1973, 29th May 1923.	T. De la Rue & Coy., Ltd.	1,014 9 4	906 11 8	Desire to meet indenting department's wishes as to delivery.
Disinfecting Fluid	C. 2282-1952, 4th June 1923.	The Sautias Coy., Ltd.	60 0 0	56 18 4	Lowest tender was for white fluid which has not previously been supplied to O. & R. E.—A trial order for white fluid was given to the lowest firm.

PART B.—Cases in which the discrimination is between British or between foreign firms and not between British and Foreign—contd.

22

Stores ordered.	Contract Number.	Name of Contractor.	Amount of Contract.	Lowest Tender not accepted.	Reason for acceptance.
			£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
Mild Steel Sheet . . .	C. 2339-2215, 6th June 1923.	Smith & McLean, Ltd.	8 12 5	8 3 9	Desire to meet indenting department's wishes as to delivery.
Water-cooled Tube . . .	C. 2395-3071, 8th June 1923.	Cuthbert Andrews . . .	11 18 0	11 9 6	Ditto ditto.
Rick cover	C. 2442-2629, 11th June 1923.	Francis Webster & Sons . .	51 7 8	48 7 3	Better value. A rick cover was ordered from the lowest tenderer for trial in India.
Girder Bridges	C. 2592-2634, 16th June 1923.	Patent Shaft & Axletree Co., Ltd.	1,754 14 8	1,725 18 0	Desire to meet indenting department's wishes as to delivery.
Axles, engine	C. 2677-3324, 21st June 1923.	Taylor Bros. & Co., Ltd. . .	820 6 3	795 2 3	Ditto ditto.
Canvas, sail	C. 2782-1357, 25th June 1923.	Baxter Bros. & Co., Ltd. . .	10,547 5 6	10,461 1 6	Ditto ditto.
Bogie Rail & Timber Trucks.	C. 2898-2436, 29th June 1923.	Metro. Carriage, Wagon & Finance Co., Ltd.	9,984 0 0	9,850 0 0	Ditto ditto.
Stone pumice	C. 2902-3975, 29th June 1923.	O'Hara & Hoar	197 10 0	187 10 0	Ditto ditto.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

[1ST FEB. 1924.]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

ITEMS OF FINANCIAL EXPENDITURE IN DISPUTE BETWEEN HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

1. ***Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas:** Will Government be pleased to put on the table a statement showing the items of financial expenditure in dispute between the Government of India and His Majesty's Government, which the Honourable the Secretary of the Finance Department said in the Council of State on the 16th July 1923 in a speech, he would place before the Legislature at a later date?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: A statement regarding important financial questions outstanding between His Majesty's Government and the Government of India is laid on the table.

Statement regarding important financial questions outstanding between His Majesty's Government and the Government of India.

(1) *Pension claim by War Office against India.*—This claim, which exceeds £25 millions and may be as much as £40 millions, represents a share of pensions arising out of casualties amongst British Troops who had served in India and who were employed in the Great War. The claim has been made with reference to an agreement entered into in 1870 between the India and War Offices. It is understood that this agreement is interpreted differently by the two offices, the former holding that it could not have been intended to apply against India in a war of the magnitude of the Great War, while the latter argue that it was subject to no qualification.

(2) *India's further contribution to the Great War.*—In September 1918 the India Legislative Council offered certain additional financial assistance to His Majesty's Government towards the prosecution of the Great War on the conditions, (i) that there was no costly conflagration on the Indian frontier and (ii) that the general agricultural and financial situation of India permitted it. On the assumption that the Great War would last till March 1920, the offer involved a payment by India to His Majesty's Government of about £49 millions which included about £4 millions on account of pensionary charges of British Troops. The Great War terminated earlier. The 3rd Afghan War broke out and the agricultural situation proved worse than anticipated, with the result that in March 1920 the Legislative Council reconsidered their offer and reduced the total amount of the contribution to £13,600,000. This amount which was paid to the War Office in 1918-19 also included £4 millions on account of pensionary charges of British Troops. But His Majesty's Government would not accept as correct the figure of £4 millions as against their estimated claim for pensionary charges of British troops, *vide* Item (1). The Secretary of State has informed the Government of India that the matter was being referred to the Cabinet in England.

(3) *Expenditure in East Persia.*—During the Great War and especially towards the end of 1917 and the beginning of 1918 it was necessary to send large Military Forces from India to East Persia. The expenditure on these forces to end of 1920-21 has been debited to the War Office in the same way as charges of Military Forces despatched from India to other theatres. In view of the Military and Political interests that India possessed in East Persia the War Office demurred to bear the entire charges in this region, but it is uncertain whether they are maintaining this attitude. As expenditure in East Persia was not recorded separately in the accounts, it is not possible to state the amount disputed.

(4) *Charges of Surplus officers of the Indian Army.*—Owing to the expansion of the Indian Army during the period of the great war the strengths of officers of the Indian Army were augmented by recruitment of a large number of officers who were granted permanent commissions. With the cessation of hostilities and the post-war reduction of the Army in India about 1,800 officers, mostly in the junior ranks, became surplus to requirements. These are being retired from April 1922 under special terms. The question of the basis of apportionment between England and India of the charges involved in the maintenance of the surplus officers and in the grant of special concessions on being retired, is still under discussion between the India and War Offices, the Secretary of State and the Government of India claiming

60 per cent. on the basis of the numbers recruited for special formations during the Great War, while the War Office would appear to have accepted only 50 per cent. of the charges. In a communication received in May 1923 the India Office apprehended that the matter might have to go to arbitration. The total amount requiring apportionment is about £5 millions.

(5) *Disbandment of British Troops.*—The organisation of the Post-War Army in India involves permanent reductions in the strengths of British troops as compared with the pre-war sanctioned establishments. The expenditure connected with the maintenance and disbandment of the surplus troops is an Indian liability, but it will be incurred in England along with similar charges relating to disbandment of Surplus British troops on Imperial Establishment. The apportionment between the two Governments is still under discussion. The total amount involved is not yet known.

(6) *Exchange concession on War gratuities.*—War Gratuities fixed in sterling and payable on 4th August 1919 were sanctioned for British officers and other ranks as a reward for service during the Great War. The cost of the gratuities in excess of the amount calculated for the normal strengths of officers and men on the Indian establishment was an Imperial liability. The rate of exchange on 4th August 1919 was 1s. 8d. the rupee. The Government of India acting upon what they believed to be the intentions of His Majesty's Government according to a telegram received from the Secretary of State, however, paid the gratuities at 1s. 4d. the rupee to British soldiers serving in India and Mesopotamia on that date. Subsequently the Secretary of State acting on what he believed to be the intention of His Majesty's Government, authorised the payment by the Government of India of war gratuities at the same rate to British officers. The loss by exchange debited to the War Office under these arrangements was estimated at £200,000 in 1921 and this amount was provisionally refunded to the War Office in 1920-21. The Government of India protested and the matter went to arbitration in England. The award of the arbitrator was against India.

(7) *Future administration of Aden and incidence of cost.*—A brief history of this item will be found at paragraphs 22 and 23 of the Retrenchment Committee's report on Political expenditure.

It has been suggested by the Government of India that the existing financial arrangement should be revised. The question is still under discussion.

(8) *Expenditure in Persia.*—Following the recommendations of the Welby Commission, diplomatic and consular expenditure in Persia is being shared equally between the Home and Indian Governments. In view of the fact that Indian interests in Persia have not increased as rapidly as Imperial interests, it has been suggested that this division is no longer fair and that since Indian interests are mainly confined to East Persia, it would be preferable to avoid divided expenditure where possible. Proposals to this end have been submitted for consideration by His Majesty's Government.

RETRENCHMENT IN THE ROYAL INDIAN MARINE.

2. ***Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas:** Will Government be pleased to state if all the recommendations of the Inchcape Committee in connection with retrenchment in the Royal Indian Marine have been given effect to?

Mr. E. Burdon: The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to Part III of the statement which will be laid on the table to-day in reply to another question, No. 53.

DISPOSAL OF SHIPS AND BOATS BELONGING TO THE R. I. M.

3. ***Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas:** Will Government be pleased to state if the various ships and boats recommended for disposal by the Inchcape Committee have been so disposed of? If the reply to the above be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to place on the table a statement showing the amounts thus realized and the actual recurring expenditure saved by the acceptance of the Inchcape Committee's proposals in this connection?

Mr. E. Burdon: The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to items 1, 2, 3, 4, 6 and 7 of Part III of the statement which is being laid on the table to-day in reply to another question (No. 53), and which

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

requires only to be supplemented by the particulars contained in the statement I now lay on the table.

Statement showing the number of Royal Indian Marine Ships, etc., sold and amount of saving incurred thereby.

Names. (1)	Amount realised. (2)	RECURRING SAVINGS. (3)		REMARKS.
		Obtained so far as known. (a)	Anticipated per annum. (b)	
		1923-24.		
	Rs.			
R.I.M.S. "Blamo"	12,500	60,460	1,00,650	
R.I.M.S. "Sladen"	7,400	68,760	1,18,870	
R.I.M.S.L. "Tamil"	12,000	28,260	28,410	
R.I.M.S.L. "General Walker"	15,000	9,820	9,830	
R.I.M.S.L. "Pickaxe"	620	...	..	Replaced by "Flamingo".
R.I.M.S.L. "Sortie"	12,000	17,470	18,390	
R.I.M.S.L. "Linnet"	1,350	...	...	Replaced by "St. George".

PUBLICATION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO KENYA.

4. *Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: In connection with the reply given by the Honourable Member in charge of the Department to me in the Council of State, will Government be pleased to state the reason of the delay in publishing the full correspondence between the Government of India and the Secretary of State about the Kenya question? If the papers are not published until the time this question is put in the Assembly, will Government be pleased to state when they expect to publish these papers in full?

Mr. J. A. Richey: The orders of the Secretary of State as regards the correspondence ending with the decision of His Majesty's Government contained in the White Paper are being awaited. Until orders have been received the Government of India are not in a position to make any statement.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: May I ask a supplementary question, Sir? Is it usual for the Government of India to take orders from the Secretary of State regarding publication of papers on a subject which is closed?

The Honourable Sir Narasimha Sarma: This is a matter which relates not merely to the India Office but also to other branches of His Majesty's Government, particularly the Colonial Office, and inasmuch as the correspondence has passed between the Colonial Office, the India Office and the Government of India, there must be further consultation with regard to the publication of such correspondence. There must therefore necessarily be some delay, and we had to refer the matter to the Secretary of State.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: One more supplementary question, Sir. Is it usual to have further consultation about a subject which is closed?

The Honourable Sir Narasimha Sarma: I understand the question is not closed yet.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I only asked for the publication of papers as far as the Kenya decision was arrived at, and not beyond that, Sir.

The Honourable Sir Narasimha Sarma: Even with regard to matters which had been closed, if they are not exclusively of an internal character as between the India Office and the Government of India, I think it is but appropriate that we should consult the Secretary of State as to how far we can publish the correspondence which relates to other branches of His Majesty's Government.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Is the Government of India following any precedent in this matter, Sir?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Yes, Sir.

EMIGRATION RULES.

5. ***Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas:** Will Government be pleased to state if they are prepared to put on the table the full correspondence between themselves and the Secretary of State in connection with the emigration rules that are to be framed according to the White Paper issued in July 1923?

Mr. J. A. Richey: It is assumed that the Honourable Member refers to the proposals for amending the law regulating immigration into Kenya. Discussion is proceeding on this matter and whilst it is in progress the Government of India do not propose to ask for leave to publish the correspondence. But the Honourable Member may rest assured that everything possible is being done.

CONDITION OF INDIANS IN KENYA.

6. ***Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas:** Will Government be pleased to state what steps they propose to take for the purpose of keeping in touch with the conditions of Indians in the Kenya Colony, and if they are aware of any additional hardships to which Indians in Kenya are being put since the publication of the Kenya decision?

Mr. J. A. Richey: The Government of India have made certain requests to which no reply has yet been received. The Government of India are aware that Indians in Kenya have been passing through a period of grave anxiety since the decision referred to and have seen reports in the press that attempts were being made to boycott them. But they have received as yet no specific complaint from anyone who has experienced additional hardship.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Whom do the Government of India expect from Kenya to send up their complaint here? The Government of India have no officer of their own?

The Honourable Sir Narasimha Sarma: We know that the persons who are affected, whether in South Africa, Kenya or other places, occasionally

choose to make representations to the Government of India in respect of hardships they undergo, and therefore it is perfectly open to them to make representations either to the Colonial Government or, if necessary, to the Government of India through the proper channel, and in the absence of any specific information, the Government of India are naturally unable to proceed in the matter. We shall be grateful if any Honourable Member will give us specific information upon which we can proceed. •

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Do I understand that the Government of India would attend to representations from Indians in Kenya, only if they are made through the Colonial Office?

The Honourable Sir Narasimha Sarma: We are in correspondence with the Secretary of State as to whether other means can be employed for the purpose of obtaining correct information, and that is the answer which was given in reply to question No. 6, namely, that we have not yet received any orders from the Secretary of State.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Do I understand that the Government of India have received no complaints from Indians in Kenya since the White Paper was published?

The Honourable Sir Narasimha Sarma: No specific complaint upon which action could be taken.

SETTLEMENT OF AMOUNTS IN DISPUTE BETWEEN HIS MAJESTY'S
GOVERNMENT AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

7. ***Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas:** Will Government be pleased to state what steps they are taking to ensure that the amounts in dispute between them and His Majesty's Government which were not settled till 1st April 1923, are settled in accordance with the best financial interests of India?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The Government of India have placed all relevant information fully before the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India, in whose hands the final discussions with His Majesty's Government must necessarily rest.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Do the Government of India wish to consult this Assembly before any such settlement is arrived at?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: It depends entirely on the form in which the final settlement is arrived at.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Do I understand that this Assembly will then have some idea of the nature of the settlement, Sir?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Undoubtedly, full information will be given to this Assembly in due course.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Before the settlement is made, I take it, Sir?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The Honourable Member must take it as he wishes.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: May I know, Sir, whether this Assembly will have an opportunity of making a representation with reference to the specific points covered by this question; whether they will

have an opportunity of discussing those matters in this House before any final decision is arrived at by His Majesty's Government?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: It will always be possible for a Resolution to be moved, but the Government of India will naturally take such steps as are in their power to see that this House is properly informed.

EXPENDITURE ON LEE-COMMISSION.

8. ***Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas:** Will Government be pleased to state the total expenditure incurred by Lord Lee and his party coming out to India, giving details of:

- (1) the passage money spent by them from England to Bombay by sea, and
- (2) the amounts spent by them up-to-date (of framing the reply) on Railway journey in India?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: (1) The Chairman, three Members, and two Secretaries received first class passages from Bombay to London, and the four members of the reporting staff second class passages.

(2) The exact amount payable for railway journeys in India up to date has not yet been intimated by the Railway Companies. I would however make it clear to the Honourable Member that, following the ordinary practice, a note showing the total cost of the Commission will be printed with their report.

SEPARATE ESTABLISHMENT FOR THE LEGISLATURE.

9. ***Mr. K. C. Neogy:** Will Government be pleased to state what steps, if any, have been taken to split up the Legislative Department into a department of Government and a department of the Legislature, as a result of the debate on the motion of Rao Bahadur C. S. Subrahmanayam in the last Assembly?

Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith: The question was exhaustively examined after the Inchcape Committee submitted its report; and it has been decided that, for the present, in the interests both of economy and of efficiency, it is desirable that the business of the Legislature should continue to be conducted by the Legislative Department of the Government of India.

WORKING OF THE REFORMS.

10. ***Mr. K. C. Neogy:** Will Government be pleased to state whether any report of any kind has been received from any provincial Government on the working of the Reforms? If the answer be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to lay on the table all such reports and connected correspondence?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: No official reports on the subject have been received.

Mr. K. C. Roy: May I ask if the Honourable Member proposes to call for such reports?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I was going to add, Sir, that certain information was informally called for, but the Government of India do not intend to publish it.

Mr. V. J. Patel: Have the Government of India received any Report from the Central Provinces Government regarding the unworkability of the Reforms there?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: No, Sir. I am astonished to hear that the Reforms are unworkable in the Central Provinces.

EXPENDITURE ON SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU'S DEPUTATION-TO ENGLAND.

11. ***Mr. K. C. Neogy:** Will Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the expenditure (under Major heads) incurred in connection with the deputation of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to England?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: A statement is laid on the table.

Statement showing the expenditure incurred in connection with the deputation of Sir T. B. Sapru to England.

	Rs.	A.	P.
<i>Sir T. B. Sapru.</i>			
Allowance at (£250)	3,750	0	0
Return passage to India (£53)†	795	0	0
Travelling allowance in India	1,302	0	0
<i>Mr. Rushbrook Williams (Private Secretary to Sir T. B. Sapru).</i>			
Pay	4,385	13	4
Return passage to India (£53)†	795	0	0
Travelling allowance in India	666	12	0
Total	11,694	9	4

† Converted at the rate of Rs. 15 to £.

COLONIAL AND INDIAN MILITARY EXPENDITURE.

12. ***Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas:** (1) Have Government seen a reply in the House of Commons on the 30th July 1923, given to Mr. C. W. Darrishire (Liberal) by Sir William Joynson Hicks wherein the latter stated that

“ on the basis of estimates for 1922-23 the approximate cost of the defence per head for a population of European descent in the Dominions was as follows:

Australia	17s.	11d.
South Africa	12s.	1d.
New Zealand	11s.	4d.
Canada	6s.	8d. ?

(2) If the reply to the above be in the affirmative:

(a) Will Government be pleased to get from His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies the average income per head of the population of European descent in each of the Dominions referred to by Sir William Joynson Hicks? and

(b) Will Government be pleased to state the approximate cost of defence of India per head of the population of India together with the approximate average income per head of population in India during the years 1914-15, 1918-19 and 1920-21?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blckett: (1) The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative. In answer to the second part, the Government have not framed any official estimate of the average income per head of population, nor are they prepared to endorse any of the unofficial estimates which have been framed from time to time. Such statistics necessarily involve a large number of assumptions and qualifications and are apt to be extremely misleading.

The approximate charge per head of population for military expenditure, on the basis of the net cost of military services, including services connected with the war, frontier operations and other special services, works out as follows:

	Total.	Per head of population.
	Rs.	Rs.
1914-15	30,65,53,733	1-25
1918-19	66,72,03,582	2-70
1920-21	81,75,37,319	3-30
1923-24 (Estimate)	62,00,00,000	2-51

STATE PRISONERS.

13. ***Mr. K. C. Neogy:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state the number of persons, belonging to each Province, who are at present under detention under Bengal Regulation III of 1818?

(b) How many of them, in each Province, have been dealt with under the said Regulation for creating trouble (i) on the frontiers, and (ii) in the Indian States?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Will it be any convenience to the Honourable Member if I answer questions Nos. 13 to 18 together? I can answer them separately if he prefers.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: They may be answered together.

STATE PRISONERS.

14. ***Mr. K. C. Neogy:** (a) Have Government deviated, in any instance, from the recommendations of the Repressive Laws Committee, in regard to restrictions on the use of Bengal Regulation III of 1818, since the publication of the report of the said Committee?

(b) If so, in what instances, and for what reasons?

STATE PRISONERS IN BENGAL.

15. ***Mr. K. C. Neogy:** (a) What is the nature of the charges against the persons who have been imprisoned in Bengal under Bengal Regulation III of 1818, since September, 1923?

(b) Have the grounds of the determination taken in their case come under revision from time to time, as required by the said Regulation? If so, when, and with what result?

(c) For what periods, if any, were the said persons in the custody of a Zilla or city Magistrate? Did any Judge, in any such case, visit the State prisoner and issue orders concerning his treatment, as contemplated in clause First of Section IV of the said Regulation?

(d) Which public officers have been instructed by the Governor General in Council, under clause Second of Section IV of the Regulation, to visit

the State prisoners in Bengal; at what periods have they been instructed to visit them; and how many reports have been received from them regarding the health and treatment of such prisoners?

(e) Have reports been received under Section VI of the Regulation as to whether the degree of confinement to which the State prisoner is subjected, appears liable to injure his health, and whether the allowance fixed for his support is adequate to the supply of his own wants and those of his family according to their rank in life? If so, to what effect have such reports been received in each case?

ALLOWANCES OF STATE PRISONERS IN BENGAL.

16. *Mr. K. C. Neogy: (a) Will Government be pleased to state the amount of allowance fixed in the case of each person taken prisoner in Bengal under Regulation III of 1818, since September, 1923?

(b) Are Government satisfied that the allowances are adequate to the supply of the wants of the State prisoner and his family according to their rank in life, in each case?

(c) When was the arrest made, and when was the payment of allowance first made, in each case?

REPRESENTATIONS FROM STATE PRISONERS IN BENGAL.

17. *Mr. K. C. Neogy: (a) Have Government received any representations from the State prisoners in Bengal; if so, to what effect in each case, and what observations have been made thereon by the officer in whose custody the prisoner is placed, and what action taken by Government?

(b) Have reports been received under Section III of the Regulation; if so, to what effect in each case, and what action has been taken thereon by Government?

STATE PRISONERS IN BENGAL.

18. *Mr. K. C. Neogy: (a) Is it a fact that the papers relating to all such State prisoners in Bengal have been ordered to be placed before two Judges for examination?

(b) If so, what observations have been made by them in each case?

(c) Is it a fact that certain State prisoners applied to the Government of Bengal for permission to interview the said Judges while they dealt with their papers, and that such permission was refused?

• The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: *Question 13*—(a) Bengal, 22; the Punjab, 1; and Indian State Territory, 1.

(b) In four of the cases the action taken had reference to hostile activities directed from abroad against the security of India and among the objects of these activities was the fomenting of trouble on the frontier.

Question 14—(a) and (b). In twenty of the cases in Bengal, the action taken was in respect of complicity in a revolutionary conspiracy with the avowed object of the assassination of Government officials. Connections between some of the conspirators and Communist agents abroad had been definitely traced, and, though the immediate cause of action does not fall in the specific categories mentioned by the Committee, they recognised the necessity of special measures in the event of a contingency of this kind.

Question 15—(a) The Honourable Member is referred to the reply I have just given.

(b) The report required by section 3 of the Regulation on the 1st January has not yet been received. They were not under detention on the 1st July 1923.

(c) Government have no information.

(d) The District Magistrates of the localities in which the détenus are confined have been appointed to be the officers to visit and submit reports to Government every month. Sixteen reports have been received.

(e) Reports have been received and recommendations for allowances have been made and sanctioned in respect of all persons except those interned very recently. The détenus are in good health and are well treated.

Question 16.—(a) Government are not prepared to supply the information.

(b) Yes.

(c) Thirteen persons were arrested on the 25th September last; one on the 2nd and one on the 6th October; one on the 20th December last; one on the 16th and four on the 20th January 1924. Payments take effect from the date of incarceration.

Question 17.—One Muzaffar Ahmad confined in the Midnapore Jail complained of the inadequacy of the allowance sanctioned for his family. Inquiries made locally, however, showed that his incarceration has not affected their circumstances.

Seven internees in the same Jail complained of their treatment, particularly in respect of food and clothing; but inquiries showed that they had no grounds for complaint.

A third representation was received from two prisoners to be allowed to live in Calcutta on parole. This was refused.

(b) Please see my answer to part (b) of question 15.

Question 18.—(a) Yes.

(b) The Judges found that the existence of a revolutionary conspiracy has been clearly established and that in every case the evidence available is sufficient to prove active participation therein.

(c) Government have no information.

RULING re PUTTING OF QUESTIONS ON BEHALF OF A MEMBER WHO HAS NOT TAKEN THE OATH.

Mr. K. C. Roy: Sir, may I ask your ruling? Dr. Gour has asked me to put this question† on his behalf but I find that he has not yet taken his oath of office. If you will permit me, I shall very gladly put this question.

Mr. President: A Member who has not taken the oath of office cannot discharge his functions on the floor of this House. Honourable Members are aware that, as a matter of convenience, I have consented to receive notices of Questions and Resolutions before the oath was taken merely in order that the stage of admission might be gone through before business opened here. But when it comes to the asking of questions or the performance of any other function on the floor of this House, that cannot be done until the oath is taken.

GRANT OF FURTHER REFORMS.

19. ***Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju:** Will the Government be pleased to state whether any and what action was taken on Dr. Gour's Resolution *re* the conferment of further reforms passed by the Assembly on the 18th July 1923 and whether the Secretary of State replied to any communication made on the subject by the Government of India? If so, would Government place the Secretary of State's reply on the table?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I find that this is practically identical, Sir, with the last question.† If the Honourable Member will allow me, I will read the answer I should have given to Dr. Gour if his question had been asked. It will, I think, supply the information that is asked for:

"(a) A copy of the Resolution adopted by the Assembly and of the debates in the Assembly on the Resolution was forwarded to the Secretary of State.

(b) No reply has been received from the Secretary of State.

(c) No recommendation has been made by Government on the Resolution, and there has been no intermediate correspondence with the Secretary of State.

(d) In reply to that I was about to suggest to Dr. Gour that he should await the discussion on the 5th February on the Resolution which has secured the first place in the ballot as regards this part of his question."

Mr. K. C. Roy: May I ask, Sir, what has been done to explore the possibilities of further reforms under the existing Act?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I would again suggest to the Honourable Member that we had best deal with that matter when we come to the Resolution on the subject. We can then deal with it in some more convenient form than in answer to a question.

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty: May I ask, Sir, if His Majesty's Government have informed the Government of India that this question of extending the Reforms cannot be opened before 1929, the statutory period fixed? Has any information been received by the Government of India?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: If the Honourable Member has followed our debates of last Session, he will recollect that we received a Despatch from the Secretary of State on the subject; it was published at the time and fully discussed in this Assembly. At the present moment, that despatch is the ruling decision on the subject.

INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

20. ***Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas:** Will Government be pleased to put on the table a statement showing the following:

(a) The date on which the Indian Civil Service was instituted with the number of posts then created and filled, and the pay, promotions and all allowances including leave allowances and pensions of the various posts then.

(b) Similar figures for every twenty years since then till 1915-16.

(c) Similar figures for 1918-19 and 1922-23.

† Not put, vide Mr. President's ruling on page 32, ante.

- (d) A statement showing the cost of living in each of the years referred to in (a), (b) and (c) above.
- (e) A statement showing increases in the pay, allowances of all sorts and pensions to the English Civil Service in the years covered by the period referred to in (a), (b) and (c) above.
- (f) A statement showing the cost of living in Great Britain in the years referred to in (e) above.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I regret that I cannot, for the purposes and within the reasonable limits of a reply to a question, embark on the somewhat elaborate research to which the Honourable Member invites me. If the Honourable Member can be persuaded to undertake the inquiry himself, the results of which I should be extremely glad to receive, I would suggest that he might appropriately begin it in the year 1793, when the Indian Civil Service first received statutory recognition in the East India Company Act.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I fully appreciate what the Honourable Member has said, but do I understand that the Government have not collected any figures on the lines of comparison indicated by me before they appointed the Lee Commission?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I do not think the Lee Commission would have been entirely grateful to us if we had presented them with figures dating from 1793. We have given them very full information relating to the Service in recent years, but we have not indulged in a long process of historical research.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Would the period beginning from the year when the Crown took over India be considered by the Honourable Member as only of historical value?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Of historical interest, but of no great value for present purposes.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I understand, then, Sir, that Government have no figures even from the year 1858 onwards?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: We certainly have no figures readily available. I daresay they could be obtained by prolonged search among our records, but again I would suggest to the Honourable Member that, even if they were obtained, they would be of no value for present purposes.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: May I ask, Sir, whether any information on the lines indicated in this question has been prepared for any period for the Lee Commission?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: To the best of my recollection, we have provided them with material subsequent to the Report of the Islington Commission. We have given them very full material about the Services since that date, but again, speaking only from recollection, I don't think we went further back than that.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: May I ask, Sir, if that information can be made available to this House?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I have little doubt that it will be published or at all events summarised in the Report.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: But I am asking whether it could be made available earlier than the Report.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I will examine it, and, if the Honourable Member would like to see it, I will endeavour to place it at his disposal, but that must be dependent on the result of my examination.

REDUCTION OF COAL FREIGHTS.

21. **Mr. K. C. Neogy:** (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the Resolution passed by the Associated Chamber of Commerce in the last Bombay session of its annual meeting, asking for a general reduction of coal freights over long distance traffic?

(b) Is it a fact that the Indian Mining Federation has been urging the question of reduction of coal freight from the coalfields to the distant centres ever since November 1921?

(c) Is it a fact that His Excellency the Viceroy, replying to an address presented by the Indian Mining Federation on the 16th December 1922, said that he was deeply impressed with the disability which the Indian coal has to labour under in competition with foreign coal in such consuming centres as Bombay, owing to high freight charges from coalfields to those consuming stations?

(d) Is it a fact that even so recently as the 22nd of August, 1923, a conference of the representatives of coal trade and the Railways concerned presided over by the acting Commerce Member discussed *inter alia* the question of reduction of freight rate over long distance traffic?

(e) Should the reply to the questions (a), (b), (c) and (d) be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to indicate their general attitude in the matter, in view of the persistent representations from the various commercial bodies? Will Government also be pleased to lay on the table the full copies of correspondence they had with the Railway authorities concerned, and the correspondence which passed between the various Agents of the Railway Companies and their Home Boards?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a), (b) and (d). Yes.

(c) His Excellency the Viceroy in the speech referred to sympathised with the desire of the Indian Mining Federation for concessions in freight and said that he was impressed by its observations.

(e) The Government do not propose at present to take up with the Railway Companies concerned the question of reducing long distance freights on coal. For one thing it is in the general interest of the coal trade itself as well as of other trades that the bulk of coal for Bombay should go via the Kidderpore docks and coasting steamers rather than by the all-rail route. On the former route there is quick-turn-round of wagons. On the latter route the journey from the coalfields to Bombay and back takes about 25 days. The Honourable Member is no doubt aware that a rebate on coal exported from the Kidderpore docks has recently been granted by the Railway Companies concerned, and the Government hope that with this rebate and by the help of the measures which the trade is itself taking to sort and grade Indian coal before export to Bombay, Indian coal will again be able to compete in the Bombay market. They are, however, watching the situation carefully. The answer to the last part of the question is in the negative.

WAGONS FOR COAL TRAFFIC.

22. *Mr. K. C. Neogy: (a) Is it a fact that the Government still exercise a control over the distribution of wagons for the coal traffic on the E. I. and B. N. Railways?

(b) Is it a fact that the control exercised involves undue preference to some of the colliery owners and consumers over other colliery owners and other consumers?

(c) Is it a fact that the control over distribution of wagons for coal traffic was actually withdrawn in August 1919, and being re-introduced two weeks after, was again formally announced to be withdrawn towards the end of that year?

(d) Should the reply of the question (c) be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state why the control is still being exercised, and why the Coal Transportation Department is still being continued in the face of definite announcement for its gradual abolition?

• The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) Control over the distribution of wagons for coal traffic on the East Indian and Bengal Nagpur Railways is exercised by the Coal Transportation Officer, Railway Board, who is assisted by an Advisory Committee composed of representatives of the—

Indian Mining Association,

Indian Mining Federation,

Bengal Chamber of Commerce,

and Bengal National Chamber of Commerce,

with the Director of Industries, Bengal, as Chairman.

(b) The Government of India do not admit that the control exercised involves undue preference. It is obvious that Railways and other works of public utility must, in the general interest, have the first call on supplies of wagons, and an order of allotment of wagons has been in force for many years.

(c) and (d). It is a fact that the coal special indent system was withdrawn in 1919 and that in October of that year a warning was issued to coal consumers and dealers in India, that, from the 1st January 1920, they must arrange to obtain their coal from collieries by the ordinary methods which were in force prior to the introduction of the above system. At the same time, it was decided to replace the Coal Controller by a Coal Transportation Officer. The function of this officer was to come to the assistance of consumers in cases of emergency, but it was hoped that special assistance of this kind would be necessary only occasionally. In 1920, however, the demands for coal proved to be so much in excess of the available wagon supply that most consumers found themselves in difficulties, and applications for assistance became more and more numerous. Since then, the whole question has been frequently brought under review particularly by a Committee composed mainly of the Members of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State which sat in February 1921. It has not yet been found possible to abolish the Coal Transportation Officer with whom, as stated above, an Advisory Committee has been associated, but we are now returning to the conditions which prevailed before the war, and the Government of India are now examining the question whether it is not possible to leave the task of allotting wagons for coal traffic to the two Railways concerned. But I must warn the Honourable Member that it will probably be always necessary to proceed according to some order of allotment.

COST OF KASTA AND DAMAGURIA SIDINGS, E. I. RAILWAY.

23. ***Mr. K. C. Neogy:** Will Government be pleased to state the cost involved in the construction of Kasta and Damaguria sidings off Ondal Sainthia and Sitarampur Branch in the E. I. Ry., and what traffic has been offered by these sidings since their construction?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The total expenditure on Damaguria siding and Kasta Branch up to date is Rs. 2,86,692, and Rs. 26,22,151, respectively, and the total numbers of wagons, loaded on these sidings since opening, are 8,265 on the former and 4,994 on the latter.

RAILWAY FACILITIES TO THE KARANPURA AND TALCHER COALFIELDS.

24. ***Mr. K. C. Neogy:** Will Government be pleased to state what is the amount of outlay already made and proposed to be made in providing Railway facilities to the two coalfields of Karanpura and Talcher and what is the earning already yielded by the traffic offered by these coalfields or is likely to be yielded from their prospective development in course of the next 10 years?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: A statement giving the information is laid on the table.

Railway extensions to the coalfields of Karanpura and Talcher.

	Estimated capital outlay.	Outlay already made.	ESTIMATED RETURN.		Return already yielded.	REMARKS.
			On opening.	After 10 years.		
	Rs.	Rs.	per cent.	per cent.	per cent.	
<i>Lines sanctioned.</i>						
1. South Karanpura (Duneya Hesla) Extension of Bokharo Ramgarh Branch.	31,63,325	5,70,000	4.7			The line is under construction. The estimated return has been calculated on conservative estimate of traffic. The additional earnings of the main line from interchanged traffic have not been taken into account in calculating the return. The line is under construction. The estimated return takes into account neither the receipts of the main line from interchanged traffic nor the reduction that will eventually be effected on the freight on coal used on the east coast section of the Bengal Nagpur Railway.
2. Talcher Coalfields Railway.	20,93,759	12,32,000	2.41 (and 3.44, 4.59 and 4.78 successively during next 3 years).	Estimated.	Nil.	
<i>Lines proposed.</i>						
1. Hesla Hutar Daltonganj and Hutar Anuppur Railways.	9,15,50,000	...	6.88	Not	Nil.	The estimated return does not take into account the saving from the reduced cost of transporting coal to the west of India which will result from the construction of these lines. (The lines will also open up various new coalfields in the area traversed.)
2. Hesla Chandil Railway.	...	5,91,000	...			Detailed estimates are under preparation.

PURCHASE OF COAL FOR STATE RAILWAYS.

25. *Mr. K. C. Neogy: (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the evidence disclosed before what is known as the Church Trial in Calcutta in regard to the arrangements for the purchase of coal for the requirements of the State Railways by the Mining Engineer to the Railway Board, and do Government propose any change in the existing arrangements for purchase of coal for the requirements of the State Railways?

(b) Will Government be pleased to give a list of the contracts entered into by the Chief Mining Engineer to the Railway Board, in course of the last 3 years, for the purchase of coal, showing the period for which the contract extends and the quantity of coal involved in each contract?

(c) Is it a fact that some of these contracts were entered into without any invitation of tender from the public and if so, will the Government be pleased to state the reasons for such a course?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) The Government have not had an opportunity of studying all the evidence adduced in the case referred to, but as at present advised, they are of opinion that they always require expert assistance in the placing of contracts for coal and in arranging for deliveries against those contracts. The Chief Mining Engineer is also required in connection with the collieries owned by railways.

(b) If the Honourable Member cares to come round to the Railway Board Office, he will be shown the list referred to.

(c) Offers were invited from the firms which were in a position to supply the class of coal required by the railways. This is an ordinary business procedure.

ABOLITION OF DIVISIONAL COMMISSIONERSHIPS.

26. *Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: (a) Has the Government of India asked the Local Governments to examine the question of the proposed abolition of the posts of Divisional Commissioners? And if so, what replies, if any, have been received from the different Local Governments?

(b) Will Government be pleased to lay on the table of the Assembly copies of all communications which may have passed between the Government of India and the different Local Governments on the subject, and also copies of communications, if any, between the Government of India, and the Secretary of State?

(c) With reference to question No. 490 on this subject (printed at page 3100 of Vol. III of the Legislative Assembly Debates), will Government be pleased to state what recommendation, if any, it has received from the Government of Bihar and Orissa? And will Government be pleased to lay a copy on the table?

(d) Will Government be pleased to give the Legislative Assembly an opportunity to discuss this question before any final decision is arrived at?

(e) Has this question been referred for opinion to any public bodies or Associations, or individuals? And if so, will Government be pleased to lay copies of their replies on the table?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: (a) Yes. All replies have been received.

(b) and (c). Government are not prepared at present to lay the correspondence on the table or to state the recommendation of any particular Local Government.

(d) It is open to any Honourable Member to move a Resolution on the subject.

(e) The answer is in the negative.

Mr. Devaki Prasad Sinha: Are Government aware that in the province of Bihar and Orissa there has actually been an increase in the number of Divisional Commissioners and one Mr. Heycock has been appointed Additional Commissioner of Patna simply because no other post could be found for him?

Mr. President: That question is not primarily the concern of the Governor General in Council but of the Governor-in-Council of Bihar and Orissa and of the Legislative Council of that province.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Do Government propose to take any action on these reports received?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: We are considering them.

PUSA AGRICULTURAL INSTITUTE.

27. ***Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** (a) Adverting to the *ad interim* reply given to question No. 70 (printed at page 53 of Vol. III of the Assembly Debates), and to question No. 31 (printed at page 1003 of Vol. III) on the subject of the Pusa Agricultural Institute, will the Government be pleased to state:

- (i) How long has the Pusa Agricultural Institute been in existence?
- (ii) What has been the total expenditure, recurring and non-recurring, incurred over the said Institution, year by year? And also, what income, if any, there has been each year?
- (iii) What practical results have so far been achieved from this Institution, towards the development and improvement of agriculture in the country?

(b) Will Government be pleased to furnish for the information of members of the Assembly a comparative statement of all officers and employees, drawing Rs. 500 per month and over, European and Indian, of the Institution since its foundation with their names, the amount of their salaries, their period of service, and the nature of their work?

(c) Is the Government aware that the people of this country generally have not at all been benefited by this Institution, and that they regard it as a waste of public money?

(d) If the answer to the above be in the negative, will Government be pleased to enquire and report?

(e) Will the Government, in the interest of economy, be pleased to state if it is willing to examine the question of closing the Institution; and if so, when?

Mr. J. A. Richey: (a) (i) and (iii). The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the particulars already given at (a) and (b) on page 1331 of Volume III, Part 2, of the Legislative Assembly Debates. Later information regarding the activities of the Institute is available from its last Annual Report, which has been placed in the library.

(ii) A statement giving the information asked for is placed on the table.

(b) A statement giving the information asked for with regard to the staff now in service is placed on the table. For any further information a reference is invited to the Half-yearly Lists of Officers in the Imperial Department of Agriculture in India issued from 1904 to 1922 and to the Annual List of Officers in the Indian Agricultural Department for the 1st January 1923.

(c) and (d). The answer is in the negative.

(e) The question was gone into carefully in connection with the inquiry made by the Retrenchment Committee and it was decided to maintain the Institute which is doing valuable work. Government do not propose to make any fresh inquiry.

Statement showing the receipts and expenditure of the Agricultural Research Institute, Pusa, from 1903-04 to 1922-23.

Year.	Receipts.	Expenditure.	REMARKS.
	Rs.	Rs.	
1903-04 and 1904-05	4,005*	1,78,353	* For 1904-05.
1905-06	2,531	2,31,565	
1906-07	3,680	3,10,029	
1907-08	6,077	2,83,833	
1908-09	9,680	3,23,923	
1909-10	5,573	3,12,428	
1910-11	13,462	2,99,586	
1911-12	9,455	3,04,045	
1912-13	14,633	3,85,390	
1913-14	22,157	4,53,850	
1914-15	16,843	4,20,610	
1915-16	15,340	4,19,981	
1916-17	17,878	4,27,221	
1917-18	19,843	4,77,900	
1918-19	21,403	5,34,166	
1919-20	36,221	6,35,077	
1920-21	30,313	8,83,113	
1921-22	38,822	7,65,140	
1922-23	45,852	7,66,056	

NOTE :—(1) The above figures do not include expenditure on buildings. The cost of buildings constructed at Pusa is Rs 15,38,100.

(2) In 1912-13 the offices of the Director and Inspector General of Agriculture were amalgamated and the expenditure from that year includes the expenditure of the amalgamated offices.

List showing officers of the Agricultural Research Institute, Pusa, drawing Rs. 500 and above on the 1st January 1924.

Name of officers.	Designation.	Date of appointment.	Period of Service on 1st January 1924.	Salary.	Nature of work performed.	REMARKS.
1. S. Milligan, M.A., B. Sc. (Edin.)	Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India and Director of Agricultural Research Institute, Pusa.	26th October 1905.	Y. M. D. 18 2 6	Pay . . . 2,750	General administration of the Imperial Departments of Agriculture, Imperial Bacteriological Laboratory, Muktesar, and Indian Central Cotton Committee, Bombay, and advice to the Government of India, Local Governments and Indian States, etc., in matters relating to agriculture.	
2. A. Howard, C.I.E., M.A., A.R.C.S., F.L.S.	Imperial Economic Botanist.	5th May 1905.	18 7 27	Pay . . . 1,200 Overseas pay . . . 250 Pusa allowance . . . 400 <hr/> 1,850	Research training of students and advice to officers of the Provincial Department of Agriculture and to the public.	
3. W. H. Harrison, D. Sc., (Manchester).	Imperial Agricultural Chemist and Joint Director, Agricultural Research Institute, Pusa.	14th November 1906.	17 1 17	Pay . . . 1,100 Overseas pay . . . 250 Pusa allowance . . . 350 Duty allowance . . . 250 <hr/> 1,950	General administration of the Pusa Institute in collaboration with the Director. Research and training of students and advice to the officers of the Provincial Departments of Agriculture and to the public.	
4. G. S. Henderson, N.D.A., N.D.D.	Imperial Agriculturist.	19th January 1907.	16 11 14	Pay . . . 1,050 Overseas pay . . . 250 Pusa allowance . . . 300 <hr/> 1,600	Research and training of students, advice to the officers of the Provincial Departments of Agriculture and the public.	
5. W. McBae, M.A., B.Sc.	Officiating Imperial Mycologist.	28th March 1908.	15 9 4	Pay . . . 1,000 Overseas pay . . . 250 Pusa allowance . . . 250 <hr/> 1,500	Ditto.	
6. C. M. Hutchinson, C.I.E., B.A.	Imperial Agricultural Bacteriologist.	24th December 1909.	14 0 8	Pay . . . 1,100 Overseas pay . . . 250 Personal allowance . . . 150 Pusa allowance . . . 250 <hr/> 1,750	Ditto.	

List showing officers of the Agricultural Research Institute, Pusa, drawing Rs. 500 and above on the 1st January 1924—contd.

Name of officers.	Designation.	Date of appointment.	Period of Service on 1st January 1924.	Salary.		Nature of work performed.	REMARKS.
				Y. M. D.	Rs.		
7. F. B. Fletcher, B.N., F.E.S., F.Z.S., F.L.S.	Imperial Entomologist.	2nd March 1910.	18 10 0	Pay Overseas pay Pusa allowance.	600 260 200 1,350	Research and training of students, advice to the officers of the Provincial Departments of Agriculture and the public.	
8. F. J. F. Shaw, D.Sc. (London), A.B.C.S., F.L.S.	Second Imperial Mycologist.	26th January 1910.	13 11 4	Pay Overseas pay Pusa allowance.	900 250 150 1,300	Research and training of students.	
9. G. L. C. Howard, M.A. (Kaiser-i-Hind Gold medalist).	Second Imperial Economic Botanist.	1st October 1910.	13 3 0	Pay Duty allowance.	1,150 150 1,300	Ditto.	
10. J. H. Walton, M.A. (Cantab.) M. Sc. Diploma in Agriculture (Cauld).	Assistant Bacteriologist.	25th October 1912.	11 2 7	Pay Overseas pay Pusa allowance.	870 250 150 1,250	Ditto.	
11. Palathunkal Yarkhi Isaac, B.A., D. Sc. (London), F. E. S.	Second Entomologist (Dipterist).	16th June 1922.	1 6 15	Pay Pusa allowance.	550 150 700	Ditto.	
12. Jatendra Nath Sen, F.C.S., P. H. D. (Cal.).	Supernumerary Agricultural Chemist.	9th June 1905.	18 6 22	Pay Overseas pay.	750 250 1,000	Ditto.	
13. M. W. Sayer, B.A.	Supernumerary Agriculturist.	30th March 1914.	9 9 12	Pay Overseas pay. Special allowance.	750 250 150 1,150	Temporarily appointed to work as Secretary, Sugar Bureau, with effect from 20th January 1919.	
14. Rai Bahadur Chandra Sekhar Misra.	1st Assistant to the Imperial Entomologist.	1st May 1906.	13 8 0	Pay	625	Research Laboratory work, etc.	
15. Rao Sahib C. S. Gopal K. Rao.	Superintendent, office of Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India.	1904	20 0 0	Pay	560	Ministerial duties.	

SHRINE OF BADRI NATH.

28. *Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: (a) Is the Government aware that the shrine of Badri Nath (in District Garhwal, United Provinces) is regarded by the Hindus as one of the holiest places in India; and that thousands of pilgrims visit the temple every year?

(b) Will the Government be pleased to give the names of all Post-Offices between Hardwar and Badri Nath; and how far apart are they from each other?

(c) Will the Government be pleased to consider the question of providing more postal facilities to travellers on the way to Badri Nath?

(d) Will the Government be pleased to state if any project is¹ under consideration of running up a railway line to Badri Nath, or up to any other point on the pilgrim route?

(e) If the answer to the above be in the affirmative, when is the project likely to be taken in hand, and when completed? And if the answer be in the negative, will Government be pleased to consider this question?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: (a) Yes.

(b) The names of the post offices from Hardwar to Badrinath and the distance between them are given in the statement which I place on the table.

(c) Government are satisfied that the postal facilities provided are adequate.

(d) A project for a railway line from Rikhikesh Road to Karanprayag on the way to Badri Nath is at present under consideration.

(e) Government are not at present in a position to say whether, and if so, when, the project is likely to be taken in hand and completed.

1. Hardwar C. S. O.	...
2. Rishikesh C. S. O.	13 miles.
3. Byasghat B. O. (Season)	11 "
4. Devaprayag C. S. O.	21 " by road (9 by runner's line).
5. Srinagar C. S. O.	16 miles.
6. Dungri Fauth B. O.	8 "
7. Rudraprayag S. O.	12 "
8. Karanprayag C. S. O.	20 "
9. Nandaprayag B. O.	12 "
10. Chamoli C. S. O.	9 "
11. Pipalkot B. O.	10 "
12. Helang B. O.	12 "
13. Joshimath C. S. O.	6 "
14. Badrinath C. S. O. (Season)	19 "

N. B.—C. S. O.—Combined sub-office.

B. O. —Branch office.

S. O. —Sub-office.

GRIEVANCES OF STATE PRISONERS IN THE CENTRAL JAIL, ALIPORE.

29. *Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: (i) Has the attention of the Government been drawn to a communication published in the " Servant " newspaper of Calcutta, dated the 19th December 1923, regarding the grievances of State prisoners in the new Central Jail, Alipore, Bengal? And will the Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that:

(a) no family allowance has yet been sanctioned to the State prisoners?

(b) they have not yet been supplied with warm blankets or quilts, or other necessary articles of warm clothing?

(c) they are kept confined in small cells or wards, and are not allowed to go out for exercise?

(d) they are not being given proper food?

(ii) If the answer to the above be in the affirmative, what steps are being taken to redress their grievances?

(iii) Will the Government be pleased to give the names of the State prisoners (confined under Regulation III of 1818) in Bengal, and the period during which they have been in confinement, and their places of detention?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: (i) Government have seen the article.

(a) No. Family allowances have been sanctioned in all cases where Government are satisfied that the incarceration of the prisoner has affected the circumstances of his family. The cases of persons interned very recently are under consideration.

(b) No.

(c) They are confined in cells but are allowed ample exercise every day and are provided with facilities for playing badminton.

(d) No.

(ii) Does not arise.

(iii) Government are not prepared to publish information regarding the jails in which prisoners are confined, but a list of persons detained with the dates of their detention is being supplied to the Honourable Member.

HIGH COURT JUDGESHIPS FOR MEMBERS OF THE PROVINCIAL JUDICIAL SERVICE.

30. *Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Roy: (a) Will the Home Member be pleased to state whether any member of the Provincial Judicial Service in Bombay, Madras, Agra and Oudh and Bengal has been appointed to High Court Judgeship; and, if so:

(i) At what date have the appointments been made, and for what periods?

(ii) Who are the present incumbents?

(b) Is it not a fact that two such appointments have been filled from the service in Allahabad within the last six months?

(c) Is it a fact that during the last fifty years only two temporary appointments, for a period of six months each have been given to members of the Provincial Judicial Service?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: (a) The Government of India are not primarily concerned with these appointments except in so far as the appointments to the Calcutta High Court and the appointments of Additional Judges in other Courts are concerned. It would have been misleading to give information regarding these latter appointments only, and we have therefore refrained from searching the records of the last sixty years in order to obtain such information. I merely wish to invite the attention of the Honourable Member to the fact that in addition to the two cases referred to in part (b) of his question there are still two permanent Judges in High Courts in India who belonged to a Provincial Judicial Service:

(i) Sir P. C. Banerji appointed to the Allahabad High Court in 1893.

(ii) Sir C. V. Kumaraswami Sastri appointed to the Madras High Court in 1914.

(b) Yes.

(c) No.

LOCATION OF TROOPS AT MUZAFFARPUR.

31. ***Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** (a) Is the Government aware that a number of soldiers have been stationed in Muzaffarpur town for some time? And if so, will the Government be pleased to state how long have they been quartered? What is their sanctioned numerical strength? And for what purpose have they been quartered?

(b) Is it a fact that the troops were first located in Muzaffarpur during the time Lord Sinha was the Governor of Bihar and Orissa, without any reference being made to him, or without his sanction?

(c) Will Government be pleased to furnish for the information of the members of the Assembly, copies of all communications on this subject, between the Government of Bihar and Orissa, the Government of India His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, or other Government officials concerned?

Mr. E. Burdon: (a) Yes. Troops were first despatched to Muzaffarpur in November 1921, in order to assist the police in the maintenance of public tranquillity. It was subsequently decided to locate one company of British Infantry permanently at Muzaffarpur for the maintenance of internal security in the Tirhut Division, but until barracks for the company have been constructed, the garrison consists of one company of British Infantry in the cold weather and one squadron of Indian cavalry in the summer.

(b) Troops were first despatched to Muzaffarpur while the Right Honourable Lord Sinha was Governor of Bihar and Orissa, and at the request of Lord Sinha's Government.

(c) Government are not prepared to place the correspondence on the table.

LOCATION OF TROOPS AT MUZAFFARPUR.

32. ***Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** (a) Is the Government aware that His Excellency Sir Henry Wheeler, the Governor of Bihar and Orissa, in course of his reply to the address of the Bihar Planters' Association at

Muzaffarpur, on the 24th July, 1922, made the following statement regarding the location of troops in Muzaffarpur—

“ There is no intention of modifying that arrangement, so long as it may be found to be necessary; and it is designed in the common interest of all sections of the community ”?

(b) Has any section of the community ever made any representation to Government, recommending the location of troops in Muzaffarpur? If the answer be in the affirmative, will the Government be pleased to state which section of the community? And also, will the Government be pleased to lay on the table copies, if any, of such representations?

(c) Is it not a fact that of all the public bodies which presented addresses to His Excellency the Governor on the occasion referred to above, the Bihar Planters' Association alone in course of their address expressed their approval at the location of troops in Muzaffarpur? And is it not mainly in their interest that this arrangement has been undertaken, and is being continued?

Mr. E. Burdon: (a) Government have no information of the occasion mentioned, but have no reason to doubt that the facts are as stated by the Honourable Member.

(b) The Government of India have received no representation from any quarter, except from the Government of Bihar and Orissa, recommending the location of troops at Muzaffarpur.

(c) With regard to the first part of this question, the Government of India have no information with regard to the second part, the arrangement is designed to secure the safety of all the inhabitants of the area.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: Will Government be pleased to make an inquiry and ascertain views on the subject?

Mr. E. Burdon: Does the Honourable Member wish to request that an inquiry should be made regarding all the local bodies who presented addresses to His Excellency the Governor on the occasion mentioned?

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: Yes, the fact mentioned in part (c) of the question.

Mr. E. Burdon: Certainly I am prepared to make an inquiry, and I will communicate the result to the Honourable Member.

COST OF TROOPS STATIONED AT MUZAFFARPUR.

33. ***Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state if the troops are going to be permanently stationed in Muzaffarpur; and that land is in course of being acquired for their residential purposes?

(b) Will the Government be pleased to say what is the total cost involved in stationing the troops in Muzaffarpur, as well as the expense sanctioned for the acquisition of the land, and for the proposed buildings thereon?

(c) Is it a fact that cases of friction or assault have actually happened between the soldiers, and some of the inhabitants? If so, what were the nature of such occurrences, and what were they due to?

Mr. E. Burdon: (a) I have already informed the Honourable Member, in reply to a previous question, that it is intended to station permanently in Muzaffarpur one company of British Infantry.

(b) The only extra expenditure involved is the cost of constructing barracks. This is estimated at Rs. 5,79,485, including Rs. 40,670 on account of cost of acquiring the land. The figures which are given do not include departmental charges. The barracks are to be constructed by the civil Public Works Department.

(c) So far as the Government of India are aware, the only fracas that has occurred since troops were first stationed at Muzaffarpur took place on the 2nd November 1923, between some villagers and 4 sowars of the Indian cavalry detachment who were at the time cutting grass. The case is still under investigation at the hands of the civil and military authorities.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: May I put a supplementary question arising out of the answer to part (b) of the question? Will Government kindly state whether the proposed buildings include a slaughter house also?

Mr. E. Burdon: I am unable to answer off hand. If the Honourable Member will put the question down, I will call for the plan and examine it.

Mr. Devaki Prasad Sinha: Are we to understand that the decision to station troops permanently at Muzaffarpur was arrived at without making an inquiry as to whether these troops were wanted by those for whose safety they are proposed to be stationed there?

Mr. E. Burdon: In accordance with the established procedure in the matter the Government of India complied with the request made by the Local Government.

Mr. Devaki Prasad Sinha: Do the Government of India propose to reconsider this question after they have made inquiries in order to ascertain whether these troops are wanted by the people concerned?

Mr. E. Burdon: Not unless the Government of Bihar and Orissa make a request to the effect suggested.

Mr. Devaki Prasad Sinha: Will the Honourable Member inform this House what the utility of any inquiry would be if the decision to station troops there was arrived at finally without making any inquiry?

Mr. President: That question sounds somewhat hypothetical.

KENYA IMMIGRATION BILL.

34. ***Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao:** (a) Has the Government made any representations to His Majesty's Government on the subject of the Kenya Immigration Bill?

(b) Will the Government be pleased, with the permission of His Majesty's Government, if necessary, to publish all the correspondence on the subject?

Mr. J. A. Richey: (a) The Government of India have made strong representations on the subject of the Kenya Immigration Bill.

(b) Discussion is proceeding on this matter and whilst it is in progress the Government of India do not propose to ask leave to publish the correspondence, but the Honourable Member may rest assured that everything possible is being done.

REPORTS OF THE DEPUTATIONS TO FIJI AND BRITISH GUIANA.

35. ***Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao:** Will the Government be pleased to state the reasons for the delay in publishing the reports of the deputation to Fiji and British Guiana and to place the reports on the table?

Mr. J. A. Richey: The Government of India have decided that the question of the publication of the report of the deputation to Fiji should be postponed until the appointment of the Crown Colonies Committee has been settled. The reports of the British Guiana deputation have been published.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: May I know when this Committee is going to be appointed?

The Honourable Sir Narasimha Sarma: We hope to be able to do it at a very early date. We are already corresponding on the subject.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE INDIAN RAILWAYS COMMITTEE.

36. ***Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao:** Will the Government be pleased to state whether the recommendations of the Indian Railways' Committee

(a) for the establishment of a Rates Tribunal; and

(b) for an inquiry into the questions of inland water-way communication as affected by unfair Railway competition have been considered by the Government and whether any decision has been come to on these matters?

Will the Government be pleased to place their orders on the table?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) This question was discussed at the last meeting of the Central Advisory Council for Railways who recommended that a Rates Tribunal should be established. The matter is now being further considered.

(b) When the Rates Tribunal is established, it will form a suitable body for investigating cases such as those referred to in paragraph 155 of the Report of the Indian Railways Committee. The Government do not propose at present to institute any special inquiry into the competition of Railways with inland waterways.

RETRENCHMENTS ON INDIAN RAILWAYS.

37. ***Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao:** With reference to the statement made in the explanatory memorandum on the Railway Budget for 1923-24 that all Railway administrations have appointed Retrenchment Committees to reduce working expenses; will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the retrenchments recommended by each of the Committees and the extent to which the administrations have carried out these recommendations?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The inquiries regarding possibilities of retrenchment in working expenses have not yet been completed, and I am not therefore in a position to give the figures for which the Honourable Member asks. But Agents will be asked to report the economies effected up to the end of the current financial year and information will be supplied to Honourable Members as soon as it is available.

STATE PRISONERS.

38. ***Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao:** Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement containing the names of persons against whom action has been taken in the calendar year 1923 in the Presidency of Bengal under Bengal Regulation III of 1818 and also a similar statement of persons committed to custody in each of the other provinces under the regulations corresponding to Bengal Regulation III of 1818 during the same period?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The statement asked for by the Honourable Member is of considerable length, in so far as it comprises the persons to whom the Madras State Prisoners' Regulation applies. If the Honourable Member desires that the full list should be read out, I will ask my Honourable friend, Sir Narasimha Sarma, who should be much more acquainted with the Madras nomenclature than I am, to do so. But perhaps he will take it as sufficient if I give him a list instead of having it either read out or printed at length in the proceedings of the House. I may add that the persons against whom action was taken in Madras, are, of course, those who were concerned in the Moplah rebellion.

STATE PRISONERS.

39. ***Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao:** Will the Government be pleased to state the total number of persons under custody on the 1st January 1924 in each province under each of the Regulations and Acts mentioned in paragraph 1 of the Report of the Repressive Laws Committee?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: A statement is laid on the table which gives the desired information in regard to the regulations. Action under the Criminal Law Amendment Act is not primarily the concern of the Governor General in Council and the Government of India are unable to supply the information asked for.

Number of persons in custody on the 1st January 1924 under certain enactments.

Enactment.	Province.	Number of persons in custody.	REMARKS.
State Prisoners Regulation, III of 1818.	Bengal . . .	17	
	Punjab . . .	1	
	N.-W. F. P. . .	1	
Madras State Prisoners Regulation, II of 1819.	Madras . . .	204	Mainly persons concerned in the forcible conversion of Hindus or otherwise implicated in the Rebellion of 1921.
Bombay State Prisoners Regulation, XXV of 1827.	Bombay . . .	2	Concerned in the murder of one Navalsimji in the Rupal State of the Mahi Kantha agency.

REDUCTIONS IN THE INDIAN ARMY (BRITISH AND INDIAN).

40. ***Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao:** (a) With reference to the statement laid on the table on the 2nd July, last, by Sir Basil Blackett, will the Government be pleased to state the decision of the Secretary of State in Council in regard to the following proposals of the Indian Retrenchment Committee:

1. Reduction of peace establishment of British Infantry battalions to 884 British other ranks.
2. Reduction of peace establishment of active Indian infantry battalions (other than Gurkha Units) to 766 Indian ranks.
3. Reduction of peace establishment of active pioneer battalions to 722 Indian ranks.
4. Reduction of peace establishment of training battalions by 50 Indian ranks.
5. Reduction of three British cavalry Regiments.
6. Reduction of 10 per cent. in artillery.

(b) If a decision has been come to, will the Government be pleased to place the correspondence on the table, after obtaining, if necessary, the sanction of the authorities concerned?

Mr. E. Burdon: (a)—1. The peace establishment of British Infantry battalions in India has been reduced to 882 British Other Ranks.

2. The peace establishment of active Indian Infantry battalions, other than Gurkha units, has been reduced to 736 Indian Other Ranks.

3. The peace establishment of active Pioneer battalions, excepting the 4th Hazara Pioneers, has also been reduced to 736 Indian Other Ranks.

4. The recommendation to reduce the peace establishment of Training battalions has not been accepted.

5. It has been decided to withdraw two British Cavalry regiments from the Indian establishment. As regards the third Cavalry regiment, it has been decided that this must remain on the Indian establishment. At the same time, in connection with the acceptance of the reductions in the establishment of British troops in India, it has been arranged to make a financial adjustment between the War Office and the India Office. With the concurrence of the Treasury, the Secretaries of State for War and India have agreed that the necessary adjustment should be made by the payment to the India Office of a sum of £75,000 a year by the War Office for a period of two financial years beginning with the year 1923-24.

6. Reductions have been effected which yield the pecuniary saving recommended by the Retrenchment Committee.

(b) The Government of India do not propose to lay the correspondence on the table.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: May I ask the Honourable Member what proportion of the cost of maintenance of the regiment is represented by the £75,000? Is it the total cost of maintenance of the whole regiment or is it only a portion?

Mr. E. Burdon: The adjustment to which I have referred, is, of course, intended to be a general lump adjustment, but actually, so far as I recollect, the sum of £75,000 is somewhere about half the cost of a cavalry regiment.

IRRIGATION SCHEMES.

41. *Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table:

- (1) a statement of Irrigation Schemes sanctioned by the Government of India and under execution on the 1st December, 1923, in the various provinces;
- (2) a statement of Irrigation Schemes now pending before the Government for sanction or under correspondence with the local Governments; and
- (3) a statement of the irrigation schemes, if any, in respect of which local Governments have applied for financial assistance in 1924-25 by way of loans or otherwise?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: The statements asked for are laid on the Table.

(1)

Statement showing the Irrigation Schemes sanctioned by the Government of India and under execution on the 1st December 1923, in the various provinces.

<i>Name of Scheme.</i>	<i>Province.</i>
(1) Nira Right Bank Canal Project	Bombay.
(2) Pravara River Canal Project	Bombay.
(3) Sukkur Barrage and Canal Project	Bombay (Sind).
(4) Sarda Kichha Feeder Canal Project	United Provinces.
(5) Sarda Oudh Canal Project	United Provinces.
(6) Sutlej Valley Project	Punjab.
(7) Mahanadi Canal Project	Central Provinces.

NOTE.—Only projects costing over Rs. 50 lakhs are included in the above statement, this being the limit up to which Local Governments are now empowered to accord sanction to irrigation works.

(2)

Statement showing Irrigation Schemes now pending before the Government for sanction or under correspondence with the Local Governments.

<i>Name of Scheme.</i>	<i>Province.</i>
Canvery (Metur) Project	Madras.

(3)

Statement showing Irrigation Schemes in respect of which Local Governments have applied for financial assistance in 1924-25 by way of loans or otherwise.

Local Governments have specifically applied for financial assistance in 1924-25 in respect of the schemes numbered (3) to (6) in statement (1) above.

REORGANIZATION OF THE CENTRAL STORES DEPARTMENT.

42. *Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: (a) Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table the general scheme of reorganization relating to the Central Stores Department referred to in the communiqué of the Government of India, dated 14th May, 1923?

(b) Has the scheme been sanctioned by the Secretary of State for India in Council and has it been brought into operation?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: The general scheme for the organization of the Indian Stores Department is still under consideration. I would like, however, to take this opportunity of explaining, for the information of such of the Honourable Members of this Assembly as may be unaware of the present position, that we have advanced some way towards putting into operation the initial stages of the scheme. The department was only constituted at the beginning of 1922, when it undertook the work of purchasing textiles for the Army and for certain other departments of Government. Since then its purchases in this line have extended to three crores of rupees. The Government of India have recently sanctioned the constitution of a branch for the purchase of engineering plant and materials, which is now functioning to a daily increasing extent, the constitution of a branch for the acquirement and dissemination of information respecting actual and potential sources of supply in the country, and the development of the Inspection side of the organization, the nucleus of which previously existed in the Metallurgical Inspectorate at Jamshedpur and the Government Test House in Calcutta. A Director and an Assistant Director of Inspection have been appointed, at headquarters, and an Inspection Circle in charge of a Controller has been created at Calcutta. It is hoped to undertake a further measure of expansion in the near future; but expansion will of course depend on the provision of funds.

MILITARY DAIRY FARMS.

43. ***Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas:** (a) With reference to the Incheape Committee's Report, Part I, Military Service, paragraph 41, will Government be pleased to state if any Military Dairy Farms have been transferred from the Military to the Civil Authorities as recommended by the Incheape Committee?

(b) If the reply to the above be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state how many Military Dairy Farms have been so transferred?

(c) Will Government be pleased to put on the table a statement showing the results of the Dairy Farms when under control of Military authorities and when under control of Civil authorities?

Mr. J. A. Richey: (a) Yes.

(b) Two dairies, namely, Bangalore and Wellington, and one Young Stock Farm at Karnal.

(c) These farms were transferred to the civil authorities only with effect from the 1st July 1923 and there is not yet sufficient material available to enable a comparison to be made. A careful watch will be kept over the matter.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: What period do Government think would be sufficient for the comparison to be made?

The Honourable Sir Narasimha Sarma: We should have at least a period of one year by which time accounts will be sent in, scrutinised and audited.

COAL CONTRACTS FOR RAILWAYS.

44. ***Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas:** Will Government be pleased to:

- (1) state the date on which the late R. W. Church, Mining Engineer of the Government of India fixed up the existing contract rates for Government purchases of coal,
- (2) put on the table a copy of the letter from the said R. W. Church, to the Government of India recommending acceptance of the current rates,
- (3) state the period for which these rates hold good stating the total quantity of coal purchased by Government every year during the last three years for the following purposes:
 - (a) Railways including Company-managed Railways,
 - (b) other Government Departments,
 - (c) quantity purchased by semi-public Departments like Port Trusts, Municipalities, Improvement Trusts and Development Departments.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The answer to this question is rather long. May I read it or place it on the table?

Mr. President: In the case of long answers I must leave it to the discretion of the answering Member.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Then I will read it.

Before attempting to answer the Honourable Member's questions, I think it necessary to clear away certain misapprehensions under which he is evidently labouring. In the first place, it is necessary to explain exactly what part the late Mr. Church took in the contracts referred to. The question of the new contracts for railway coal for the year beginning from April 1922, was taken up in the autumn of 1920, when Mr. Church reviewed the whole situation in a report and submitted proposals as to the sort of contracts the Railway Board and the Railway Administrations concerned should aim at. His report was considered in detail at a meeting at which the Railway Board and the Agents of five important Company Railways concerned were present. As the result of that meeting, Mr. Church was authorised to negotiate with the coal trade on the basis of his proposals. The actual contracts were made by the Railway Board in respect of State Railways and by the Administrations concerned in respect of Company Railways. Secondly, I desire to make it quite plain that the criminal case recently instituted against the late Mr. Church related solely to certain F. O. B. contracts entered into on his advice by the Burma Railways, the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway and the Ceylon Government Railway. Mr. Church died before judgment was delivered, and it is not possible to say whether the Magistrate would have found him guilty or not. But the point I wish to make is that the Government are not in possession of any evidence to show that the advice on which the F. O. R. contracts for the remaining Railways were entered into was actuated in any way by dishonest motives. It is easy to say now that the prices were too high and that it was a mistake to place three-year contracts. But the Railway Board and Railway Administrations had to deal with the position as they saw it at the end of 1920.

I will now proceed to answer the Honourable Member's questions:

(1) I do not know when the contracts were actually signed, but Mr. Church's proposals were formally approved in November 1920.

(2) The letter in question covers several pages of print and I do not propose to place it on the table. The Honourable Member can see it any time he cares to come round to my office.

(3) The contracts are of three years beginning in April 1922, and cover a total of 5.64 million tons for the State Railways. The actual purchases by Government for State Railways during the last three years were as follows:—

1920-21, 1.51 million tons.

1921-22, 1.63 million tons.

1922-23, 1.67 million tons.

I have already made it clear that Government do not make purchases of coal for the Company managed railways. Information regarding the purchases made by them is being obtained but may be put approximately at between 3 and 4 million tons per annum. But it is believed that the contracts entered into by Company Railways on Mr. Church's advice covered only some 1,600,000 tons of coal. I have no figures relating to purchases by other Government Departments and semi-public Departments referred to by the Honourable Member.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: In regard to the reply to part (2) of my question, do I take it that the Honourable Member will be prepared to show a copy of the letter from Mr. Church to any other Honourable Member of the House beside myself?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Certainly, Sir.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Regarding (3) (b), cannot Government get from the Chief Mining Engineer, figures of the quantity of coal bought by semi-public departments on his recommendation or through him?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Government can surely get them but the contracts entered into by these other departments are so small that it was not thought worth while to get the information. They are small compared with the contracts entered into by Government and company managed railways.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Would it be too much trouble to get the accurate figures if the matter interests Members of the House?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I can certainly, but I may say that their value for the Honourable Member's purpose would be very small.

EVIDENCE IN THE CASE AGAINST THE LATE MR. CHURCH.

45. ***Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas:** (a) With reference to the prosecution of R. W. Church in connection with coal purchases by the Government of India, will Government be pleased to state what steps they propose to take now in connection with many of the revelations made at the said prosecution?

(b) Will Government be further pleased to state if they are prepared to make available to the Members of the Assembly a complete report of the evidence both written and oral, and other proofs, produced at the time of Church's prosecution at Calcutta?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) The Government are now considering in consultation with their legal advisers what further action should be taken in connection with the evidence adduced in the criminal case against Mr. Church.

(b) The answer is in the negative.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Do I understand from the Honourable Member that the reply to part (b) is in the negative?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Yes, Sir.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: The case is finished and not *sub judice*. Is there any reason why the evidence should be withheld from Members of the House?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The certified copies represent a big pile and I am not prepared to lay them on the table or go to the expense of printing them.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Will it be open for inspection or perusal by any Honourable Member of this House?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Certainly.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I take it that a copy will be put in the Library.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: It will be available in my office.

FUTURE CONTROL OF THE INDO-EUROPEAN TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT.

46. ***Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas:** (a) With reference to the recommendations of the Inchcape Committee under the heading Indo-European Telegraph Department, will Government be pleased to state if they propose to take any action in connection with conclusion 4 of the said Committee's Report, and if so, whether they are negotiating for the disposal of the Government lines to a commercial concern as recommended by that Committee with the exception of Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas?

(b) Has the attention of Government been drawn to paragraph 7 of Sir Purshotamdas's Note of Dissent in the Inchcape Committee's Report regarding the Indo-European Telegraph Department?

(c) If the reply to (a) above be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state if they are prepared to appoint a Committee of the Legislature in India to enquire into, and report to the Legislature, the necessity and desirability of selling or leasing the Government lines of the Indo-European Telegraph Department to a private Company?

(d) Has the attention of Government been drawn to paragraph 5 of the Note of Dissent by Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas in the Report of the Inchcape Committee on the Indo-European Telegraph Department, and will Government be pleased to state if they are prepared to have an inquiry

made into the question of liabilities incurred by the Government of India in connection with the Meshed Seistan line and the Wireless Stations in Persia?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: (a) The question of the control and future management of the Indo-European Telegraph Department is under the consideration of the Government of India who are in correspondence with His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

(b) Yes.

(c) Until the question of the future control of the Department is further advanced than at present I am unable to say what action Government will be prepared to take on the lines suggested by the Honourable Member.

(d) Government have seen the paragraph referred to. This expenditure is at present under consideration.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: May I take from the reply that, when Government make up their mind regarding the question of control, they will let the House know?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: In due course, Government will certainly inform the House when the matter has been finally decided.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Which matter has the Honourable Member in mind? The matter of selling or leasing or of control? I am referring to the matter of control.

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: The matter of control, Sir.

REDUCTIONS IN THE ECCLESIASTICAL DEPARTMENT.

47. ***Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas:** (a) With reference to the recommendations of the Inchcape Committee under the heading Ecclesiastical Expenditure and the Supplementary Note by Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, will Government be pleased to state what reductions in establishment they have been able to effect in this Department since 1st April, 1923?

(b) Will Government also be pleased to state what action they have taken towards reducing substantially the present strength of the Ecclesiastical Department on the lines suggested by Sir Purshotamdas in his Supplementary Note in connection with this Department?

Mr. J. A. Richey: (a) and (b). It has been decided to reduce the present strength of the Indian Ecclesiastical Establishment of the Church of England by 28 posts from 166 to 138, ordinarily as vacancies occur, and to substitute grants-in-aid for the posts reduced. The total ultimate saving to be secured is estimated at Rs. 4,30,000 a year, the bulk of which will, it is hoped, be realised by the end of 1925-26. The whole position will be reviewed at the end of seven years. Up-to-date a net reduction of 12 out of the 28 posts to be reduced has been made in the Establishment.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE REGARDING CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE.

48. ***Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas:** Will Government be pleased to publish all correspondence on the subject of Currency and Exchange and

particularly of Reverse Bills between the Government of India and the Secretary of State since 1st January 1920 (or since the publication of the Babington Smith Committee's Report)?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The Government do not propose to publish the correspondence.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Do I understand that Government still think that that correspondence ought to be kept confidential?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: If the Honourable Member will consider my last answer he will draw his own conclusions.

SALE OF GOLD FROM THE CURRENCY DEPARTMENT.

49. ***Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas:** (a) Will Government be pleased to publish all correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Government of India on the subject of the sale of £2 millions of gold from the Currency Department?

(b) Was any opinion invited or received from the Bank of England authorities? If so, will Government be pleased to publish the same?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The Government do not propose to publish the correspondence.

So far as the Government are aware, no opinion was invited or received from the Bank of England.

Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas: Is it a fact that to every question regarding the publication of correspondence a negative answer is given by the Government?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: No, Sir.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Will the Honourable the Finance Member give the reasons for not publishing the correspondence?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The Government do not think it advisable.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: In the public interest or because those who are in charge of affairs for the moment do not think it advisable?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: In the interests of the public.

POPULATION, INCOME AND EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE OF BRITISH INDIA.

50. ***Makhdum Syed Rajan Bakhsh Shah:** Will the Government be pleased to state:

(a) What is the total population of British India and how many of them are educated persons?

(b) What was the total annual income of the country during the years 1922 and 1923, and what was the proportion of expenditure on education over the total income?

Mr. J. A. Richey: (a) and (b). A statement giving the information is laid on the table.

Statement showing the information regarding the total population, income and educational expenditure of British India.

Year.	Population.	Educated (i.e., literate) persons.	Annual income.	Expenditure on education.	Percentage of expenditure on education to total income.
1922-23	2,47,003,293	18,654,604	Rs. 2,05,31,42,490* (Revised estimate).	Rs. 9,27,01,500* (Revised estimate)	4.5
1923-24			2,23,02,19,400* (Budget estimate).	10,02,25,424* (Budget estimate).	4.5

* Actuals for 1922-23 and the revised estimate for 1923-24 are not yet available.

INCONVENIENCES CAUSED TO INDIAN PILGRIMS DURING THE RECENT HAJ PILGRIMAGE.

51. ***Makhdum Syed Rajan Bakhsh Shah:** Is the Government aware of the inconveniences and troubles caused to the Indian pilgrims at the time of the recent Haj pilgrimage? If so, whether the British Government has drawn the attention of Sharif Macca to them and whether any preventive measures have been suggested to Sharif Macca for check of such mismanagement in future?

Mr. E. B. Howell: The answer to all three parts of the question is "yes".

APPLICATIONS FROM LOCAL GOVERNMENTS UNDER RULE 27 OF THE DEVOLUTION RULES.

52. ***Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao:** Will the Government be pleased to place on the table a statement showing the number, the nature and the particulars of the applications received by the Governor General in Council from January 1921 to 1st January 1924 from the Local Governments under rule 27 of the devolution rules and schedule III thereto and also state the orders passed by the Secretary of State for India in Council and the Governor General in Council on each of such applications?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The information is being collected.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: May I ask when the Honourable Member proposes to place it on the table?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I shall be glad to answer that if the question is put-down again.

RETRENCHMENTS IN THE MILITARY SERVICES.

53. ***Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao:** With reference to the statement placed on the table by the Honourable Sir Basil Blackett on the 2nd July last will the Government be pleased to place on the table a further statement showing what action has been taken after that date on the recommendations of the Indian Retrenchment Committee regarding the Military services?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I lay on the table a revised statement which I should have laid on the table in answer to a previous question giving the retrenchment in actual expenditure in connection with the Incheape Committee's recommendation and otherwise up-to-date.

1.—Statement showing the action taken on the recommendations of the Indian Retrenchment Committee regarding the Military Services.

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction effected for 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
1	48—Army	9	4	Reduction of peace establishment of British infantry battalions to 884 British Other Ranks.	Rs. 144 lakhs less the necessary lag	A reduction to 882 per battalion has been agreed to and orders issued, resulting in an annual saving in expenditure of 16 lakhs. The reduction is being effected this trooping season.	Rs. 50 lakhs.	Closed.
2	"	10	5	Reduction of peace establishment of active Indian infantry battalions (other than Gurkha units) to 766 Indian ranks.	} (Rs. 42 less 25 or) 17 lakhs, less lag.	An alternative scheme involving a reduction of 5632 Indian ranks has been agreed to, as against 6,643 recommended by the Committee, and orders issued. The annual saving will amount to Rs. 9½ lakhs.	Rs. 5 lakhs.	Closed.
3	"	10	5	Reduction of peace establishment of training battalions by 50 Indian ranks.				
4	"	10	5	Reduction of peace establishment of active pioneer battalions to 722 Indian ranks.				
4A	"	10	5	Increase in reservists.				
5	"	10	5	Alteration of terms of service of Indian soldiers, as to include colour and reserve service.	Nil	The recommendation has been given effect to except in the case of Gurkhas and 1st-4th Muzra Pioneers. Orders promulgating the new terms of service have been issued.	Nil	Closed.
6	"	11	6	Reduction of 3 British cavalry regiments.	Rs. 74 lakhs less the necessary lag.	The reduction of two regiments only has been sanctioned. The annual saving in expenditure will amount to about Rs. 50 lakhs.	Rs. 15 lakhs.	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction effected for 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
7	48—Army	11	7	Reduction of 10 per cent. in artillery	Rs. 43 lakhs less the necessary lag.	Proposals involving a reduction of 23 British officers, 993 British other ranks, 835 Indian other ranks, 555 followers and 1,379 horses in Royal Horse and Field Artillery units have been sanctioned and orders issued. The annual saving in expenditure will amount to about Rs. 43 lakhs.	Rs. 15 lakhs.	Closed.
8	"	12	12	Reduction of officers employed at Army Headquarters to full extent recommended by Innes Committee, Rs. 4 lakhs being effected in 1924-24.	Rs. 4 lakhs less the necessary lag.	These two recommendations have been dealt with together. Orders of Government giving effect to a reduction of Rs. 6 lakhs per annum have already issued. These reductions will take effect from various dates during the current year and the full saving will not therefore be realised this financial year.	Rs. 6 lakhs.	Closed.
9	"	12	13	Reduction of clerical establishment of Army Headquarters by Rs. 2 lakhs.	Rs. 2 lakhs less the necessary lag.	With reference to the recommendations of the Innes Committee, it has been decided that 4 additional appointments at Army Headquarters should be reduced in 1924-25, and 5 others in 1-25-26.		
10	"	13	13	The necessity for retention of 4 Commands to be again reviewed after 12 months (i.e., February 1924), and in meantime no expenditure to be incurred on new offices for the Commands.	Nil.	The matter has been reviewed, and it has been decided to retain 4 commands.	Nil.	Closed.

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction effected for 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
11	48--Army	13	16	The provision for Command district and brigade staffs to be reduced by Rs. 4 lakhs for 1923-24 in addition to savings under transport and forage charges.	Rs. 4 lakhs less the necessary lag.	These two recommendations have been dealt with together. Orders of Government giving effect to a reduction of Rs. 738 lakhs per annum have been issued.	Rs. 6 lakhs.	Closed.
12	"	14	17	All work in connection with movement of troops to be decentralised to Commands and districts and total provision for embarkation and railway transport staff be limited to Rs. 3,00,000.	Rs. 3,443 lakhs.]			
13	"	15	19	Tenders should be obtained for the construction of the Hindu-Bagh Fort Sandeman Railway, and if the cost approximate to Rs. 35 lakhs, work should be put in hand forthwith.	Nd.	The matter is under consideration.	Nd.	
14	"	15	20	All the 1,792 obsolete Mechanical Transport vehicles should be sold or scrapped forthwith except vehicles of standard types which should be dismantled and their parts placed in stock as spares.	Nd.	582 vehicles have been sold. Arrangements have been made for the sale of the remainder.	Rs. 18 lakhs.	Closed.
15	"	15	20	While present financial conditions obtain, the authorised establishment of motor vehicles including reserves should not exceed 1,600 vehicles exclusive of motor cycles.	The proposed reduction is included in items 18 and 21.	After careful consideration, it has been decided to maintain in possession an establishment of about 1,900 motor vehicles including reserves but exclusive of motor cycles. The increase over the Incheape Committee's figure is mostly due to two measures which will tend to reduce recurring expenditure, viz., the adoption to a larger extent of	The reduction in expenditure is included in items 18 and 21.	Closed.

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction effected for 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
15	48—Army—contd.				Rs.	the 1½-ton lorry in place of the 2½ ton lorry, and the adoption of the system of separate ambulances for peace hospitals recommended by the Braithwaite Committee.	Rs.	
16	"	16	21	Establishment of motor cars in use to be limited to 150 and their mileage to be restricted to 9,000 miles per annum.	1 lakh	Orders of Government regarding the reduction in the establishment of motor cars, and the restriction of mileage of motor cars have been issued.	1 lakh.	Closed.
17	"	16	22	The possibility of increasing the mileage of Ford Cars per gallon of petrol to be explored (present mileage being 14 miles per gallon.)	Nil.	Necessary action has been taken.	Nil.	Closed.
18	"	16	22	All lorries and miscellaneous vehicles to be limited to 1,000 miles running per annum, petrol and other supplies being rationed to ensure the mileage limitation being enforced.	Rs. 48 lakhs.	Orders of Government regarding the limitation of mileage and the rationing of petrol and lubricants have been issued. The annual saving in expenditure will amount to Rs. 48 lakhs. The full savings will not accrue this financial year as, owing to the bad state of repair of vehicles, it was necessary to provide Rs. 15½ lakhs for special repairs.	Rs. 32½ lakhs.	Closed.
19	"	16	22	Number of ambulances in use to be limited to 200.	Nil.	The existing peace establishment of motor ambulances is 230. The extra 30 are maintained temporarily for service on the Frontier and the charge on account of them are met from the special Waziristan grant. No further action is necessary regarding this recommendation.		Closed.

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction effected for 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
20	48—Army	16	22	Total establishment of motor cycles to be fixed at not more than 350, and all obsolete cycles to be sold or scrapped forthwith.	Rs. The proposed reduction is included in item 18. No reductions were proposed on account of sales.	Orders have been issued giving effect to this recommendation. 92 motor cycles have been sold up to the end of December 1923.	The reduction in expenditure is included in item 18. The reduction effected on account of sales is Rs. 2 lakhs.	Closed.
21	"	16	23	The adoption of the recommendations, regarding personnel, of the Frithwaite Committee, with the exception of that relating to the increase of the establishment of the Mechanical Transport training school.	Rs. 20 lakhs less the necessary lag.	Necessary action has been taken to reduce the total establishment of Mechanical Transport so as to secure a saving of Rs. 21 lakhs a year. This includes Rs. 1 lakh recommended by the committee against item 25.	Rs. 15 lakhs.	Closed.
22	"	16	23	Total annual expenditure on Animal and Mechanical Transport should be reduced by Rs. 55 lakhs, viz:— Reductions of Personnel in Mechanical Transport units and formations (para. 23) . 20 Reductions of drivers of motor cars due to reduction of numbers of cars in use (para. 21) . 1 Reduction in running expenses of motor lorries and other vehicles (para. 22) . 48 69 Deduct annual replacements . 14 Net saving . 55	Shown against items 16, 18, 21 and 60.	See remarks against items 16, 18, 21 and 60. This item is merely a summary of the reductions under the head Mechanical Transport. The reduction of 55 lakhs in annual expenditure has been secured.	Shown against items 16, 18, 21 and 60.	Closed.

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed in budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction effected for 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
22	48—Army —contd.			There will be an additional saving under the stock account of Rs. 15 lakhs.	Rs.		Rs.	
23	"	16	24	Owing to an over-estimate in 1922-23 on account of Sea Transport charges, there will be a saving of Rs. 46.05 lakhs in 1923-24.	Rs. 46.05 lakhs.	The reduction has been allowed for in the budget for 1923-24.	Rs. 46.05 lakhs.	Closed.
24	"	17	25	Provision for Railway charges under all head for 1923-24 to be reduced to Rs. 1,85,00,000.	Rs. 14.75 lakhs.	The reduction has been allowed for in the budget for 1923-24.	Rs. 14.75 lakhs.	Closed.
25	"	18	26	(a) Provision for educational and instructional establishments for 1923-24 to be reduced by Rs. 7,42,450.	Rs. 7.42 lakhs less the necessary lag.	Proposals giving effect to the recommendation have been accepted and orders issued. Excluding the Mechanical Transport school, allowed for in item 21, the annual saving in expenditure will amount to Rs. 6.42 lakhs.	Rs. 6.16 lakhs.	Closed.
				(b) Grant for practice ammunition will have to be increased by Rs. 23 lakhs.	Nil.	The increased provision has been allowed for in the budget for 1923-24.	Nil.	Closed.
26	"	20	27	The provision for Army Education to be reduced to Rs. 33,00,000 for 1923-24 and to be fixed at this figure for the next 5 years, exclusive of any additional expenditure on the Dehra Dun and King George's Military Schools. A proportionate further reduction should be made if proposals regarding reduction of fighting troops are accepted.	Rs. 4,16,550 less the necessary lag.	As regards the first part of the recommendation, a scheme of reorganisation has been introduced, subject to the Secretary of State's sanction, whose cost is within the permissible limit. As regards the second part of the recommendation, a further retrenchment of Rs. 74,000 has been made in the expenditure chargeable to Army Education consequent on the reduction in the strength of fighting troops.	Rs. 3,52,000	Closed.

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction effected for 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
27	48—Army	20	28	An enquiry to be made with a view to closing down hospitals where their retention is not justified and to substantially reducing the number of beds in the hospitals retained.	Rs. Nil.	Administrative orders have issued sanctioning a reduction in the number of beds in British and Indian Station hospitals. Proposals regarding reduction in personnel consequent on this are under consideration.	Rs. Nil.	
28	"	20	28	A reduction of Rs. 5 lakhs to be made in the cost of the present establishments employed in hospitals in addition to the savings which should automatically result from reductions in Army personnel.	Rs. 5 lakhs less the necessary leg.	Proposals for reduction in establishments have been worked out and are now before Government for sanction. Broadly speaking, they involve a reduction of 15 officers, Indian Medical Service, 60 assistant Surgeons and 90 S b Assistant Surgeons. Reductions are being made in anticipation of orders of Government.	Rs. 4 lakhs.	
29	"	21	23	A reduction of Rs. 31 lakhs to be made under the head of "provisions and diets."	Rs. 31 lakhs.	The reduction has been given effect to in the Budget for 1923-24.	Rs. 31 lakhs.	Closed.
30	"	21	23	A reduction of Rs. 16 lakhs to be made under the head of "clothing for patients."	Rs. 16 lakhs.	The reduction has been given effect to in the budget for 1923-24.	Rs. 16 lakhs.	Closed.
31	"	21	23	A reduction of Rs. 1 lakh to be made under the head of "cost of drugs."	Rs. 1 lakh.	The reduction has been given effect to in the budget for 1923-24.	Rs. 1 lakh.	Closed.
				Total reduction under head of "working expenses of hospitals."	Rs. 53 lakhs.	This is merely the total of the foregoing items under the heading of "Medical Services and Hospitals."	Rs. 52 lakhs.	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction effected for 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page	Para.					
32	48—Army	22	30	The provision for Arsenals and Ordnance depots for 1923-24 to be limited to the amount provided for 1922-23, and possibility of effecting economy by temporarily utilizing military labour for clearing up arrears of work to be explored.	Rs. Nil.	<p>With the exception of charges for railway freight and losses on sale of surplus stores which have gone up since last year the provision for Arsenals in the Budget for 1923-24 has been limited to the same figure as for 1922-23.</p> <p>The aggregate provision under all heads on account of rail charges for the Army has been restricted in accordance with the recommendation shown against Serial No. 24; but the share of the aggregate provision specifically made available for arsenals and ordnance depots is greater in 1923-24 than in 1922-23, the budget grant for the latter year having proved too low. The provision included in the estimates for 1923-24, on account of loss on sale of surplus stores represents a loss measurable from heavy sales of surplus stores that will be necessary in order to give effect to the recommendation shown against Serial No. 59 (c).</p> <p>No further action is necessary as regards this portion of the recommendation.</p> <p>The question of temporarily utilizing military labour for clearing up arrears of work has been explored. It is stated, that all work of a nature that troops could carry out, has probably been concluded.</p>	Rs. Nil.	Closed.

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1923-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction effected for 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
33	48—Army	22	31	Steps to be taken to close down at an early date 2 out of the 4 clothing and boot depôts.	Rs. Nil.	The Committee appears to have been under a misapprehension when they made this recommendation. There were 5 boot and clothing depôts of which it was intended to close 2. One of these has been closed, and the closing of the other depends on the building of increased storage elsewhere. The administrative authorities hold that it is impossible to carry on with less than 3 depôts, viz., Quetta and Rawalpindi for clothing and the Central Boot Depôt alongside the manufacturers.	Rs. Nil.	Closed.
34	"	22	31	Withdrawal from unit charge of mobilization reserves of winter clothing and their concentration in depôts.	Nil.	This is being done gradually. A good deal of the clothing returned to date on being examined in the clothing depôts has been found to be unserviceable, and is being sold by public auction.	Nil.	Closed.
35	"	22	31	Budget provision for 1923-24 for Clothing and Boot Depôts to be reduced to Rs. 4,50,000.	Rs. 24,050 less necessary lag.	The budget provision for the Clothing and Boot Depôts for 1923-24 is Rs. 23,22,740. The excess over Rs. 4,50,000 recommended by the Incheape Committee is made up of (1) personnel including labour and connected charges 22,840; (2) Rail charges 1,18,900; (3) loss on sale of surplus stores 17,25,000 (4) total 18,72,740. As regards the increase at item (1) proposals are under consideration to effect a reduction of those charges. The remark given above against Serial No. 33 in regard to rail charges and losses apply to items (2) and (3), regarding which no action is required.	Nil.	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction effected for 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
36	46 - Army	24	33	A saving of Rs. 41 lakhs to be effected in the cost of the supply services in 1923-24. The whole position to be again reviewed in 12 months' time with a view to a further reduction being effected.	Rs. 41 lakhs less the necessary lag.	Action has been taken to secure the saving.	Rs. 35.7 lakhs.	Closed.
37	"	24	34	Cost of Medical Stores Depôts to be reduced to Rs. 5 lakhs in 1923-24 Budget.	Rs. 94 lakhs less the necessary lag.	Action has been taken which will effect a saving of Rs. 54,628 during the current financial year. It is doubtful whether any further reduction in establishments is possible, but the matter will be re-examined in 1924-25. It may be mentioned that the grant for net expenditure of Medical stores depôts in 1923-24 was fixed at Rs. 1.68 lakhs against Rs. 5.94 lakhs in 1922-23.	Rs. 54 lakhs.	
38	"	24	35	Reduction in Veterinary services recommended by the Braithwaite Committee to be put into effect for 1923-24 Budget.	Rs. 3.92 lakhs.	Orders of Government giving effect to this recommendation have been issued.	Rs. 3.92 lakhs.	Closed.
39	"	25	36	A reduction of Rs. 20 lakhs to be made in the Budget for Remount depôts and breeding operations.	Rs. 20 lakhs less the necessary lag.	Orders have issued giving effect to measures of economy which will give a saving of Rs. 18.16 lakhs. Further economies to give full effect to the recommendation are under discussion.	Rs. 18 lakhs.	
40	"	25	39	Accounts on a commercial basis to be instituted for all manufacturing establishments (vide Appendix E.) of Report with debit for interest on Capital and depreciation.	Nil.	Accounts on a commercial basis have been introduced for most of the principal manufacturing establishments on the Army side.	Nil.	
41	"	26	43	The proportion of British personnel in Army clothing factories and depôts to be reduced to 13 per cent. of the total staff.	Nil.	Orders have issued fixing the establishment of the I. A. O. C. for 1923-24; the proportion of British personnel to the total personnel authorised for clothing factories and depôts is 68 to	Nil.	Closed.

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction effected for 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
42	46-Army	27	44	In view of the large reductions recommended in the use of the Mechanical Transport, only a small repairing shop should be retained at Chaklala, and the possibility of utilising the balance of the available accommodation to be explored.	Rs. Nil.	373, i.e., less than the 12 per cent. recommended by the Incheops Committee. The matter is under consideration.	Rs. Nil.	
43	"	27	44	Endeavours to be made to come to a favourable arrangement with the commercial concerns supplying the standard types of vehicles adopted by the Army to undertake complete overhauls in India of their own vehicles	Nil.	The matter is under consideration.	Nil.	
44	"	28	46	Consequent on the reduction in numbers of British troops in India of the Roman Catholic persuasion, the numbers of Roman Catholic Chaplains to be reduced to the essential minimum and all other Roman Catholic clergymen ministering to troops to be placed on a capitulation basis.	Rs. 1.5 lakhs, less the necessary lag.	The proposal is under discussion with the Secretary of State.	Nil.	
45	"	28	46	An early decision to be come to on the proposal to form an Army Chaplains Department for Church of England Chaplains; and, if proceeded with, no additional expenditure to be involved.	Nil.	Action on the formation of an Army Chaplains Department is temporarily in abeyance.	Nil.	Closed.
46	"	28	47	A reduction of Rs. 50,000 due to fall in prices, to be made in grant for Administration of Cantonments.	Rs. 5 lakhs.	The reduction has been allowed for in the Budget for 1923-24.	Rs. 5 lakhs.	Closed.

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1923-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction effected for 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page	Para.					
47	48—Army	29	46	A reduction of Rs. 20,000 to be made under the head of Recruiting Staff.	Rs. 2 lakh.	Orders have issued which will effect the saving required.	Rs. 2 lakh.	Closed.
48	"	29	50	An early settlement to be arrived at on the basis of the future capitation rate for British soldiers serving in India. Meantime the provisional rate having been reduced to £25 there will be an automatic saving of £44,000.	6.6 lakhs.			
49	"	30	51	Budget provision in 1923-23 for furlough allowances for officers of the Indian service was too high by £346,000. This will automatically produce a saving in 1923-24.	51.9 lakhs.			
50	"	30	52	The payment to War Office of £93,000 in 1922-23 on account of clothing and equipment brought to India by British troops should disappear in 1923-24 consequent on the reductions proposed in British troops.	13.95 lakhs.	The reductions have been allowed for in the Budget for 1923-24.	13.95 lakhs.	Closed.
51	"	30	53	The non-recurrence of the item of exchange concession in respect of Mesopotamia will produce an automatic saving of £250,000.	37.5 lakhs.			
52	"	30	53	The non-recurrence in the stock account of arrear payments of £10,000 and £80,000 on account of ordnance and mechanical transport equipment indented for in previous years will produce an automatic saving of Rs. 73.5 lakhs.	73.5 lakhs.			

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction effected for 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.),
		Page.	Para.					
53	47—Army	31	59	Stocks to be eaten up to the extent of Rs. 35 lakhs. Credit to be taken for Rs. 35 lakhs on account of fall in prices as compared with 1922-23. Debit of Rs. 10 lakhs to be taken on account of anticipated losses and writes off.	Rs. 35 lakhs initial Rs. 25 lakhs recurring.	The reduction has been allowed for in the Budget for 1923-24, and necessary action has been taken to secure it.	Rs. 60 lakhs.	Closed.
54	"	32	60	Messing allowance of the British soldier to be reduced to 3½ annas per diem.	37 lakhs less the necessary lag.	Orders of Government have issued giving effect to this recommendation from 1st July 1923.	27.75 lakhs.	Closed.
55	"	32	61	Stocks to be eaten down to the extent of Rs. 10 lakhs. Credit to be taken for Rs. 50 lakhs on account of fall in prices and reduction of ration scales. Debit of Rs. 5 lakhs to be taken on account of anticipated losses and writes off.	10 lakhs initial, Rs. 45 recurring.	The reduction has been allowed for in the Budget for 1923-24, and necessary action has been taken to secure it.	55 lakhs.	Closed.
56	"	32	63	Stocks of petrol and lubricants to be reduced by Rs. 5 lakhs.	5 lakhs initial.	The reduction has been allowed for in the Budget for 1923-24, and necessary action has been taken to secure it.	5 lakhs.	Closed.
57	"	33	64	The stocks of medicines and surgical instruments are to be reduced to the level authorised by the orders issued on this subject in September 1921 and the estimated figures of Rs. 35.15 lakhs for new purchases in 1923-24 to be curtailed by Rs. 10 lakhs. A complete review to be made of all articles held, and, apart from the mobilization reserve of Rs. 4 lakhs, any stocks in excess of 18	10 lakhs.	The survey of stocks with the exception of Medical and Veterinary Field Equipment has been completed, and steps have been taken to dispose of surpluses. A reduction of Rs. 7 lakhs only was allowed for in the budget for 1923-24, but it is now anticipated that the full reduction of Rs. 10 lakhs will be effected.	7 lakhs.	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction effected for 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
57	48—Army —contd.			months' supply of articles not in common use or liable to deterioration to be sold.	Rs.		Rs.	
58	"	35	65	Possibility of authorised periods of wear of clothing being increased by 25 per cent. and other economies in clothing and kit allowances to be further reviewed.	Rs. 23 lakhs recurring.	Orders of Government increasing the authorised periods of wear of clothing have been issued, and the annual saving of Rs. 23 lakhs has been secured.	23 lakhs.	Closed.
58-A.		35	65	Reduction of Rs. 30 lakhs to be effected in existing stocks of clothing.	30 lakhs initial.			
59	"	33	66	(a) A reduction of 50 per cent. in the war reserve could be effected. (b) The total stock of stores should be reduced to Rs. 8 crores. Expenditure on purchase 1923-24 to be restricted to Rs. 130 lakhs after allowing for Rs. 10 lakhs fall in prices. A reduction of Rs. 1,00,42,000. Any balance required for consumption to be obtained by reduction of stocks or from the proceeds of sales of surplus stores.	... 100.42 lakhs initial.	Credit was taken in the Budget for 1922-23 for a reduction of Rs. 130 lakhs in the stocks of clothing and Ordnance stores, and steps have been taken to secure this reduction. It is anticipated that the actual reduction will be larger. The residual surplus of ordnance stores is not consumable and there is no market for it.		

Serial No.	Head.	Refer- ence to report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction effected for 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.		Rs.		Rs.	
60	48-Army	34	67	<p>The provision for additions by purchase to be reduced by Rs. 21 lakhs, viz.—</p> <p>By consumption of existing stocks of tyres and spare parts 15 lakhs.</p> <p>Omission of budget provision for purchase of new vehicles as shown in 1922-23 Budget (but see paragraph 23 of Report). 6 lakhs.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Total 21 lakhs.</p>	21 lakhs.	<p>The reduction of Rs. 6 lakhs for the purchase of new vehicles has been allowed for in the budget for 1923-24.</p> <p>A credit of Rs. 5 lakhs on account of consumption of existing stocks has also been allowed for in the Budget. Steps have been taken to sell all stocks which are not required for consumption, being of patterns which have become obsolete, but it has been difficult to obtain a ready market for them and the sales are progressing slowly.</p>	11 lakhs.	
61	"	34	68	<p>No purchase of camels being necessary in 1923-24 there will be a saving of Rs. 3.33 lakhs. If reduction in strength of fighting troops is accepted it should be possible to reduce purchase of animals by Rs. 10 lakhs by making equivalent reduction in number of animals in remount Depot.</p>	10 lakhs.	<p>A reduction of Rs. 5 lakhs for the purchase of animals has been allowed for in the Budget for 1923-24. A further saving of Rs. 15 lakhs is likely to be realised in 1923-24.</p>	20 lakhs.	Cl. med.
62	"	34	69	<p>Net saving under recommendations contained in paragraphs 58 to 67 inclusive when compared to the 1922-23 estimate is only Rs. 168.43 lakhs since the 1922-23 estimate assumed savings of Rs. 162.29 lakhs due to reductions of stocks.</p>	Shewn against items 53 to 61 inclusive.	<p>This item merely summarises the savings recommended under the head "Stock Account".</p>	Shewn against items 53 to 61.	Closed.

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1923-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction effected for 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
63	48-Army	34	70	The provision for Waziristan occupation for 1923-24 being limited to Rs. 19.5 lakhs will produce an automatic reduction of Rs. 153.5 lakhs under this head.	Rs. 153.5 lakhs less the necessary lag.	A change in the Waziristan policy since the Committee reported has largely reduced this saving in 1923-24, though the bulk of it will probably be realised in succeeding years.	Rs. 36.5 lakhs.	Closed.
64	"	34	70	Recommended that the garrison at Aden be reduced to its pre-war strength representing a saving of Rs. 10 lakhs on the 1922-23 Budget.	10 lakhs less the necessary lag.	The proposal is under discussion with the Secretary of State. A reduction of Rs. 3 lakhs has been allowed for in the budget for 1923-24.	3 lakhs.	
65	"	34	70	War arrears adjustments in connection with the Great War and the Afghan War having been completed, the sum of Rs. 3.4 lakhs allowed under these heads in the 1922-23 Budget will not recur.	3.4 lakhs.	The reduction has been allowed for in budget for 1923-24.	3.4 lakhs.	Closed.
66	"	35	71	(a) Where stores are issued by the Army to other departments, a debit should be raised against the department concerned. (b) The Grant for net miscellaneous expenditure to be reduced to Rs. 20 lakhs.	Nvl.	(a) Orders of Government have issued giving effect to the recommendations. (b) The net expenditure recommended has been allowed for in the budget for 1923-24.	Nvl. ...	Closed. Closed.
67	"	35	72	No provision for unallotted reserve to be made in future budgets. Rs. 30 lakhs is being allotted for the completion of equipment in 1923-24. As approximately half of the "new measures" for 1922-23 are recurring charges and will be shown under appropriate heads, the net saving for "new measures" amounts to Rs. 3 lakhs.	3 lakhs.	The reduction has been allowed for in the budget for 1923-24.	3 lakhs.	Closed.

Serial No.	Head.	Refer- ence to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1923-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction effected for 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
63	48—Army	35	73	Recommended that the pre-war arrangement be reverted to under which a settlement of pension was arrived at for each individual on retirement on the basis of his expectation of life.	Rs. Nil	Necessary action is being taken by the India Office.	Rs. Nil.	Closed.
69	"	35	74	The share of India or the allowances and gratuities payable to demobilised officers during 1923-24 will amount to £45,000 an increase of £65,000 or Rs. 9.75 lakhs over 1922-23.	Nil.	The increased provision has been allowed for in the budget for 1923-24.	Nil.	Closed.
70	"	36	75	Recommended that the Budget for 1923-4 for the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces be fixed at Rs. 108 lakhs, the main saving being in Territorial Forces charges.	1086 lakhs.	The reduction has been allowed for in the Budget estimate for 1923-24.	1086	Closed.
71	50—Military Works.	58	3	That reappropriation of funds for Military Works be prohibited except for works included in the sanctioned programme when the reappropriation should be subject to the surrender of savings being justified by the financial situation.	Nil	The recommendation is under consideration.	Nil.	
72	"	54	4	That the whole arrangement for accommodating both British and Indian troops should be reviewed and that it should be considered whether it would be possible in some cases to accommodate the troops in existing barracks, and in other cases whether the old	Nil	The recommendation is under consideration.	Nil.	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1923-24.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction effected for 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
72	50—Military Works—contd.			system of hutting grants should not be reverted to until the future distribution of the army and the strength of units have been definitely decided.	Rs.		Rs.	
73	"	54	5	That the whole programme of Military Works requirements be examined and curtailed on the basis that the total provision for new works and works in progress, apart from the requirements of the Royal Air Force and any special measures rendered necessary by the military situation should be reduced by Rs. 20 lakhs.	20 lakhs.	The reduction has been allowed for in the budget for 1923-24.	20 lakhs.	Closed.
74	"	54	6	That in the present financial conditions no major work should be embarked on without examination at headquarters and that the annual provision should be reduced to 16 lakhs.	6.7 lakhs.	The recommendation regarding the major works is under consideration along with that in Serial No. 71. The specific recommendation about the reduction of Rs. 6.7 lakhs has been allowed for in the Budget for 1923-24.	6.7 lakhs.	
75	"	54	7	That the reserve for buildings and works costing up to Rs. 10,000 be limited to 16 lakhs.	5 lakhs.	The reduction has been allowed for in the budget for 1923-24.	5 lakhs.	Closed.
76	XXXVIII—Military Works.	55	9	That the possibility be explored of effecting economies in new construction by utilisation of vacant buildings for military purposes and that steps be taken to dispose of all buildings which cannot be so utilised.	Nil.	The recommendation is under further consideration although the policy recommended is already in force.	Nil.	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction effected (for 1923-24).	Remarks (whether action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
77	50—Military Works.	53	9	That the provision for repairs to buildings in 1923-24 be limited to 55 lakhs.	Rs. 9.47 lakhs.	The reduction has been allowed for in the budget for 1923-24.	Rs. 9.47 lakhs.	Closed.
78	"	55	10	That the decision be expedited on the question of retransferring certain frontier roads to the civil authorities.	Nil.	Necessary action has been taken.	Nil.	Closed.
79	"	55	10	That the total provision for roads be reduced to 27 lakhs.	2 lakhs.	The reduction has been allowed for in the budget for 1923-24.	2 lakhs.	Closed.
80	"	55	11	That the total expenditure in 1923-24 under the head Miscellaneous be limited to Rs. 73,78,000.	8.25 lakhs.	The reduction has been allowed for in the budget for 1923-24.	8.25 lakhs.	Closed.
81	"	56	12	That the staff of officers employed on Military Works should be progressively reduced approximately to the pre-war cadre, the grant for establishment in 1923-24 being fixed at Rs. 75,05,000, a saving of Rs. 5 lakhs and that further saving should be effected thereafter.	5 lakhs.	The reduction has been allowed for in the budget for 1923-24. Administrative action has been taken to reduce establishments so that their cost in 1924-25 will amount to about Rs. 70 lakhs.	5 lakhs.	
82	"	56	13	That the rule under which imported material must be obtained through the High Commissioner for India should be amended, so as to enable new works or extensive repairs to be given out on lump sum contracts.	Nil.	It has been decided not to take any further action in regard to the amendment of stores rules as lump sum contracts can be entered into under existing rules.	Nil.	Closed.

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction effected for 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
83	50—Military Works.	56	14	That some system should be immediately introduced to obviate the wasteful expenditure incurred in consequence of the lapsing of unspent grants.	Rs. Nil.	With a view to obviate heavy expenditure at the close of the year, resulting in waste, the Government of India have sanctioned an over-allocation of 10 per cent. of the grant for Major Works at the commencement of the financial year, on the understanding that an equal amount will be surrendered at the close of the year.	Rs. Nil.	Closed.
84		57	15	That the provision under the head "Tools and plant" be limited to Rs. 3 lakhs.	5 lakhs.	The reduction has been allowed for in the budget for 1923-24.	5 lakhs.	Closed.
85	XXVIII—Military Works.	57	16	That in the case of all new occupants of Military Works quarters rent should be charged with reference to present rate of interest irrespective of the date of construction but subject to the usual maximum of 10 per cent. of pay.	Nil.	It has been decided not to accept the recommendation.	Nil.	Closed.
86	50—Military Works.	57	17	That a reduction of Rs. 10 lakhs should be effected in the total purchases of Military Works stores in 1923-24.	10 lakhs.	The reduction has been allowed for in the budget for 1923-24.	10 lakhs.	Closed.
87	48—Army.	126	3	Reduction in the establishment of His Excellency the Viceroy's body-guard.	4 lakhs.	The reduction has been allowed for in the budget for 1923-24 and Government orders issued giving effect to the recommendation.	4 lakhs.	Closed.
88	"	126	4	Reduction in the establishment of His Excellency the Viceroy's band.	42 lakhs.	The reduction has been allowed for in the budget for 1923-24. Reductions giving a saving of Rs. 29,610 have been effected. The matter is under further examination.	42 lakhs.	

11.—Statement showing the action taken on the recommendations of the Indian Retrenchment Committee regarding the Royal Indian Marine.

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to R. port.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction effected for 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page	Para.					
1	...	43-44	3	The three troopships "Duffrin", "Hardinge" and "Northbrook" be laid up forthwith and placed under care and maintenance parties until sold.	Es. 30,26,000	The matter is under discussion with the Secretary of State. Meanwhile the vessels have been placed out of commission.	Es. 30,00,000	
2	...	44-157	4-27	Fitting up of the "Lawrence" to perform both the duties of the Political Despatch Vessel and Light-house Tender in the Persian Gulf, the "Nearchus" (the present Light-house Tender) being disposed of. Cost of maintaining the "Lawrence", exclusive of interest of capital and depreciation to be transferred to the Political Estimates.	4,62,900	The matter is under discussion with the Secretary of State.		
3	...	44	4	Arrangements to be made for the tening of certain of the Burma lights by trawlers and for the "Clive", station ship at Burma, to combine the duties of Port Blair and Burma station ships, thus enabling the disposal of the "Minto", station ship at Port Blair.	Not stated.	This can only come into force when the port authorities of Burma take over certain lights which are really harbour and port lights and not coastwise lights. This question is under consideration in the Department of Commerce in connection with the general question of light house administration in India. It will be sometime before a decision can be arrived at on the general question.		

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on Budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction effected for 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
4	...	44	4	Discontinuance of the use of the "Dalkonsie" as a Receiving ship at Bombay and her disposal.	Rs. 1,30,000	Retention of vessel forms an integral part of scheme for reorganisation of the Royal Indian Marine into a combatant service, which is now before the Secretary of State. If the scheme is sanctioned the vessel will be required to train Indian seamen, etc.	Rs. ...	
5	...	44	5	Saving in special provision for reconditioning sloop and two patrol craft boards.	1,05,000	This is an automatic saving for which credit has been taken in the budget.	1,05,000	Clo ed.
6	...	44	6	Reduction of one patrol craft and 4 trawlers.	Not calculated.	Consideration of question is postponed pending orders of the Secretary of State on the reorganisation. Some of the vessels will be required for training purposes if that scheme is sanctioned.	...	
7	..	44	7	Reduction in the number of yard-craft and military launches.	60,000	Military launches have been reduced by 6 and saving of Rs. 60,000 has been secured. Question of reduction in the number of yard-craft is under consideration.	1,21,000	
8	...	44	8	Transfer to the Burma Government of the services of river steamers on the "Irrawadi".	1,70,000	The transfer has been made.	1,13,000	Closed
9	1—General Supervision and Accounts.	45	10	Retrenchment in staff chargeable to General supervision and Accounts.	70,000	Retrenchments effecting a saving of Rs. 34,000 have been made. Question of further reductions will be examined after orders of the Secretary of State have been received on the reorganisation scheme.	34,000	

Serial No.	Hcal.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction effected for 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
10	2—Marine Survey. 5—Salaries and Allowances of officers and men afloat.	46-48	11-14	Reduction in the complement of Marine vessels to be retained.	Rs. 50,000	Reductions yielding an annual saving of Rs. 19,000 have been effected. It is not possible to effect any further saving at present.	Rs. 19,000	
11	3—Miscellaneous Store Establishments.	46	12	Cost of working Perim Lighthouse to be recovered from light dues.	10,000	Under consideration by Department of Commerce. It will take some time to arrive at a decision.	...	
12	„	46	12	Saving in charges of Henjam coal depot by employment of outside contractor.	32,000	Employment of outside contractor sanctioned, which will yield an annual saving of about Rs. 28,000, and further saving is anticipated. Question of retention, or otherwise, of depot is under consideration.	16,000	
13	4—Dockyards.	47	13	Drastic reduction be made in the Bombay Dockyards and only sufficient personnel maintained to provide for current work and leave the Dockyard capable of expansion in an emergency.	Not calculated.	The recommendation has been carried out. The net saving in expenditure forms part of other retrenchments, e.g., reduction of 3 troopships, etc.	...	Closed.
14	5—Salaries and allowances of officers and men afloat.	48	14	Reduction in the rates of pay of the ratings of the Royal Indian Marine consequent on the recent reduction in the pay of Indian Mercantile Marine ratings.	Not stated.	Information received from the Bombay Government shows that no reductions of pay of Indian mercantile marine ratings employed by shipping companies in the Bombay Presidency have been made since the conclusion of the war and that no such reductions are under contemplation. As the present Royal Indian Marine rates are based on the existing mercantile marine rates, it has been decided that no reduction in the former is feasible.	Nil	Closed.

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction effected for 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
15	6—Victualling of Officers and men afloat.	48	15	Reduction in expenditure on victualling of officers and men afloat owing to fall in the cost of rations.	Rs. 30,000	Dependent on state of market. No action taken.	Rs. ...	Closed.
16	9—Miscellaneous.	48	17	Reduction in Miscellaneous expenditure.	2,86,000	Recommendation has been accepted and given effect to.	2,39,250	
17	"	50	19	Reduction in provision for purchase of stores and coal in England.	21,09,000	This is an automatic saving for which credit was taken in the budget for 1922-24.	21,09,000	Closed.
18	"	46	13	Reduction of cars and maintenance party for the Kidderpore Dockyard.	25,000	This is an automatic saving, which was allowed for in the budget for 1923-24.	25,000	Closed.
19	...	50	19	Saving in provision in the budget for 1922-23 for purchase of vessels.	7,65,000	This is an automatic saving for which credit was taken in the budget for 1923-24.	7,65,000	Closed.
20	4—Dockyards.	50	...	The Dockyard to be worked as a separate entity on a commercial basis.	N/A	Further developments in accounting arrangements cannot be introduced before the end of a financial year. A complete system of accounts for the Dockyard will be introduced from 1st April 1924.	...	Closed.
21	...	50	...	Budget estimates for 1923-24 to be limited to Rs. 62 lakhs.	75,00,000	Total net budget estimates for 1923-24 fixed at Rs. 75,07,000. Endeavours are being made to effect as much economy as possible.	61,92,000	

III.—Statement showing the action taken on each recommendation of the Retrenchment Committee on the Civil Side.

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
1	Railways	61	5	Steps be taken to curtail working expenses as necessary to ensure that under normal conditions an average return of at least 5½ per cent. is obtained on capital invested on State Railways.	Rs. ...	Steps have been taken to limit working expenses during the current year to the provision made in the budget, viz., Rs. 61 crores. If the earnings anticipated are realised and working expenses limited as proposed the net revenue will, it is estimated, give a return of 5'46 per cent. As regards the question whether in the varying circumstances of the Railways the average of 5½ per cent. represents a standard which can be adopted for the regulation of working expenses and adjustment of rates and fares, definite proposals have been framed and are under urgent consideration of the Government of India and Secretary of State.	Rs. ...	
2	"	62	6	The overtaking of arrears of maintenance and renewals should be postponed on railways not able to earn sufficient receipts to pay interest and sinking fund charges. This would mean (paragraph 27) a saving of Rs. 2½ crores on the N. W., O. & B., E. B., G. I. P. and M. & S. M. Railways.	2½ crores	Definite proposals on the question of dealing with arrear renewals and of dealing with Capital and revenue expenditure on railways classed as unremunerative have been framed and are under consideration of the Government of India and Secretary of State. In the case of the Railways mentioned, it has been necessary to allow for commitments and essential renewals, e.g., of worn out material and also for works in progress. The figure	2½ crores.	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
1 com. id.	Railways				Rs. 2½ crores	of Rs. 2½ crores referred to is based on certain theoretical figures for normal depreciation proposed by the Depreciation Committee and these figures had no connection with the Budget figure for Programme Revenue. The sanctioned estimate, however, stands at Rs. 9 crores, which is Rs. 2½ crores less than the figure originally proposed. The saving suggested has therefore been exceeded though it was not possible to accept the recommendations as regards individual Railways.	Rs. 2½ crores	
3	"	62-63	7	The present system of Programme Revenue to be abolished and adequate provisional provision to be made annually by each Railway for maintenance and renewals of permanent-way rolling-stocks.	...	Definite proposals have been framed on the subject and are under consideration of the Government of India and the Secretary of State.	...	
4	"	66	12	Revision of regulations to ensure a more equitable distribution between capital and revenue expenditure on the maintenance of way and works and on rolling-stock.	...	Do.	...	
5	"	66	12	In present financial circumstances renewals of permanent-way on unremunerative lines be limited to cases when track is worn out and not capable of being strengthened to meet probable requirements for a substantial period	...	The principle laid down is generally in force. Renewals are not made before track has reached the limit of its useful life, and in all cases rails and sleepers taken from the main line are used in branches and subsequently in sidings when the demand generally exceeds the supply.	...	

POONA.

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1923-23.	Action taken or new proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
6	Railways	67-68	14	Expenditure on fuel to be reduced to Rs. 8 68 crores.	Rs. 55 lakhs.	The sanctioned grant for fuel stands at Rs. 8'53'69 crores or a further reduction of Rs. 15 lakhs.	Rs. 70 lakhs	
7	"	68	14	The system of placing long-term contracts for fuel to be reconsidered.	..	The Railway Board controls contracts for the three State Railways only and the present contracts run till April 1925. Most Company Railways have contracts for a similar period. The question whether the decision to make these contracts has proved of advantage to Railways will be further examined.	..	
8	"	68	15	Renewals of locomotives on unremunerative lines to be postponed.	..	Definite proposals have been framed on the subject and are under consideration of the Government of India and the Secretary of State.	..	
9	"	70	18	Operating staff on all railways to be reduced to level necessary to meet current requirements. Reductions in headquarters staff to be effected as on G. I. P. Railway.	..	An enquiry is in progress on all railways, and every possible reduction is being made. It is pointed out that the increase in the G. I. P. administrative and clerical staff between 1914 and 1922 was 32.8 per cent. compared with 28 per cent. in general on all railways, and possibility of reduction was greater on that railway. New statistics are being prepared which will form a better classification of numbers and cost of staff employed. These statistics will be utilised for the purpose of reducing staff on State-worked Railways to the most economical standard.	..	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
10	Railways	70	20	That an investigation be made into the methods adopted by the E. B. Railway to reduce losses and that the provision for compensation be reduced still further.	Rs.	There was no opportunity of explaining to the Committee that one of the reasons for the large reductions in compensation on the Eastern Bengal Railway was the construction of the Sara Bridge over the Ganges and the consequent reduction in damage and loss caused by transshipment over the river. The position of each railway is now being examined with a view to reducing expenditure under the head to the minimum.	Rs.	
11	"	70	21	Steps to be taken to eliminate records which serve no practical purpose.	..	A new form of statistics has been prescribed.	..	
12	"	71	21	The present forms of Railway accounts to be investigated and recommendations of the Accounts Committee which have not yet been adopted, to have the immediate attention of the Financial Commissioner.	..	The Financial Commissioner is considering the system.	..	
13	"	72	22	A saving of Rs. 1 crore on salaries and wages.	..	The saving of Rs. 1 crore was included in the reduction of Rs. 3½ crores in working expenses as summarised in paragraph 30, and the Committee has recognised that it might be necessary to make alterations in the methods recommended for effecting this reduction. See remarks against Serial No. 9 as regards reductions of staff.	..	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
14	Railways.	75	28	No expenditure to be incurred on renewals of locomotives on the North-Western Railway in 1923-24.	Rs. ...	Owing to commitments entered into before receipt of this recommendation it has not been possible to carry it out entirely. Nor has it been possible, as originally intended to transfer some of the engines already ordered to other lines, as such lines had already committed themselves to orders for 1923-24. The total provision for renewals which cannot be avoided stands at Rs. 27 lakhs compared with Rs. 46 lakhs originally provided.	Rs. ...	
15	„	75	28	Programme for renewals on Great Indian Peninsula Railway for 1923-24 to be limited to actual requirements.	...	The figures upon which the Committee worked were not the finally authorised figures and no useful deductions can be made from them. An improved system has, however, been introduced which will enable demands for renewals and replacements to be more rigidly scrutinised and revised.		
16	„	75	28	Expenditure on freight stock on N. W. and M. and S. M. Railways to be largely curtailed as also the provision for miscellaneous vehicles on the O. and R., M. and S. M. Railways.	...	See remarks against Serial No. 15.		
17	„	76	28	On all unremunerative lines renewals of tracks to be limited to sections of line completely worn out and expenditure on certain railways to be drastically curtailed.	...	See remarks against Serial No. 5. The expenditure on track renewals on the railways specified has been restricted to actual commitments in regard to running contracts for rails.		

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed in budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
19	Railways	76	28	Total provision for other works to be limited to Rs. 1 crore.	Rs. ...	The provision for "other works" for the current year has been limited to Rs. 87,00,000.	Rs. 13 lakhs.	
19	"	76	28	Remodelling of Grant Road and Victoria Terminus at Bombay to be reconsidered.	...	These estimates are now under reconsideration. No sanction has yet been given to either work. The Committee appear to have been unaware that these works are connected with the re-organisation and electrification of suburban traffic in Bombay from which substantial economies are expected, in dealing with these estimates care will be taken that only such expenditure will be allowed as is financially remunerative.	...	
20	Railways	76	29	Programme revenue expenditure in 1923-24 to be limited to Rs. 9 crores. Agents to be empowered to utilise the amounts allocated to them at their discretion.	...	The provision has been limited to Rs. 9 crores. The second proposal involves an important question of principle and is under consideration. The Railway Board point out that this recommendation appears to be inconsistent with recommendations made elsewhere in the report that the Board should prevent money being spent on unremunerative lines in renewals of plant, permanent-way, etc.	...	
21	"	77	30	Budget provision for working expenses to be limited to Rs. 64 crores subject to further allowance to meet any increase in traffic.	4.59 crores.	The recommendation has been given effect to.	4.59 crores.	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
22	Railways	78	31	Except for existing commitments no further capital expenditure to be incurred on unremunerative lines until the position has been examined by the Financial Commissioner.	Rs. ...	Accepted	Rs. ...	
23	"	78	32	Reduction in Railway stores.	...	The whole question of reduction of Store Balances was discussed at a Conference by the Financial Commissioner with responsible representatives of Railways and the Accountant General, Railways; detailed orders have been issued which are calculated to reduce the balances. A special officer has been deputed to look into this matter in the three State Lines. The figure of Rs. 34 crores is not correct. It should be Rs. 23½ crores.	...	
24	"	79	33	Agents of Railways to be designated General Managers and made responsible for administrative working and financial results of their Railways.	...	In matters affecting establishments considerably enhanced powers have recently been delegated to Agents of State-worked Railways and Boards of Directors of Company-worked lines. The question of delegation of enhanced powers in matters other than those relating to establishment is under consideration by the Board.	...	
25	"	79	34	Appointment of a Financial Adviser.	...	A Financial Commissioner has been appointed with effect from 1st April 1923.	...	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
26	Railways	89	36	Abrogation of the rule imposing restriction on salaries of Managers of Railways.	Rs. ...	There is no special rule in force as regards salaries of Agents. The present scale was fixed by Government after very careful consideration, and it has been decided not to proceed just at present with the question of revision of pay of Agents.	Rs. ...	
27	"	80	37	Grouping of Railways.	...	The question is under examination.	...	
28	Posts and Telegraphs.	93	8	Reduction in number of officers.	6,00,000	The recommendation has been examined. It has been pointed out that the increase of officers included 44 officials who, on revision of pay, were automatically classed as such. The balance of 44 includes 17 officers and 15 officers, respectively, of the new Wireless and Telephone Branches in which no reduction is possible. Of the remaining 12 officers, 6 have been reduced. No further reductions are possible.	...	Savings have been taken into account in the general reduction under salaries.
29	"	94	9	Economy in staff employed in telegraph offices.	...	The Director-General has shown that the sanctioned strength of telegraphists is not in excess of requirements. It appears that in making their calculations the Committee did not take into account the authorised proportion of telegraphists employed on non-operation duties and the additional leave reserve thereon.	...	The question will be further examined in connection with the traffic of the current year. It is understood that the traffic of 1921-22 was below normal.
30	"	95	10	Economy in engineering and line staff.	...	The question has been carefully considered but no reduction has been found to be feasible.	...	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
31	Posts and Telegraphs.	95	10	Reduction in provision for salaries.	Rs. 25 lakhs	It is pointed out that the Committee did not take into account Rs. 16½ lakhs required in 1923-24 for increments of pay to staff on time-scales and for new sanctions accorded in 1922-23. With these additions the normal budget of 1923-24 would have been Rs. 6,15,83,000 for salaries. The corresponding figure for 1923-24 is actually Rs. 5,83,34,000, a reduction of Rs. 32½ lakhs on the normal expenditure though the limit imposed by the Committee has been exceeded.	Rs. 32½ lakhs	The reduction on the normal scale of expenditures has been effected mainly under the following heads during the current year:— Rs. Officers 50,000 255 clerks and sorters 1,33,000 Line staff 1,16,000 900 Postmen 1,33,000 828 Peons, etc., 1,22,000 Wireless staff 72,000 Temporary establishment 1,18,000 Reduction in grant for normal expenses of staff 3,50,000 The total reductions for 1923-24 amount to Rs. 16 lakhs in addition to over Rs. 16 lakhs retrenchment effected in the provision under this head in 1922-23.

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
32	Posts and Telegraphs.	95	11	No additional motor services to be provided save on grounds of economy, and use of motors to be confined to large towns, etc. Better rates to be obtained on renewal of contracts.	Rs. ..	Existing motor services are governed by contracts but on termination of these recommendation of the Committee will be followed. Proposals for new motor services will be dealt with as proposed.	Rs. ..	
33		96	12	Reduction in provision for conveyance of mails.	7,00,000	The provision for the current year has been reduced to Rs. 76,33,000.	7,03,000	
34		96	12	Reduction in charges for Account and Audit.	3,71,000	The budget of the current year was reduced to Rs. 25 lakhs; but it will probably be raised to Rs. 26,24,000 on account of a supplementary grant of Rs. 1,24,000 asked for by the Auditor General. It has to be remembered that it is false economy to restrict the check on the transactions of the Department, which may mean in the end a considerable loss to the Revenues.	2,47,000	
35		97	14	Reduction in expenditure on travelling allowances.	4,61,000	The provision has been reduced to Rs. 15,53,000 and with the recent alteration of the rules and of strict supervision of travelling it is hoped to keep within this reduced figure.	8,02,000	
36		97	15	Check over wastage in forms and consequent reduction in expenditure on stationery and printing.	3,00,000	The provision for the current year has been reduced to Rs. 21,75,000 and steps are being taken to minimise wastage of forms.	10,46,000	
37		97	16	Reduction in provision for postal buildings.	9,19,000	The programme has been revised and the expenditure in the current year is limited to Rs. 5,57,000.	9,62,000	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
38	Posts and Telegraphs.	97	16	Outside tenders to be called for for large buildings.	Rs. ...	The matter is under consideration and it is hoped to employ outside agency more extensively in future.	Rs. ...	
39	"	98	17	Reductions in charges for supplies and services.	4,92,000	The reduced provision of Rs. 8,06,000 has been accepted.	4,86,000	
40	"	99	20	Revision of house-rent allowances and reduction in provision for house-rent, local and other allowances.	2,61,000	The scale of allowances is under consideration and the provision has been reduced to Rs. 24,05,000.	64,000	
41	"	100	21	Automatic reduction in subsidies to cable companies.	50,000	The reduction has been effected.	50,000	
42	"	100	22	Maintenance of telegraph and telephone lines.	6,00,000	The provision has been reduced accordingly.	6,00,000	
43	"	101	23	Miscellaneous expenditure (purchase of stores).	54.3 lakhs.	It has been necessary to raise the provision by Rs. 7½ lakhs owing to commitments on purchase of stores in England.	76.8 lakhs.	
44	"	102	24	Payments under arrangements with Treasury.	...	The Secretary of State has proposed a provision of Rs. 3,20,000 on account of revised arrangements for the Eastern Mail Service.	...	
45	"	102	25	Reduction in furniture grant.	3,75,000	The reduction has been exceeded.	3,84,000	
46	"	103	27	Reduction in scales of clothing and extension of periods between issues. Central purchase of supplies.	...	The question of purchase of materials through the Indian Stores Department is under consideration. Scales have been reduced and periods of issue extended.	...	
47	"	103	29	Reduction in provision for contingencies.	6,31,000	Reductions have been effected but it has been found necessary to reduce the saving by Rs. 2 lakhs.	4,30,000	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page	Para.					
48	Posts and Telegraphs.	103	29	Reduction in miscellaneous expenditure.	Rs. 2,29,000	It has not been found possible to effect this reduction. On the other hand an excess is anticipated owing to the cost of postage stamps which are being charged direct to the department as part of arrangement for commercialising the accounts.	Rs. ...	
49	"	104	30	Reduction in expenditure on maintenance and repair of buildings.	4,58,000	It has not been found possible to effect reductions of more than Rs. 2,96,000.	2,96,000	
50	"	104	31	Reduction in expenditure on apparatus and plant.	97,000	It has been found necessary to provide for the same expenditure as in the past year owing to commitments.	...	
51	"	104	33	Reductions in depot establishments.	1,01,950	The establishment of the depot is under examination and all possible sources of economy are being explored.	17,950	Further reduction depends upon the enquiry now proceeding.
52	"	105	34	Reduction in telegraph workshops.	30,000	This reduction has been carried out.	30,000	
53	"	105	35	Reduction in Wireless expenditure. Closing of stations.	93,630	Further reductions have been effected. Patna has been closed, Poona placed in charge of maintenance party, Lahore handed over to Army Signals. Mayayo placed in charge of caretaker. Eight out of nine stations mentioned have been placed under care and maintenance parties. Peshawar alone being retained with minimum staff. The matter is one of general policy and is under consideration.	1,79,860	
				Dismantling of more stations.	...			

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
54	Posts and Telegraphs.	106	36-39	Reduction in capital expenditure on the telegraph department.	Rs. 50.7 lakhs.	The programme has been reduced accordingly but the reductions did not take into account necessary expenditure on telegraphs for new Delhi and essential expenditure on railway control lines, and it will probably be necessary to raise the provision by Rs. 16 lakhs, approximately.	Rs. 50.7 lakhs.	
55	"	106	37	Raising of rental charges on canal and railway lines.	...	This question is under examination.	...	
56	"	107	39	Further purchase of automatic apparatus to be postponed and enquiry to be made into comparative cost of ordinary and automatic exchanges.	...	No new commitments will be entered into and the proposed enquiry has been undertaken.	...	
57	"	107	40	Appointment of Financial Adviser.	...	The appointment was made with effect from April 16th.	...	
58	"	107	Conclusion (8)	Reduction in total estimates for the Department for 1923-24.	137.27 lakhs.	The estimate has been reduced to Rs. 9,43,84,000. This includes about Rs. 40 lakhs on account of the purchase of postage stamps as explained against item 48 and Rs. 30,00,000 on account of Superannuation allowances and pensions which were not debited to the Posts and Telegraphs Budget in the past. These items represent transfers from other heads of the total budget and were not taken into account by the Retrenchment Committee. If these two amounts are excluded the actual reductions in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee have amounted to over Rs. 1,45,00,000.	75,63,000	The difference is mainly accounted for under 'salaries' where, as shown above, the Committee had not taken into account unavoidable commitments for 1923-24.

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
					Rs.		Rs.	
59	Indo-European Telegraph Department.	116	5	Steps to be taken to improve the output per man.	..	To attain this object further recruitment to the signalling branches has been stopped.	..	
60	"	116	7	Reduction in allowances.	2,63,000	Reductions have been made in excess of this sum by Rs. 18,000.	2,51,000	
61	"	117	8	Reduction on repairs to lines.	32,000	Estimates have been substantially reduced and the full saving is expected.	32,000	
62	"	117	9	Reduction on repairs to buildings.	70,000	Accepted	70,000	
63	"	117	10	Reduction on apparatus and plant.	32,600	Estimate has been reduced to Rs. 92,500.	10,000	Efforts are being made to effect further possible savings.
64	Indo-European Telegraph Department.	117	11	Reduction under Stationery and Printing.	28,000	Six months supply will only be kept.	18,000	Full saving not yet known.
65	"	118	13	Savings under contingencies and miscellaneous.	1,78,000	The estimates have been reduced to Rs. 2,39,000.	2,39,000	
66	"	118	14	Reduction on cable repairs.	76,000	It has not been found practicable to reduce more than Rs. 4,000 as against Rs. 76,000 recommended by the Committee. This is owing to an expenditure of Rs. 77,000 being necessary for the partial renewal of one of the old cables.	4,000	
67	"	118	15	Reductions on cable factory.	9,840	It has not been found practicable to effect reductions of more than Rs. 1,200.	1,200	
68	"	119	16	Reductions in expenditure on cable steamers.	1,00,000	Reductions have been effected to the extent of Rs. 4,000 only, and further reductions are not possible.	4,000	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
68	Indo-European Telegraph Department.			Arrangement should be made with commercial cable company for repair of cables.	Rs. ...	The only company which has a steamer near is the Eastern Telegraph Company at Aden and this steamer cannot be spared for other work	Rs. ...	
69	"	120	18	Decision to be arrived at on future control of Department and meanwhile no capital expenditure to be incurred.	...	The question is under the consideration of the Secretary of State and meanwhile no expenditure of a capital nature is being incurred.	...	
70	"	120	19	System of commercial accounts should be introduced and form of accounts improved.	...	Under consideration.	...	
71	"	120	Conclusion (5)	Reduction into total estimates.	7,34,000	The provision for the current year has been reduced to Rs. 39,23,000 and it has not been found practicable to reduce it further to the limit proposed by the Committee, as originally intended.	4,12,000	
72	Irrigation	124	...	Reduction in expenditure and closing of one division.	2,18,000	By the closing down of one division and other measures of retrenchment the budget for 1924-25 has been reduced by about Rs. 4,65,000, as compared with the budget of 1922-23.	2,18,000	
73	General Administration.	128	8	Modification of scales of pay for lower division of the Secretariat.	...	The proposal is at present under examination. Departments already stop promotion at the efficiency bar where clerks are not qualified for more important work.	...	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
74	General Administration.	128	9	Economy in expenditure of a contingent character.	Rs. ...	The allotments of all departments have already been cut down materially under these heads as will appear from the demands for grants, and the expenditure is being kept under very close scrutiny as the result of an enquiry made into it by an officer of the Audit Department.	Rs. Included under general reductions in departmental budgets.	
75	"	128	9	Reductions in number of peons.	"	Reductions have been carried out in all departments in accordance with a revised distribution scale calculated to effect an approximate reduction of 25 per cent.	Included under general reductions in departmental budgets.	
76	"	128	10	Reduction in expenditure on telegrams.	"	Substantial reductions have been effected in the provision under all departments which are curtailing the number and length of telegrams to the full extent possible.	"	
77	"	129	11	Reduction in number of officers and amount of establishment and records moved down from Simla.	"	The recommendation was given effect to as far as possible.	"	
78	"	129	12	Reductions in Foreign and Political Department.	1,47,000	It will be seen from the demands for grants that the allotment for this department has been reduced from Rs. 10,42,900 to Rs. 8,41,200.	1,01,700	No further reduction is possible under establishment. But there is possibility of further reduction to the extent of Rs. 36,000 in the contingent expenditure.

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
79	General Administration.	129	13	Reductions in Home Department including abolition of post of Inspector of Office Procedure.	Rs. 97,000	The Department has effected savings of Rs. 87,000 and the balance will be effected by larger reductions under attached offices. The post of Inspector of Office Procedure has been abolished.	Rs. 87,000	
80	"	130	14	Reductions in Legislative Department.	1,08,000	The full reduction is being accepted. One post of Deputy Secretary has been held in abeyance. The Peace Treaty branch has been amalgamated with the Local Clearing Office saving Rs. 24,400. Further reductions have been made in clerical and menial staff.	1,08,000	
81	"	130	15	Reductions in Department of Education and Health. Abolition of Educational Commissioner, Bureau of Education and Central Advisory Board.	...	The Department of Education and Health has been amalgamated with that of Revenue and Agriculture. Government have decided to continue the post of Educational Commissioner as long as it is held by the present incumbent, but have effected economy by placing him in charge of the duties of the Superintendent of Education, Delhi and Ajmer. The Central Advisory Board has been abolished and the post of Curator, Bureau of Education, held in abeyance.	...	The economies are shown under the remarks on the general recommendation for amalgamation of departments.
82	"	130	16	Reductions in Finance Department.	1,01,200	The budget allotment has been reduced to Rs. 5,90,000 as proposed and the reductions noted have been effected.	1,01,200	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24	Remarks (whether action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
83	General Administration.	130	17	Military Finance	Rs. 69,000	The full saving has been effected.	Rs. 69,000	
84	"	131	18	Reductions in Revenue and Agriculture Department.	...	This Department has been amalgamated with the Department of Education and Health.	...	The financial effect of the amalgamation is shown under the section dealing with the reorganisation of the Secretariat.
85	"	132	19	Enlargement of the Board of Revenue.	...	The scope of the Board has been enlarged to include the administrations of Customs, Salt, Opium, Excise and Stamps.	...	
86	"	132	19	Discontinuance of Industrial Intelligence and the Labour Bureau.	...	The intelligence work has been discontinued and the Labour Bureau as such has been abolished resulting in reduction of staff.	...	
87	"	132	20	Reductions in Army Department.	84,000	Further reductions have been effected in the Marine establishment and Army list sections and in other portions of the office. The total reductions proposed have been carried out.	84,000	
88	"	133	21	Reductions in Public Works Department.	...	The Department has been amalgamated with that of Industries and Labour. The 'estate work' is now dealt with by the Consulting Engineer in touch with local officers.	...	The effect of the reorganisation is shown under the section dealing with the reorganisation of the Secretariat.
89	"	133 134	22- 24	Reorganisation of five Departments under two Departments and expansion of Board of Revenue.	10,63,900	Government have not adopted the exact line suggested by the Committee but have proposed as a more workable arrangement the reduction of five departments to three	See remarks.	The figure of Rs. 14,00,000 represents the cost of the departments as reorganised and

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
89— con- id.	General Admini- stration— conid.				Rs.	costing approxi- mately as follows:— Rs. Commerces . 3,00,000 Education, . 5,15,000 Health and Lands. Industries . 6,00,000 and Labour. Total 14,15,000	Rs.	with the addition of Rs. 1 lakh for addition to the Board of Revenue, the reor- ganisation will cost slightly over Rs. 1 lakh more than the arrange- ments pro- posed by the Commit- tee. The figures for the Educa- tion Health and Lands Department exclude the cost of the Secretariat Library for which a re- duced figure of Rs. 17,000 will be re- quired. On the other hand there will be a saving of Rs. 14,000 approxi- mately on the assump- tion by the Educational Commission- er of the duties of Superinten- dent of Education, Delhi and Ajmere. It must be understood that the total saving of Rs. 9 lakhs will not be re- alised in the current year as it was ne- cessary to provide

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1923-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
89— con- cl'd.	General Adminis- tration— cont'd.				Rs.		Rs.	Funds :— (a) for the period required to bring the new organisation into effect i.e. up to 16th April 1923. (b) for expenditure on the grant of notice, leave and travelling allowance concessions to the staff which has been retrenched. Details of this extra expenditure during the current year are not yet available but a possible estimate is Rs. 2 lakhs.
-90	"	135	26	Saving on Staff Selection Board.	13,300	There will be no examination this year. A Committee was appointed to enquire into the working of the Board and it has been decided to accept the recommendation of the Committee that the operations of the Board should be transferred to a Department but that when an examination is held an ad hoc Board should be created to carry it out. Effect will be given to this when leave reserves are created for the Departments. The budget provision made for 6 months of the current year is Rs. 4,880 but an extra grant of Rs. 2,500 is necessary to carry on the work till the end of the year.	17,920	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
91	General Administration— <i>contd.</i>	135	27	Central Bureau of Information.	Rs. ...	No specific recommendation was made but the estimate has been reduced by Rs. 33,000.	Rs. 33,000	
92	"	135	28	Bureau of Central Intelligence. Proposals as regards recovery of cost of the Fieger Print Bureau and the Questioned Documents Section or their abolition.	3,01,000	Orders have issued for closing of the Bureau from 1st July, and arrangements are in train to make the Document Section self-supporting.	2,56,000	The Committee have assumed as a direct saving the cost of the Documents Section, but if it is continued—even if it be made self-supporting—provision will be necessary on the expenditure side of the Budget.
93	"	136	29	Speeding up of work of elimination of records with a view to reduction of staff and setting free valuable accommodation.	2,000	The budget estimates have been reduced to Rs. 1,03,000. The historical (to 1859) records are now being sorted and classified with a view to their ultimate weeding, in accordance with the recommendations of the Indian Historical Records Commission. Measures have already been taken for weeding the current records (from 1859). Generally the work of elimination is being speeded up.	11,400	
94	"	136	30	Abolition of appointment of Inspector-General of Irrigation.	78,400	After careful consideration Government have decided that in view of the importance of irrigation questions it is necessary for them to retain the services of an expert. It has however been decided to abolish the separate post and the duties will be performed by the Consulting Engineer to Government who also takes over part	9,400	The cost of the Consulting Engineer and establishment is estimated at Rs. 69,000 but this includes Rs. 13,000 for establishment which was not separately provided for in the

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, e.c.).
		Page.	Para.					
94 - contd.	General Administration - contd.				Rs.	of the work hitherto transacted in the Public Works Department of the Secretariat. The appointment of Assistant Inspector General has been abolished.	Rs.	estimates for the Inspector-General of Irrigation but was included in the budget of the old Public Works Department.
95	"	136	31	If Local Governments press claims for services rendered, the Central Government should consider whether arrangements cannot be more economically carried out by an agency of its own.	...	This has been accepted in principle and claims will be dealt with in the light of this proposal.	...	
96	"	137	33	Reductions on the North-West Frontier.	...	The estimate has been reduced to Rs. 17,32,000 as against Rs. 17,38,000 proposed.	16,000	
97	"	137	34	Reductions in Delhi, and payment by the Municipality of the cost of their Secretary.	32,000	Reductions have actually been effected under the Chief Commissioner's establishment to the extent noted. The arrangement with the Municipality has been in force since 1906 and it is considered unwise to adopt the proposal of the Retrenchment Committee on grounds of economy and for other reasons.	26,000	The budget as shown in the Demands for Grants is increased this year by the transfer of certain expenditure from the Head—Land Revenue.
98	"	137	35	Reduction in Ajmere.	9,000	The savings have been effected.	9,000	As in Delhi, charges have been transferred from Land Revenue. Excluding these the budget on the old basis is Rs. 1,40,000.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

51

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
59	General Administration— <i>contd.</i>	143-144	49-55	Expenditure of High Commissioner.	£ 52,000	<p>The reduction of £52,000 proposed by the Committee was made up (a) of the sum of £21,000 on account of value of credits in addition to those on account of stores expected from Provincial Governments or the Home Government and (b) of the sum of £31,000 on account of reduction required in the expenditure. The revised estimates for the current year show a savings of £48,900 on establishment, etc. as against £31,000 recommended by the Committee. But the net estimate for the current year is £146,000 as compared with the Committee's figure of £118,000 owing to the fact that the ordinary charges against departments and local Governments for work done in connection with purchase of stores fall short of £26,000 due to reduced indents.</p> <p>The question of increasing recoveries for agency work done has been accepted.</p> <p>The reduction proposed under Stationery and Printing has been effected.</p> <p>The High Commissioner has been addressed on the recommendation as regards indents in paragraph 51. The issue of the orders recommended in paragraph 52 is also under consideration.</p>	£ 24,000	<p>NOTE—The total reductions under General Administration already effected in the budget estimates of 1923-24 compared with the budget of 1922-23 amount to Rs. 36,37,000 as against Rs. 49,89,000 recommended by the Committee for the whole expenditure dealt with under "General Administration."</p>

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1923-24.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
100	General Administration --concid.	138-142	37-48	Reductions in expenditure of India Office.	£ 43,700	The Government of India are in correspondence on the subject with the Secretary of State who has intimated that every practicable method of economy is being carefully considered and that a detailed statement of results expected will be furnished at an early date. Meanwhile under his instructions a lump deduction of £15,000 was made in the original estimates for the current year. The Secretary of State has pointed out that the actual expenditure of the past year was considerably higher than the figure assumed by the Committee. The net budget for the current year is £297,600.	£ 40,500	The Secretary of State has intimated that the saving effected in 1923-24 falls short of those contemplated by the committee by £3,200; but it is hoped to make a further reduction of £3,100 in 1924-25.
101	Political expenditure.	154	7	Reduction in cost of frontier defence and immediate saving on cost of rations, clothing, etc.	Rs. 1,00,000	The position on the frontier is still un-stabilised. The proposed saving will probably be effected under grain compensation charges.	Rs. 1,00,000	The question of reduction in rations and clothing allowances is under consideration.
102	"	154	9	Reduction in cost of entertainment.	48,000	This reduction has been made.	48,000	
103	"	154	11	Reduction in provision for political expenditure in the North-West Frontier Province.	28,27,000	The provision has been reduced by this sum.	28,27,000	
104	"	154	14	Reduction in Baluchistan under Political Agencies.	1,45,000	Reductions of Rs. 1,21,130 has been made and a further reduction of Rs. 23,800 is under consideration.	1,21,130	
105	"	155	16	Reduction in temporary advice on the Sarhad.	66,000	Budget provision was reduced to Rs 59,700 this year. Further reductions are under consideration.	6,300	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1923-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
106	Political Expenditure.	155	17	Additions to irregular forces to be abandoned.	Rs. 8,22,000	The proposed additions have been abandoned, pending examination of the Railway Project.	Rs. 8,22,000	
107	"	155	18	Reduction in contract for food-stuffs.	50,000	Larger reductions have been effected.	1,68,910	
108	"	155	19	Reduction in Political expenditure in Baluchistan.	2,21,000	It is hoped to limit the expenditure to Rs. 40 lakhs this year.	2,51,000	The total reduction made on the provisional estimate for 1923-24 is Rs. 14,35,000.
109	"	155	20	Re-consideration of plans of Kabul Legation.	...	The estimates cannot be reduced below Rs. 16 lakhs.	...	
110	"	156	22-23	Administration of Aden.	...	The Secretary of State has been addressed in the matter and his orders are awaited.	...	
111	"	157	24	Incidence of pay of Chairman, Aden Port Trust, and other reductions in Aden.	33,000	Accepted	33,000	
112	"	157	27	Saving on lighting and buoying of the Persian Gulf.	1,00,000	It has not been found practicable to reduce the expenditure as originally intended.	...	
113	"	157	28	Incidence of expenditure in Persia.	...	Proposals have been made to the Secretary of State on the lines recommended.	...	
114	"	159	34	Reduction in charges in Central India.	21,000	An appointment of Medical Officer, Ludore, has been abolished. One Agency has been kept vacant for the present as an experimental measure.	21,000	Savings on the agency not yet reported.
115	"	159	36	Examination of incidence of charges on account of the Res. det., Mysore.	...	Proposals are under examination.	...	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
116	Political expenditure— <i>contd.</i>	160	40	Administration of the Bombay States and meanwhile a reduction of Rs. 1,75,000.	Rs. 1,75,000	The recommendations made by the Committee will be considered when a decision has been arrived at on the question of the transfer of the Bombay States. Meanwhile the Government of Bombay are unable to accept a reduction of more than Rs. 1,51,000.	Rs. 86,000	A lump deduction has been made for the current year pending examination of the question.
117	"	160	41	Reductions in charges in Burma.	1,50,000	Reductions slightly in excess of this amount have been accepted.	1,50,000	
				Adoption of proposal for a fixed contribution for Political charges in Burma.	..	The question of political charges is under consideration with the Burma Government.	..	
118	"	161	Conclusion (b)	Total reduction in Political expenditure.	45,70,000	Excluding some Rs. 60 lakhs on account of military police in Burma and Assam transferred from the head Adjustments to this head in the current year, the provision in the budget for 1923-24 is Rs. 271 lakhs, a reduction of Rs. 38½ lakhs as compared with the budget estimates of 1922-23.	44,19,870	Further reductions are under consideration.
119	Audit	164	2	Reduction of appointment of Auditor, Government of India Sanctions, and conversion of other appointments.	88,000	These reductions have been accepted.	Included in total saving in Department.	A further saving to the extent of Rs. 49,000 is estimated to be eventually effected during 1923-24 and 1924-25.
120	"	165	5	Separation of audit and accounts.	..	This and the other points raised in paragraphs (3) and (4) are under consideration.	..	
121	"	165	6	Simplification of rules of and t.	..	The matter is and has been receiving the continuous attention of the Auditor-General.	..	
122	"	165	Conclusion (c)	Limitation of budget estimates.	3,76,000	The provision has been fixed at Rs. 79,40 0 0.	3,76,000	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
123	Administration of Justice.	166	4	Reductions in expenditure in North-West Frontier.	Es. 30,000	Sanction has been accorded to certain retrenchments proposed by the Chief Commissioner on the recommendations of the Local Retrenchment Committee.	Es. 26,000	
24	"	166	6	Abolition of Small Causes Court in Ajmere.	16,000	It has been shown that the abolition of the Court would cause great inconvenience and involve a loss of revenue. Further the total saving could not be Rs. 16,000. Reductions of Rs. 12,000 have been made in other directions as a set off.	12,000	
				Adoption of revised scale of court fees.		The United Provinces' revised scale has been introduced.		
125	Jails	168	4	Reduction of expenditure in Minor Administrations.	37,000	Larger reductions have been made on account of fall in prices.	78,000	
1.6	"	169		Limitation of budget provision and recommendation that when the contract for the SS. "Maharaja" terminates more favourable terms be secured for the service, if it is considered necessary to maintain it.	4,80,000	Provision has been limited to Rs. 40,09,000 for the current year. A reduction of Rs. 4,26,000 on the preliminary estimates of 1922-23 and of Rs. 5,08,000 on the revised estimates for that year. The contract for the SS. "Maharaja" does not expire till the 31st August 1925 but Committee's recommendation in this respect will be borne in mind when the time comes.	4,26,000	
127	Police	169	4	Abolition of appointment of Personal Assistant.	16,000	A lump deduction of Rs. 1,25,000 has been made on the estimates for 1923-24 and total provision reduced to Rs. 50,30,000 compared with Rs. 51,55,000 which was the estimate for 1922-23.	1,25,000	The question of further reductions will be considered on receipt of the recommendations of the Chief Commissioner.
125	"	170	5	Reductions in police force.	2,50,000			

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1922-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
129	Police— <i>contd.</i>	170	6	Continuance of frontier allowances and economies in clothing of police.	Rs. ...	It has been decided not to withdraw frontier allowance. The question of economies in clothing of Police is under consideration.	Rs. ...	
130	"	171	9	Revised scale of pay for police recruits in Baluchistan.	...	The Baluchistan Police force has been reorganised and the total budget for police has been limited to Rs. 12,16,000 for future years.	12,000	
131	"	171	11	Reduction of police expenditure in Baluchistan to Rs. 12,16,000.	...			
132	"	171	12	Reduction in expenditure on police in Delhi.	92,000	A reduction of Rs. 60,000 has been effected on the estimates for the current year and the provision limited to Rs. 7,90,000 compared with Rs. 9,74,000 which was the revised estimate for 1922-23. It is doubtful whether it will be possible to effect further reductions.	60,000	
133	"	171	13	Reduction in police expenditure in Coorg.	21,000	This reduction has been effected.	21,000	
134	"	172	14	Reduction on police expenditure in Ajmere.	...	The Committee recommended that expenditure should be limited to Rs. 3,28,000. Reductions of Rs. 50,000 have been effected and the provision for 1923-24 has been reduced to Rs. 3,07,000. The figure adopted by the Committee represented the original estimate for 1922-23 after deduction of a cut of Rs. 50,000 towards meeting the lump cut made by the Assembly. Necessary expenditure was subsequently restored under this head. The possibility of further economy will be explored.	50,000	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page	Para.					
135	Police— <i>contd.</i>	172	15	Revision of contributions from Durbars for Raj, utana Police.	Rs. ..	The question is under consideration in connection with the reorganisation of the Police.	Rs. ..	
136	"	172	16	Revision of arrangements for payment of Railway Police.	..	Under consideration.	..	
137	"	172	16	Abolition of Inspector General and reduction of expenditure on police.	19,000	Reductions of Rs. 24,000 have been made and the budget provision will stand at Rs. 3,76,000. The actual expenditure in 1921-22 was Rs. 4,27,000.	24,000	Reorganisation of the Police is in progress.
138	"	173	17	Revision of contribution for police aid rendered to States and limitation of expenditure to Rs. 2,00,000.	..	A reduction of Rs. 35,000 has been made in the current year and the net expenditure will be Rs. 2,56,000. The Committee did not take into account the additional provision required for revision of pay and extra establishment entertained in consequence of the reduction in the Malwa Phil Corps.	35,000	Further savings of Rs. 21,500 and 3,000 respectively are expected to be effected during 1924-25 and 1925-26.
139	"	173	Conclusion.	Limitation of police expenditure to Rs. 80,83,000 or reduction of Rs. 9,00,000 on the estimated expenditure for 1922-23.	..	The revised estimates for 1922-23 were Rs. 89,15,000. The estimates for 1923-24 are Rs. 86,80,000 and further reductions are under consideration.	..	Considerable reductions have been effected when allowances are made for necessary additional expenditure on account of increment of pay
140	Ports and Pilotage.	175	8	Steps should be taken to make the various services self-supporting and reduction of Rs. 2,11,000 should be made in expenditure.	2,11,000	On the method in which charges under Ports and Pilotage were shown in the Retrenchment Committee's report, the demand under this head has been reduced to Rs. 23,91,000 as against	2,41,000	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Record.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1923-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
140	Ports and Piloting— <i>contd.</i>				Rs.	Rs. 24,21,000 recommended by the Committee, saving Rs. 1,21,000. The re-organisations of the services are under examination. The case of the Bengal Pilot Service has been examined by a local Committee. As regards the question of making lighthouse services and the survey of vessels entirely self-supporting, local Governments have been informed that the methods advocated by the Retrenchment Committee should be followed.	Rs.	
141	Ecclesiastical expenditure.	175	...	Early decisions should be arrived at on questions of policy now under consideration. Further recruitment of chaplains should be stopped and further economies effected.	2,00,000	Government have framed a scheme of reduction under which it is hoped to save Rs. 4,50,000 annually, the bulk of it by the end of 1925-26. A saving of Rs. 1,00,000 at least is expected in the current year.	1,00,000	
142	Scientific Departments.	190	4	Reduction in cadre of military officers, etc.	50,000	Four vacancies in the cadre of military officers have not been filled up and reversion of 3 officers to Army has been arranged. Recruitment of Indian Army officers has been suspended. The immediate saving of Rs. 50,000 will be effected.	50,000	
143		180	5	Co-operation between Survey Department and Local Governments, etc.	..	Accepted	..	
144	"	180	6	Saving of 20 per cent. on Supplies and Services.	8,400	The saving has been effected.	8,400	
145	"	181	7	Reduction in contingent charges for Trigonometrical Survey office.	24,500	The provision has been reduced to within Rs. 40,000.	24,500	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page	Para.					
146	Scientific Departments.	181	8	Placing of accounts of the Mathematical Survey Office on a commercial basis, etc.	Es. ...	The question was examined by a special committee whose recommendations are under consideration. Ditto.	Ra. ...	
147	"	181	3	Charges of Instrument Office to be fixed on a uniform basis to cover full cost.	...		...
143	"	...	...	Stocks to be reduced.	...	Under examination by a special committee.	...	
149	"	182	10	Reduction in survey parties. Estimates to be reduced to Rs. 26 lakhs.	9,09,000	A lump deduction of Rs. 6½ lakhs has been made in the general charges for survey parties and the question of reducing the number of parties is under consideration.	6,50,000	
150	"	182	12	Retention of headquarters at Calcutta to be examined.	...	According to latest estimates the cost of new offices at Debra Dun would be Rs. 47 lakhs while the Calcutta offices would fetch Rs. 25 lakhs. It has been decided to postpone the transfer.	...	
151	"	183	13	Abolition of Weather Reports and reductions in general expenditure on Meteorology.	84,000	Monthly weather review has been abolished and issue of reports during dry season discontinued. It is however proposed to re-issue the Calcutta Report throughout the whole of 1924-25.	84,000	
153	"	183	14	Vacancies in Geological Survey to be kept unfilled till Indian recruits available.	67,000	Of the 7 vacancies in 1923, three were filled in that year. As it is not possible to defer recruitment without seriously interfering with the work of the Department it is proposed to fill two vacancies in 1924.	73,000	
				Department to work in co-operation with Provincial Governments.		The adoption of this recommendation is not likely to result in any saving to the Central Government and there are practical difficulties also in giving effect to it. The recommendation has therefore not been accepted by Government.	...	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
153	Scientific departments.	185	17	Reduction in presentation of quinine.	Rs. 50,000	The reduction has been effected.	Rs. 50,000	
154	"	185	18	Estimate for Botanical Survey to be limited to Rs 18,35,000.	8,80,000	The estimate has been reduced to Rs. 18,70,000.	9,98,000	For 1924-25 the estimates for Botanical Survey are being reduced to less than 10 lakhs
155	"	185	19	Reduction of establishment of Zoological Survey and provision to be limited to Rs. 1,30,000.	47,000	The expenditure will be limited to Rs. 1,55,000.	22,000	No further reduction is possible.
156	"	185-187	20-24	Reductions in Archaeological Survey.	6,29,000	It has been decided to make a lump reduction of Rs. 3 lakhs in the current year and restrict expenditure to Rs. 19,72,000 as against Rs. 10 lakhs recommended by the Committee. The reduction has been effected under the heads supplies, services and contingencies.	3,00,000	
157	"	187	25	Recovery of cost of Mine surveys.	...	Will be taken up in connection with amendment of Land Acquisition (Mines) Act.	...	
158	"	187	25	Curtailment of free issues of publications, etc	...	Accepted	...	
159	"	188	27	Reductions in Archaeological Section of Calcutta Museum.	14,600	The expenditure has now been transferred to the head Archaeological Survey in which a reduction of Rs. 3,00,000 has been effected.	...	
160	"	189	30	Reductions in expenditure in Minor Administrations.	16,000	Accepted	16,000	
161	"	189	31	Discontinuance of grant to Imperial Institute.	21,000	Accepted	21,000	
				Grant to Mineral Resources Bureau to be reduced to £1,000.	18,000	Accepted	18,000	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks. (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
162	Scientific Departments.	190	31	Reduction in purchase of stores in England.	Rs. 4,05,000	The provision has been reduced to Rs. 223,700.	Rs. 3,49,500	
163	"	190	Conclusion (6)	Provision for Scientific Departments to be limited to Rs. 82,58,000.	30,02,000	Provision has been limited to Rs. 88,93,000.	23,67,000	Further reductions are under consideration.
164	Education	162	3	Elimination of grant to Rajkot College and reduction of grant to Aitchison College.	Rs. 28,000	The provision for the Rajkot College has been reduced to Rs. 10,000 and that for the Aitchison College to Rs. 15,000.	28,000	
165	"	163	7	Reduction in grant to Training College, Fushawar.	25,000	The post of Principal will be kept unfilled.	...	
				Contribution to Islamia College not to be increased. Grant to Dera Ismail Khan College to be withdrawn.	5,600	There is no proposal to increase grant to the former College. It has been decided to continue the grant to the latter college.	...	
166	"	164	8	Reduction in grant for secondary education in the North-West Frontier Province.	1,08,000	A provisional reduction of Rs. 1,00,000 was made in the budget but it has been decided to apply to the Assembly for restoration of Rs. 40,000.	60,000	No further reduction is possible.
167	"	193 and 11	10 and 11	Reductions in cost of special schools and general charges.	44,000	Reductions of Rs. 40,000 have been made.	40,000	
168	"	193	12	Reductions in expenditure on Secondary Education in Baluchistan.	15,000	The reductions have been effected.	15,000	
169	"	193	13	Reduction in general charges in Baluchistan.	18,750	Reductions to the extent of Rs. 14,640 have been made in the provision.	14,640	
170	"	166	15	Reductions of grants to Delhi College.	91,500	It has been decided that the provisional cut should be restored to the extent of Rs. 25,000 and that the grant should be limited to Rs. 65,000 for a term of 3 years from 1924-25.	65,000	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
171	Education	196	15	Scheme for Delhi University to be reconsidered.	Rs. 50,000	It has been decided to retain the University and provision has been voted by the Assembly.	Rs. ...	
172	"	196	16	Reduction in expenditure on secondary education in Delhi.	50,560	A provisional reduction of Rs. 45,000 was made in the budget but it has been decided to apply to the Assembly for restoration of Rs. 25,000.	20,000	
173	"	197	17	Reduction in expenditure on education in Coorg.	41,000	The provision has been reduced by Rs. 20,000.	20,000	
174	"	197	19	Reduction of expenditure on the Ajmera College.	12,700	Under consideration.	...	
175	"	198	20	Reduction in expenditure on secondary education in Ajmere.	25,000	A lump deduction of Rs. 20,000 was made but reductions to the extent of only Rs. 13,566 have been effected. Further reductions are not possible.	13,566	
176	"	198	24	Reductions on grants for secondary education in Rajasthan.	14,000	A reduction of Rs. 3,380 has been effected. Further reduction is not possible.	3,380	
177	"	199	26	Reductions in grants in Hyderabad.	18,480	A reduction of Rs. 9,000 has been accepted for the current year and repeated also in the budget estimates of 1924-25. The question of effecting further reduction is under consideration.	9,000	
178	"	200	33	Curtailment of grants for higher education, etc.	...	The Educational Commissioner is examining the question.	...	
179	"	200	34	Grants for primary education to be fixed on a capita- tion basis.	...	It is stated that the system advocated by the Committee is wasteful and that it has been discredited in the past.	...	
180	"	200	Conclusion (5).	Reduction in total expenditure on education.	5,19,000	The provision for Education after restoration of Rs. 90,000 will stand at Rs. 33,06,000 compared with Rs. 27,77,000 recommended by the Committee.	...	The total reductions which have now been admitted amount to Rs. 1,80,000.
181	Medical Services and Public Health.	204	3	Abolition of appointments of Officer on Special Duty and D. A. D. G.	20,900	The appointments have been abolished	25,300	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
161	Medical Services and Public Health— <i>contd.</i>	...	...	Reduction of appointment of Public Health Commissioner.	Rs. 45,000	It has been decided that the post should not be abolished. Counter-vailing savings of Rs. 13,000 under other items were effected in 1923-24.	Rs. 13,000	
162	Do.	204	4	Reduction in expenditure in Director-General's Office.	24,000	Reductions in excess of the recommendation have been made.	37,000	
163	Do.	205	8	Abolition of appointments of 12 Bacteriological officers.	1,97,400	The provision for 1923-24 was reduced to Rs. 1,07,000. Further reductions of Rs. 12,500 are proposed. It is considered necessary to retain a nucleus of 6 officers.	1,02,900	
164	Medical Services.	205	8	Contribution to Indian Research Fund to be discontinued.	5,00,000	This has been discontinued for the present.	5,00,000	
				Appointment of Director, Medical Research, to be abolished.	30,000	The appointment has been kept in abeyance.	27,500	
165	Do.	206	11	Reduction in plague charges and grant for Central Health Board.	10,500	Accepted.	10,500	
166	Do.	206	12	Reduction of charges for Imperial Serologist and abolition of appointment if not made self-supporting.	20,000	Reductions effected. fees will be levied and abolition will be considered if office does not prove self-supporting.	20,700	
167	Do.	206	13	Charges to be levied for training at X-ray Institute.	...	It appears that the amount recoverable would be so small that it would not be worth while to effect recovery.	...	
				Cancellation of indent for stores and limitation of stocks.	1,27,000	Accepted.	1,27,000	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1923-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
188	Medical Services —contd.	206	14	Revision of quarantine arrangements.	Rs. ...	It is stated that the Committee has misunderstood the situation and it is not proposed to pursue the matter further.	Rs. ...	
189	Do.	207	16	Reductions in Baluchistan.	57,000	A reduction of Rs. 44,500 will be effected under Medical and Rs. 10,000 under Public Health. No further reductions are feasible.	54,500	
190	Do.	207	17	Reductions in Delhi	54,000	Reduction of Rs. 9,000 and 7,000 respectively have been effected under Medical and Public Health. The provision for Public Health includes a sum of Rs. 7,000 for Nurse Visitors which the Committee did not take into account. Further reductions are not feasible.	16,000	
191	Do.	208	18	Reductions in Coorg	11,500	It is proposed to limit the expenditure for 1924-25 to Rs. 75,000 against the sanctioned grant of Rs. 89,000 for the current year.	12,000	
192	Medical Services and Public Health.	208	Conclusion (4)	Total reductions in these Departments.	14,19,000	The total reductions made under these two heads amount to about Rs. 12 lakhs.	12,00,000	
193	Agriculture.	209	4	Fairy Farms to be self-supporting and two Military Farms to be transferred to the Department.	...	Three military dairies have been transferred to the Department. Their cost, with the exception of that of Dairy Expert and Physiological Chemist, is proposed to be met from receipts.	...	
194	"	210	6	Central Cotton Committee to be self-supporting.	79,000	All expenditure incurred will be met from proceeds of Cotton Cess.	79,000	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
195	Agriculture— —contd.	210	7	Continuance of Sugar Bureau to be examined.	Rs. ...	It has been decided to continue the Bureau in view of the useful work which it does but the expenditure has been reduced by Rs. 2,000.	Rs. 2,000	
196	Do.	210	8	Local Government to be asked to increase contribution to Pusa Hospital.	...	The Local Government has agreed to increase the contribution to Rs. 4,000.	...	
197	Do.	219	9	Reductions in establishment of Agricultural Adviser.	10,000	Accepted	10,000	
198	Do.	210	10	Reduction of Rs. 10,000 under supplies, services, etc.	10,000	Reduction of Rs. 5,000 accepted.	5,000	
199	Do.	211	11	Reduction in expenditure on Research Institute.	50,000	Reduction of Rs. 15,000 in the contingent expenditure has been effected. The posts of Supernumerary Entomologist and Assistant Bacteriologist have been abolished. As regards the post of Supernumerary Mycologist, the Secretary of State has been asked to abolish it meanwhile it is held in abeyance. The post of Supernumerary Agriculturist chemist and supernumerary Agriculturist cannot be abolished until the present incumbents are provided for elsewhere. No expenditure is being incurred during the current year on the latter post and efforts are being made to provide for the former elsewhere.	39,000	
200	Do.	211	12	Charges for training of students at Pusa Institute.	...	Accepted and fees are now being charged.	...	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
201	Agriculture— contd.	211	13	Muktesar Institute to be self-supporting.	Rs. ...	A reduction of Rs. 35,000 has been made in the expenditure. Every endeavour is being made to cheapen the process of serum manufactured with a view to effect further savings.	Rs. 35,000	
202	Do.	211	14	Reductions in North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan.	19,000	Accepted . . .	19,000	
203	Do.	211	Conclusion (4)	Reductions in total expenditure on Agriculture.	2,86,000	Actual reductions amount to Rs. 2,55,000.	2,55,000	
204	Industries	212	5	Postponement of School of Mines and Geology.	...	It has been decided to make no provision for the construction of the School in 1923-24.	...	
205	Civil Aviation.	213	3	Retention of Chief Inspector not justified.	...	As an experimental measure the appointment has been terminated and the present incumbent appointed temporarily as a Consulting Aeronautical Engineer on a retaining fee of Rs. 300 per mensem. The position will be reviewed shortly with a view to determine whether the new arrangement is working satisfactorily.	...	
				Provision for Aerodromes.	7,000	No provision has been made.	13,000	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on Budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
206	Civil Aviation.	213	4	Disposal of gift Aeroplanes.	Rs. 5,000	Machines have been disposed of.	5,000	
207	Do.	213	5	Reduction in total provision.	33,000	Provision has been reduced to Rs. 24,000 and further reductions are under consideration.	24,000	
208	Miscellaneous Departments.	214	4-6	Reductions under Commercial Intelligence.	2,80,000	The expenditure has been reduced to Rs. 2,53,000 and the possibility of further reduction is under consideration particularly in the matter of publications.	2,27,000	Reductions in establishment and other charges have been effected so as to bring down the budget of the Department for 1924-25 to Rs. 2,12,000.
208-A	Do.	215	7	Limitation of the provision for the completion of the census of 1921, to Rs. 1 lakh.	4,22,000	The total census grant for 1923-24 authorized is Rs. 1 lakh.	4,22,000	
209	Do.	216	12	Abolition of Board of Examiners.	50,000	The Board has been abolished and expenditure in the current year reduced to Rs. 35,000.	31,000	
210	Do.	216	13	Fees to be charged for inspections by Explosives Department.	...	Under consideration.	...	
211	Do.	216	15	No provision to be made for further expansion of the Indian Stores Department until expansion is financially justified. Expenditure to be limited to Rs. 3,00,000.	83,000	The recommendation has not been accepted by Government for the reasons given by the Hon'ble the Finance Member in the statement placed on the table of the Assembly on the 16th July 1923.	...	
212	Do.	216	16	Discontinuation of registration of Provincial Trade statistics.	15,000	Reductions have been effected.	9,000	
213	Do.	217	18	Close the office in the City and carry out the duties in the High Commissioner's office with additional establishment costing £2,000.	1,15,000	The city office has been closed and the work transferred to the High Commissioner's office. The cost has been reduced to £2,500.	1,07,500	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1923-24.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
					Rs.		Rs.	
214	Miscellaneous Departments—contd.	217	19	Reduction in provision for expenditure in England on sundry items.	45,000	A reduction has been effected to this extent, but it appears that there will be a carry over of some 12,500 from last year and it is doubtful whether the whole saving will be effected.	45,000	
215	Do.	317		Total reductions under the head Miscellaneous Departments.	11,18,000	Excluding the special provision of Rs. 23,40,000 for the British Empire Exhibition a saving of Rs. 7,19,000 has been effected in the normal expenditure under this head.	7,19,000	Further reduction under consideration.
216	Customs	218		Strength and pay of staff in Customs Houses to be examined.	...	The question will shortly be taken up by the Customs Member who has recently been appointed to the Central Board of Revenue, but the prospects of effecting a reduction are doubtful, having regard to the fact that the Board has recently had to consider proposals for increasing establishments in certain cases.	...	
217	Salt	221	6	Introduction of commercial accounts.	...	Commercial accounts have been introduced in the Northern India Salt Revenue Department and, as experience is gained, will be extended to the Salt Departments in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies.	—	
218	Do.	221	8-9	Reductions in Northern India Salt Revenue Department.	13,51,000	Accepted.	13,51,000	
219	Do.	223	13	Reduction in Bombay and examination of possibility of Central Government taking over administration of Salt.	5,02,000	Reduction accepted. Question of administration is under consideration.	5,02,000	
220	Do.	224	15	Total reductions in Salt Estimates.	19,15,000	These reductions have been accepted.	19,15,000	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1923-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
221	Opium .	225	3	Abolition of appointment of Managing Director.	Rs. 18,000	It has been decided to retain the post of the Managing Director, but it is proposed to amalgamate the office of the Opium Agent, Ghazipur, with that of Income Tax Commissioner, U. P., as an experimental measure for the present, with effect from March 1924.	Rs. ...	
222	"	225	4	Reduction of purchase price paid to cultivators.	...	The proposal has been examined, but it is reported to be too early to reduce the present price the question will be re-examined when the results of poppy cultivation of the season 1923-24 in the United Provinces are known.	...	NOTE.—The reduction of Rs. 20 lakhs assumed by the Committee was based on estimates which were then incomplete. Further prior commitments for purchase of opium have made it impossible to effect the reduction assumed. In any case any reduction in expenditure would mean a considerable loss of revenue.
223	Land Revenue.	227	4	Reductions in North-West Frontier Province.	1,63,000	Provision has been reduced to Rs. 4,09,716.	1,16,284	Further reductions are under consideration. The budget includes a special provision of Rs. 50,000 for the Peshawar settlement which the Committee has not taken into account.

Serial No.	H. a. l.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reductions proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page	Para.					
224	Land Revenue— contd.	227	5	Reductions in Baluchistan.	Rs. 81,000	Accepted	Rs. 81,000	
225	Do.	227	7	Reductions in Coorg.	47,000	A reduction of Rs. 46,000 has been made, but part of this is due to adjustment. Further reduction is not possible.	46,000	
226	Do.	228	Conclusion.	Reduction in total expenditure under Land Revenue.	8,97,000	The budget has been reduced to Rs. 11,66,000.	3,98,000	A part of the reduction is due to readjustment of Treasury Charges.
227	Excise	228	3	Arrangements to be made with provinces regarding payment of still-head duty or, alternatively, direct manufacture by Central Government.	...	Supplying provinces are not prepared to forego the duty. The Government of India are considering in consultation with them the adoption of a general principle to regulate all transactions relating to the inter-provincial import and export of excisable articles.	...	
228	Stamps	230	7	Debit to minor administrations of cost of stamps supplied.	...	Accepted . . . . .	...
229	Do.	231	8	Printing of post-cards in India.	...	This forms part of the much wider question of undertaking the printing of security papers in India. That question has been examined by an expert committee and in pursuance of their recommendations, it has been decided to establish an experimental press in Delhi in order to see whether local manufacture is possible or not. The press is expected to be in working order very soon.	...	
230	Do.	231	10	Charging provincial expenditure direct to provincial accounts in England.	...	This has been accepted and steps have been taken to carry it into effect.	...	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
231	Stamps	231	11	Reduction of stocks.	Rs. ...	Not feasible, as it is considered essential to avoid any possibility of a shortage of stamps during the period which may elapse between the termination of the existing contract and the contemplated introduction of the scheme for the manufacture of stamps in India.	Rs. ...	
232	Do.	231	12	Claim against Provincial Governments for loss in exchange. Recovery of railway freight.	... ...	Accepted Do.	... ...
233	Do.	233	13	Improvement in system of effecting recoveries.	...	Do.	...	
234	Do.	234	Conclusion.	Reduction in net expenditure on stamp operations.	22,00,000	Larger reductions are anticipated.	25,50,000	
235	Forests	234	2-3	Change in present method of administration and management of forests on commercial lines.	...	Under consideration.	...	
236	Do.	235	7	Reconsideration of scheme for expansion of Research Institute and limitation of expenditure to Rs. 8 lakhs.	86,000	The scheme is under reconsideration and charges have been reduced to Rs. 8,73,000.	91,000	The reduction was made on the provisional estimate for the current year.
237	Do.	236	9	Abolition of appointment of Director of Forest Studies in England.	13,500	Recommended to Secretary of State, who has sanctioned subject to completion of the alternative arrangements which are in progress.	...	
238	Do.	236	Conclusion.	Reduction in total Forest expenditure.	6,90,000	The total provision has been reduced to Rs. 46,10,000.	6,35,000	
239	Interest.	238	5	Purchase of sinking funds by open tender.	...	Under consideration.	...	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).	
		Page.	Para.						
240	Currency	239	5	Discontinuance of one rupee note.	...	The opinions of Local Governments and Chambers of Commerce have been invited. Meanwhile new supplies have been restricted and question of reducing cost of supply is also under consideration.	...		
241	Mints	242	4	Closing of portion of Mints.	...	Under consideration.	...		
				Transfer of Calcutta Mint to cheaper site.	...	Under consideration with Government of Bengal.	...		
242	Do.	244	Conclusion	Reduction in expenditure on Mints.	4,12,000	The reduction will be effected.	4,12,000		
243	Exchange	244		2	Revision of method of shewing exchange in the budget.	...	The method has been revised in the current budget though on different lines.	...	
244	Civil Works.	246		3	Reconsideration of expansion of Forest Research Institute.	...	Expenditure will be limited to existing commitments. Provision for current year reduced.	2,00,000	
244	Do.	246		3	Bhanbad School of Mines.	2,00,000	Provision has been omitted in current year.	2,00,000	
				Reduction in provision for Agricultural Institute.	1,00,000	Provision reduced accordingly.	1,00,000		
				General reductions in expenditure on original works.	5,30,000	Total reductions effected.	5,00,000		
245	Do.	246	4	Limitation of provision for repairs.	7,50,000	Accepted . . .	7,50,000		
246	Do.	246	5	Future utilisation of buildings in Calcutta.	...	Substantial progress has been made with the disposal, to the best advantage, of the space available in the buildings owned by the Central Government in Calcutta.	...		

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
247	Civil Works— contd.	247	6	Reductions in establishment charges in Rajputana and Central India.	Rs. 40,000	An alternative scheme has been adopted involving abolition of two Executive Engineers and considerable further savings in establishment.	Rs. 1,07,000	
				Reductions in Coorg	20,000	Larger reductions have been effected.	23,000	
				Reductions in Simla	35,000	A reduction of Rs. 23,000 has been effected during the current year and a reduction amounting to Rs. 42,000 will be effected during the next year.	23,000	
				Total reductions in establishment charges.	2,50,000	Reductions have been effected on lines proposed.	2,00,000	
248	Do.	247	7	System of tenders for complete works and of lump sum contracts whenever possible.	...	The system has been encouraged but as Local Governments are the Agents in this work, the question is largely for their discretion. The question is however under further consideration.	...	
249	Civil Works.	248	8	Revision of arrangements for execution of works now carried out by the agency of Local Governments.	...	As an experiment a proposal to transfer the works in the United Provinces to the Delhi Engineering Staff has been sanctioned. If it proves successful, similar arrangements will be made in other provinces.	...	
250	Do.	248	9	Reappropriation of funds and introduction of a system to obviate rush of expenditure at end of year.	...	Under consideration	...	
251	New Delhi	249	5	Revision of scheme for construction of new station.	...	Under consideration	...	
252	Territorial and Political Pensions.	250	...	Endeavour to be made to effect progressive reductions.	...	The principle has been followed in the past and will be strictly adhered to in future cases.	...	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
253	Superannuation allowances and pensions.	251	4	An actuarial examination should be made of the cost of revision of pensions.	Rs. ...	The Government Actuary was consulted, but an accurate examination would mean very great delay. It has been otherwise ascertained that compared with the present system, the revised rules are not likely to involve any material charges in present scale of expenditure.	Rs. ...	
254	Do.	251	5	Adoption of varying mortality rates.	...	The principle has been accepted and an examination will be made.	...	
255	Do.	252	7	Debit to commercial departments of pensionary charges.	...	This is already being done in the accounts of the main commercial departments and steps are being taken to include these charges in other departments which perform functions of a commercial character.	...	
256	Do.	252	8	Revision of temporary increased scales of pension in 1924.	...	Local Governments have been asked for their opinion and the question will be considered on receipt of their replies.	...	
257	Stationery and Printing.	253-260	...	Reductions and improvements in Stationery and Printing organisation.	10,37,000	The specific recommendations are under consideration and budget provision for 1923-24 has been reduced to Rs. 60 lakhs.	15,56,000	Paragraphs 4, 5, 7, 11, 13 and 16 have been accepted.
258	Miscellaneous.	261	5	Special commissions of enquiry to be resorted to only in exceptional cases.	...	This recommendation has been noted and will be observed whenever possible.	...	
259	Do.	261	7	Local Clearing Office to be amalgamated with Peace Treaty Branch.	...	This has been carried into effect.	...	
260	Do.	262	9	Revision of incidence of certain payments to provinces.	45,000	Decision will shortly be arrived at. A provisional saving of Rs. 20,000 has been made.	20,000	
261	Do.	263	11	Reduction in miscellaneous expenditure on the North-West Frontier Province.	1,22,000	Provision for grain compensation has been omitted. The reserve of Rs. 30,000 has been cut out and a reduction of Rs. 2,000 effected under Darbar presents.	1,20,000	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
262	Miscellaneous— <i>contd.</i>	263	13	Reduction in miscellaneous charges in Delhi.	Rs. 45,000	The reserve has been eliminated and the grant to the Notified Area reduced as proposed.	Rs. 65,000	
263	Do.	264	Conclusion.	Reduction of provision under the head Miscellaneous.	14,03,000	It has not been possible to secure this reduction. The Committee assumed a reduction of Rs. 7,80,000 in expenditure in England under this head but the estimate for the current year is Rs. 21 lakhs, a reduction of Rs. 2,37,000 only. Provision has also been necessary for the Public Services and for unavoidable payments to provincial governments. Omitting the special provision and anticipated supplementary grants the normal estimate under this head will be Rs. 69,86,000. Reductions have been effected as indicated under the preceding items.	—	
264	Adjustments with Provincial Governments.	272	2	Steps to be taken to determine the amount of the fixed assignment to be made to Burma for the cost of Military police.	—	The question is under consideration with the Government of Burma.	—	
265	Expenditure in Minor Administrations.	277	Conclusion.	Settlement to be entered into with the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan. A special enquiry to be made into the cost of minor administrations in Central India and Rajputana.	—	The decision on the report of the North West Frontier Province Enquiry Committee is awaited. Further, owing to the disturbed condition of the frontier the present time is inopportune for framing standard figures to form the basis of a settlement. It is therefore proposed to postpone consideration of the question till the budget of 1924-25 is settled. Such an enquiry is being made.	—	

Serial No.	Head.	Reference to Report.		Recommendation.	Reduction proposed on budget of 1922-23.	Action taken or now proposed.	Reduction in 1923-24.	Remarks (further action proposed, etc.).
		Page.	Para.					
266	Pay, leave and allowances.	285	Conclusion (1).	The whole question of pay and leave conditions of the subordinate services to be made the subject of an enquiry in which local Governments will be associated.	Rs. ...	Almost all the local Governments who were addressed on the question of pay are of opinion that no reduction is feasible and seem to be satisfied that on a general comparison of the present and pre-war conditions the present scales of pay are not unduly extravagant. The proposal for an all India enquiry has not, therefore been taken up at present. But enquiries into individual cases of excessive enhancement are being pursued. An examination of the present leave rules is in progress with a view to economy.	Rs.	
267	Do.	285	Conclusions (2) and (3)	Revision of travelling allowance rules.	...	The recommendations of the Committee have been accepted with a slight modification and orders have been issued accordingly.	...	The probable saving is not known but on the basis of expenditure for 1922-23, it is estimated that a saving of about Rs. 15 lakhs should be secured by the revision of the rules and stricter control over this expenditure.
268	General Observations.	292	6	Introduction of commercial accounts.	...	Will be adopted for all departments affected.	...	
269	...	292	7	Reductions in holdings of Stores.	...	Stocks are under examination in all departments affected and the recommendation is being carried into effect.	...	
270	...	...	...	Total reductions recommended in the civil departments.	965 lakhs.	Exclusive of interest and Sinking fund charges, the total reductions now accepted in the current year's budget are about Rs. 7½ crores.	721 lakhs.	The possibility of further reductions is being considered.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

CAPITAL EXPENDITURE ON NEW DELHI.

1. **Sir Parshotamdas Thakurdas:** With reference to question No. 30* asked by me in the Council of State on 16th July 1923, regarding "Capital Expenditure on New Delhi", will Government be pleased to put on the table the "Report" referred to by the Hon'ble Member in the course of his reply to me to the above question?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The report is of a very technical and lengthy nature and in the circumstances it is not proposed to place it on the table; but I shall be glad to show the Honourable Member a copy at the Railway Board's Office.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE INCHCAPE COMMITTEE.

2. **Sir Parshotamdas Thakurdas:** Will Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing in detail:

- (1) their decision regarding those recommendations of the Inchcape Committee which were said to be "under consideration" in answer to a question† in the Council of State on 16th July 1923,
- (2) whether those reductions proposed by the Inchcape Committee, which had been "allowed for" in the Budget for 1923-24, have been actually effected, and
- (3) the total amount of reductions made up to now, and likely to be made during the present financial year, in pursuance of the recommendations of the Inchcape Committee?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The Honourable Member is referred to the statement laid on the table this morning in reply to a similar question‡ by Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao.

TRANSFER OF THE STATION MASTER, BALLYGUNGE.

3. **Mr. K. C. Neogy:** (1) Will Government be pleased to state how long the present Station Master of Ballygunge Station (E. B. Ry.) has not been transferred from the Station, and if there is any rule regarding the transfer of such officers?

(2) Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) The quantity of coal which has reached the Ballygunge Railway Station every month, for the last 3 years.
- (b) If this coal is stored in the Railway Yard, and the amount of money realised by the Railway authorities on that account?

* Vide p. 1463, Council of State Debates, Vol. III.

† Vide pages 1417-70, Council of State Debates, Vol. III.

‡ Starred Question No. 53.

(3) Is it a fact that the merchants and traders of the locality have recently approached the Agent for his transfer?

(4) Will Government be pleased to state what steps have been taken on the representation made by the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce in this matter?

(5) Will Government be pleased to state why the said Station Master has not been transferred for so long a time?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (1) The Station Master, Ballygunge, has been there since June 1913. There is no rule requiring a Station Master to be transferred after any given period.

(2) (a) and (b). The information is not available.

(3) The answer is in the negative.

(4) The matter was enquired into by the Agent, Eastern Bengal Railway, and no evidence of friction between the Station Master and passengers and traders was adduced. The Bengal National Chamber of Commerce was so informed by the Agent.

(5) See (1) above. It has not been found necessary to transfer the Station Master.

EXPORT OF BOVINE CATTLE.

4. **Raja Raghunandan Prasad Singh:** Will the Government be pleased to give the exact or fairly accurate number of bovine cattle, classified according to their kinds, exported to foreign countries during the last two years from British India?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: No statistics are recorded of the different kinds of cattle exported from India. The total number of bovine cattle exported in the years 1921-22 and 1922-23, were 21,179 and 13,675 respectively.

RESULTS OF THE INCCAPE COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATIONS.

*5. **Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state what total reduction in expenditure has been effected for 1923-24 as per the recommendations of the Inccape Committee over and above the amounts stated in their answer to question No. 15 (page 4063 of Volume III, Part VII of the Legislative Assembly Debates) and under what heads?

(b) Will the Government be pleased to state further what decision they have arrived at in respect of the following heads of expenditure and what further reduction in expenditure they expect to budget for in the years 1924-25 and 1925-26:—

(1) In the peace establishment noted under heads 1 to 7 of the Army Expenditure at page 4064 of Volume III, referred to above.

(2) In the pay of "Officers and clerks at Army Headquarters" as recommended by the Inccape and Innes Committees and noted in heads 8 and 9 at page 4065 of the above Volume.

* For answer to this question, see Answer below Question No. 12.

(3) In " army commands, district and brigades staff and transport," noted in heads Nos. 10 and 12 of the same volume, page 4065.

(4) Regarding " transport charges " referred to in head 13 of the same volume, page 4067.

(5) Regarding the Railway noted in head 13 and when is it likely to be budgeted for?

(6) In respect of " English Army Education second part " referred to in head 26 of the same volume, page 4068.

(7) In respect of the heads " Hospitals, etc.," referred to in heads 27 and 28 of the same volume, page 4068.

(8) Under heads 32 to 35 of the same volume, page 4069, regarding the several departments (Ordnance, Clothing, etc., Depots).

(9) Under " Military Works " heads 71 and 72, page 4076 of Volume III.

(10) Regarding the savings covered by heads 2 to 7, 10, 14 to 16, 19, 20 of the "Royal Indian Marine " shown in pages 4079 to 4082?

RETRENCHMENTS IN THE POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

*6. **Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar:** Will the Government be pleased to state if the question of staff—" Officers, Clerks and Engineering establishments"—of the Posts and Telegraphs Department, has been fully gone into, and, if so, what reduction in expenditure under that head has been made in the budget of 1923-24 over and above that referred to under heads 29 to 31 of page 4088 of Volume III of the Assembly Debates and what further reduction in expenditure is proposed to be effected in 1924-25?

Similarly, what reduction is expected to be effected in the following heads for 1923 to 1924 and for 1924-25:—

- (1) " Conveyance of mails " referred to in heads 32 to 33, page 4089.
- (2) " Account and Audit " covered by head 34, page 4089.
- (3) " Travelling allowance " under head 35, page 4089.
- (4) " Stationery and Printing " under head 36, page 4089.
- (5) " Supply and services " under head 39, page 4089.
- (6) " House rent, etc., allowances " under head 40, page 4089.
- (7) " Maintenance of Telegraphs and Telephone lines " under head 42, page 4090.
- (8) " Miscellaneous source " under head 43, page 4090.
- (9) " Contingency " under head 47, page 4090.
- (10) " Apparatus and plants " under head 50, page 4090.
- (11) " Depot establishments " under head 51, page 4090.

* For answer to this question, see Answer to Question No. 12.

RETRENCHMENT IN THE INDO-EUROPEAN TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT.

*7. **Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar:** Have all or any of the methods suggested in conclusions 1 to 4 referred to on page 120 of the Inchcape Committee report, been adopted in respect of the Indo-European Telegraph Department and if so, what reduction in expenditure and increases of income is anticipated in 1924-25?

RETRENCHMENT IN EXPENDITURE UNDER IRRIGATION.

*8. **Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar:** Has the method suggested in the Inchcape Committee Report for irrigation been adopted and with what financial results?

RETRENCHMENT IN EXPENDITURE UNDER GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

*9. **Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar:** Have all or any of the methods referred to in conclusions 1 to 6 noted at page 144 under the head "General Administration" of the Inchcape Committee's report been adopted and with what financial results in income and expenditure for the year 1923-24 and for 1924-25?

RETRENCHMENT IN POLITICAL EXPENDITURE.

*10. **Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar:** Under the head "Political Expenditure" have all or any of the methods referred to in conclusions 1 to 5 on page 161 of the Inchcape Committee's report been adopted and with what financial results in the income and expenditure for 1923-24 and for 1924-25?

RETRENCHMENT IN EXPENDITURE UNDER AUDIT.

*11. **Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar:** Under the head "Audit" noted on page 165 of the Inchcape Committee's report have all or any of the methods been adopted and with what financial results for 1923-24 and for 1924-25?

RETRENCHMENT IN EXPENDITURE UNDER JAILS, POLICE, ETC.

12. **Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar:** Under the head "Jails" on page 168, "Police" on page 173, "Ports and Pilotage" on page 175, "Ecclesiastical expenditure" on page 175, "Scientific department" on page 190, "Education" on page 250 and "Public Health and Medical service" on page 208 and "Miscellaneous department" on page 217, have the methods suggested in the Inchcape Committee's report been adopted and with what financial results for 1923-24 and for 1924-25?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The Honourable Member is referred to the revised statement laid on the table this morning in reply to the question† by Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao, which gives such information as is available at present. As regards the financial results in income and expenditure for the year 1924-25 involved by the adoption of the methods recommended in the Indian Retrenchment Committee's report, I would ask the Honourable Member to await the Budget Statement and discussions.

* For answers to these questions, see the Answer below Question No. 12.

† Starred Question No. 53.

HOUSE RENT ALLOWANCES FOR TELEGRAPH STAFF.

13. **Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar:** Will the Government be pleased to state what decision they have come to, in regard to the scale of house rent allowances to be given to the Telegraph service men, after the recommendation of the Inchcape Committee referred to in page 99 of their report and whether it is proposed to give effect to the recommendations of the Telegraph Committee of 1921 to place Indians and non-Indians entertained prior to March 1913 on a footing of equality in the matter of house rent allowance? If not, why not?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: No final decision has yet been arrived at by Government on the recommendations of the Inchcape Committee regarding the scale of house rent allowances to the telegraph staff. The question is still under examination. The recommendations of the Telegraph Committee of 1921 to place Indians and non-Indians entertained prior to March 1913 on a footing of equality in the matter of house rent allowance could not be accepted by Government in view of the additional expenditure involved. Government regret that for the same reason they are unable to reconsider the question at the present time.

INCOME FROM THIRD CLASS RAILWAY PASSENGERS.

14. **Raja Raghunandan Prasad Singh:** Will the Government be pleased to state the income arising from third class travelling on each of the Railways under its control, direct or indirect, during any week of the last Dussehra and X'mas seasons as also during the week next preceding and that next following each of the said seasons?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The information asked for by the Honourable Member is not readily available on Railways and cannot be obtained without an expenditure of time and labour which the value of the results would not warrant.

STERLING SECURITIES HELD ON ACCOUNT OF THE GOLD STANDARD RESERVE.

15. **Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas:** Will Government be pleased to lay the following information on the table:

- (a) Amount and description of the various Sterling Securities held on account of the Gold Standard Reserve on 31st March, 1915, and each subsequent year,
- (b) When and at what rates were each of such securities realised, if any,
- (c) What was the loss on realisation of each of such security as compared to its original purchase costs?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a) The information is available from the Finance and Revenue Accounts for the years concerned and also from the statements showing the position of the Gold Standard Reserve published in the *Gazette of India* from time to time.

(b) and (c). A statement giving the information required is placed on the table. It does not include British Treasury Bills which are purchased, renewed and realised at current rates.

Statement showing sterling securities other than British Treasury Bills held in the Gold Standard Reserve.

Description of Securities.	NOMINAL VALUE OF				Gain (+) or Loss (-) on realisation.
	Balance on 31st March 1915.	Securities since purchased.	Securities since realised.	Balance on 31st March 1923.	
	£	£	£	£	£
6% Exchequer Bonds	...	5,545,500	5,545,500	...	...
5½% Exchequer Bonds	...	12,013,700	9,763,700	2,250,000	-41,484
5½% New South Wales Bonds and Stock.	...	129,000	129,000	...	+1,168
5½% Union of South Africa Bills.	...	2,050,000	1,350,000	700,000	+21,639
5% Exchequer Bonds	...	13,893,500	13,893,500	...	-30,085
5% National War Bonds	...	25,686,000	20,780,000	4,906,000	+61,352
5% National War Loan Stock.	...	4,329,782	3,762,181	567,601	-223,339
4½% National War Loan Stock.	...	3,574,000	3,574,000	...	
4% Southern Nigeria Bonds	350,000	...	350,000	...	+1,116
4% Queensland Stock	55,000	...	55,000	...	-1,208
4% Queensland Bonds	155,000	...	155,000	...	-2,931
3½% Canada Government Bonds.	161,000	...	161,000	...	-3,437
3½% New Zealand Debentures	45,000	...	45,000	...	-170
3½% New South Wales Stock	113,000	...	113,000	...	+552
3½% Corporation of London Debentures.	45,000	...	45,000	...	-451
3% Local Loans Stock	200,000	...	200,000	...	-92,363
3% Exchequer Bonds	6,885,600	2,998,000	9,883,600	...	+137,587
3% Transvaal Government Guaranteed Stock (1923-58).	1,092,023	...	1,092,023	...	-237,036
2½% Exchequer Bonds	16,000	...	16,000	...	-10
2½% Irish Land Guaranteed Stock.	438,720	...	...	438,720	...
2½% British Government Consolidated Stock.	3,266,392	1,000,000	4,266,392	...	+109,057
New South Wales Treasury Bills.	750,000	500,000	1,250,000	...	...
Total	13,572,735	71,719,482	76,429,896	8,862,321	-290,037

REDUCTION IN MR. GANDHI'S WEIGHT.

16. **Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar:** (a) Is it a fact that Mahatma Gandhijee, now a political prisoner in Yerrowda jail, has lost weight to the extent of nearly fifteen pounds?

(b) Will the Government be pleased to state the reason for the loss of weight, if true?

(c) Will the Government be pleased to cause a weekly publication to be made regarding the state of health of Mahatmajee?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: As the Honourable Member is doubtless now aware, the condition has been diagnosed and a successful operation performed; and frequent bulletins have been issued.

PARTICIPATION OF GOVERNMENT PENSIONERS IN THE KHILAFAT AND SWARAJYA MOVEMENTS.

17. **Haji S. A. K. Jeelani:** (a) Is it a fact that owing to the Khilafat and Swarajya movement action has been taken against Government Pensioners?

(b) If so, will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the number of pensioners to whom warnings were given, the number who were deprived of their pensions and the number to whom it was restored after submitting an apology?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The Government of India are not in possession of information as to the action taken by Provincial Governments which is not primarily their concern. Information is being collected in respect of pensioners formerly employed in services directly under the control of the Government of India, and the Honourable Member will be informed of the result in due course.

ALLIANCE BANK FAILURE.

18. **Haji S. A. K. Jeelani:** Will the Government be pleased to state whether any action has been taken on the Resolution moved by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer and passed by the Assembly in its last July Session on the Alliance Bank Episode?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The Honourable Member is referred to the statement made in this House by the Honourable Home Member on the 19th July 1923. The Resolution was communicated to the Secretary of State. No further action has been taken.

MANAGEMENT OF INDIAN DEBT IN ENGLAND.

19. **Haji S. A. K. Jeelani:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the management of Indian debt in England has been entrusted to the English Branch of the Imperial Bank of India?

(b) If so, will the Government be pleased to state the terms on which the Imperial Bank have undertaken the job and the relative saving or loss to the Government of India by the introduction of this change?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a) The management of the Government of India rupee securities in London has been entrusted to the London Office of the Imperial Bank of India with effect from 28th January 1924.

(b) The terms are a charge of £300 per crore of rupee subject to a minimum of £5,000 per annum, with the proviso that in the event of the debt on which the charge is assessed falling in any year below 8 crores of rupees, the minimum charge shall be reduced to £4,000 per annum. The charges hitherto made by the Bank of England for the management of this work were £400 per crore of rupees subject to a minimum of £8,000 per annum.

GRIEVANCES OF THE NON-GAZETTED JUDICIAL OFFICERS OF THE MADRAS HIGH COURT.

20. **Haji S. A. K. Jeelani:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state whether it has received any representation from the Chief Justice of the Madras High Court on the grievances of the non-Gazetted Judicial Officers particularly with regard to the grant of acting allowance?

(b) If so, will the Government be pleased to state its decision on that question?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: (a) Yes.

(b) The matter is under the consideration of Government.

PROVIDENT FUND AND COMMUTATION OF PENSIONS.

21. **Haji S. A. K. Jeelani:** (a) Is it a fact that matters relating to Provident Fund and commutation of pensions to non-Gazetted Officers are under the consideration of the Government?

(b) If so, will the Government be pleased to state within what period of time (approximately) do they hope to arrive at a final decision?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a) No matters relating to Provident Funds applicable to non-gazetted officers are at present under consideration of the Government. The Government of India are, however, in correspondence with Local Governments regarding the commutation of pensions of Government servants generally.

(b) It is not possible to state when a final decision will be arrived at.

DOUBLING OF RAILWAY LINE FROM MADRAS TO PALLAVARAM.

22. **Haji S. A. K. Jeelani:** (a) Is it a fact that the South Indian Railway Company has in view a double line project for quickening suburban traffic from Madras to Pallavaram?

(b) If so, will the Government be pleased to state for how long has this project been in contemplation and within what period of time does the Company hope to complete the execution of the scheme?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) Yes.

(b) The project has been under consideration on various occasions during nearly 17 years but owing to stringency of funds and other causes the work has had to be deferred. Estimates for the scheme have been prepared recently but the Railway Administration are now considering the advisability of electrifying their suburban services in conjunction with the doubling of the line as far as Tambaram and as this proposal is likely to give a much better service than doubling alone, the final decision on the matter is for the moment being delayed. It is hoped, however, that there will be no great delay in carrying out the required improvement of this section.

AMENDMENT OF SECTION 19 OF THE LAND ACQUISITION ACT.

23. **Haji S. A. K. Jeelani:** (a) Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the Special Bench ruling of the Madras High Court, reported in "New India" of Madras of 20th November, 1923, in disposing of a Civil Revision Petition against the acquisition of land for the Vizagapatam Harbour and the Observation of Mr. Justice Ramasan to the desirability of amending Section 19 of the Land Acquisition Act?

(b) If so, will the Government be pleased to state whether to afford protection to the party concerned from the arbitrary orders of Land Acquisition Officers, the Government is prepared to undertake an early amendment of the Act?

Mr. J. A. Richey: (a) Yes.

(b) Government will consider the matter when the full report on this case is available.

INDIA'S SHARE OF THE GERMAN INDEMNITY.

24. **Mr. N. M. Dumasia:** 1. Will Government be pleased to state what sum was apportioned to India for the great part she played during the war with Germany and her allies out of the amount fixed for indemnity from Germany?

2. Has any amount been received from the Imperial Government towards the payment of India's fixed share of the indemnity? If the reply is in the negative, will the Government be pleased to state if any representation has been made to the Imperial Government demanding the payment of the money?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The Inter-Allied Agreement concluded at Spa in July 1920, provided that the British Empire, which includes India, should receive 22 per cent. of the amount received from Germany for reparations. In May 1921, the total liability of Germany was fixed by the Reparation Commission at £6,600 million and this figure was accepted by Germany. At the same time a schedule of payments was drawn up and accepted by Germany, under which payment was to be spread over a period of years and made dependent in part on the progress of Germany's export trade. The result of this arrangement was to reduce the present value of the nominal total of £6,600 million to about half that total. At the Imperial Conference held in London on July 13th, 1921, the British Empire's share in the payments by Germany on account of her liability was distributed among the various portions of the Empire, India being allotted 1·20 per cent. thereof.

As a result of the breakdown of Germany's finances and subsequent political developments it is not possible to say what amount Germany will be able to pay and therefore what sum will ultimately be received by India.

India's claim will not be overlooked when the question of distributing any amounts received from Germany on account of reparations again comes up.

ABOLITION OF POLITICAL AGENCIES.

25. **Mr. N. M. Dumasia:** 1. Will Government be pleased to state what political agencies were abolished in the time of Lord Minto?

2. Were any reductions of political agencies subsequently made on the initiative of the Government on the grounds of economy?

3. Will Government be pleased to state what saving has been made by the abolition of political agencies in the past?

4. What is the total cost of residencies and political agencies in Indian States and how does it compare with the pre-war level?

Mr. E. B. Howell: 1. No Political Agency was abolished during the Viceroyalty of Lord Minto.

2. Yes.

3. The savings amount to about Rs. 75,880 a year.

4. The total cost of Residencies and Political Agencies in the Indian States is Rs. 35,24,392 in 1923-24 as compared with Rs. 25,71,366 in 1912-13.

ALLEGED ILL-TREATMENT OF STAFF BY MR. KERR, DISTRICT LOCOMOTIVE SUPERINTENDENT, E. B. RAILWAY.

26. **Mr. K. C. Neogy:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether, in considering the question of promoting an officer from subordinate to superior rank, Government take into consideration, *inter alia*, his capacity for dealing with subordinates and his fitness for establishing proper relations between officers and subordinates? (b) If the answer be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state if they are aware of any complaints preferred against Mr. Carr, District Loco Superintendent, E. B. Railway, by the staff for ill-treatment? If the reply be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state what action, if any, was taken?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) The answer is in the affirmative.

(b) There is Mr. Carr, District Locomotive Superintendent, on the Eastern Bengal Railway. Perhaps Mr. Kerr is meant. If so, the reply is in the negative.

GRIEVANCES OF INDIAN GUARDS AND DRIVERS, E. B. RAILWAY.

27. **Mr. K. C. Neogy:** Are Government aware of complaints regarding non-attention of E. B. Railway authorities to the grievances of Indian Guards and Drivers of E. B. Railway regarding arrangements for Running room? If the reply be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state what action has been taken to redress their grievances?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Government have no information, but will make inquiries.

HOUSE RENT ALLOWANCES FOR MENIAL STAFF OF STATE RAILWAYS.

28. **Mr. K. C. Neogy:** Are Government aware that State Railway employees drawing a pay of less than Rs. 15 per month are not given any allowance in lieu of quarters? If the reply be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state the reason for not granting such privilege to this class of employees, and to state if any proposal is under consideration for extending the said privilege to this class of employees?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Under the revised rules, State Railway employees drawing Rs. 20 per mensem or less are not given any allowance in lieu of quarters.

The concession of free quarters is extended only to such of the staff as are liable to be called upon to attend to railway business at any time of the day or night, and such of the staff, drawing Rs. 20 or less, who come under this category, are, as far as possible, provided with quarters.

Government have not under consideration any proposal to extend the privilege of an allowance in lieu of free quarters to employees drawing Rs. 20 per mensem or less, but in view of the increased annual provision for capital expenditure on railways, the question of spending further additional sums on the provision of quarters for all subordinate and menial staff, including those drawing Rs. 20 per mensem or less, is receiving careful consideration.

LEAVE OF MENIAL STAFF OF STATE RAILWAYS.

29. **Mr. K. C. Neogy:** Will Government be pleased to state why all the menial staffs in the permanent establishment of the State Railway are not entitled to leave with pay?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Menials in the permanent establishment of State-worked Railways are granted leave on the same terms as inferior servants in civil employ under the Central Government. The general rule is that the absentee allowance of the substantive incumbent must not exceed what remains from his pay after provision is made for the efficient discharge of his duties.

ALLEGED ASSAULTS ON INDIANS BY MR. PAYENE, LOCO-FOREMAN,
LALMONIRHAT, E. B. RAILWAY.

30. **Mr. K. C. Neogy:** Are Government aware that Mr. Payene, Loco-foreman, Lalmonirhat, of the E. B. Railway, assaulted a student of the Lalmonirhat H. E. School, for which he was summoned under section 323, I. P. C., and submitted a written apology, and that again on 24th August 1923, he assaulted Babu R. K. Sarkar, a fireman? If the answer be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state what departmental action has been taken against the said officer?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Government have no information, but will make inquiries.

REINSTATEMENT OF EMPLOYEES DISMISSED BY THE E. B. RAILWAY.

31. **Mr. K. C. Neogy:** Are Government aware that the E. B. Railway authorities have recently discharged men from service when convicted in the lower Court, but refused to reinstate them when acquitted in the appellate Court? If the answer be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state if they allowed any men under similar circumstances to resume duty? If so, will Government be pleased to state why they refused to reinstate the men referred to in the first part of the question?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Government have no information. If the Honourable Member will specify the cases he is referring to, Government will make inquiries.

APPEALS AGAINST DECISIONS OF THE CHIEF MEDICAL OFFICER,
E. B. RAILWAY.

32. **Mr. K. C. Neogy:** Are Government aware that the E. B. Railway authorities refuse to entertain appeals from employees to move the Medical Board against the decision of the E. B. Railway Chief Medical Officer? If the answer be in the affirmative, will the Government be pleased to state the reason for such refusal?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Government have no information. But the Eastern Bengal Railway has its own Medical Department and the Chief Medical Officer is the head of that Department of the Railway. No appeal therefore lies to any outside Medical authority.

TERMS OF EMPLOYMENT OF THE SUBORDINATE AND SUPERIOR ESTABLISHMENTS OF THE E. B. RAILWAY.

33. **Mr. K. C. Neogy:** Are Government aware that the E. B. Railway authorities enter into agreements with their employees in the subordinate establishment that the services of the employees may be terminated at any time without assigning any reason whatever? If the answer be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state if they enter into similar agreements with men in the superior establishment of the Railway? And if not, will Government be pleased to state why such distinction is made between superior and subordinate employees of the Railway?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Railways are commercial undertakings and, as traffic rises or falls, so must the number of certain classes of employés be readily susceptible of increase or reduction.

The existing arrangements on the Eastern Bengal Railway are not peculiar to that line, but follow those generally in force on railways and similar commercial concerns. That is, the bulk of the staff, whether maintenance, running, workshop, or office staff, are employed subject to a month's notice on either side. The superior staff on the other hand, which forms a small proportion, comprises professional men who are required for purposes of supervision. Such men are only obtainable on agreements, which, ordinarily, provide for a 3 or 6 months' notice of termination on either side. In the circumstances, the Government are unable to admit that any "invidious distinction" is made.

RETRENCHMENT OF INDIANS, ANGLO-INDIANS AND EUROPEANS ON THE E. B. RAILWAY.

34. **Mr. K. C. Neogy:** Will Government be pleased to state how many Indians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans, both in the superior and subordinate service of the E. B. Railway, have been discharged on account of retrenchment?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: All available information on this subject will be embodied in the memorandum which will be supplied to Members in connection with the discussion of the Budget.

RETRENCHMENTS ON THE E. B. RAILWAY.

35. **Mr. K. C. Neogy:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) If any outsiders have been recruited in the E. B. Railway service, including the Audit Department, after the termination of the services of several men owing to retrenchment? If the answer be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state how many Indians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans have been recruited in such post, and how many discharged hands have been taken back?
- (b) If it is a fact that several men have been discharged from the Calcutta Goods shed as a measure of retrenchment, and after few months men from outside have been taken on in preference to the men discharged?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Government have no information but will make inquiries.

APPOINTMENT OF STATION MASTERS AS TRAVELLING TICKET INSPECTORS ON THE E. B. RAILWAY.

36. **Mr. K. C. Neogy:** Are Government aware that the E. B. Railway Authorities have reduced several Station Masters to the rank of Assistant Station Masters owing to retrenchment, but about 10 Travelling Ticket Inspectors have been recruited from outsiders who have no knowledge or experience in the Railway? If the answer be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state if they are prepared to appoint the aforesaid Station Masters to the post of Travelling Ticket Inspectors, instead of reverting them to the grade of Assistant Station Masters?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: This is a purely domestic matter with which the Agent is competent to deal, and the Government of India are not therefore prepared to interfere.

FOOD INSPECTORS AND TRANSPORTATION OFFICERS ON THE E. B. RAILWAY.

37. **Mr. K. C. Neogy:** Will Government be pleased to state the utility of appointing Food Inspectors and Transportation Inspectors in the E. B. Railway in these days of retrenchment, in addition to Traffic Inspectors, the duties of the former being heretofore performed by the latter?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: These appointments are made in the interests of the travelling public, with a view to ensuring a better class of food and improving transport arrangements, respectively.

CATERING DEPARTMENT, E. B. RAILWAY.

38. **Mr. K. C. Neogy:** Will Government be pleased to state the reason for establishing a catering department in the E. B. Railway with a Gazetted Officer in charge as Catering Superintendent?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The catering on the Eastern Bengal Railway is not done by the Railway itself. Food and refreshments are provided by contractors and vendors under the supervision of a Catering Superintendent, whose appointment has been considered necessary in order to maintain a proper standard of catering for the public.

GRANT OF RETIRING GRATUITY TO GAZETTED OFFICERS OF THE
E. B. RAILWAY.

39. **Mr. K. C. Neogy:** Will Government be pleased to state the reason for granting a retiring gratuity to the Gazetted officers of the Railway, in addition to the bonus of the Provident Fund, when their services are permanent?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Provident Funds which, in the case of the officers referred to replace pensions are intended partly to be an insurance against death or premature retirement, partly to make provision for the employé on retirement after a normal period of service. After prolonged discussion it was finally decided that the best way of securing the ends in view was to combine gratuities with Provident Fund benefits. The special object of gratuities is to secure long service.

REDUCTION OF PAY OF INDIAN EMPLOYEES OF THE E. B. RAILWAY.

40. **Mr. K. C. Neogy:** Is it a fact that the pay of some of the Indian employees of the E. B. Railway, earned by seniority in service according to the sanctioned scale, has been reduced, and a portion thereof converted in some cases to personal allowance?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Government have no information on the subject and are not aware of any cases such as those referred to.

PAYMENT TO BOMBAY GOVERNMENT FOR WORK DONE IN CONNECTION WITH
INCOME-TAX.

41. **Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas:** Will Government be pleased to state:

(a) what amount was paid to the Bombay Government last year for doing income-tax work on behalf of the Central Government?

(b) What amount will be paid this year for the same?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: No payment was made to the Bombay Government last year for the income-tax work done by their staff on behalf of the Central Government, but payments aggregating Rs. 6,15,807, viz., Rs. 2,83,942 for the year 1921-22 and Rs. 3,31,865 for the year 1922-23, have been made during the year.

INCOME-TAX OFFICERS.

42. **Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas:** Will Government be pleased to state what posts of Income-tax Officers, Assistant Commissioners, Inspectors and Examiners have been filled up to this time out of the number sanctioned in March last, and how many remain yet unfilled?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: A statement giving the information is placed on the table.

Designation.	No. of posts sanctioned.	No. filled.	No. vacant.
Assistant Commissioner of Income-tax	5	3	2
Income-tax Officers and Assistant Income-tax Officers (including 1 Personal Assistant).	37	36	1
Inspectors	37	37	...
Examiners	48	47	1

EMPLOYMENT OF REVENUE DEPARTMENT MEN TO DO INCOME-TAX WORK IN BOMBAY AND SINDH.

43. **Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas:** Is it a fact that provincial Revenue Department hands are still doing income-tax work in certain parts of the Bombay Presidency including Sindh? If so, why?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The reply to this question is in the affirmative. The income-tax work is still being done in some parts of the Bombay Presidency by the staff of the Local Government. The scheme for the introduction of a special income-tax staff is being gradually introduced in the Presidency as men are trained to fill the sanctioned posts.

ALLOWANCES OF INCOME-TAX OFFICERS AT KARACHI.

44. **Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state how much local allowance is paid to Inspectors and Examiners of the Income-tax Department in Karachi?

(b) Are Government aware that the house rent allowance of Rs. 50 per mensem is paid to officers of the same standing stationed in Karachi?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a) The Inspectors of Income-tax and Examiners at Karachi, who are non-gazetted officers, draw pay at Rs. 150 to 325 and 175 to 325 with a local allowance of Rs. 30 a month.

(b) The Government are not aware to what officers of the same standing in other departments the Honourable Member refers.

APPRAISERS, KARACHI CUSTOMS HOUSE.

*45. **Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that the Eastern Express Company Ltd., by their manager Sir Montagu Webb, wrote to the Chief Collector of Customs to increase

For answer to this question, see answer below Question No. 47.

the number of appraisers in the Karachi Customs House, and that the said Company was informed that the number would be increased when the scheme was sanctioned?

(b) Is it a fact that the number of appraisers after the scheme is the same as before the war?

SHORTAGE OF APPRAISERS AT KARACHI.

*46. **Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas:** Will Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that owing to the shortage of appraisers, no appraiser is posted at the Napier Mole Boat west wharf to the great inconvenience of Indian merchants who have repeatedly petitioned the Customs authorities to post a full-time appraiser there; and that by such shortage work is considerably hampered?

ALLOWANCES OF APPRAISERS, EXAMINERS, ETC., IN KARACHI.

47. **Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state why no rent allowance or local allowance is given to appraisers, examiners, wharfingers, gate-keepers and tally clerks in Karachi?

(b) Is any local allowance or house rent allowance given to men of similar standing employed in other departments in Karachi?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Inquiries are being made and a further reply will be given to the Honourable Member when the information is available.

INSANITARY CONDITION OF THE B. N. W. RAILWAY COMPARTMENTS.

48. **Mr. Devaki Prasad Sinha:** (a) Are Government aware of the insanitary condition of the B. N. W. Railway compartments?

(b) Is it a fact that the cushions placed on the berths of 1st and 2nd class compartments are torn and tattered and very seldom cleaned?

(c) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the report of the committee appointed by the Government of Bihar and Orissa to inquire into the working of the B. N. W. Railway?

(d) If so, what steps have been taken by the Government on the said report?

Mr. A. A. L. Parschs: (a) and (b). Complaints of this kind are essentially matters which should be brought to the notice of the Agent through the Local Advisory Council.

(c) and (d). The Honourable Member is referred to items (b) and (c) of the reply given on the 6th March 1923 in this Assembly to question No. 472 asked by Khan Bahadur Saiyid Muhammad Ismail.

FERRY SERVICE BETWEEN MONGHYR AND MONGHYR GHAT.

49. **Mr. Devaki Prasad Sinha:** (a) Are Government aware that there is considerable dissatisfaction in the mind of the public at the present arrangement of ferry service between Monghyr and Monghyr Ghat station E. I. R. (Bihar and Orissa)?

* For answer to this question, see answer below Question No. 47.

† Vide L. A. Debates, Vol. III, pages 3021-3022.

(b) Are Government aware that several questions were put in the last Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council, in answer to which the Local Government admitted that there was public feeling against the present arrangement?

(c) Do Government propose to make an inquiry in the matter?

(d) Are Government aware that the rate of fare charged for traffic by the aforesaid ferry service agency is higher than that of all the other ferry services of the Ganges in Bihar and Orissa.

(e) Is it a fact that the steamer used there is very small and considerable inconvenience is caused to the passengers for that reason?

(f) Is it a fact that the B. N. W. Railway Company expressed their willingness to ply ferry for traffic at that very ghat at reduced fare? If so, will Government be pleased to state the reasons for refusing their offer?

(g) Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table the terms of contract between the E. I. Railway Company and the present contractor for the said ferry service?

(h) Will the Government be pleased to state whether there is any ferry service on the same terms anywhere in Bihar and Orissa?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) Government have received complaints regarding the working of the ferry but these were chiefly with reference to the Ghat arrangements made by the railway administration and Government understand that action has been taken to remedy matters in this respect.

(b) Yes.

(c) The matter will be referred to the Agent, East Indian Railway.

(d) No.

(e) Inquiry will be made.

(f) The Bengal and North Western Railway applied to the Railway Board for permission to establish a ferry service but the Board after consulting the Local Government decided not to interfere with the existing arrangements. The question of reduced fares did not arise.

(g) No.

(h) Government are not aware of any.

ENLISTMENT OF BRAHMINS IN THE ARMY.

50. **Sardar V. N. Mutalik:** (1) Will Government be pleased to state whether Brahmins from any Province are admitted in the Army, and if Brahmins from any Province are excluded from admission?

(2) Will Government be pleased to state:

(a) whether any company of the Deccan Brahmins was formed during the War?

(b) if so, what was the total strength of the Company?

(c) if the answer to (a) is in the affirmative, is the Company still in existence, and if not, the reasons why it was disbanded?

(d) whether there is any intention to form Companies of the Deccan Brahmins?

Mr. E. Burdon: (1) Provided they have the necessary qualifications laid down for the Indian Army, Brahmins from any Province are enlisted in units for which their class is authorised.

(2) (a) and (b). No Company composed of "Deccan" Brahmins was formed during the war, but a $\frac{1}{2}$ Company (114 all ranks) of Mahratta Brahmins was formed.

(c) This $\frac{1}{2}$ Company was disbanded on the cessation of hostilities, consequent on the reduction in the strength of the Indian Army.

(d) There is no intention at present of forming Companies composed of "Deccan" Brahmins.

GOVERNOR GENERAL'S ASSENT TO BILLS.

Mr. President: I have to acquaint the Assembly that His Excellency the Governor General has been pleased to give his assent to the following Bills passed by both Chambers of the Indian Legislature:

1. The Mahendra Partab Singh Estates Act, 1923.
2. The Moorshedabad (Amendment) Act, 1923.
3. The Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Act, 1923.
4. The Indian Income-tax (Further Amendment) Act, 1923.
5. The Indigo Cess (Repealing) Act, 1923.
6. The Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Act, 1923.
7. The Special Marriage (Amendment) Act, 1923.
8. The Indian Territorial and Auxiliary Forces (Amendment) Act, 1923.
9. The Indian Lunacy (Amendment) Act, 1923.
10. The Indian Army (Amendment) Act, 1923.
11. The Cutchi Memons (Amendment) Act, 1923.
12. The Code of Criminal Procedure (Further Amendment) Act, 1923.
13. The Indian Paper Currency (Amendment) Act, 1923.
14. The Code of Criminal Procedure (Second Amendment) Act, 1923.
15. The Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act, 1923.
16. The Indian Ports (Amendment) Act, 1923.
17. The Indian Electricity (Amendment) Act, 1923.
18. The Charitable and Religious Trusts (Amendment) Act, 1923.
19. The Mussalman Wakf Act, 1923.
20. The Indian Stamp (Amendment) Act, 1923.

THE INDIAN PENAL CODE (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey (Home Member): I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Penal Code for certain purposes.

This short Bill needs few remarks from me by way of introduction, but I may take the opportunity of reminding those of my Honourable friends here who were not with us last Session of the nature of certain legislation

[Sir Malcolm Hailey.]

that we then undertook. We had engaged to implement certain Resolutions, to which we were signatories, passed by the International Convention for the suppression of the traffic in women and children, signed in Geneva in March 1922. Our discussions finally crystallised in our Act No. XX of 1923. Briefly, what we did there was to make an addition to section 366 of the Indian Penal Code (which deals with kidnapping and abducting), in order to widen the scope of that section. But that is not the point with which we are now immediately concerned. We went on to add a new section after 366, the purport of which was to provide penalties against the procurement of minor girls, even for a single occasion, or the importation of girls from foreign countries. Now, there was no question between us at the time regarding the substance of this new section; there was, however, a difference of opinion, and a great deal of discussion regarding the age which should be taken for the definition of minority under that section. That cleavage of opinion was not merely between Government and the other side of the House, but extended to a division between our friends opposite also. Those of us who had some hesitation in accepting the proposal to take 18 as the age establishing minority under that section were actuated by two considerations. In the first place, we were constituting a new offence, and we apprehended the results of the wide extension which would be given to that offence if we took the age at 18 years. But also we thought it inconsistent that we should adopt the age of 18 for our new offence, while we retained the age of 16 for certain old-standing offences of a somewhat similar character in the Indian Penal Code, offences which in themselves were indeed of a somewhat more serious nature: I refer of course to section 361, that is, kidnapping from lawful guardianship, and sections 372 and 373, which provide against selling and buying a minor for purposes of prostitution. We, therefore, obtained the assent of the Assembly to the introduction of a commencement clause, which would enable us to postpone the bringing of this new Act into operation until we had consulted Local Governments and the public regarding the advisability of having one uniform age for all these offences. Those opinions have now been received. Neither the Local Governments nor the public bodies, who have given us their opinions, are altogether unanimous on the question. Nevertheless, we think that we have a sufficient body of convinced public opinion to warrant our now proposing to apply one uniform age to all four offences, the age of 18 years. I have no doubt that there will be residents of some areas who still think that it is not advisable to take the age up to 18 years for all four sections, at all events in regard to those areas. Still it is a sound principle of social legislation that the Legislature should always be somewhat in advance of current opinion, while of course avoiding going so far in advance of that opinion that the law in itself would become inoperative. At all events that is our proposal. As I have explained, we have hitherto delayed the notification of Act XX of 1923, in order that we may consider the co-ordinate offences as a whole. If the Legislature now agrees to the Bill which we place before it and which deals of course with the three old-standing offences, we shall take immediate steps to notify the Act of 1923 in common with the provisions of the Bill. I beg leave to introduce the Bill.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That leave be given to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Penal Code for certain purposes."

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

THE INDIAN COINAGE (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett (Finance Member): Sir, I ask for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Coinage Act, 1906, for certain purposes.

Honourable Members will find in the Statement of Objects and Reasons a short explanation of the reason for this Bill. Under the English Coinage Act, the Act of 1870, power is given to withdraw from circulation token coinage and to declare it to have ceased to be a legal tender. There is no corresponding provision in the Indian Coinage Act and on occasion the absence of this power has proved inconvenient. The Government have of course at any time power by executive action to do what they can to withdraw a coin from circulation. But all they can do is to take steps to prevent the re-issue from treasury and currency offices of any coins of that particular denomination which come into their offices. That is a very slow process and all the time the coins remain legal tender. At the present time and for some little time past there has been a little difficulty with our eight-anna nickel coin which was issued during the war and has not proved a success. Indeed it has proved rather a troublesome failure. There have been a good many cases of counterfeiting, some of them so good that it has been impossible to determine whether a coin is counterfeit or not until it has actually been assayed at the mint. Naturally when there are counterfeit coins about, the public dislike the coin of the denomination which is being counterfeited. But the Government have no power beyond preventing the re-issue of coins that come into currency offices to deal with such a situation. It is proposed under this Bill that there should be power to issue a notification declaring that after a certain date a particular coin should cease to be legal tender. Provision is made in the Bill under which coins so notified can be received at Government treasuries, and currency offices for a specified time after they have ceased to be legal tender for the purposes of ordinary circulation and in order to protect the public who have received at one time or another from the Government a coin purporting to be of a certain value, arrangements are also made under which at any time such a coin, if it is genuine, can be exchanged for its face value at Government currency offices. The Bill is general in character and repairs an omission which I think was probably unintentional in the existing Coinage Acts. Our immediate purpose in introducing it now would be to issue a notification dealing with the particular nickel coin that I have mentioned.

Mr. President: The question is:

“That leave be given to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Coinage Act, 1906, for certain purposes.”

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

THE INDIAN INCOME-TAX (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett (Finance Member): Sir, I ask for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Income-tax Act, 1922, for certain purposes.

The object of this Bill is to make good two omissions in the existing Act and in another case to carry out rather more effectively what clearly are the intentions of the Income-tax Act of 1922. The first omission is a question of procedure. Under section 30 of the original Act an appeal

[Sir Basil Blackett.]

against the assessment of an income-tax officer may be made before the Assistant Commissioner and an assessee objecting to the decision of the Assistant Commissioner may within thirty days of that decision appeal to the Commissioner under section 32. The Commissioner normally disposes of the case, but in the event of a question of law arising reference may be necessary to the High Court. An assessee under section 66 (2) of the original Act is entitled to demand such a reference within one month of the passing of the Commissioner's order. The Commissioner may, however, refuse to state a case on the ground that no question of law arises. In that event the assessee may apply under section 66 (3) to the High Court direct. But under the existing Act no period is prescribed within which an assessee who maintains against the decision of the Commissioner that there is a question of law must apply to the High Court. The result is that such an application may at present be made many months after the Commissioner has refused to pass on the case. Section 9 of the Bill which I propose to introduce prescribes a time limit of one month according with the other time limits prescribed by the original Act for various stages of the Bill. I think it is a very reasonable provision and obviously for the advantage of good administration and therefore of assessees generally. The next amendment proposed in the Bill is rather a technical one. There is no provision in the Act for the assessment of a business, profession or vocation which was in existence at the commencement of the Act which had paid no tax at the time under the provisions of the Income-tax Act and is thereafter discontinued. This is a curious little omission.

The third portion of the Bill is one which is again rather technical owing to the wording of the Provident Insurance Societies Act of 1912 and of the Income-tax Act first of all of 1918 and then of 1922. Certain provident funds of private companies and firms have been found to share in a concession intended for provident funds of a different kind, that is, funds which are in the nature of life insurance. It is proposed to deal with these cases by omitting all reference to Provident Insurance Societies from sections 4(3) (iv) and 15(1) of the original Act.

Finally, there is an omission in the Income-tax Act of 1922 in regard to the assessment of the income, profits or gains of an Association or a Club which is neither a company nor a firm nor a Hindu undivided family. An assessee is defined in the original Act and includes an association or club, but the Income-tax Act of 1923 when it comes to specifying rates of tax proceeds by enumeration and that enumeration omits associations or clubs which are not firms nor a Hindu undivided family. It is proposed in this Bill to remedy that defect.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That leave be given to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Income-tax Act, 1922, for certain purposes."

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

THE INDIAN COTTON CESS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

Mr. J. A. Richey (Educational Commissioner): Sir, I move for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Indian Cotton Cess Act, 1923, for certain purposes.

It may seem to be early to amend an Act which was passed into law only last year; but it is not always possible to anticipate the effect of working an Act until it has actually been put into operation. The present Bill seeks to amend two small defects in order that the Act may fulfil its original intention. The first amendment seeks to regularise the system by which the cess is collected in the Bombay Presidency. In that presidency Cotton Excise Collectors are for the collection of excise subject to the Collector of Bombay, but for the purpose of collecting this cess they have, by the Act, been placed under the District Collector. This is an anomaly which has been brought to our notice by the Government of Bombay and which the Bill seeks to set right. The second amendment seeks to extend or to empower the extension of the operations of the Indian Cotton Cess Act to the two foreign territories in British India, namely, the French and Portuguese possessions. It was clearly not the intention of the original Act to exempt cotton exported from India by land to these territories. Both these amendments have been recommended by the Indian Central Cotton Committee and I commend them for the acceptance of this House. Sir, I beg for leave to introduce the Bill.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That leave be given to introduce a Bill to amend the Indian Cotton Cess Act, 1923, for certain purposes."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. J. A. Richey: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

ELECTION OF THE PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett (Finance Member): Sir, I beg to move:

"That this Assembly do proceed to elect 8 Members to be members of the Committee on Public Accounts."

This motion is made in accordance with section 57 of the Indian Legislative Rules which requires that as soon as may be, after the commencement of each financial year, a Committee on Public Accounts shall be constituted and provides that it shall consist of not more than 12 members including the chairman, of whom not less than two-thirds shall be elected by the non-official Members of the Assembly according to the principle of proportional representation. The Committee, when appointed, will be required to deal with the appropriation accounts and audit reports for the year 1924-25. It will probably be possible to have some meetings to deal with the audit reports during the course of February and March; but it will not be possible, in view of the demand on the time of Honourable Members, to proceed to the more important part of the Committee's business until after the Session closes. Probably the most convenient time for that work will be perhaps a fortnight or 10 days before the Simla Session meets later on. The reason why I have mentioned this is that Honourable Members, in putting their names down for election, will, I hope, bear in mind that, if elected, it will be important from the point of view of getting the work done efficiently that they should be available during the summer.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That this Assembly do proceed to elect 8 Members to be members of the Committee on Public Accounts."

The motion was adopted.

ELECTION OF THE STANDING FINANCE COMMITTEE.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blakett (Finance Member): Sir, I beg to move:

"That this Assembly do proceed to the election, in such method as may be approved by the Honourable the President, of a Standing Finance Committee of the Assembly not exceeding fourteen in number to which shall be added one Member of the Assembly to be nominated by the Governor General. The Member so nominated shall be Chairman of the Committee."

This Committee, Sir, unlike the last, is not a Statutory Committee. It is appointed in accordance with a Resolution passed by the Legislative Assembly on the 11th March 1922. Its chief duties are to scrutinise all proposals for new votable expenditure in all the departments of the Government of India, to sanction allotments out of lump sum grants, to suggest retrenchment and economy in expenditure and generally to assist the Finance Department of the Government of India by advising on such cases as may be referred to it by that Department. It will be seen that it is a Committee of very great importance from the point of view of our finance. In this case, unlike the Committee on Public Accounts, the Committee is appointed in accordance, I think, with the terms of the Resolution in respect of the financial year. It will, therefore, be necessary, before the close of this Session, to repeat this motion with a view to the appointment of a Committee for the following financial year.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That this Assembly do proceed to the election, in such method as may be approved by the Honourable the President, of a Standing Finance Committee of the Assembly not exceeding fourteen in number to which shall be added one Member of the Assembly to be nominated by the Governor General. The Member so nominated shall be Chairman of the Committee."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: I may inform the Assembly that, for the purpose of the election of these two Committees, namely, the Public Accounts Committee and the Standing Finance Committee, the Assembly office will be open to receive nominations up to 4 o'clock in the afternoon of Monday, the 4th February 1924. The election will take place in this Chamber on Wednesday, the 6th February. The election of members to both Committees will be conducted in accordance with the principle of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote. The regulations which have been already made under Standing Order 56 of the Legislative Assembly Standing Orders for the conduct of the election of members of Select Committees for the amendment of Standing Orders shall apply also to the election of members of these two Committees. Copies of these regulations will be supplied to every Member of this House.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, the 4th February, 1924.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Monday, 4th February, 1924.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber at Eleven of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

MEMBERS SWORN:

Mr. Montagu Sherard Dawes Butler, C.B., C.I.E., C.V.O., C.B.E., M.L.A. (Secretary, Department of Education, Health and Lands); Sardar Mahboob Ali Khan Mohammad Akbar Khan, M.L.A. (Bombay Southern Division: Muhammadan Rural); Mr. Yusuf Imam, M.L.A. (United Provinces Southern Divisions: Muhammadan Rural); Dr. H. S. Gour, M.L.A. (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan); Sir Chimanlal Harilal Setalvad, Kt., M.L.A. (Bombay: Nominated Non-Official); Prince Afsar-ul-Mulk Mirza Muhammad Akram Hussain Bahadur, M.L.A. (Bengal: Nominated Non-Official); Mr. Narayan Malhar Joshi, M.L.A. (Nominated: Labour Interests); Mr. Narayan Madhav Samarth, M.L.A. (Bombay: Nominated Non-Official).

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

REPORT OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER COMMITTEE.

54. ***Dr. H. S. Gour:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state what action, if any, has been taken upon the Report of the North-Western Frontier Committee appointed to consider the question of amalgamation of that Province with the Punjab?

(b) Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table the Report of the Frontier Committee?

(c) If the Government has taken no action, will the Government be pleased to state what action it intends to take in future, and how long it will be before any action is taken?

(d) Is the Government aware that the cost of maintenance of this Province is out of proportion to the revenue raised therein?

(e) Will the Government be pleased to state why it has taken no action upon the recommendation of this House, dated the 21st September 1921, in favour of the amalgamation of the Judicial Administration of the North-Western Province with the Punjab?

(e) Will the Government be pleased to state what action, if any, it proposes to take to give effect to the recommendation of this House, and if it intends to take no action, why not?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: (1) It is proposed to publish the report of the North-West Frontier Province Inquiry Committee at an early date. Copies will then be placed in the library of this Chamber.

(2) The proposals in the report are still engaging the serious consideration of Government and I cannot say when any action on them will be taken.

ABOLITION OF DIVISIONAL COMMISSIONERSHIPS.

55. ***Dr. H. S. Gour:** (a) With reference to the Resolution of this House dated the 23rd March 1922 recommending the abolition of Divisional Commissionerships in the Provinces where they exist throughout India, and the promise given by the Home Member to consult Local Governments on the question of either abolishing or reducing the number of these appointments, will the Government be pleased to state what action it has taken to fulfil its promise?

(b) If it has consulted the Local Governments, will the Government be pleased to state what replies it has received from them?

(c) Will the Government be pleased to state whether it is not a fact that several local Councils and the Provincial Retrenchment Committees have recommended the abolition of Divisional Commissionerships?

(d) If the answer to the last question be in the affirmative, will the Government be pleased to state what action it has taken upon their recommendations?

(e) Will the Government be pleased to state the number and cost of maintaining these Officers?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: (a) Local Governments were consulted.

(b), (c) and (d). The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the reply given on 1st February to Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh's question on the same subject.

(e) I would refer the Honourable Member to our published Civil Lists which give both the numbers and salary of these officers.

FREE RAILWAY PASSES FOR THE MINISTERIAL STAFF OF THE RAILWAY DEPARTMENT.

56. ***Dr. H. S. Gour:** In reply to starred question† No. 446 (c), dated the 5th March 1923 the Government stated that no money account is maintained showing the cost of free passes and P. T. Os. granted to the employees of the Railway Department, and in reply to part (a) of starred question‡ No. 571, dated 17th March 1923 the Government stated that "the trifling monetary value of this concession does not justify differentiation in scales of pay" and the statement laid on the table in reply to starred question§ No. 531, dated 9th March 1923 shows that 626 second class and 277 first class free passes were issued to the staff of the Railway Department during the year 1922? With reference to these replies, will Government kindly state how and on what basis was the monetary value calculated to enable the Government to consider it as trifling?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The reply to the question referred to was with reference to the ordinary individual benefit of passes and was not based on any detailed calculation. On receipt of the Honourable Member's question, however, a large number of cases were examined, and the investigation tends to show that the rules governing these concessions are liable to be taken undue advantage of. Proposals have been

† *Vide* page 2952 of L. A. Debates, Vol. III.

‡ *Vide* page 3600 of L. A. Debates, Vol. III.

§ *Vide* pages 3125-3126 of L. A. Debates, Vol. III.

made for the revision of the rules which will reduce the value of the concessions to much smaller dimensions. These proposals are now under consideration.

FREE RAILWAY PASSES FOR THE MINISTERIAL STAFF OF THE RAILWAY DEPARTMENT.

57. *Dr. H. S. Gour: Will the Government be pleased to state the total number of free passes and P. T. Os. granted to an individual of the ministerial staff of the Railway Department who availed himself of the largest number during the year 1922 and the stations between which the journeys were made?

(Passes may be calculated in singles, i.e., a family pass for 3 heads should count as three passes for the down and three passes for the up journey, including attendants and servants' passes, if any.)

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The maximum number of free passes admissible under the rules in 1922 was 2 family passes by State lines and one by foreign lines. In addition, 2 school passes for children and 4 P. T. O. s at one-third fare.

In the case of one man with a family who availed himself of the full privilege the individual passes are shown in a statement, which is laid on the table.

Statement showing free passes and privilege ticket orders granted to one man of Railway Board's Office in 1922.

From	To	Number of persons.	Number of single journeys.
(1) Delhi	Peshawar	1	1 (Self).
(2) Simla	Lahore and back	1	2 (Self). (Kalka to Ambala excluded).
(3) Hoshiarpur	Simla and back	1½	3 (Family).
(4) Beas*	Simla and back	2	4 (School children).
(5) Beas*	Lahore and back	1	2 Ditto.
(6) Hoshiarpur	Delhi	2	2 (Family).
(7) Delhi	Hoshiarpur	2	2 (Self and family).
(8) Delhi	Agra and back	2	4 Ditto.

* School passes.

Privilege Ticket Orders.

From	To	Number of persons.
Hoshiarpur	Delhi	1
Kalka	Ambala	1
Hoshiarpur	Beas	1
Beas	Delhi	1

Total number of privilege ticket orders issued—4

FREE RAILWAY PASSES FOR THE MINISTERIAL STAFF OF THE RAILWAY DEPARTMENT.

58. *Dr. H. S. Gour: Will the Government be pleased to state how many 1st, 2nd, inter and 3rd class free passes were issued between Simla/Delhi and Calcutta during the year 1922 to the ministerial staff of the Railway Department?

(Passes may be calculated in singles, i.e., a family pass for 3 heads should count as three passes for the down and three passes for the up journey, including attendants and servants' passes, if any.)

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Passes covering the journeys of 148 single individuals, i.e., 29 first class, 117 second and two intermediate. Also 96 servants between Simla or Delhi and Calcutta were issued in 1922.

FREE RAILWAY PASSES FOR THE MINISTERIAL STAFF OF THE RAILWAY DEPARTMENT.

59. *Dr. H. S. Gour: Will the Government be pleased to state how many free passes were issued to the persons belonging to the Railway Department during the year 1922-23 who were at the same time allowed to draw separation allowance at the time of the move to and from Delhi?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The number of persons in the Railway Department who drew separation allowance in 1922-23 was 55 and of these 12 and 19 were granted family passes at the time of the move from Simla and Delhi respectively.

These passes count however against the annual allowance of passes.

FREE RAILWAY PASSES FOR THE MINISTERIAL STAFF OF THE RAILWAY DEPARTMENT.

60. *Dr. H. S. Gour: Will the Government be pleased to state how many free passes were issued during the year 1922 for the up and down journey of the children of the Railway Department staff who were under education in different parts of the country?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The number of passes issued for children going to or returning from school was 111.

DEFINITION OF "A RAILWAY SERVANT."

61. *Dr. H. S. Gour: In reply to starred question No. 570, dated 17th March 1923 the Government said "Railway Service is ordinarily held to mean employment on railways and in offices administering railways", but the definition of a railway servant as given in sections 3(7) and 148(2) of the Indian Railways Act does not seem to embrace the employees of the Railway Department of the Government of India. Will the Government kindly state the difference?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Honourable Member is referred to clause 3 (6) of the Act.

PROVINCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CENTRAL REVENUES.

62. *Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju: Will the Government be pleased to publish the comparative table of Revenue and Expenditure, balances, or deficits, additional taxation imposed, in several provinces during the last 5 years after the Reforms in order to consider the contribution to the Central Revenues?

† Vide page 3599 of L. A. Debates, Vol. III.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Information regarding the additional taxation imposed in the several provinces should be obtained from the provincial Governments concerned. The other information asked for will be found in accounts Nos. 8 and 9 of the Finance and Revenue Accounts. The accounts for the year 1921-22 have already been published and those for 1922-23 will be published shortly.

Dr. H. S. Gour: Am I to understand that private Members of this House are at liberty to apply to the Local Governments and that Local Governments will give the information required by them?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The answer to the first part is in the affirmative. I am not in a position to answer the second.

Dr. H. S. Gour: When the Honourable the Finance Member says that the information called for may be obtained from the Provincial Governments, does he mean that the Members should apply to the Provincial Governments or that the Government of India will obtain the information and place it at the disposal of this House?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The former.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: May I ask whether the Government of India is in possession of this information?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: It is in possession of the information that has been published.

Dr. H. S. Gour: Is the Honourable the Finance Member aware of the fact that some time back in this House a motion was moved that Provincial Governments should communicate with the Members and furnish them with all the necessary information, and that motion was stoutly resisted by the Government?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: It is not within my memory.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: It was not accepted by the House.

Dr. H. S. Gour: I never said that it was accepted or rejected by the House. Is it not a fact that it was stoutly resisted by the Government?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: And I added that it was rejected by the House.

Dr. H. S. Gour: That was no answer to my question.

Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas: Is there any procedure for Members of the Central Legislature applying or putting questions to Provincial Governments?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: There is no such procedure.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: Will the Honourable Member explain what difficulty there is in obtaining the information required in answer to these questions. Why does my Honourable friend insist that Members of the Assembly should apply to the Provincial Governments?

Mr. President: The Honourable Member may be reminded that there are local Legislatures in each of the provinces.

CENSUS OF PRODUCTION.

63. ***Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju**: Will the Government be pleased to place on the table the publication containing the information about the Census of Production of British India?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: There is no such publication, but I would invite the Honourable Member's attention to the publication entitled "Statistical Abstract for British India," recently published, which contains so far as available, tables which would appear in such a census, namely, figures of areas and yields of crops, mineral production, labour employed in certain industries, output of mills, etc. A copy of this publication has been placed in the Library.

GRANT OF SCHOLARSHIPS TO INDIANS FOR RESEARCH WORK.

64. ***Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju**: Will the Government be pleased to state whether they propose to take any and what action in the year 1924-25 regarding grant of 25 Scholarships to Indians for Research Work?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: The Government of India have not been able as yet to take any action in the direction indicated owing to the prevailing financial stringency. They have, however, put forward proposals for the grant of four technical scholarships one each in mining, geology, metallurgy and flour-milling during 1924-25.

WITHDRAWAL OF BRITISH CAVALRY REGIMENTS FROM INDIA.

65. ***Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju**: Will the Government be pleased to state whether the final decision is arrived at about the withdrawal of a third British Cavalry Regiment and when the other two British Cavalry Regiments were withdrawn?

Mr. E. Burdon: As regards the third Cavalry regiment, the attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the reply which I gave on the 1st February to question No. 40 asked by Diwan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao. Of the other two regiments, one is due to sail from India on the 26th February 1924, and the other on the 8th March 1924.

LICENCES FOR FIRE-ARMS.

66. ***Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju**: Will the Government be pleased to state the number of Licences granted for Fire-Arms throughout British India during the past year?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The information is being collected and a statement will be laid on the table as soon as it is available.

PRESENTATION OF A JOINT ADDRESS TO H. E. THE VICEROY BY MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN LEGISLATURE.

67. ***Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju**: Will the Government be pleased to state whether there would be any constitutional difficulty in presenting a joint address by the Members of both the Houses to His Excellency the Viceroy in reply to his speech on the opening of the Session, advocating measures approved of by the majority of that body?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The Honourable Member is asking for the opinion of Government on the existence of constitutional difficulties in the course he proposes. In the opinion of Government there are such difficulties. A connected question was discussed in the Council of State on the 27th February 1922 on a Resolution moved by the Honourable Mr. G. S. Khaparde and I would invite the attention of the Honourable Member to the statement made by my predecessor on that occasion.

ADMISSION OF INDIANS TO ALL ARMS OF THE MILITARY, NAVAL AND AIR FORCES IN INDIA.

68. ***Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju:** Will the Government be pleased to state whether the Government has arrived at any final decision about the admission of Indian Subjects to all arms of His Majesty's Military, Naval and Air Forces in India?

Mr. E. Burdon: The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the statement† laid on the table on the 2nd July last in reply to question No. 55. The position remains unchanged.

Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju: Am I to understand that no final decision was arrived at?

Mr. E. Burdon: No.

SCHOOL OF MINING AND GEOLOGY AT DHANBAD.

69. ***Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju:** Will the Government be pleased to state when the Government propose to establish a School of Mining and Geology at Dhanbad as Central Institution?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: As soon as funds are available.

DUTY REALISED FROM ENHANCED SALT TAX.

70. ***Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju:** Will the Government be pleased to state what was the amount realised as duty on salt since the date of increase of tax till the end of December and the amount of salt disposed of during the said period and the corresponding figure for the same period in the previous year?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I will answer questions Nos. 70, 101, 132 and 146 together. They all relate to the same subject.

I am not in a position to give any figures regarding consumption of salt during the particular periods named in the various questions. I am laying on the table a statement showing the total quantity of dutiable and duty-free salt issued month by month from April 1919 to November 1923 (the latest date for which figures are available) together with a statement of revenue realised in each month and the rate of duty prevailing.

† Vide pages 4135—4138 of L. A. Debates, Vol. III.

Statement showing the total quantity of dutiable and duty-free salt issued month by month from April 1919 to November 1923 and the revenue realised in each month and the rate of duty prevailing.

Year and month.	Quantity of dutiable and duty-free salt issued.	Rate of duty prevailing.	Revenue realised.
	Maunds.		Rs.
1919—April	57,38,360		57,34,000
May	58,57,553		55,28,000
June	32,42,786		40,89,000
July	32,64,088		43,39,000
August	29,50,019		43,93,000
September	33,66,123		52,93,000
October	38,25,543		60,10,000
November	42,92,289		60,54,000
December	49,04,377		37,43,000
1920—January	46,53,493		37,84,000
February	43,31,866		34,02,000
March	50,62,510		51,10,000
April	48,27,641	46,20,000	
May	44,29,931	48,57,000	
June	32,67,284	36,40,000	
July	34,79,470	37,49,000	
August	32,35,870	1,19,92,000	
September	32,60,650	46,61,000	
October	41,78,903	1,24,91,000	
November	47,17,578	41,39,000	
December	51,75,527	40,98,000	
1921—January	45,77,494	42,53,000	
February	44,68,106	43,35,000	
March	45,47,593	43,10,000	
April	49,81,792	51,73,000	
May	50,18,151	62,06,000	
June	40,17,329	53,76,000	
July	38,04,890	45,31,000	
August	33,48,308	43,13,000	
September	34,83,246	44,83,000	
October	40,38,378	49,43,000	
November	54,86,034	56,89,000	
December	51,02,764	52,50,000	
1922—January	47,38,749	48,12,000	
February	54,17,814	58,21,000	
March	25,17,714	68,41,000	
April	57,03,704	65,66,000	
May	57,53,892	72,77,000	
June	41,63,251	56,90,000	
July	44,86,090	23,14,000	
August	37,20,742	52,56,000	
September	38,21,539	45,78,000	
October	49,13,614	65,55,000	
November	51,75,271	62,74,000	
December	53,02,990	61,43,000	
1923—January	58,96,786	64,32,000	
February	77,25,738	72,98,000	
March	18,59,384	33,87,000	
April	29,12,912	64,27,000	
May	31,02,376	76,07,000	
June	29,59,297	55,57,000	
July	26,33,919	54,33,000	
August	26,99,186	64,16,000	
September	32,18,141	55,17,000	
October	40,60,160	60,55,000	
November	44,00,943	73,73,000	

Rs. 1-4-0 a
maund.

Rs. 2-8-0 a
maund.

REDUCTION IN ARTILLERY.

71. ***Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju:** Will the Government be pleased to state whether the reduction of 10 per cent. in artillery recommended by Lord Inchcape Committee was approved by the Secretary of State?

Mr. E. Burdon: Reductions in artillery have been effected which yield the pecuniary saving recommended.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE INCHCAPE COMMITTEE REGARDING PENSIONS.

72. ***Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju:** Will the Government be pleased to state whether the Secretary of State has arrived at any decision regarding the recommendation of Lord Inchcape Committee that the previous arrangement be reverted to under which a settlement of pension was arrived at for each individual on retirement on the basis of his expectation of his life?

Mr. E. Burdon: The matter was referred to the Secretary of State who has since replied that preliminary steps have been taken for the preparation of the necessary detailed accounts commencing with the year 1919-20 or 1920-21.

EMPLOYMENT OF ORIYAS ON THE B. N. RAILWAY.

73. ***Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju:** Will the Government be pleased to state whether the Agent of B. N. Ry. who, subject to considerations of efficiency recognised the desirability of affording Oriyas equal opportunities with the other classes in the Railway service, has appointed any Oriyas since July last? Whether the Government of India adopted the same course without impairing the efficiency of giving equal opportunities to all communities in the matter of Government employment?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The information asked for by the Honourable Member is being obtained and will be sent to him when ready.

COST OF DEMOBILIZATION OF SURPLUS OFFICERS.

74. ***Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju:** Will the Government be pleased to state regarding the payment of surplus officers on the cost of their demobilisation whether the proportion is yet determined and if so what was the proportion to be respectively borne by the British and Indian Exchequers?

Mr. E. Burdon: The question is still under the consideration of the Secretary of State and the War Office.

CAPITATION CHARGES PAYABLE TO THE WAR OFFICE.

75. ***Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju:** Will the Government be pleased to state whether the adjustment of the capitation charges payable to the War Office has been arrived at and if so what was the rate at the present time as compared with the pre-war capitation rate?

Mr. E. Burdon: The question of the final adjustment of capitation charges payable to the War Office is still under the consideration of the Secretary of State.

Dr. H. S. Gour: May I ask for how long this question has been under consideration?

Mr. E. Burdon: For nearly a year.

Dr. H. S. Gour: Has it been under consideration for one year for the first time?

Mr. E. Burdon: The question of capitation charges has been under discussion on many occasions.

CONVERSION OF RUPEE PENSIONS IN ENGLAND.

76. ***Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju:** Will the Government be pleased to state when and under what circumstances rules were framed that Rupee pensions paid in England are converted at the rate of exchange on the day the payment is due, subject to a minimum of 1s. 9d. and whether a similar state of things exists in the case of Civil Pensioners of Crown Colonies?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The minimum rate of 1s. 9d. was fixed in 1890. In that year a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the alleged grievances of the Uncovenanted Civil Servants of India, arising from the change in the relative value of gold and silver money, and their leave and pension rules, and the minimum rate was fixed on the recommendation of that Committee. The object was to give to those who were in receipt of rupee pensions a guarantee that the amounts issued to them in the United Kingdom should not fall below some definite sterling amount and that their income should not be liable to continual and excessive fluctuations from circumstances over which they had no control.

The Government have no information regarding the practice in the case of pensioners of the Crown Colonies.

UNIVERSITY FOR RAJPUTANA.

77. ***Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju:** Will the Government be pleased to state whether the proposal for constituting a University for Rajputana has taken a definite shape and whether the Government have received official proposals as yet?

Mr. E. B. Howell: Official proposals on the subject have not yet been received by the Government of India. The Government of India understand that the scheme is still under consideration locally.

Rai Sahib M. Harbilas Sarda: Do Government propose to take early steps for the establishment of a University in Rajputana, as the Allahabad University, to which the Colleges in Rajputana are affiliated, is going shortly to cut off its connection with them?

Mr. E. B. Howell: I would ask for notice of that question.

ORIYAS IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE.

78. ***Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju:** Will the Government be pleased to give the information that is being collected and promised to be given in reply to the question† No. 553 put by Mr. B. N. Misra on the 12th March 1923 regarding Oriyas in Government Service?

† Vide p. 3232 of L. A. Debates, Vol. III.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: A statement containing the information, which was supplied to Mr. Misra on the 21st May 1923, is laid on the table.

Statement showing the number of Oriyas employed in the Government of India Secretariat and certain other Departments.

Departments.	Number of Oriyas employed.	
Post and Telegraph Department	1,419	
Income-tax Department	7	
All Departments of the Government of India Secretariat.	(i) On a salary of Rs. 500 or upwards	Nil.
	(ii) On a salary of Rs. 100 or upwards	Nil.

AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE AND COLLEGE.

79. ***Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju:** Will the Government be pleased to state whether any and what steps are being taken by the Government to thoroughly equip the Agricultural Research Institute and College to train Indians for the Indian Agricultural Service without the necessity of sending them abroad and if not when the Government propose to take necessary action in view of the sanction of the Secretary of State in 1921.

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: The Government of India have started at Pusa post graduate courses in Agricultural Chemistry, Mycology, Entomology, Agricultural Bacteriology and Botany, and all the necessary equipment is already available. These courses have been thrown open to distinguished graduates of Universities or Agricultural Colleges and also to students who have undergone training in agriculture and its allied branches in British Universities or in one of the recognised Agricultural Colleges and who possess suitable qualifications. The courses will qualify for appointments to specialist posts in the Indian Agricultural Service. The Government of India have also instituted, with effect from the 2nd January 1924, a post graduate training course in Animal Husbandry and Dairying at Bangalore under the Imperial Dairy Expert and Physiological Chemist to be followed by a short course at Pusa under the Imperial Agriculturist. This course has been thrown open both to officers of the Provincial Agricultural Service and to candidates who have obtained a degree or diploma in Agriculture or science at a recognised University or Agricultural College.

Similar courses in agricultural engineering and agronomy will be instituted, as funds permit.

ADVISORY COMMITTEES FOR THE B. B. AND C. I. AND G. I. P. RAILWAYS.

80. ***Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state if Advisory Committees recommended by the Acworth Committee are likely to be appointed in connection with the B. B. and C. I. and the G. I. P. Railways?

(b) If the reply to the above be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state when they think such Advisory Committees will be appointed?

(c) If the reply be in the negative, will Government be pleased to state the reasons for the same?

(d) Will Government be pleased to state the reason of the delay in the appointment of Advisory Committees for the G. I. P. and B. B. and C. I. Railways till now?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) Yes.

(b) The Committees are in course of formation and it is expected that they will be established shortly.

(c) The question does not arise.

(d) The formation of the Local Advisory Committees has been held up owing to the desirability of nominating certain members from the Bombay Legislative Council, which could not be done till after the re-elections, and to the necessity of obtaining the views of the Home Boards of the railways concerned.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: With regard to the answer to part (b), the Honourable Member said 'shortly'. Can he indicate the period 'shortly'?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I am afraid I cannot, but I believe that arrangements are now being made.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: May I take it that they will be in action by the next financial year, say, in April?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I hope so.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: With regard to the answer to part (d) the Honourable Member referred to the desirability of having representatives from the Local Council in Bombay. Can the Honourable Member say when the Bombay Government were asked to get the local Council to nominate Members from there?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: No, Sir.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Would the Honourable Member find that out and let us know?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Honourable Member is at liberty to put in a question of that kind and if he does so I will consider the answer.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: May I ask if the Government of India have made any arrangement for the representation of third class passengers on these Committees?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I must ask for notice of that question.

Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas: Have Advisory Committees been appointed, or is it contemplated to appoint them, on other railways also?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I think I am correct in saying that they have been appointed already on most other railways, if not on all of them.

SUBSIDY TO REUTERS LIMITED.

81. ***Mr. M. A. Jinnah:** Will Government be pleased to state the amount paid every year by way of subsidy or otherwise to Reuters Limited?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: The Government of India have 3 contracts with Messrs. Reuters, Limited, for the supply of their news services for which the following payments are made:

- (1) *Reuter's Ordinary Service.*—Rs. 31,200 per annum with effect from 8th July 1910.
- (2) *Reuter's Special Service.*—Rs. 12,000 per annum with effect from 16th July 1919.
- (3) *Reuter's Government Summary.*—Rs. 12,000 per annum with effect from 21st June 1919.

These payments cover the cost of copies supplied both to the officials of the Government of India and of Local Governments.

SUBSIDY TO THE ASSOCIATED PRESS.

82. ***Mr. M. A. Jinnah:** Will Government be pleased to state the amount paid every year by way of subsidy or otherwise to the Associated Press of India?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The Associated Press receives no subsidy in payment from the Government of India. If the Honourable Member is thinking of the telegrams taken by Government from the Indian News Agency, I would note that this is a separate organisation; Government subscribes to its service on ordinary commercial terms, in common with a large number of newspapers.

INDIA'S COMMITMENT IN RESPECT OF WIRELESS.

83. ***Mr. M. A. Jinnah:** Will Government be pleased to state to what payment India has been committed in the matter of Wireless on Capital and Revenue account respectively?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: Details of the Budget Provision under expenditure from Revenue will be found on pages 7, 21, 32 and 33 of the Detailed Statement in support of the demand for grants for the Post and Telegraph Department for the current year. The revised estimate is Rs. 8,23,000. The estimate for expenditure on Capital Account will be found on page 50 of the same statement.

WIRELESS CONCESSIONS.

84. ***Mr. M. A. Jinnah:** Will Government be pleased to state the nature of the concession in regard to Wireless which has been given and what proportion of the Capital in the concern is Indian?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: No concession in regard to Wireless has yet been given. The second part of the question therefore does not arise.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: May I ask, Sir, whether Government will keep this in view before any arrangement is entered into?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: Yes, it has been kept in view.

EXPENDITURE ON THE BRITISH EMPIRE EXHIBITION.

85. ***Mr. M. A. Jinnah:** Will Government be pleased to state the total expenditure public and private, over the British Empire Exhibition from the revenues of India either Central, Provincial or local including that incurred by Indian Princes?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The total estimated gross expenditure on the British Empire Exhibition for the three years ending 1924-25 from Central Revenues is as follows:

In England:	£ 178,000
In India	Rs. 1,75,000

In addition it is estimated that the various Railway Companies will spend Rs. 3,27,000. It should be clearly understood that these are gross figures and take no account of the receipts which will be obtained from the Provinces and Railway Companies, etc., on account of rent, etc.

It is not known exactly what the provinces contemplate spending, but so far as has been reported, the Punjab expect to incur an expenditure of 3½ lakhs gross, the United Provinces 3½ lakhs gross, and Burma, which has an entirely separate building, 13 lakhs gross. These figures again are gross, and make no allowance for recoveries.

The Government of India have no information regarding the expenditure contemplated by Indian States or private exhibitors.

Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar: Is any portion of the amount to be spent on the British Empire Exhibition expected to come back to us after the Exhibition is over by the sale of buildings, materials or otherwise?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Certainly, Sir.

Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar: May I know the amount expected?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I am afraid I must ask for notice of that question. I do not remember the figures.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Have Government heard that the estimates of the amount expected by the sale of buildings have gone down considerably since the estimates were originally submitted?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I think they have gone down, but as I have said, I do not carry the figures in my head.

P. AND O. MAIL CONTRACT.

86. ***Mr. M. A. Jinnah:** Will Government be pleased to make a statement regarding the present position of the Peninsular and Oriental Mail contract and indicate the amount payable from Indian revenue and the period for which the commitment is made?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: So far as is known at present, the existing P. and O. Mail Contract cannot terminate at a date earlier than the 31st January, 1927. Under the reassessment made last year with effect from the 1st April, 1923, the annual contribution of India to the P. and O. subsidy for the carriage of her letter mails has been roughly estimated at £22,000. The principles of assessment will continue in force until the termination of the present contract.

PRINTING OF CURRENCY NOTES IN INDIA.

87. ***Mr. M. A. Jinnah:** Will Government be pleased to state what arrangements have been made for printing currency notes in India and for terminating the contract with the Bank of England?

The Honorable Sir Basil Blackett: The Government of India have made arrangements for an Experimental Press to test the practicability of carrying out Security Printing in India. This, if successful, will, it is hoped, be extended to the printing of currency notes as well as stamps and stamped paper, but the existing contract with the Bank of England in respect of notes of denominations higher than one-rupee does not terminate until June 1929.

PURCHASE OF STORES IN INDIA, GREAT BRITAIN, ETC.

88. ***Mr. M. A. Jinnah:** Will Government be pleased to state what portion of stores purchased for

- (a) State Railways,
- (b) Public Departments (Central Government),

has been bought during 1920-21, 1921-22 and 1922-23 in
 India;
 Great Britain; and
 Other Countries respectively.

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: I place on the table two statements (1) showing the expenditure on stores purchased in India and (2) showing the expenditure on stores purchased through the London Store Department for the official years 1920-21, 1921-22, and 1922-23 by (a) State Railways and (b) other Departments of the Central Government (including minor Local Governments).

Statement showing the expenditure on stores purchased in India by (a) State Railways and (b) other Departments of the Central Government (including minor Local Governments) for the official years 1920-21, 1921-22 and 1922-23.

	1920-21.	1921-22.	1922-23.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
State Railways.	4,09,77,335	6,69,77,199	6,34,32,565
Central Departments (including minor Local Governments).	2,20,87,729	2,10,75,478	1,49,49,167

NOTE:—The statement does not include figures relating to (1) purchases of articles of the same kind and of an aggregate value not exceeding Rs. 50 at one time and place, (2) purchases made by contractors for Government works, (3) purchases invariably made in India, such as bricks, Indian lime and mortar, Indian timber, etc., and (4) purchases made by or on behalf of the military authorities.

Statement showing the expenditure on stores purchased through the London Store Department by (a) State Railways and (b) other Departments of the Central Government (including minor Local Governments).

	1920-21.	1921-22.	1922-23.
	£	£	£
State Railways	3,777,000	2,957,000 Includes orders placed in countries other than Great Britain of the value of £71,000.	2,336,000 Includes orders placed in countries other than Great Britain of the value of £143,000.
Central Departments (including minor Local Governments).	10,130,000	6,335,000	3,773,000 Includes orders placed in countries other than Great Britain of the value of £114,000.

NOTE (1): Figures for 1921-22 do not include £563,000 as final appropriation was made in India.

NOTE (2): Statistics in regard to foreign placed orders were not kept prior to 1st April 1922 except for State Railways for 1921-22.

INDIAN AUXILIARY FORCE.

89. *Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Will Government be pleased to state the strength and denomination of the various units of the Auxiliary Force in India and the cost per head per year of

- (a) Indian Soldier;
- (b) British Soldier;
- (c) Members of Territorial Force.

Mr. E. Burdon: I will furnish the Honourable Member separately with a statement giving the information asked for in the first part of his question. As regards the second part, the information is as follows:—

- (a) Rs. 500 approximately.
- (b) Rs. 2,090 approximately. (This represents the cost of an unmarried British private.)
- (c) Private of the Auxiliary Force—Class "A"—

Average cost per training year. Rs. 40.

Private in the Indian Territorial Force—

Approximately Rs. 26 per training year.

EXPENDITURE ON THE ECCLESIASTICAL DEPARTMENT.

90. *Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Will Government be pleased to state the total expenditure of revenue Central and Provincial on the Ecclesiastical Department and how long it is in the intention of Government to burden this country with this charge?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: All expenditure on the Ecclesiastical Department is Central. The budget provision for 1923-24 was Rs. 32,83,000. The actual figures are not yet available. A scheme of reduction has been framed recently under which it is hoped to save Rs. 4,30,000 annually, the bulk of it by the end of 1925-26.

EUROPEANS IN THE CIVIL SERVICES OF INDIA.

91. ***Mr. M. A. Jinnah:** Will Government be pleased to state the total number of Europeans (non-Indians) in services other than military under Government on the 31st of December 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920 and 1923, respectively?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: It would require considerable research to answer the question put before us, and I hope I may be excused for not undertaking that research, because very full figures of this character, though for different years, have been published in the Reports of the Aitchison and the Islington Commissions, and I should be able to refer the Honourable Member to the answers we have given in reply to questions in the Assembly regarding later years. In the circumstances, Sir, I hope the Honourable Member will, in view of the information I am able to give him, excuse me from undertaking a research dating as far back as 1880.

STORES FOR NEW DELHI AND THE SUKKUR BARRAGE.

92. ***Mr. M. A. Jinnah:** Will Government be pleased to state whether the stores and materials required for—

- (1) New Delhi,
- (2) Sukkur Barrage,

are being purchased in India and if they are not whether it is proposed to secure the recognition of the principle that Indian material is to be preferred and tenders should be called for things in India and in rupees?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: Stores and materials required for New Delhi are purchased in accordance with the rules for the supply of articles for the public service. Indian materials have been, and will be, used as far as possible.

So far as the Sukkur Barrage is concerned, the question should be addressed to the Local Government.

REPORT OF THE CREDITORS' COMMITTEE, ALLIANCE BANK.

93. ***Mr. M. A. Jinnah:** Will Government be pleased to state if they have seen a copy of the report of the Creditors' Committee of investigation in the affairs of the Alliance Bank and if they propose to prosecute those that are said to be criminally responsible?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The Government have not received any report.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Can Government inform the House when they are likely to receive the report?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I am not able to say when the Creditors' Committee referred to will present their report. It has been under consideration, I understand, for some time.

MINING AND OTHER CONCESSIONS GRANTED TO FOREIGNERS.

94. ***Mr. M. A. Jinnah:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state what concessions in mining, forest products and other monopolies were given to foreigners during 1921-22 and 1922-23 and whether an attempt had been made in all cases to find an Indian (individual or firm) to take up the said concessions and work them?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state whether they have considered the desirability of restricting in future the grant of these concessions to any but Indians?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: (a) So far as mining concessions are concerned, one mining lease for iron-ore was granted to a foreigner in Madras during the period specified under the special sanction of the Secretary of State. So far as the Government of India are aware no attempt was made to find an Indian to take up this concession.

With regard to forests, no monopolies were granted in the areas under the control of the Government of India. The Government of India are not primarily concerned with forest administration in the provinces.

(b) The question has not been considered.

Dr. H. S. Gour: What was the nationality of the foreigner to whom the concession referred to by the Honourable Member relates?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: I believe he was a Frenchman, but I could not definitely say off hand.

INDIAN TENDERS FOR LOCOMOTIVES.

95. ***Mr. M. A. Jinnah:** Will Government be pleased to state what orders out of recent tenders for locomotives have been placed with a firm established in India? If no such order has been placed, will Government make clear the policy on the subject?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The policy of the Government of India was clearly defined in the *Communiqué*, dated 1st October 1921, a copy of which is laid on the table. Tenders were received from a firm in India in January 1923, but the price and conditions quoted were such that they could not be accepted.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

RAILWAY DEPARTMENT.

(RAILWAY BOARD).

Communiqué, dated the 1st October 1921.

"In pursuance of their expressed policy of making India as far as possible independent of outside sources in the supply of materials for railways, the Government of India have had under consideration the question of the construction of locomotive engines in India and they are now in a position to give a general undertaking that tenders will be invited annually in India for all the railway locomotive engines and locomotive boilers required by Government during the 12 years commencing with 1923.

It is estimated that the average annual requirements of Government will be 160 locomotive engines and 160 additional boilers during 1923 and 1924; and thereafter, 400 locomotive engines and 400 additional boilers.

The first tenders will be invited on 1st October 1922. The following general conditions will be observed :—

- (A) The invitation to tender will be published simultaneously in India and England and will remain open for at least 3 months.
- (B) The qualities of the articles offered must satisfy in every respect the specifications laid down.
- (C) The prices in the case of tenders made in India must compare not unfavourably with the imported article.
- (D) Tenderers in India must satisfy Government in the earlier years that an appreciable part of the manufacturing will be done in India; this condition may be expected to become gradually more stringent until eventually tenderers in order to be successful will be required to show that they can carry out in their works in India all processes usually carried out in locomotive works in England.
- (E) Government will reserve the right to insist that the proposed source of supply of parts which cannot be manufactured in India should be stated in the tender and should be subject to their approval.
- (F) Government will reserve the right of inspection at any stage of the process of manufacture both in India and elsewhere.
- (G) Firms receiving orders in India will be expected to provide facilities in their works for the training of Indian technical students and where such firms have their main works outside India or are subsidiary companies promoted by or closely connected with firms which have their main works outside India they will be expected to provide thereat similar facilities to students recommended by the High Commissioner for India in London. Firms interested in the above announcement are invited to apply for further information either to the Secretary, Railway Board, India, or to the High Commissioner for India, London."

DEMobilISED OFFICERS AND MEN.

96. *Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Will Government be pleased to state the sum direct or indirect by way of salary, gratuity, passage or otherwise paid during 1921-22, 1922-23 and up to the end of December 1923 from Indian Revenue to retiring or demobilised Officers and men?

Mr. E. Burdon: The amounts so far paid from Indian revenues for the purposes stated by the Honourable Member are as follows:—

- (a) Sums paid to demobilised British officers by way of salary, gratuity, passage or otherwise during—

	Rs.
1921-23	Nil.
1922-23	2,20,13,237
From the 1st April 1923 up to the 31st December 1923	82,81,429

No separate record has been maintained in respect of pensions paid to officers who have retired since the 1st April 1921.

- (b) Charges for the demobilisation of Indian troops:—

	Rs.
1921-22	1,25,42,784
1922-23	35,66,386
From the 1st April 1923 up to the 31st December 1923	15,94,337

EMPIRE CONTRACTS.

97. *Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Will Government be pleased to state what commitments any representative on behalf of the Government of India or the Secretary of State has made at recent conferences in England in regard to contracts emanating from the Empire being placed inside the Empire?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: None. The main Resolution on the subject of Imperial Preference in public contracts was to the effect that the Imperial Economic Conference reaffirms the principle that in all Government contracts effective preference will be given to goods made and materials produced within the Empire, except where undertakings entered into prior to this Conference preclude this course or special circumstances render it undesirable or unnecessary. The words 'except where undertakings entered into prior to this Conference preclude such a course' safeguards the position taken up by the representatives of India at the Conference. As the result of the debates in this Assembly and in the Council of State in September 1921, the Government of India instructed the High Commissioner for India that his policy in the purchase of stores for India must be based on the principle of accepting the lowest satisfactory tender. The Government of India regard their instructions as an undertaking given to the Legislature within the meaning of the word in the Resolution passed by the Imperial Economic Conference.

OPENING OF THE PORT OF CALCUTTA FOR PILGRIM TRAFFIC.

98. ***Haji Wajihuddin:** Are the Government aware that Bengal has the largest number of outgoing Hedjaz Pilgrims from one Province, and if so, will they be pleased to make adequate and prompt arrangement for opening the port of Calcutta to pilgrim traffic before next Pilgrim season as recommended by the Assembly about two years ago?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: The Government of India are aware that the largest number of pilgrims for the Haj comes generally from the Presidency of Bengal and the question of opening the port of Calcutta for pilgrim traffic is receiving careful and sympathetic consideration in consultation with the Government of Bengal. The Government of India regret that they cannot give any definite undertaking that the port will be opened until the financial situation improves and some system has been introduced under which pilgrims who make the pilgrimage will be required to provide in advance for their return journey.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Will Government be kind enough to expedite the inquiry and consider the desirability of opening the port of Calcutta before the next summer, as pilgrims from Bengal, particularly, have much trouble in going to Jeddah direct?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: The Government of India are anxious to do all that they can and have it under their most sympathetic consideration.

Haji Wajihuddin: Will Government be pleased to lay on the table the correspondence passed between the Government of India and the Government of Bengal?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: I cannot undertake to attempt to do that at this stage, but the Government of India are most anxious to do all that they possibly can.

Mr. K. Ahmed: In view of the fact that last year the Government made a statement that they would try their level best to open the port of Calcutta for pilgrims to Mecca, do Government propose now to expedite the matter of opening the port of Calcutta before the next summer?

(No answer was given to the question.)

USE OF THE FERUZESHAHI MOSQUES, DELHI, AS A HOSPITAL.

99. *Haji Wajihuddin: Is it a fact that the big four-domed Ferozeshahi mosques on Kutab Road, Delhi, are being used from sometime past as an Infectious Diseases Hospital by the Delhi Municipality, also three small mosques as sweeper and menial quarters, and if so, by what authority; and do the Government of India intend to take immediate steps to have them vacated without delay?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The Honourable Member is referred to the answer given to a similar question on the same subject in last March. As forecasted in that answer, the portion of the new Kutab Road passing through this area having now been completed the Municipal Infectious Diseases Hospital has been transferred to another site. The mosque with the adjacent buildings has been made over to a responsible Moslem association, which has agreed to take charge of it.

DRINKING WATER FOR PASSENGERS ON THE N.-W. RAILWAY.

100. *Haji Wajihuddin: Are the Government aware that arrangements for the supply of drinking water for passengers on the small stations of the N. W. Ry. are generally inadequate, and that certain National Societies last summer provided free Sabil of Sharbat and cold water on certain stations; and do the Government intend to issue strict instructions to remove the inconvenience without delay?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Government are not aware that the supply of drinking water for passengers at small stations on the North-Western Railway is generally inadequate.

SALT REVENUE.

101. *Haji Wajihuddin: Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the quantities, rates and revenues on salt in each of the last 5 years respectively?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I have already replied to this question.†

MUHAMMADANS IN THE ACCOUNT DEPARTMENT, POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.

102. *Haji Wajihuddin: Is it a fact that in the sub-account service of the post and telegraph account department not even two per cent. of the permanent posts have been allowed to Mohammadans (a) whether the Government are prepared to make adequate representation of Mohammadans in the said Department in the near future; (b) what is the procedure and practice regarding examinations, selection and appointment in the said department; (c) and whether any amendment in the same is necessary to safeguard the interest of ill-fated Muslim candidates who are anxiously awaiting for the said posts for the last several years?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: There are 71 Subordinate Accounts Service posts in the Posts and Telegraphs Account Offices. Two of them are held by Mohammadans, including one on probation.

(a) The basis of selection for the Subordinate Accounts Service posts is a departmental examination. In no case does the question of the particular community to which a possible candidate belongs come into consideration.

† *I* vide answer to question No. 70.

(b) I lay on the table a statement showing the procedure and practice regarding examination, selection and appointment.

(c) No amendment in the procedure seems necessary. The work is highly technical and qualifying examination is the only possible means of selection.

Statement showing the procedure and practice regarding examinations, selection and appointment in the Subordinate Accounts Service of the Posts and Telegraphs Account Department.

Appointments to the Subordinate Accounts Service in the Postal Account Department are made either direct or by promotion from the clerical service, at the discretion of the Accountant General, Posts and Telegraphs. Not more than one-third of the vacancies are filled up by direct recruits, but this rule can be relaxed in special cases with the sanction of the Auditor General. No person appointed direct can be confirmed and no person can be promoted from the clerical service, in either a substantive or officiating capacity, who has not passed the qualifying departmental examination. All direct appointments are at first made on probation only. Except with the special sanction of the Auditor General, direct recruits are not allowed to appear in the examination more than three times. Failure to pass at the last examination entails removal from the service.

As regards the members of the clerical service, clerks with not less than five years' permanent service (graduates with not less than 3 years' permanent service) are allowed to appear at the Departmental Examination. When nominating candidates, heads of offices have to certify that they are of good moral character, energetic, possessed of aptitude for the work of an Accountant (a member of the Subordinate Accounts Service) and with a reasonable chance of passing.

Except with the special sanction of the Auditor General such persons are not allowed more than four attempts to pass.

The examination is held annually in November, the papers being set by the Auditor General and the Accountant General, Posts and Telegraphs. The examination is not competitive; it is held merely to ascertain that the person desirous of entering the Subordinate Accounts Service has the necessary technical knowledge.

TELEPHONE AND WIRELESS CONCESSIONS.

103. *Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Will Government be pleased to state what steps they have taken to secure the interests of the public in the grant of concessions and leases to various utility companies in the matter of telephone and wireless—particularly in the matter of period of the concession where the concern happens to be non-Indian in constitution?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: The Bengal, Bombay, Madras and Rangoon Telephone Companies are registered in India with Rupee capital and hold licenses under Section 4 of the Indian Telegraph Act, 1885, in practically identical terms. A copy of the license granted to the Bombay Company has been placed in the Library together with copies of supplementary agreements. These furnish the particulars asked for.

No wireless concessions or leases have been granted to utility companies, though I may say that a temporary license has recently been granted to a company, for a period which expires on 30th April 1924, for broadcasting. This is of a purely experimental nature.

BALANCE IN THE HANDS OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

104. *Sir Purshotarnadas Thakurdas: (a) What was the balance in the hands of the Secretary of State on 31st March 1923? Whether any part of it was invested, and if so, how and at what rates?

(b) Cannot the Secretary of State get accommodation from the Bank of England on lines similar to the ways and means advances to the British Government for short periods? If not, why?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a) The balance on 31st March 1923 was £9,600,000 of which £8½ millions were invested in British Treasury Bills at current rates.

(b) It would probably not be impossible for the Secretary of State to arrange to get temporary accommodation, if necessary, but as a matter of policy the Government of India do not consider it desirable that they should be overdrawn with the Bank of England, and generally speaking it would not be profitable while other reserves are available.

ENEMY SHIPS.

105. ***Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas:** In the Home Accounts of the Government of India for the year 1920-21 it is reported that there had accrued a surplus of receipts over expenses of £3,584,646 up to 30th September 1920 and a further £400,475 from that date to 31st March 1921, making in all £3,985,121, on the working of certain enemy ships. Will Government be pleased to say:

(a) What further profits have been earned on these ships to 31st December 1923?

(b) What ships were originally included in this group of enemy ships?

(c) Are they all still in service?

(d) If not, what has become of those that are no longer there?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) During the period 1st April 1921 to 30th November 1923 (the latest date up to which information is available) payments exceeded receipts by £26,000.

(b) The accounts to which the Honourable Member refers relate to 14 enemy ships which with one exception were seized in Indian ports at the outbreak of war and which were worked first under the control of the Secretary of State for India and after the appointment of the High Commissioner under the control of that officer.

(c) and (d). Five steamships have been sold. Three of them were sunk at sea. One of them has been returned to that Government which has established its claim to it. The rest, namely, five steamships, are still in service.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: May I ask how the steamships are being used?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: If the Honourable Member will put a question, I will endeavour to find out and answer him.

HULETT'S ORDINANCE (SOUTH AFRICA).

106. ***Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas:** (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to Hulett's Ordinance passed by the Provincial Council in South Africa in the early part of this month (January 1924)?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state what steps they have taken to ensure that the Governor General in Council in South Africa does not give his assent to this Ordinance?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: (a) and (b). The attention of the Government of India has been drawn to the Ordinance in question and they at once made strong representations on the subject.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: What is the result of these representations?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: That, I am afraid, we do not know. The matter is resting with the Governor General in Council of the Union of South Africa with whom the power of veto rests.

MANUFACTURE OF ARMY CLOTHING BY PRIVATE ENTERPRISE.

107. ***Lala Hans Raj:** Will the Government please state whether private enterprise was utilized in the manufacture of Army Clothing during the Great War, and if so, do they propose to continue placing some proportion of the orders for manufacture in the hands of private enterprise?

Mr. E. Burdon: Yes. During the year 1922-23 nearly half of the manufactured clothing required by the Army in India was obtained from sources other than Government factories.

CRIMINAL APPEALS, MOTIONS AND REFERENCES IN THE CALCUTTA HIGH COURT.

108. ***Mr. K. Ahmed:** Will the Government be pleased to state how many criminal appeals, motions and references were made, heard and disposed of in the Calcutta High Court from the 12th November 1923 to the 21st January, 1924, and how many of them were (i) allowed, (ii) dismissed or rejected?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I lay on the table a statement containing the information asked for. I may point out that the cases instituted during the specified period may not be and are certainly not all included among those "allowed" or "dismissed".

Statement of Criminal appeals, applications and references made, heard and disposed of in the Calcutta High Court during the period from the 12th November 1923 to the 21st January 1924.

	Instituted.	DISPOSED OF	
		Allowed.	Dismissed or Rejected.
Appeals	113	33	133
Revisions :—			
Under Section 435, Code of Criminal Procedure.	202	35	191
Under Section 433, Code of Criminal Procedure.	20	19	7
Miscellaneous	33	9	17
Civil Revisions	4	2	6
(Sections 195 and 476, Code of Criminal Procedure).	...	...	...
Total	268	65	221

	Instituted.	DISPOSED OF	
		Verdict of the Jury accepted.	Verdict of Jury set aside.
References:—			
Jury References	11	11 Death sentence confirmed	14 Death sentence set aside.
Death Reference	2	1	1
Reference Under Section 492, Code of Criminal Procedure.	Nil	Recommendation accepted. 1	...
Total	13	13	15

ABOLITION OF ARMY CLOTHING FACTORIES.

109. *Mr. Ahmad Ali Khan: (a) Will the Government be pleased to state whether they have considered the recommendation of the Stores Purchase Committee, contained in paragraph 85 of its report, for the abolition of the ' Army Clothing Factories ' in India and to entrust the work done by such Factories to private factories to encourage Indian trade?

(b) If the answer is in the affirmative, do Government propose to give effect to it as early as possible?

(c) If the answer is in the negative, will the Government be pleased to explain the reasons in full for their not complying with the said recommendation?

Mr. E. Burdon: (a) and (b) The Honourable Member is, presumably, referring to the recommendation of the Stores Purchase Committee contained in paragraph 87 of their Report. This recommendation, together with others bearing on the same subject, has been considered by Government, who have decided that unless special military considerations or other special reasons exist, the manufacture of articles which can be purchased from private producers should not be carried out in Government factories. At the present moment, nearly half the manufactured clothing required by the Army in India is obtained from sources other than Government factories.

(c) This question does not arise.

ARMY CLOTHING FACTORY, SHAHJAHANPORE.

110. *Mr. Ahmad Ali Khan: (a) Is it a fact that the Government are going to spend a large sum of money for the Army Clothing Factory at Shahjahanpore?

(b) If the answer is in the affirmative, will the Government be pleased to state what is the exact amount of money they are going to spend and for what sort of work the money is to be spent giving the full particulars and stating whether they are going to construct more buildings and purchase additional tools and materials?

Mr. E. Burdon: (a) and (b) An expenditure of approximately 4½ lakhs of rupees has been sanctioned for the building of proper workshops at Shah-jahanpur, and, in accordance with the recommendations of the Braithwaite Committee, consideration is being given to further additions. No additional clothing materials will be stocked, but ordinary replacements of sewing machines, etc., are being made. I may add that the Alipore Clothing Factory mentioned by the Stores Purchase Committee has been closed down.

ARMY CLOTHING DEPARTMENT SURPLUS MACHINES.

111. ***Mr. Ahmad Ali Khan:** Is it a fact that since the termination of the War, the Government have disposed of a large number of machines which were in stock and in use of the Army Clothing Department, on the ground of their being surplus and not wanted for their use?

Mr. E. Burdon: No. Only obsolete and worn out machines have been sold.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE RAILWAY PASSENGERS' CONFERENCE.

112. ***Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** (a) Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the "Searchlight" newspaper of Patna, dated the 14th December 1923, in which the Resolutions passed at the Railway Passengers' Conference in the Sonapur Fair on the 24th November 1923 are published?

(b) Has Government received any communication on this subject from the organisers of the Conference?

(c) And if so, what steps, if any, have been taken, or are proposed to be taken to remedy the grievances referred to in the Resolutions of the Conference?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) and (b) No.

(c) Therefore does not arise.

INCONVENIENCES TO PASSENGERS ON THE B. N. W. RAILWAY.

113. ***Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** Is the Government aware that passengers travelling by, or utilizing the B. N. W. Railway have generally to suffer from the following inconveniences:

(a) habitual over-crowding of the third class carriages, and specially during fairs and festivals;

(b) the dirty and insanitary condition of the lower class carriages;

(c) want of proper lights in the carriages;

(d) slow running of trains, and unnecessarily long stoppages at roadside stations;

(e) want of drinking water at the stations; and absence of refreshment rooms for orthodox passengers even at important junction stations;

(f) difficulty in securing reserved carriages from the Railway Authorities;

(g) difficulty in obtaining wagons?

If the answer to the above be in the affirmative, what steps have been taken to remedy this state of affairs?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: A Local Advisory Council has been established at the Bengal and North-Western Railway and the Government of India have no doubt that complaints of this kind will be discussed by the Agent with that Council.

PILFERAGE OF FRUIT ON THE B. N. W. RAILWAY.

114. ***Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** Is the Government aware that pilfering of goods, and specially of "leechi" and other fresh fruits, very often takes place while the goods are in transit on the B. N. W. Railway? And if so, what steps have been taken to put a stop to such practices?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The matter was discussed at a meeting of the Bengal and North-Western Railway Local Advisory Committee at Muzaffarpur on the 22nd September 1923 and it was decided that, during the "Leechee" and Mango season, Inspectors would be specially detailed to look after this traffic, any specific cases brought to the notice of the Traffic Manager of the Railway being taken up at once.

FENCING ON B. N. W. RAILWAY.

115. ***Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** Will the Government be pleased to say what portions of the B. N. W. Railway line are still unfenced? And will Government kindly state if it has issued orders, or proposes to issue orders, to have such portions of the line fenced?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Government have no information on the subject. They have not issued, nor do they propose at present to issue, any orders to the Bengal and North-Western Railway Company in the matter.

PROVISION OF HIGH-LEVEL PLATFORMS ON THE B. N. W. RAILWAY.

116. ***Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** (a) Is the Government aware that the stations of the B. N. W. Railway on the Hajipore and Katihar section of the line (i) have not been provided with high-level platforms, thus causing considerable inconvenience to passengers, specially females and children; (ii) have no first and second class waiting rooms?

(b) If the answer to the above be in the affirmative, will the Government be pleased to state if it is prepared to remedy this state of affairs by providing high-level platforms, and waiting rooms?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) The reply is in the negative.

(b) The policy of Government is to leave it to the discretion of Railway Administrations to provide high-level platforms and first and second class waiting rooms at stations where the passenger traffic justifies their provision.

PROPOSED RAILWAY BRIDGE ACROSS THE GANGES AT MOKAMEH GHAT.

117. ***Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** Will the Government be pleased to say how far the project of building a railway bridge across the Ganges at Mokameh Ghat, has progressed? And what is its estimated expenditure?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The proposal to construct a bridge across the Ganges at Mokameh Ghat has been dropped as it was found

after examination that it could not be justified financially. The estimated expenditure is 2 crores 13 lakhs.

PROPOSED RAILWAY BRIDGE ACROSS THE GANGES AT PATNA.

118. ***Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** Will the Government be pleased to state if there is any project of building a railway bridge across the Ganges at Patna, with a view to bring the North-Gangetic Division of Bihar into direct connection with the capital of the Province?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The reply is in the negative.

RAILWAY CONNECTION BETWEEN MUZAFFARPUR AND SITAMARHI.

119. ***Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** (a) Is the Government aware that there is no direct railway connection between Muzaffarpur headquarters and Sitamarhi which is a sub-division of Muzaffarpur?

(b) Is it a fact that in order to reach Sitamarhi from Muzaffarpur by rail, one has to pass through Samastipore, which is a sub-division of District Durbhanga, and also through Durbhanga headquarters, thus resulting in much expense and loss of time?

(c) If the answer to the above be in the affirmative, will the Government be pleased to say if there is any project of building a direct railway between Muzaffarpur and Sitamarhi?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) and (b) The Honourable Member is referred to the reply given on 28th September 1921 to a similar question asked in this House.

(c) From the information in regard to this project available, the Railway Board do not consider that the prospects of traffic are such as to justify its construction. The views of the Local Government are however being asked for.

EXPENDITURE ON COMMISSIONS AND COMMITTEES APPOINTED BY GOVERNMENT AND THE ASSEMBLY.

120. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** Will the Government be pleased to state:

(a) How many commissions and committees were appointed by the Government and by the Assembly since the Reforms Act came into operation?

(b) How much money was spent on these commissions and committees?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The information asked for by the Honourable Member is being collected and will be laid on the table when ready.

REPORT OF THE GUIANA COMMISSION.

121. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** Will the Government be pleased to state when the report of the Guiana Commission was submitted to the Government? And why has it not been published as yet?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: The reports were issued on the 21st of January last with a Resolution by the Government of India.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: May I know when they were published?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: They were published on the 21st January last.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: When were they received?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: They were received sometime during the summer.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: Do the Government propose to supply Members of the Assembly with free copies of these reports?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: I shall be happy to supply a copy to any Member who wishes to have one.

POWERS OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA IN LONDON.

122. ***Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state if the powers of the High Commissioner for India in London at present are the same as those of his predecessor Sir William Meyer?

(b) If there has been any change in these powers, will Government be pleased to indicate such change?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) Yes.

(b) Does not arise.

TENDERS FOR LOCOMOTIVES IN INDIA.

123. ***Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state the total quantity of stores bought by the High Commissioner since 1st April 1923 till 30th September 1923, stating the quantity bought in the U. K. and the quantity bought outside the U. K.?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state what form of remunerative preference, if any, was assured or promised to the Peninsular Locomotive Company at the meeting Government had with them on November 7th and 9th, 1921?

(c) Will Government be pleased to state if there was any further Communiqué contemplated according tenderers for locomotives made in India preference over foreign tenders?

(d) If the reply to (c) above be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state the reason why the said Communiqué was not published?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: My reply to this question is so long that, with your permission, Sir, I propose to lay it on the table.

(a) The information asked for is not available. If the Honourable Member so desires, the High Commissioner will be asked to supply it.

(b), (c) and (d) The actual facts of the case are as follows:—

The Government of India published a Communiqué in October 1921 stating that they would in future call for tenders in India for locomotives,

engines and boilers required by Government. Among other things, it was stated that the prices in the case of tenders made in India must compare not unfavourably with the price of the imported article. This Communiqué attracted much attention both at home and in India, and on 6th October 1921 Mr. Hooper, Manager of Messrs. Kerr, Stuart and Company, Limited, wrote out that he was leaving for India at once, that he was already in possession of a draft contract for a locomotive building site and that he was making arrangements to register a Company immediately on arrival in India. He added that he had arranged for the necessary capital and that he would ask for an interview with the Railway Board on his arrival in Delhi. It may be mentioned that Mr. Hooper had previously written to the Railway Board on 3rd February 1921 to the effect that he had been discussing in Bombay the question of building locomotives in India and that it had been decided to begin building them at Jamshedpur. In this letter he stated that they were not thinking of asking for any guarantee but he would like to know whether the Board when satisfied of the ability of the new company to construct locomotives, would encourage them. Mr. Hooper had an interview with the Board on November 7th, 1921. At this interview he asked that he should be given an order for 50 locomotives based on current prices. If he got that order, he stated that he would put down his works and take his chance for the future. He said that what he feared most was that locomotive builders in Great Britain would combine for the first year of the call for tenders and quote ridiculously low prices in order to break the new venture. It was decided that it was impossible to give Mr. Hooper any sort of guarantee either as to orders or to price in advance of the response to the call for tenders which the Railway Board were obliged by the Press Communiqué of October 1921 to make in October 1922, and that it was impossible to enter into private negotiations with any firm. Mr. Hooper, however, was the Manager of a well known firm of locomotive manufacturers in England and it was considered that his offer was as favourable a one as any firm starting in India would be likely to make. It was decided, therefore, to recommend to the Secretary of State, whose approval was necessary since he had approved the original Communiqué, that the original Communiqué should be amended by altering the condition as to price as follows: "The prices in the case of contracts made in India should compare not unfavourably with those of the imported article, but the Government of India reserve the right to relax this condition for one year only in respect of a limited number of locomotive engines in favour of a tenderer from India, provided that the Railway Board is satisfied that the tenderer in question has made *bona fide* arrangements for manufacture in India". It was further recommended that if the Secretary of State agreed, he should issue an amended Press Communiqué in England and authorise the issue of a similar amended Communiqué in India. Mr. Hooper was informed that no private negotiations could be undertaken with his firm or any other firm, that all that could be done was to amend the Press Communiqué in this sense and that if the Secretary of State agreed, a revised Press Communiqué would be issued. Mr. Hooper stated that he would proceed with the formation of his Company without waiting for the revised Press Communiqué. The above telegram was issued on November 10, 1921. The Secretary of State's reply was received at the end of December. It indicated a doubt as to the value of the proposed addition to the Press Communiqué and whether a Press Communiqué so recently issued should be amended. But it stated that if the Government of India wished to press the point they could address the Secretary of State again. The main point made in the Secretary of State's telegram was

that it was doubtful whether protection against cut throat competition for one year only would be sufficient. While this point was being considered, Mr. Hooper wrote on 3rd January 1922 saying that he was very busy with his scheme, that he had ordered the buildings and was placing orders for the machinery. He mentioned that he had not seen any revised Press Communiqué and asked whether one had been issued. This letter was addressed to Mr. Bell, when he was on tour in Burma, and did not reach him for some time, and it was not till 3rd March 1922 that Mr. Bell replied that no Communiqué had been issued, but he drew Mr. Hooper's attention to the Resolution adopted by the Assembly on 2nd March 1922 recommending the appointment of a Railway Industries Committee. Mr. Bell said that that Committee was being appointed, and he hoped that, as a result of that Committee's report, a definite conclusion would soon be arrived at. In the meantime Mr. Hooper proceeded with the construction of the works at Jamshedpur and he endeavoured to open negotiations with the Railway Board at meetings which took place early in January 1923. As the Railway Board were then awaiting receipt of tenders called for in October he was told that no negotiations of any kind could take place unless and until he put in a tender in accordance with the conditions laid down in the Communiqué. His tender was eventually received along with others and was found to be about three times as high as the tenders received from England, besides containing several unacceptable conditions. A meeting was then held with Mr. Hooper by the Railway Board's Chief Mechanical Engineer in the hope of arriving at a practical basis on which it might be possible to give him an order. Mr. Hooper stated that the following conditions were essential for any negotiations:

- (a) An order for not less than 50 engines of the 2-8-0 type, or an order equivalent in value if other types were substituted.
- (b) Payment at cost price plus 8 per cent. but in any case cost not to exceed 90 per cent. of his tender for the 55 2-8-0 type engines.
- (c) As mentioned in the tender, advance payments to be made on lines to be discussed hereafter.
- (d) That the satisfactory completion of this order would receive due consideration in placing of further orders.

These conditions could not be agreed to and in the hope of reaching some common ground for negotiations Mr. Hooper was asked whether he would consider a price of £7,200 for the 2-8-0 type, a figure which was above the equivalent of the lowest English tender after adding freight, customs duty, etc., for purposes of comparison. It was explained to him that any arrangement of the kind would be subject to the approval of Government. Mr. Hooper refused to have anything to do with this proposal, and apart from some further discussion of a tentative proposal regarding purchase of the entire works, the negotiations with Mr. Hooper then came to an end.

MURDER OF BRITISH OFFICERS ON THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER.

124. *Mr. N. M. Dumasia: How many British Officers have been murdered on the N. W. Frontier and on what dates during the last year? Were the murders committed in British Territory?

Mr. E. B. Howell: During the year 1923, six British officers were murdered on the North-West Frontier on the dates and at the places indicated:—

Name.	Date.	Place.
1. Major F. Anderson, 2nd Seaforth Highlanders.	8th April 1923 .	Haidari Kandao, Khyber Agency, outside British territory.
2. Major N. C. Orr, 2nd Seaforth Highlanders.	8th April 1923 .	Ditto.
3. Lieutenant H. R. F. Webster, R.E., 21st Company of Sappers and Miners.	6th July 1923 .	Piazza Camp, Wana Agency, outside British territory.
4. Captain Baker Jones, I.M.S.	1st October 1923	12 miles from Harnai, Loralai District, Baluchistan, British territory.
5. Captain E. P. Watts, Kurram Militia.	8th November 1923.	Parachinar, Kurram Agency, outside British territory.
6. Major H. E. Finnis, Political Agent, Zhob.	30th November 1923.	Hasuband near Manikhwa, Zhob Agency, Baluchistan, British territory.

The details given show which of the murders were committed in British territory.

Mr. N. M. Dumasia: Were these murders committed for the sake of loot or were there any political or racial-considerations?

Mr. E. B. Howell: I am afraid I must ask for notice of that question.

MURDERS OF INDIANS AND ABDUCTION OF INDIAN WOMEN BY FRONTIER TRIBESMEN.

125. ***Mr. N. M. Dumasia:** Have many cases of murders of Indians and the abduction of Indian women by the Frontier tribesmen come to the notice of the Government of India?

Mr. E. B. Howell: Yes.

Mr. N. M. Dumasia: What steps were taken to capture the murderers when news of these murders was received?

Mr. E. B. Howell: I must again ask for notice of this question.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Will the Honourable Member give the information as to "how many" cases were brought to the notice of the Government of India?

Mr. E. B. Howell: During the year 1923, 49 Indians were murdered by Frontier tribesmen in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan. The figures relating to abduction of women are—for Baluchistan, 14, and for the North-West Frontier Province, 12. The Baluchistan abductions all took place on the Mekran border and all the

women abducted were subsequently returned. Of the 12 women abducted in the North-West Frontier Province, 9 were taken away not for ransom but with the assistance of British subjects as a direct result of matrimonial and other disputes.

Mr. Chaman Lall: Was any action taken against the Afghan Government because of these murders of Indians?

Mr. President: The Honourable Member must realise that that is a question which concerns the relations of the Governor General in Council with a foreign Power and therefore it falls within the mischief of Rule 8.

EXPORT OF CATTLE.

126. ***Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju:** Will the Government be pleased to furnish information as to the number of cattle (particularly young cows) exported to foreign countries during the last two years?

The Honourable Charles Innes: The total number of cattle exported in the years 1922-23 and 1923-24 (figures up to the end of November 1923 only are available) were 13,675 and 7,984 respectively.

No separate figures for the export of young cows are available.

DECREASE IN CIVIL POPULATION OF NEEMUCH.

127. ***Haji Wajihuddin:** Is it a fact that the civil population of the cantonment of Neemuch is yearly on the decrease, and if so, please state reasons, also figures of the last two censuses?

Mr. E. Burdon: According to the census returns, the figures for the civil population of Neemuch Cantonment are as follows:—

In 1911	...	...	...	...	12,318
In 1921	...	...	...	...	10,490

The Government of India do not know the reason for the decrease.

DETERIORATION OF INSULIN IN INDIA.

128. ***Colonel Sir Henry Stanyon:** 1. Has the attention of Government been drawn to a letter from Dr. Hugh Stott, Professor of Pathology, King George's Medical College, Lucknow, which appeared in "The Pioneer" of the 18th January, 1924, regarding the progressive deterioration of insulin, even of the best quality, when unprotected from climatic influences in India?

2. If so, having regard to the vital importance of the subject, does Government propose to take any special steps towards the preservation of the strength of insulin imported into India

(a) by providing for research with a view to ascertain the best method of preventing the deterioration of this most valuable drug; and, in the meanwhile,

(b) by control of its cold storage during import, while awaiting Customs clearance, and when stored in depôts all over India?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: (1) The Government of India have seen Dr. Stott's letter and recognize the importance of the matter.

(2) The whole question of the preparation of Insulin in India and of its preservation and deterioration is at present the subject of investigation.

DISMISSAL OF NOOR MUHAMMAD, DRIVER, BY THE E. B. RAILWAY.

129. ***Mr. K. Ahmed:** (1) Are the Government aware that Noor Muhammad driver T. No. 501 who was employed as driver in the Eastern Bengal Railway has been discharged in August 1922 and his gratuity forfeited for alleged disregard of signal and that thereupon memorials were submitted by the said driver to the Agent and to the Railway Board, dated the 12th June 1923, and the 11th August, 1923, respectively, without any effect?

(2) Is it a fact that in the said memorial it was stated that the order of discharge from service was not justified and that he prayed for an enquiry in which he should be given a hearing?

(3) Do Government propose to hold the enquiry?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Noor Muhammad, late Driver, Eastern Bengal Railway, was discharged from service for running against signals, a serious offence fraught with danger to the public, and was allowed a month's pay in lieu of notice. As he was discharged in accordance with the terms of his agreement, he has no right of appeal to the Railway Board or any other authority.

As regards the forfeiture of his gratuity, his case was very carefully considered, but in view of the circumstances in which his services were terminated and of his past unsatisfactory record he could not be regarded as eligible for one. Government do not propose to take any further action in the matter.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Do I understand that the sympathetic Government disposed of this case summarily without giving even a hearing to the driver in question?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: He was discharged in accordance with his agreement and was given one month's pay in lieu of notice.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Is it not a fact that many of the drivers and even officers of this description were taken for a definite period and after the expiry of that period were allowed to continue their service.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member must give notice of that question.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Is it not a fact that even in this particular case similar other drivers, who were appointed on similar terms, were kept and this poor Indian driver was not given a hearing before his services were dispensed with?

Mr. President: I have just said that the Honourable Member must give notice of that question.

EXPORT OF CATTLE.

130. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** Will the Government be pleased to furnish information as to the number of cattle (particularly young cows) exported to foreign countries during the last two years?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to my reply given to-day to Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju's question on the same subject.

ACTION TAKEN ON THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE INCCAPE COMMITTEE.

131. *Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: (a) Will the Government be pleased to bring up to date the statements showing the action taken with regard to each recommendation of the Retrenchment Committee (Inchcape Committee) and lay the same on the table (*Vide* statements laid on the table on the 2nd July 1923 and 16th July 1923)?

(b) Will the Government be pleased to state what action has been taken on each of those recommendations of the Inchcape Committee Report which suggest further investigation, or, exploration of the possibility of effecting further economy in the various departments of the Government of India, *e.g.*, *vide* page 77 of the Report?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blakett: (a) The Honourable Member is referred to the revised statement laid on the table on the 1st February in reply to a similar question by Diwan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao.

(b) The Government are constantly examining the possibility of reducing expenditure by the adoption of measures other than those specifically recommended by the Committee, but it is hardly possible to place before the Assembly the results of the action taken in the form of a precise statement.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: May I know whether each of these recommendations is being considered separately under clause (b)?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blakett: Every one of these recommendations being or has been very carefully considered as well as anything that we can think of arising out of it.

SALT CONSUMPTION IN INDIA.

*132. *Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Will the Government be pleased to make a statement regarding the consumption of Salt in the country during the last 10 months from April last year comparing the same with the average consumption during the last 3 years ending March 1923?

WAGES OF INDIAN LABOURERS IN CEYLON AND THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.

133. *Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: (a) Will the Government be pleased to state whether any, and if so, what, action has been taken to increase the wages of Indian labourers in Ceylon and Straits Settlements and to fix minimum basic wages since the discussion on this question in the Assembly in February 1923?

(b) If no definite steps have been taken, do the Government intend to take early steps to stop emigration to those places?

(c) If the Government do not propose to take those steps, will the Government be pleased to state what steps are contemplated to better the economic condition of the unskilled labourers in those places?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: (a), (b) and (c). At the instance of the Government of India the Ceylon Government have recently made a detailed inquiry into the relation between the wages and the cost of living of estate labourers in the island. The report has been received recently and the Government of India are considering the matter. The Malayan Labour Codes have been revised so as to empower the Indian Immigration

† *Vide* answer to Question No. 70.

Committee to prescribe standard wages for certain kinds of labour after due inquiry. Certain subsidiary questions are involved which are still under discussion between the Government of India and the Colonial Governments.

APPOINTMENT OF INDIANS TO SUPERIOR POSTS IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA SECRETARIAT.

134. ***Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state what steps have been taken to recruit Indians to the Superior Secretariat posts in the Government of India Secretariats?

(b) Will the Government be pleased to state how many vacancies permanent or casual arose in the posts of Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Joint Secretary, Under Secretary or Assistant Secretary and how many of them were filled by Indians during the year 1923?

(c) Will the Government be pleased to state what steps were taken to secure Indians for the vacancies?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: (a) and (c). The Government of India follow the principle in making appointments to (superior) Secretariat posts that the officer best fitted should be selected regardless of racial considerations. They recognize, however, that Indians should be appointed in increasing numbers to these posts and have issued orders, in May last, to this effect. A copy of the orders is laid on the table.

(b) The number of vacancies which arose in the Government of India in 1923 is as follows:—

Secretaries	...	...	...	...	5
Joint Secretaries	...	...	...	...	2
Deputy Secretaries	...	...	...	...	3
Under Secretaries	...	...	...	...	4
Assistant Secretaries	...	...	...	...	11

Of these vacancies, 1 post of Joint Secretary, 1 of Deputy Secretary, 3 posts of Under Secretary and 3 of Assistant Secretary were filled by Indians.

Resolution.

"The Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that, in order to give Indians as insight into the larger problems of Imperial administration and policy, he would be pleased to appoint, so far as possible, at least one Indian as Secretary, Joint Secretary, or Deputy Secretary to every department of the Secretariat of the Government of India."

Office Memorandum No. F-29-23, dated Simla, the 7th May 1923.

From—C. W. GWYNNE, Esquire, O.B.E., Offg: Joint Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department,

To—All Departments of the Government of India (including Financial Adviser, Military Finance).

SUBJECT:—Appointment of Indians as Secretary, Joint Secretary or Deputy Secretary to every Department of the Government of India Secretariat.

"The undersigned is directed to forward, for the information of the Foreign and Political Department, a copy of the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's ^{etc.} Resolution on the above subject which was adopted by the Council of State at its meeting of the 28th February 1923 and to intimate the orders passed by the Governor-General in Council. His Excellency the Viceroy is not prepared to agree to any fixed

ratio of Indians in Secretariat posts which are essentially selection appointments, but accepts the principle of appointing Indians in Secretariat appointments in increasing numbers subject to the following conditions.

2. The principle adopted in filling the posts in the Government of India Secretariat has always been that experienced and suitable men should be selected and in the majority of cases a previous training in the provincial Secretariats has been regarded as necessary. His Excellency the Viceroy has directed that on the occurrence of vacancies in the appointments mentioned in the Resolution, the possibility of obtaining a suitable and competent Indian officer from the provincial Secretariats should be definitely considered. In pursuance of this object, he desires that on every occasion on which Local Governments are asked to submit names for nomination to Secretariat appointments in the Government of India, they should be asked to give the names of Indian officers, where suitable, as well as of Europeans.

3. It is requested that action may be taken by the Foreign and Political Department, in accordance with His Excellency's orders." etc.,

SUPPLY TO MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE OF CERTAIN GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS.

135. *Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Will the Government be pleased to furnish the members of the Legislature with copies of the reports of the proceedings of Conference of Officials from the Provinces which take place periodically—as also of the annual administration reports of the various departments of the Government of India?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I would remind the Honourable Member of the arrangement which has been made under which copies of such official publications of the Government of India as can be placed at the disposal of Honourable Members and which some Honourable Members may desire to consult are placed in the Library of this Chamber. If the Honourable Member will indicate to me the reports which have not been so placed, I will inquire into the matter.

POSTAL MAIL CONTRACTS.

136. *Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: (a) Will the Government be pleased to state when the Mail contracts for Postal service on the coastal lines of India and Burma expire?

(b) If any new contract is to be entered into, will the Government be pleased to see its way not to enter into long-term contracts in such cases especially as the Indian Mercantile Committee has not finished its labours?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: (a) The mail contract for the postal service on the coastal lines of India and Burma expired on the 31st January 1924.

(b) The interests of the mail services require that a new contract should be entered into. In 1923 tenders were invited by public advertisement both in India and the United Kingdom for all the lines taken together or any particular line or lines separately, but tenders have been received from only one firm. The conditions of the tender are now under the consideration of Government, who will bear in mind the point raised by the Honourable Member.

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD'S BOOK "THE AWAKENING OF INDIA."

Mr. K. C. Roy: May I ask the Leader of the House if it is true that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's book "The Awakening of India" stands proscribed under the Indian Sea Customs Act?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: No, Sir. I have seen statements to that effect in various papers. I read those statements with some astonishment myself and I had a careful search made to see if any such Notification had ever issued. No such Notification has ever issued, and I can only assume that the mistake has been made of confusing Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's book with another of a somewhat similar name which has been proscribed.

Dr. H. S. Gour: Will the Honourable Member get Mr. Macdonald's book and place it in the Library?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: If the Honourable Member wishes to read Mr. Macdonald's book, I can lend him my own copy. My copy, I may say, is certainly not proscribed.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: I can lend him mine.

THE INDIAN PENAL CODE (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey (Home Member): I beg to move:

"That the Bill further to amend the Indian Penal Code for certain purposes be taken into consideration."

I briefly described the nature of this Bill to the House when introducing it. It may appear to some Members that we have put forward the stage of consideration with some rapidity. I may explain that I merely placed it on the agenda to-day because it referred to a matter which had been very fully discussed in the past, and I thought that the House would now be in a position to take the matter up. I may add, however, that I do not desire it in any way to be regarded as a matter of urgency, and if the House desires to have further time to consider it, I should be very glad to make other arrangements.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar (Madras City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): We have not seen the opinions of Local Governments consulted on this matter. They have not been circulated to us and we shall be glad to see them, and I do not know whether the Honourable Member would agree to the appointment of a Select Committee, which would be more satisfactory in dealing with this question.

Mr. President: In order to put this conversation in order I had better put the question. Motion made:

"That the Bill further to amend the Indian Penal Code for certain purposes be taken into consideration."

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Sir, I repeat what I stated irregularly. I should like to see the opinions of Local Governments on this very important subject. There are divergent views in the matter and before I come to a conclusion on this important question, I should like to see the opinions myself; and I do not know, Sir, whether the Honourable Member in charge of this Bill will not consent to the appointment of a Select Committee to go into this matter.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: If the Honourable Member would be content with my placing the opinions received in the Library I shall be very glad to do so. To reprint them and send them to every Member of

the House would take some little time. As regards a Select Committee, I have myself no objection at all, but I would suggest that a Select Committee is the most suitable method of considering a Bill when some question of detail arises. I may point out that our present Bill merely consists in the alteration of one figure by another, that is the sole question and we do not usually appoint Select Committees to discuss matters of principle.

Mr. Abdul Haya (East Punjab: Muhammadan): As an amendment, Sir, to the motion of my Honourable friend Sir Malcolm Hailey, I move that the Bill be circulated for eliciting opinion thereon by the 31st of March next. I may briefly explain my object in making this motion. The object of the Honourable Member in placing this Bill before us for the consideration of the House is that he desires to bring it into conformity with another Act that was passed in 1923. My objection is that in your attempt to bring it into conformity with that Act, you are taking it further away from the provisions of Muhammadan law. It is a matter, Sir, on which I would not venture any definite opinion at present, but the matter is so important that I submit that my community has got something to say upon it before it is finally passed into law. I may submit that, according to my personal law, a girl becomes *sui juris* long before 18 years. On the completion of the fifteenth year the presumption is that she becomes a major, but she may become a major even earlier; it all depends upon the appearance of physical signs of puberty. Even at the present, Sir, as the law stands, there is a conflict between the criminal law of British India and the Muhammadan law. During my experience as a lawyer I have come across several cases in which there have been divergent decisions by the criminal and the civil courts. I know of a case in which a girl admittedly under 16 went over with her paramour against the wishes of her mother, the *de facto* guardian, and contracted a marriage with him. The man was prosecuted under section 363 and convicted. The defence was put forward that she had gone with the man with the object of entering into a lawful marriage and it was allowed by Muhammadan law, but the criminal courts took no notice of that, because, under the law as it now stands, no heed could be paid to the object of the girl or the motive of the man, and so forth; but when that case went to the civil court, there it was proved that the girl went of her own accord, and, according to Muhammadan law, she was a major, and there was a valid contract of marriage. So the position was that the man, who was the husband of the girl, was convicted under section 363. Under the present law there is only a difference of one year, but, if you take it further to 18 years, I believe there will be greater conflict. I may, for the information of the House, say that, although Muhammadan law allows a girl to enter into a marriage immediately on entering puberty, without the consent of her father or guardian, yet there are two schools of thought, *Hambli* and *Malaki*. The *Hambli* says, immediately she becomes a major, that is, attains puberty, the minority ceases and the tutelage comes to an end, whereas the *Malaki* says, it does not come to an end, it continues till actual marriage. However, Sir, this is a matter about which we should not be in a hurry, and I submit the Bill may be circulated for eliciting opinion thereon till the 31st of March next.

Mr. President: Amendment moved:

"That the Bill be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon, the opinions to be received not later than the 31st March in the present year."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I understand from the Honourable the Home Member, who is in charge of this Bill, that he is quite willing that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee. I think this House will agree that that perhaps will be the best course to adopt. Now, the difficulties with regard to this Bill are two. First, there is a doubt whether it is in any way likely to conflict with the provisions of Muhammadan law; and, secondly, whether, having regard to the definition of the offence of kidnapping, as it is provided for in the Indian Penal Code, the mere taking away of a minor from the lawful custody of her guardian, no matter for what purpose, however innocent the purpose may be, whether that will not be sufficient, having regard to the definition of the offence of kidnapping, to convict a person. The time at our disposal since this Bill was introduced has been so short and the effect of this amendment may be so serious in its consequences, that I think the House will agree that we should at least refer this Bill to a Select Committee, where men who are competent would consider these two points most carefully and make their report to this House. Therefore, Sir, if you will permit me, I will formally move an amendment that this Bill be referred to a Select Committee.

Mr. President: If, as I gather, the sense of the House is in favour of a Select Committee, I think I had better dispose of the motion for circulation first.

Dr. H. S. Gour (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, the Honourable Members of this House—at any rate, as many of them as were present during the discussion when the last Assembly passed a cognate measure moved by my friend opposite, the Honourable Mr. Joshi,—will realise that this Bill is an integral part of the social reform measure to which this House stands committed. The Honourable Members who spoke last cast some doubt whether the provisions of this Bill, if enacted, would not conflict with the provisions of the Muhammadan law. I am glad to find that both speakers are lawyers and they must be conversant with the provisions of the Indian Majority Act, under which no person, except in cases provided therein, is *sui juris* unless he or she has completed his or her eighteenth year.

Now, Sir, I ask Honourable Members, if a girl below 18 was to dispose of her property or to enter into a contract, would not the disposal and the contract be treated as a contract of a minor and therefore void? It is perfectly clear that a minor cannot dispose of her property, but is it not equally clear that she should not be free to dispose of her person? I am surprised to hear Honourable Members here speaking of the provisions of this Bill as conflicting with the Muhammadan law. I answer, Sir, that if ever there was a conflict, that conflict was set at rest by the enactment of the Indian Majority Act, and I ask, Sir, whether it is not logical that a girl should be protected during her minority in all respects, whether she disposes of her property or her person. Members have been speaking of marriage and other cases of that kind. Surely, Sir, the last speaker could not be thinking of an abduction as equivalent to marriage! These sections deal with cases of immorality, of abduction and kidnapping for the purpose of committing immoral offences. They do not deal with questions of marriage; and I therefore submit there is nothing in the provisions of these sections which conflicts or can conflict with the personal law of the Muhammadans, or indeed with the personal law of any community. I therefore submit that this beneficent piece of

legislation should not be delayed in its passage through the House. My friend Mr. Jinnah adopts the somewhat Fabian policy of asking this House to commit this Bill to a Select Committee. Now, I ask, Sir, has not the Honourable the Home Member pointed out that there is nothing in this Bill which a Select Committee can decide? The question is a question of principle and the Select Committee are not the competent judges of the principle of a measure which must be discussed and disposed of by this House. Let us then be clear. If this House is agreed that our minor girls must be protected before they attain the statutory age of majority, they must vote for this Bill. If, on the other hand, they are of opinion that girls between the ages of 16 and 18 should be free to dispose of themselves or expose themselves to the offences of kidnapping, illicit intercourse and the rest, let them throw this measure out. That is the sort of principle before the Honourable Members of this House and I ask the Honourable Members to support this measure on the ground of morality, and I say further, on the ground of humanity. I say, Sir, therefore no time should be lost by referring this measure to a Select Committee or by its publication for the purpose of eliciting public opinion by the 31st March. The Honourable Member probably is not aware of the fact that once a Bill or motion is sent out for eliciting public opinion thereon, it sometimes takes six months, sometimes a year and very often, as I know too well, a couple of years or more. I therefore, ask, would it be wise to shelve this measure—a measure which is, as I have pointed out, necessary in the interests and for the protection of minors in this country? Honourable Members are aware that another cognate Bill passed by both the Houses is awaiting its promulgation on the passing of this measure and there will therefore be delay not only with regard to this measure but with regard to a Bill which has already received the assent of the two Chambers. I move, Sir, that the Honourable the Home Member's motion be accepted and the further progress of this measure be no longer delayed either by referring it to a Select Committee or sending it out for eliciting public opinion thereon.

Colonel Sir Henry Stanyon (United Provinces: European): I was one of those present in this Honourable House when the Bill which has now become Act XX of 1923 was discussed. On that occasion the whole question between the age of sixteen and the age of eighteen was very exhaustively debated. Government at that time, chiefly I believe for the sake of being consistent with the sections which it is now proposed to amend, were in favour of a limit of sixteen years, but the majority of the House, after a full discussion, decided that the limit of age should be eighteen years. I was one of the majority who voted for eighteen years, and if I had to vote again to-morrow, I would again vote for eighteen years. The present Bill is practically little more than a consequential amendment due to that which this House passed into law last year. If the personnel of this House were the same as when this Act XX of 1923 was passed, I should call upon Honourable Members to give a very short shrift to these proposed amendments for a Select Committee and for reference back for opinion. But the personnel of the House has undergone a change, and there are a great many Members here who have not had the opportunity of considering all that was said in the debate last year. No doubt, they can make a post-mortem examination of that debate in the published record, but that is not quite the same thing. The Honourable the Home

[Colonel Sir Henry Stanyon.]

Member has told us that the matter is not one of very great urgency, and that if any good ground can be made out for the appointment of a Select Committee he would not object to it. Speaking for myself, and subject to correction, I think that, if this amendment were made straight off, it would not in any way interfere with any lawful custom and still less, with any law of marriage. Our principal ground in the debate last year was to get consistent with the Indian Majority Act by having one age of majority as far as possible; another reason was a general desire for progress towards the protection of young girls for longer than perhaps was fashionable half a century ago. At the same time, having regard to the facts that there is a perfectly honest feeling of doubt as to whether the amendment of these sections may not possibly lead to misinterpretation in the future in a way to affect local marriage law or recognised custom (Dr. H. S. Gour—"How?"), that there is no immediate urgency for this measure, and that it will satisfy the opinion, if it does exist to any great extent in this House, of those who desire to proceed with caution, I myself would not oppose the proposal of the Honourable Mr. Jinnah for a Select Committee; and I would leave it to the consideration of Government whether a small Select Committee, called upon to report in a very short time, might not perhaps be the best way of satisfying everybody.

Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar (Madras ceded districts and Chittoor: Non-Muhammadan Rural): When I came to this House this morning, I came with two notions. One was that the Indian Majority Act did not apply for all purposes and did not apply to marriage and social customs. I also came with the notion that marriages under the Hindu law and the Muhammadan law, at any rate under the Hindu law, did not stand on a par with contracts. But after hearing the eloquent address of the author of the Hindu Code, my mind has become unsettled about these matters. I may tell you, Sir, that so far as this question is concerned, it affects in many ways the customs not only of the Muhammadans but also of the Hindus. This raising of the age, far from promoting social reform, will, in my opinion, obstruct social reform. Take, for instance, a case in which there is a virgin widow who wants to be married and who has got one who will marry her. If she is left under the guardianship, until her eighteenth year, of a parent who does not like the widow to re-marry, does it not amount to this that her hands are tied and she is not at liberty to go and re-marry? If this age of sixteen be raised to eighteen, I am certain it will be a block to social reform. Very often, a question of doubt arises as to whether taking away a girl for the purposes of marriage under the age of sixteen will amount to kidnapping for a lawful purpose or unlawful purpose, especially in the instance of the girl I have referred to. Oftentimes, doubts may also arise as to whether even the husband taking his wife from the custody of her father or her guardian under sixteen years, when the relationship between the father-in-law and the son-in-law is strained, will amount to kidnapping and whether the former may not lawfully complain against the son-in-law. These questions have to be set at rest, and I believe there are decisions of Courts where, when the question arose as to lawful guardianship—I mean when persons were fighting for the guardianship of a minor,—the Courts thought that the consent of the girl might be taken as a guiding principle if she was of fourteen or sixteen years of age. Why should we now disturb all these decisions and raise the age to eighteen? That is a point for serious consideration. The Honourable Sir

Malcolm Hailey said that this is not a fit case for referring the Bill to a Select Committee. It is not simply putting in one figure there for another, for, when you disturb the section for particular purposes, the question may arise whether it may not affect other matters also and it may become necessary to consider whether exceptions may not have to be brought forward to that section. These are questions which may probably fall within the scope of a Select Committee, and I am therefore entirely in favour of referring the Bill to a Select Committee.

Mr. N. M. Joshi (Nominated: Labour Interests): I rise to oppose the amendment. I am somewhat surprised that my Honourable friend Sir Henry Stanyon should have considered the original Bill as only consequential amendments and should have at the same time supported this amendment. Sir, the first argument used in favour of the amendment is that this Bill, which raised the age from 16 to 18, conflicts with the Hindu law or the Muhammadan law; but, Sir, I was also told that the Muhammadan law at least requires that the age should be 15 and not 16. If this is true, when the age was fixed at 16 in the Indian Penal Code, there was already a conflict with the Muhammadan law and the Muhammadan law was already broken. This Bill is not introduced to consider the question whether the age of 16 conflicted with Muhammadan law and should be brought down to 15 or even to 14. The object of the Bill is to raise the age from 16 to 18. Therefore, we cannot at this time consider whether the age of 16 conflicted with the Muhammadan law and should be brought down. The question of principle was settled long ago, when the Indian Penal Code was enacted. Moreover, this question of principle was discussed several times when the Bill was brought forward last year. What is there new in this Bill that remains to be considered? Everything has been considered time and over again. There is the other argument that was used by Sir Henry Stanyon that the personnel of this House has undergone a great change. But, Sir, I thought that this House has become more progressive than the old one. I do not know whether I am mistaken in my belief, but I do hope that the House has become more progressive, and I am quite sure the vote on this amendment will prove whether we have become more progressive or not.

Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan (Patna and Chota Nagpur *cum* Orissa: Muhammadan): I rise to support the amendment. My friend Mr. Joshi said that the Muhammadan law was broken once. Is there any reason why it should be broken again? That may be a mistake. Why should we make a mistake again? I also find that there is some difference of opinion regarding the interpretation of Muhammadan law on this question. Hence it is necessary, nay essential, that the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee.

Mr. President: I see Members are addressing their remarks to the Select Committee which is not under discussion at this moment. I think I had better bring the discussion in order by putting the motion for circulation.

The original question was:

"That the Bill further to amend the Indian Penal Code for certain purposes be taken into consideration."

Since which an amendment has been moved:

"That the Bill be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon, the opinions to be received not later than the 31st March of the present year."

[Mr. President.]

The question I have to put is that the Bill be circulated.

The motion was negatived.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: I move that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: On behalf of Government I am perfectly prepared to accept that suggestion, and I hope that it will commend itself to the House. The position of Government in these cases of social or semi-social legislation is not an easy one. If one needed further proof of that, I can only refer to what has taken place in the course of the various discussions we have had on this particular measure. When the Bill, which has now become Act XX of 1923, was put forward, we, on behalf of Government, took a cautious attitude in regard to the age limit. The House by a very narrow majority prescribed the age of 18. We were then at great pains to keep the discussion as far as possible on non-controversial lines. We very nearly fell into an agitated discussion as to the morality of Madras zamindars. By tact and forbearance we just managed to escape an even more agitated discussion on the subject of the immoral employment of temple girls. Our caution involved us in the accusation that we were reactionary and opposed to any form of social advance. Yet what has happened to-day? Yielding as we thought to the insistent voice of reformed opinion, we have proposed to raise the age in all the four sections of the Act. To our surprise we have found ourselves in the first place under the charge of having broken the Muhammadan law not once but twice. Further, so far from being given credit for attempting to advance social legislation, Mr. Aiyangar tells us that, on the contrary, we have been guilty of a measure which will impede the marriage of virgin widows. Difficult indeed, Sir, is the task of the reformer in these circumstances. Now I do realize myself that there is some honest doubt as to the effect of this measure in regard to Muhammadan law. For myself I cannot see that we are going any further than the Penal Code has already gone. It may be that by raising the age we are giving some further extension to any mischief, if mischief has been created, by the existing sections of the Indian Penal Code, but there it ends. Nevertheless, if there is that doubt, I for one am only too glad that the whole case should be examined by a Select Committee, but I would suggest that on this occasion the reference to a Select Committee should make it clear that they are not debarred from considering the questions of principle involved in raising the limit of age. If that is not understood, their mandate will be unduly circumscribed. If the House accepts the proposal for a Select Committee, then I would suggest that I be allowed, after consulting my friends opposite, to put forward the names of the Select Committee on a subsequent occasion.

Dr. H. S. Gour: Sir, may I rise to a point of order. I always understood that the practice of this House was to enunciate the principle and, after the principle of a measure was accepted, it was committed to the Select Committee to carry out the principle so accepted. I understand the Honourable the Home Member to suggest that this House should not commit itself to the principle and leave it to the Select Committee to decide whether it will accept the principle or not. I submit, Sir, it is within the jurisdiction of this House, and this House alone, to settle the principle, and, after the principle of the measure is accepted, then the measure might go to the Select Committee.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I quite admit the truth of what Dr. Gour says on the subject. My difficulty in this connection is that the whole Bill consists in substituting the figures " 18 " for the figures " 16." Now, you may describe that if you will as a question of principle rather than detail; all I intended to suggest was that the Select Committee should be at liberty to make recommendations to the House on the whole question. I understand that Dr. Gour's view is that, so far from discussing the question further, we should immediately pass the Bill. I myself am not prepared, in view of the doubt that has been cast on the effect of the Bill, to accept that suggestion, and the only solution appears to me to be the somewhat irregular course of agreeing that the Select Committee should be at liberty to discuss the question of principle involved.

Dr. H. S. Gour: May I then suggest, Sir, an amendment for the acceptance of the Honourable the Home Member. Seeing that the committee is irregular, I suggest as an amendment that the Select Committee should report within a week.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: We have not even got the names of the Select Committee yet; nor do I indeed see how that gets over the irregularity that the Honourable Member has suggested. It may perhaps reduce the amount of sin by circumscribing the time in which it is committed, but there it ends.

Mr. N. M. Samarth (Bombay: Nominated Non-Official): I have a difficulty, Sir. I have always hitherto understood that the reference of a Bill to a Select Committee means that the principle of the Bill has been accepted and the Select Committee is to go into the details of the clauses of the Bill. If it is now open to a Select Committee to go into the principle of a Bill, may I ask if it is open to the Select Committee to recommend to this House that instead of the word " eighteen " the word " fifteen " be substituted? Are you going to allow the Select Committee to go into the principle that way? The Indian Penal Code was amended some years ago and the word " sixteen " was introduced. That violated, it is said, the principles of Muhammadan law. Now, is it open to the Select Committee to go into the question whether that was right or wrong? But, if you allow the principle to be discussed, then it is quite open to the Select Committee to come to this House and say that, instead of the word " eighteen " the word " fifteen " be substituted, and I think it is not right that the Select Committee should have such wide powers given to them contrary to the convention of this House.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: May I be allowed to make a further suggestion. The further point is that the Select Committee will have to consider whether the definition of " kidnapping " should be altered or not. That is not a matter of principle at all.

Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas (Sind: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, in reply to Mr. Samarth, I would say that the Select Committee can engraft some exceptions and still maintain the age of 18, in which case they will not be violating the principle at all. For instance, the questions of the Muhammadan marriage laws and Hindu widows can very easily be provided for by drafting some kind of exceptions which will cover their cases and the principle of the Bill will not be violated at all.

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty (Salem and Coimbatore cum North Arcot: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, the Honourable the Home Member found in the attitude that this House has taken on the present occasion

[Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty.]

some opportunity to doubt their enthusiasm for social advancement. But I am afraid, Sir, that Government, confounding the real issue, have created this difficulty before the House now; because, if I have understood the proceedings of the last Assembly correctly, it is in accordance with the adherence of India to the Articles of the International Convention for the suppression of the traffic in women and children that Act XX of 1923 was passed by this House. In accordance with the provisions of that Act a new sub-clause was added to section 366 of the Indian Penal Code. That clause is 366 (a). It relates to the procurement of minor girls and reads as follows:

“Whoever by any means whatsoever induces any minor girl under the age of 18 years to go from any place or to do any act with intent that such girl may be or knowing that it is likely that she will be forced or seduced to illicit intercourse with another person shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to ten years and shall also be liable to fine.”

It is perfectly clear from the wording of this section, Sir, that what was aimed at was to prevent the procurement of girls under 18 years of age for immoral purposes. That is section 366(a). It is absolutely plain, that this section introduced by Act XX of 1923, aims at suppressing this immoral traffic in women and children. If that is made clear, I am perfectly sure, that not only Honourable Members of this House but even the ranks of the social reactionaries would not object to the provision for raising the age limit to 18. But the issue is being confused, Sir, by including section 361 here. The consequential amendment to Act XX of 1923 will be simply to raise the age limit to 18 in sections 372 and 373 of the Indian Penal Code. Section 372 is about the selling of any minor for purposes of prostitution. Section 373 buying of any minor for purposes of prostitution; and section 366(A) is ‘procuring any minor for purposes of prostitution’. Now, the amending of sections 372 and 373 by raising the age limit to 18 is consequential as the result of passing Act XX of 1923. But I say, Sir, Government have confounded the issue and created unnecessary difficulty in adding section 361 also in this Bill, and therefore I say, that this House is not to be blamed as adopting any wrong attitude. I maintain that the raising of the age limit from 16 to 18 in section 361 does not necessarily follow from the change that we have made in Act XX of 1923. Now, that is far-reaching in its effects; as my Honourable friend Mr. Jinnah has pointed out, the definition of the word “kidnapping” is very vague in the Indian Penal Code, and certainly, Sir, apart from expressing any opinions on social reform, this House is entitled to say that as the definition stands at present, it is doubtful whether, in accordance with the provisions of the Muhammadan law or Hindu law, it would be advisable to raise that limit from 16 to 18 for the purpose of section 361, and therefore, Sir, I think, the Bill as presented by Government must certainly be referred to the Select Committee, and, therefore, I support the view that it should be referred to the Select Committee.

Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal (Calcutta: Non-Muhammadan Urban): I find myself, Sir, in a little difficult position, not being a lawyer like most of the Honourable gentlemen who have preceded me. But I entirely agree with my Honourable friend, Mr. Chetty, in regard to the suggestion which he has made, namely, that confusing sections 361 and 372 and 373 make our position exceedingly difficult. If this amendment were confined to

sections 372 and 373, I have not the least doubt in my mind that this House without any hesitation would have voted *en bloc* for the amending Bill, but the difficulty arises in regard to the word "kidnapping", as my friend, Mr. Chetty, has pointed out, and, in view of this difficulty, it seems to me that the Honourable the Home Member owes it to this House to clear up this point before this matter is referred to the Select Committee, because, as I understand it, the Select Committee will be precluded from entering into the question of principle.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Sir, to put the matter straight, may I move not only that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee, but that they should report on the principle of the Bill as well as on the Bill itself?

Mr. President: I am afraid that procedure is not regular. As Honourable Members of the first Assembly are well aware, and as I now announce to everybody concerned, when a motion that a Bill be taken into consideration, or the alternative motion that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee, is passed by a majority of this House, the Assembly is held committed to the principle of the Bill. A Select Committee finding itself in difficulty regarding the application of the principle must return to this House for further instructions.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao (Godavari *cum* Kistna: Non-Muhammadian Rural): Sir, the Honourable the Home Member has already explained that the principle of this Bill is the raising of the age, and, in view of the practice which has already been established in this House, I do not understand the objection that has been raised as regards the procedure. My Honourable friend Dr. Gour has stated that once a Bill is referred to a Select Committee, the question of the principle is accepted, and that it cannot be reported upon by the Committee, as suggested by my friend Mr. Rangachariar. I say, Sir, that, though this practice is not strictly within the rule, I find from the proceedings of this House that in the case of one Bill at least, the Legal Practitioners' Bill, the Select Committee reported that the Bill should not be proceeded with. I therefore think, Sir, that though it may not be strictly in accordance with the rules, we have adopted, I believe, in this House, at least in the case of two Bills, the procedure that the Select Committee could go beyond the strict wording of the rules. In those circumstances, it seems to me that if the Bill is referred to a Select Committee, the whole question can be gone into again fully and a report submitted.

Mr. President: The original question was:

"That the Bill further to amend the Indian Penal Code for certain purposes be taken into consideration."

Since which an amendment has been moved:

"That the Bill be referred to a Select Committee."

The question I have to put is:

"That the Bill be referred to a Select Committee."

The motion was adopted.

THE INDIAN COTTON CESS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

Mr. J. A. Richey (Educational Commissioner): Sir, I move:

"That the Bill to amend the Indian Cotton Cess Act, 1923, for certain purposes, be taken into consideration."

[Mr. J. A. Richey.]

The objects of this small Bill are clearly set forth in the Statement attached to the Bill, and I further explained it at the time of the introduction. I do not propose to detain the House at this stage with any further explanation and I move, Sir, that it be taken into consideration.

Mr. President: The question is :

“That the Bill to amend the Indian Cotton Cess Act, 1923, for certain purposes, be taken into consideration.”

The motion was adopted.

Clauses 2, 3, 4 and 5 were added to the Bill.

The Title and the Preamble were added to the Bill.

Mr. J. A. Richey: I move, Sir, that the Bill be passed.

Mr. President: The question is :

“That the Bill to amend the Indian Cotton Cess Act, 1923, for certain purposes, be passed.

The motion was adopted.

ELECTION OF THE DEPUTY PRESIDENT.

Mr. President: The Assembly will now proceed to elect a Deputy President. There have been nominated two candidates for this office :

- (1) Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar.
- (2) Mr. Kabeerud-Din Ahmed.

If Honourable Members will come to the table, they will receive ballot papers from the Secretary. Only one name must be marked on the ballot paper, and when the mark has been made, it should be returned to the Secretary and placed in the ballot box which will be placed on the top of the table. It will conduce to the orderly proceeding of this election if Honourable Members will file out from this block first.

(The Members then proceeded to deposit the ballot papers in the box.)

Mr. President: Do I understand that those desiring to record their votes 1 P.M. have done so?

Mr. Secretary will now proceed to count the votes, and during that time I will ask the Honourable the Home Member to move the motion standing in his name.

ELECTION OF PANELS FOR STANDING COMMITTEES.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey (Home Member): Sir, I beg to move:

“That this Assembly do proceed to elect in the manner described in the rules published in the Home Department Notification, No. F-49, dated the 22nd August 1922, as amended by the Home Department Notification No. D-794-C., dated the 30th January 1924, 4 panels consisting of 9 members each, from which the members of the 4 Standing Committees to advise on subjects in the Home Department, the Commerce Department, the Department of Education, Health and Lands, and the Department of Industries and Labour, respectively, will be nominated.”

Mr. President: The question is:

"That this Assembly do proceed to elect in the manner described in the rules published in the Home Department Notification No. F-49, dated the 22nd August 1922, as amended by the Home Department Notification No. D-794-C., dated the 30th January 1924, 4 panels consisting of 9 members each, from which the members of the 4 Standing Committees to advise on subjects in the Home Department, the Commerce Department, the Department of Education, Health and Lands, and the Department of Industries and Labour, respectively, will be nominated."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: As a result of the decision just made by the House, I have to announce that nominations for these Committees will be received by the Secretary up till 3 o'clock on the afternoon of Wednesday the 6th February. The first two elections for the panels for the Home and Commerce Departments will be held in this Chamber on Monday the 11th February and the other two elections in this Chamber on Wednesday the 13th February at the end of the other business on each occasion.

ELECTION OF THE DEPUTY PRESIDENT.

Mr. President: As there is no further business upon the Order Paper to-day, and as the counting of the votes for the election of Deputy President will take some little time, I shall wait to make the announcement of the election at the opening of the business to-morrow.

The counting of the votes is concluded and I am in a position to announce it now. The voting is as follows:

For Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar	...	58
For Mr. Kabeerud-Din Ahmed	...	16

I therefore declare Mr. Rangachariar elected Deputy President. (Applause.) The assent of His Excellency the Governor General is required by Statute and will be duly sought. Meanwhile, I think I shall be expressing the unanimous feeling of this House when I say that it has done honour to one to whom honour is due. (Applause.) There was no one in the first Legislative Assembly who more consistently upheld the traditions and dignity of this Chamber than our new Deputy President and therefore I offer him congratulations of all his fellow Members as well as my own welcome to the duties of his office.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar (Madras City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I thank you and the Honourable Members most heartily for the honour they have done me. I will try to discharge my duties according to the best of my lights and I hope, Sir, you will be satisfied with the discharge of those duties.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, the 5th February, 1924.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Tuesday, 5th February, 1924.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber at Eleven of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

MEMBER SWORN:

Khan Bahadur Muhammad Shams-uz-Zoha, M.L.A. (Burdwan and Presidency Divisions: Muhammadan Rural).*

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

UNION OF ORIYA-SPEAKING TRACTS.

137. *Mr. Bhubanananda Das: (a) Are the Government aware of the strong desire among Oriya-speaking people of every class residing in the three provinces of Bengal, Madras, and Central Provinces to be joined together with their compatriots of Orissa under the same administration, and will Government be pleased to state what stage the consideration of the matter has reached?

(b) Have the Government of India consulted Local Governments of the four provinces concerned on this subject?

(c) Have they received the replies from these Governments?

(d) Will Government be pleased to place these replies on the table?

(e) Will Government be pleased to state what conclusion they have reached on the subject?

(f) If no steps have been taken, will Government be pleased to state whether it is their intention to take any steps in the matter?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: (a), (b), (c) and (e). The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to my reply to Mr. Misra's question No. 196 given on the 20th January of last year. Much material on the question has been collected, but the Honourable Member will agree that one of the most important factors in the case is the wish of the inhabitants of the areas in question. The most important areas not now included in Orissa in which there are large Oriya populations are the Ganjam district and the Agency tracts in the Madras Presidency. Government are not yet satisfied as to the wishes of the inhabitants of those areas, and they propose therefore to send two officers to make a detailed inquiry into this question in those areas and to report the result to them.

(d) Not at present.

(f) This part of the question does not arise.

† Vide pages 1287-1288 of L. A. Debates, Vol. III.

Mr. Bhubanananda Das: Will Government take early steps to despatch these two officers to Ganjam to arrive at an early decision?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I understand that as soon as funds are provided for them by the vote of this Assembly we shall be able to send them.

Mr. Bhubanananda Das: Why does not Government sanction these funds?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: No doubt the Honourable Member will use his influence with his friends to secure funds for the appointment of the two officers.

LIQUIDATION OF THE ALLIANCE BANK.

138. ***Mr. Bhubanananda Das:** Will Government be pleased to state if, as the largest creditors of the Alliance Bank, they are watching the efforts of the liquidators to realise the assets of that Bank and whether their attention has been drawn to advertisements which appeared under the signatures of the liquidators inviting private offers for certain properties instead of arranging for an auction?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The Government are not interfering in any way with the arrangements for liquidation.

Mr. Bhubanananda Das: Is it not necessary that Government should have their own inquiry?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The Government have not officially instituted any inquiry, but they have got their ears open.

REPORT OF THE CREDITORS' COMMITTEE, ALLIANCE BANK OF SIMLA.

139. ***Mr. Bhubanananda Das:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state if they have received any report from the Creditors' Committee appointed at the Creditors' Meeting of the Alliance Bank in June last?

(b) If the answer is in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to place the said report on the table?

(c) Have Government entrusted the report to the Public Prosecutor with a view to frame charges against any parties that may, according to that report, be guilty of criminal neglect or misfeasance?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The answer to the first part of the question is in the negative. The remaining portions do not arise.

ALLIANCE BANK FAILURE.

140. ***Mr. Bhubanananda Das:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether the Imperial Bank was acting on behalf of the Government as their Agents in the guarantee which they gave to creditors of 50 per cent. payment forthwith?

(b) If the answer is in the affirmative, will Government inform this Assembly whether Sir Bernard Hunter who declared that he came to the meeting on behalf of the Imperial Bank was present at the said meeting of creditors held in Calcutta as the Agent of the Government?

(c) Are Government aware that Sir Bernard Hunter who was acting on behalf of the Imperial Bank, who were acting on behalf of Government opposed the proposal for appointing an Indian liquidator?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a) The Honourable Member's question is not clear. The actual facts are that the Imperial Bank before making advance payments to creditors of the Alliance Bank received a guarantee from the Government against any loss arising out of such payments.

(b) Sir Bernard Hunter was not acting as the Agent of the Government at the meeting of creditors.

(c) The Government have no information on this point beyond what has appeared in the Press.

ALLEGED FRAUDS ON THE ALLIANCE BANK OF SIMLA.

141. ***Mr. Bhubanananda Das:** (a) Have Government made any attempt independent of the liquidators of the Alliance Bank to get information with regard to several frauds said to have been committed in connection with the affairs of the Alliance Bank before it was wound up?

(b) If so, will Government be pleased to state if they have decided upon any prosecutions as a result of these inquiries?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The Government have not formally instituted any inquiry such as is suggested. The second part of the question does not arise.

RECORDING OF VOTES IN LANDHOLDERS' CONSTITUENCIES.

142. ***Sardar V. N. Mutalik:** Will Government be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Resolution *re* the arrangement for recording the votes in the Landholders' Constituencies for the Indian Legislative Assembly which was adopted by this Honourable House, was communicated to the Provincial Governments, with any recommendation of this Government?

(b) whether any Provincial Governments have acted upon the recommendation made in the Resolution?

(c) the reasons, why it was not acted upon by some of the Provincial Governments?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I presume that the Honourable Member is referring to the Resolution adopted by the Assembly on the 7th September 1922. That Resolution recommended that steps should be taken to amend sub-rule (4) of Rule 12 of the old electoral rules so as not definitely to require that the electors in Landholders' constituencies should vote in person. If the Honourable Member will refer to sub-rule (4) of Rule 14 of the present electoral rules for the Provincial Legislative Councils and the two Chambers of the Indian Legislature, he will find that effect has already been given to the recommendation of the Assembly by the amendments of the rules which have been made by Government with the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council.

RECRUITMENT OF MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN ARISTOCRACY FOR THE ALL-INDIA SERVICES.

143. ***Sardar V. N. Mutalik:** Will Government be pleased to state whether any special facilities are provided for recruiting persons, with necessary qualifications, from the "Aristocracy and Landed Gentry," by

reserving any places, or by any sort of preference, in the various branches of the Imperial or All-India Services and whether there are any men already in service, who are admitted into the service on this consideration?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The answer is in the negative.

INDIAN TERRITORIAL FORCE.

144. ***Sardar V. N. Mutalik:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) the total strength of the Indian Territorial Force, and the strength of the Force in each Province?
- (b) whether there are any orders to form companies of any particular communities? If so, of what special communities, and the number of such companies in each Province?
- (c) whether any difference is observed in respect of clothing, diet, dress, etc., on communal or racial considerations?

Mr. E. Burdon: (a) The total actual strength of the Indian Territorial Force, including the University Training Corps battalions, is 15,595. The information asked for by the Honourable Member in the second part of this question is contained in the statement laid on the table.

(b) The answer to the first part of the question is in the negative. The other parts do not arise. I may mention, however, that in practice the men are, as far as is possible, grouped together in companies according to classes.

(c) As a general rule no such distinctions are made. Members of the University Corps however are not restricted to the army scale of rations; they receive a lump sum annually to cover the cost of messing while in camp. The 11th and 12th Battalions, Bombay Pioneers, which are composed of Parsis, receive rations on the scale laid down for British troops. There are no other exceptions to the general rule.

Statement showing the strength of I. T. F. units by Provinces.

Punjab	4,024
North-West Frontier Province	765
Bombay	2,114
Bihar and Orissa	158
United Provinces	2,209
Ajmer-Merwara	460
Madras	3,060
Burma	1,189
Bengal	1,616
Total	15,595

RECRUITS FOR SUPERIOR POSTS ON THE RAILWAYS.

145. ***Sardar V. N. Mutalik:** Will Government be pleased to state whether any facilities are provided to train recruits for higher services in the various branches of the Railway Service and if so, what? If not, do Government intend to make any provisions for this purpose?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Assistant Engineers have been recruited from the Indian Engineering Colleges for a number of years. Similarly many Assistant Traffic Superintendents have been trained on railways. Several candidates for appointment as Assistant Locomotive Superintendent have been given a training in the workshops of the East Indian Railway and some of them, who qualified, have been sent to England to complete their course, prior to appointment.

More recently technical training has received much attention and the Honourable Member has doubtless seen the Report upon the Training of Railway Officers and subordinates submitted by Mr. Cole, the officer placed on special duty to examine the matter. The recommendations contained in this Report are receiving careful consideration and a statement in regard to the action to be taken on them will be issued as soon as certain details have been settled.

EFFECT OF ENHANCED SALT DUTY ON THE CONSUMPTION OF SALT.

146. ***Sardar V. N. Mutalik:** Will Government be pleased to state the effect of the increase in the Salt Tax, on the consumption of Salt, and on the amount of duty realized, by giving a comparative statement for five years, for the period of nine months, *viz.*, from April to December?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The answer to this question was given yesterday.

KOHAT AND LANDIKOTAL MURDER GANGS.

147. ***Mr. K. C. Roy:** Will Government be pleased to state the effect of the operations of the Kohat and Landikotal murder gangs over civil administration in the North-West Frontier Province and on the working of railways beyond the Indus?

Mr. E. B. Howell: The effect of the operations of the Kohat and Landikotal gangs on the civil administration of the North-West Frontier Province is now happily a matter of history. While the gangs were at large, their activities imposed much expenditure of thought and energy on all officials in devising and carrying out measures of protection. Besides the provision of extra guards, where required, it was found necessary to surround the Cantonments of Kohat and Bannu by wire entanglements and to acquire certain lands adjoining those Cantonments.

Beyond the Indus the night running of trains was so far as possible temporarily discontinued.

Mr. K. C. Roy: May I ask, Sir, what will be the probable estimated cost of the precautions taken?

Mr. E. B. Howell: I would ask for notice of that question.

TRIBAL RAIDS IN THE INDUS PLAINS.

148. **Mr. K. C. Roy:** Will Government be pleased to lay on the table figures showing the tribal raids in the Indus plains since the semi-occupation of Waziristan as compared with those in the two years previous to it.

Mr. E. B. Howell: I am quite sure what the Honourable Member means by the semi-occupation of Waziristan. The number of raids for each year during the last four years is laid on the table. The figures are:

1919-1920	324
1920-1921	233
1921-1922	129
1922-1923	73

HEALTH OF TROOPS STATIONED AT RAZMAK AND RAZANI.

149. ***Mr. K. C. Roy:** Will Government be pleased to lay on the table statistics regarding the health of troops stationed at Razmak and Razani as compared with those at Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan?

Mr. E. Burdon: A statement is laid on the table.

Statement giving statistics in respect of the health of British and Indian troops stationed at Razmak, Razani, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan.

For the purpose of comparison the period 1st June 1923 to 31st December 1923 has been chosen as during this period conditions were normal.

The average monthly admission ratios per 1,000 of strength during the period were:

British Troops.

Razmak	548.0
Razani	289.5
Bannu	1581.1
D. I. Khan	1093.9

Indian Troops.

Razmak	205.3
Razani	96.2
Bannu	432.4
D. I. Khan	366.5

OFFICIAL OR TRADE UNION STAFF MAINTAINED BY FOREIGN COUNTRIES IN INDIA AND VICE-VERSA.

150. ***Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** Will Government be pleased to state:

1. If there is any Official or Trade Union Staff with Official approval maintained in India by Foreign countries or British Dominions for watching and promoting the interests of their trade and commerce in India?
2. If the Government of India is maintaining any establishment in Foreign countries and the British Dominions for watching and promoting the interests of Indians in such countries? If so, what is the annual expenditure on such staff and how many and in what countries, are Indians employed on such staff?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: 1. The Government infer that the Honourable Member desires information about the representation of other

countries in India. Trade Commissioners have been appointed by the Board of Trade to Calcutta and Bombay in the same way that Trade Commissioners have been appointed by the Board of Trade to all the Dominions and some of the more important Crown Colonies. Their duties are to assist with information and advice the extensions of British Trade in India. For a similar purpose the Canadian Government have appointed a Canadian Trade Commissioner to Calcutta. Most foreign countries have Consular representatives in India either paid or honorary.

2. There is an Indian Trade Commissioner attached to the Office of the High Commissioner in London for the furtherance of Indian trade and Indian industries. The cost of that establishment is £2,500 a year. Until last year when, as a result of retrenchment that Office was reduced in strength, the senior assistant was an Indian. The Government of India have no other representatives abroad directly charged with watching the trading interests of India. They have appointed, however, Emigration Agents to Ceylon and British Malaya. Both of these officers are Indians. The total estimated cost of these two establishments is Rs. 49,000 a year.

Mr. K. G. Lohokare: Was there ever any idea of sending out persons to watch the trading interests in foreign countries from India?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: We appointed about 2 years ago a Trade Commissioner in Kenya but, as a measure of retrenchment we had to abolish that appointment last year.

INCOME PER HEAD IN INDIA.

151. ***Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** Have the Government of India taken any action to find out the income per head in India? If so, (a) when was the enquiry made? (b) What was the income per head then and (c) What is it now?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blckett: The answer to the first part of the question is in the negative. The remainder therefore does not arise, but I may add that statistics professing to give the average income per head in any country are apt to be extremely misleading.

ASSESSMENT OF INCOME-TAX IN THE PUNJAB.

152. ***Lala Duni Chand:** 1. Will Government be pleased to state whether there exists a strong feeling of dissatisfaction and resentment throughout the Punjab against the assessment of income-tax generally owing to the unjust and indiscriminate nature of the assessment?

2. Is the Government prepared to admit or not that in a large number of cases in the Punjab income-tax is assessed in disregard of the correct amount of the profit made by the assesseees?

3. Is the Government prepared to admit or not that the Income-tax Officers are in a good many cases, while assessing, prompted by a desire to increase the revenue of the Government and thereby show good results of their work with a view to earn promotion?

4. Is the Government aware of the fact that in a large number of cases the Income-tax Officers assess the profits at an arbitrary rate of profit on the sale proceeds in utter disregard of the fact whether the assesseees have really made any profits or actually suffered losses?

ASSESSMENT OF INCOME-TAX IN THE PUNJAB.

153. *Lala Duni Chand: Is the Government aware of the fact that owing to the unsettled state of trade and finance in the country the market of a number of articles has considerably fallen resulting in the bankruptcy of a good many firms of old standing but the Income-tax Officers do not take cognizance of this fact while assessing?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: With the Honourable Member's permission, I will answer questions 152 and 153 together.

152 (1). The Government are aware that the contrary is the case. It is not the fact that assessments are unjust or indiscriminate. The increased efficiency of the administration of the Act due to the creation of a special Department has no doubt aroused the opposition of persons who are no longer able to avoid contributing their due share to the public revenues.

152 (2) and (4). The answer to both these questions is in the negative. Fifty-six per cent. of the assesseees in the Punjab produced no accounts before the assessing officer in the year 1922-23 and consequently the income of those assesseees had to be estimated. I would remind the Honourable Member that, if assesseees do not provide the materials, which they alone possess, for an exact assessment, the only course open to the Income-tax Officer is to estimate their income as the law provides.

152 (3) and 153. Assessments are based on the actual results of the assesseees' business when these are disclosed. The Commissioner of Income-tax has instructed the Income-tax Officers personally that what they should aim at is a correct assessment irrespective of its effect on the revenues. Government have no reason to suppose that any bankrupt firms have been assessed to income-tax.

ASSESSMENT TO INCOME-TAX OF TIMBER MERCHANTS IN THE PUNJAB.

154. *Lala Duni Chand: Is the Government aware of the fact that during the last two years or so the market of timber has considerably gone down so much so that the cost of the timber floated down the river and canals from the various forests is far in excess of the price it fetches in the various timber markets and in consequence thereof a number of firms have become bankrupt and if so, whether the Government has issued any instruction to the Income-tax Officers to deal leniently with the timber-traders?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The Government have issued no such instructions, nor do they see any necessity to do so.

ATTACHMENT OF PROPERTY OF INCOME-TAX ASSESSEES IN THE PUNJAB.

155. *Lala Duni Chand: Will the Government be pleased to state in how many cases in the Punjab during the last 3 years the assesseees have refused to pay willingly the income-tax either on the ground of inability to pay or as a protest against the unjust assessment and the authorities have been forced to resort to forcible recovery?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The Government have no statistics as to the number of cases in which property had to be attached during the last three years in the Punjab.

Sardar V. N. Mutalik: May I know whether political opinions are specially taxed?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: They are not usually remunerative.

Lala Duni Chand: With regard to my question No. 156, may I be permitted to say one word? Certain words have been left out in printing. After the words "Great War" there should be added the words "and explain the difference"; those words have been omitted.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I trust my answer will explain the difference.

REVENUE FROM INCOME-TAX IN THE PUNJAB.

156. ***Lala Duni Chand:** Will the Government be pleased to state for the information of the House and the public the total amount of revenue derived from the income-tax during the last five years in the Punjab and also the total amount of revenue derived from the same source during the five years preceding the Great War making allowance for the increase of the rate?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The total gross revenue from income-tax in the Punjab was Rs. 81 lakhs during the period 1909-10 to 1913-14 and Rs. 261 lakhs during the period 1918-19 to 1922-23. The collections attributable to increases in rate during the latter period are roughly estimated at Rs. 80 lakhs. The balance of increase, namely, about Rs. one crore is attributable to the increase in prices, the natural expansion of business, and the efficient working of the special staff.

ALLEGED BRIBERY AND CORRUPTION ON THE RAILWAYS.

157. ***Lala Duni Chand:** 1. Is the Government aware of the fact, too well known to the general public, that the Station Masters in combination with the Goods Clerks, etc., illegally make a lot of money mostly out of goods traffic which in cases of certain important Railway Stations amounts to thousands of rupees a month?

2. Is the Government aware of the fact that a standard of black-mail is generally fixed for every wagon that is taken for loading purposes?

3. Is the Government also aware of the fact that undue preference is given to certain persons in the matter of supplying wagons in order to extort a larger amount of black-mail?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Honourable Member's attention is invited to the speech of the Chief Commissioner for Railways in this House on this question on March 14th, 1923.

ALLEGED BRIBERY AND CORRUPTION ON THE RAILWAYS.

158. ***Lala Duni Chand:** 1. Is the Government aware of the fact that in case of good many stations the large amount of illicit gain made by the Station Masters is also shared by the higher railway Officers?

2. Is it not a fact that there is a tendency on the part of higher railway Officers to condone the levy of the black-mail?

3. Is the Government prepared to admit that in view of the facilities open to the higher railway Officers to detect easily the mal-practices of the Station Masters and the Goods Clerks, the conditions can be much improved if they are really earnest?

-4. Has the Government taken any steps to remove or minimise the above state of affairs?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Government certainly are not aware of the facts alleged by the Honourable Member. If he will name the high railway officers against whom he makes the charge, I can assure him that the matter will be fully investigated.

OFFICERS OF THE INDIAN ARMY, HOLDING THE KING'S COMMISSIONS AND VICEROY'S COMMISSIONS, RESPECTIVELY.

159. ***Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** Will Government be pleased to state:

1. The number of Combatant Officers holding King's Commissions in the Indian Army on permanent and temporary lists in 1923 and the number recruited from 1900 A. D.?
2. The preliminary standard of education and the course of training for recruitment to such Commissions?
3. The number of Combatant Officers holding Indian Commissions on permanent and temporary lists in 1923?
4. The preliminary standard of education and the course of training for recruitment to such Commissions?
5. The number of Schools for training to such Indian Commissions and the number of pupils recruited from such Schools from 1900 A. D.?
6. If no such Institutions exist, have Government under consideration starting any such for direct recruitment, to Indian Commissions, of educated Indians from such classes at least as provide recruitment of Indian Soldiers in these days?

Mr. E. Burdon: 1. In 1923 there were 3,775 officers holding permanent commissions and 8 holding temporary commissions. These figures are exclusive of 92 officers holding commissions in the I. A. R. O.

The total numbers recruited from 1900 onwards cannot be given without making a special compilation from all the London Gazettes of the period and Government do not consider that the results to be obtained would justify the expenditure of the time and labour involved in doing this.

2. To qualify for the King's Commission, a candidate is normally required to pass through the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. A few commissions are given direct to graduates of certain English universities after satisfying certain prescribed tests. Admission to Sandhurst is normally secured by passing an entrance examination the standard of which is higher than that of the Matriculation examination of an Indian University.

3. The number of Indian officers holding the Viceroy's commission is 3,296.

4, 5 and 6. The Viceroy's commission is, as a rule, obtained by promotion from the non-commissioned ranks of the Indian Army. No fixed standard of education is prescribed, but all candidates have to satisfy their Commanding Officer in regard to their general efficiency and the majority of those promoted have received a course of training at one or other of the special instructional institutions of the Army. A certain number of direct Viceroy's commissions are also granted to selected Indian gentlemen who are not over 20 years of age. In the case of these also, no fixed standard of

education is laid down. In the circumstances described, no institutions are maintained specifically for the purpose of training candidates for the Viceroy's Commission: and no such institutions are necessary.

ARMY TRAINING SCHOOLS.

160. ***Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** 1. How many and in what places are there Army Training Schools or Colleges in India for imparting special or advanced instructions to Combatant Officers holding King's Commissions?

2. If so, how many such officers were deputed to these Schools since 1900 from (a) the Indian Army; (b) the British Army?

3. What was the annual expenditure on such special Military training from the Indian Treasury during the last 5 years?

4. How many Officers of the Indian Army holding Indian Commissions were detailed for training to these Institutions since 1900?

5. Have Government under consideration the starting of any such course for Officers of Indian Commissioned rank?

Mr. E. Burdon: 1. There are two schools providing advanced instruction, one at Quetta and the other at Belgaum; and nine schools providing special instruction, namely, at Kakul, Saugor, Pachmarhi, Satara, Ahmednagar (two), Poona, Ambala and Wellington.

2. The information desired is not readily available, and to collect it would involve an expenditure of time and labour disproportionate to the result. Approximately, however, officers of the Indian Army and officers of the British Army attend these schools in the proportion of 7 to 3.

3. I will furnish the Honourable Member separately with a statement giving the information desired. I do not think it is necessary to lay it on the table or to have it printed in the proceedings, as the current expenditure on these institutions can be ascertained from the published annual estimates and accounts.

4. Precise figures for the period mentioned cannot be given; but it will probably serve the Honourable Member's purpose if I inform him that, for the year 1924, approximately 320 vacancies at the schools providing special instruction have been allotted to officers holding the Viceroy's Commission.

5. The two schools for advanced instruction cater for King's commissioned officers only and are open both to British and Indian officers holding the King's Commission. Indian officers holding the Viceroy's Commission are already eligible to attend the great majority of the schools providing special instruction.

GRANT OF FURTHER REFORMS.

161. ***Dr. H. S. Gour:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state what action it has taken upon my Resolution on the grant of further reforms passed by the Assembly at its sitting on the 18th July last?

(b) Has the Government received any reply from the Secretary of State on the subject? If so, will the Government be pleased to lay it on the table?

(c) Will the Government be pleased to state what recommendation it made on the Resolution aforesaid? What intermediate correspondence has taken place between the Secretary of State and the Government of India?

(d) What prospect is there for the disposal of the matter referred to in that Resolution?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: (a) A copy of the Resolution adopted by the Assembly and of the debates in the Assembly on the Resolution was forwarded to the Secretary of State.

(b) No reply has been received from the Secretary of State.

(c) No recommendation has been made by Government on the Resolution, and there has been no intermediate correspondence with the Secretary of State.

(d) I suggest to the Honourable Member that he should await the discussion on the Resolution which refers to this part of the question.

Dr. H. S. Gour: May I inquire from the Honourable the Home Member when the copy of the Resolution of this House was forwarded to the Secretary of State?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I forget the exact date; but it was very shortly after it was passed by the Assembly.

Dr. H. S. Gour: What is the usual time, Sir, for a reply from the Secretary of State to important communications like these?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: It varies, Sir, it varies.

LIMITATION OF THE POWER OF CERTIFICATION OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL.

162. ***Dr. H. S. Gour:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state what action the Government of India has taken upon the Resolution of this House on the subject of limiting the power of certification of the Governor General by amendment of section 67-B of the Government of India Act, adopted by this House at its sitting on the 10th July, 1923?

(b) When was the copy of the Resolution forwarded to the Secretary of State and what recommendation, if any, did the Government of India make thereon?

(c) What orders, if any, have been passed by the Secretary of State, and what action does he propose to take thereon?

(d) Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table the correspondence between itself and the Secretary of State on the subject?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: (a) and (b). A copy of the Resolution was forwarded to the Secretary of State on the 9th August 1923 with the recommendation that no action should be taken on it.

(c) None.

(d) I have already stated the purport of the letter to the Secretary of State, and it is not proposed to lay a copy of it on the table.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A SUPREME COURT IN INDIA.

163. ***Dr. H. S. Gour:** With reference to my question† on the Supreme Court of India, to which the Honourable the Home Member replied in this House on the 2nd July, 1923, may I beg to inquire whether the Government of India is now in a position to give the information required as to the action it proposes to take in the matter of the establishment of a Supreme Court in India?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The Honourable Member asks for information as to the action we propose to take in regard to the establishment of a Supreme Court in India. The question is an important one, and, with your permission, Sir, I should like to make an announcement on the subject which go rather beyond the limits normally set for an answer to a question.

It will be remembered that on the 26th March 1921, the Assembly adopted a Resolution on this subject, and we then, in conformity with the Resolution, collected opinions from Local Governments, High Courts, legal authorities and legal bodies throughout India. The opinions received have been placed in the Library of this House. Again, on the 23rd September 1922, a Resolution was moved in this Assembly recommending the taking of steps for the establishment of a Supreme Court in India. This Resolution was rejected without a division.

2. We have carefully considered the opinions expressed in the correspondence and in the debates in this Assembly. We consider that they indicate clearly that there is no identity of opinion between Local Governments, High Courts or legal authorities, whether Indian or European, in favour of the early institution of a Supreme Court, while the question of its location also involves much difficulty. We consider also that the opinions clearly indicate that there will be great difficulty in any circumstances in securing a personnel for the Court which would be likely to give it a status and reputation equal to that of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Further, our financial conditions render the institution of a Supreme Court impracticable at the present time.

3. We have therefore decided that in the present circumstances, in which opinion as to the advantages of a Supreme Court is much divided, and in which our financial position in any case makes the establishment of such a court difficult, serious consideration cannot be given to the proposal on its merits.

ACTION TAKEN ON THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE ASSEMBLY.

164. ***Dr. H. S. Gour:** Will the Government of India be pleased to lay on the table a tabular statement showing the action taken on the recommendations of this House made during its sitting in July last?

Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith: The statement asked for by the Honourable Member is laid on the table.

† *Vide* pages 4058-4059 of L. A. Debates, Vol. III.

Statement showing the Resolutions adopted by the Legislative Assembly during the Simla Session, 1923, and action taken by Government thereon.

Serial No.	Date on which moved.	By whom.	Subject of Resolution.	Department concerned.	Action taken by Government.
1	4th July 1923.	Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer.	Effect given to Resolutions 7, 8, 10 and 11 of the Assembly passed on the 28th March 1921, regarding Esher Committee's Report.	Army	The Secretary of State's attention was specially invited to the views expressed by the Legislative Assembly.
2	4th and 10th July 1923.	Dr. Nand Lal	Amendment of section 87-B of the Government of India Act.	Home	A copy of the Resolution passed together with the debates thereon was forwarded to the Secretary of State.
3	12th July 1923.	Rao Bahadur C. S. Subrahmanayam.	Embarkment Project for protecting the prosperous town of Dera Ismail Khan.	Industries and Labour.	<p>1. In July last the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor General, North-West Frontier Province, was informed that the Government of India had accepted the recommendation contained in the Resolution of the Assembly, and with a view to the construction of the protection works being completed as early as possible, the local Administration was asked to submit a revised estimate for the project immediately the location of the works could be finally decided upon; it was, at the same time, authorised to proceed immediately with the collection of materials for the work. Considerable progress has already been made.</p> <p>2. As regards the financing of the scheme (which is estimated to cost Rs. 14 lakhs) the Government of India have agreed to bear half the cost, and have sanctioned a loan of the remaining moiety to the Dera Ismail Khan Municipality on the understanding that the citizens of the town will be required to subscribe a sum of not less than Rs. 2 lakhs towards this loan as soon as the project is completed. A sum of Rs. 3 lakhs out of the loan has already been placed at the disposal of the local Administration who</p>

Serial No.	Date on which moved.	By whom.	Subject of Resolution.	Department concerned.	Action taken by Government.
					reported that it would be able to incur expenditure up to this amount on the collection of materials, etc., during the current financial year. Steps are also being taken to include the additional funds required for the completion of the work in the next year's budget.
4	18th July 1923.	Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar.	Alliance Bank of Simla.	Finance.	The Resolution was telegraphed to the Secretary of State and was also submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy for orders. In accordance with His Excellency's orders the Secretary of State was also informed of the statement on the subject made in the Assembly on 19th July 1923 by the Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey.
5	18th July 1923.	Dr. H. S. Gour.	Further Reforms	Home	A copy of the Resolution passed together with the debates thereon was forwarded to the Secretary of State.
6	21st July 1923.	Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Ayyar.	Consideration of the claims of Indians in Kenya.	Education, Health and Lands.	The Resolution and a summary of the debate was communicated to the Secretary of State for India by telegram.

LOSS OF OPIUM REVENUE.

165. *Dr. H. S. Gour: (1) Will the Government state the amount of revenue sacrificed by the Indian Government on account of the restriction of the export of opium to foreign countries?

(2) Was such restriction conditional or unconditional, and what steps have been taken to see that the conditions, if any, were duly fulfilled by countries like China to which the restriction applied?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blckett: (1) The annual loss of opium revenue to India by the cessation of the export of opium to China has been estimated at Rs. 6 crores. The exports of opium to non-China markets have been reduced in recent years from 16,000 chests to about 8,000 chests. The loss to India on account of the decrease in these exports amounts roughly to a further 3½ crores a year.

(2) The agreement with China which was made in 1908, and continued in 1911, for progressive reduction of opium exports from India *pari passu* with progressive reduction of cultivation in China was conditional. The Government of India carried out their side of the agreement as they were satisfied that the Chinese Government of the time were in earnest in their policy of reducing cultivation and consumption of opium in China.

There is unfortunately evidence that the disturbed conditions in China in later years have led to a recrudescence of opium cultivation on a large scale. The restriction of exports of Indian opium to countries other than China is in accordance with the principles accepted at the Hague Opium Convention; that is, India exports no opium to any country that prohibits imports, she is ready to export no opium to any country in excess of the amount which the Government of that country expresses a wish to obtain and she has followed, since 1915, a policy of selling her opium direct to foreign Governments whenever that course has proved possible in order to place the responsibility for regulating import directly and publicly upon the Government of the importing country.

DISQUALIFICATION FOR ELECTION TO THE LEGISLATURES.

166. ***Dr. H. S. Gour:** Will the Government be pleased to state the names of persons who had applied to His Excellency the Viceroy for the removal of their disqualification for election to the Assembly and the Provincial Councils, stating the result in each case?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Five persons applied for the removal of their disqualifications; in four cases the disqualification was not removed, and in one case it was held that no disqualification existed. I propose to leave it to the gentlemen concerned themselves to publish the fact of their having made an application.

Mr. V. J. Patel: Has disqualification in any case been removed without any application?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: No, Sir.

TRAVELLING ALLOWANCES OF MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

167. ***Dr. H. S. Gour:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state as to who is responsible for the reduction of the travelling allowance of the Honourable Members of the Assembly?

(b) Is the Government aware that on a motion being made in this House for a reduction of the travelling allowance of Members of the Council of State, Sir Muhammad Shafi requested the House to desist from voting the reduction which he promised to request the Members of that Council to make by a voluntary act of their own?

(c) If the Government of India considered a reduction justifiable, why was not that House even consulted?

(d) Will the Government state the amount of retrenchment effected by the reduction of the Members' travelling allowance?

(e) Is the Government aware that Members of local Councils in several Provinces still draw a double first class fare?

(f) Is the Government aware that Government servants drawing the allowance admissible in the case of first class officers continue to draw their salary while performing their journey, whereas Members of this House do not draw even their daily allowance while travelling?

Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith: (a) The travelling allowance admissible to Members of the Assembly is, and always has been, that admissible to an officer of the first class. The Government of India are responsible for the reduction in the travelling allowance admissible to officers of the first class and therefore for the consequential reduction in the allowance admissible to Members of the Assembly.

(b) Yes. The attention of the Honourable Member is however invited to the fact that the debate to which he refers related only to the proposed curtailment of concessions not affecting the number of fares admissible as travelling allowance. In this respect the general reduction applies equally to Honourable Members of the Council of State.

(c) It is presumed that the Honourable Member's reference to 'that House' is to the Legislative Assembly. It would not be in accordance with the practice prevailing in this or any other country to consult the Legislature concerning a matter of a purely administrative nature, such as, a reduction in the rate of the travelling allowance admissible to Government officers. The travelling allowance of Members of the Legislature was not, as has been explained, reduced as such.

(d) Approximately Rs. 15,730 have already been saved by the reduction in its application to Members of the Legislature.

(e) The Government of India have no official information.

(f) Yes.

Mr. V. J. Patel: Are Government aware that some Members of this Assembly travel by third class and second class and yet charge first class fare?

Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith: We have heard rumours to that effect, Sir.

REDUCTION OF BRITISH TROOPS IN INDIA.

168. ***Dr. H. S. Gour:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table the correspondence between itself and the Secretary of State on the several Resolutions passed by the Assembly on Lord Esher's Report?

(b) Will it also lay on the table the report of the Military Requirements Committee together with such orders as the Government of India and the Secretary of State may have passed thereon?

(c) If the replies to the last two questions be in the negative, will the Government state whether it is not a fact that its recommendation for the reduction of British troops in India was overruled by the Secretary of State?

(d) And whether it is not a fact that Whitehall overruled the Government of India because such reduction would have relieved India at the expense of England?

(e) Is it not a fact, as was admitted by Colonel Guinness in the House of Commons, that a part of the British garrison in India was maintained for Imperial purposes?

(f) If so, what action has the Government of India taken to relieve India of this burden?

(g) What is the annual cost of this garrison?

Mr. E. Burdon: (a) The Government of India are not prepared to lay on the table the correspondence in question.

(b) The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the answer which I gave to part 6 (a), (b) and (c) of his question† No. 38 asked in the Legislative Assembly on the 2nd July 1923.

(c) The Honourable Member's attention is again invited to the reply which I gave to his question† of the 2nd July 1923. The reply which I

† *vide* pages 4124-4125 of L. A. Debates, Vol. III.

then gave, however, is now supplemented by the information given by me on the 1st February 1924 in answer to Diwan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao's question No. 40 in regard to the decision that only two and not three British cavalry regiments are to be withdrawn from the Indian establishment.

(d) The answer is in the negative.

(e) It is not a fact that a part of the British garrison in India is maintained for Imperial purposes. As regards the admission alleged to have been made by Colonel Guinness in the House of Commons, I again refer the Honourable Member to the reply which I gave to his question No. 38 on the 2nd July 1923.

(f) and (g). These questions do not arise.

INDIANIZATION OF THE HIGHER JUDICIARY.

169. ***Dr. H. S. Gour:** Will the Government be pleased to state what action it has taken to fulfil its promise given in the Council of State while replying to Mr. Sethna's Resolution on the Indianization of the higher judiciary?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: In accordance with the promise given, the Government of India consulted Local Governments and High Courts and the replies received were taken into careful consideration. The Government of India decided that efficiency must be the real criterion in making appointments to the benches of the highest Courts in the land. They, however, agree that, with due regard to efficiency, efforts should be made to increase the number of Indians holding such appointments. Local Governments and the High Court of Calcutta were informed of this conclusion in June 1923, and it was suggested to them that the claims of Indian candidates should be considered when vacancies occurred provided always that due regard was paid to efficiency.

I may add that the percentage of Indians, which in 1896 was 17.7 per cent., rose in 1921 to 31.6 per cent. and is now 32.2 per cent.

INLAND DEFERRED TELEGRAPH RATES.

170. ***Dr. H. S. Gour:** (a) With reference to my question No. 175, and the reply given by Sir Sydney Crookshank, may I beg to inquire what action has been taken to consider the possibility of introducing inland deferred telegraph rates?

(b) What is the number of telegrams redirected and the amount collected on account of redirection fee?

(c) In view of the heavy inland rate for telegrams, may I enquire whether it is not possible to redirect telegrams free of charge, or at any rate to reduce its rate?

(d) What is the surplus revenue from telegrams since the telegraph charges were raised?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: (a) The introduction of Deferred telegraph rates has been considered, but it has been decided that, for the present, it would be undesirable to introduce a third tariff which would undoubtedly involve a loss of revenue. When the task of working out the actual cost of the Telegraph Department on a commercial basis has been concluded, the matter will be reconsidered.

(b) No separate statistics are maintained but account will be made and results furnished to the Honourable Member.

(c) Government consider that the present charge is fully justified in view of the additional service involved in the re-direction of telegrams.

(d) I place on the table a statement compiled from the Annual Administration Reports. I would, however, warn the Honourable Member that the figures of cost of maintenance and signalling operations do not give a correct view of the total cost of the Telegraph system—for example, the Telegraph share of the working expenses of combined Post and Telegraph Offices, which is a heavy item, rightly debitable to the Telegraph side, has not been included. A proper commercial account for each branch of the Department is now in course of preparation and, when this is complete, the exact relation between Telegraph Revenue and Expenditure will be known.

Statement comparing the receipts and working expenses on account of telegrams.

Year.	Total value of paid telegrams in lakhs of rupees.	TOTAL WORKING EXPENSES IN LAKHS OF RUPEES.			Surplus revenue in lakhs of rupees.
		Line maintenance.	Signalling.	Total.	
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1917-18	180.77	22.43	105.05	127.51	53.26
1918-19	252.52	27.50	121.29	148.79	103.73
1919-20	299.96	29.94	136.31	166.25	133.71
1920-21	261.85	39.59	175.54	215.13	46.72
1921-22	263.32	43.56	190.44	243.00	20.32
1922-23	243.11	45.45	193.16	238.61	4.50

Note.—The inland telegram rates of 12 annas for Ordinary and Re. 1-8-0 for Express telegrams were introduced from 1st September 1918. The working expenses of the telegraph branch in combined post and telegraph offices are not included in the above figures. Arrangements are in hand to ascertain and include these charges in future years.

IMPROVEMENT OF RURAL POSTAL FACILITIES.

171. *Dr. H. S. Gour: (a) With reference to Mr. Geoffrey Clarke's speech, dated 22nd March, 1922, on the enhancement of postal rates for letters and post cards, will the Government be pleased to state in detail the improvements made in postal communication and the development of rural postal facilities therein promised?

(b) Will the Government be pleased to state the number of post offices that existed in March, 1922, and those since added?

Mr. G. R. Clarke: (a) If the Honourable Member will read my speech again he will see that no promise was made to improve rural postal facilities as stated by the Honourable Member in his question. It was merely pointed out that with the postal rates in force at the time small offices could not be opened with any hope of their becoming self-supporting.

(b) The number of post offices in India on the 31st March, 1922, was 16,557. Since then 464 new offices have been opened and 525 unremunerative and unnecessary offices have been closed. The closure of unremunerative offices on such a large scale has been due to the absolute necessity for retrenchment and the heavy reduction of the working expenses allowed to the Department by the Legislative Assembly.

INCOME FROM ADVERTISEMENTS ON POSTAL PUBLICATIONS AND TELEGRAPH FORMS.

172. **Dr. H. S. Gour:** What revenue does the Government make from the advertising contracts given to a Syndicate for displaying advertisements on post offices, postage books, telegraph forms and other postal matter?

Mr. G. R. Clarke: (a) The scheme for advertisements in wall spaces and in compounds of post offices, has just been started. No correct estimate of the revenue to be derived on this account can be given at present. It is estimated that the annual receipts on account of advertisements in (1) postage stamp booklets and (2) postal publications will amount to Rs. 12,000 and 4,500 respectively.

(b) The income from advertisements on telegram forms based on the present number of forms used, is expected to be about a lakh of rupees a year. This amount will increase as telegraphic traffic increases and more forms are required to be printed.

PRINTING OF STAMPS IN INDIA.

173. **Dr. H. S. Gour:** What steps are the Government taking to ensure the early printing of stamps in this country?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: As the answer is a somewhat lengthy one, with the Honourable Member's permission, I lay it on the table.

In reply to a question† by the Honourable Mr. Phiroze C. Sethna in the other House in July last, the Honourable Mr. McWatters stated that the officers deputed to study the matter had submitted a preliminary report and that Government had accepted their recommendation that an experimental press should be started at the earliest possible moment. The complete report of the officers deputed has since been received and copies are being placed in the hands of Honourable Members. In view of the contents of that report, and of what is believed to be the desire of the Assembly, namely, that postage stamps and other security printing should, if possible,

† No. 15, dated the 16th July 1923—Foot page 1474 of Council of State Debates, Vol. III.

be transferred to India, the Government of India have, with the approval of the Standing Finance Committee, sanctioned provisionally an amount of Rs. 2½ lakhs for the purchase and operation of this experimental press.

The necessary plant and material has been purchased and Colonel Willis is now in Delhi getting the plant into running order in a spare-room of the Government Press behind the Secretariat. The plant is expected to be in full operation in the course of the next few weeks, and, when it is working, Colonel Willis will be glad to show the processes to any Members of this House who may be interested in them. Specimens of the productions by the press will, it is hoped, be available for distribution to Members for their inspection.

RETRENCHMENT IN NATIONAL EXPENDITURE.

174. *Dr. H. S. Gour: Will the Government lay on the table a statement showing the retrenchments in national expenditure actually effected in consequence of the recommendations of the Inchcape Committee or otherwise?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The Honourable Member is referred to the revised statement laid on the table on the 1st February 1924 in reply to a question by Dīwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao.

PAYMENTS TO DEPOSITORS OF THE ALLIANCE BANK.

175. *Dr. H. S. Gour: Will the Government be pleased to state the actual sums paid out to the depositors of the Alliance Bank, of Simla by the Imperial Bank, stating what amounts were paid to Indian and European depositors, both in India and in Europe?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Until the end of December 1923, Rs. 3,83 lakhs were paid out in India to the depositors of the Alliance Bank of Simla by the Imperial Bank of India. The Government have no information regarding amounts paid in Europe or to Indian and European depositors, respectively.

STANDING COMMITTEES.

176. *Dr. H. S. Gour: Will the Government be pleased to state the number of meetings held of the Standing Committees appointed in consequence of a Resolution of the Assembly, dated 19th January 1922 (Assembly Debates, page 1788), and the nature of work entrusted to and disposed of by them?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: A statement indicating the number of meetings held by each of the Standing Committees appointed in accordance with the rules published in the Home Department Notification No. F-49, dated the 22nd August 1922, and the subjects laid before the Committee for advice has been laid on the table. No meeting of the Committee attached to the Revenue and Agriculture Department was held before that Department ceased to exist.

Statement showing the number of meetings held and the subjects laid before the Standing Committees attached to the Home Department and the Departments of Commerce and Industries and Education, Health and Lands for advice.

Name of Department.	Number of meetings held.	Subjects laid before the Committee for advice.
Home	3	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Dr. Gour's Bill to amend the Legal Practitioners Act, 1879. 2. The Hon'ble Mr. Sukhbir Sinha's Registration of Chelas Bill. 3. Mr. Latthe's Inter-caste Hindu Marriage Bill. 4. Mr. Seshagiri Ayyer's Bill to amend the Hindu Law of Inheritance. 5. Mr. Abul Kasem's Bill to amend the Code of Criminal Procedure. 6. Lala Girdhari Lal Agarwala's Bills (i) to amend the Indian Evidence Act, 1872, (ii) to amend the General Clauses Act, 1897, and (iii) to amend the Indian Limitation Act, 1908. 7. Proposal to establish an Indian Bar. 8. Mr. Rangachariar's Bill to consolidate and amend the Law relating to Legal Practitioners in India. 9. Lala Girdhari Lal Agarwala's Bill to amend the Code of Civil Procedure. 10. Mr. Neogy's Bill to amend the Legal Practitioners Act, 1879. 11. Mr. Reddi's Bill to amend the Hindu Law of Succession. 12. Proposal to amend section 60 of the Code of Civil Procedure.
Commerce and Industries.	2	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Action taken by the Government of India towards the Indianization of the superior services and appointments under the control of the Departments of Commerce and Industries. 2. A general statement of the Government of India's policy in regard to the development of ports and a general review of the present situation. 3. A general statement showing the reductions and alterations in the statistical publications which it is proposed to carry out on the score of retrenchment. 4. The proposed central legislation for the sake of Provincial Governments for raising certain stamp duties. 5. The Indian Trade Commissioner in East Africa. 6. Proposal for a temporary increase in the leave reserve for the Imperial Customs Service. 7. Training of apprentices by Indian firms holding Government contracts. 8. The Annual Report of the Chief Inspector of Mines in India for the year 1921. 9. Draft Conventions and Recommendations adopted at the Third Session of the International Labour Conference held at Geneva in 1921. 10. Proposed Legislation for the registration and protection of Trade Unions. 11. Amendment of the Factories Act. 12. Central Chemical Research Institute at Dehra Dun.
Education and Health.	1	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Proposal for opening the port of Madras for pilgrim traffic to Mecca and other holy places.

TENDERS FOR RAILWAY WAGONS, ETC.

177. *Dr. H. S. Gour: (1) Has the attention of Government been drawn to a Reuter's cable, dated London, December 12, stating that important orders had been placed in Britain during the past few days involving the supply of 150 covered wagons to the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway, and 1,366 tons of fabricated steel for the erection of extensive workshops for the South Indian Railway Company, at Trichinopoly, and that British Engineers were preparing estimates to be submitted in February for the supply of some 3,000 goods wagons, both broad and metre gauge, and 60 locomotives for the Indian Railway Board?

(2) Will the Government state how much of the 150 crores of rupees sanctioned by the last Assembly for the rehabilitation and improvement of the Railways has been spent, and how much of it has been spent upon orders in India, and how much in England and other countries outside India?

(3) Is it a fact that the Railway Board had invited tenders? Were these open and in what countries were the notices inviting tenders published? What tenders were received and at what rate. Were the lowest tenders rejected, and if so, why?

(4) Is it a fact that some Indian wagon companies had submitted tenders for the supply of wagons which compared favourably with those of the British and continental firms in normal times, but the Railway Board rejected these tenders and placed their order in England?

(5) If the answer to the last question be in the affirmative, will the Government place on the table all the correspondence on the subject and explain the discrimination made to the prejudice of Indian manufacturers?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (1) The Reuter's cable mentioned has been seen.

(2) Up to the end of last November 30½ crores had been charged against the 150 crore programme. I cannot give an exact distribution of this sum between expenditure in India and in England since a considerable portion of the disbursements for stores in England represents the cost of material which is only temporarily debited to capital and will be transferred to revenue when the material is actually issued from store. But, allowing for this, out of the 30½ crores approximately 13½ crores were spent in England and 17 crores in India.

Disbursements were only made in India and England and Government have no information as to the cost of actual purchases made outside these two countries.

(3) Arrangements for the supply of the 150 wagons and 1,366 tons of fabricated steel are in the hands of the two railway companies concerned. The Railway Board have invited in the press tenders from India and, through the High Commissioner for India, from all other manufacturing countries. It is not known in what journals the High Commissioner has had the notices inserted but in response to the similar call last year, tenders were received from America, Canada, and five countries in Europe. The tenders are to be received in January and February.

(4) Recently the Railway Board called for tenders from the leading firms in India for 250 wagons. The tenders received were 22 per cent. higher than prices quoted in England. No orders were placed as, owing to traffic conditions, it was found that the provision of these wagons could

be deferred. If the Honourable Member is referring to the tenders for 3,000 wagons in January last, the tenders submitted by Indian firms were so much higher than those of English firms that orders were placed with the latter. This action was taken after a long discussion with, and on the advice of, a joint meeting of the Standing Finance Committee and the Central Advisory Council.

(5) The Government of India do not propose to place the correspondence on the table.

Dr. H. S. Gour: Is it a fact that the tenders of the Indian Companies compared favourably with the tenders of the Continental Companies, and is it not a fact that English Companies who had for the first time brought their tenders down compared quite unfavourably with the tenders of the same Companies in previous years?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I am placing a statement on the table in reply to a subsequent question by the Honourable Member from which he will be able to draw his own conclusion.

GOVERNMENT'S FUTURE POLICY REGARDING THE PURCHASE OF STORES.

178. ***Dr. H. S. Gour:** Will the Government explain its future policy regarding the placing of future orders for the supply of its stores including Railway material?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: The policy of the Government of India has been, and will continue to be, to make their purchases of stores for the public service from Indian sources of supply, so far as is consistent with economy and efficiency. The Honourable Member is no doubt aware of the terms of the present rules relating to the supply of articles for the public service, and is equally aware that the revision of these rules is at present under consideration.

CONSTRUCTION OF LOCOMOTIVES AT JAMSHEDPUR.

179. ***Dr. H. S. Gour:** Is the Government aware that a firm had started for the construction of locomotives at Jamshedpur? If so, what orders and encouragement has it received from Government to carry on and develop this most useful key industry?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Honourable Member's attention is drawn to the reply given yesterday to Sir Purshotandas Thakurdas on the same subject.

WAITING ROOMS AT THE VICTORIA TERMINUS, BOMBAY.

180. ***Dr. H. S. Gour:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that at the Victoria Terminus station of the G. I. P. Railway in Bombay, no gentlemen's waiting room is provided for first and second class travellers, although there are two waiting rooms for first and second class lady travellers?

(b) Is the Government aware that in the long shed in front of the ladies' waiting room there is not a single bench or other sitting accommodation for travellers waiting for their trains?

(c) Is the Government aware that travellers are put to considerable inconvenience and trouble while waiting for their trains, and that the want of waiting rooms for higher class passengers is an absolute necessity?

(d) Will the Government take immediate steps to remove this inconvenience?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: There are no waiting rooms for gentlemen in the present Station. The deficiency will be supplied when the station is remodelled† but it has been ascertained that it is impossible to put up temporary rooms in the existing structure. Benches used formerly to be kept in the circulating area opposite the ladies waiting room, but it was thought that the convenience of the travelling public would be served by transferring these benches to the departure platforms. Government understand that the Railway Administration will be quite willing also to put benches in the circulating area if there is any public demand for them. Copies of this question and answer are being forwarded to the Agent.

Dr. H. S. Gour: How is the public demand to be communicated to the railway authorities concerned?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I am sending a copy of this question and answer to the Agent and I have no doubt he will consult his Local Advisory Committee, which I hope will come shortly into existence.

Dr. H. S. Gour: Will the Honourable Member also ask the Local Advisory Committee to improvise a waiting room pending the remodelling of the station?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: It is not my business to ask the Local Advisory Committee to do anything, and I have already told the Honourable Member that I have been informed that it is not possible to put up temporary rooms in the existing station.

LETTER POSTAGE BETWEEN INDIA AND ENGLAND.

181. ***Dr. H. S. Gour:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the letter postage from England to India is $1\frac{1}{2}d. = 1\frac{1}{2}$ annas, whereas the postage from India to England is 2 annas $= 2d.$?

(b) If the answer to the last question is in the affirmative, will the Government be pleased to state why it is cheaper to send a letter from England to India than it is to send it from India to England?

(c) Since how long has such postage rate been fixed?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: (a) The letter postage from England to India is $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ for the first ounce and $1d.$ for each additional ounce; the letter postage from India to England is 2 annas for the first ounce and $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas for each additional ounce.

(b) and (c). Up to 31st March 1923 letter postage receipts between India and the United Kingdom were pooled and the rates of postage in India were assimilated as far as possible to those which were fixed in England. The initial Empire letter rate was for a long time $1d.$ After the outbreak of war it was raised to $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ and then to $2d.$ On the 29th May 1922 it was reduced in England to $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ As India had raised her internal rates of postage, with effect from the 24th April 1922 in the general interests of the postal revenues, it was deemed inadvisable to reduce the rate for letters

† N.B.—Plans and estimates are ready, but it will be some time before a new station can be built.

from India to England. The loss by reducing this rate will be heavier now than would have been the case had the pooling system continued.

LETTER POSTAGE BETWEEN INDIA AND ENGLAND.

182. *Dr. H. S. Gour: (a) Was not the postage the same for a letter from England to India as for a letter from India to England before the recent changes in the postal rates?

(b) Is it a fact that letters from India to England pass through France, the postage to which is 3 annas=3d.?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: (a) Yes, up to May 1922 rates were assimilated as far as possible.

(b) Yes.

LOSS OF POSTAL LETTERS.

183. *Dr. H. S. Gour: (a) Is the Government aware that constant complaints are being made of letters going astray since the enhancement of the letter postage rate?

(b) Will the Government explain why the defacement of postal stamps is not permitted as was allowed formerly?

(c) What objection is there to the defacement of stamps?

Mr. G. R. Clarke: (a) So far as is known to Government there has been no increase in the number of such complaints since the enhancement of the letter postage rate.

(b) and (c). The introduction of unified (postage and revenue) stamps in 1905 rendered it imperative to prohibit the practice of pen-marking postage stamps, as otherwise it would always be open to any one to utilise for the payment of postage stamps which had already served their purpose as receipt stamps. This objection still holds good. Moreover, pen-marking stamps, which, so far as is known, is allowed by no Post Office in the world, would afford no complete safeguard against the theft of stamps affixed to letters to be posted, as marked stamps removed from one letter could be used with perfect safety on another letter.

STATE PRISONERS.

184. *Dr. H. S. Gour: (a) Will the Government be pleased to give the names of all persons arrested or detained under Regulation III of 1818, and the Criminal Law Amendment Act, Part II?

(b) In how many of these cases was the sanction or consent of the Government of India obtained?

(c) Is the Government aware that the majority of members of the Repressive Laws Committee had recommended the repeal of both these enactments?

(d) And that the Government had accepted their recommendation?

(e) If so, what action has the Government taken to give effect to its decision?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: (a) The following 24 persons have been detained under Regulation III of 1818:—

Shaukat Usmani, Ghulam Hussain, Muzaffar Ahmed, Nalini Gupta, Jadu Gopal Mukharji, Manoranjan Das Gupta, Bhupendra Kumar Dutt, Jibanlal Chatterji, Kali Prasad Banerji, Manmohan

Bhattacharji, Ramesh Chandra Datt Chaudhuri, Rabindra Mohan Sen Gupta, Amrita Lal Sarkar, Satish Prakash, Atindra Mohan Roy Chaudhuri, Upendra Nath Banerji, Bhupati Mazumdar, Amarendra Nath Chatterji, Jyotish Ghosh, Satish Chakrabarti, Atul Chandra Ghosh, Arun Chandra Guha, Gopendra Lal Ray and Kiran Kirwar Mukerji.

The action taken by Local Governments under Part II of the Criminal Law amendment Act is not primarily the concern of the Governor General in Council, and the Government of India are consequently unable to supply the information asked for.

(b) All these cases were carefully considered by the Government of India who authorised the action taken.

(c) The Honourable Member's statement of the position is inaccurate. The Committee recommended the retention of the provisions of Regulation III of 1818 for the purposes specified in paragraph 13 of their report, including the security of the British Dominions from foreign hostility.

(d) Yes: the Government of India announced their intention of accepting the recommendations of the Committee as a whole.

(e) In pursuance of the recommendations of the Committee, the following enactments were repealed:—

- (1) The Bengal State Offences Regulation, 1804.
- (2) The Madras State Offences Regulation, 1808.
- (3) The State Offences Act, 1857.
- (4) The Forfeiture Act, 1857.
- (5) The Defence of India (Criminal Law Amendment) Act, 1915.
- (6) The Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act, 1919.
- (7) The Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, Part I.

No Legislation for the amendment of the Regulation has yet been undertaken; nor does the Government of India consider that in present circumstances it is possible to undertake it.

Mr. V. J. Patel: Are the Government of India aware that the use of these obnoxious Regulations and Acts would be absolutely unnecessary if full responsible Government were introduced in India?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: That is a matter entirely of opinion.

Mr. V. J. Patel: What is the opinion of the Government of India?

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Sir, do I take it that the Government do not accept the proposition laid down by the Repressive Laws Committee that it is undesirable that any Statute should remain in force which is regarded with deep and genuine disapproval by Members of the Legislature?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The Honourable Member is aware of the extent to which we have followed the Report of the Repressive Laws Committee, and to which we have already given effect to its recommendations.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Will the Honourable Member say why action cannot be taken under the ordinary law against persons against whom steps have been taken under the Regulation?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I am not quite sure that that question does arise but I am perfectly prepared to answer it. If the Honourable Member will refer to the reasons given, first of all, by Lord Carmichael, secondly, by Lord Ronaldshay, and thirdly, by Lord Lytton, in their addresses to the Bengal Council dealing with this question, he will be in full possession of the reasons why such action cannot at the moment be taken.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: I wish to know, Sir, what the opinion of the Government of India is,—whether they can say why they think that action cannot be taken. I do not care to know what the Provincial Governments think.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Our view is in entire accord with theirs.

Dr. H. S. Gour: How does the Honourable Member reconcile his view that the Government of India had accepted the recommendations of the Repressive Laws Committee with the statement just made that the Government of India have, as far as possible, given effect to the recommendations of the Repressive Laws Committee?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: If there is not a perfect reconciliation in the matter, I am afraid I can only say that the circumstances have made this inevitable.

NEW DELHI.

185. ***Dr. H. S. Gour:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state the progress made on the construction of new Delhi, and the estimated and actual cost of such progress, the amount of work done and that which remains still to be done, the time requisite for completing it, and the cost thereof according to the revised estimates?

(b) Will the Government be pleased to state when the new Secretariat buildings are likely to be ready for occupation?

(c) When will the new Parliamentary buildings be ready for occupation by the two Chambers?

(d) When will the new Viceregal Lodge be completed? What will be its cost, estimated and actual, or probable?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: (a) The total amount of the Revised Project Estimate for the construction of New Delhi stands at Rs. 13,07,00,000 net. The actual outlay incurred up to the 31st March 1923, which is the latest definite figure, is Rs. 8,02,06,000. It is anticipated that by the 31st March 1924, the total outlay will be Rs. 9,84,00,000.

(b) It is hoped that unless labour and other unforeseen difficulties supervene the new Secretariats will be so far completed that it will be possible to occupy them by the 1st November 1925.

(c) It is similarly hoped that the New Parliamentary buildings will be so far completed that it will be possible to hold the first session in the buildings early in 1926.

(d) It is anticipated that the New Government House will not be ready for occupation until the autumn of 1926, and that the cost of Government House and the buildings on the estate will amount to about Rs. 140 lakhs.

RAILWAY STATION FOR THE NEW IMPERIAL CAPITAL.

186. *Dr. H. S. Gour: (a) Is it a fact that it is proposed to construct a new bridge over the river Jumna as an approach to a new Railway station to be constructed in the new Imperial Capital? If so, what would be its cost? Will the Government explain its necessity?

(b) Is it a fact that a new Railway station was intended to be constructed for the Imperial Capital? If so, what would be its cost? Will the Government explain its necessity?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) There is no intention of constructing a new bridge at present.

(b) It was originally proposed to provide a large interchange passenger station but, in view of the necessity for economy, the proposals have been reduced. For the present a roadside station only is being constructed at an approximate cost of Rs. 5½ lakhs.

The provision of this station is considered necessary in order to serve the area of the New Capital.

RESERVATION OF LAND IN RAISINA FOR PRIVATE BUILDERS.

187. *Dr. H. S. Gour: (a) What amount of land in Raisina was reserved for disposal to private builders and how much of it has been sold up to date? What price has been obtained?

(b) Have any private builders commenced construction upon their allotments?

(c) What is the net return to Government from the buildings rented out to its officials and others?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: (a) No definite amount of land has been reserved for private buildings. Up to date, however, about 319 acres of land have been disposed of to private persons, the actual amount of premium received being Rs. 5,97,503-2. It is possible that after keeping in reserve a small area for future Government requirements, a further 120 or 130 acres may be available for private persons.

(b) The answer is in the affirmative.

(c) The estimated rental on the whole residential scheme is Rs. 60,250 per mensem. The total amount actually received in 1921-22 was Rs. 1,43,175.

TENDERS FOR RAILWAY WAGONS AND LOCOMOTIVES.

188. *Dr. H. S. Gour: (a) Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the rate of tenders for the supply of wagons for the last four years and state how the tenders in the preceding years compared with the tenders made by the Indian Standard Wagon Company?

(b) Will the Government be also pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the rate at which the English Companies have tendered for locomotives during the last four years?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: A statement is laid on the table.

Tenders for wagons (excluding wheels and axles) received by the Railway Board during the past four years.

Type.	English.	Jessops.	Burn & Co.	I. S. W. Co.
1 Tenders received in April 1920—				
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
A1	6,060	7,445	7,052	} Did not tender.
A2	6,463	7,748	7,280	
A3	6,797	8,264	7,776	
C1	6,026	7,348	6,682	
C2	6,206	7,434	7,034	

Orders placed in England.

2. Tenders received in August 1920—

A1	7,430	7,718	7,779	} Did not tender.
A2	7,980	7,976	7,920	

Orders placed in India.

3 Tenders received in December 1920—

		Approx.	Approx.	Approx.
A1	9,127	8,900	8,690	8,690
A2	9,847	9,250	8,940	8,940
A3	10,460	9,570	9,560	9,560
C1	9,087	8,590	8,300	8,300
C2	9,393	8,940	8,650	8,650
C3	...	9,090	8,820	8,820

Orders placed in India.

4. Tenders received in December 1921—

A1	4,300	5,399	5,294	5,294
A2	4,445	5,510	5,419	5,419
A3	4,586	5,525	5,668	5,668
C1	4,018	5,110	4,886	4,886
C2	4,167	5,210	5,069	5,069
C3	4,545	5,439	5,439	5,439

Orders placed in England.

5. Tenders received in October 1922—

A1	3,494	5,233	5,179	5,179
A2	3,610	5,316	5,286	5,286
A3	3,957	5,331	5,455	5,455
C2	3,435	5,044	4,897	4,897
C3	3,425	5,373	4,899	4,899
B. A. 1	7,599	...	11,291	11,291
B. D. 1	6,911	...	10,241	10,241

Orders placed in England.

6. Tenders received in July 1923—

A1	3,987	4,997	4,880	...
----	-------	-------	-------	-----

No orders placed. Demand cancelled.

Prices paid for locomotives for the State Railways (0-6-0 & 2-8-0 types) during the past 4 years.

(1) Contracts placed by the High Commissioner—

	0-6-0 type.	2-8-0 type.
	£	£
October 1920	10,507	...
November 1920 . . . . .	...	13,633
February 1921	10,466	...
May 1922	5,080	...
August 1922	4,572	...

(2) Tenders received by the Railway Board in January 1923

	4,041	5,120
--	-------	-------

NOTE.—Sterling quotations, after adding freight and other sterling charges, are converted to rupees at the rate of exchange that would be ruling at the time of the transaction. To these are added the Indian charges.

In the case of Indian tenders, to which an exchange variation clause applied in regard to imported parts, the cost of such parts are assessed at the rate of exchange that would be ruling at the time of the transaction.

TENDERS FOR LOCOMOTIVES.

189. **Dr. H. S. Gour:** (a) Is it a fact that in 1920-21 certain British firms had tendered for a certain type of locomotives at £16,000 and £10,000 respectively, but in 1922 they reduced their quotation to £5,000, and this was the year in which the Peninsular Locomotive Company started operations at Jamshedpur?

(b) Is it not a fact that the quotation at £5,000 per locomotive is at least £1,000 below the cost of production and £3,000 to £4,000 below the ruling price in England?

(c) How does the Government account for this gross underselling of Indian manufactures and what steps has it taken to protect the Indian industries against unfair combinations and dumping of goods in India with a view to squeeze out similar nascent enterprises in the country?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) In 1920 locomotives of the H. G. and S. G. types, were purchased for the State Railways from British firms at between £10,500 and £13,600 each. In 1922-23 the same types were purchased at approximately £5,100 and £4,000 respectively. In each case the orders were placed on competitive tenders. In 1922-23 tenders were received from the Peninsular Locomotive Company which it is understood, had just started operations. Tenders were also received from firms in the U. S. A., Germany, France, Belgium, Italy, Sweden and Czecho-Slovakia.

(b) The Government of India have no evidence that the prices quoted in 1922-23 were less than the cost of production or less than other competitive prices quoted at the same time in England.

(c) The prices quoted by the Indian firms were much higher than those quoted by any competing firm. There does not seem to be any reason for believing that the low prices quoted in 1922-23 were specially directed towards underselling Indian manufacturers as distinct from competing firms elsewhere.

BRITISH TENDERS FOR RAILWAY MATERIAL.

190. *Dr. H. S. Gour: (a) Before accepting the British tenders for Railway material, what assurance did the Government obtain that the low quotations made would be repeated in future years?

(b) Will the Government be pleased to state what effect the acceptance of British tenders had on the indigenous industries?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) The tenders are competitive and the prices quoted depend on market conditions. It is not possible to obtain assurance that the prices of any one year will be repeated in following years except by adopting long-term contracts.

(b) It is of course one of the difficulties of firms building railway wagons and locomotives in India that they depend upon Railways for their orders. If they do not get those orders, the effect on them must be serious.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF AJMER-MERWARA.

191. *Dr. H. S. Gour: (a) Will the Government be pleased to state the revenue and expenditure on Ajmer and Merwara Province for the last three years?

(b) Is it a fact that representations have been received from Ajmer and Merwara for its amalgamation with other Provinces? If so, what steps have the Government taken or intend to take in absorbing this small administration with other neighbouring Provinces?

Mr. E. B. Howell: (a) The figures are:—

	Revenue.	Expenditure.
	Rs.	Rs.
1921-22, Actuals	12,91,000	23,24,000
1922-23, Actuals	17,50,000	17,91,000
1923-24, Revised Estimate	18,45,000	19,23,000

(b) A representation from the Ajmer Bar Association was received in July 1923. As regards the steps taken by Government in the matter, I invite the attention of the Honourable Member to the full statement given in the Honourable Mr. Crerar's speech in the Council of State on the 21st February 1923. A copy of this can be supplied to the Honourable Member

if he so desires. The examination of the present financial position of the province, to which Mr. Crerar referred, was completed. It indicated that the province is not self-supporting and that in fact there were annual deficits which were in some years large. The Government of India, therefore, concluded that as the Government of the United Provinces had previously demurred to accepting the financial liabilities involved by the merger of the province in the United Provinces, no useful purpose was likely to be served by making a further reference to that Government at the present time. A strict inquiry has, however, been ordered into the circumstances of the province with a view to the ascertainment of the possibility of making such changes as will secure that the province is self-supporting.

Raj Sahib M. Harbilas Sarda: Are Government aware that the people of Ajmer-Merwara are strongly opposed to the amalgamation of that province with any other province as being detrimental to their interests? The amalgamation would be tantamount to the absorption of that small but important province into a much bigger province.

Mr. E. B. Howell: I accept the Honourable Member's statement.

IMPORT OF FOREIGN COAL.

192. ***Dr. H. S. Gour:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state whether in 1920-21 the quantity of foreign coal imported into India amounted only to 86,000 tons, whereas in the year 1921-22 it had risen to approximately 15 lacs of tons, and that in 1922-23 it was approximately 900,000 tons?

(b) What is the approximate value of these imports and from what countries were they made?

(c) Is the Government aware that this large importation of foreign coal is due to the heavy cost of transport from the coal fields to Calcutta entailed by the want of facilities for dealing with inland coal by the Railways and the Ports, whose methods are described as antiquated by Sir T. S. Catto in his speech to the Bengal Coal Company on the 17th December 1923?

(d) Will the Government see that open wagons are provided for collieries with mechanical loading plants and that other facilities are given to the Coal Companies to cope with the foreign competition threatened?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) Yes.

(b) The Honourable Member is referred to page 37 of the accounts relating to the sea-borne trade and navigation for British India for March 1923, of which a copy is in the Library.

(c) No. The increase in the cost of transport from the coalfields to Calcutta is only one factor in the case. The Honourable Member is not evidently aware that the average pitmouth value of Indian coal has risen from Rs. 3-5-0 per ton in the five years ending 1915 to Rs. 7-11-0 per ton in 1922. Further, complaints are made in Bombay that whereas coal from

foreign countries, especially South Africa and England, is carefully graded and sorted before shipment, the quality of Indian coal varies with each shipment. But this is a complaint with which the trade itself is now dealing.

(d) The general practice is for open wagons to be specially supplied to collieries having mechanically loading plant, provided that there are sufficient open wagons available. The East Indian and the Bengal-Nagpur Railways are increasing their open wagon stock yearly and their attention has been drawn to the need of supplying open stock to collieries provided with mechanical loading plant. This, however, is only one aspect of the question. It will be necessary also for the Port Trust authorities in Calcutta to provide adequately for the mechanical loading of coal into steamers at the berths. This question was taken up with the Port Commissioners and the two Railways in 1920 and 1921, and at once serious difficulties emerged. Apart altogether from the question of the provision of special wagons of a uniform type suitable for mechanical loading, one difficulty lies in the pooling system of wagons and in the fact that both open and closed wagons are dealt with in the coalfields. If only open wagons were used for the carriage of export coal to the Kidderpore docks, this would mean that these wagons would have to be sorted in the coalfields and much additional shunting and delay would be caused. In addition it is always necessary to supply a certain number of covered wagons to the docks for the carriage inland of commodities which cannot suitably be conveyed in open wagons. The Honourable Member will therefore see that the question is a difficult one, but it is constantly receiving attention.

Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal: Can the Honourable Member kindly supply this House with information regarding the quantity of coal imported into India from South Africa?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Honourable Member will find all that information in the monthly volumes of the Sea-borne Trade and Navigation of India which will be found in the Library.

REDUCTION IN MR. GANDHI'S WEIGHT.

193. ***Dr. H. S. Gour:** Has the attention of Government been drawn to a report published in the "Bombay Chronicle," to the effect that Mr. Gandhi had lost 15 lbs. in weight and weighed only 96 lbs.?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The Honourable Member's question, if I may say so, is a little out of date and my answer perhaps would be without interest in the circumstances. But we were acquainted with the fact to which he refers.

INDIAN POPULATION IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES, ETC.

194 ***Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** Will the Government be pleased to state:

What is the (number of) Indian population in Foreign countries, British Colonies, Dominions, Dependencies and Protectorates and Mandatory Protectorates?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: A statement is laid on the table.

Indians Overseas.

Name of Country.	Indian Population.	Date of Census.
BRITISH EMPIRE—		
<i>Dominions—</i>		
Canada	1,200	1920
<i>Australia :—</i>		
Western Australia	300	1922
Southern Australia	200	
Victoria	400	
New South Wales	700	
Queensland	300	
Tasmania	100	1921
New Zealand	606	
<i>South Africa :—</i>		
Natal	141,336	1921
Transvaal	13,405	
Cape Colony	6,498	
Orange Free State	100	
<i>Crown Colonies—</i>		
Hong Kong	2,555	1911
Straits Settlements	104,628	1921
Federated Malay States	305,219	1921
British Malaya	61,819	1921
Ceylon	750,000	1921
Seychelles	332	1911
Mauritius	264,527	1921
Zanzibar	12,841	1921
Kenya	22,822	1921
Uganda	3,500	1920
Nyasaland	407	1918
Northern Rhodesia	56	1921
Southern Rhodesia	(Asiatics) 1,250	1911
Swaziland	(Asiatics) 7	1911
Basutoland	179	1911
Jamaica	18,401	1922
Trinidad	121,420	1921
British Guiana	124,938	1921
Fiji Islands	60,634	1921
<i>Mandated Territories—</i>		
Samoa . . . . .	...	...
New Guinea . . . . .	...	...
Tanganyika Territory	9,411	1921
South-West Africa Protectorate (late German South-West Africa).	11 (Asiatics)	1921
FOREIGN COUNTRIES—		
United States of America	3,175 (Asiatics)	1910
Madagascar	5,272	1917
Reunion	2,194	1921
Dutch East Indies	Not separately enumerated.	1917
Surinam	34,957	1920
Mozambique	1,100 (Asiatics)	Not known.
Persia	3,827	1922

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE INDIAN STUDENTS COMMITTEE.

195. ***Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao:** Will the Government be pleased to make a statement as regards the action taken up to date by the Secretary of State and the Government of India in regard to the various recommendations made by the Committee on Indian Students?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: The views of Local Governments and Administrations on the recommendations made in the Report of the Committee on Indian Students were called for. When they have been received, the Government of India will proceed to the formulation of their own views.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: Is official guardianship still insisted on by the Universities before admission is granted?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: No action has yet been taken by the Government of India on the Report pending the receipt of the views of Local Governments and the Universities.

I. M. S. AND R. A. M. C. OFFICERS.

196. ***Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** Will Government be pleased to state:

1. The number of I. M. S. Officers on the permanent and temporary lists at present in the Indian Army?
2. The number of R. A. M. C. Officers in the British Army in India at the same time?
3. The average number of fighting men and followers for every I. M. S. in the Indian Army and for every R. A. M. C. in the British Army in India as per permanent list?
4. The number of Military Medical Administrative appointments at present?
5. The number of such appointments held by the I. M. S. and the R. A. M. C. on 1st January 1924?
6. How many of the appointments were held by the Indians from (a) 1900 to 1913, (b) 1914 to 1920, (c) 1920 to 1923?
7. Are there Indians in the I. M. S. who have been superseded in promotion to such ranks?
8. If so, how many and for what reasons were they so superseded since 1900?

Mr. E. Burdon: 1. The number of I. M. S. officers serving with the Indian Army on the 30th January 1924 was as follows:—

Permanent officers	...	...	...	286
Temporary officers	...	...	...	169

2. The number of R. A. M. C. officers on the same date was 294.

3. The average number of Indian troops and followers to each officer of the I. M. S. is estimated at 430. The average number of British troops (including families) to each officer of the R. A. M. C. is 311.

4. The number of military medical administrative appointments at present is 56. 5 of these appointments are held by Officers Commanding, Indian Hospital Corps Companies, in addition to their substantive duties.

5. The number of such appointments held by officers of the I. M. S. and R. A. M. C. on the 1st January 1924 was as follows:—

I. M. S.	21
R. A. M. C.	35

The latter figure includes an officer who is officiating temporarily in an appointment normally held by an officer of the I. M. S.

6. The information desired by the Honourable Member in respect of the first two periods mentioned by him is not readily available. It could only be furnished after an exhaustive examination of monthly records covering a period of 21 years and the time and labour which this would involve would not, in the opinion of the Government of India, be justified by the result. During the period 1920 to 1923, one administrative appointment was held by an Indian officer of the I. M. S.

7 & 8. There is at present one Indian officer in the Indian Medical Service to whom certain other officers of that service junior to him have been preferred for appointment to certain high administrative posts. These posts are filled by selection and the fact that an individual officer is not selected for such a post does not constitute supersession. I desire in this connexion to invite the attention of the Honourable Member to the answer which I gave on the 23rd July 1923 to Mr. Samarth's question† No. 356.

Mr. K. G. Lohokare: As regards part (6) of the question, will the Honourable Member be able to give the figures for 1920 to 1923?

Mr. President: When the Honourable Member reads the reply, I think he will find that that part was answered.

BRITISH AND INDIAN STATION HOSPITALS.

197. ***Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** Will Government be pleased to state:

1. How many admissions were there to British Station Hospitals in India, during the years 1921, 1922 and 1923 and the daily average number of beds occupied by admitted and detained cases during these years?
2. How many admissions were there to Indian Station Hospitals during these 3 years, and the daily average number of beds occupied by admitted and detained cases?
3. The total strength of Medical Officers, members of the Indian Medical Departments and nurses in the British and Indian Station Hospitals respectively during this period?
4. The average of this Staff per hundred daily patients of admitted, detained, and out-door patients in British and Indian Station Hospitals respectively during this period?
5. A comparative table giving the Staff in the 'A' or 1st Class Station Hospitals:
 - (a) In the British Station Hospitals in India?
 - (b) In the Indian Station Hospitals in India?
6. Average daily cost per bed occupied for admitted and detained cases in Indian and British Station Hospitals respectively?

Mr. E. Burdon: 1 and 2. A statement is laid on the table. I trust that the information given will serve the Honourable Member's purpose.

† Vide pages 4874-4875 of L. A. Debates, Vol. III.

3. The average total strength of medical officers, members of the I. M. D. and of lady nurses employed in British and Indian station hospitals during the period in question was as follows:—

British Station Hospitals and Field Medical Units.

In 1921.—R. A. M. C. officers 263, Lady nurses 226, Assistant Surgeons 363.

In 1922.—R. A. M. C. officers 257, Lady nurses 211, Assistant Surgeons 386.

In 1923.—R. A. M. C. officers 234, Lady nurses 199, Assistant Surgeons 390.

Indian Station Hospitals and Field Medical Units.

In 1921.—I. M. S. officers 567, Lady nurses 81, Sub-Assistant Surgeons 999.

In 1922.—I. M. S. officers 412, Lady nurses 60, Sub-Assistant Surgeons 841.

In 1923.—I. M. S. officers 355, Lady nurses 55, Sub-Assistant Surgeons 813.

4. It is not possible to answer this part of the Honourable Member's question without a reference to every military station in India. It is therefore regretted that the information asked for cannot be given.

5. (a) and (b). No fixed staff is laid down for 1st class station hospitals in India. The staff varies considerably in size according to requirements and is dependent on varying factors, such as climate, fluctuating sick rate, etc.

6. The approximate daily cost per bed occupied has been estimated approximately as follows:

In British station hospitals at Rs. 14 and in Indian station hospitals at Rs. 9.

Statement showing the number of admissions and beds occupied daily in British and Indian Station Hospitals during 1921, 1922 and 1923.

	1921. (b)		1922. (c)		1923. (a)	
	Admissions.	Beds occupied daily.	Admissions.	Beds occupied daily.	Admissions.	Beds occupied daily.
British Station Hospitals.	71,077	3,345	48,252	2,191	43,131	2,050
Indian Station Hospitals.	1,65,429	8,344	98,758	4,714	77,350	3,450

(a) Approximate figures taken from monthly returns.

(b) Approximate figures for Aden have been added.

(c) Includes Aden and Persian Gulf Ports.

The figure in the case of British Station Hospitals for each year include officers and families; in the case of Indian Station Hospitals, followers.

Mr. K. G. Lohokare: Is the staff in the 'A' Class Station Hospital regulated by any regulations?

Mr. E. Burdon: No fixed staff is laid down for a 1st class Station Hospital in India.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE RAILWAY INDUSTRIES COMMITTEE.

51. **Mr. Bhubanananda Das:** (a) Would Government be pleased to place on the table a report of the Railway Industries Committee?

(b) Is it true that one of their recommendations was that Government should spend as much of the 150 crores of five years programme in India as possible?

(c) Will Government be pleased to state how much of the 150 crores has been spent since the programme was approved of by the Assembly and how much in India?

(d) Will Government be pleased to state if they had invited or had consultations with any industries existing or prospective; and if so, which were the concerns?

(e) Will Government be pleased to state whether any officials of the Government or Railway Board had an interview with the Directors of the Peninsular Locomotive Company about the second week of November 1921?

(f) Will Government be pleased to state if these Directors were promised or assured of any support of any kind, and if so, in what manner?

(g) To what extent have these assurances been put into practice, and if not, why not?

(h) Will Government be pleased to state how many Locomotives have been ordered during the last three years for Indian Railways and how many have been ordered in India?

(i) Will Government be pleased to state whether there was any correspondence with the Secretary of State for India over the question of according preference to tenders from concerns located in India for Railway materials including locomotive?

(j) Will Government be pleased to put this correspondence on the table?

(k) Will Government be pleased to state what is the present position of affairs regarding Indian concerns tender and whether Government has decided to give no preference to a manufacturer established in India?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) and (b). The Honourable Member has mixed up, (a) the report of the Railway Finance Committee, (b) the Resolution passed by this Assembly on that report on 27th March 1922, and (c) the report of the Railway Industries Committee. He will find a copy of the last named report in the Library. As regards the report of the Railway Finance Committee and the Resolution passed by the Assembly, his attention is directed to the debate in this Assembly on 27th March, 1922.

(c) The Honourable Member's attention is invited to the reply given to the Honourable Dr. Gour's starred question No. 177.

(d) to (k). The Honourable Member's attention is directed to the reply given to Honourable Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas' starred question No. 123.

TARIFF VALUES ON COTTON GOODS.

52. **Seth Kasturbhai Lalbhai:** I. Is it not a fact:

- (a) That, Government notifies, under Section 7 of the Cotton Duties Act, about 40 to 50 main kinds of piecegoods for fixing tariff values?
- (b) That, the above classification of manufactures does not take into account differences in the percentage of size?
- (c) That, the tariff values are fixed per lb. and are based on the average of prices of different localities?

II. Are Government aware that heavy-sized cotton goods fetch less value per lb. than light-sized manufactures?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The answers to the first three questions in Part I are in the affirmative.

The Government is not prepared to express an opinion on the point raised in Part II of the question, but it is obvious that those who make a practice of selling heavily sized cloth would not do so unless it paid them to do so.

TARIFF VALUES ON COTTON GOODS.

53. **Seth Kasturbhai Lalbhai:** (a) Are Government aware:

1. That, the Ahmedabad Millowners have been protesting against the present system of fixing tariff values?
2. That, excise duty is being recovered from them in excess of 3½ per cent. authorized by the Statute?

(b) (1) If the answer to (a) be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state what steps they propose to take to remove the higher levy?

(2) If Government are not aware of the higher levy, are they prepared to call for the following information in respect of the Ahmedabad mills separately for the years 1921, 1922, 1923:

- (a) The gross realisations from sale of their manufactures.
- (b) The amount of duty paid in respect of those sales?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Ahmedabad Millowners' Association who are represented on the Advisory Committee which is consulted before the tariff valuations are fixed have made representations in the sense suggested. But the present method of tariff valuation is expressly authorised by the Act; it has been in force for many years and is believed to be convenient to, and well understood by, the industry as a whole; and, though mathematical accuracy is not claimed for its results, it is believed that any minor inequalities which the system may result in, are more than counterbalanced by its administrative advantages and general acceptance by the trade.

LEVY OF TAXATION BY EXECUTIVE ACTION.

54. **Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar:** Will the Government be pleased to state:

- (a) What steps have been taken to carry out the recommendations made by the Joint Select Committee of Parliament in paragraph 11 of their Report in November, 1919, relating to the dis-

continuance of the system of levy of "certain classes of taxation in India by executive action without, in some cases, any statutory limitation of the rates and in other cases, any adequate prescription by statute of the method of assessment"?

- (b) What are the classes of taxation besides land revenue, which are now levied, imposed, enhanced or lowered by executive action or notification by the Central and by the Provincial Governments and whether any, and if so, what steps have been taken by these Governments to give effect to the Joint Parliamentary Committee's recommendation that "the imposition of new burdens should be gradually brought more within the purview of the Legislature"?
- (c) Whether they would lay on the table the instructions of the Secretary of State and the correspondence with the Provincial Governments and the India Office on the whole question?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The question is being considered by the Government and a reply will be given at an early date.

LAND REVENUE LEGISLATION IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

55. **Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar:** (a) Has the attention of the Government of India been drawn to the debates in the Madras Legislative Council on land revenue legislation and re-settlement on the 13th December, 1923, and on the 15th December, 1923, and the speeches of Sir A. R. Knapp on behalf of that Government in the course of the said debates in which he disclaimed his own Government's responsibility for the delay and stated that the proposals in this behalf made by the Committee appointed by that Government in 1921 had been vetoed by the Government of India?

(b) Will the Government lay the connected papers in regard to this proposed Madras legislation relating to land revenue settlements on the table?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: (a) The Government of India have not yet received the official reports of the debates referred to. They have asked for their submission.

(b) On receipt of the reports this matter will be considered.

REGULATION OF ACTION OF PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS IN REGARD TO PROVINCIAL SUBJECTS.

56. **Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar:** Will the Government be pleased to state:

(a) Whether there are any instructions, directions or regulations, apart from the Devolution Rules and the Reservation of Bills Rules, issued by the Secretary of State and the Government of India for regulating the policy or action of the Madras and other Provincial Governments in regard to subjects definitely made over to the latter as "Provincial Subjects" like the Land Revenue or Excise?

(b) If so, whether they will lay the same on the table?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I should be glad to do what I can to assist the Honourable Member, but I would point out that he has not

differentiated between reserved and transferred subjects. So far as transferred subjects are concerned, I would invite his attention to the rules relating to the Secretary of State's powers made under section 19A of the Government of India Act, and reproduced at page 272 of the published Volume of Rules made under the Government of India Act. As regards reserved subjects, the general powers of superintendence, direction and control of the Secretary of State in Council and the Government of India remain of the same type as before the passing of the Act of 1919.

It would, I fear, be a long and unprofitable task to search for and inform the Honourable Member of all the instructions, etc., which have been issued. So far as financial powers are concerned, I would invite his attention to the Rules made by the Secretary of State for India and published in the Gazette of India in April, 1921, to govern the powers of Governors in Council in relation to expenditure from Provincial Revenues on reserved subjects. If the Honourable Member wishes, I will send him a copy of the rules referred to.

REGULATION OF THE POWERS OF SUPERINTENDENCE, DIRECTION AND CONTROL OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL, ETC.

57. **Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar:** Will the Government be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether any rules have been made under Section 19-A of the Government of India Act relating to subjects other than transferred subjects, for regulating and restricting the exercise of the powers of superintendence, direction and control vested in the Governor General in Council, Secretary of State and the Secretary of State in Council; if so, whether they will lay the same on the table?
- (b) If no such rules have yet been made, whether the Government of India have pressed for the provision of such rules from the Secretary of State "in order to give effect to the purposes of the Government of India Act, 1919"?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: (a) and (b). The reply is in the negative.

TRANSACTION OF BUSINESS BY PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS.

58. **Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar:** Will the Government be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether any, and if so, what, instructions or suggestions have been issued by the Governor General in Council to the Governors in Council of the provinces in regard to rules and orders under Section 49 (2) of the Government of India Act in regard to the transaction of business by the Governor in his Executive Council and with his Ministers and the regulation of the relations of his Executive Councillors and Ministers in this behalf; and
- (b) whether they will lay the correspondence in connection therewith on the table?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: (a) A specimen collection of rules under section 49, sub-section (2), of the Act was informally forwarded to

Local Governments by the Reforms Office in 1920, with the object of assisting the Provincial Governments in the task of preparing draft rules and orders under the section for the orders of the Governor concerned.

(b) Government do not propose to lay the correspondence on the table.

PROCEDURE *re* RESIGNATION AND ACCEPTANCE OF THE OFFICE OF MINISTERS
IN THE PROVINCES.

59. **Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar:** (a) Have the Government of India recently circularised the Provincial Governors or Governments laying down, indicating or advising the procedure to be adopted by them in respect of the resignation and the acceptance of office of Ministers in the several provinces on the conclusion of a general election?

(b) If so, will the Government be pleased to state whether the procedure of keeping Ministers in office during the general election and of requiring their resignations after they get re-elected has been advised as part of the policy laid down by the Secretary of State for the working of the Reforms Act of 1919?

(c) Whether the Government of India will lay the correspondence on this subject on the table?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: (a) No.

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

RESOLUTION *RE* THE GRANT OF FULL SELF-GOVERNING
DOMINION STATUS TO INDIA.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar (Madras City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): I beg to move:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that he be pleased to take at a very early date the necessary steps, (including if necessary procuring the appointment of a Royal Commission) for revising the Government of India Act so as to secure for India full self-governing Dominion status within the British Empire and Provincial autonomy in the Provinces."

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey (Home Member): The Honourable Member will, I know, excuse me if I interrupt him at this point. I may say that in the last two or three days I have had conversations with many of my friends opposite, in which we have mutually endeavoured to come to the assistance of the House in trying to frame the issues involved in what I may describe as the "constitutional" Resolutions somewhat more clearly than would be the case if they were moved in the form in which they now stand on the agenda paper. We both felt that it would be to the interest of the House, as it certainly would be to the interest of the Government, if we could clarify those issues, and I am aware that many conversations and meetings have taken place with a view to securing this result. I offered on my part that I would endeavour to arrange, if it were necessary to do so, that another day should be given for this discussion. I understand that the matter is not yet at a stage when we can say that the issues have been fully clarified and that a little more time is required. I am prepared on my part to set aside Friday next—I had

[Sir Malcolm Hailey.]

originally intended Saturday, but that I understand is a public holiday—Friday next for all discussions relating to this matter. If that will suit my friend and his friends I should be very glad to make that arrangement.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: It will suit us. I reserve my right of speech for Friday.

Mr. President: I understand that the Honourable Member has moved his Resolution in order that it may be put on the order list on a future day.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: That is why I have moved it.

Mr. President: Resolution moved:

“This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that he be pleased to take at a very early date the necessary steps (including if necessary procuring the appointment of a Royal Commission) for revising the Government of India Act so as to secure for India full self-governing Dominion status within the British Empire and Provincial autonomy in the Provinces.”

I understand that the Honourable the Home Member wishes to postpone discussion of this Resolution.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I beg formally to move that this Resolution be deferred until Friday next.

Mr. President: The question is that the debate be adjourned till Friday.

The motion was adopted.

RESOLUTION RE THE RELEASE OF MR. GANDHI

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty (Salem and Coimbatore *cum* North Arcot: Non-Muhammadan Rural): I do not propose to move the Resolution that stands in my name.*

RESOLUTION RE THE SEPARATION OF RAILWAY FINANCE FROM GENERAL FINANCE.

Mr. K. C. Neogy (Dacca Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): I have been assured that Government propose to bring forward their proposals in regard to the question of the separation of railway finance from general finance before this Assembly at an early date. I do not therefore propose to move this Resolution†.

* “This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that Mahatma Gandhi be immediately and unconditionally released.”

† “This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that he be pleased to publish the proposals of the Government of India on the question of separation of Railway finance from general finance, before final adoption thereof.”

RESOLUTION *RE* THE AMALGAMATION OF THE INDIAN TERRITORIAL FORCE WITH THE AUXILIARY FORCE.

Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju (Ganjam *cum* Vizagapatam: Non-Muham-madam Rural): Sir, the Resolution which stands in my name runs as follows:

" This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that necessary steps be taken :

- (a) for the amalgamation of the Indian Territorial Force and the Auxiliary Force for the combined purpose of supplementing the regular Forces in support of the civil power and for internal security and as a second line to the Regular Army and removal of all distinctions whatsoever as well as in the matter of duties and privileges;
- (b) to increase the strength by the annual addition of ten thousand till it reaches the figure which would enable the gradual reduction of Regular Forces by one-half of the present strength for peace establishment;
- (c) to provide adequate funds for the efficient organisation and training of the same serviceable for military purposes by corresponding reduction in other avoidable military expenditure."

We have met now on a happy occasion, because the whole country rejoices that the heart of Government has changed a little bit and that Mahatma Gandhi has been released, and we have as our Viceroy Lord Reading, once Chief Justice of England, who from the beginning of his career as Viceroy stated more than once that he wanted to remove all racial distinctions as far as possible. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has already expressed the opinion that he would not tolerate the interference of Whitehall, if he is convinced that it is for the good of the country that a change should be made in the matter of military organisation, and we have the advent of the Labour Party in England, and there are the stalwart patriots of the Swaraj party who are strong in numbers in this House. All these would make us believe that there is a possibility of securing the consent of the Government to all reasonable requests, and this request is nothing more and nothing less than what was more than once stated, that there should be no racial discrimination or racial distinction, if that can be secured. Secondly, to provide for the defence of our country, we must train a citizen army not entirely depending upon the regularly paid troops. Thirdly, we want that deeper interest should be shown in increasing the number of the Territorial Force, for it would be ridiculous that a country which has furnished recruits to the extent of 6,40,000 in the course of two years during the war could not provide a larger number for a citizen army of more than 14,000. There must be something which makes people unresponsive, for which provision must be made. Lastly, we have to consider why should these Indians who are on the eve of getting self-government be deprived of opportunities of serving in the various branches of the Army and why should they be limited to any particular branch of the Army. Why are not Indians allowed to learn these things? Enlistment in Artillery and Engineering corps are provided for in the Auxiliary Force but not in the Territorial Force. Perhaps I may state when the Auxiliary and Territorial Force Bills were introduced in the year 1920, then Indian representatives, the astute statesmen of the day, definitely pronounced that such invidious distinctions would create discontent in the country. Why should there be one Bill for one section and why should there be another Bill for another section? At that time, the then Commander-in-Chief stated that a time would come when such restrictions would be removed. To be accurate, I may

[Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju.]

be permitted to quota what His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief stated on that occasion. In reply to the criticism of the Indian Members he said:

"I would remind the Honourable Members that we only began two or three years ago to take measures which will, we hope, in time, I cannot speak for my successors or the future Government of India, we have, I repeat, taken measures which will lead in the direction which many Honourable Members desire now."

What they desired was that this distinction should be removed. In order to see what is the real distinction that is noticeable, you find in the Auxiliary Force the training is only for a short period. I will not complain that the training for a larger number of days is provided in the Territorial Force, because it was explained, when the Bill was introduced, that we want the Territorial Force to be a second line in the army and for that purpose we want efficient training. But for the Territorial force if 28 days or a larger number of days is necessary for efficient training, perhaps for inefficient training of the Auxiliary Force 7 days or in the earlier part 14 days may be necessary. But I ask why should you prefer the inefficiently trained of the two forces to deal with guns and artillery and engineering and other things? Is it because Indians are not capable of dealing with them? Are our graduates, studying in England, to be told, "Unless you get nomination either from the Government of India or the Secretary of State, you will not be admitted for artillery training at Woolwich"? But I may tell you that all other persons of the world, who are otherwise qualified, are admitted except poor Indians, whose taxpayers contribute large funds for the military training institutions formerly directly, and now to the War Office, as a capitation charge. The fact that we will not be allowed to be trained there and the fact that we are not allowed to be trained here in India shows either that there must be distrust on the part of the Government in Indians, or there must be some other cause. In order to find out whether there is any distrust, we have to refer to the Esher Committee's Report, which has disclosed the real mentality of the Government. With reference to the existing state of things, when the Local Governments were consulted about this Territorial Force, they practically discouraged the idea by stating that it was neither practicable nor serviceable, but they said that anyhow as an experiment it might be tried in small units. When the military authorities were invited to express their opinion, they stated:

"Of course we welcome the national defence, we are prepared to encourage the aspirations of Indians, but we must recognise that we are running a risk."

What is the risk they are running in trusting the people to be trained? The Esher Committee at page 74 say:

"The higher military authorities in India accept the principle of the defence force and are of opinion that it is to be encouraged. They have told us, however, that we must not shut our eyes to the practical difficulties. They add, not only have we to bear in mind the risks that we run in organising a force which may be used against us in one way or another, but we have to create the necessary military qualities in a collection of different races who are striving, under our control, to evolve a common nationality and with it the ideal of national solidarity in the defence of their country. We do not want to run more risk than is necessary."

This, Sir, is the underlying principle which keeps Indians back from realising what they desire and what they deserve and why liberal measures were not taken in several branches of the administration. This fear, this distrust, kept us back in military matters, because they felt that, if a larger number of Indians were trained, what would be the fate of their

supremacy? That is the principle now; but even in pre-Mutiny days, even at the time of the East India Company, from the battle of Plassey 1757 up to 1857, the only guiding principle in the matter of military organisation was how to secure the British domination. Now, after the tragedy of 1857, another thing was added to this, distrust, not only in the Indian Army, but in training a large number of Indians. For that purpose, as soon as the Mutiny was suppressed, the first thing done was to reduce Indian troops and increase the British troops. I ask, should that feeling continue even now, when you are prepared to grant us self-government, if not to-day, to-morrow? The Esher Committee in their report state that they are reminded that, whatever recommendations they make, should not be inconsistent with conferring Dominion status or responsible self-government on India. Sir K. G. Gupta, in his dissenting minute clearly stated, in the recommendations of the Esher Committee, that they had not fully realised that aspect of it, though the majority denied the charge. Now, a series of questions were asked during the last three years, more particularly by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, as to whether it was not possible for Indians to be trained in other arms. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief said:

"We are considering the matter; we are in correspondence with the military authorities in England."

And when a specific question was put whether an Indian section should not be added to the Auxiliary Force, the reply was given on behalf of the Government of India, "There is no obstacle in providing an Indian section to the Auxiliary Force." Now I ask if there is no difficulty, if there is no distrust, if they are cognisant of the fact that they are prepared to give us self-government, if not to-day, to-morrow, if not to-morrow, some day, I ask, is it not high time to give up the old distrust and let it be substituted by confidence? Trust begets trust. I may tell you that you cannot maintain and continue this spirit of distrust when the people are awakened to the feelings of nationality. Even British statesmen have stated, when once the people are awakened to the sense of nationality, the only course open is not subjection, but co-operation. We must make them our allies, not our subjects, just as they did with Canada, after the declaration of the independence of America. They became more friendly because there were no restrictions when liberty was given and freedom was general, and they felt that the British Government looked upon them as their allies and not as their enemies. So long as you look askance at any military training to be given to Indians, I think there is a legitimate grievance on the part of the people and that something should be done to show that there is no more distrust in the training of Indians.

I just want to mention one fact. After giving training to Indians and opening other branches, as are open to the Auxiliary Force, if there is no difficulty in employing or enlisting Indians in the Auxiliary Force, why should there be any distinction? Do you want to maintain any difference in status, and why should not the original complaint made by our Members in the old Imperial Council be listened to in order to remove all such distinctions. If either the Auxiliary Force is joined to the Territorial Force or the Territorial Force joined to the Auxiliary Force, they will constitute a second line of defence to the Army proper. They will not be required ordinarily to serve outside their military area. Now the reason why the Auxiliary Force is limited to its particular military area, as it was stated at the time, is that the persons enlisted in that force are either planters or merchants or persons who have come out from England for

[Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju.]

short periods and who will not stop longer in order to be able to serve in the Force. That may be an explanation in reference to one section, but you have not stopped short there. You have gone further and included the domiciled community. We do not want to complain of the privileges enjoyed by others; but I ask, have you got distrust of only pure Indians? If that is not so, then you ought to be prepared to take persons born in India; what is the difficulty in taking persons of pure Asiatic origin? You can without difficulty of military organisation provide in the Auxiliary Force for persons who are labouring under the same difficulty as those you then contemplated in regard to enlistment in the Auxiliary Force. There are several persons whose vocations will not permit them to be trained for any length of time, as is required in the Territorial Force, and therefore, wherever you have got an Auxiliary Force, you should enlist such Indians and form Indian sections there. And once you are prepared to form Indian sections in the Auxiliary Force, I don't see how you can be in a position to stop Indians from being employed in the Artillery or the Cavalry. When you do not have a separate Auxiliary Force, you will necessarily be compelled to show the same consideration to the Territorial Force. In reference to the Territorial Force the reply was given by Mr. Burdon that so far as Parsis are concerned who enlist in the Territorial Army, they are given pay and allowances on the footing of the British Army. They want it. If it is necessary to adopt this course, by all means do it. But you must always remember, when you set up racial-discrimination in favour of anybody, that you will naturally create heart-burning. Avoid that. It matters very little if you want to do the same for all. You are paying for a very short period of service—for 28 days in the case of Territorials or 7 days ordinarily in the case of the Auxiliary Force. You are not paying from year's end to year's end. And if you pay higher allowances, give them all equally, because we wish that all should be treated alike. We should be given equal status. There should not be any indiscriminate distinction that one should be on a higher status and the other on a lower status. A person, if he does the same work as another, should be given the same treatment, whether he has got a white face, a brown face or a black face.

Now, Sir, I want these distinctions to be abolished. That is my main ground. The second ground I have stated is that you can increase the numbers in two ways. In the first place you have to find out why there was so little response. It was stated "We were prepared to enlist 19,000 and we have got 14,000." Surely there is some defect somewhere; because if persons are prepared to go and fight thousands of miles off to the extent of 6 lakhs, why should you not be able to get more for these Forces? Either the conditions imposed are not suitable or some changes ought to be brought about. Even the Esher Committee in their report stated that this continuous training for a number of days prevents a number of people from joining the Territorial Force; and, therefore, you should provide the same facilities as are now given to the Auxiliary Force in this respect as well as providing other attractive features in order that a larger number might be drawn into the Force.

In every country where there is a Volunteer or Territorial Force it is either equal to or larger than the regular military force. We have something like one lakh and thirty or forty thousand Indian troops. Should we not get in our Territorial Force at least this number? And how long would it take to train 150,000 men? Would it not take at least 15 years, if we

have to begin with say 10,000? That is why, in order to raise the number at least to the number we have in the Army, I suggest there should be an additional recruitment to the extent of 10,000 every year. It will not cost very much when compared with the extraordinary amount which you are spending on the Military, namely, 60 crores. After all on ten thousand recruits the recurring charge does not come to more than about 20 lakhs. Even the equipment charge does not come to more than 50 lakhs. Even if you take it as an Auxiliary Force, it will not cost more than 40 lakhs, and equipment more than a crore. In any case, it is absolutely necessary that the Government and the military authorities, if they really want to advance the cause of India, if they really want to improve the efficiency and to increase the numbers, should do something. I think where there is a will there is a way. The Commander-in-Chief, if he likes, can do it. I do not know whether the warning of the Esher Committee that it is a risky business and you should therefore be cautious only to utilise it for educational purposes will still be ringing in the ears of the authorities here; but I respectfully submit that these warnings are unnecessary at the stage we have now reached and; therefore, my submission is you must go ahead. Thirdly, I would ask this question. What the Esher Committee say is that whatever you do, whatever strength you maintain, whatever amount you spend for this Territorial Force, do not ever entertain the idea of reducing a single soldier or sepoy. I ask why? Why should you have a different system in India alone? I submit, therefore, that when you have got an efficient trained army always at hand, ready for the purpose, you can utilise that force, and all avoidable military expenditure should be cut down and the amount utilised for increasing this force, and, when the military authorities are satisfied, you can reduce even the number of the regular troops. With these few words, Sir, I commend this Resolution for the acceptance of this House.

Captain Ajab Khan (Punjab: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I rise to oppose this Resolution on account of its being impracticable and productive of more evil than good, if it is accepted. The basic principle on which the Auxiliary Force was formed was that the scope of their duties would be confined to local areas. There are men in the Auxiliary Force whose centres of activity and business lie in a particular province or a town and, on a nominal sort of training allowance, they have undertaken this duty in their own interest and in the interest of the public. If we expect those people to leave aside their affairs and make themselves liable to general service throughout India, I do not believe that one of them will accept it. Conscription or compulsory service in the Territorial Force or Auxiliary Force is not in vogue, and I do not know how it would be practicable to ask people to accept general service throughout India without great loss to their interests and great expense to Government. The Territorial Force is still in its infancy. The training started in the end of 1922, or the beginning of 1923, and those who were enrolled then have had two trainings so far; the first training period extended over two months; the second training period is in operation now and will extend for about 28 days or a month. Those that have any insight into military training will at once say that three months training to a man from the fields is of no avail, unless the training has been completed and kept up constantly. The recruit in the regular army takes at least eight or nine months to pass the recruit course, and, after passing the recruit course, he has to be put to the advanced training of a trained soldier, to learn advanced ideas and the work that he is expected to do. If I am not wrong, military

[Captain Ajab Khan.]

experts are of opinion that a man who has not spent four to five years in the ranks is not much of a success on the field. Now, the use of arms and using one's commonsense in critical moments and generally doing successfully what is expected of him is not a very small matter that could be dispensed with. I am in agreement with the sentiment of the Honourable proposer, but I differ from him on the ground of its practicability. I am not even now certain whether the Honourable proposer wants the members of the Auxiliary Force to adapt themselves to the conditions for members of the Indian Territorial Force or whether he wants the Indian Territorial Force to be raised to the status and privileges of the Auxiliary Force. For the sake of argument, let us take it for granted that the latter part of this proposal is accepted. Then what about the regular Indian Army, Sir? The regular army, which fights in India and outside India, will say that these Territorials who undergo just a few months' training in India, get far more privileges. How can they reconcile themselves to such a difference? Besides, if the regular army is reduced, the Territorials will not be fit to take the field at once, and in a case of emergency I do not know what the military authorities will do. If there is an aggression or foreign invasion of India, the Territorials will have to be called up, mobilised and trained for at least eight months before they can take the field and supply the deficiency of the regular army. Will the enemy be requested to wait till our combatant strength is completed? I do not think, therefore, that it is practicable at the present moment to reduce the regular army. The members of the Auxiliary Force enlisted on the pure understanding that their work will be limited to local areas only and if they are made liable to general service throughout India I do not believe that anybody will be willing to come forward. They will not give up their own business and take up general service throughout India, leaving aside their own affairs. Take the question of the quelling of civil disturbances. It requires a great deal of high class discipline, commonsense and training, because the situation is usually very difficult to handle. I do not think that the members of the Territorial Force with their scanty training will be fit to take part in quelling civil disturbances at least in the near future and I think the Auxiliary Force or the regular army are the only people who can take an effective part in the quelling of civil disturbances.

I quite agree with my friend to some extent that there is great scope for developing and a general desire for exploring the conditions of the Territorial Force with a view to its betterment. The force has been in existence for two years, and I think there is great scope to make it more attractive and popular. If my friend had suggested something in the nature of the appointment of a committee to explore further avenues for popularising and making it more acceptable to our people, I would have agreed with him. I quite agree with his sentiment, but, Sir, sentiment alone does not go far enough in matters of this kind. I have got great respect and sympathy for the Indian Territorial Force; I know that regular officers from the Army are taken away for giving them training. They are all well trained in whatever is possible in the short period of their annual training and they are supposed to be the second line to the regular army. But to consider seriously the question of amalgamation of the two non-regular forces requires time; it cannot be done by a stroke of the pen nor can it be effected just for the sake of sentiment. With these words, Sir, I oppose the Resolution.

Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar (Madras ceded districts and Chittoor: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Indeed, Sir, I am surprised that there should be opposition from an Indian Member of this Assembly to a proposition to which we thought there ought to be no opposition from the Indian section at least. The Resolution that has been moved by Mr. Venkatapatiraju has been a question which has been engaging the attention of all Indians for a very long time. Before going into the merits of that Resolution itself, I would only deal with the preamble with which Mr. Raju has prefaced his speech. The Honourable Mover fully relies upon several circumstances as indicating a change of heart, and notably he puts first the release of Mahatma Gandhijee, which has been received with acclamation throughout India this day. But so far as that position is concerned, I am prepared only to congratulate the Government on the wisdom they have exhibited and the statesmanship which they have shown in releasing Mahatmajee.

The next asset upon which he relies is the assurance by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and by His Excellency the Viceroy to avoid, as far as possible, racial distinctions in the Army. So far as these assurances are concerned, I would consider it too premature to place reliance upon them until these assurances are translated into action. There is one other matter which my friend considers as a most precious asset this day, and that is the power of the Labour Party in England at this time. For my part, Sir, I have not been quite confident of how far we can rely upon the Labour Party being in power to-day. It seems to me, Sir, that the position of the Labour Party in England this day is on a par with the position of the Ministerial Party in the Madras Legislative Council this day. No one party has got any majority in the Madras Legislative Council; neither the Ministerialists nor the anti-Ministerialists nor the Swarajists. Similarly, in the British House of Commons, neither the Labour Party, nor the Liberal Party nor the Conservative Party has got a majority of its own. It is only the combination of any two of these parties that makes the strength and there the Labour Party has entered into a pact with the Liberal Party. Are we then entirely to rest content with appeals to the Labour Party for assurances of support on matters of this sort. . . .

Mr. President: It would be more appropriate for the Honourable Member to appeal to the Commander-in-Chief.

Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar: Now, Sir, this Resolution asks for nothing more than an amalgamation of the Indian Territorial Force and the Auxiliary Force for the combined purpose of supplementing the regular forces. In fact, the essential basic principle underlying the entire Resolution is to give a better military training for the Indians. It is not so much in the interests of the people of India that this improvement must be made in the training of the Indians as it is in the interest of the Government itself. If from the beginning of the British rule in India the Government had not been dealing with the people of India with distrust, if they had been carrying on the administration of this country with mutual trust, they should by this time have had an army in India which would in itself have been quite sufficient to quell the German War without the aid of any other allied forces. At least after the German War, when open declarations and open acknowledgments were made by most responsible officers of the Home Government, acknowledging with thanks, acknowledging with pleasure, the support which the Indian Army had given, at least after that, the lesson should have been learnt and followed,

[Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar.]

that the strength of the British Government lies not merely on the finances of India but on the Indian men also. It is, therefore, a Resolution which should be welcome even to the Official Benches, and I thought that no Indian would rise to oppose a Resolution like this.

Now, Sir, again, promises have been given to us, and I believe it will be stated by the Treasury Bench that certain fulfilment has also been made, and that full responsible Government will be given to India, if not now, at least at some future time. If that be really the case, is it not necessary, Sir, that the military training of the Indians should also go on *pari passu* with the development of self-Government? Is it not absolutely necessary that if at any time you are going to make India a common partner in the Indo-British Commonwealth, that the Indian Government, the responsible Indian Government, must also be in a position to command its own military department? Doubts have been of late expressed by persons placed in very high positions, by persons who have earned the highest titles under this Government, that at present, even if full responsible Government is given to us, we must deduct at least the military department from our responsible Government. I thought, Sir, that there was absolutely no foundation for such apprehensions, and if this Resolution is approved, and if it is faithfully carried out, and the sincerity of the Government in promising to us full responsible Government is translated into action by giving to us also the military side along with full responsible Government, there can be absolutely no doubt that in the nearest future complete Dominion status can be claimed by every Indian, I mean even by those who are entertaining some apprehensions at present. Therefore, Sir, it is absolutely necessary that this Resolution should receive the unanimous support of the House. The Honourable Member, who opposed this Resolution, I thought, was giving grounds for supporting the Resolution. He has been saying that it is very difficult to quell civil disturbances. But what is his remedy? He wants that the Indians should always be kept out of the army; in fact, he wants to give us a lesson that we should not get into water until we learn to swim. Is that the policy which he wants to be pursued? The ordinary police, it is said, are managing civil disturbances. If, in addition to that, the Citizen Army, the Territorial Force, is given an advanced military training, is it a difficult thing, Sir, to keep internal order with the help of such an army? I am unable to understand the logic of any of the arguments advanced by the Honourable Member who opposed this Resolution; in fact, the whole trend of his argument seemed to be that it is absolutely necessary that there should be better military training for the Indians. In this view of the matter, I give my entire support to this proposition.

Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal (Calcutta: Non-Muhammadan Urban): As I find, Sir, no Honourable Member is standing up to catch your eye, I have to do it, though I should have preferred to wait a little longer and see which way the opinion of the House tends before placing before it my humble views on the subject. The first thing that strikes me, Sir, in connection with this matter, is the underlying feeling of distrust which seems to have inspired this differential treatment between the Auxiliary and the Territorial Forces. That is the first objection; and I think, unless we can get rid of this sense of distrust, it will be impossible for us to work smoothly toward

the end which we all have in view. The Indian people must be trusted to the fullest extent as the members of the Auxiliary Force are trusted. They must be trusted to the fullest extent to help the preservation of law and order in case of civil commotion, and they must be trusted to take their place side by side with the other races in India, who may be called upon to defend their hearth, their home, their country and their Government, in the defensive forces of the Indian Empire. And this is most hurtful to the sense of patriotism and self-respect of the people of India, that they are not trusted in this matter. We have been told, Sir, in the Joint Report of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford, when we asked for the Indianisation of the Civil Services, we were told that it would not be acceptable to the common sense of the British people as it would not be consistent with the sense of self-respect of the Indian people that, while Britishers mount guard on the frontiers of India, the people of India shall control the internal administration. Now, Sir, we want to disclaim, with all the emphasis that we can command, the underlying assumption of this statement that we want to undertake civil responsibilities and leave military responsibilities to the shoulders of the European soldiers drafted from England or the European residents or the members of the domiciled community in India. We want to share, every patriotic Indian wants to share, to the fullest possible extent, the rights and responsibilities of defending his country as any European, official or non-official, may be willing or trusted to do. I know, Sir, that we shall never be able to attain responsible self-Government unless we are able to defend the Empire. It was, I think, Lord Birkenhead, Sir, who said some years ago, when the question of Women Suffrage came up in England, that the old principle was "No taxation no representation," but the new principle is—"No military service no representation." We accept this new principle. And, when we ask for full responsible government in this country, we also claim, at the same time, the fullest share of the duties and responsibilities of the defence of the Indian Empire. If we are physically unfit, it cannot be helped. But I do not think it is ever suggested that the people of India or that of any Indian province are physically unfit for military duty. Why then keep up this distinction? Why then have an Auxiliary Force to support and supplement the Regular Army and particularly the British Army, and why create a separate Territorial Force with a lower status to meet the demand of the educated class for participation in military service? Why do you make it? I know it, as a matter of fact, Sir, that this differential status and treatment stand in the way of the success of the Territorial Force. Just a few days before I came here I was approached by a number of young people eager to be enlisted in the Territorial Force particularly in the University Corps. My friend Dr. Mullick sent one of his assistants to me to organise one or two public meetings to induce people to join the Territorial Force in Calcutta. I was told that there was no enthusiasm for it among our young men. My answer was: "They will not join the Territorial Force unless they are treated on the same footing as members of the Auxiliary Force." That is the feeling, I think, in every Indian province; and, unless you treat us just as you treat the members of the Auxiliary Force, you cannot call upon us to join the Territorial army. But, as my friend, Mr. Duraiswami Aiyangar, said, it is not merely a question for the people, it is a question for the Government as well. Can we be sure, Sir, that the chances of another great war are removed for ever or are removed very far? During the last war, the Government was willing and anxious to take us into the Army. The Government was anxious to have our support both in men and money. Now, if there should come to be—I don't want it to come—we don't want it to come—but if the gods should decree that there must be another great

[Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal.]

war—and the centre of gravity in that war, I take it, Sir, will not be Europe but most likely Asia)—if it should come, as Lord Curzon declared three years back, it was likely to come, within the next 10 years, then where will you stand and where shall we stand, if you do not take the fullest advantage of this offer of the people of India to serve loyally, to serve faithfully, to serve to the fullest measure of their strength in the defensive army of the Empire. This is our offer, Sir. We are prepared to serve as loyally, as fully, and as laboriously, as any member of the non-Indian races in India. But, if you keep us out, if you don't trust us, if you are afraid that in times of commotion we shall throw our weight against the Auxiliary Force and on the side of disorder, you would be courting disorder and not avoiding it. I know, Sir, that reference has been made to recent disturbances in Bengal. I will not deny that there has been really a recrudescence of the old political revolutionary sentiment in my province. I was not willing to believe that it was so, but the latest outrage compelled me to recognise it. But during the war we had no such thing, and why? It was not the Defence of India Act, Sir, that kept down the revolutionary movement in Bengal, but it was the call upon the Bengali youth to join the Army which satisfied our young men and removed the force of the appeal to revolutionary patriotism in my province. Throw the Army open to the Indian intelligentsia, and you will find there will be no secret societies and I think you will find that there will be less disturbance also in other matters.

For these reasons, Sir, it seems to me that it is high time that this invidious, this hurtful, distinction between the Auxiliary and the Territorial Forces should be done away with. In the next place, Sir, we are told—my friend there (the Honourable Captain Ajab Khan) said that the Indian Army will not like it that the Territorials should be placed on a higher footing than the regular sepoy army. That is, they would not like the members of the Territorial Force to be treated as the members of the Auxiliary Force, because the Indian members in the Regular Army are not treated like the European members of that Army. I think, Sir, the answer to that question would be, make the Indian members in the Regular Army equal to the non-Indian members in that Army and do not keep down the Indian members in the Auxiliary Army—for both the Territorials and the Auxiliaries are really sections of the second line of defence—on a lower level than the non-Indian members of it. It is 35 or 36 years since we in India, the intelligentsia in this country, cried out for opening the doors of the Volunteer Companies to educated Indians. We cried, and we cried, and we cried; but no answer was given to us. We were not trusted in 1885, we were not trusted in 1905 and we were only commenced to be trusted in 1914, because the situation was so compelling that the Government could not help but trust us. I do not want that situation to be repeated. The events following the end of the war have hurt the people of India, have hurt their sense of self-respect and their dignity. But, if you do not remove this difference, I am afraid, Sir, that in the future you will have trouble both for the Government and for the people. I do not want any trouble either for the Government or for the people, because I believe that we must work in peace, evolve our destiny peacefully together, and for this reason I support this Resolution, and I hope it will have the assent of the whole House.

Mr. E. Burdon (Army Secretary): Sir, before I address myself to other aspects of the Resolution, I desire to follow the example of the Honourable Mover and to quote a passage from a speech made by His Excellency

General Sir Charles Monro, late Commander-in-Chief in India, when introducing the Indian Auxiliary Force Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council in August 1920. The words I wish to quote are these:

"I desire again to repeat that in introducing this Bill the racial feeling which we all deplore never entered my mind nor did it enter the minds of the Government of India. It may be that the case may have been imperfectly presented but anyhow the intention is very different from what has been suggested."

Sir, I do not think there are many Members of this Assembly—there are some but not many—who had the privilege of being associated as a colleague with Sir Charles Monro in the Indian Legislative Council or who knew him in other relations of life. But those who knew him will assuredly remember that he was not only a very distinguished and gallant soldier and a genuine friend of India but that he was also a man whose word was never doubted.

I have ventured to make these remarks at the outset because from speeches that have been made the idea evidently persists that the existence of two separate forces, the Auxiliary and the Territorial Force, rests upon racial distinctions arbitrarily and unnecessarily made by Government, and I think it is desirable to make it clear at once that what the late Commander-in-Chief said in 1920 is equally true to-day. In constituting two separate forces Government have been compelled to recognise differences of conditions which exist in fact, differences any attempt to ignore which would assuredly defeat itself. I shall return to this point and deal with it more fully at a later stage. For the present I wish once more to ask all Honourable Members to reject the suggestion that two forces have been separately created by Government for some sinister purpose based upon racial cleavages. I have also heard it said, Sir, that the present position indicates distrust. But it appears to me that the Honourable Members who made this suggestion must, if I may venture to say so, have an imperfect knowledge of the facts. The Indian Territorial Force standard of military training is more exacting than the standard of training permitted to the Auxiliary Force. In the Territorial Force full battalions are embodied once a year, the period being 28 days for the regular training. Each battalion is affiliated to one of the regular Indian Infantry Regiments and it assembles at the headquarters of the training battalion. On the occasion of the annual assemblage they are put through an intensive military training for that limited period. Another point which bears upon the same suggestion of distrust is this, that the Territorial Force have a much wider liability and a much wider scope than the Auxiliary Force. The duties of the Auxiliary Force are limited to home defence and to local service. The Territorial Force is liable for home defence, for service in support of regular troops in the maintenance of the public tranquillity and also has the further liability of joining the regular army after mobilisation. I have made these remarks, Sir, at the beginning because it seems to me to be desirable to combat at once two leading ideas which have appeared in the speeches of those Honourable Members who have immediately preceded me. But there are other points connected with the propositions that have been placed before the House by my Honourable friend Mr. Venkatapatiraju which I think it is desirable that I should endeavour to develop. My Honourable friend the Mover has dwelt very largely on political considerations. I think the House will probably expect me to explain, so far as I am able to do so, the military considerations which bear upon this matter. I am sure the House knows—indeed everybody knows—that the peace strength of all armies in countries where armies are organised on a scientific basis is lower than the war strength. Military expenditure.

[Mr. E. Burdon.]

it is true, is of a primary and obligatory character. Without adequate provision for defence other national activities cannot be peacefully pursued. At the same time, military expenditure is unproductive, and it is therefore the aim of every Government to keep it as low as possible, and in particular to reduce to the minimum, consistent with safety, the forces which are actively embodied in peace time. But, since it is known that in war time the strength of the armed forces must be considerably greater than in peace, it is essential to provide in peace time the capacity for immediate and efficient expansion on the outbreak of war. In pursuance of this ideal, it is the aim of every country to exploit to the utmost, and to use in the most economical manner, every type of military material which is at its disposal; to use each separate category in the degree in which it can be serviceable, and to economise those which are the most efficient and by consequence the most expensive. It will be found, therefore, that every great country has its active army supplemented by reserves, that is to say, fully trained soldiers who have served their time in the active army, have then returned to civil life and are available to be called upon to return to the active army immediately on mobilisation. The active army is in other cases further supplemented by non-regular forces of limited capacity. It is in accordance with this universally acknowledged military doctrine that we have, here in India, the active army, each part of which consists of fully trained soldiers and is interchangeable. We have in addition an Indian Army Reserve, the constitution of which has recently been reformed as a result of a recommendation of Lord Inchcape's Committee, the object being to ensure that a certain proportion of the reserve are capable of joining the active army at once as fully trained soldiers. Honourable Members, who have studied the Inchcape Committee's Report and the replies to questions which I have recently given in this House, will know that in consideration of obtaining a reserve of this character, we have been able to reduce to some extent the peace strength of Indian Infantry and pioneer battalions. Finally, after the reserve, we employ in India the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces. These are both non-regular forces and in training and in every other respect a lower degree of military efficiency is required of them than of the members of the active army and the reserves. The principal distinction between the Auxiliary and the Territorial Forces, from the purely military point of view, consists in the fact, which everybody knows, that the Auxiliary Force is only liable for local service, while the Territorial Force is liable both for local and general service. The other important distinction is that the Auxiliary Force is open to European British subjects, and the Territorial Force in India is open to British subjects who are Indians.

I have already alluded at the commencement of these preliminary observations to the system of training which has been prescribed for the territorial force battalions, and perhaps it will interest the House if I quote a short passage from a book regarding the Army in India, which is now in the press, and which I hope to be able shortly to make available to Honourable Members of this House:

"Men enrol in the provincial battalions for a period of six years, the period being reduced to four years in certain cases. On the completion of the first period, they can re-enrol voluntarily, for further specified periods. During his first year every man does twenty-eight days preliminary training, and during every year he receives twenty-eight days' periodical training. The battalions are embodied for this purpose for the required period, each battalion being assembled, as a rule, at the headquarters of the training battalion of the regular Indian infantry regiment to which the Territorial battalion is affiliated. Training is carried out by a special training staff consisting of regular Indian officers and other ranks, loaned by regular regiments, or of

pensioners, who may be engaged for the period of the training. Five regular British officers are attached to each battalion, one of whom is the permanent adjutant, while the other four are the company commanders. During the training period the senior officer of the five commands the battalion; during the rest of the year the adjutant acts as administrative commandant and the four company commanders are placed at the disposal of the commander of the training battalion of the regular regiment with which the Territorial battalion, as above explained, is associated. During embodiment for training the Indian ranks are treated as regards pay, discipline, etc., as are the ranks of the regular Indian Army. The force is modelled on the old militia in England. The essence of its scheme of organisation consists in training men by means of annual embodiment for a short period in successive years. By this means Indian Territorial Force units can be given sufficient preliminary training in peace to enable them, after a comparatively short period of intensive training, to take their place by the side of regular units in war."

The system of training in the Auxiliary Force is, I am sure, familiar to many Honourable Members of this House, and I do not wish to occupy the time of the House unnecessarily. I think it will suffice if I repeat what I have said before, that the standard of training is considerably less rigorous. Now, Sir, the distinctions of military organisation have, as I have said before, not been made arbitrarily, and to state the plain fact, they are not capable of being modified solely at the will and pleasure of Government. The distinctions are imposed by circumstances which it is necessary to recognise, if it is desired to use all the available military material and to organise all the available military resources in the most economical manner. The principle upon which the Auxiliary Force rests is that the European and domiciled communities, being employed for the most part in the public services and in commercial and industrial occupations of importance, cannot be regarded as available for any but purely local service. As it appears to Government consequences detrimental to the best interests of the country might follow if, in war-time, this category of personnel were wholly withdrawn from their normal civil occupations. The Europeans are not restricted to local service merely because they like it. That is not the consideration which determines the matter. The ultimate consideration is that the majority of the persons who join the Auxiliary Force, are so placed in India that they cannot be expected to undertake the liability for general service. They are able to do their training in addition to their ordinary civil avocations, and in an emergency it is possible for them to render the necessary assistance to the regular troops in the place where they live without their ordinary functions being dislocated to an impracticable extent. But, if they were to be required to assume the liability for general service, then the consequence would be that the Auxiliary Force, or a great bulk of it, as at present constituted, would cease to exist. What would be the further consequence of that? Merely in the long run it would be necessary to add to the strength of the regular forces—an arrangement which would be thoroughly unsound in principle and would obviously be most uneconomical.

Well, Sir, these remarks have brought me directly to the first part of my Honourable friend's Resolution, the terms of which seem to make it clear that my Honourable friend does not suggest that the Territorial Force should be restricted to local service but that the Auxiliary Force should be made liable for general service. This, I am quite sure, is impracticable for the reasons which I have explained and from causes which are not within the control of Government, unless indeed a system of compulsory military service were to be introduced. But I take it that the Honourable Member moving this Resolution does not contemplate a system of compulsory military service. The plain practical fact therefore that would have to be faced, if my friend's proposition were to be accepted, is,

[Mr. E. Burdon.]

can India afford to do without the Auxiliary Force? It seems to me that there can be only one answer to that, and that is "No." There are a variety of reasons why the Auxiliary Force cannot be replaced by the Territorial Force. The members of the Territorial Force are widely dispersed in their homes; they cannot be collected and embodied at a moment's notice to meet an immediate emergency, and, as my Honourable friend, Captain Ajab Khan, has explained, actual circumstances do not create the same difficulty in the case of the majority of members of the Auxiliary Force. As I say, I have assumed that my Honourable friend does not wish to restrict the Territorial Force to local service only, and I am confident of this, anyhow, that the House will agree that to restrict the Territorial Force to local service would be entirely inconsistent with the national ideal which prompted its creation. The purpose of the force is to give to a wide range of the inhabitants of the country an opportunity of rendering effective military service and of becoming fully efficient in matters of military defence. This object would not be realised if the Territorial Force were limited to local service only and to the relatively low degree of training which is sufficient to equip soldiers for local service. Again, it would be entirely unsuitable and, indeed, a most uneconomical use of man power to employ young men of effective military age on the restricted duties of home defence.

So much for the question of assimilating the military duties of the two forces. I now come to the question of privileges. To put the present position in a nutshell, members of the Auxiliary Force are paid on the same scale as corresponding ranks of the British Regular Forces and members of the Territorial Force are paid on the same scale as corresponding ranks of the regular Indian Army. Now, Sir, my Honourable friend, as I understand him, suggests that the Territorial Force should be paid at British rates, and I think he has recognised that, if this were done, a new distinction would be imported, a distinction between the Indian members of the Territorial Force and the Indian soldiers and officers of the regular Indian army. My Honourable friend, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, makes light of the difficulty which might arise from this distinction, but I can assure him the difficulty would be very serious. The Honourable Mover has suggested that the two things are not comparable, that the Territorial Force soldier in peace time and under training for a short period would receive certain allowances which would not bear comparison with the rates of pay of the regular soldier. But I am afraid he must have overlooked the fact that, before you can ask a man to enlist, you have got to lay down in regulations, as we have done in the case of the Territorial Force, what rates of pay and allowances he will get in all circumstances, not merely when he is being trained but when he is mobilised and takes his place side by side with the regular battalions of the Indian Army. My Honourable friend, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, suggests a way out of the difficulty, which is to pay the regular army at British rates. I shudder to think what my friend, the Finance Member, would say to this suggestion.

Dr. H. S. Gour (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan): Pay the British army at Indian rates.

Mr. E. Burdon: That again is a question of practicability and I think a relevant reply would be that the suggestion applies to the whole of our army system and that so long as our system of military service is voluntary and not compulsory, you have got to pay the man you want to have at market rates.

I now turn to the second part of the Resolution. Here, if I may venture to say so, I doubt if my Honourable friend the Mover has fully appreciated what a second line to the regular army is, or what its capacity and functions are. The function of the second line is to be partially trained in peace and, after a further period of intensive training after the outbreak of war, to join the active army as a part of it. As my Honourable friend, Captain Ajab Khan, has explained to the House, it takes 8 or 9 months to train a recruit, to harden him, to teach him his duties up to the standard of the soldiers of the regular army. The Territorial soldier having done a certain amount of training in peace time would, it is estimated, only take 6 months further training before being fit to join the regular forces, but he would not take less. The Territorial Force could not therefore be part of the active army on the outbreak of war. Let us see what the practice is in the other countries, where military science is highly developed, and it will be found that in no country are the front line troops, that is to say, the active army, brought up to full establishment on mobilisation by other than the most highly trained personnel. For example, in the great conscript armies the active army consists of troops actually under military training, brought up to strength on mobilisation by reservists of the most recent class, all of whom have completed their full period of service with the colours. Therefore, assuming for the moment that our active army at its present strength is no greater than what is required on mobilisation, then an increase in the Territorial Force would not make it possible to reduce the strength of that active army. I think there must be many Members of this House who realise the extent to which the army in India has been reduced since 1914. I have not the actual figures before me but, so far as I recollect, the total reduction in the combatant services is 37,000 men, 18,000 British and 18,000 Indian; and military experts will say with absolute confidence that the combatant army in India at the present moment has, relatively to its size, the largest task of any army in the world. These, however, are matters of controversy and matters of a very wide and general scope. I have mentioned them because a study of the terms of the Resolution reveals that this issue is actually raised by a Resolution which purports to deal with certain specific and individual matters affecting the Territorial and the Auxiliary Forces. But I am quite sure that the House will realise the necessity of appreciating the implications which flow from this Resolution in the terms in which it has been worded and will excuse me if I appear to have imported a larger and an extraneous matter into the discussion. Sir, if what I have said in regard to the second part of my Honourable friend's Resolution, and the purely technical reasons which I have given for offering it, carry conviction to the House, then the third part of the Resolution does not arise, and, in any case, I should hesitate to embark upon a discussion of the military expenditure of this country in connection with a Resolution which deals with certain specific matters relating to the Auxiliary and Territorial forces. I gather from the results of ballots that we shall probably have another opportunity in the course of this session of discussing questions of military expenditure as a whole and, therefore, for the moment, I do not think I need say anything more than merely draw attention to the results which have followed from the Retrenchment Committee's recommendations. Honourable Members have been informed in the course of the last few days that practically the whole of the Inchcape cuts in the army services have been secured; and Lord Inchcape's committee, drastic and ruthless though it was, did not suggest that any further large reduction was possible in the immediate future. Moreover, even

[Mr. E. Burdon.]

when the Committee foreshadowed a further reduction of military expenditure, it was careful not to commit itself to any suggestion that such reduction could be achieved by a diminution of the regular forces. With these words—I am afraid I must ask the indulgence of the House for having occupied so much of their time—my excuse is that the Resolution raises a larger number of issues and more important issues than at first sight appears. I hope that I have made it evident that it would be impossible for Government to accept the Resolution in the terms in which it is set.

Mr. President: As there are a number of Members who wish to speak, I propose now to adjourn till Twenty Minutes to Three.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Twenty Minutes to Three of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Twenty Minutes to Three of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions: Non-Muhammadian Rural): Sir, I rise to support the Resolution that has been moved by Mr. Venkatapatiraju. The points that have been taken up in objection to the motion are only a few. The suggestion made by Captain Ajab Khan that a Committee might be appointed to consider the matters referred to in the Resolution and report is included in the Resolution even as it stands, which recommends that necessary steps should be taken to achieve the objects mentioned in the subsequent part of the Resolution. In that view the Resolution, as it stands, should be acceptable to this House, and I hope it will be. But, in order that the matter may not be left in any doubt, we might, if necessary, put in words to recommend distinctly that a Committee should be constituted, including Members of the Legislature, to investigate and report on what steps should be taken to improve and expand the Indian Territorial Force so as to constitute it an efficient second line of reserve to the regular army, and also to remove all racial distinctions in the constitution of the non-regular military forces in India, including the Indian Auxiliary Force. The objections which have been taken will be fully met if the Resolution is amended in the form in which I have suggested. The Members of the House will remember that the great point made by the Mover of the Resolution for the amalgamation of the two forces, the Territorial and the Auxiliary Force, was the desire to remove any racial distinction in the constitution of the non-regular military forces. That is the point upon which my friend, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, also laid great stress. If a Committee is constituted to consider what steps should be taken to remove all racial distinctions in the constitution of the non-regular military forces, the objection will be fully met, and the objection which has been raised to the Resolution on the ground of the difficulty of amalgamating the two forces will also have been met. The real situation ought to be faced, and that is this; that the Territorial Force has not hitherto become as popular as it should be. The blame might be laid upon the people, but I venture to say that the blame rests also upon the Government in not having properly organised the force. Secondly, by the racial distinction which has been made in the

constitution of the Auxiliary Force a further amount of objection has been given to the people. I can very well understand the argument that members of the Auxiliary Force are men who are engaged in business and they cannot be called away from their scenes of local activity to serve His Majesty's forces at a distant place. But there are Indians, merchants and business men living in large cities, who are unable to leave their districts or their city or town to serve in His Majesty's army elsewhere. If you put both of them on the same footing, there will be no racial invidiousness left then. Again, so far as the Territorial Force is concerned, it is high time that the Government of India made up their mind as to the policy which they are going to pursue. I do not know of any other country in the world which is groaning under the burden of military expenditure to the extent to which India is. I consider that expenditure as utterly unjustifiable; I consider that it is a very severe condemnation of the Government of India that such a huge amount of money is being spent on keeping up the army. We must go to the cause of it and we must also see the altered situation. The British Government in India was for a long time ruling this country with no idea of handing over the affairs of the country to the people, but by the Statute of 1919, the British Parliament declared that responsible government was the goal of British policy in India. If responsible government is to be established in India, the first, the most essential, reform to be carried out is the building up of an Indian army, the preparing of the Indian people for the defence of their own hearths and homes, for the defence of their mother land. I entirely endorse what my friend Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal said that we do not desire to leave the burden of defending the country to our English fellow subjects and take charge of the administration of the land; we want to do both; we want to take charge of the domestic administration as well as take up the defence of our own country.

When our English fellow-subjects needed our help at the time of a great crisis, we offered them that help: If we need their help at any future time, when we have taken charge of the administration of all affairs here, I expect they will render us similar help. But the ordinary duty of defending our country, of fighting our own opponents, must rest upon Indian shoulders; and, in order that it should so rest, Indians must be given a fair chance of preparing themselves for the defence of their country. As matters stand at present, that chance is not given. I regret to say it, but I feel I must say it, that the Government of India have not treated Indians fairly in the matter of training them for military defence. The ranks of His Majesty's Army have been long, long, closed to Indians. They were not admitted as commissioned officers until a few years ago, and even now the number that is being admitted is very scant. If you want Indians to be fit to defend their own country, you must let them have the same opportunities of training which English officers have had and are having. For that purpose it is time that the Government made up their minds to make over this responsibility of preparing for our national defence into Indian hands. The essential thing to do is to declare that hereafter the Government recognise that the administration of the Army in India is to be in the hands of British officers only for a short period of time, that, after a few years, everybody expects Indians to take charge of the administration of their own Army. If that decision is arrived at, the first thing to do is to put in an Indian to be in charge of National Defence. It is not good to leave the whole burden and responsibility of preparing for national defence, of administering the Army

Mr. Darcy Lindsay (Bengal: European): I rise to a point of order. Are we dealing with the Army of India or are we dealing with the Auxiliary Force as apart from the Army?

Mr. President: I allowed the Honourable Member to proceed because his argument was germane to the subject. It is admittedly subsidiary and not the main subject of the Resolution; but I cannot rule it out of order.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Thank you, Sir. It may be some relief to the Honourable Member, who raised the point of order, if I remind him of the speech delivered by Mr. Burdon. I wonder whether the Honourable Member was here when that speech was made, otherwise he would not have taken objection to what I said.

Now, Sir, the essential points that have been raised in this debate, and I am glad they have been raised, are—first, the constitution of the Regular Army; secondly, the constitution of the reserve, and thirdly the constitution of a second line of reserve to the Regular Army. Those are the three points discussed. The Territorial Force and the Auxiliary Force came in as some of the items under those three heads; and what I am submitting is this—that it is time that it should be recognised that Indians have to be given a fair opportunity of preparing themselves, of training themselves, for national defence, by Indianising the whole Army from top to bottom. That requires that the Government should make up their minds as to whether they are going to give Indians that opportunity. If the Government do make up their minds, I suggest that the best course would be that, while His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, in consultation with His Excellency the Viceroy or under the instructions of His Excellency the Viceroy, has administrative control of the Army, with which the Council does not interfere, there should be an Indian Member of Defence, of Home Defence, of National Defence, appointed—say, for instance, to begin with, in the place of Mr. Burdon. I hope he will not disapprove of this suggestion. Or, if you like, a Secretary as the Member for Home Defence in the Viceroy's Council—which would be better. It would be his responsibility to have charge of that portion of the Territorial Army which is to constitute the second line of reserve—the first line and the second line of reserve. The Regular Army may well be and must be for some time to come under the control of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief; but there is no reason why the first and second line of reserve should not be constituted, organised and kept up in the charge of an Indian non-military man as a member of the Viceroy's Council. Mr. Burdon is not a military man, and a non-military Indian might very well take up that responsibility or the responsibility of a Member for National Defence.

Now, Sir, the objections which have been raised to the present position of the Indian Territorial Force must be clearly understood. The Force has not been so organised as to inspire in the minds of Indians the feeling that they have hereafter to defend their own country. I ask Englishmen to play the game in this matter. I ask them to put themselves in the position of Indians. I ask them to consider whether if they were unfortunately, unhappily, in the position in which we are at present, what would have been their feelings, what would have been their sentiments, if they were not allowed a voice in the preparation of the Army which is to defend the country. I suggest that, placing themselves in our position, they should readily agree to this division of the work of

rational defence—namely, actual defence by the present first line of the Regular Army, and preparation for future defence by means of the first line of reserve and the second line of reserve. Mr. Burdon referred to what other countries have done. I would also like to refer to what other countries have done, and I will cite the instance of Japan. Japan had not an Army worth the name when in 1868 the Revolution took place. In the course of a few years Japan trained herself so well that in 1894-95 she inflicted a defeat on China. In the course of another few years her Army organisation was so good that she defeated Russia. How was that Army trained? We in India have been paying enormous sums for keeping up a large number of British officers. We, in India, have had the benefit of a large number of very capable, very honest and very gallant English soldiers who have from time to time been in charge of the Indian Army. But I ask Englishmen to say whether any serious effort has at any time been made to prepare Indians, to take Indians as comrades in the Army, to give Indians the opportunity to show whether they deserve to be in charge of the Army of their country. I ask that that opportunity should now be given. If you now decide that the Territorial Force should be developed on up-to-date lines. It will not appeal to Indians so long as you keep it as it is. With the best of intentions, without any intention to prevent the development of the Territorial Force, with every desire that the Commander-in-Chief may have or the Government may have, of encouraging Indians to join the Indian Territorial Force, you will fail to do so unless you hand over charge of this department to a capable Indian who will be responsible to the people, whose words will appeal to the people much more than the words you address to them at present under the constitution of the Indian Territorial Force. For that purpose and also for the purpose of obliterating the distinctions which obtain between the Auxiliary Force and the Territorial Force, it is necessary that there should be a Committee constituted. Englishmen must make up their minds to live here in India as fellow citizens with their Indian brethren. I hope that the bias of race will be cast off now and for ever by all honest English fellow-subjects who own allegiance to His Majesty the King Emperor, and that they will decide to live in this country as fellow citizens with their Indian brothers. If that conclusion, that attitude of mind, is arrived at, then there will be no reason for keeping up this distinction that in the Auxiliary Force only British subjects will be admitted. Why only British subjects? Why should an Indian Judge of the High Court, who sits on the same Bench as his English brother, why should he be deprived of the privilege, of the right, of serving in the Auxiliary Force? Why should any other Indian, however high in the service of His Majesty or however high his position in society, be told he cannot enter the Auxiliary Force because he is not a British subject? I submit that it is an insult and an affront to Indians, though I quite agree with the Commander-in-Chief that he does not intend it and that Sir Charles Monro did not intend it. You may not intend it but look at the result. When there is no other basis upon which you can explain the difference you must excuse Indians if they feel that there is a racial distinction in this. Though you do not intend it, we want that this should be removed. We do not charge you with that intention, but we say the fact remains there, and it is necessary that you should obliterate the distinction by making the Force open to Indians of all classes and all creeds. You may impose the same conditions, you may impose the same obligations upon Indians as upon British subjects, but do not please try to exclude Indians merely on the ground that they do not happen to be British-born subjects.

[Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.]

These objects are of very great importance; and I submit that, in order that the matter may be thoroughly investigated, this
3 P.M. Resolution should be accepted. In order that there should be no misunderstanding about the object, I have suggested a change in the language which I hope will commend itself to my friend, the Mover, and will be acceptable to the House. If you will permit me, Sir, I would substitute the following for the Resolution which has been moved by my friend, Mr. Venkatapatiraju, namely:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that a Committee, including Members of the Legislature, be immediately appointed to investigate and report on what steps should be taken to improve and expand the Indian Territorial Force so as to constitute it an efficient second line of reserve to the regular army and also to remove all racial distinctions in the constitution of the non-regular military forces in India including the Indian Auxiliary Force."

I hope, Sir, that this proposal in the form in which I have put it will commend itself to the Mover and to the House. The necessity for such a proposal is very pressing. At Dehra Dun a college has been opened for imparting training to Indians as officers of the Indian Army. We Indians consider that the provision is inadequate and unsatisfactory. We feel that even if in 20 years' time the Indian Army is to be thoroughly Indianised in the sense of being administered from the top to the bottom by Indians who have been trained as officers, we feel that the provision for training Indians as officers must be very much greater than it is at present. In England you have boys being trained for military work at schools. You pick up boys who are promising, whom you consider promising, for this kind of work, you send them to a central school, you send them to universities and then to a central place for training them. Then they receive training all over the country and it is only by that means that you are able to find a sufficient number of officers. Under your present system, you have very many regulations and restrictions in the selection of students who are to be sent up for military training. What we want to recommend is that, while you place the task of national defence in the hands of non-military Indians in the Viceroy's Council, you should also institute a system similar to that which obtains in England, similar to that which obtains in Japan, whereby lads all over the country, Indian youths, will be told that it is their duty to their country and a matter of pride to them that they should prepare themselves for national defence. Without this feeling of patriotism English young men would not have offered themselves as sacrifices during the late war. Without this feeling of patriotism inspiring them the Japanese would not have thrown themselves into the fight at Port Arthur and won a victory which shed lustre upon their martial prowess and strength. Without this feeling of patriotism the French people would not have been able to hold possession of their own land; and I submit that, if Indians are to be prepared for national defence, direct teaching of patriotism should be introduced into schools all over the land and efforts should be made to create a citizen association, a citizen army to which all classes of the people will lend their support. I would go further. The Indian Princes and Native States are also interested in it as well as British India is, and I would suggest that at the centre there should be a Committee constituted on which Indian Princes should be represented, as well as Members of the Legislature; and the whole matter of preparing India for national defence should be gone into. It is not for the present moment of course; but I throw out the suggestion, for it is

worth considering, that we should enlist the manhood of the whole of India and the interests and patriotism of Indians in the work of preparing for national defence. If we want to create a citizen army, we must create a citizen association and that association must work in every district to pick up young men of promise and give them the necessary military training, to inspire them with the necessary feeling of patriotism and to prepare them for the most honourable task which can befall a man, namely, to offer his life, if need be, in the service of his motherland. I hope, if the Committee is constituted with that object, that before long the results will be gratifying to every one interested in the welfare of India. I do not wish to touch here upon the question of expenditure, though I feel certain that the question of expenditure is involved in it and though I feel certain also that in course of time this is the only method by which you can reduce the huge military expenditure of the present day to proper limits. For these reasons, I commend this amendment to my friend, the Mover, and to the House, and I hope that the House will unanimously give effect to it.

Mr. Abdul Haya (East Punjab: Muhammadan): It is a matter of great satisfaction, Sir, that this Resolution of my Honourable friend, Mr. Venkatapatiraju, has met with very slight and meagre opposition, so far as the non-official Members are concerned. But, Sir, it is a matter of extreme regret for me that the solitary voice, so far as the non-official Members are concerned, that has been raised against this Resolution, is the voice of a Muhammadan, and the voice of a gentleman who hails from the Punjab, the province to which I have the honour to belong. I feel called upon to rise and assure this Honourable House that my Honourable and gallant friend, Captain Ajab Khan, does not represent the views of the Mussalmans of India, or, for the matter of that, of the Punjab. The position that he has taken up here in this House, it seems to me, is like his name, Captain Ajab Khan; the position is also 'ajab'

Captain Ajab Khan: On a point of order, Sir. Are there any personal references to be made in speeches by Honourable Members of this House?

Mr. President: It depends how far the personal reference goes.

Mr. Abdul Haya: I may submit that I mean no disrespect or disparagement to my Honourable and gallant friend.

Before I sit down, Sir, I should make an appeal to the European Members of this Honourable House. Before we proceed to vote upon this important Resolution, I would ask you, Sir, to look behind and cast a glance over the history of those six long years during which the great war was raging in Europe. For God's sake, bear in your minds as to what the Punjab and India did in those days. It is high time that some mark of gratitude should be shown to the spirit which induced us in those days to rally round the banner of Great Britain to do our little bit in that great war, not only in the interests of India, but in the interests of the British Empire and in the interests of the whole of Europe.

Colonel Sir Henry Stanyon (United Provinces: European): Sir, a good deal of extraneous matter with a certain amount of excitement has been introduced into the debate on the proposal now before the House. The speeches that have been made touch on burning questions which have been spoken of all over India. Some of the utterances that have fallen from the capable speakers that have gone before have stirred my blood and

[Colonel Sir Henry Stanyon.]

excited my admiration. But they have left my judgment on the simple issue before the House untouched. I do not attempt to enter into any of the questions of national defence, of an improved status for the Territorial Army in India, of the training of Indians to govern all classes and stages of national defence in this country, or of the appointment of some civilian Indian to be a sort of Field-Marshal. I have nothing to say on these points whatever. I seek to confine myself to the simple question raised by the Resolution before the House. Let us strip the proposal of its garb of sentiment, however beautiful and admirable. I admire a great deal of that sentiment, but let us examine the Resolution as a practical proposition. This examination has to be made in the light of events as they are to-day. We are entitled to ponder on the brilliant possibilities of a gilded future—to hope for them, to pray for them; but we cannot legitimately use them in dealing with a present day problem. We may look forward to a day when India will be a nation, when it will have a single national regular army, and when that army will be supplemented by a single national auxiliary force; but that day is not yet. We have at the present time an India, working towards unification, advancement and progress in every direction, and I say in all sincerity, God help that India; but it is doing so at present under the protection from outside aggression of a regular army composed of two distinct branches, the British forces and the Indian forces. The duty of acting as a second line to the British forces has always been entrusted to what is to-day called the Auxiliary Force, formerly the Indian Volunteer Force. After the apprehension and bitterness caused by the Mutiny of 1857 had passed away, and mutual trust grew stronger, it was natural that the Indians should seek an auxiliary line of their own. That aspiration has been met by the creation of a Territorial Force. I am not now concerned with whether the organization of that force is satisfactory or not satisfactory. I think there is no doubt that it is not as popular as one might hope that it should be. But what we have to look at is this, that in the regular army we have two distinct branches. The amalgamation of these two branches in the regular army will, I think, be admitted to be an absolute impossibility at the present time. It would be illogical and equally impracticable to attempt any fusion—and that is what is proposed in the Resolution before the House—any fusion of the two branches of the Auxiliary Force. Take it on the simple and necessary ground of efficiency. Would it improve the efficiency of these two auxiliary lines if attempts were made to fuse them? Would it improve the fighting power of two bull dogs to leave their heads apart and tie their tails together? There is no question about it, that the demand which was made in such enthusiastic words by my friend Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal for improved military training, would at once be nullified if any attempt was made to carry out this fusion. The claim that has been advanced that Indians should be allowed to take their share in the military defence of the country and that they should receive the same trust and treatment as their European and Anglo-Indian fellow subjects is one which every rightminded man will admit to be just. By all means let everything be done in order that members of the Territorial Force may feel that they have equal responsibilities with the members of the Auxiliary Force. In a calm and dispassionate exposition of the whole matter, the Honourable Mr. Burdon has pointed out that the Territorials have a greater responsibility than the Auxiliary Force. We, of the Auxiliary Force, past and present, do not complain of that, because the Auxiliary Force members have their limi-

tations. They cannot give more than a very limited time to military training. There is no such thing as a leisured class of Europeans in India. The men who get up early in the morning and shoulder their rifles to learn how to drill and to shoot straight so as to help in the defence of the country, are men who can ill spare the time required for that purpose; and, therefore, their training has always been of anything from a second to a fourth class standard. I myself served for over 30 years in the Auxiliary Force, and for a period of 15 years I had the honour of commanding an administrative battalion; and I say without hesitation that any attempt to place in one battalion or one company an indiscriminate medley of Indians and Europeans and Anglo-Indians would mean a very severe blow to anything in the way of military efficiency.

My friend, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, said, "let Indians be trusted". To that sentiment I respond "Amen". But I have another sentiment to put forward to which I hope he will give the same answer. It is "Let Indians trust". Let not Indians think that everything that is done for the sake of efficiency is animated by class feeling. Because there is a difference in treatment due to differences in class and race and feelings and character, which are entirely beyond our control, let it not be said in season and out of season that such treatment is dictated by racial feelings or racial animosity. If trust is wanted, trust must be given. But all these things—I mean all these remarks about Indians being trusted and about the improvement of the Territorial Force—have nothing whatever to do with the question immediately before the House. That question is one of fusion of the two branches of the second line. Now, if the extent of responsibility is a measure of the trust reposed; then I think, from the light that has been thrown on the matter by the statement of the Honourable Mr. Burdon, that greater trust is reposed in the Indian Territorials. I have said already we do not complain of that because we are not capable of undertaking so much responsibility as has been given to the Indian Territorials. As a Commandant I often had applications from educated Indians and friends of mine who sought to be enrolled as volunteers in the battalion under my command, and I never had any difficulty in convincing them individually of the invidious position in which they would find themselves if I had been competent, which I was not, to accede to that request. Let the House treat this matter in sober judgment. Let the Auxiliaries and Territorials receive equal treatment and equal trust. Let them cultivate a brotherhood and comradeship which will stand them and the Empire in good stead on the day of trial. Let an honest friendly spirit of emulation towards the attainment of military training secure the increased efficiency of both branches. Away with all jealousies and distrust. Let us in future stand, as we stood in very recent years in the past, shoulder to shoulder, believing in each other's good intentions and recognising that, while there are differences which are beyond our control, separate organisations remain necessary. I suggest to the Honourable the Mover, whose moderation in moving this proposal I recognise, that he has rendered a public service in having this matter thoroughly debated, by giving opportunity to all who hold different views in this House to say everything which they desire to advance. But the subject having been ventilated, I submit that it would be a misfortune to drive this House to a division on the matter. The question of fusion is one for military experts, not for judgment by non-military legislators. It is a matter to be decided with reference to military efficiency and not

[Colonel Sir Henry Stanyon.]

with reference to political sentiment. I happen to be one of the two non-officials who only have ventured to raise their voices against this proposal, but we are also the only two who had any personal experience, the one of serving in the Territorial Force, the other in the Auxiliary Force.

Dr. H. S. Gour: Sir, I did not intend to interpose in this debate but my friend, Sir Henry Stanyon, has compelled me to do so. He characterises the proposal as impossible, illogical and impracticable. But I am perfectly certain that my learned friend will be the first to admit that, while the Auxiliary Force is manned by the middle classes of Europeans and Anglo-Indians or such as pass as Anglo-Indians, the Indian Territorial Force is closed to all middle-class Indians. And why is it? The reason has been given by Mr. Burdon, speaking on behalf of the Army Department. He has told us that, so far as Europeans and Anglo-Indians are concerned, they are treated as Auxiliary Forces to the British Army in India, but so far as the Territorial Forces are concerned, they are treated as a second line to the Indian Army. Now, in plain prose, what it means is this. Every European and Anglo-Indian, as soon as he joins the Auxiliary Force, becomes at once entitled to the pay and privileges of a British soldier, whereas an Indian seeking admission in the Indian Territorial Forces will be treated for all practical purposes as a sepoy. Now, does my friend, Colonel Sir Henry Stanyon, vindicate a position of this character? He tells us that many of his friends have asked him for a place in the battalion of which he was so distinguished a Commandant, but he said he was not in a position to accede to the request because there was the racial bar. (*Colonel Sir Henry Stanyon:* "I did not say anything of the kind.") Well, because under the rules under which he was then acting, he could not admit an Indian to his command. Well, let it be. What the people of this country want, and what this Resolution demands, is that the internal defence of the country must be in the hands of the people of this country. And, when we ask for the assimilation of the Territorial Force to the Auxiliary Force, we do not want a fusion of the two Forces. What we demand is that the rights and privileges should be given to the Territorial Force which would induce the middle class people and our young men in colleges to join these battalions and to multiply the number, which the military authorities and I am certain His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief should be glad to welcome. The terms and conditions upon which the Indian Territorial Force is at present recruited precludes the possibility of any but of the very lowest class joining the ranks. (*Mr. E. Burdon:* "Certainly not.") And it is against that and it is in order to induce the educated classes to join the Territorial Force that the Members of this House ask His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the military authorities to accept the Resolution. We have been told by the Honourable Mr. Burdon that of the two Forces—the Territorial and the Auxiliary—the Territorial Force enjoys privileges denied to the Auxiliary Force. And my learned friend, Sir Henry Stanyon, repeated that statement. And he said he does not grumble that the Indian Territorial Force enjoys privileges denied to the Auxiliary Force. Now, if you analyse the speech of the Honourable Mr. Burdon, you will find these are the privileges to which the Indian Territorial Forces are subjected and to which

Mr. E. Burdon: May I explain that the word I used was not 'privilege' but 'liability'.

Dr. H. S. Gour: He calls it liability. He would permit me to call them privileges. Now, look at the distinction. We know, and I rely upon the statement which has been made on the floor of this House by responsible Members of the Government, that the cost of keeping a British soldier in this country is something like $5\frac{1}{2}$ times the cost of the maintenance of an Indian soldier, and by parity of reasoning the cost of an Auxiliary soldier would be exactly the same in comparison with an Indian soldier. Roughly speaking, therefore, the cost of each member of the Auxiliary Force as compared with a member of the Territorial Force would be in the ratio of 1 : 5. That is liability No. 1. But it is a liability which you and I have to shoulder—which the tax-payer has to shoulder. But, so far as the Auxiliary Force is concerned it is a privilege confined to the members of the European and domiciled communities. Now, that is liability No. 1. We pass on to liability No. 2. We have been told in language at once naive and frank that so far as the European and Anglo-Indian members of the Auxiliary Forces are concerned, their services are confined to internal defence, but, so far as the members of the Territorial Forces are concerned, they are liable to serve inside and outside of India. My friend Sir Henry Stanyon says that he does not grumble at it. If he does not grumble at it, I do, because I think it is the duty of all volunteer forces that they should be used for the purpose of internal defence. How is the internal defence of this country at present managed? His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will tell you that the British soldiers are employed for the purpose of preserving peace and order. When the British were in this country as a ruling race, when the bureaucracy was paramount and committed to no degree of responsibility in this country, I can understand and I can justify the presence of the British garrison in this country. Now, with the advent of the reforms and with the declaration made on the floor of the House of Commons that there would be a progressive realisation of responsible government in this country, I should like to see a progressive diminution of the British garrison in this country. Has it come about? I asked His Excellency "What reduction have you made in the British garrison kept and maintained for the preservation of peace and order in this country? Where is the progressive realisation of responsibility in the military in the reduction of the British garrison in this country?" We have been complaining, and complaining times out of number, that the British garrison in India is inconsistent with the underlying principle of reforms, and I think, Sir, that the sooner this fact is realised by this House, the better would it be for all concerned.

Then, Sir, the Honourable Mr. Burdon placed before this House a third liability, a terrible liability. He said that, so far as the Auxiliary Forces are concerned, they have less work to do, but that, so far as the Territorial Forces are concerned, they have more work to do, and that is a liability of the Auxiliary Force. They work less, are paid more and their services are confined to this country. We get less, we work more and we are liable to longer service and when it comes to the question of enlistment, then we are told "You shall, when employed, be a sepoy". And there are other liabilities to which Mr. Burdon has not alluded. The auxiliaries are trained in the use of machine guns, artillery and wireless, to which the Territorial need not aspire. So far as the auxiliary members of the Auxiliary Forces are concerned, they are part and parcel of the British Army in India. And so is their equipment. Now, we have been told that this distinction between Europeans and Indians is maintained on the ground of efficiency. I think His Excellency Lord Rawlinson

[Dr. H. S. Gour.]

reminded this House of the gallantry and the bravery of the Indian forces on the battle-field of Flanders. I ask him, "Was there any lack of efficiency in the million and a quarter men that we produced and sent overseas to fight the battle of England on the great battle-field of France?" And, if we have discharged this great obligation, surely, Sir, efficiency could not be a bar to the creation of a national defence army on the lines suggested by the Honourable the Mover of this Resolution. I am surprised to see my learned and gallant friend Sir Henry Stanyon playing the rôle of a partisan. He began by asking this House not to run away with sentiments and he wound up by what I cannot but characterise as a case of special pleading that "You are Indians and we are Englishmen, but our character and our environments and a number of other things make the fusion of the Indian Territorial Force with the British Auxiliary Force impossible, and therefore do not ask for it." Well, Sir, I think we have shown that neither on the ground of efficiency nor on the ground of economy nor on the ground of national unity can this House negative the Resolution moved by my friend Mr. Raju. I certainly endorse every word that has fallen from the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and I think this House would be well advised in accepting his amendment. I think, Sir, his amendment does not really contradict the Resolution moved by the Honourable Mr. Raju. Both convey the same sentiments and we should be well advised in passing Mr. Malaviya's amendment and give His Excellency a chance to improve the lot and condition of the Indian Territorial Force not only in the interests of the Army in India but in the interests of the solidarity of the British Empire, in the interests of peace and progress in this country, and I beseech His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to rise equal to the occasion and say that he is prepared to accept, on behalf of Government, the very reasonable amendment moved by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I wish to associate myself with the amendment which has been moved by the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Sir, when we make a demand for home rule, we are often told that we are not capable of managing our own affairs. We are told that we have no military training and that we cannot safeguard the frontiers of this country. But, Sir, when we express a desire to get military training, we are told that there are practical difficulties in the way. Sir, may I know if there is anything in the world in which there are no practical difficulties? But, then, Sir, practical difficulties are to be faced and overcome. If an Indian soldier can shed his blood on the holy soil of France and Flanders, I do not see any reason why he cannot stand shoulder to shoulder with his British comrade on his own soil in India. I think, Sir, it is high time that these racial distinctions should be done away with and that Indians should be allowed to have military training along with the European regiments. With these remarks, I beg to support the amendment.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao (Godavari *cum* Kistna: Non-Muhammadan Rural): My Honourable friend, Sir Henry Stanyon, seems to have entirely overlooked the terms of the amendment of my Honourable friend who sits by his side. That amendment distinctly contemplates the continuance of both the Indian Territorial Force and the Indian Auxiliary Force, at any rate for the present. (Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:

“ Not necessarily. ”) In the first portion of this amendment it is suggested that a Committee should be appointed to report what steps should be taken to improve and expand the Indian Territorial Force so as to constitute it an efficient second line of reserve to the regular army. That is quite clear, and, after hearing Mr. Burdon who pointed out many military and administrative difficulties, I, at any rate, fully recognise that the first question for consideration is the question of expanding the Indian Territorial Force into a second line of reserve to the regular army and improving it. The proposed Committee would be charged with the duty of suggesting ways and means for improving the Indian Territorial Force into a second line of reserve to the regular army. The second portion of this amendment proceeds to suggest that all racial distinctions in the constitution of the non-regular military forces in India, including the Indian Auxiliary Force, should be removed. If I understand my Honourable friend, Sir Henry Stanyon, I take it that he objects to this clause. Sir, the question of removing these racial distinctions in the constitution of these non-regular military forces has been discussed so often, and to-day we have heard two of my esteemed friends, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, who, with eloquence, sincerity and cogency of argument, have placed before us considerations which should go far towards the removal of these distinctions. Therefore, Sir, while I think that all the arguments urged by my Honourable friend, Sir Henry Stanyon, as regards fusion, would certainly be relevant, if the original proposition were taken by itself; but, in view of the amendment that is proposed, and in view of the continuance of the Indian Territorial Force and the suggestion that is now made to expand it into a second line of reserve to the regular army, and, in view also of the second clause which suggests the removal of racial distinctions in regard to the Indian Auxiliary Force, I hope my Honourable friend, Sir Henry Stanyon, will vote for this amendment. He has said that extraneous considerations have been imported into this discussion, and I for one think that my Honourable friend himself should plead guilty to that charge. I therefore request the House to consider this amendment in the exact terms in which it is proposed and I trust that my Honourable friend, Sir Henry Stanyon, will give his assent to this amendment.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief: Sir, after what has fallen from the lips of the last speaker, my Honourable friend, Mr. Ramachandra Rao, I rise to say a word or two in connection with the amendment that has been proposed. After the elucidation of the amendment itself by the last speaker, I am prepared to accept it as put forward. I may say I have listened to the debate in this House to-day with very considerable interest. As you probably know, I had something to do with the initiation, and, the progress of the Territorial Force during the last three years, and I have a soft place in my heart for that Territorial Force. It has progressed in the past beyond the expectations that I first formed regarding it; and in some units—I say in some, not in all—it has really attained quite a satisfactory degree of efficiency. But when I read the Resolution, as put forward by my Honourable friend, the Mover of the Resolution, and when I saw that it was proposed by him to amalgamate the Territorial Force with the Auxiliary Force, I confess my heart sank, for I knew that, from the point of view of the organisation, and future efficiency of the Territorial Force itself, it could have nothing but disastrous results. For that reason I determined that it was impossible for me as the Commander-in-Chief to accept the Resolution as proposed. During the course of the debate I have listened with considerable interest to a certain amount of

[His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.]

extraneous eloquence that has been introduced into the discussion of the Resolution itself. I observed in many of the speeches of my Honourable friends the indication of a certain racial feeling, and discrimination as between the Territorial and the Auxiliary Forces and I noted this with very considerable regret. From my experience—I dare say I have seen as much, if not more, both of the Territorial Force and the Auxiliary Force than many Honourable Members of this House—I confess it seems to me that the racial discrimination, which Honourable Members have so constantly referred to, is really in large measure confined to this House. I do not find it outside, I have not come across it in the Forces themselves, and I think to a large extent, it is confined, or at any rate it is far more prevalent in this House than it is outside. Well, I do not wish to detain the House at any length, but I do wish to say that anything I can do to assist in improving and increasing the efficiency of the Territorial Force within the limits which have been imposed upon us up to the present by the Secretary of State, I shall do and I welcome any opportunity that will further that object. It is for that reason that I am prepared to accept the amendment that has been put forward by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: May I ask whether His Excellency will tell us what the limits proposed by the Secretary of State are, to which he has referred?

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief: I think that has been answered more than once in questions that have been replied to by my Honourable friend Mr. Burdon. The limit is 20,000 men and I am not allowed to increase beyond that number for the present.

Dr. H. S. Gour: Is there any limit in regard to the Auxiliary Force?

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief: The limit applies only to the Territorial Force.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: I want to explain that I was under the impression that there will be no limit imposed upon the number of members who might be enlisted in the Territorial Force. If the Government is prepared to accept the amendment in that sense, I shall welcome their attitude and be grateful for it but, if the strength is to be limited to the enlistment or recruitment of only 20,000 men in the Indian Territorial Force, then I submit I will withdraw my amendment and not ask for the appointment of a Committee for this purpose. I consider that it would be a grave wrong to the country and to the sentiments of my people, if I were to content myself with the proposition that the Indian Territorial Force, which is to train Indians for the defence of their own country, should be limited in numbers to 20,000 men only.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief: I was under the impression that Honourable Members were aware of the limit which had been imposed by the Secretary of State, because it has more than once been published to the House. There is nothing new about it. At the same time I am not prepared to say that the limit is permanent and, from my point of view, I am quite prepared, if the units continue to be the success that they have been, to consider its expansion. At the present moment, of course, we are not up to establishment. I think that the total numbers in the Territorial Force at the present time are between 15,000 and 16,000 men. We,

therefore, have a balance of some 5,000 men still to make up. When those units get up to the total limit of 20,000, and when the experiment, (for it is an experiment) has proved a success, I have no objection to advocating its expansion.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: I wish to clear the matter. If the Government is prepared to agree that this Committee should investigate and report what numbers may be enlisted in the Indian Territorial Force, then I shall press my amendment. I do not want His Excellency to commit himself to any particular number. I only want that the matter should be left open to the Committee to consider and report what numbers may be enlisted. If he sees his way to accept it, I shall be grateful.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief: I think the wording of the amendment already covers that point for it reads 'to investigate and report what steps should be taken to improve and expand the Territorial Force'. I am prepared to accept that.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): After the speech of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief all I wish to emphasise is this. He said that racial feeling was merely in the imagination of some Members of the House. That, unfortunately, is not a fact. But I do not wish to say anything further on that point now. I want the House to understand this. When Sir Henry Stanyon spoke, he devoted all his arguments to the question of amalgamation of the Auxiliary Force and the Territorial Force as if that was the only question before the House. May I draw the attention of the Honourable Member and the House to the fact that this is not the only question before the House. That undoubtedly is the first part of the Resolution. The amendment before the House does not deal with the fusion or the amalgamation of the Auxiliary and the Territorial Force. The amendment, as it stands, simply deals with the question, first, that this Committee is to investigate what steps should be taken to improve and expand the Indian Territorial Force so as to constitute it an efficient second line of reserve to the regular army. That is question No. 1. The second is also to remove all racial distinctions in the constitution of non-regular military forces in India including the Indian Auxiliary Force. Therefore, the Resolution was not the only question before the House and the Honourable Member never said a word about this amendment. I take it that he is agreeable to that. If that is so, I am very glad that the Government is also agreeable to that. Regarding extraneous matters, I do not wish to say anything just now, because, if the House is going to refer this question to the Committee, the Committee will thresh out all the details, pros and cons, and even this evil, which I deprecate, the racial distinction, and the Committee will make its report, which will come to this House, and I am sure that this House will be able to deal with that report. With these remarks I support the amendment.

Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju: We are thankful to the Government for small mercies. I have not yet heard either from the Honourable Mr. Burdon or His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief that improvement means allowing them to join the gunnery corps or the artillery corps. I presume improvement includes that. As for increasing the number, he does not want to place any restriction on increasing the number. At the close of to-day's discussion, when we have got on so harmoniously, I have no objection, if all parties agree to this course, to accept the amendment.

Mr. President: The original question was :

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that necessary steps be taken :

- (a) for the amalgamation of the Indian Territorial Force and the Auxiliary Force for the combined purpose of supplementing the Regular Forces in support of the civil power and for internal security and as a second line to the Regular Army and removal of all distinctions whatsoever as well as in the matter of duties and privileges;
- (b) to increase the strength by the annual addition of ten thousand till it reaches the figure which would enable the gradual reduction of Regular Forces by one-half of the present strength for peace establishment;
- (c) to provide adequate funds for the efficient organisation and training of the same serviceable for military purposes by corresponding reduction in other avoidable military expenditure."

Since which an amendment has been moved to substitute the following for the original Resolution :

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that a Committee, including Members of the Legislature, be immediately appointed to investigate and report what steps should be taken to improve and expand the Indian Territorial Force so as to constitute it an efficient second line of reserve to the regular army and also to remove all racial distinctions in the constitution of the non-regular military forces in India including the Auxiliary Force."

Mr. President: The question I have to put is that that amendment be made.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: The question is that the Resolution, as amended, be adopted.

The motion was adopted.

RESOLUTION RE MUHAMMADAN REPRESENTATION.

Mr. K. Ahmed (Rajshahi Division: Muhammadan Rural): As an identical Resolution is coming on for discussion on another day, namely, the 14th of February next, I do not move my Resolution.*

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, the 6th February, 1924.

* "This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that he may be pleased to take steps to give gradual effect to the following :

- (i) in a Province where Muhammadans are in a majority, they will get 52 per cent. and non-Muhammadans 48, and
 - (ii) where the non-Muhammadans are in a majority, they will get 75 per cent. and the Muhammadans 25 per cent. of representation in both the Indian and Provincial Legislatures and Government services as far as possible."
-

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Wednesday, 6th February, 1924.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber at Eleven of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

MEMBER SWORN:

Maung Kun, M.L.A. (Burma: Non-European).

ELECTION OF THE DEPUTY PRESIDENT.

Mr. President: I have to acquaint the Assembly that I have received His Excellency's approval of the election of Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar to be Deputy President of this Assembly.

Mr. Deputy President, may I once more offer you the congratulations of this House on your election to that office. We confidently expect you to maintain the high traditions of the Assembly which you have helped to establish.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar (Madras City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I do not know how to thank the Assembly for the great honour they have done me. Under your able guidance I have no doubt I will be able to maintain the high traditions of this House. Sir, nobody values those traditions more than I do; whatever our political views may be, the traditions of this House have to be maintained for the great good of this country, as we are all yearning for an Assembly with larger powers. Therefore, Sir, it will be my duty, which I will most faithfully carry out, to maintain those traditions.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey (Home Member): Perhaps you will allow me, Sir, to add one word on behalf of the Government side—not perhaps entirely as a Government side but also as representing a party in this House which because it is a minority must always be interested in the identity of its presiding officer. Above all things, he is the guardian of the minority interests in the Assembly, and it is on this account that we desire to express our appreciation of the choice made by the House. We have had previous experience of Mr. Rangachariar in the presidential chair; we have every confidence that he will maintain the high traditions of the House on that high-level which you, Sir, have established, and which we shall always do our best to support and to advance.

RECRUITMENT FOR THE TERRITORIAL FORCES IN THE PUNJAB AND THE UNITED PROVINCES.

Mr. H. Calvert: Sir, I beg permission to ask a question of which I have given private notice to the Secretary of the Army Department. The question is, Sir: "So far as the Punjab is concerned, is there any truth in the statement made by Dr. Gour yesterday that recruitment for the Territorial Forces is practically confined to the lowest of the low?"

Dr. H. S. Gour: Sir, I rise to a point of order. When did I make a statement, which the Honourable Member ascribes to me, that the recruitment to the Territorial Forces is confined to the lowest of the low? I deny that statement?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Perhaps you will quote your actual words to us.

Dr. H. S. Gour: It is not there.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: What were they?

Dr. H. S. Gour: I cannot quote exactly the words I used yesterday, but I have since had the advantage of reading the official report which will confirm me to this extent that what I said was that the middle classes are recruited for the Auxiliary Forces and that the middle classes do not offer themselves for recruitment to the Territorial Forces, which is recruited from the lower classes.

Mr. E. Burdon: Even the latter statement which Dr. Gour has now made, and which he says he made yesterday, is entirely incorrect. Both in the Punjab and in other parts of India we have serving, both in the ranks of the Territorial Force and as officers, gentlemen of good social position and very good military material.

Dr. H. S. Gour: I am very glad to hear that.

Mr. H. E. Holme: I should like to know, Sir, whether the statement which the Army Secretary has just made applies specifically to the United Provinces?

Mr. E. Burdon: The statement that I made, Sir, was that both in the Punjab and in other parts of India men of good social position and excellent military material serve in the Territorial Force.

THE INDIAN TARIFF (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes (Commerce Member): Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Tariff Act, 1894, for certain purposes.

I have very little, Sir, to add to what has already been said in the Statement of Objects and Reasons. The facts of the matter are very briefly these. Hitherto, we have not bothered much about the goods which have come across our land frontiers. Those imports are comparatively small, the frontiers are long and difficult to safeguard, and, consequently, we have never troubled to impose customs duties on these goods. But in the last year a change has come about. Owing no doubt to the fact that we

have raised our customs duties on certain articles, certain articles which are easily transported, such as matches, saccharine and cigarettes, in particular, are beginning to pour across at least one of our frontiers, I refer to the Burma-Siamese frontier. We estimate that in the current year we have lost a customs revenue of no less than Rs. 12 lakhs on one of these articles alone, namely, matches, and the matter is becoming so serious that we have to tackle it in earnest. There are certain treaties and agreements with the Siamese Government which we will have to consider, but even after that consideration, if we denounce those treaties, we shall still be helpless in regard to the imposition of customs duty, for the Tariff Act, as at present framed, does not allow us to impose customs duties on goods imported by land. Everyone, I think, will see that it is unfair to merchants who bring in these articles, matches and cigarettes in particular, through the ports, that they should be subjected to competition from similar articles which have come in over the land frontiers and which have paid no duty at all; and that is why we are asking the House to give us power to impose the same customs duties on such articles as we think necessary. We shall naturally impose only the customs duties which have been agreed to by this House. That is all, I think, I need say, Sir, and I hope that I shall get leave to introduce the Bill.

Mr. N. M. Dumasia (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Mr. President, I think it is a very delicate question,—the principle of an infringement of the rights of Native States is involved. I know from personal experience that goods are being brought into Bombay from several Native States by land, not only matches and cigarettes but even silk piece-goods from Japan and China; and Bombay merchants have suffered a great deal in competition with those who have been able to bring such goods into Bombay by land.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar (Madras City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): On a point of order, Sir, does the Honourable Member oppose the introduction?

Mr. President: The Honourable Member is perhaps aware that I was waiting to see whether he did so.

Mr. N. M. Dumasia: I think, Sir, it involves the principle of non-interference with Native States, and unless that question is satisfactorily solved, I only wish to state that I am against the principle of the Bill.

Mr. President: The question is:

“That leave be given to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Tariff Act, 1894, for certain purposes.”

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I now introduce the Bill, Sir.

THE INDIAN MERCHANT SHIPPING (AMENDMENT) BILL.

Mr. M. S. D. Butler (Secretary, Department of Education, Health and Lands): Sir, I move for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Indian Merchant Shipping Act, 1923, for certain purposes.

Sir, as the House is aware, the Indian Merchant Shipping Act of 1923 is a recently consolidated enactment containing the law relating to Indian

[Mr. M. S. D. Butler.]

merchant shipping. A portion of that Act, namely, sections 193 to 213, is devoted to the regulation of pilgrim vessels. These sections lay down the conditions under which vessels carrying pilgrims from Indian ports may proceed to their destination. The Bill, which I am moving for leave to introduce, proposes to amend these sections in four respects. The amendments are explained in detail in the Statement of Objects and Reasons. Three of them are purely technical in character, and are only being brought forward because the Bill is for the moment on the anvil. I need not waste the time of the House by going into them in detail. But the fourth amendment is of more importance. It embodies an attempt to meet the problem of the destitute pilgrim, which is so familiar to those of us who have to deal with the great Muhammadan pilgrimage. We are trying by this Bill to mitigate the evils which arise from the existence of the destitute pilgrim by making it compulsory for every pilgrim, before he starts, to provide in some form or another at least for his return journey. This amendment is therefore of considerable interest to the Muhammadan Members of this House and to the Muhammadan community in general; and, in order that there may be no misunderstanding about it, I shall venture upon the time of the House for a few minutes to explain the exact situation.

Sir, I do not know if the Members of this House generally are familiar with the details of the pilgrim question. We all know that every year at a fixed period from every quarter of the Islamic world pious Muhammadans go forth to the sacred city of Mecca to perform there the ceremonies prescribed by their religion. We do not know exactly how many pilgrims congregate there, because we have no figures about those who go by land, but we do know how many pilgrims go overseas, because practically all of them disembark at the port of Jeddah, where a careful check is kept of their arrival. I need not weary the House with the full details from year to year of the number of pilgrims. They vary, as is natural, and the numbers have been much disturbed in recent times owing to the fact that during the war the pilgrimage was stopped altogether, and immediately afterwards naturally larger numbers went. But, taking the figures for the last two years, I find that in 1922 some 56,000 pilgrims landed at Jeddah, whereas in 1923, the season which is just over, about 75,000 were disembarked there. Now, out of the pilgrims who went in 1922 and 1923, on an average about 20 per cent. came from small countries in detached bodies of which we have very little trace. Some came from Syria, from Nigeria or from other parts of Africa, and so on. They, as I say, account for about 20 per cent. of the volume of the pilgrim traffic. The remaining 80 per cent. came from four distinct centres, of which India is one. About 30 per cent. came from the Dutch East Indies, about 12 per cent. from Malaya, about 11 per cent. from Egypt, and some 27 per cent. from India. It will thus be seen, Sir, that out of the 80 per cent. of the traffic, which comes from the four main countries I have mentioned, India accounted for about one-third and the other three areas, the Dutch East Indies, Malaya and Egypt, for two-thirds. That is the extent of the problem.

Now, Sir, I turn to the conditions under which the pilgrimage is made. They vary of course from country to country. But there is one radical distinction between the conditions in force in India on the one hand and in the Dutch East Indies, Malaya and Egypt on the other. In the Dutch East Indies, Malaya and Egypt the pilgrimage is an organised affair. Bands

of pilgrims set out in a settled order, in many cases they elect their own leaders, and in every case the Government of the country concerned enforces by law that no pilgrim shall start on his journey until he has made provision for his return. The Dutch East Indies and the Malayan Governments insist on return tickets. The Egyptian Government goes in for a system of compulsory deposits. The result in all these cases is much the same. The pilgrims who go are an orderly body of persons under good supervision. They travel in comparative comfort and get back to their homes without losing any large number by the way. I do not say that there are no destitutes amongst them, but under the system followed their numbers appear to be so slight that they are carried by the remaining pilgrims. It can readily be imagined that, if there are only a few who drop out, their charitably-minded fellow-countrymen are able to help them and to get them back to their homes. In any case there is no scandal or marked loss of life. But in the case of India the conditions are very different. Here we have never laid down any system of compulsory provision for repatriation. We have always allowed anybody who liked to buy his ticket to Jeddah and then let him go on his way. The result is that every year there is a large number of pilgrims who have not the money to carry out the pilgrimage as it ought to be carried out, and who arrive in Jeddah with no money in their pockets, who scramble through the rest of their time there and are finally cast upon the streets in Jeddah in a state of semi-starvation and with no money to pay for their return journey. Well, Sir, when that takes place, what usually happens is that telegrams begin to fly, and then in some way or other money is raised for repatriation. Usually it is the Government which puts up the money: sometimes it is the charitably-minded Muhammadans in India who raise subscriptions. In 1921 repatriation was carried out by the Government. In 1922 the Central Haj Committee in India raised a subscription and managed the repatriation. In 1923, Government again came forward. Well, Sir, if this method of dealing with the problem were efficacious, there would be something to be said for it, but it has been shown that, under such a system the situation grows not better but worse. The more it gets about that there will be some agency for repatriating indigent pilgrims the more indigent pilgrims are tempted to embark upon the enterprise. Now, Sir, I have gone into the figures and they bear out what I say in a very striking manner. In 1921, when 10,854 pilgrims went from India, only 500 destitute pilgrims had to be dealt with at Jeddah on the return journey; that is equivalent to about $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In 1922, out of 12,849 pilgrims 1,106 were left destitute, which is equivalent to about $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In 1923, which was a year which was very popular for the pilgrimage, 24,459 pilgrims roughly went and we had to help no less than 2,765 or between 11 and 12 per cent. to return to this country. Thus, Sir, there has been an increase in the last three years in the number of destitute pilgrims from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $8\frac{1}{2}$ and from $8\frac{1}{2}$ to $11\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total number of pilgrims. And each year we shall undoubtedly have, if we pursue our present system, more and more destitutes to handle than we had before. Why, Sir, this year the evil grew to such an extent that on one ship which went from Bombay the Captain reported on arriving at Jeddah that over one-third of the pilgrims on board had not the means to provide themselves with food during the journey. They existed only by begging on the remaining two-thirds of the passengers. It requires very little imagination to see what that leads to. A man with moderate means starting on the pilgrimage with just enough to provide for himself and his dependents gets on board a ship and then sees a fellow-pilgrim hungry. What will he do?

[Mr. M. S. D. Butler.]

He must help him and it means he goes short himself. Thus, the destitute pilgrim not only goes under himself, but he drags down with him the other pilgrims who, but for his presence, would be able to go through in safety. Thus the position now is that it is impossible to go on under the present system without much hardship and suffering on the part of the pilgrims. How many died this year we do not know, but it is a significant fact that whereas 24,459 pilgrims started from Bombay and Karachi only 21,724 had returned by the end of December last. This gives a shortage of 2,735 pilgrims. I do not suggest that all of them died in the Hedjaz or on the voyage back. There may be some who have settled down in the Hedjaz. There may be others who are coming back later. But still there is no doubt, and we have ample evidence to that effect, that an enormous number did die this year, and we have actual facts to show that so feeble were many of the pilgrims when they left Jeddah that 10 less than 400 did die this year on the voyage between Jeddah and Bombay.

Well, Sir, we are now being pressed on all sides to deal with this problem. The British Agent at Jeddah, to whose devoted efforts we are so much indebted, wrote to us this year strongly. He is strongly of the opinion that something must be done to save from themselves destitute and hungry pilgrims who collect at Jeddah at the end of the pilgrimage, and lie about on the streets clamouring for food and repatriation. We are being pressed by the International Sanitary authorities. India is now a nation amongst the nations and we are a party to the International Sanitary Convention. The Paris Sanitary Convention, which up till now has provided that every country must have a system of compulsory return tickets "if local circumstances permit," is about to be altered, in fact the alteration has been carried out in Committee, so as to omit the words "if local circumstances permit." The meaning of this is that the nations, which are parties to the Convention, are insisting that it shall be compulsory on all nations to see that the pilgrimage is so carried out that the conditions which have hitherto prevailed in Jeddah after the pilgrimage shall not continue. Our pilgrimage officer, whom we sent this year to help, tells us the same tale of need for action. The Bombay Government, which handles the traffic on our behalf, is strongly of opinion that something must be done. They say that all authorities are agreed in condemning the present system, whereby the destitute Indian pilgrim is a by-word among the Muhammadan people. The Central Haj Committee last year passed a Resolution to the following effect:

"That in view of the experience this Committee has had during the year and the report received from Jeddah with regard to repatriation of destitute pilgrims as well as the working of return ticket system, this Committee is of opinion that the only really satisfactory solution of the problem of repatriation of destitute pilgrims from the Hedjaz lies in instituting a system of compulsory return tickets."

The Haj Committee at Jeddah, which has done so much to help the pilgrims there, recorded an even more striking Resolution. That Committee consists of Muhammadans. They resolved:

"(a) That in our opinion the present system of almost unlimited repatriation encourages destitution and attracts to the Hedjaz a large number of destitute pilgrims. It has often been noticed to induce even well-to-do persons to show themselves as destitute. (b) That we feel humiliated when people make comparisons between the conditions of the pilgrims of India and other countries. No pilgrim of any other country save India is noticed begging and lying in the streets helpless from want of food, clothing and accommodation."

Finally, they recommend, as everybody does, that the only way in which to mitigate the evil and to save the pilgrims from further trouble is to have some compulsory system of repatriation either through return ticket or deposits.

It will thus be seen, Sir, that the Government are faced with a very difficult question. It is easy in these matters to do nothing. But we have felt it to be our duty to lay the facts before this Assembly, which represents the people of India, and to take its advice. There are several Members of this Assembly who have performed the Haj themselves, and who know the position from their own experience; and the Government feel that the only course which they can take is to get their advice and the advice of the House generally as to how to deal with this difficult problem. To get that advice and to crystallise the issue we have put in the form of a Bill the alternative systems at present in force in the other areas from which pilgrims come, namely, the Dutch East Indies, Malaya and Egypt. Under the provisions of the Bill it may be prescribed either that return tickets or deposits shall be made compulsory, and we have left it to the House to advise us on the matter. We are not, I should add, in any way wedded to any particular method of dealing with this evil. There may be those here who can suggest a better method. What we want is to collect opinion and to get a recognition of the fact that the evil does exist, for we know that once it is recognised that the evil does exist, some way out of it is sure to be found, if those who are interested in putting an end to it put their heads together. I may say also that we do not propose to rush the Bill. There will be an interval for friendly and informal discussion with those who are most interested in the matter, and then, when we have gathered the general sense, we shall decide what further motion to make on the subject. I move therefore, Sir, the motion which stands in my name.

Mr. President: The question is:

“That leave be given to introduce a Bill to amend the Indian Merchant Shipping Act, 1923, for certain purposes.”

The motion was adopted.

Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan (Patna and Chota Nagpur *cum* Orissa: Muhammadan): Sir, I oppose the introduction of the Bill. I want to make some observations from a religious point of view.

Mr. President: I am afraid the Honourable Member is too late. I looked round the Chamber to see if any Member wanted to speak, but I did not see any. The Honourable Member will get plenty of opportunity later on to speak on the motion. He is aware that the introduction of a Bill commits nobody to anything.

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: Sir, I introduce the Bill. The Honourable Member may rest assured that we shall take his advice about it.

THE CENTRAL BOARD OF REVENUE BILL.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett (Finance Member): Sir, I beg to ask for leave to introduce a Bill to provide for the constitution of a Central Board of Revenue and to amend certain enactments for the purpose of conferring powers and imposing duties on the said Board.

The purpose of this Bill is to give statutory form to an improvement in the machinery of administration recommended by the Incheape Committee.

[Sir Basil Blackett.]

The objects and reasons are stated in the Statement circulated with the Bill and there is no need, I think, to add anything but a very few words. Under the Income-tax Act there is already in existence a Board of Inland Revenue with statutory powers. For the last year the administration of all the main heads of revenue, that is, Customs, Income-tax, Super-tax, Stamps, Opium and Excise, so far as it affects the Central Government, has been concentrated in the Finance Department instead of being spread, as hitherto, over several Departments. A good deal of that administrative work is work which ought not to be done by a Secretariat. It ought to be done by administrative officers who do work in rather a different way than by the system of continuous noting which is common in Secretariats. It is proposed, therefore, to establish a single Central Board of Revenue containing two members who will concentrate in their own hands as much of the administrative work of the business of collecting revenue so far as it has to be done at headquarters and will leave the Secretariat free for its proper Secretarial duties. This Bill is designed to confer a statutory status upon the Central Board of Revenue. That will not alter the position of the Member of Inland Revenue who already has a statutory status, but it will enable the Board as a whole to take over duties which at present are performed either by the Central Government through its Secretariat, through the Finance Department, or by certain Local Governments. It will appoint the Board the Chief Customs Authority for the purposes of the Customs Act. I think that the experience that we have had already shows that this is a clear administrative improvement. We have not been able of course yet to give it a full trial because it is necessary that the statutory powers should be in the hands of the Board before it can fully exercise its functions. But it is an administrative report which I think will lead—and it has already led indeed—to improved efficiency in administration and will secure that efficiency at less cost to the tax-payer.

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

THE INDIAN COINAGE (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett (Finance Member): Sir, I beg to move that the Bill further to amend the Indian Coinage Act, 1906, for certain purposes, be taken into consideration.

I do not know that I need at this stage say anything more than I said at the introductory stage or add to what is printed in the Statement of Objects and Reasons.

Dr. H. S. Gour (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhamadan): Sir, the Bill which the Honourable the Finance Member has moved for the consideration of this House looks at first sight a very innocent little Bill. But I would ask the House to consider its ultimate effect. If the Honourable Members will turn to the Indian Coinage Act, 1906, section 15, they will find:

“All silver coin of the weight and standard specified in certain Acts, and all copper coin of the weight specified in certain Acts, which may have been issued since the passing of those Acts respectively, and declared by those Acts respectively to be a legal tender, shall, notwithstanding anything contained in this Act or in any Act hereby repealed, but subject in the case of silver coin to the provisos contained in section 12 of this Act in so far as such provisos apply to like coins under this Act, continue to be a legal tender for the amounts for which the like silver and bronze coins are a legal tender under this Act respectively.”

The short effect of section 15 of the Coinage Act is that all existing coins of silver and nickel and copper continue to be legal tenders under the provision of this section. Now the section that is intended to be enacted as a part of this Bill and which in fact is the only section which counts in this Bill runs as follows:

"3. After section 15 of the said Act the following section shall be inserted, namely:—

'15A. Notwithstanding anything contained in section 12, section 13, section 14 or section 15, the Governor General in Council may, by notification in the Gazette of India, call in, with effect from such date as may be specified in the notification, any coin, of whatever date or denomination, referred to in any of those sections, and on and from the date so specified such coin shall cease to be a legal tender save at a Government currency office.'

Provided that the Governor General in Council may by the notification specify any later date up to which such coin shall continue to be a legal tender at any Government treasury.'

Honourable Members are aware that, if this Bill becomes law, the Legislature will have empowered the Executive Government to call in all existing rupees, if they so desire, and they can replace them by paper money. There is absolutely nothing in this Act which prevents the Government of India from calling in any silver coin which is at present a legal tender and replacing it by, as I have said, paper money or nickel coin of 8 annas denomination. I want the Honourable the Finance Member to assure us how this contingency is met by the existing Statute. It is perfectly true that the primary object of this Bill is to call in certain rupees or coins which are suspected to be counterfeited on a wholesale scale. But, if the Bill were confined to that narrow compass, this House would not object to the passage of this measure. But worded as it is, it is liable to abuse. I do not say that that is a contingency which is likely to happen in the near future, but, nevertheless, in times of national crisis, a contingency like this may happen and the House, I think, must provide against such a contingency. I wish also to point out to the Honourable Members of this House that the counterfeiting of coin in this country on a wholesale scale is a possibility and by no means a remote possibility. It all depends upon the intrinsic value of silver in the rupee. As Honourable Members are aware, India is one of the three countries in which silver coin is probably the only coin, and it is not a real coin. India in fact is the one country where there is no real coin. We have the paper money and we have a currency note printed upon a disc of silver. For all international purposes that coin has the value which the silver contained therein represents. The other day a question was put in the other House as to why the Government of India did not circulate sovereigns in this country and the answer given was in the following terms:

"The Government cannot for obvious reasons issue sovereigns as long as gold in India stands at a premium as compared with the legal tender ratio of Rs. 10 to the sovereign."

Mr. President: Order, order. I understand that gold is explicitly excluded from the operation of this Act.

Dr. H. S. Gour: It is excluded from the operation of this Act, Sir, but I am going to point out how this Bill affects the whole question of general currency in this country.

Mr. President: The question of general currency is not in issue here. The only question in issue is that specific coins may be counterfeited.

Dr. H. S. Gour: I am confining myself strictly to the short issue raised in this Bill.

Mr. President: I have just pointed out to the Honourable Member that he is not.

Dr. H. S. Gour: Honourable Members will thus see that the issue of gold in this country is an impossibility because the Government have said that they will not issue sovereigns in exchange for silver unless sovereigns come down to Rs. 10 per sovereign which, as Honourable Members will see, is a very remote contingency.

This is the first proposition. The second proposition in this connection that the House should remember is this. I have said before that the value of the rupee may be anything like 9 As. or it may go up to one rupee or Rs. 1-2-0 or Rs. 1-3-0. It all depends upon the erratic rise and fall of silver in the market. Suppose, for the sake of argument, that the price of silver falls much below its par value. There is immediately a strong incentive for the counterfeiting of coin. When there is a counterfeiting of coin, the Government says "We will withdraw the rupees of 1872 or 1875 or 1885 coinage". All that money has to be paid into the Government Treasury. You get in return rupees of exactly similar denomination but not from the Treasury you paid the money into but from the Currency Offices in the Presidency towns. Even then, if the price of the rupee still falls below that value, you have got in return therefor a rupee of less value, because, so far as the Government is concerned, they can always call upon the people holding their wealth in silver to produce it, if they wish, for payment at the Treasury and cancel such coins as legal tender. Now, Sir, I wish to ask whether this House is prepared to give to the Honourable the Finance Member this large power of calling in silver coins in this country at any time that the Government of India choose to call them in. I submit that we must have an assurance from the Honourable the Finance Member that the power which this Bill confers upon the Executive Government will be used only in cases to which the Statement of Objects and Reasons appended to the Bill refer. We have no assurance in the Bill itself. I perfectly see what the Honourable the Finance Member will say. So far as the Bill is concerned, it gives us large powers but the primary object of the Bill is controlled by the Statement of Objects and Reasons. But I wish, Sir, an assurance from the Honourable Member that the Statement of Objects and Reasons appended to the Bill will be strictly adhered to in the application of the Bill itself.

I wish also, Sir, to make one or two observations. It is one of the questions which has been raised times out of number in this country that the remedy which the Government of India provides against the fluctuations of the rupee and of silver is more or less of an empiric character. The debasement of the Indian coin and the temptation it leads to the counterfeiting of Indian coins are all part and parcel of the currency policy to which the Government of India seems wedded.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: On a point of order, Sir, may I ask the Honourable Member what is his basis for the statement that the policy of the Government of India is to counterfeit subsidiary coinage?

Dr. H. S. Gour: I never said anything of the kind.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: It is a very dangerous statement to make. I would like to have it explained.

Dr. H. S. Gour: What I did say, Sir, and what I repeat, is that the Honourable the Finance Member could not be unaware of the fact that this Bill would be absolutely unnecessary if he were to take the necessary precaution which all civilised Governments have taken of reducing the silver rupee to a real token coin and introduce gold currency in this country. He knows fully well that that is the opinion held by economists all over the world. I refer to a well known book on Political Economy—Gide's Political Economy, page 308,—and I further refer the Honourable the Finance Member to Mr. Dalal's report appended to Sir Babington Smith's report on Indian Exchange and Currency, page 51. It is all very well for the Honourable the Finance Member to say that these are all heresies, but the Honourable the Finance Member will remember what foreign critics of the Indian currency system have to say on the subject. Charles Gide in his Political Economy says that, while England has done away with the silver coinage and is now wedded to the gold standard since 1816, (and he mentions the other European countries which have introduced gold coinage) the only three countries in the world which still follow the fallacious principle of bi-metallism are France, the United States and India.

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee (Industries Member): What was the date of that?

Dr. H. S. Gour: Not many years back.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey (Home Member): 1872?

Dr. H. S. Gour: 1914. That is not very old. And he points out that, while certain checks exist in France and the United States, no such check exists in India.

Well, Sir, I have said that the question of the counterfeiting of coins would be reduced to a minimum if the Government of India were to revise their whole currency policy. It has been pointed out by an economist of note—I refer to Mr. Keynes—in his Indian Currency and Finance, that the solution to the question of Indian currency lies in introducing a gold standard in this country (Hear, hear). He points out that the annual output of gold in this country itself is three crores of rupees, and, if the Indian mints are open to the coinage of gold, a solution for the introduction of gold currency in this country would be found. That is not an old book. In another book on the Future of Exchange and Currency written by Professor Jevons, at page 149, we read the following passage. He says:

"On the other hand the price of silver would seem likely to go lower owing to the enlarged production and a slack demand in Europe and America. This would have a weakening tendency on the Indian exchange."

Now, Sir, these are weighty words and I ask the Government of India that, if they really wish to rehabilitate their exchange and their currency, they must take the bull by the horns and introduce at once gold coinage which they can easily do by opening the Indian mints to the coinage of gold. Once they do that, not only this difficulty but the other difficulties from which the Government of India suffer will, I am sure, speedily vanish. (*The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: "No counterfeiting?"*) The

[Dr. H. S. Gour.]

Honourable the Home Member interjects a remark, there will be no counterfeiting? No, Sir, there will be less counterfeiting, and so much reduction in counterfeiting that they would not require a special Act to provide against it. The wholesale counterfeiting of coins in this country is due to the fluctuations in the price of silver. The Honourable the Finance Member must be aware of it and these fluctuations can be put an end to if the Government of India introduce gold coinage instead of a mere gold standard and open the Indian mints to the coinage of gold. The answer has always been, they are short of gold. That, of course, is also a question which has been answered. . . .

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I have listened with great interest to the very interesting but entirely irrelevant speech of my Honourable Friend. But I would ask in the interests of the House whether it is necessary. I would point out that this Bill deals with the question of granting to the Government of India a power to call in coinage other than gold. I should be delighted to follow the Honourable Member in a disquisition on exchange and currency, but it has nothing to do with the case.

Mr. President: The point taken by the Honourable the Finance Member is right. I have allowed Dr. Gour to proceed because his argument linked up with the proposal of the Bill, in the sense that, if the Government of India followed a different currency policy, counterfeiting might be avoided altogether. I have allowed him, as he is aware, considerable latitude but I hope he will come more closely to order and deal with the subject of the Bill itself.

Dr. H. S. Gour: I therefore ask this House to obtain an assurance from the Honourable the Finance Member, first on the question whether the coins that he withdraws from circulation will be replaced by similar silver coins and that they will not be replaced by paper money, or by nickel coins. That is the first assurance I want the Honourable the Finance Member to give. There is nothing in this section against the withdrawal of silver money and its replacement by (*An Honourable Member:* "Or gold?") paper or nickel, and we are told by Honourable Members interested in finance, by gold. No one will be more delighted than I am if it is replaced by gold. That is the first point. The second point I wish to ask is, when the notification is issued by the Government of India, will it be issued with the previous assent of the Indian Legislature or will it be issued without such assent? I demand that, before any notification is issued by the Government of India, this House must be consulted and the view of this House must be taken into consideration before the power taken by the Government of India under clause 3 is put into force. On these points I want an assurance from the Honourable the Finance Member.

Mr. Narayandas (Agra Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, this piece of legislation, if looked at from other points of view, would appear to be quite a superfluity. I know full well, Sir, that the legal tender value of a particular coin will be retained under any circumstances so far as the currency offices are concerned. But how many currency offices are there in the country? And, so far as people living in the villages, in hamlets and small towns, to whom a notification in the *Gazette of India* is a far echo, are concerned, what will be the practical effect upon the coin, the genuine coin that they may retain? I can well imagine, Sir, that a class of brokers or dealers will rise up who will buy this sort of coin by representing them mostly to be suspicious or counterfeit, though in all probability

they may be genuine—they will buy these coins at a reduced and nominal price and pass them on to the currency office, perhaps located at a very great distance from the village. I understand, Sir, that this is a measure designed to put a check upon the counterfeiting of a certain coin, if counterfeiting assumes a grave proportion. I submit that if a close watch were kept on the nefarious activities of counterfeiters such a drastic piece of legislation would appear to be quite unnecessary. The fact is that if you do not re-issue a particular coin from the Treasury, it acts as a great check on the activity of the counterfeiters. The effect of the Bill, I submit, will be the throwing away of a large volume of our coin from time to time for no fault of those who possess the coin, and under these circumstances I think the Bill is superfluous. Another consideration that I would urge upon the attention of the House is that this counterfeiting has been coming more into evidence since the time that we introduced nickel into our coin making. So long as the coins were confined to copper and silver there was not so much of counterfeiting. It is not long ago that our four-anna nickel coins were not accepted in many towns, even at the headquarters of towns, and the post offices rejected them. Sometimes the treasuries and sub-treasuries would not take them. What is required is a close watch and a more proper supervision of the counterfeiting activities of certain persons and not such a drastic piece of legislation. Really, Sir, the Bill tries to introduce a very drastic provision, to which the Indian people are not accustomed. With these words I would oppose the Bill.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas (Indian Merchants Chamber and Bureau: Indian Commerce): The Bill before the House seeks for the Executive the power to withdraw coins which may have been counterfeited beyond a certain point. The Government of India had not these powers till now and I can fully understand the apprehension of this House in giving this power practically *carte blanche* to the Government of India now. This apprehension, Sir, is particularly based on what happened during the war period. Immediately after the outbreak of war people raided currency offices for the gold mohur and the sovereign and, later on, the Government of India had even to regulate the issue of silver rupees from the currency offices. I, therefore, fully sympathise in the main with the apprehension reflected in this House by one of the previous speakers. But I also feel that this Bill hardly permits of any sort of going into the question of coinage and currency. I shall therefore restrict myself to the main underlying principle contained in the Bill, and, with reference to that, I would like to point out that the Honourable the Finance Member will take cognisance of the great nervousness on the part of this House, especially the non-official section, to give any power to the Executive which will enable the Executive (I dare say the contingency is very very remote and that they may not have at all to use it) under any circumstances whatever to withdraw the silver coins and especially the major silver coin, the rupee, from circulation. I think this House will be very jealous of giving that power even to the best intentioned Finance Member and I suggest to the Honourable the Finance Member that he agree to an amendment to this Bill to that effect. The question therefore is whether we should restrict this power to the Government of India, either to the bronze and the nickel coins or whether we should extend it to the smaller silver coins. That is a question on which I think Honourable Members coming from places other than cities and towns should have a very substantial say. I certainly feel myself that this Bill should not cover the major Indian silver coin, the silver rupee, and I hope I am reflecting the opinion of the whole House

[Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas.]

when I say that. The speaker who preceded me said that he thought that what was wanted was vigilance to prevent counterfeiting. I am pretty sure that the Finance Department spare no pains or expense to exercise such vigilance and to see that no counterfeiting is possible, but, in spite of this vigilance, there has been a certain amount of counterfeiting and, as the Honourable Member himself knows, it will continue. I therefore think that it is very necessary for this House to give to the Government certain powers to call back such coins.

The Honourable Member who preceded me referred to the hardship that may be caused to the rural population by the recall of any coin, because the rural population are not accustomed to easy access to Government notifications. With this plea everybody will sympathise. But the only consideration in this matter should be whether the rural population will suffer more by allowing counterfeit coins to continue or by some restriction thereof. There is no doubt that the illiterate and the uninformed suffer in any case, and the only test would be under which of the two alternatives left open to Government would this class suffer less. It must be borne in mind that currency offices in India are much too few, but it is also necessary at the same time, that, when the Government notify the withdrawal of a coin, they can only make it legal tender at such places where the genuineness or otherwise of a coin can be correctly tested and gauged. I think the Council may well be satisfied that in this matter the Bill is on correct lines.

Regarding what I have said about this Bill affecting silver coins generally, or, the silver rupee in particular, I feel that I would not be satisfied with what Dr. Gour wants, namely, a mere assurance from the Honourable the Finance Member that it would not apply to the rupee. I think this House should insist upon a correct Bill. No assurance can prevent the Executive from doing what they like, once they can do something under the four corners of the Bill. I think it is wrong in principle for a legislative body to rely on any assurance, at the time of consideration of a Bill, when a slight amendment can ensure such assurance being embodied in a Bill.

I therefore suggest one of two courses:

- (1) Either that this Bill be referred to a Select Committee to decide the question whether it should apply to the rupee only, or to all silver coins; or
- (2) We may decide now whether it should apply to the rupee or the smaller coins;

and if the House approves of the latter course they may make the necessary amendment in section 3 of the Bill relating to the new section 15A by omitting the words "12" and "15" which would exclude, I think, the rupee. It is now for the House to decide. If the Honourable the Finance Member does not mind a little delay, I think the reference of the Bill to a Select Committee would secure the satisfaction of all the views expressed in this House, in the course of a week or ten days. I would therefore move, and I see that the general opinion is in favour of it, that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I have no objection at all to the reference of this Bill to a Select Committee, if that meets the desire of the House. I rise therefore just to make one or two remarks in order that

the Select Committee, when it comes to consider the Bill, may not be led away by the irrelevance of a great deal of the discussion that has taken place to-day. This Bill is a small Bill to remedy a defect in the existing Indian Coinage Act under which a coin once issued remains legal tender for ever in the absence of special legislation by this House to take away that legal tender character. That is an omission which on occasion may prove very inconvenient in the interests of the people who use coin. It has proved inconvenient. We could have dealt last year conveniently with the particular question of the eight-anna nickel coin at once by the simple device of withdrawing its legal tender character if we had had this power. That would have been in the real interests of a very large number of small people in the bazars throughout India, who were continually being put into difficulties through coming into possession of a coin which the Government of India said was worth 8 annas, which the general opinion of the market was unwilling to give 8 annas for. That is a very unsatisfactory condition, a condition which no Government can comfortably tolerate and it brings discredit upon the coin or currency of any country. In order to remedy that, it is proposed in this Bill to make an alteration exactly in accordance with the powers which are possessed by the Government of the United Kingdom in regard to a similar matter. Section 11 of the Coinage Act, 1870, reads:

"It shall be lawful for Her Majesty with the advice of Her Privy Council (that is an Order in Council) from time to time by proclamation to do all or any of the following things, namely, to determine the denomination or design for any coin, to determine the denomination of coins to be coined at the mint,"

and so on, and

"(5) to call in coins of any date or denomination or any coins coined before the date of the proclamation mentioned."

That gives a power to deal with any case where, owing to counterfeiting or merely owing to lapse of time, it is desirable to withdraw the legal tender character from a particular denomination of coin. The suggestion has been made that it should be confined to coins other than the rupee and that suggestion I shall be very glad in the Select Committee to go into. I would however point out that it is probably undesirable to confine it because of the existence at present of rupees of 1835, for example, which are practically not legal tender. They occasionally turn up from hoards; I believe a hoard of Rs. 35,000 of absolutely new 1835 rupees turned up at a currency office the other day. It is inconvenient to the public; people see these old rupees and doubt whether they are really good. When you get to that stage, it is very convenient just to be able to declare that certain coins are no longer legal tender but that their full value may be obtained at a currency office. You must always maintain the right of people to get value for the coins issued by Government at any date however long after. It is convenient and therefore I think desirable to follow the English Statute in this matter and take the general power. As regards its abuse, I suppose it is possible for a Government to abuse any power but I cannot imagine any power which would be more difficult to abuse than this one. It is so very contrary to any possible interest of the Government to do so. In the first place, it would cost us a great deal of money and we could get nothing out of it. We should require a new Paper Currency Act before we could withdraw rupees and replace them by paper currency, if we are not to deal with rupees according to the mystic vision of the revelation of St. Gour. You cannot drive a coach and

[Sir Basil Blackett.]

four through an Act in that way and, if you did, it would do you no good. So I really think that the far-fetched suggestion that we might somehow or another do something under this Act which is entirely contrary to our own interest is a little bit unnecessary. However, that again is a matter which the Select Committee can no doubt look into.

I need not follow the Honourable Member in what he said regarding the currency system of India except in one particular. His argument I think was that counterfeiting would be reduced if India had a gold coinage in circulation. If that was not his argument, it is the only relevant connection that I can trace between it and this Bill. If that was his argument, it seems to me entirely untrue. If you reduced the silver rupee to the position of the shilling in England, that is, to the position of a subsidiary coin which is legal tender only for a limited amount, you would not alter its value. It would still remain a note printed on silver stating that it was worth so much in terms of gold, although as silver it would be worth a good deal less. Does that in any way reduce the interest of the counterfeiter in counterfeiting the rupee? And, if it does not, what is the relevance of the argument? On the contrary, it really increases it, because at present a man is able to take a piece of nickel and try and pass it as a silver rupee, but in the event suggested he will be able to take a piece of nickel or 10 or 15 such pieces and pass them as equivalent to a sovereign in gold and he would get even better value than he can at present. So the argument seems to me entirely irrelevant. This is a small piece of legislation. The world will not come to an end if it is not passed; the Government will not be in any worse position than they are now, that is to say, we will not be able to deal with a small trouble like that of the eight-anna nickel coin. It is a small piece of legislation designed to give the Government of India exactly the same power which the British Government has had for several generations in exactly similar circumstances. It is a power which I think in the interests of good administration it should have.

The other question raised was I think that the power should be always exercised only after consultation with the Legislature. That is an important suggestion but this Legislature sits for three or four months in the year. (*A Voice*: "It may meet oftener.") It would be expensive to call it for the purpose of issuing a proclamation to withdraw an eight-anna nickel coin, would it not? It really is one of those little cases in which, if you cannot trust the Executive Government to do a perfectly straightforward bit of executive work which is done in every country by the Executive, the Executive does not want the power. (*A Voice*: "Is the Executive in every country responsible to the Legislature?") The Executive in this country is responsible to a Legislature; at present it is not this Legislature. But I would remind you that it is not an irresponsible Executive; it is an Executive responsible to the British Parliament, and that is the present position. (*A Voice*: "Seven thousand miles away.") But I do not think the question of the responsibility of the Executive in this matter is particularly relevant to the question whether we ought to withdraw the legal tender character from coins like the eight-anna coin. (*Dr. H. S. Gour*: "It is as relevant as your reference to the English Executive.") I do not think that is so. However, that is a matter of opinion. It is the ordinary function of an Executive to deal with a case of this sort and, if the House is not willing to give that sort of power to the Executive,

the only result is that it is better to go on as we are and put up with the inconvenience that we know rather than run to evils that we do not know about yet.

I agree to the amendment proposed.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar (Madras City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, in supporting this motion for a Select Committee I wish to emphasise the position that we take up, as I am sure many Honourable Members of this House share that view. It is one of the indirect methods we are adopting to bring the Executive under the responsibility of this House. As the Executive Government of this country is not responsible to the Legislature of this country, we want any executive measures which they take to come before this Legislature for approval. I quite grant that it is not reasonable to expect the Executive to come to the Legislature in such matters, but we insist on it because the Executive is not responsible to the Legislature of this country. We want to emphasise that position and that is why we want a reference to the Select Committee.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta (Bombay Northern Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I want to oppose this reference to a Select Committee because the principle of the Bill itself is very objectionable. Even if Government do not abuse the power which they might take to issue a notification of this kind, and even if they commit a mistake in issuing it, the dangers of giving them such a power are very wide indeed. The moment a notification withdrawing the silver rupee from circulation is issued, the rupee will be at a discount, and there are, Sir, as is well known, about 400 crores of rupees in circulation to-day. Imagine the panic that will follow the moment the rupee is declared no longer legal tender. It will go to a discount; poor people who have got small hoards will have to sell them for 50 or 60 per cent. of their value, and the consequent danger is that notes will become absolutely inconvertible. These two dangers are inseparable from any notification which withdraws the rupee from circulation. Therefore, Sir, I should even oppose this reference to a Select Committee, unless the rupee was excluded from the terms of reference. These two dangers are so serious that the Select Committee should not be free to invest Government with a power to issue a notification which will allow the rupee to be withdrawn from circulation. With these words, Sir, I oppose both the Bill and its reference to a Select Committee.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I entirely support the motion of Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas that this Bill be referred to a Select Committee; and if there is any misapprehension in the mind of any Members of this House I would like to make it clear that that very question on which the last Honourable Member spoke will be considered by the Select Committee. It will be for the Select Committee to restrict the power of the Executive for the purpose of withdrawing coins only to the bronze or nickel and exclude the silver. Therefore, the Honourable Member will see that the only course open to this House is that we should refer this question to the Select Committee so that they will consider all these questions and make their report. I therefore do urge upon this House that this Bill should be referred to a Select Committee.

There is one more remark, Sir. The Honourable the Finance Member based his argument on the assumption that every Executive must be trusted by the Legislature and that, if you do not trust the Executive then it is

[Mr. M. A. Jinnah.]

not worth having this power at all. He is perfectly correct. The indignation is perfectly justifiable,—with this distinction that this Executive is not responsible to any Legislature except, as he said, Parliament 7,000 miles away, and Parliament has no time to keep an eye on the Honourable Member who represents the Finance Department. Therefore, really those are very misleading analogies altogether. Anyhow, Sir, we must take the facts as they are. I personally do not for a single moment suggest that this Government, although differently constituted, is likely to abuse its power, but there are moments when, without any intention, you may use your powers which may have a very disastrous effect, and, therefore, you can well understand that the Legislature, such as it is, is diffident to give you wide powers which may be utilized with consequences which may be very serious. Therefore, Sir, I support the amendment.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey (Home Member): Sir, we on our side have already accepted the amendment for a Select Committee. But the whole principle of the Bill has since we agreed again been attacked, and on one of those grounds which my Honourable Colleague has already described as almost unthinkable. It seems strange, strange indeed, that after all that has been said, it should be again suggested that the very moderate power which it is proposed to take in this Bill should be utilized for a purpose so detrimental to the interests of Government itself as suggested by the Honourable Member from Bombay. We, representatives of Government, are notoriously lacking in imagination. We are reactionary. We learn nothing. But I hope that there are still some of my friends here who would even then hesitate to suggest that we are all candidates for an Asylum (*Mr. M. A. Jinnah*: "Not yet"). Yet it is suggested that we might use this Bill for the purpose of calling in all rupees. What possible advantage would it be to call in all rupees? As our legislation now stands, we should immediately have to supply other rupees in their place. What is the advantage to us of coining a colossal quantity of new rupees at considerable expense and taking into our treasuries an equal number of old rupees, possibly slightly shorter in weight? (*Dr. H. S. Gour*: "Under what law are you bound to replace rupees withdrawn by fresh rupees coined?") The Honourable Member is a little hasty; he has, I know, some slight acquaintance with the law, but I venture even with my layman's knowledge to put him right on this particular point. We are bound, when we call in rupees, to replace them with legal tender. Legal tender may it is true take the form either of paper or of silver. But if we issue paper, we are equally bound under the Currency Law to replace that paper with rupees on demand. Our paper currency is not inconvertible. Therefore without breaking the law we could not possibly take the measure which *Dr. Gour* contemplated; and if we contemplated anything of the sort, putting aside any question of keeping the law, we should still have to face a heavy financial loss. The principle of the Bill, therefore, which the Honourable Member has attacked in those terms as being in itself undesirable, is I think not liable to the suggestion that he has made against it.

I come to a point which has twice been referred to, namely, the diffidence which the Legislature has, and must have, in giving any powers to an Executive which is not responsible to that Legislature itself. It is said that we are responsible only to a Parliament 7,000 miles away (*Mr. M. A. Jinnah*: "And which has no time"), and which has no time

to give to Indian questions (*Dr. H. S. Gour*: "Nor any inclination"). One of my difficulties in this House has been the necessity of dealing with two opposite suggestions in this connection. The House seems to pass much of its time in telling us that we are dangled at the end of a string by the Secretary of State, and passes the other half of its time in telling us that we are responsible to nobody and that the only body to which we are responsible takes no interest in us or in anything connected with India. Both those points of view cannot be correct. But I lay no great stress on the question whether in this particular connection we are responsible to the British Parliament or to any other Legislature. Neither the British Parliament nor our own Legislature would have any particular interest or should have any particular inclination to interfere with us if we did happen to call in the worn pice coins of 1874, or should we by any chance withdraw the legal tender from the few thousand rupees that are still remaining of the year 1831. But I return to the question of principle. It must be the endeavour, it always is the endeavour, of every Legislature, before it gives powers to the Executive, to make that Executive responsible to itself. That is an historical process of which nobody can complain. Nevertheless, Sir, there is a corollary to that; I would only warn the House that if it is not disposed to give us powers in matters in which the exercise of those powers is and can be only for the public interest, and cannot by any imagination be to the advantage of the Executive in any way whatever,—cannot add to its authority or influence or resources—if it is not prepared to give us authority in those matters, we on our side can develop very little interest in placing before the Legislature any proposals for the improvement of legislation, for the improvement of the administration or for the improvement of the relations between the Government and the public. I do not wish to suggest that we should ever fail in our duty to the House or to the public, but I would ask on the other side—and it is only reasonable that I should ask—that the House would abate some of that attitude of diffidence in dealing with matters in which we ask for powers, in matters which cannot in any way add to our own authority and can only be used in the interests of the public itself.

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty (Salem and Coimbatore *cum* North Arcot: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, the Honourable the Home Member pointed out that this House has ventured to question the very elementary principle involved in this Bill. I beg to submit, Sir, that, with the exception of one of my Honourable friends, this House has not objected to the principle involved in this Bill, but what I do point out is that Government have stated a certain principle in the Statement of Objects and Reasons and have not adhered to it and have gone beyond that in the clauses of the Bill. In the Statement of Objects and Reasons appended to this Bill it is stated that, when on occasion it becomes necessary to prevent the circulation of counterfeit coin of any particular denomination, a certain power is required to be vested in Government, but I contend that clause 3 of the Bill goes far beyond this Statement of Objects and Reasons. If, Sir, Government would be more careful in making the clauses of the Bills which they frame in conformity with the Statement of Objects and Reasons, I am sure very many of the difficulties would be avoided in this House. The Honourable the Home Member asked us what motive on earth Government would have, for example, in withdrawing all the rupees from currency. Sir, when a Bill is presented for acceptance by a Legislature, it is not for the Legislature to question what motive the Executive can have in abusing the provisions of it (Hear, hear) but to find out whether

[Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty.]

there is any loop-hole to abuse those provisions; and, after all, if we are to judge the actions of the Government of India on very many occasions, I for one wonder what motive on earth can the Government of India have for very many of their actions; and therefore, Sir, since clause 3 of the Bill purports to vest the Government of India with powers far beyond those necessary for the object in view, I hope that this Legislature, as the guardian of the interests of the public, is absolutely justified in saying to the Executive "You are going far beyond the power that you really want, and therefore, give us some time to consider." I hope, Sir, it is not an unreasonable request to make.

Mr. President: The original question was:

"That the Bill further to amend the Indian Coinage Act, 1906, for certain purposes be taken into consideration."

Since which an amendment has been moved:

"That the Bill be referred to a Select Committee."

The question is that that amendment be made.

The motion was adopted.

THE INDIAN PASSPORT (AMENDMENT) BILL.

Mr. E. B. Howell (Foreign Secretary): Sir, in the first instance I beg to apologise to yourself and to the Honourable Members of this House for not having been in my place when the Bill was first called.

I move for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Indian Passport Act, 1920, for certain purposes. The existing Act provides that the Governor General in Council may make rules requiring that persons entering British India shall be in possession of passports and for all matters ancillary or incidental to that purpose. It has been held that this does not include power to make rules to deal with persons, who, having entered British India with a valid passport, on what is known as a transshipment *visa*, do not re-embark in accordance with their intention as declared in the *visa*. It is, therefore, considered necessary to amend the Act. *Visas* of course are only granted to aliens. The grant of transshipment *visas* is confined to certain classes of aliens and the amendment is only directed against aliens. If the amendment passes into law, it will give the Governor General in Council power to make rules to deal with breach of the conditions on which a transshipment *visa* is granted. I beg leave therefore to introduce the Bill.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That leave be given to introduce a Bill to amend the Indian Passport Act, 1920, for certain purposes."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. E. B. Howell: The matter is a very minor one, Sir, and I have little to add to what I have already said. With your permission, Sir, I move that the Bill be taken into consideration.

Dr. H. S. Gour: It has not been introduced yet, Sir.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member has not introduced the Bill.

Mr. E. B. Howell: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

ELECTION OF THE PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.

Mr. President: Non-official Members of the Assembly will now proceed to elect 8 members to serve on the Committee on Public Accounts. I have received the following nominations for election to this Committee:

- Mr. N. M. Joshi.
- Mr. K. C. Roy.
- Mr. K. C. Neogy.
- Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao.
- Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar.
- Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju.
- Mr. W. S. J. Willson.
- Sardar V. N. Mutalik.
- Sardar Gulab Singh.
- Mr. K. Ahmed.

There are 10 candidates for 8 places, to be elected by non-official members, who will now be supplied with ballot papers.

Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju: I stand down to facilitate a unanimous vote.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: I beg to withdraw my name.

Mr. President: As two Honourable Members, namely, Diwan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao and Mr. Venkatapatiraju, have withdrawn their names and as only 8 members have to be elected, I declare the following 8 members duly elected:

1. Mr. N. M. Joshi.
2. Mr. K. C. Roy.
3. Mr. K. C. Neogy.
4. Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar.
5. Mr. W. S. J. Willson.
6. Sardar V. N. Mutalik.
7. Sardar Gulab Singh.
8. Mr. K. Ahmed.

ELECTION OF THE STANDING FINANCE COMMITTEE.

Mr. President: The Assembly, both official and non-official, will now proceed to elect 14 members to serve on the Standing Finance Committee.

The following members have been nominated:

1. Sir Campbell Ward Rhodes.
2. Mr. Darcy Lindsay.
3. Mr. N. M. Joshi.
4. Mr. K. C. Roy.
5. Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum.
6. Raja Raghunandan Prasad Singh.
7. Mr. H. G. Cocke.
8. Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju.
9. Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao.
10. Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar.
11. Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty.
12. Haji Wajihuddin.
13. Mr. N. M. Samarth.
14. Mr. N. M. Dumasia.
15. Mr. K. C. Neogy.
16. Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh.
17. Dr. H. S. Gour.
18. Mr. Bhubanananda Das.
19. Sardar V. N. Mutalik.
20. Sardar Kartar Singh.
21. Mr. S. C. Ghose.
22. Maulvi Muhammad Yakub.
23. Mr. Ahmad Ali Khan.
24. Dr. L. K. Hyder.

Twenty-four Members have been nominated and there are 14 seats on the Committee. Honourable Members will now come to the table and receive ballot papers from the Secretary, and when these have been duly filled up and placed in the ballot box, the result will be announced at a subsequent sitting. I draw the particular attention of members to the instructions printed at the bottom of the ballot paper of which the most important is to record your preference by voting 1, 2, 3 in the order of your preference and that no figure may be repeated twice. If Members will read with care the instructions, I think the manner of voting will be perfectly clear.

(The Ballot was then taken.)

Mr. President: As the process of counting votes takes some little time, the result will be announced to-morrow or on a later date.

MESSAGE FROM HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL.

Mr. President: I have received a Message from His Excellency the Viceroy:

“ For the purposes of sub-section (1) of section 67A of the Government of India Act and in pursuance of Rules 43, 46 and 47 of the Indian Legislative Rules and of Standing Order 70 of the Council of State Standing Orders, I, Rufus Daniel, Earl of Reading, hereby appoint the following days for the presentation to the Council of State and to the Legislative Assembly of the statement of the estimated annual expenditure and revenue of the Governor General in Council (in the said Rules and Standing Orders referred to as the Budget) and for the subsequent stages of the said Budget in the Council of State and in the Legislative Assembly, namely:—

<i>Friday, February, the 29th</i>	<i>. Presentation of the Budget in both Chambers.</i>
<i>Wednesday and Thursday, March, the 5th and 6th.</i>	<i>General discussion in the Legislative Assembly.</i>
<i>Friday, March, the 7th</i>	<i>. General discussion in the Council of State.</i>
<i>Monday to Saturday, March, the 10th to 15th.</i>	<i>Voting of demands for grants in the Legislative Assembly.</i>

*(Sd.) READING,
Governor General.”*

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, the 7th February, 1924.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Thursday, 7th February, 1924.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber at Eleven of the Clock.
Mr. President in the Chair.

MEMBER SWORN:

Mr. Ambika Prasad Sinha, M.L.A. (Patna cum Shahabad: Non-Muhammadan).

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

KENYA IMMIGRATION ORDINANCE.

198. *Mr. K. C. Roy: (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether the Kenya Immigration Ordinance has been passed by the Colonial Legislative Council?

(b) If the reply to (a) be in the affirmative, will Government say whether the Ordinance has received the assent of His Majesty?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: (a) The reply is in the negative.

(b) Does not arise.

THE COLONIES COMMITTEE.

199. *Mr. K. C. Roy: (a) Will Government be pleased to say whether they have taken any steps to give effect to the recommendation of the last Imperial Conference that a representative Committee be appointed to implement the Resolution adopted by the Imperial Conference in 1921 regarding the status of Indians in other parts of the Empire?

(b) Will there be different Committee for the Dominions and the Crown Colonies?

(c) What will be the status of the Committee or Committees *vis a vis* (1) the Government of India, (2) the India Office and (3) the Colonial Office?

(d) Have any gentlemen been invited to serve on these Committees and, if so, will Government be pleased to give their names?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: (a) to (d). The Government of India have decided to appoint a Committee which will confer with the Colonial Office for the present on the Kenya question. Discussions are proceeding with regard to the personnel and functions of the Committee and a statement on the subject will be issued so soon as a decision has been reached.

REPORT OF THE FIJI DEPUTATION.

200. ***Mr. K. C. Roy:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state the reasons for which the publication of the Report of the Fiji deputation has so far been withheld?

(b) Is there likely to be any further delay in its publication?

(c) If the reply to (b) be in the affirmative, will Government kindly state the reasons for the proposed delay?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: The Honourable Member is referred to the answer given to Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao's question No. 35.

MEDICAL SERVICES IN INDIA.

201. ***Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** (a) Will Government be pleased to lay on the table, correspondence that may have passed between the Secretary of State and the Government of India and between the Government of India and provincial Governments on the recommendations of the Medical Services Committee and the Retrenchment Committee so far as they relate to the Medical Services in India?

(b) Has there been any decision given by the Secretary of State regarding the transfer of certain appointments so long held by the I. M. S. Officers to the provincial Medical Services in various provinces?

(c) If so,

(a) Will Government be pleased to lay the papers concerned on the table together with the correspondence, if any, from the provincial Governments on the subject?

(b) Have the Government of India issued orders to the provincial Governments in accordance with the decision of the Secretary of State?

(c) If no final orders are yet given, what considerations have led to this postponement?

Mr. E. Burdon: (a) Some of the main recommendations of the Government of India on the proposals of the Medical Services Committee are still under the Secretary of State's consideration. The Government are not prepared to lay on the table the connected correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Government of India and between the latter and provincial Governments.

There has been no correspondence between the Government of India and provincial Governments regarding the recommendations of the Indian Retrenchment Committee. There has been some correspondence between the Government of India and the Secretary of State as regards (1) two temporary appointments of officers on the staff of the Director-General, Indian Medical Service, (2) medical research and (3) the reduction of the cadre of military assistant surgeons and sub-assistant surgeons. (1) has been settled by the abolition of the appointments in question. (2) and (3) are still under consideration. The Government do not propose to lay on the table the papers on the subject.

(b) The reply is in the negative.

(c) The questions, which are subsidiary to (b), do not arise.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: May I ask the Honourable Member when these reports were submitted to the Government. Is it not more than two years since the Medical Services Committee's report was submitted to the Government?

Mr. E. Burdon: Yes, I think it is about that.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: May I ask when the Secretary of State is likely to come to a decision on this matter?

Mr. E. Burdon: I am afraid I cannot say, Sir.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: May I ask whether the Government of India will address the Secretary of State, seeing the report has been before them for two years, to expedite a decision?

Mr. E. Burdon: I will have the matter looked into; I will call for the papers.

Mr. K. G. Lohokare: Some of the points in this report have been discussed by the Indian Medical Gazette. Is Government aware of this?

Mr. E. Burdon: I would ask the Honourable Member to put that question down and I shall then be able to give him a full reply.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

202. ***Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) Which posts so long held by the I. M. S. in the Bombay Presidency have been sanctioned by the Secretary of State to be transferred to the provincial establishment on the recommendation of the Medical Services and the Retrenchment Committees?
- (b) Is there any further correspondence on the subject from the Government of Bombay desiring retention of some of these posts for the I. M. S.?
- (c) If so, will Government inquire as to the possibility of getting equally efficient Indians from the independent profession or the provincial Service for these posts before giving final orders on the subject?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: (a) No appointments reserved for the I. M. S. in Bombay were transferred to the provincial Medical Establishment in consequence of the recommendations of the Medical Services and the Indian Retrenchment Committees. Parts (b) and (c) of the question do not therefore arise.

DEMOLITION OF A MOSQUE NEAR PAHARGANJ.

203. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** (a) Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the note published in the "Leader" of the 23rd January, 1923, column one, about the proposed demolition of a mosque near Paharganj?

(b) If the facts given in the note mentioned above are correct, do the Government propose to issue orders to stop the demolition of the mosque?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: (a) Yes.

(b) The facts are not as stated in that note. No portion of the actual building of the Gharib Shah Mosque is to be demolished. I would refer the Honourable Member to the reply given on the 19th March 1923 to Mr. W. M. Hassanally's question† No. 589 on the same subject. It was then explained that the new railway station had with some difficulty been so designed as to leave this mosque standing intact at the end of one of the platforms, where it will be available for Muhammadan passengers using the station. The taking up of a portion of the courtyard surrounding the mosque is unavoidable as that portion falls on the alignment of the railway lines. No diversion of the lines to avoid this has been found possible. The necessary alteration of the courtyard will be carried out in such a way as to give the least possible ground of offence to anyone concerned.

DEATH OF CHELLA MUTTU IN MALAYA.

204. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** In reply to question‡ No. 185 asked by Mr. K. B. L. Agnihotri at the meeting of the Assembly held on the 10th July, 1923, about the death of one Chella Mutu, an Indian garden coolie in Malaya, Mr. M. S. D. Butler informed the House that the Government were making inquiries from the Government of the Federated Malay States. Will the Government be pleased to state what was the result of the inquiry? What action, if any, was taken by Government on the result of the inquiry and with what effect?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: The information received shows that an inquest was at once held and the relevant proceedings have been forwarded for the information of the Government of India. The Coroner found that death was due to hæmorrhage caused by rupture of the spleen, that the blow was a slight one, that the spleen of the deceased was diseased and that there was no intention of causing hurt or knowledge that hurt was likely to be caused. In the circumstances it was decided, on the advice of the Public Prosecutor's department, that no criminal proceedings could be instituted. The Government of India have been informed further that Mr. Athorne voluntarily paid a sum of 250 dollars for the benefit of the dependents of the unfortunate coolie whilst the Colonial Government arranged for free passages for them back to India. The Government of India have pointed out to the Government of the Federated Malay States the impression which is produced in India by occurrences of this nature. They have also asked their Agent in Malaya to keep them informed about such incidents.

Mr. Devaki Prasad Sinha: Are the Government aware that most cases in which Indian coolies have met their death in this way, the report has been that death was due to rupture of the spleen?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: In this case it is perfectly clear that death was due to rupture of the spleen.

ABOLITION OF THE BOARD OF REVENUE, UNITED PROVINCES.

205. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** In the light of the reply given by Mr. S. P. O'Donnell to question No. 142 asked by Lala Girdhari Lal Agarwala at the meeting of the Legislative Assembly held on the 17th February, 1921, will the Government take steps to abolish the Board of

† Vide p. 3685 of L. A. Debates, Vol. III.

‡ Vide page 4433 of L. A. Debates, Vol. III.

Revenue in the United Provinces now that sufficient experience of the working of the Reforms Scheme has been gained?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: The attention of the Honourable Member is drawn to Sir William Vincent's answer* to Lala Girdhari Lal Agarwala's question on the same subject on 16th January 1922. The Secretary of State has since approved of an arrangement whereby the Court of Wards administration in the United Provinces will continue to be under the control of the Board of Revenue.

Mr. Devaki Prasad Sinha: Are Government prepared to take steps to abolish the Board of Revenue in any other province?

Mr. President: The Honourable Member had better give notice of that.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

BRANCHES OF THE IMPERIAL BANK.

60. **Haji S. A. K. Jeelani:** With reference to the undertaking given by the Imperial Bank of India to start a certain number of branches, will the Government be pleased to state the number of branches started after amalgamation of the Presidency Banks?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The number is 65.

ALLEGED ASSAULT BY ANGLO-INDIANS ON AN INDIAN WOMAN.

61. **Mr. T. C. Goswami:** (a) Is it a fact that in the early morning, at about 4 A.M., of the 11th January 1924, two Anglo-Indians forced a Bilaspuria woman, travelling by the Kharagpore Passenger train (No. 43 down), to leave her carriage at Ramrajatola Railway Station, on the Bengal-Nagpore Railway, in order to commit an outrage on her, and that the Jamadar of the Station reported the fact immediately to the Bengalee Station Master in charge of the Station, who called the Police to prevent further mischief, and that, though the Police intervention was too late, the two Anglo-Indians were identified by the woman in the presence of Police Officers?

(b) And is it a fact that the matter has not gone to Court, and that the Local D T S. expressed his disapproval of the Station Master's conduct in having reported the matter to the Police and insisting on a proper inquiry, and is now trying to hush up the matter?

(c) And, if the information is correct, does Government propose to take any steps in the matter?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The alleged incident is being investigated by the Police. The Government are informed that the District Traffic Superintendent, so far from having made any attempt to hush the matter up, at once sent an Indian Assistant to make full inquiry.

EXTERMENT ORDERS AGAINST INDIANS.

62. **Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar:** Will the Government be pleased to state the number of Indians who are kept out of India by orders of exterment and the provisions of the law under which those orders were passed?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: None.

* Vide page 1574 of L. A. Debates, Vol. II.

POLITICAL PRISONERS.

63. **Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar:** Will the Government be pleased to state whether the Governor-General in Council exercises any control or supervision over or keeps himself informed of the treatment accorded to political prisoners in the various jails?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Prisons and prisoners other than State prisoners is a provincial reserved subject and as such the Governor General in Council exercises the general powers of superintendence, direction and control provided for in the Devolution Rules. The rules regulating the prison treatment of prisoners are framed by Local Governments themselves under section 60 of the Prisons Act, subject to the control of the Governor General in Council.

POLITICAL PRISONERS.

64. **Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar:** Will the Government be pleased to state under which provision of law contracts as to future conduct are entered into by the Government with the political prisoners who are released before the expiry of their sentence?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: By "contracts" I presume the Honourable Member means the conditions which may be attached to a remission of sentence. These are regulated by Section 401, Criminal Procedure Code.

THIRD CLASS WAITING HALL AT MEERUT CITY.

65. **Haji Wajihuddin:** Is it a fact that the third class waiting room on Meerut City Junction Railway Station is in quite unsuitable condition for the monsoon weather, the rain leaks into the tin-shed and the passengers suffer great inconvenience and trouble and find no place of shelter when waiting for the train and if so, do the Government propose to take necessary steps in the matter before the rainy season?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Government understand that the third class waiting hall at Meerut City is in sound condition and quite water-tight. The eaves boards guttering leaks and is being repaired.

PROVISION OF BENCHES ON THE DELHI RAILWAY STATION PLATFORMS.

66. **Haji Wajihuddin:** Are the Government aware that in view of the very great number of passengers who visit Delhi every day and night a few benches provided on the platforms (excepting the main platform) are quite inadequate and whenever a train is late passengers waiting for the train are put to great inconvenience and whether the Government propose to take necessary steps in the matter?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Government understand that there are 10 platforms at Delhi and for these 46 benches have been provided. The provision of additional benches would tend to obstruct the circulating area on the platforms and this is not desirable. No complaints have been received by the Railway Administration concerned regarding inadequate sitting accommodation.

INDIAN STATION SUPERINTENDENTS, ETC., ON THE E. I. RAILWAY.

67. **Haji Wajihuddin:** Is it a fact that on no important stations of the E. I. R., such as Delhi, Cawnpore, Ghaziabad, Howrah, Moghalsarai and

Allahabad, there is any Indian Station Superintendent, Deputy Station Superintendent, Platform Assistant or Yard Master?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: It is a fact that at the present time the holders of the various posts at the stations mentioned are not Indians, but it is not correct to say that at no important station on the East Indian Railway are Indians employed in these capacities.

LUGGAGE PORTERS ON THE E. I. RAILWAY.

68. **Haji Wajihuddin:** (a) Is it a fact that all the contracts for the supply of luggage porters on the E. I. R. have been taken away from Indians and given to Anglo-Indians and Europeans? And if so, on what principle?

(b) Who hold the contracts for this supply of luggage porters at Howrah, Cawnpore, Allahabad, Delhi, Ghaziabad and Kalka?

(c) What is the approximate number of licenses issued to porters at each of these stations?

(d) What are the charges paid by each porter to the contractor per mensem and per diem?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) The answer is in the negative and the question regarding principle does not arise.

(b) The contracts are held by Europeans at Cawnpore and Delhi, by Anglo-Indians at Howrah and Allahabad, and by an Indian at Kalka. No license has been issued at Ghaziabad.

(c) The approximate number of licenses issued are: Howrah 500, Cawnpore 105, Allahabad 200, Delhi 400 and Kalka 50. Regarding Ghaziabad, the question does not arise.

(d) What are the charges paid by each porter to the contractor per their licensed coolies. The Railway has no concern with this arrangement.

CONTRACT FOR MUHAMMADAN FOOD ON THE B. N. RAILWAY.

69. **Haji Wajihuddin:** Is it a fact that the contract for the supply of Mohammadan food on the B. N. Railway is held by a Hindu Marwari and if so, since when and on what terms?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Government have no information. Such contracts are made by the Railway Administrations themselves.

EUROPEAN, HINDU AND MUHAMMADAN REFRESHMENT ROOMS ON THE E. I. RAILWAYS.

70. **Haji Wajihuddin:** What is the number of 1st and 2nd class refreshment rooms on the E. I. Railway and the number of Hindu and Mohammadan refreshment rooms?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The number of 1st and 2nd class refreshment rooms on the East Indian Railway is 27. There are two Hindu refreshment rooms at Delhi and Moghal Serai, respectively, and one Muhammadan refreshment room at Delhi. In addition to these refreshment

rooms, cooked food is provided by Muhammadan and Hindu vendors at all the principal stations.

Separate refreshment rooms for Hindu and Muhammadan passengers at Allahabad and Howrah and a Muhammadan refreshment room at Moghal Serai will be provided in the near future.

CONTRACTORS ON THE E. I. AND G. I. P. RAILWAYS.

71. **Haji Wajihuddin:** What is the number of contractors in the Stores and Engineering Departments of the E. I. R. and G. I. P. R. and how many of these are Mohammadans?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Government have no information.

DRINKING WATER FOR INDIAN PASSENGERS ON RAILWAYS.

72. **Haji Wajihuddin:** Are Government prepared to instruct other Railways to make the same arrangements for the supply of cool drinking water to Indian passengers as are made by the G. I. P. Railway?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The Government have seen the report submitted to the Agent of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway by two officers placed on special duty to inquire into facilities for third class passengers on the railway. In this report the officers made some suggestions regarding drinking-water supply at stations, but the Government of India do not know what orders were passed by the Agent on the proposals. The Government will inquire, and, if necessary, will communicate the results to other railway administrations.

ELECTION OF THE STANDING FINANCE COMMITTEE.

Mr. President: I have to acquaint the House that, as a result of the ballot of yesterday, the following Members have been elected to serve on the Standing Finance Committee:

- Sir Campbell Rhodes,
- Mr. K. C. Roy,
- Mr. Bhubanananda Das,
- Mr. H. G. Cocks,
- Mr. Darcy Lindsay,
- Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty,
- Dr. H. S. Gour,
- Maulvi Muhammad Yakub,
- Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao,
- Mr. N. M. Joshi,
- Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum,
- Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh,
- Sardar Kartar Singh,
- Mr. S. C. Ghose.

RESOLUTION RE THE IMPOSITION OF A COUNTERVAILING
DUTY ON SOUTH AFRICAN COAL IMPORTED INTO INDIA.

Mr. K. C. Neogy (Dacca Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I beg to move:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that in view of the recent depression in Indian Coal Trade, a countervailing duty be imposed on the South African Coal imported into India, to the extent of the indirect bounty enjoyed by it, in the shape of rebate on railway freight under the provisions of section 8 (a) of the Indian Tariff Act, 1894 (VIII of 1894), as amended and in pursuance of the policy indicated by the Indian Fiscal Commission in paragraph 141 of their Report."

Sir, I crave the indulgence of this House so as to draw its attention to the serious situation that confronts perhaps the third most important organised industry in India. I may at once make it quite clear before the House that I have no direct or indirect interest in the coal trade; and while that circumstance may lead to an imperfect presentation of the case, I am sure I can claim it as a special qualification for me to plead the cause of this industry. Sir, I need not emphasise the importance of coal in the nation economy of any country. Perhaps oil and hydro-electric power will play an increasingly important part in the future industrial development of this country. But it goes without saying that coal will continue to be the principal basis of power. I have already said that coal is the third principal organised industry in India. First, I believe, comes cotton with an investment of Rs. 21 crores and employing 284,000 men. Next in order comes jute, with an investment of Rs. 14 crores and employing 260,000 men. Third in order comes coal with an investment of roughly Rs. 13 crores and employing 167,000 men. I therefore beg the House to remember the special importance of this trade when they consider this Resolution which I have the honour to move. One of the special features of the coal industry, to which I desire to draw special attention, is the fact that a very large proportion of the capital invested in coal is Indian, and that a large proportion of this industry is under Indian management. Now, Sir, the principal sources of supply of coal are at present Raneeunge and the Jherriah fields; and taking the recent figures I think it may be safely asserted that almost 84 per cent. of the total output comes from these two fields. This industry has made enormous strides during recent years, and its marked expansion will be evident when I place the following figures before the House. In 1903 the total output of coal in British India was about 7 million tons. In 1913 it rose to above 15 million tons. In 1919 it stood at over 21 million tons. Since 1919 it has stood at about 18 million tons. For a very large number of years India has at least been self-supporting in the matter of her coal supply. But with an increasing output she was able some years ago to build up a substantial export trade also.

Now, if we refer to the figures for the export trade with foreign ports, we find that the quinquennial average ending 1913-14 stood at 8½ lakhs of tons. In 1919 the export of coal to foreign ports rose to 1,135,000 tons; in 1920 it stood at 1,220,000 tons, which was the record figure for export. In January 1921 Government placed an embargo upon the export of coal, and this embargo has been removed only with effect from January 1923. Looking at our import figures we find that the pre-war import for the quinquennium ending 1916 was 4½ lakhs tons. But after the war and with the resumption of foreign imports, we find that in 1921 our import figure stood at 1,090,000 tons and in 1922 it stood at 1,220,000 tons. It is therefore evident that whereas the pre-war quinquennial average of net export

[Mr. K. C. Neogy.]

stood at 4 lakhs tons, in 1923 instead of showing a net export India shows a net import of 5 lakhs tons; that is to say, we are dependent upon foreign coal to the extent of 5 lakhs tons, if the figures for 1923 can be accepted as the basis for calculation. Now, Sir, as I have already said, the embargo was placed on the export of coal in January 1921. I do not suggest that the Government were actuated by any nefarious motives when they placed this embargo. But, Sir, look at the result. The result of this embargo has been that India has lost the foreign markets that she had in different parts of the eastern world; and simultaneously with the imposition of the embargo on the export of Indian coal, foreign coal from Wales and South Africa began to dump in Bombay; and Government themselves, while they placed this embargo on the export of Indian coal, instead of patronising the Indian coal, went in for large quantities of Welsh coal for railway requirements. Now, this period coincided with a period of extraordinary depression in the home markets, due to the post-war slump in trade. All these factors combined to place the coal market in India in a very unfavourable position. So far with regard to the general export and import situation. Now, Sir, if you turn to the part which South Africa has played in regard to the import trade of coal in India, we find that during the quinquennium between 1906 and 1910, South African coal imported in India was only 40,000 tons. Between 1911 and 1915 the average was 60,000 tons. In 1921 with the resumption of shipments of foreign coal after the war, the import from South Africa rose to 301,000 tons; in 1922 it stood at 231,000 tons; in 1923 it stood at 261,000 tons. This increasing import of coal from South Africa has been facilitated by an indirect bounty granted by the Government of that country and the Railways of South Africa, in the shape of a rebate in favour of South African coal shipped as cargo from South and South-East Africa. The rate of rebate up to December 1921 was 18s. 9d. per South African ton; up to 1922 it was 9s. 9d.; since January 1923 it stood at 7s. 9d. per South African ton which corresponds to about 8s. 9d. per Indian ton or Rs. 6-9-0 per ton. This indirect bounty has enabled South Africa to undersell Indian coal in the Bombay market by about Rs. 4 per ton.

Thanks to the various factors into which I need not go at the present moment, the raising costs of coal have risen enormously of late, and the railway freight, as is well known, has also been increased to a very large extent. A rebate in freight has recently been agreed to by the East Indian Railway and the Bengal-Nagpur Railway at the rate of Re. 1 per ton with effect from January 1924, but this is hardly enough to meet the requirements of the situation. Competition with the South African coal in the Bombay market does not leave more than Rs. 3 or Rs. 4 per ton to the collieries as the value of coal at the pit's mouth; and this is hardly sufficient to cover the raising cost, let alone any profit whatsoever. As a result of this many mines have been closed, and a very large number of mines are not yielding any profit. In a speech at the meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce held in Bombay the other day, Sir Willoughby Carey said:

"Of the 146 registered companies only 63 pay dividends, and that companies representing about 6 crores of rupees invested in collieries pay no dividends at present, and many mines are shut down completely".

Now, Sir, in this struggle for existence the larger European concerns with enormous capital at their command fare better than the Indian concerns which are smaller takings and have a smaller amount of capital at

their back, and this fact should be clearly borne in mind by this House in considering this Resolution. Desperate attempts are being made by the coal industry to keep its head above water, and as an illustration of this I may cite a latest transaction. A combine was recently formed in Calcutta to ship coal to Bombay, the members agreeing to part with their coal at raising cost without any profits and without taking into consideration any interest that may be due on the bank facilities which the trade receives. The combine were fortunate enough to get shipping at the rate of Rs. 7 per ton, which is, I am told, Rs. 2 below the ruling rate.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes (Commerce Member): Question?

Mr. K. C. Neogy: I am told that the particular firm which supplied the shipping at the rate of Rs. 7 per ton has refused to supply any further tonnage unless they were paid Rs. 9 per ton. Now, Sir, this combine were enabled to offer their coal at about Rs. 2 per ton less than the ruling price of South African coal in the Bombay market. But you cannot expect the trade to go on in this way for ever. You must allow them some margin of profit; you must allow them to take into account the interest which they have got to pay on account of the banking facilities which they get. Therefore in order that any equitable transaction may yield a reasonable amount of profit, it must fetch a much higher price than is at present possible for Pungal coal to obtain in Bombay. The difference, as I said, between the price of Natal coal and the Indian coal stands in the neighbourhood of Rs. 4 per ton.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Question?

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Now the remedy that I have suggested in this Resolution is that a countervailing duty should be imposed on South African coal to the extent of the bounty enjoyed by it; and, while I advocate this remedy, I am fortified by the precedent which the Government of India themselves established as early as 1899 when they dealt with the bounty-fed Austrian sugar which was seriously affecting the Java sugar in the Indian market. Lord Curzon's Government on that occasion enacted section 8 (a) of the Tariff Act which authorises the Government to impose a countervailing duty of the nature which my Resolution contemplates. I do not therefore ask Government to give their adherence to any new tariff or fiscal policy at all. My contention is that they are committed to the principle, and I put forward this claim on behalf of a struggling industry so that the Government of India may take action under the Tariff (Amendment) Act to which I have referred. The Fiscal Commission went into this question very fully, and in their Report they observe as follows:

"It is clear that protection should equally be afforded against any deliberate action by foreign states tending to stimulate their exports at the expense of any industry, but this branch of the subject is already covered by Act XIV of 1899 which was passed in order to deal with the export bounty on sugar. The Act is worded generally and provides that where any country pays directly or indirectly any bounty upon exports, the Governor General in Council may by notification in the *Gazette of India* impose an additional duty on imports into India equal to the nature of the amount of such bounty. This provision appears to give all the security that is required to counteract any system of export bounties and provides an opportunity for any industry which feels that it is being handicapped by such export bounties to approach the Government of India with a view to the imposition of countervailing duties".

Now, Sir, by this Resolution the coal industry of India are approaching the Government of India under the feeling that it is being handicapped by the export bounty granted by the South African Government for facilitating their trade. A question may be asked as to whether rebate

[Mr. K. C. Neogy.]

is a bounty at all. In a letter to the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, dated the 25th May 1923, the Government of India say that:

"They are informed that a rebate on railway freight amounting to 7s. 9d. per ton is given on coal exported from South Africa. This rebate is an indirect bounty on the export of coal, and under section 8 (a) of the Indian Tariff Act of 1894 as amended, the Governor General in Council may impose an additional bounty on South African coal imported into India equivalent to the amount of the bounty."

So that there is no question about the competence of the Government of India to impose the countervailing duty which I suggest in this Resolution

In their letter to the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, Government do not attempt any justification for their attitude of *non-possumus* in this question. They merely say that they do not think that the consumers in Bombay would like the price of coal to go up, which would be the result of imposing this countervailing duty. Now, Sir, as I have already pointed out, the amount of bounty has gone down from 18s. 9d. to 7s. 9d. in three years' time. It is inconceivable that the South African Government would continue this bounty for ever, so as to enable the Indian consumer to have cheap coal. I do not suppose that the Government will ask this House to rely upon the charity of the countrymen of General Smuts for the purpose of their coal supply. I therefore appeal to this House, Sir, with all the emphasis that I can command, to do justice to the struggling industry whose cause I have the honour to advocate.

Pandit Shamlal Nehru (Meerut Division: Non-Muhammadian Rural):

Sir, my friend, Mr. Neogy, has given as one of his reasons that the capital employed is Indian. I would say that, even if the capital invested were European, we would be justified in increasing this duty. After all, the labour is Indian. Unemployment in India is increasing. Besides the money which buys the coal is Indian and goes out of India. Mr. Neogy has also said that he sees no nefarious motive in the Government action in allowing this coal to come in as it is coming in now. I do not see any nefarious motive either, but I think the Government being European, it is a very patriotic thing for a European to help another European, and they are doing that. I wish our own people would be patriotic enough to do that sort of thing for our own country and learn this patriotism from our European friends. If some people think that under-selling is only a business way of beating down others, I do not see any objection in competition among your own people in your own country, but in this particular case I would draw the attention of the House to the fact that, because Indians are underselling goods in South Africa, that is one of the reasons given by the South African Government to oust Indians from their country. In this particular case I would not allow a South African to undersell articles in India. That will be another reason for me to increase the duty on South African coal. Mr. Neogy, I think, Sir, has been very liberal in allowing South Africa to export coal to India on any terms. If I were in his place, I would stop the coming in of South African coal altogether. Under no circumstances should anything from South Africa be allowed to come in. Anyway, this Resolution deals with South African coal only, and I hope the House will pass this Resolution by a very large majority.

Kumar Ganganand Sinha (Bhagalpur, Purnea and the Santhal Parganas: Non-Muhammadian): Sir, I rise to support the Resolution that

has been so ably moved by my friend, Mr. K. C. Neogy. It is merely a question of pursuing a policy which was adopted after mature deliberation in 1899 while amending the Indian Tariff Act, 1894. It was agreed upon then that, whenever an Indian industry is in peril of extinction by the introduction of the system of bounty, it should be the duty of the Government to protect it by the imposition of a countervailing duty. In the course of the debate that took place when the Tariff Act Amendment Bill was being discussed, Sir J. Westland, the then Finance Member, with his characteristic clearness, pointed out that it was well known that the effect of the bounties was two-fold. He said:

"It affects in two entirely opposite directions the interests of the consumer and the producer. So far as regards the consumer, it brings the article of consumption to the market at a cheaper price than would otherwise be available to him. In that respect he receives benefit. But the producer looks at it from a different point of view. It supplants in the market the produce which he would otherwise bring to it by competitive produce which has attached to it an artificial advantage."

Artificial advantage, indeed! Who can be insensible to the fact that one of the chief things that conduce to the prosperity of a country is its industry? When the very existence of industry is at stake, who can be so unmindful as to neglect the far-reaching consequences merely for the sake of temporary gain? Mark what the West Indian Commission states in its Report. It says:

"We have, therefore, no hesitation in saying that the abolition of the bounty system is an object at which Your Majesty's Government should aim, if they should see their way to securing that result and that the accomplishment of such an end is worth some sacrifice, provided always that such sacrifice would be really effective and would not involve evils out of all proportion to those which it is desired to remove."

And, as my friend there pointed out, Lord Curzon, while winding up the debate on the Tariff Amendment Act, 1894, saw the wisdom of protecting the indigenous industry of the country and thought it proper to do so by all means. Of course, my friend there has quoted an extract from that debate and I take the liberty to quote it at some greater length. He says:

"Bounties are in themselves an arbitrary and in my opinion a vicious economic expedient designed in exclusively selfish interests. They are inconsistent with free trade because they extinguish freedom, and they reverse the natural currents of trade. To meet them by a countervailing duty is to redress the balance and to restore the conditions under which trade resumes its freedom. I do not think we need pay much attention, therefore, to the mutterings of the high priests at free trade shrines. Their oracles do not stand precisely at their original premium. This is not a question of economic orthodoxy or heterodoxy, it is a question of re-establishing the fiscal balance which has been deflected for their own advantage and to our injury by certain of our foreign competitors."

If I may be permitted to quote him a little further, I will tell you what he said on the same occasion with his inherent force. He said:

"We ought, on the contrary, I think, to stimulate and to encourage its development by every means in our power."

The present Commerce Member, it may be remembered, has also endorsed the policy and principle of protection when he moved last year:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council: (a) that he accepts in principle the proposition that the fiscal policy of the Government of India may legitimately be directed towards fostering the development of industries in India;"

and so on. Now, applying this time-honoured principle to the present case, we know that the coal industry, though the oldest of the three organised industries in this country, is yet in its gristle. Approximately speaking, while America produces nearly 52 crores and England produces

[Kumar Ganganand Sinha.]

26 to 28 crores, India produces only 2 crores. To attempt to kill it at this stage of development is the greatest sin that can be committed and a crime that cannot be left unpunished. Punishment, Sir, is not far to seek. You have got in your Statute the means of punishment! You have got behind you a brilliant tradition set by one of the greatest statesman of the British realm!

Section 8 of the Indian Tariff Act reads:

"(1) Where any country, dependency or colony pays or bestows, directly or indirectly, any bounty or grant upon the exportation therefrom of any article, and the article is chargeable with duty under the provisions of this Act, then, upon the importation of any such article into British India, whether the same is imported directly from the country of production or otherwise, and whether it is imported in the same condition as when exported from the country of production or has been changed in condition by manufacture or otherwise, the Governor General in Council may, by notification in the *Gazette of India*, impose an additional duty equal to the net amount of such bounty or grant, however the same be paid or bestowed.

(2) The net amount of any such bounty or grant as aforesaid shall be, from time to time, ascertained, determined and declared by the Governor General in Council, and the Governor General may, by notification in the *Gazette of India*, make rules for the identification of such articles and for the assessment and collection of any additional duty imposed upon the importation thereof under sub-section (1)."

As submitted by my Honourable friend there, the principle of this Act is elucidated in paragraph 141 of the report of the Indian Fiscal Commission.

If this measure was applied to protect the Mauritius sugar industry and partly also the Indian sugar industry against European competition in order that the labourers may be provided for, what is there to prevent the same legislation being introduced to safeguard the interests of 167,000 labourers employed in the coal industry? If you don't act likewise on this occasion, your coal concerns generally and the Indian coal concerns particularly will be swept away from the land of its birth by the torrent of foreign competition and your indigenous industry will suffer a very great reverse. Again, the Resolution does not imply any loss in revenue which would have resulted if any corresponding bounty or rebate had been asked for. But the question before the House is only that of self-preservation and self-protection. We only wish to protect our own industry, and we claim the same right to preserve our industry in this country as the foreign nations do to preserve and encourage theirs, in their own territory. And, Sir, what can be a more gracious, more prudent, more far-sighted act of this House than to adopt this Resolution?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Sir, I propose to speak rather early in this debate because from the speech made by the last speaker, it seems to me that the debate may, to use an appropriate metaphor, go off the rails. This question is not a question which has got to be decided on abstract economic principles. It is purely a question of business. It is purely a question of what is in the best interests of India and what is in the best interests of the coal trade itself.

Now, Sir, Mr. Neogy's speech was the sort of speech that we have learnt to expect of Mr. Neogy in this House. It was a speech which had evidently been prepared with great industry. Mr. Neogy, if I may say so, though he has got no interest direct or indirect in the coal trade, has been carefully briefed by the coal trade. I hope that I may say that I have as much sympathy with the Indian coal trade as any Member of this House. Indeed, I should be a very poor Commerce Member if I have

not. But let me remind this House that in a question of this kind, the Government of India and the Legislative Assembly must not consider purely sectional interests. They must look at the problem as a whole and they must take into account not only the interests of the Bengal coal trade but the interests of Bombay consumers and of consumers all over India. Moreover, Sir, let me assure the House that the question is not so simple a one as Mr. Neogy has made out. We have also to consider the real interests, the true interests, of the coal trade itself.

Sir, Mr. Neogy has gone into a lot of past history and though he was good enough to say that the Government of India had no nefarious motive in putting an embargo on the export of coal, yet he clearly indicated that the Government of India are responsible in his opinion for the depression which undoubtedly prevails in the Indian coal trade. I am very glad to meet that remark, not so much because I want to answer Mr. Neogy on that point but because a friend of mine in Calcutta, in making a speech at the Bengal Coal Company, made a statement which I am very glad to have an opportunity of replying to. That gentleman, Sir, said that the Government of India had been stampeded into putting an embargo on the export of coal at the instance of a few alarmists. Sir, my withers are entirely unwrung. I know that memory is short in the public and even in this House. Just let me remind the House what the condition of the coal trade and of industries in India was at that time. You have got to remember that before the war the Indian coal trade went to far distant places like Bombay and the west coast of India almost entirely by sea. It went to Kidderpore and thence round by coasting steamers. During the war, the coasting steamers, the tramps, disappeared from the Eastern waters. The coal trade was therefore driven back to the railways, and the railways, which were over-burdened with traffic of every description, were taxed to their utmost limits. Indeed, they were taxed beyond their limits. All the coal trade which had gone from Calcutta to Bombay by sea was thrown on to the railways. What was the result? The result in 1919-20 was that industries all over India were on the point of closing down. They could not get coal because the railways could not supply them with coal. In addition, India at that time was practically the only country in the world which was exporting coal. In May 1920 there were no less than 46 steamers waiting in the Hughli to take away Indian coal, and at that time, as I knew perfectly well and as people knew all over India, Indian industries could not get along because they did not get coal. Now, Sir, I should like this House to realise that every step which the Government of India took in those difficult times, they took in consultation with the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, the Indian Mining Association and the Indian Mining Federation. Those were the few alarmists to which Sir Thomas Catto referred in that speech. I acted, Sir, on the advice—the Government of India acted on the advice—of consumers and of the coal trade itself.

But, Sir, let me get down to the case before us. I wish to emphasise again that it is purely a business proposition. It is purely a question of what is in the best interests of India and in the best interests of the coal trade itself. Let me remove certain misconceptions about this rebate, which is given on coal in South Africa. I do not know where Mr. Neogy got his figures from. We have always had some difficulty ourselves in finding out what the exact amount of the rebate was. In our letter, that is, the Commerce Department's letter to the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, we said that the rebate was Rs. 7-9-0 a ton. That was our information at the time. But when I was at home in London last year

[Sir Charles Innes.]

in connection with the Economic Conference I managed to get into touch with the Chairman of the Board of Trade and Industries in South Africa and I got from him the actual figures in regard to the rebate, at any rate, on the Natal coal. The actual fact of the matter is that on coal taken from Hattingspruit to Durban for local consumption 12s. 11d. per ton is charged. On coal which is exported from Durban 6s. 7d. is refunded so that the net freight on coal is reduced to 6s. 4d. per ton. From Vryheid to Durban the rebate is rather less. As I have shown, this rebate amounts to 6s. 7d. a ton, or taking exchange at 1s. 5d. it comes to Rs. 4-11-0 a ton. I do not deny for a moment that that rebate is in the nature of an indirect bounty within the meaning of those words in section 8 (a) of the Indian Tariff Act. I do not deny that for a moment, and I do say that if the Government of India so decided they could use section 8 (a) of the Tariff Act to put on a surcharge upon our import duty on coal equivalent to that bounty. But let us explore this rebate a little further. I think I detected in Mr. Neogy's speech a sort of suggestion that this rebate, which is given on export coal in South Africa, was part of a rather sinister plot on the part of the Union Government of South Africa and the railways in South Africa to attack the Indian coal trade. It is nothing of the sort. All railways in the world calculate their railway rates in accordance with the well known principle that the rate shall be the maximum that the traffic can bear. The South African railways, and I think we might here take a leaf from their book, have been separated off by an Act of Parliament. They are run by three commissioners and a general manager. They are required to run the railways on strictly business and commercial lines. It is obvious that these commissioners and the general manager have satisfied themselves that if they charged on coal exported from Durban the same rates as they charge on coal for local consumption in Durban they would get the traffic because no coal would be exported. Therefore, they charge on export of coal just as much as they think that the traffic will bear. It pays them to take a smaller profit because, if they charged a higher rate, they would not get any profit at all, because they would not get any traffic. That is the plain fact of the matter, it is a plain business matter and we are doing the same thing ourselves on the East Indian Railway and the Bengal-Nagpur Railway at the present moment.

The next point I want to make is that there is no evidence at all that this rebate is directed specifically against the Indian coal trade. In the first place, the rebate was put on, I think, I am not sure about this point, but I think it was put on in 1912-13. I think it was put on in that year because in that year there was a sudden jump in the imports of South African coal from 30,000 tons to 163,000 tons. So I assume that the rebate was put on in that year. Before the war the rebate was nearly at the same rate that I have given. It was 5s. 8d. per ton. It is now 6s. 7d. per ton. There has been a very small increase and the point I wish to make is that the increase which has taken place in the imports since the war of South African coal has nothing to do with the rebate. Another point I wish to make is this. In spite of what Mr. Neogy said about India having been for many years self-supporting in the matter of coal, Bombay has always depended to a very large extent on coal imported from foreign countries. As far back as 1909-10 Bombay imported 338,000 tons of foreign coal out of a total import into India of 414,000 tons of foreign coal. Out of those 414,000 tons, 84,000 tons came from South Africa and 300,000 tons came from England. In the first eight months of the current year Bombay imported 272,000 tons of foreign coal out of a total im-

port of 423,000 tons. Of those 423,000 tons, 292,000 tons came from South Africa and only 64,000 tons from England. The position in this year is the exact reverse of the position in 1909-10. In that year Bombay took about 300,000 tons of English coal and only about 80,000 tons of South African coal. Now, she has taken nearly 300,000 tons of South African coal and only 60,000 tons of English coal. So, you see that if looked at from that point of view, South African coal has driven out not Indian coal but English coal. At the same time I do not wish to be misunderstood. I do not for a moment deny that Indian coal finds it difficult to compete in the Bombay market, and I have no doubt that if we did impose this countervailing duty of Rs. 4-8-0 a ton on Natal coal, Indian coal would find it very much easier to compete in that market. The next point we have got to examine is, why it is that Indian coal finds it difficult to compete in the Bombay market. Mr. Neogy will tell you it is because of this rebate or this indirect bounty. Sir, I am afraid the matter is not so simple as that. I have made very many inquiries upon this point in the last few months and in the last few weeks, and those inquiries tend to show that there are two causes why Bengal coal is not doing so well in the Bombay market as it used to. One of these causes is the question of quality and the other is the matter of price. Let me take the question of quality first. I do not want to say anything to depress in the public mind the value of Bengal coal, but I am afraid that it is a fact that in the last few years Bengal has dumped upon unfortunate Bombay a very large quantity of very inferior coal. Let me read to you what a very important millowner in Bombay wrote to me some time ago:

"Third class Jherria coal is the coal that Calcutta firms have been dumping in Bombay for many years and is of very inferior quality, low in calorific value and high in ash. A number of mills have been forced to make use of this coal with very bad results, and, it is considered that the use of this inferior coal in Bombay has been the cause of the bad name given to Bengal coal."

Then, Sir, there is another point against Bengal coal and that is that it is unreliable. Welsh coal and Natal coal are very carefully sorted and graded before they are exported. Bengal coal is not, with the result that one merchant wrote to me that

"screening plant is the exception, not the rule, that supervision of shipping coal is practically nil and the result is that hardly two cargoes of Bengal coal arrive in the same condition and complaints are numerous."

Now, this bad reputation of Bengal coal is naturally a very important point in a port like Bombay which requires
 12 Noon. so much bunker coal, especially a port where many passenger liners leave. These passenger liners, if they wish to travel fast, must have the best kind of coal. Now let me turn to the other reason why, as far as I can see, Bengal coal is having a bad time in the Bombay market. As I said, that is a question of price. It is not very easy to compare the price of Bengal coal with South African coal because there are different grades and qualities. So I consulted the Indian Mining Federation and, on their advice, I went to a certain firm in Bombay and that firm has very kindly supplied me periodically with very careful statistics of the comparative prices of Bengal and Natal coal. Now, this is what the position was in December. First class Bengal coal railway-borne *ex depôt* was selling at Rs. 28-2-0 a ton. First class Natal coal sea-borne *ex bunders* was selling at Rs. 24-15-0 a ton. That is to say, there was a difference of Rs. 3-2-0 in favour of the Natal coal. Again, second class Bengal coal was selling at from Rs. 23-2-0 to Rs. 25-2-0 per ton, whereas South African coal was selling at from Rs. 21-13-0 to Rs. 23-15-0 a ton, that is to say, the difference in favour of South African

[Sir Charles Innes.]

coal was about Rs. 1-4-0 a ton. I daresay some Members of this House will want to go no further. They will say, "What did I tell you. Here is this South African coal getting a rebate of 4-11-0 a ton and here is that same coal underselling our Indian coal by Rs. 3-2-0 a ton in the case of first class coal and by Rs. 1-4-0 a ton in the case of second class coal." They will say at once, "Surely a case for a countervailing duty is established." But, Sir, we have to go still a little further. We have to try and analyse why it is that this Bengal coal is being undersold in this way by coal which comes from so far afield as South Africa. I have just given you certain figures about the Natal coal. It pays a net railway freight of 6s. 4d. per ton. It pays at the present moment, I got the figures wired up to me two days ago, from Durban to Bombay a freight of 15s. a ton. That is to say, Natal coal is paying in transport charges, railway freight and sea freight 21s. 4d. a ton. In addition it pays a duty of 8 annas. Therefore the transport charges, converted at the 1s. 5d. rate, of South African coal works out at Rs. 15-9-0 a ton. The railway freight on Indian coal from Jharria to Bombay is Rs. 15-6-0 a ton. That is the position. For rail-borne Indian coal and sea-borne South African coal the transport charges are practically the same and yet first class Indian coal is being undersold by Rs. 3 a ton. Second class Indian coal is being undersold by Rs. 1-4-0 a ton.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar (Madras City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): What is the price in Natal of this coal?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I have not got them. The transport charges are practically the same and yet Indian coal is being undersold. What is the explanation of that? The Coal Trade Review has just come out. From that review you find that the average pits' mouth value of Indian coal has risen from an average of Rs. 3-5-0 a ton in the five years ending 1915 to no less than Rs. 7-11-0 a ton in 1922. Now, Sir, there is the real difficulty. Indian coal has gone up in price from Rs. 3-5-0 to Rs. 7-11-0 a ton, and that is the main reason why Indian coal cannot compete in the Bombay market. It is purely a question of price, and that is why Mr. Chadwick and myself, when from time to time we have discussed these matters with the Indian coal trade, have impressed upon them the necessity of trying to reduce their prices. In this matter I think the Indian coal trade might well take a leaf from the South African book. I was reading lately a report on South African Railways, the latest report that I could get, and I find that in the year ending January 1st, 1922, the Natal collieries cut their prices for export, their pits' mouth prices, by from 7s. to 16s. 9d. per ton. They have cut their prices. The Indian collieries have kept theirs up. Sir, even that does not end my case: I have so far been comparing the price of Indian rail-borne coal with the price of coal from Natal. Now I should like this House to realise that it must always be a very difficult matter for coal which has a very long lead by railway, in this case that lead is 1,194 miles, to compete with coal which has only a short railway lead and then goes by sea. Before the war coal from Bengal went to Bombay almost entirely by sea, and if the coal trade can get back to that position, I do not see why it should not recapture the Bombay market, even without any reduction of their pit's mouth prices. Let me prove this point. I have just given you the South African figures. I have shown that the transport costs of Natal coal, that is, rail freight, plus sea freight, plus customs duty, amount to Rs. 15-9-0 a ton to Bombay. Now, let me give you the transport costs of Indian coal if that Indian coal is taken round to Bombay *via* the Kidderpore Docks and by coasting steamers. We have just reduced the rail freight on this

route by 25 per cent., and at this present moment that rail freight from Jharria (including all terminals including port trust terminals) is Rs. 3-8-6 per ton. From Raneegunge it is Rs. 2-10-3. To that we have got to add freight. Now, the freight from Calcutta to Bombay in January, as was correctly said, was Rs. 7 for one steamer. Another firm then went into the market and the price went up to Rs. 9. I am informed to-day that it has dropped again to Rs. 8. As freight rose on that side of India, so it rose on the Durban-Bombay route. It rose from 13-6-0 to 15 shillings. As I have said, the rail freight from Jharria to the docks is Rs. 3-8-6 and the sea freight is 9, at the present moment 8. Therefore the total transport cost of Indian coal taken round by the part-rail and part-sea route to Bombay amounts to something between Rs. 11-10-0 and Rs. 12-8-0 per ton. That is to say, Indian coal taken by sea has an advantage of over Rs. 3 a ton in transport charges over South African coal. Now, what I want to know is, why is it that in these circumstances Indian coal cannot compete with South African coal in Bombay. I will give you the answer in one word. The answer is that the Indian coal trade has never made any real effort to attack the Bombay market by that route. I discussed this with the coal trade last December and I am glad to say that now the coal trade is waking up to the position. Two firms chartered steamers in January and there is also the coal combine to which Mr. Neogy referred. I happen to know the prices at which the coal combine sold its cargo in Bombay. That cargo was sold at once and it was sold at prices which even second class Natal coal could not compete with and that in spite of the fact that the Bengal coal was a mixture of first and second class and it was a mixture which had been very carefully graded and sorted. I have just had a letter from one of the other firms which chartered steamers to Bombay. They are very pleased with the result of their first venture, and propose to continue exporting coal by sea not only to Bombay but also to other ports.

Now, Sir, I wish to put it to the House very seriously that surely this is the right way for the Bengal coal trade to attack this problem. It would be quite easy of course to put on this countervailing duty which has been suggested by Mr. Neogy, but what would be the result? The result would be that we should wrap up the Bengal coal trade in cotton wool; we should make it perfectly easy for them to drive South African coal out of the Bombay market; we should also place the Bombay consumer at the mercy of the Bengal coal trade, unless, which is not improbable, he started buying English coal as he used to do before. But even though we do this, we shall do nothing to help the Bengal coal trade to recapture its foreign export markets. Before the war Bengal used to export much coal to Ceylon, the Straits and Sumatra, and I say it is of importance that the Bengal coal trade should make a real effort to recapture those export markets. That is a matter in which we cannot help them by any countervailing duty. What is necessary is that the Bengal coal trade, instead of having things made easy for them in Bombay by the adoption of Mr. Neogy's proposal, should be given a real spur and a real incentive to put their heads together to organize themselves and to make a real effort to recapture not only the Bombay market but their previous export markets. I have shown, and I defy anybody to challenge my figures, that, as regards the Bombay market, by the sea route conditions are all in their favour. They have an advantage of from Rs. 3 to Rs. 4 per ton in transport charges alone over South Africa, and I want to know, this House wants to know, why it is that they do not attack the Bombay market through that route.

[Sir Charles Innes.]

I do not think I need say anything more except, as I said when I began my speech, that I am as interested in the Bengal coal trade I hope as any one in this House; and if I am satisfied, if the Government are satisfied, that despite their best endeavours the Bengal coal trade cannot compete with South African coal in the Bombay market, then, as I told the coal trade in December last, we shall certainly be prepared to consider whether we should put on not a countervailing duty equivalent to the amount of the rebate in South Africa, but a small addition to the existing duty on coal from South Africa. But there is another point to be considered and this is very important. The Bombay coal trade at this moment is utterly disorganized because there has been so much talk about this proposed countervailing duty. They do not know whether to buy or on what terms to buy, and I think it is only fair to say that, if we do have to put on this small additional duty on South African coal, we shall give everybody concerned at least three months' notice. But, Sir, I hope that there will be no necessity to do even that. I am perfectly sure that the key to this problem lies in the hands of the trade itself. I am perfectly sure that, if the trade will combine, if they will, as they do in Natal, start making proper arrangements for grading, sorting and improving their coal, and if they will revert to the sea route, then I have no fears for the future. I am perfectly sure that they will get back the Bombay market, and more than that they will get back their former export markets. That is a very important point because we are opening new coalfields and India will require new outlets for that coal. Let me remind the House that she will not get those outlets if we put on this countervailing duty. Rather, if that duty is put on, the coal trade will be encouraged to continue in its old ways and content itself with its Indian markets.

Sir, I must oppose Mr. Neogy's Resolution and I hope that the House will follow me.

Mr. K. G. Lohokare (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, the interest of the consumer in Bombay has just been pointed out to us. It is said that the Bombay consumers are getting their coal at a slightly cheaper rate and we should not interfere with that state of things. But there is another question involved. If external agencies are to be permitted to affect the Indian coal trade, should we not consider the loss of capital involved in it, the disorganization of the coal trade and the consequent turning off of labour employed in that trade? We have been told by Mr. Neogy that the capital involved in the trade amounts to over 13 crores of rupees. Are we prepared to allow the coal trade to suffer to that extent; are we prepared to look on at the disorganization of that trade which has taken so long to build up? We have been preparing ourselves for further industrial development in this country; it is our intention to introduce new industries and open up new fields for the investment of our capital in this country. (*The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey*: "Then why raise the price of coal?") If external agencies are going to baffle these attempts, the question for us to consider is whether we should not counteract those external agencies. It may be that consumers and certain industries may be benefiting at this moment; that may be the position for a short time but who can say that it will so continue, and if once the coal trade passed into other hands the country would have to depend for its supply of coal on foreign markets henceforth. I ask, are we going to accept this dependence for our coal supplies, for our industries, on other countries? That would be exactly the situation involved in this question.

Moreover, it is as well to consider the loss of the 13 crores of rupees locked up in the coal trade, as against which we have the small gain of the consumers in Bombay and certain industries there. Will the disorganization of the coal trade enable us to set up other industries having an equivalent capital of 13 crores of rupees and provide for all the labour now employed in the coal industry? The question is whether we should throttle one industry and set up another at its expense. I would ask you to consider the merits of that question along with the question of the gain to the consumer in Bombay.

We have been told that the embargo on railways which prohibited the export of Indian coal was placed in those days for two reasons. One was that it was a railway proposition, a business proposition. Well, in almost all the Western countries such propositions of railway freight are considered from the point of view of advantage to the country and not from the point of view of advantage to the railway concern. Another point that we have been told regarding the embargo put on it was that the railway vehicles were required for other traffic than that of coal. Yes, it might be an emergency then of that nature. But how long is it to continue? Is it to continue for ever even after the emergency has passed? I think it is high time we considered whether to allow that enhanced cost of freight over railways for Bengal coal. We have at the same time been told that it is a question merely of business and of price; that Bengal coal is poorer in quality, and that is why the Bombay manufacturers cannot afford to buy at that cost. Yes, it may be so. Some of the Bengal fields do produce coal of lower calorific value, but what of the other concerns that produce good coal? Would you allow that coal to be stifled and to remain back in the pit holes there? Had we not indented for Jharria coal when we required it? Did we not use that coal as showing full calorific value, equivalent to the highest calorific value that we could get in other countries? If we are going to allow that coal to remain in the pit holes and disorganize the industry at this stage, are we prepared after some years, after the trade is killed, to spend on the reorganization of the trade again? This would be the question that would be before us. As regards the sentiment with regard to South African coal that my friend referred to here, I may say, yes, it is that sentiment with the Indians. If South Africa is going to treat Indians in that respect, what harm is there if Indians retaliate or adopt retaliatory measures in such respects? I do not think we are in any way not justified in doing it. That sentiment does remain; it will remain; it is bound to continue to remain as long as that treatment is meted out. But leaving that question aside, then as a business proposition even, we want to know whether the Indian Government, supposed as they are to look after the interests of the coal trade, whether the Indian Government would pay their attention to this point of disorganizing, dislocating the trade for ever. They say, "we will leave it to the organizers of the trade, let them concentrate, let them combine and make their own efforts". We have always been told that Indian concerns require help. Well, may I not desire, may I not expect this House to say that the Indian Government at the same time will find out a way as to how to make this combine successful and find out the ways for it? I should rather have expected some sort of encouragement, that a sort of rebate on the railway freight may be allowed, and that the Indian coal industry may not be allowed to slack behind or be dislocated for ever and thus be a loss to the country in men, in money, in capital, and in disorganizing the trade as well. With these words, Sir, I beg to support the proposition moved by my friend, Mr. Neogy.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas (Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau: Indian Commerce): Sir, I rise to support the proposition that is before the House, and I would not wonder if, as coming from Bombay, my rising to support the proposition should surprise some of the Honourable Members of this House. I may make it clear that I do not have the honour of representing the Bombay Millowners' Association here. But I hope that in the course of my remarks I may be able to convince the House why and how the suggestion before the House is one which deserves their approval and acceptance. The Honourable Member in charge, Sir, emphasised the necessity, and he said himself that he proposed, to look at this subject purely as a business proposition. I am sure the House will agree with him, for, if this question in connection with South Africa is to be looked at from the political point of view, I think many of us will feel that the proposition before the House is an ultra modest one and would not even deserve the consideration of this House. I would only refer to this and say that it is absolutely the intention of the non-official section of this House at least to look at this proposition as a business proposition first, second and last.

Sir, the Honourable Member in charge said that he, as the Member in charge of this Department, was sure that he had considered every possible aspect of this proposition before he made up his mind to oppose this on behalf of the Government. I hope I interpret the Honourable Member quite correctly. Members of this House who have known the Honourable Member before now know how thoroughly Sir Charles Lyles can go into facts and figures whenever he has got to tackle a subject in this House, but I trust the Honourable Member will not mind if I point out to him one rather serious deficiency which I, at any rate, have been able to trace in the thoroughness with which he has gone into the whole subject. He began by saying that the Government of India had great difficulty in finding out exactly and accurately what the rebate on coal from Africa was, the railway rebate. In fact, if it were not for the fact that the Honourable Member himself went to London and met the Minister of South Africa there, at a conference, it is possible—and this is my own interpretation—that the Government of India might not have had accurate figures even now. I venture to ask, Sir, whether, when there has been so much dislocation of at least a part of the Indian coal trade, it was not the duty of the Government of India not to rely on the off-chance of the Honourable Member being in London to have an occasional conversation with the Minister in charge of South Africa there, but to find out directly, either by deputing somebody or by any other method that may be open to the Government, exactly how the matter stood and what the various figures were. I do not wish, Sir, to labour this point further. I only wish to refer to this in order to find out why the Government of India do not give as much attention, or why do they not spend as much money as we would like them to, in order to protect either this or in connection with anything else that may be done in these Colonies that may affect India. Sir, I see the Honourable Member rather smiling, and I will expect a direct reply to this point from him. I will draw the attention of the House to the fact that the Government of India do not even to-day possess the most substantial part of the information which alone could enable the Honourable Member to oppose this proposition in this House. The Honourable the Deputy President, Sir, asked the Member in charge whether he could tell the House the rate at which African coal was being sold in Africa to-day. The Honourable Member said he did not know it; and I am rather surprised how the Honourable Member could

possibly have overlooked the great necessity of telling us the rate at which African coal is being sold in Africa before he could get up to say and assure this House that any rebate that is being given by the African Government is solely for the purpose of encouraging exports from there and nothing more dangerous. Sir, dumping and bounties to catch foreign markets are, in the little knowledge that I have of economy, based on this that you sell your things outside considerably cheaper than the rate at which you sell them in your own country, and, until the Honourable Member tells us the rate at which coal is being sold in Africa to the local consumers, it is difficult for this House to take for granted, with all deference to the Honourable Member, the fact that all this is not an invasion of the coal markets of India by South African coal. One more remark in this direction. I think the Honourable Member himself in the course of his remarks said that the bounty on the South African coal has varied considerably there. We had all sorts of figures down to the present one of 7s. 9d. I have here before me printed minutes of the meeting which was held by the present Honourable Secretary of the Department sometime last year from which I see that before 1921 the bounty-fed South African coal had a bounty of 18s. 2d. In January 1922 this bounty was reduced to 9s. 8d. and on the 1st January 1923 the bounty stood at 7s. 9d. We expected the Honourable Member himself to explain to the House why the Government of South Africa thought it necessary—indeed whether it was at all justified from the point of view of the Indian market—to reduce these bounties on South African coal. In the absence of any such explanation from the Honourable Member, may I, Sir, without being uncharitable to anybody, including South Africa, put my own construction on it. As the South African Government found that their coal can hold its own in the markets of India they reduced the bounties and went on reducing them. I put this construction of my own. I am absolutely open to correction by any Member of this House who may have reliable and authentic information. In the absence of any such information I am not prepared to take anybody's word, for what he thinks may be the right reason for this decrease in the bounty from South Africa. I submit my construction therefore with regard to the variations in the bounty with all reserve and subject to correction, as I just said.

The Honourable Member said that the first bounty or the rebate on South African coal was given by them about the year 1911 or 1912. I think he also said that in 1909 a certain quantity of coal came to Bombay. The House would easily realise that those who imported either Welsh coal or any other foreign coal, say 10 or 15 years ago, could only have imported such coal for some special purposes. But I do not happen to be an expert in the various usages to which various coals can be put. I would like to inquire from such Members of this House as wish to oppose this Resolution why is it that those interested in Bengal Coal Mines did not oppose the importation of South African coal or any other coal into Bombay till 1914. There can be no question of imports of coal till the armistice. It means that something has happened between 1909 or 1912 and now which is at the bottom of this very strong feeling for keeping out of the Indian markets this bounty-fed African coal. That, I think, is the muddle which has been made by—I will not say the Government of India alone,—the Government of India through their Railway Department and I will also say by the various commercial bodies which had a voice in the settlement of the Railway policy regarding coal supply. The muddle has been made in connection with the distribution of waggons and in connection with the hundred and one varieties of changes that have been made in the control of

[Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas.]

coal ever since 1916 or 1917. I am sure my Honourable friends coming from Bengal, who know something of the requirements of the coal industry there, will bear me out when I say that it has been the cause of gross dissatisfaction to certain sections at least of the coal mine owners of Bengal. During that long period of 1916 till practically now it was the distribution of wagons and other details that were improvised that led to this great depression in a part of the coal trade. This part, I am told, is owned to a large extent by the Indian section of the coal trading community. The Honourable Member urged that this House should refuse this help that this section of the coal trade asks for at this juncture. He further urged that this House should leave the coal trade to their own resources so that they can spur themselves and rely upon that great virtue called self-help and put before the consumers of Bengal coal better coal, well screened coal, etc. Nobody, I am sure, will take any exception to that. I, Sir, will be the last person to do or to say anything which would pour the slightest cold water on the energy or on anything which will spur on the Bengal coal trade to present better coal to consumers. But these things, I am afraid, are easier said than done. When for a period of six or seven years a section of a trade works under hardships—and I do not wish to go into this question any further at this stage—when a certain portion of the trade is under consistent hardships and when we know that means of transport, I mean, wagon supply, is so haphazard and so unreliable, in that long period, I really wonder how one can justifiably say to the people in charge of the trade “You are lazy; you will not look after yourselves; you will not give to your customers what they want”.

I do not belong to the coal trade. In fact, I know very little about the details and the ins and outs of the coal trade. Whatever I have told you here as to the difficulties of these small mine owners is what I have heard from persons who own a considerable stake in what are called second class mines under totally Indian control. The Honourable Member laid considerable stress on the inferiority of quality of the product of these Bengal mines. I do not know what inference he wanted the House to draw from this and therefore I will not draw any inference of my own from that remark of his.

But for those sections of the commercial community here, which are interested in the cotton trade of India, I would like to put another parallel. It may be true—and I am prepared to grant it—that a part of the Bengal coal trade which asks for this concession cannot, owing to the very nature of their mines, put before the consumer the best quality or that quality of coal which will rank equally with the South African coal. But, Sir, the Indian Cotton Mills do not produce consistently and on an average that quality of cloth which can rank equally with the quality of cloth that you get from the United Kingdom. I ask those who are interested in the cotton trade whether they would tolerate that as an argument for not having such protection for the local cotton trade as they may think necessary. If the cotton trade are backward and cannot compete in quality with the trade outside, who have been established for a longer period and who have more expert knowledge and better resources, I should have thought that that was one reason why a little protection was necessary for them in order that they might be able to build up their industry. If the coal industry of Bengal cannot give the best quality or as good quality as they can possibly manage to put before the consumers, I submit that the reason is that there is a good deal still wanting in connection with the wagon

facilities and the other various railway facilities that are available to this class of mine-owner in Bengal at present. I feel that if this Assembly really wish to attach any importance to what the Honourable Member said on this score, they may restrict this to a period of a year or two, simultaneously though watching the progress which is necessary by the Railway Department in connection with providing facilities required at the mines, and principally in connection with an equitable and fair distribution of wagons to all mine-owners, small and big.

The Honourable Member further urged that the mine-owners in Africa have cut their pit's mouth prices. I suppose he meant to indicate that we should ask those for whose benefit this is being discussed to-day to do the same. I again repeat, without going into the figures, that the Honourable Mr. Neogy, in moving his Resolution, has said that out of so many mines, so many companies representing a capital, if I remember rightly, of 6 crores of rupees, have paid no dividends lately. Unless the balance sheets of these companies can be said to have been fabricated for the purpose of the sympathy of this House, I think this ought to be quite sufficient proof that the Bengal mine-owner under reference is working at a loss and cannot lower his cost of production.

I heard an Honourable Member here, Sir, say that it was the impression of the ordinary man that coal was the last thing India should import because India has ample coal mines. We are coming on to rather queer days; coal being imported on the score of better quality; *ghee* being imported and substitutes of *ghee* being imported into a country which had the reputation of being an agricultural country and a country where cattle abound in plenty. I do not wish to harp on this further, but I would like to point out what all this leads to. In some way or other we are losing ground in articles and things which we produce in our own country, and I would suggest to the Honourable Member that any revenue that you might get by this duty indicated in this Resolution may be employed by the Government of India not for their own Budget but for the purpose of providing better facilities and more immediate facilities to the trade for whose benefit you put on this duty. Sir, I certainly feel that, in view of the hardships, and what to my mind have been some of the injustices that part of the coal trade of Bengal has suffered from 1916 onwards, this is the least due to them, in order that they may have breathing space within which they can again catch up the markets which they have lost. If this House is so particular about it, let the duty be imposed for a period of two years, but I do not think this House would be justified, on the arguments submitted to the House by the Honourable Member in charge, in turning this down.

I need only say that in 1899, when Lord Curzon passed the amendment to the Tariff Act, to which the Honourable Mover of the Resolution referred, he did that out of consideration for Java sugar as against Austrian sugar. May we not do something very similar out of consideration, not for Java, but out of consideration for the Indians who have sunk their money in enterprises in India, and what is still more important, Sir, for the miners who have been thrown out of work owing to these mines having had to be closed down. The Honourable Member said that any approval of this Resolution would mean wrapping up the Bengal coal mine industry in cotton wool. I should be the last person to approve even of anything which would have that effect, but I cannot help feeling, Sir, that in view of what I believe to be the gross injustice that has been done to a part of the coal mine industry of Bengal, in view of the fact that we cannot ask our own Railway Department to further reduce their rates to fight the

[Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas.]

African coal (*The Honourable Sir Charles Innes*: "They have reduced them"), owing to our budgets not being square until now, this is the least the House ought to do. The only change that is feasible, if the House wishes it, is to restrict the countervailing duty to a period of two years or so.

Mr. W. S. J. Willson (Associated Chambers of Commerce: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, Mr. Neogy, in opening his case, said that he was not in any way connected with the coal trade. I may, in opening mine, say that I am not connected with a brief, but I speak, I hope, from intimate knowledge of the coal trade, with which I have been connected for a period of many years. I should have thought, after hearing Sir Charles Innes, that the case and the facts that he put before us, ought to have been sufficient for any one. It is of no interest whatever to me at what price Natal coal is selling in South Africa or in New York, if it goes there. It is sufficient for me to know at what price it sells in India with which we are immediately concerned. I desire to emphasize the very strong position that Bengal holds, and must hold, in the coal trade of India, by reason of her geographical situation, and the undoubtedly low rates of freight from the coalfields to the docks which Sir Charles gave us. I doubt if you will find any country in the world that can get its coal from its central coalfields to its docks for so little as Rs. 2-10-3 per ton. The Bengal coal trade used to hold the markets as far East as Singapore, as far West as Aden, and largely the principal ports of India. We have for the time being had to suffer the loss of those, and that loss is directly due to interference with the natural outflow of trade. It was due to the prohibition of exports, a most unfortunate thing, but under the circumstances unavoidable, and there are those in this House who were loud in clamouring that it should be done, at the time, in order that the coal might be available for the industries of Bengal. However the Bengal coal trade may be, it is like every other trade, bound to have its ups and its downs. At the present time it is suffering from a down in its export trade because it has lost it. But the right way to get that back is, I entirely agree with Sir Charles Innes, by the merchants pulling themselves together, by selecting proper qualities of coal and sending it to compete in the markets where it is required. It is always a mistake to interfere with the natural flow of trade, but having had, under circumstances over which we had no control, to interfere with the natural outflow of Bengal coal to the seaports of India, do not, I implore you, make another mistake by interfering with another natural flow of supply in order to get over the difficulty that you are at present in. Two wrongs do not make a right. There is no doubt also that the export coal trade was very seriously handicapped by a shortage of wagons. Much has been said, and always is said, about the shortage of wagons and most of the difficulties that I have experienced in the export coal trade have been due in one way or another to scarcity of wagons. It has been pointed out that coal going to Bombay by rail occupies a wagon some 25 days. It has been pointed out that to the Kidderpore Docks it only occupies 3 or 4. Consequently those wagons become re-available sooner and there would be much greater facility for getting our coal down to the docks. The Honourable Sir Charles Innes called attention to the fact that in May 1920 there were no less than 46 steamers awaiting coal. Now I will ask this House and specially the non-commercial side of the House—to pause for a moment and consider what that means. 46 steamers absolutely wasting their time waiting for coal—coal which they

could not get for want of wagons. Why? Because the wagons were going in other directions over a long distance.

A great deal of the discussion has turned to Bombay, which is the principal sinner in the import of this "much hated" coal. Now I am going to take the Bombay mill industry for my little example, not because I want somebody to get up and tell me how many of the Bombay Mills employ electricity, but because it is the staple industry of Bombay; and the argument will apply equally well whether you are talking in mills or in other concerns, engineering or whatever you like. The first thing is why do you import Natal or any foreign coal? Is it because you love it, you love South Africa, or is it because you require the coal? The answer cannot be for love, so it must be from necessity. Bombay has always imported foreign coal and I might, if I liked, argue that it probably always will and it is probably desirable that it should always have an alternative source of supply, because in the ups and downs of the Bengal trade to which I have referred, we have had many periods of strikes when Bengal coal was not available, and, if we so froze off the foreign supply to Bombay, your industries, or your mills, might find themselves with no coal at all, and it would be too late, the notice would be too short, to set about bringing in immediate supplies from elsewhere. A great deal of talk has taken place in this House, on the subject of the Railway Bill, when the opinion was almost universally expressed that what India requires is cheap freight and cheap coal for its industries. The proposal before the House now, is an attempt to make coal in Bombay more expensive by—shall I drop the annas and take the round figure of Rs. 4/8 a ton? Well, Sir, it is represented to us that if you do so you will encourage the export of Bengal coal to Bombay and it is hoped in many quarters that you will stop the import of Natal coal. I venture to say, Sir, that you will do nothing of the kind. Bengal has simply not got the coal at the present time to supply all Bombay's needs. Nor is Bombay the only port in India concerned. If you were to put on any such tax as this, the effect of your action would be that you would tax at least 3 tons of Natal or other foreign coal Rs. 4-8 per ton, in order to allow us to put, say, 1 extra ton of Bengal coal to be sold in Bombay. You would in effect tax the mills in the first place by 3 tons at Rs. 4-8 or 4 tons at Rs. 4-8, which no doubt they would pass on to the consumer eventually. That would be yourselves. But in the meantime they have to pay that in order to assist one ton of Bengal coal to go to Bombay. I have said that Bombay is not the only port. Indeed it is not. If, as Sir Charles Innes gave us the prices, South African coal costs Rs. 25 in Bombay to-day and you consent to raise that price to Rs. 29-8 by the imposition of this duty, you are directly going to ask Bengal not to sell its coal there below Rs. 29-8, or whatever may be the equivalent price for the equivalent value. Bengal will have no incentive whatever to sell its coal below Rs. 29-8 and it will not do so. Again you are going to inflict hardship on other ports in India. Is Bombay the only place? What about Madras? What about Rangoon? Sir Charles Innes gave you the rate of freight of Rs. 9 per ton for carrying coal from Calcutta to Bombay. The freight from Calcutta to Madras is nothing like Rs. 9; it will be about half of it. If you are going to prevent Madras from having any competitive coal, why should Bengal sell its coal there below the price of the imported article? Take Colombo. Well, Colombo will not do, as Colombo will not be affected by this. But take any other port. There will be no incentive whatever to Bengal to sell their coal cheaply if foreign competition is eliminated. Now, why tax yourselves in the way I have pointed out? Who

[Mr. W. S. J. Willson.]

are your buyers of coal in Bombay? They are very largely your railways. Do you wish to increase the fuel bill of your railways? They are largely your own property. Where does all this coal in Bombay go to? The mills do not burn it all; but there is a very large off-take indeed in the form of bunker coal; just think for a minute and consider one of the effects of this duty if you put it on. Ships come to Bombay and buy your bunker coal and you attempt to say in this House that they shall in future pay Rs. 4-8 per ton more. I tell you now that they will do no such thing. You do not have the power to increase the price of coal at Aden by Rs. 4-8 per ton; nor have you the power to increase the price of coal at Colombo by Rs. 4-8; and your ship will leave Bombay with a minimum of coal and refill her bunkers at Aden or Colombo. The ship from South Africa perhaps will not go to Bombay; she will go to Aden and take her coal there. In the days when I was what you might call a ship-owner, I made a little calculation that every steamer that comes to Bombay as a terminal port, spends from Rs. 30,000 to Rs. 50,000. These expenses are in the main under three heads, stevedoring, repairs and coal. I have pointed out that you will lose something of that coal trade; you will lose the coal-landing charges; your boat-owners will lose their hire, your insurance companies will lose the premium and your banks will lose the financing. Your engineering works, which are in a very bad way now, will lose the repairs. That is a very serious thing and one of the by-products of such action as you may be led away to take.

There is one point which Mr. Neogy himself made, and that is that the raisings of Bengal coal have gone down by 3 million tons. I wish
 1 P.M. to say a little more about that, in order to emphasise the fact that you have not got the coal at present, to take the place of this foreign trade in Bombay. No doubt you will in the future have it when Karanpura and other places are developed, but you have not got it now, because your output is reduced. We heard a great deal of the distressed condition of Bengal coal companies. Sir, were it not for the satisfactory dividends that some of these Bengal Coal Companies pay, I am afraid I should be unable to be present in this House and should not be receiving a living. There is nothing intrinsically wrong with the coal industry of Bengal. There is nothing wrong certainly with 63 out of the 146 companies, and the dividends at present paid by them are very good. The trade needs no nursing in cotton wool, but the companies that are in distress are those who produce an inferior article which is not worth shipping. I can easily explain a little point about it. Say for the sake of argument first class coal is worth about Rs. 8 at the pit's mouth per ton, while second class coal is worth only about Rs. 4 or Rs. 5 per ton at the pit's mouth. You have got a difference at the pit's mouth of some Rs. 4 per ton. You could very well afford to buy the cheap coal if you were going to consume it in the neighbourhood of the pit's mouth, as you are getting an allowance of some 40 or 50 per cent. in the cost. The moment you rail that inferior coal to the docks, the moment you pay freight and insurance, unloading and landing charges at the other end, your difference is still only Rs. 3 or Rs. 4 per ton, whereas the value of the coal then is in the neighbourhood of Rs. 28, and Rs. 4 on Rs. 28 is a seventh or some 14 per cent. only. You buy at the pit's mouth at 50 per cent. less, while, when you get it at destination, it is only 14 per cent. cheaper, and it is not worth it. You should not, therefore, in my opinion, attempt to hamper your industries in Bombay and other industrial centres

by obtaining cheaper qualities of coal, merely to prop up industries which by their nature are not suited for the purpose that you have in view. A great number of "coal mines" in Bengal are producing such a quality that they can really only be expected to live in boom time. They work in a very elementary manner, and, when there is a boom, their process pays, but in normal times it is only natural and there should be nothing to be surprised at, if the uneconomical process does not enable them to live for the time being. All I want you to do in connection with the shipment of Bengal coal, which I am perfectly convinced is well able to take care of itself and will in course of time now that the embargo has been removed from the exports, speedily recover a good portion and eventually a much larger portion of that high position which it held within the geographical limits to which I have referred is this. Leave it to itself. I beg you not to be carried away by any extraneous considerations nor that you may bring such purely commercial questions as these into the political arena.

Mr. E. G. Fleming (Burma: European): Sir, I venture to address the House on some of the points that have arisen during this discussion. Mr. Willson has told us just now that there is not sufficient good grade coal available in India for the industries of India. Inferior coal, though it may appear cheaper at first sight, is probably more expensive in the long run. Inferior fuel has usually that effect. There is also electricity, and I may venture to say, oil, which may replace coal. If India loses its export trade, which it might do, by putting on a prohibitive tariff, the result would be that Indian markets would be overstocked with the inferior Indian coal which will find no outlet. Increased production is the object of all business—and some Honourable Members have referred to the capital invested in the coal industry in India. Protect this by production, increased production, so that the companies may give a larger return to the shareholders even to the extent of enabling the producing centres to reduce the price of the article if the outturn is larger. There is no doubt that inferior coal of India is very often mixed up with better grade at the time of export, and this renders the coal unpopular in oversea markets. I think it would be a very serious matter for the coal trade of India if the opinion of this House supports the motion; and I do not think that an import tariff on Natal coal is advisable or wanted.

Dr. L. K. Hyder (Agra Division: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, it has been said that abstract economic principles are not wanted in a discussion of this kind. I rise to point out that abstract economic principles are not very different from business principles. With regard to the two points raised, I wish to say that in my judgment it would not be desirable to put this countervailing duty on South African coal. I have given anxious thought, very anxious thought, to this matter in the best interests of this country. The point which I earnestly beg to bring before this House is the consideration that no country in the world taxes its raw materials, and I wish to point out in this connection that coal is a raw material that enters into every kind of manufacture and industry, so that, if we put up the duty on the import of coal, we shall be penalising our industries here. The second point that I wish to bring before this House is that it is not only the immediate interests of our people that we have to take into consideration but the unseen, the distant interests of the people of this country, the interests of the future generations. England is a very rich country in coal, but long ago there was an economist who advocated a duty

[Dr. L. K. Hyder.]

on the export of coal. What was the reason? The reason was this that he did not desire that the coal resources of England should be diminished by the export of coal to foreign countries. Well, coal does not grow. You can grow cotton, you can grow tea, you can grow jute. You can grow almost every agricultural stuff, year in and year out, but coal is given in limited quantities by nature, so that every ton of coal that you take out will be one ton less available for the interests of future generations of the people of this country. So that the measure that is being proposed is that we should penalise our industries and we should throw away a thing which we are receiving at a small price and make a raw material dearer for our people. Well, I think on both these grounds—namely, that the present cost should not be enhanced and the future cost should not be enhanced—I oppose this measure in the best interests of the people of this country.

Mr. N. M. Joshi (Nominated: Labour Interests): Sir, if the discussion of this Resolution had gone on political lines, as fortunately or unfortunately it has not, I should have supported the Resolution wholeheartedly. But as the Resolution is being discussed on economic lines, I have decided to keep my mind open until I receive a satisfactory explanation on certain points from those gentlemen who are in its favour. Sir, my Honourable friend from Bengal who moved the Resolution gave certain statistics about the bounty that is being paid to the South African coal when brought into India. I propose, Sir, to point out to him certain bounties paid to the Indian coal in India and I should like to know before he asks me to vote in favour of his proposition whether he would ask the Government of India to put countervailing duties on Indian coal or at least urge on the Government of India to remove those bounties immediately. Sir, the first bounty that is given to Indian coal is about the hours of work for Indian labourers in mines. The Indian mines

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Does the Honourable Member know what it is in Africa?

Mr. President: I am afraid the Honourable Member is going beyond the terms of the Resolution.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: Sir, I do not wish to discuss these points in detail. But I want to point out in what respects bounty is being given to Indian coal. As I pointed out, the first is as regards the hours of work. It is the Indian coal owners who have opposed the introduction of shifts in the Indian coal mines. The second bounty which is given to the Indian coal trade is the employment of women's cheap labour underground. No civilised country in the world allows women to work underground, but Indian coal owners urge upon the Government to allow them to retain this most barbarous custom in their mines. Sir, as regards wages, there is a very large bounty paid to Indian coal owners. The average wage of a miner in England is £150 a year.

Mr. D. V. Belvi (Bombay Southern Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): This is African coal.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: The African wages are higher than English wages. They must be much larger than £150 a year. No miner in England will go to South Africa unless he is paid more. That is a very simple and

commonsense truth. (*A Voice*: "It is £400.") Then that is three times £150. Wages in India are not even £15. This is another bounty paid to Indian coal. I want to know, Sir, from my Honourable friend Mr. Neogy whether he would use his influence with the coal-owners to remove these bounties before the Government makes a proposal, at the time of the Finance Bill, for putting an import duty on South African coal. There are still two months for my friend to use his influence and get the approval of his friends for my proposal.

Then, Sir, there is one more point on which I would like to have a satisfactory explanation from my Honourable friend Mr. Neogy and it is this. He proposes that a rebate on railway freight should be given. Very well, by all means give it. I do not oppose it. But I want to know, Sir, who is going to pay the few lakhs of rupees that the railways will lose? Sir, I myself feel very much that the Government of India, instead of giving a rebate to the coal owners, should reduce the fares of the third class passengers.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member is going much too wide now.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: I am sorry, Sir. I shall try to keep myself within limits. Sir, the country will lose a large amount of money on account of rebate, and I should like my Honourable friend to tell me upon what class of people this burden should fall. If my Honourable friend proposes that the money required for the bounty or for the rebate should be given to the Government of India by increase of income-tax, I shall be the first man to give my vote in favour of his Resolution. But if the amount required for the rebate or bounty is to come out of the poor taxpayer of India by the increase of the salt duty I am not going to vote in favour of this Resolution. Therefore, much depends upon what explanation my Honourable friend gives on these points. It was said, Sir, that the countervailing duty was necessary in the interests of the Indian miner for whom there is great sympathy in this House. Unfortunately, Sir, in the last Assembly I could not see much sympathy for the miners and I am glad to see that there is so much sympathy in this House for those poor people. (*A Voice*: "Lip sympathy.") One friend says it is lip sympathy. Let us hope that even this lip sympathy will result in some action. It was said that this protection would be very useful in giving employment to Indian miners. But it is also a great truth known to all people who have studied industrial history that it is these organised industries that give rise to periodical unemployment also and I want to ask my Honourable friend, Mr. Neogy, whether he will persuade his friends, the coal-owners, to approve of a scheme for unemployment insurance in India. If he is going to do that, I shall vote for the Resolution. (*A Voice*: "Rub it in.") I have put all these points before the House and am very anxious to have a satisfactory explanation from my Honourable friend, either to-day or before the Government of India makes a proposal to increase the import duty. If he does that, my vote will be his.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, when I heard the speech of the Honourable the Commerce Member, I was wondering what reception he would have received if he made a speech like that in the House of Commons. I was also wondering what reception he would have received if he made a speech like that in any civilised country, the Government of which considered it its duty to foster industry, to reduce unemployment and to see that nascent

[Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.]

industries were not made to suffer by reason of foreign competition. It seemed to me, Sir, that the Honourable Member showed a very vigorous intellect but a very cold heart, so far as India was concerned. I was pained, Sir, to think that he employed all his great ability and lucid power of exposition in pointing out the disadvantages that would result to the consumer, in explaining the calculated figures which he had arrived at after comparing figures from different countries and in pointing out also that a policy of a countervailing duty, such as was recommended, would be a bad business. To me it seemed, Sir, that the Honourable Member paid too scant a regard to abstract principles and I think that the wrong judgment which I venture to say he has arrived at was due to a disregard of abstract principles. Where would England have been if she showed a disregard for abstract principles which my Honourable friend advocated in the matter of business? Where would the United States have been, where would Canada have been, where would Australia have been, if they were guided in their industrial policies by a judgment like the one which the Honourable Member for Commerce has pronounced? Abstract principles are of vital importance. They give life to business, they give life to businessmen; and one of the abstract principles which I thought had been established in the modern industrial world was to look at problems from the national point of view and not to have the parochial and small commercial man's point of view, and I grieve to think that the national point of view was lacking in the lucid speech which the Honourable Member for Commerce made. We are face to face with a very important and very simple question. Those friends who have spoken of allowing raw materials to come in without any duty into this country have looked at only one side of the statement. They forget that there is another aspect. If there were no raw materials available in this country, I could quite understand that we should all vote against any proposal to tax imports of raw materials. But here you see mother nature has blessed us with coal mines. We are producing coal. (*A Voice*: "Not enough.") I will come to that. You have not yet explored all the possibilities. It is only ignorance which can say that the coal mines are not enough, in view of the reports which have been made by the Geological Department. Now India has coal mines and not even Mr. Willson doubted that the coal mines are able to meet the supply of Bombay, if this countervailing duty would prevent South African coal from being landed in the quantities in which it is coming into India. Only a few years ago the coal imports from South Africa were small, 40,000 tons. They have now risen to 300,000 a year. Would the Honourable Member look at one simple question? India loses 300,000 into 25 or 75 lakhs a year over this coal which is available, if the Government of the country would enable the Indian coal mine-owner to compete on terms of equality with these foreign competitors. 75 lakhs of rupees going out of India every year for coal, when coal is available in India, is a proposition which would shock the people of any country which looked only at national interests and from the national point of view. You talk of the loss to the consumer to the extent of nearly Rs. 4 a ton. It is true. The loss will amount to about 14 lakhs a year. That loss has to be put against the loss of unemployment to a large number of people. That loss has to be put in comparison with the loss of dividends which those who have invested 6 crores will suffer, and that loss has to be looked at from the point of view of the ultimate smothering of this industry by allowing a foreign competitor supported by a rebate to enter into competition with the coal miner in India whom the Government, I am sorry to say, have done very

little to help. The Honourable Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas with his extensive knowledge of business has told us how the coal industry has been hampered, obstructed and injured during the last few years by this mismanagement of coal wagons. He has told us how great has been the suffering to which the coal miners have been exposed. Mr. Willson says that it is only the small coal miner who has suffered. Naturally, belonging to a prosperous concern, as he told us, I fear that he is not in a position to understand and appreciate the difficulties of the small coal miner. What does it matter to him if the small coal miner goes to the wall; but I ask the House to consider what a serious problem the country is faced with. It is not a question of benefiting a small number of coal miners. The question before you is, will you allow this coal industry to die or will you allow it to compete fairly with any foreigner? It is a new industry; it requires help; it cannot stand by itself, if it is exposed to hardship on one side by the mismanagement of railways and on the other side it is being driven from the frying pan of the railway companies to the fire of the steamer companies.

The Honourable Member for Commerce perhaps is aware that the steamer companies recently raised their charges by Rs. 2 per ton, from Rs. 7 to Rs. 9—I hope I am right,—and I do not doubt that, if they can, they will raise the tariffs further; and, as they find that the supply of wagons is limited and that the coal miners are not able to utilize the railway route sufficiently, I suspect that they will raise the steamer charges still further. India is in this unfortunate position that its Government has failed during its 150 years of administration in this country to build up a mercantile marine for India. Indians cannot say that they have got ships of their own for the carriage of their coal as well as other articles. The railways are owned by railway companies or managed by railway companies, but there is this fortunate distinction now that some of them are owned by the State. You have raised railway charges on the one side and you find that the coal miners are therefore exposed to an unfair competition, and, when they come up to you to adjust the balance by putting on a countervailing duty, you use all your intellect in explaining to them the unwisdom of the course they recommend and in advising them to improve their methods of work. It is very fine advice, quite grandfatherly, for which coal miners must feel deeply grateful to the Honourable Member; but I should like the Honourable Member to tell the House something. I should be happy to know what steps the Government have taken to give them facilities in this matter in the way of reducing railway charges to the figures that they used to be, and to provide steamer facilities if they want to use the sea route. I should like to know what answer, what advice, the Honourable Member would give to these coal miners in the face of their competition. The Honourable Member knows that coal is a basic industry. You can not get on without coal. We want the coal industry to flourish and develop. Even when water power is utilized, as I hope it will be if we get a little more voice in the administration of the country, even when electric power is more used than it is at present, even then we shall require all the coal that lies buried in the heart of mother nature. What encouragement has been given by the Government to train men for work in the collieries, to induce men to go into this business? Instead of that, the treatment that they are receiving now is that, while the Government received a communication from the Indian Mining Federation dated the 14th August 1923, no action has yet been taken to comply with the request which they made regarding a countervailing duty. I submit, Sir, the proposition is a very simple one. We have no doubt

[Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.]

that the imposition of a countervailing duty on coal, such as has been recommended, will mean making coal dearer to the consumer in Bombay for the time being. If you are to look at the consumer in Bombay, however, as an individual entity, and if you are to disregard the national point of view, most certainly let this industry be crushed and let the consumer in Bombay get a little cheap coal for the time being. But Nemesis would follow soon. A little later it will be open to the foreign companies to raise the price of their coal. Do we not know what has been done in the matter of cloth,—that when it suited the interest of the foreign merchant, the prices have been raised according to his will? Do we not know that the same thing has happened in the case of other goods? It is a painful situation for any nation to be at the mercy of the merchants of other countries; and, if we allow the Bombay consumer to place himself at the mercy of foreign companies just at present, you may rest assured that the foreign companies will squeeze as much out of him in the near future as they can. Therefore, the question is a very simple one. Will you now look at the problem from the national point of view? We pay enormously for national, what are regarded as national, interests. We pay enormously. In this matter of one small industry, which, as Mr. Neogy pointed out, is third in importance in the country, the expenditure of a few lakhs of rupees for a few years—as Sir Purshotamdas Chakurdas pointed out, it may be only for two years—is nothing compared to the loss, to the suffering, to the injury which the coal mines will receive, which the coal companies will receive, by your not doing it. That is the point to be considered by this House. I hope abstract principles will help us aright and not mislead us. I do not know if the anxiety which was exhibited by Mr. Willson for the people in Bengal was altogether prompted only by a desire for the good of the coal mines. I quite understand the anxiety of some of the European firms in Bengal to get cheap Bengal coal, to get Bengal coal as cheap as possible. The less Bengal coal goes to Bombay, the better the day for the Bengal industries. That is one point of view. I wish that they should get coal as cheap as they want and cheaper still, but I wish that we should not allow a single rupee to go out of India for coal while we have coal available in the country. Australia built up her industries by paying heavier prices for the articles which it manufactured for a long time before it established its industries. Canada did the same; the United States did the same. England is now doing the same. Would any Member of the House of Commons or any other Englishman dare to stand up before an English audience to tell that audience that they should not care for the unemployment of several thousands of their countrymen, that they should not think of putting an extra burden on the consumer simply because that will be an extra burden and not help those who would be unemployed? They would not. Therefore I wish those English Members of this House, who are taking part in this debate and voting on this proposition, to look at the problem from the point of view of India,—to consider the problem as if it were Englishmen who were concerned, as if it were an English problem which they were discussing, and then, looking at this problem from that point of view, they can only come to one conclusion, that the loss which the acceptance of the proposal would undoubtedly involve must be faced in order that this national industry should be helped and encouraged to grow and develop. Looking at it from that point of view, I hope at any rate that as many Members as can take that point of view will vote for the Resolution.

I will say only one word with regard to the remarks of the last speaker. When I heard him, I was wondering whether it was somebody representing some foreign coal companies who was speaking on this question of whether it was an Indian. I felt pained that my friend, Mr. Joshi, should have put forward such untenable arguments in opposition to this proposition. He from his foreign travels is not able to tell us how the wages compare, how the conditions compare; he has not gone into those figures, but introduced an extraneous element into the debate in a very light-hearted fashion, which pained me and which I am sure has pained many amongst us. I hope all Indians and Englishmen who take part in the debate will look at the problem from the point of view from which it requires to be looked at. Let us look at the problem from the right point of view, that of the national interest of India, that of the national interest of the people who are employed in the mines.

Mr. Abdul Hays (East Punjab, Muhammadan): I beg to move, Sir, that the Resolution be now put.

Mr. President: As there is a considerable desire to continue the debate, I propose now to adjourn till Half Past Two.

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

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

Mr. Devaki Prasad Sinha (Patna and Shahabad, Non-Muhammadan): Sir, the present undoubted depression in the coal market has been admitted by the Honourable the Commerce Member, who has stoutly opposed this Resolution. It has however been suggested by the Honourable the Commerce Member that the cause of this depression is not due to any external circumstances but lies in two things. If I remember aright, the Honourable the Commerce Member said that the chief causes are that good quality of coal is not produced in the mines in India; and secondly, that the cost of production has been going on increasing steadily. When the Honourable Member was interrupted by the Honourable the Deputy President, who asked for information as to the price of coal in South Africa and other countries, he said that he did not possess that information. I was very much surprised to hear that from the Honourable the Commerce Member. Sir, I am not expected to know official figures as much as he or any other Member of Government. But from the little that I have been able to read of the Blue Book issued by Government, I find that a comparative statement of the price of coal at the pit's mouth in various countries is given from year to year in a report issued by the Government for the production and consumption of coal in India. Now, Sir, the latest report issued by Government on this subject, which is for the year 1920, is very interesting reading so far as this Resolution is concerned, because it answers conclusively one of the arguments of the Honourable the Commerce Member. If I may be allowed, Sir, I shall read a few lines from pages 2 and 3 of that report. These two pages give a comparative statement of the price of coal at the pit's mouth in different

[Mr. Devaki Prasad Sinha.]

countries. The prices, so far as South Africa and India are concerned, are as follows:

	Rs. A. P.
South Africa	5 2 0 in Indian coin.
India	4 4 0

Sir, the comment which the compiler of this report has made upon these figures is more interesting and is of very great value for us in order to arrive at a right conclusion so far as this question is concerned. I will read it to the House:

"With the above average value may be compared the values at the pit's mouth of coal in foreign countries, as shown in the margin. In comparing the average value of the coal raised in the different countries, it must be borne in mind that this value is affected by many factors, such as the quality of the coal raised, its accessibility, the machinery in use, nearness to the surface, etc., besides the differences in the cost of labour and transport. In India the coal which is now being worked is comparatively near the surface, and labour comparatively cheaper. Indian coal, therefore,"—(Sir, I desire to lay very great stress upon this sentence),—"Indian coal, therefore, has a lower value at the pit's mouth than the coal of any other country."

I would like to know, Sir, what the Honourable the Commerce Member has to say on this point. To my mind, the argument that there has been an increase in the price of coal at the pit's mouth in the various Indian mines is no reply to this Resolution. There has been an increase in the import of foreign coal by 775 per cent. and the price of Indian coal at the pit's mouth is decidedly, on the admission of figures given by Government themselves, less than that in South Africa. Sir, the Honourable the Commerce Member has said that Indian coal mine owners do not make use of the facility afforded to them for transporting coal by sea because, if I have been able to hear him aright, he complains that about 46 ships had been waiting in the Kidderpore docks without sufficient coal to carry. (*The Honourable Sir Charles Innes*: "That was in May 1920.") I admit that, Sir, the Honourable the Commerce Member ought to know that none of the mines either in the province of Bengal or in the province of Bihar are situated on the sea coast. In order to convey coal from these mines to the Kidderpore docks it is necessary that these coal mine owners must be supplied with wagons. I think the Honourable the Commerce Member must be aware of the great scramble for the supply of wagons which the present system results in. Sir, I would not think of trespassing upon the patience of the House by reading any extract from the reports of the complaints made on various occasions by the Indian Mining Federation in regard to the supply of wagons. I, like my Honourable friend Mr. Neogy, have no special interests in this matter, but I submit, Sir, that as one who represents the largest number of mine owners in this Assembly, I have had the opportunity of a personal conversation with many Indian mine owners, and no body who talks to them with an impartial mind can go away without the belief that discrimination in the matter of the supply of wagons is exercised to the injury of Indian mine owners. Sir, that is a fact which it would be very difficult to substantiate by means of official figures, but, I submit, that is a fact which is apparent to any one who takes the trouble to make an impartial inquiry into the matter. The next argument, Sir, is that the coal which is supplied by the Indian mine owners of Bengal and Bihar and Orissa is not very well graded and labelled. Sir, South Africa is not the only country from which coal is imported into the city of Bombay. I will

again refer to an official publication. I do not wish to argue from any brief supplied by any body else, but I shall rely only on figures supplied by Government themselves. Referring to pages 36 and 37 of the Account of the Seaborne Trade and Navigation of British India, I find there are no less than seven countries that have been exporting coal into the heart of Bombay. Sir, examining those figures very carefully, one would naturally be struck by the phenomenon that in the case of all countries the import figure has gone on decreasing while in the case of South Africa it has gone on increasing. What speciality is there in South African coal which accounts for the sudden and progressive rise in the import figure of coal from that country? Sir, I do not suppose the Government can say that coal imported from the United Kingdom is inferior to coal imported from South Africa, because Government have themselves manifested a very great preference for coal from the United Kingdom. In the year 1922 Sir Malcolm Hailey, speaking as Finance Member, admitted that on account of the purchase of Welsh coal, Government had suffered a loss of about 7½ crores of rupees in their revenue. Sir, that argument, therefore, to my mind is not of any avail. The next argument is that if we raise a duty against South African coal, we shall make Bombay practically dependent on Bengal and Bihar and Orissa for the supply of coal. Let us examine this argument more carefully. What would be the position a few years after if South Africa is allowed to swamp the coal supply from any part of India? The result would be that most of the poor mines, owned almost entirely by Indians, would have to go to the wall, and a few years after the position will be that the supply of coal from Indian mines would be very much limited. At that time South Africa would be in a position to dictate to us. At that time the Bombay mill owners would have to submit to the terms laid down, not by mine owners, who are their own countrymen, but by those of South Africa.

Sir, an Honourable Member, speaking from that corner of the House, has said that strikes are a constant factor in the mines of India and, if, therefore, we rely entirely upon the Indian mines, the result would be that some of the mills in Bombay that have to depend to a very large extent on the supply of coal from other countries will be closed during the time of strike. My submission is that strikes are not the monopoly of Indian labourers. Perhaps my Honourable friend will admit that strikes are as much a possibility in South Africa, if not more so, as in India. Therefore that argument also should not preclude any body from voting for this Resolution.

Sir, I have myself personally inquired into this matter. I at first felt very great hesitation in agreeing with the views held by those like my friend Mr. Neogy who had given notice of this Resolution. I felt very great doubt, because I apprehended that this would result in what we may call a check on the productive consumption of the country. But after what little inquiry I have been able to make from those—mind you—who are directly concerned in this matter. I came to another conclusion, namely, that if you leave things as they are, if you leave the coal industry of India with its present shortage of wagon supply, with the continuous rise in the freight of coal from Bengal and Bihar and Orissa to Bombay and other places,—if you leave it entirely as it is, if you do not interfere, you do not do anything to protect this still nascent industry of India, the only result and inevitable consequence of this would be that most of the mines that are at present in the hands of Indians would have to be closed. Mind you, most of the mines owned by European firms

[Mr. Devaki Prasad Sinha.]

would not be closed, because, so far as I have been able to understand, the shortage of wagon supply does not hit them as hard as it does Indian mine-owners, whatever may be the reason. It may be that European mine-owners are big mine-owners and therefore they get their supply more easily than the Indian mine-owners. But the fact is that out of a little more than 700 mines 500 and more are owned by small Indian capitalists; and, if you leave things as they are, the only result will be that most of these 500 mines owned by Indians will be closed entirely. In that case very little of the mining industry would be left in the two Provinces of Bengal and Bihar and Orissa, and what would be left would be owned entirely by European mine-owners. That is a danger which I would like to impress upon the Honourable Members of this House and which perhaps escaped the notice of most of those who oppose this Resolution.

I do not wish to detain the House but I only hope that the House will not be led away by the dangers—most of them imaginary—pointed out by Honourable Members who oppose this Resolution. It is not a question of two Provinces only. It is not a question of Bengal or Bihar acting to the detriment of Bombay. But it is a question of giving protection to one of the most important industries in India—an industry without which other industries in this country would perish. With these words I heartily support this Resolution.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao (Godavari *cum* Kistna Non-Muhammadian Rural): Sir, the speeches which have been delivered to-day by the Honourable the Mover of this Resolution and the answer that has been given on behalf of Government by my Honourable friend Sir Charles Innes have revealed to the House the extremely complicated character of the problem with which we are faced to-day. On the one hand, we have the statement that the coal industry, one of the most flourishing and one of the most important industries of India, is absolutely disorganised, that a very large number of mines have been shut down, that capital to the extent of 6 or 7 crores has been sunk in them and that no dividends are being paid by many of the companies and that in every way the depression of the coal trade has been so serious that it has affected the industrial prosperity not only of Bengal but probably the prosperity of other parts of India. Sir Charles Innes in the exhaustive reply which he made has made two points. The first was by way of advice, for organization on the part of the coal mine owners of Bengal. Secondly, his next point was that coal should be conveyed to Bombay by sea and thus conveyance charges should be saved; thirdly, his last proposal, as far as I could understand him, was the imposition of a small duty, that is the word he used, not necessarily on South African coal but on all coal imported into India. Sir, I should like to invite the attention of the House to the broad facts relating to the coal trade in this country. We have not only imports of coal from South Africa but also from other countries. The imports from the United Kingdom in 1920-21 amounted to 9,000 tons; and in 1921-22 they rose to 705,000 tons. From Natal, that is, South Africa, in 1920-21 we imported 7,000 tons and in 1921-22 we had 340,000 tons; from Portuguese East Africa for the same periods the figures were 18,000 tons and 268,000 tons respectively; from Australia 34,000 tons and 88,000 tons respectively; and from Japan we imported 10,000 tons in 1920-21, while the figures for 1921-22 are 83,000 tons. The general result may be summarised as follows; that in 1913-14 India was importing 532,000 tons of coal, while in 1920-21 we were importing 86,000 tons and in 1921-22 we imported

1,489,000 tons of coal. Sir, I am drawing attention to these facts for the purpose of showing that the problem of these imports and the consequent depression of the Bengal Coal trade have some relation to each other and, if this problem is to be thoroughly investigated, it must not necessarily be confined to imposing a countervailing duty on South African coal alone. The whole question is one for a comprehensive inquiry into the conditions which at present affected the Bengal mines. The question, therefore, is as to the remedies for restoring the Bengal Coal trade to its normal conditions.

Sir, there seem to be many more circumstances which have not been brought to the notice of this House in regard to the exact circumstances which disorganised the Bengal coal trade. One of these is there were sensational reductions in the prices in the United Kingdom immediately after the settlement of the coal strike in 1921-22. The official report of the trade in India says that:

"these reductions combined with low freight rates enabled good quality Welsh coal to be delivered in Bombay at prices very little higher than those of Bengal coal and in exceptional cases even to undersell it."

So much for British coal. It is also stated that:

"the Bengal coal owners were so hampered by transport difficulties between the collieries and the docks, and therefore foreign coal began to be imported in large quantities from June onwards and reached the maximum in November, 1922."

Therefore, Sir, the problem is much larger than that of South African coal and, while I am in hearty sympathy with the exact proposal that has been brought forward to-day of imposing a countervailing duty on South African coal,—not necessarily exactly for the same reasons which have been urged in this House, but on wider grounds which are well known,—I think that the question has to be dealt with in a much more comprehensive manner.

I would also invite the attention of Honourable Members to another aspect of the question, and that is the responsibility of the Government for the disorganization of the Bengal coal trade. So responsible a body as the Indian Fiscal Commission has stated as follows:

"It is notorious that the railway facilities for handling coal have become entirely inadequate. This serves to restrict the market, and also to depress the price for that portion of the market, namely railway companies themselves, to which there is a certainty of being able to make delivery. We have no doubt that these conditions have reacted most unfavourably on the coal industry, that till they are removed no measure of protection would lead to prosperity, and that when they are removed the industry will need no protection. The cure therefore lies in a rapid development of railway facilities, as a result of which we believe that output will be increased and a more favourable general level of prices will be obtained, though the price of coal to industries may actually fall."

Therefore, Sir, the responsibility of the Government for the development of these facilities for the transport of coal is one of the essential factors for the solution of this question, and to-day I expected that the Honourable Member in charge of Railways to have told us that, since this Report was issued in 1922, what steps had been taken to remove the difficulties pointed out by this Commission. Sir, I expect the Honourable Sir Charles Innes to make an answer to this criticism, namely, that the Government were responsible for disorganization of the Bengal coal trade in consequence of the state of things that prevailed since the war, and on account of the system of control that has been established, the whole of this trade has been disorganized, and if to-day the Honourable Sir Charles Innes had made a statement as to the

[Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao.]

steps that have been taken to remove these difficulties some of the criticisms that have been made to-day would not perhaps have been made.

Sir, I will now refer to the other remedy that has been suggested, namely, transport by sea. The Honourable Member is aware that at present the shipping industry is entirely a monopoly. The P. and O. and the British India are a combined company, and I believe, Sir,—I may be wrong but I am certain that my Honourable friend will correct me if I am wrong, but that is the impression I gathered,—that they have a kind of working arrangement by which certainly they can corner anybody in the way of rates, and if these two companies combine and put up their rates—we have heard to-day from the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya that the rates have already been increased, from Rs. 7 to Rs. 9 per ton for transport—there is an end of this suggestion. The remedy which my Honourable friend Sir Charles Innes suggests is really a remedy based on the assumption that there will be no increase in the freight charges which may be imposed by these companies, and therefore, Sir, it is certainly an element that has to be counted with. We have no Mercantile Marine in this country, and if these two companies combine and make up their minds to put up their rates and bring them up to the level of transport by land, I do not know how his remedy would work in practice.

Sir, I come to the last of my Honourable friend's remedies, and that is imposing a small duty—they are his words—an allround duty on all imported coal

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: No, no. On South African coal.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: I understand him to state that he would impose a small duty on all coal imported into this country till normal conditions in Bengal restored. I do not know why he should hesitate in making such a proposal. I certainly would like to differentiate South Africa. I would welcome that proposal to differentiate South Africa and impose a higher rate on South African coal than coal from other countries. I therefore think, Sir, that the true remedy lies, as has been suggested by my Honourable friend Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, in adopting a policy of temporary protection of this industry till the normal conditions in Bengal are restored. And there is ample warrant for such a course in the Report of this Fiscal Commission. I would particularly invite the Honourable Members' attention to these words:

“We have no doubt that these conditions have reacted most unfavourably on the coal industry, that till they are removed no measure of protection would bring prosperity, and that when they are removed an industry will need no protection.”

Well, Sir, the remedy suggested is exactly in the terms of that recommendation, namely, remove these difficulties and impose some kind of temporary protective duty—not necessarily revenue duty—till the conditions are restored. These are my general observations on this question. I do not think I should enter into many of the difficulties that have been suggested to-day in regard to the quality of the coal or in regard to the price of coal in South Africa or the charges for transport from South Africa to India. Of course, these are all questions on which opinions may differ. Finally, Sir, I wish to emphasise again a point which has been made since we met in this Assembly. One of my Honourable friends asked at a previous sitting whether we have any Trade Commissioners or

Agents in other countries. To-day we have the spectacle of a great Government without any information on one of the most important questions which has been raised in this country. We have here Sir Charles Innes who says that he had to proceed to London—not for this purpose no doubt—to obtain his information from the Minister of South Africa whom he met there. May I ask my Honourable friend what arrangements are being made for the representation of our trade interests from the Indian standpoint in various countries which export their articles to this country? That is a question which my Honourable friend, Sir Charles Innes, will have to face.

Well, Sir, with these observations I give my hearty support to the proposal of my friend, Mr. Neogy.

Mr. Harchandral Vishindas (Sind: Non-Muhammadan): I move, Sir, that the question be now put.

Mr. D. V. Belvi: Sir, I have listened with very great attention and patience and also care to the speech of the Honourable Member in charge but I confess that I have been very much disappointed at the attitude which he has taken up. I thought that Government would not take on a question like this a position of *non possumus*. This is a question of national importance. The coal industry in India is one of the nascent but most important industries in the country and on its prosperity will depend many other industries in the country. But it seems to me that Government is disposed to treat this question after the fashion of a step-mother. We know the proverbial attitude which a step-mother usually takes towards her step-son. She has to justify her conduct in the presence of her husband and she brings up all sorts of excuses. That is exactly the position which has been taken up by the Honourable Member in charge. Are you or are you not going to help this industry of coal in Bengal? We were told by some speakers that the thing must be left to take its normal course. That is exactly the thing which I want myself. If South Africa had not taken artificial measures to stimulate the export of her coal to India no Member of this House would have stood up here and asked Government to levy any countervailing duty on the article. We do not ask Government to levy a countervailing duty on all coal that is imported into India from every country on the face of the earth. The request that is now preferred to Government is not to impose
 3 P.M. countervailing duties on coal imported into the country from Great Britain or from any other country than South Africa. And why do we confine our request to South Africa? It is because South Africa gives a bounty to her own coal with a view to undersell Indian coal. The object of South Africa evidently is to see that the coal industry in India dies out in course of time. It has been urged by some Members that the Bombay Presidency will be the greatest sufferer. Coal may be sold dearer in the Bombay Presidency if a countervailing duty is levied on coal coming into the country from South Africa. That may be so for a very short time. But just look at the other side of the question. Suppose you don't do anything. Suppose you sit with your arms folded. What will be the inevitable effect in a few years? You may get coal at a cheaper rate for a few years, and then, when South Africa sees that there is nobody to compete with her, she will surely have her opportunity and the industry in this country will probably die out. It seems to me that it is really a wonderful thing

[Mr. D. V. Belvi.]

to find in this House that the Government is not willing to enforce the provisions of a law which are already there. The Tariff Act, to which reference has been made in the Resolution of my friend the Honourable Mr. Neogy specifies the conditions under which such a countervailing duty may be imposed. The very provisions of the section to which reference has been made in the Resolution will satisfy every thinking Member of this Assembly on this point. Section 8 (a) of the Indian Tariff Act, 1894, as amended by Act XIV of 1899 runs thus:

"(1) Where any country, dependency or colony pays or bestows directly or indirectly any bounty or grant upon the exportation therefrom of any article and the article is chargeable with duty under the provisions of this Act, then, upon the importation of any such article into British India whether the same is imported directly from the country of production or otherwise and whether it is imported in the same condition as when exported from the country of production or has been changed in condition by manufacture or otherwise, the Governor General in Council may, by notification in the Gazette of India, impose an additional duty equal to the net amount of such bounty or grant, however the same be paid or bestowed."

Then sub-section (2) runs:

"(2) The net amount of any such bounty or grant as aforesaid shall be from time to time ascertained, determined and declared by the Governor General in Council and the Governor General may, by notification in the Gazette of India, make rules for the identification of such articles and for the assessment and collection of any additional duty imposed upon the importation thereof under sub-section (1)."

Nothing can be clearer than the provisions of this section. The Government of India are now asked to enforce this section in the case of a country which helps its own coal with a bounty. Is it fair on the part of South Africa to send out her coal to India with a bounty so that it may be in a position to undersell coal produced in India? If you wish things to take their natural course, ask the South African Government to withhold this bounty, and there will be no complaint whatever and there will be fair competition. There is no fair competition at present and that is the reason why we ask our own Government to levy this countervailing duty.

There is another thing also of which we may well take note here. There is very little love lost between India and South Africa. We know how our people are treated in South Africa. That is a consideration which ought to be present to our minds when we consider a Resolution of this kind.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I rise to a point of order, Sir. We have been discussing this question on the economic side and I submit that it is irrelevant to bring in any question of retaliation.

Mr. D. V. Belvi: I submit that there is no reason whatever for us to confine ourselves to considerations purely industrial. Why should we overlook the political consideration if it also has some bearing on the point? If South Africa were on very friendly terms with us, if our people were treated with fairness in that country, that would be a very good ground for saying, "Here are our friends; we should not irritate them." But such a consideration is beside the mark in the solution of the question before us. The people of South Africa do not deserve the least consideration at our hands as they are admittedly treating our people very badly.

I find that one of the arguments on the other side is that the Bombay mills may suffer. We have got the opinion of such a great man, such a

man of business, as the Honourable Sir Purshotamdas, in favour of the Resolution. I do not think that it lies in the mouth of any gentlemen here, who are not themselves men of business in Bombay, to trot out such an argument as this simply to bolster up a case for South Africa. Then it is said that Madras and Rangoon may suffer. I have not hitherto heard any arguments from representatives of Madras or Rangoon in opposition to the present Resolution. Sir, it seems to me that specious arguments are advanced in opposition to the Resolution with a view to see that South Africa does not suffer at our hands. Then we are told that raw materials should not be taxed. That is a proposition which is quite correct in economics. But it seems to me that, if there is competition between raw materials produced in two different countries and you find that the raw material of one country is fed with a bounty, it is the duty of the second country to see that the raw material within its own purview is put on a par with the raw material coming into it from the first country. So far as the arguments advanced by my Honourable friend, Mr. Joshi, who has said that he is keeping an open mind, are concerned, I can only say that it seems to me that my Honourable friend will not be convinced even if one rose from the dead. He has advanced arguments of all kinds which do not bear on the present point. I submit to the House that the only point for consideration is whether a national industry is to be encouraged or is to be throttled to death. That is the only point and that has to be considered from the point of view of Indians only. (Mr. N. M. Joshi: "Are not miners Indians?") Miners will not be sufferers. I do not know how the miners will be benefited by the retention of this bounty-fed coal in our markets. If my Honourable friend is very solicitous of the interests of miners, let him table a Resolution and it will be entitled to our consideration. At present the only point for consideration is whether the coal industry in India will or will not prosper if we levy a countervailing duty on bounty-fed coal coming into the country from South Africa. Let us not stray away from the point at issue, let us not cloud the issue. Are we or are we not going to foster a national industry? Are we to take into consideration all that has been said in the Report of the Fiscal Committee? Are we going to take into consideration the provisions of the law that have already been enacted to meet an identical case like this, re the sugar industry on a previous occasion? The Government of India was pleased to enact a law on that occasion and we are simply now asking it to enforce the provisions of that very law and save this national industry of coal in the country. With these few words I support with very great pleasure the Resolution moved so eloquently by my Honourable friend Mr. Neogy.

Sir Campbell Rhodes (Bengal: European): Sir, I should like first of all to congratulate the House on the course of the debate which has been almost entirely along economic grounds. A good deal of coal dust has, however, been raised, but even then very few general smuts have fallen upon us. I should like to mention first two points on which I think we all agree. One is that Bengal wants to capture again the Bombay coal trade. I have not heard a single voice raised against that proposition in this House. The second is in connection with railway facilities. Where we have points at variance is I think due to certain misconceptions. My colleague from Bengal, Mr. Willson, has put before the Assembly very good arguments why we should proceed with caution, and in reply he has been told that he represents good mines. I can inform the House that that is the fact, because I myself sold him a most excellent colliery, but that very fact, and this gives weight to Mr. Willson's arguments, shows

[Sir Campbell Rhodes.]

that he will chiefly benefit if this Resolution is passed. I myself have modest coal interests now and, if this Resolution is passed, I also hope to benefit by the result. It has been assumed by some speakers that all second class collieries are owned by Indians and all first class collieries are owned by Europeans.

Mr. Devaki Prasad Sinha: I referred to small mines and not second class mines.

Sir Campbell Rhodes: I will take up the point raised by my Honourable friend. Small industries of any sort in these days of big concerns are uneconomic and, if my Honourable friend will read the Fiscal Commission's Report, he will find it there shown that you cannot by protective duties protect inefficient industries because, the moment you endeavour to protect them, efficient concerns spring up and take all the benefit. All the benefit which Members hope from this Resolution will, as Mr. Willson has pointed out, accrue to the collieries which are now paying good dividends and which would be enabled to pay larger dividends. Then we have had the question of employment raised by my friend, the Pandit, I think. I think he is labouring there under a grave misconception. There is no unemployment in the colliery districts. The miners are really agriculturists and in years of good crops it is impossible to attract labour, and that is the reason why we have at the present moment such small raisings. It is only in bad years that the people, who cannot find support on the land, flock to the collieries. Therefore, the question of unemployment in this connection does not arise. Mr. Willson has made another very important point and here again, as a man who has been interested in the running of steamers, I can endorse all he said. Steamers know no limits of country, they bunker and repair in the cheapest market, and Bombay will lose a very large business, banking, insurance, repairing work and bunkering unless it can offer facilities equal to Colombo, Aden, Perim and Port Said. For many years I have managed a steamer line from England to India, and when coal rates have been high here, it has been customary to bunker from Liverpool not to Calcutta only, but back again to Port Said, where Welsh coal is again picked up. If Indian prices fall, we bunker in Calcutta. So I should like to warn the House that in passing this Resolution they may be doing very great harm to many trades in Bombay. As regards coal freights, my friend from Bombay is entirely wrong in thinking there is any monopoly. The coal business is one essentially that can be run by tramps and tramp steamers will be attracted from all over the world if the business is there, as we hope it will be shortly. Coal freights are not put up or put down for any reasons but those of ordinary economic forces. If we can offer a price for tonnage higher than China, Australia, Africa or America can offer, then we shall always attract that tonnage. Another point on which we are all agreed I think is that we are not interested in Natal coal. I think we are agreed probably that a case has been made out under which we can, if we so desire, put on countervailing duties. Bounties are granted by Natal and we have the machinery to put on a countervailing duty. The only question for us to decide is, does it suit our own book? The Fiscal Commission report says:

"It is seldom that a tariff war has done anything but harm to both the countries which have entered on it."

Indian economists constantly lament that the exports of India consist of raw materials and the imports of manufactured articles. Here we have a case where the imports consist of raw materials and the exports of very large quantities of manufactured textiles. Do we want to upset Africa and cause a retaliatory war? It has been suggested that Natal will capture the trade and then there will be only one source of supply. I think that is unlikely. I think it extremely probable that Bengal will get back its own and that Bombay, if it is wise, will just keep open that second string; because, if it intends to depend entirely on Bengal, its industries may very seriously be jeopardised in times of congestion on the railways, strikes in the collieries, political unrest and various other causes which have upset the coal supply in Bengal.

And now one last point on which we all agree on this side of the House, and that is, when everything else fails we can abuse the Government. Sir Charles Innes has told the Bengal trade to put their house in order, to ship better graded coal from Calcutta. They are endeavouring to do so but they are meeting with very great difficulties. It has been an old-standing controversy between me and Sir Charles Innes as regards the treatment that the Bengal coal trade received during the war from the Government. The shortage of wagons meant that only collieries raising better class coal could get an adequate supply of wagons, which gave rise to the constant charge of discrimination between one colliery and another. Then there is the fact that those wagons are not suitable for mechanical loading. Sir Charles Innes has said that collieries should put in more screening plant; but screening plant cannot be put in to load covered wagons and cannot be efficiently equipped if covered wagons are ever going to run into the siding where that screening plant exists. The coal trade has long been starved. We have now got this rebate and I certainly advise the House not to venture on a dangerous experiment without waiting to see what this rebate will do. We must remember that the largest consumer of Indian coal is the railways, which take about half our production. If we are going to pay Rs. 3 more a ton, our finances in the Budget are going to be in a parlous condition.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Are not the rates more or less fixed for the next two years?

Sir Campbell Rhodes: The root of the whole matter therefore is, that we should have better railway facilities; and there again, I think, Sir Charles Innes might possibly turn round on the House and say: "if you will give us the money, we will put our railways in order." But for these reasons and for these arguments which have been largely used by Mr. Willson and which have not been answered, I would strongly recommend the House to postpone any further action until they see what has been the result of the present railway rebate.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta (Bombay Northern Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, after what fell from my friend, Mr. Belvi, I did not think it was necessary for me to say anything further with reference to the question before the House. But my Honourable friend who last spoke referred to one point: "it is not at all likely," he said, "that if you do not pass this Resolution, it will lead to a situation which will eventually make South African coal supreme in India." Sir, as to that we have an historical example of imports. Time was when India exported cotton fabric to Japan, and till 1914 Japan was actually a customer of India. But,

[Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta.]

thereafter, Japan began to send bounty-fed cotton goods to India, with the result that to-day not only is Japan not our customer, but we have become a customer of Japan's. And here also, if we allow this coal industry of Natal to invade further and further the coal industry of India, just as it has happened in the case of Japan sending goods to us instead of receiving goods from us, a time will come when South African coal will throttle and eventually strangle the coal industry of India; and I want you to consider—when there is so much common ground on both sides and it is admitted that the coal industry to-day is hampered by the shortage of wagons and is thereby prejudiced, and, further when it has to meet the competition of South African coal, in the face of this and in the face of the example of Japan which I have quoted,—I want you to consider whether it is not necessary for us to be wide awake betimes so that we might not be taken unawares when the real eventuality comes. One other item of information which the Honourable Sir Charles Innes might have given to this House was, the cost of bringing South African coal from the bottom of the pit to the mouth? That would have helped us to understand the problem much better than it has been possible to do so far. Well, Sir, I also do not want to make any comment on the political aspect of the question of South Africa, and I agree with my Honourable friend, Mr. Neogy, that the Government need not be charged with nefarious motives; I would rather go further and say that they have exhibited two eminent Christian virtues, that is, charity and humility: They have allowed South African coal to invade us, and they are prepared to allow that to go on until the invasion is complete and the battle is over: so that far from charging them with bad motives, we have to credit them with these two Christian virtues; they have turned the other cheek to the smiter and have subjected the coal market of India to this invasion of coal from South Africa. But we are not prepared to accept that position, and, Sir, in the interest of one of the industries which is also a feeder industry to the other industries, it is necessary that this Resolution should be adopted by a very large majority, if not unanimously.

(Several Honourable Members: "I move that the question be now put.")

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Sir, I will take just a few minutes to reply to some of the points raised in the debate. My labour has been considerably lightened by the previous speakers, particularly Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The Honourable Sir Charles Innes challenged my figures with regard to the rates of rebate granted in South Africa. I may inform my Honourable friend that I obtained my figures from the Minutes of the Coal Conference which was held on the 22nd August 1923 in Calcutta at which the Honourable Mr. Chadwick, who was officiating for my Honourable friend at that time, presided. There the latest figure about the South African rebate is given as 7s. 9d. on the ton of two thousand pounds. It is a South African ton. My Honourable friend, Sir Charles Innes, would put the rebate at a much lower figure now. But I will let that pass. The Honourable Sir Charles Innes took upon himself the rather philanthropic duty of supporting the South African Railway policy and he apologised—at least he seemed to apologise—for the South African policy. (The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: "It is our own policy.") I thought you were justifying the South African policy. I thought Sir Charles Innes said that the South African policy

was not entirely directed against Indian coal. I do not know what his authority is for making that statement. On the other hand, I know that the Honourable the Commerce Member has not been in a position to reply to some of the most pertinent inquiries that have been made during this debate.

Now, Sir, another point which the Honourable Sir Charles Innes has made is that Bombay has imported foreign coal for many years, so this is not a new thing at all. But can my Honourable friend point out a single year during the history of the Indian coal in which the net import into India of foreign coal stands at 5 lakh tons, which was the figure for 1923, that is to say, when our imports exceeded our exports by 5 lakh tons? Another point which the Honourable Sir Charles Innes has made is that because Bengal coal is inferior in quality it cannot compete with South African coal in Bombay. Now, I will refer him to the statement which Sir Willoughby Carey made at the Associated Chambers of Commerce, the meeting of which was held very recently in Bombay, in which he disputed the accuracy of this assertion. He said:

"As regards the 10 per cent. difference in quality of coal one was always inclined to be suspicious that this might be a buying counter, because naturally every buyer decried the article he wanted to buy in favour of something else."

It seems to me that Mr. Chadwick, who was representing the Government of India at that meeting, practically accepted that proposition. Now, Sir, my Honourable friend has referred to the question of quality of coal. But what about the shortage of coal—10 per cent. shortage—physical disappearance while in transit, which has become a normal feature of the coal sent out from Bengal to Bombay.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Then do not send it by rail. That is my whole point.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: I presume the Honourable member means to say that if the part rail route were preferred such shortage would not occur. But I beg to remind the Honourable Member of a case in which coal was sent out from the coal fields to a not very distant place, Tittagarh, and in which there was a shortage of 8 per cent. So, instead of lecturing the coal trade as to how best to put their house in order, the Honourable Member may as well put his house in order and attend to this pilferage which is a notorious factor in the railway working of to-day. Now, Sir, the Honourable the Commerce Member has stated to us that the transport charges from Bengal by part rail route are

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Rs. 12-8-6, from Jharria, and Rs. 11-10-8 from Raneegeunge.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: I will give him an analysis of the cost of transport. The Jharria rate is Rs. 3-8 and the Raneegeunge rate is Rs. 2-8. If we take an average of the two, we get Rs. 3, and I may remind the Honourable Member that Bombay takes more coal from Jharria than from Raneegeunge, so that it would not be quite unjust if we were to take Rs. 3-4 as the average railway freight for coal from Bengal. Add to that shipping freight, which stands at Rs. 9. The instance in which it stood at Rs. 7 was an exceptional one, as I have told the House, and no quotations below Rs. 9 are available just now. Then add the Port Commissioner's charges, which come to Rs. 1-4. Then again, insurance, finance and loss in weight, to

[Mr. K. C. Neogy.]

which I have just referred, result in Rs. 2. Dock charges on the Bombay side, Rs. 1-12. The total comes to Rs. 17-4 by the part rail route. Now, Sir, add to this the average raising charge, which is Rs. 6-8. I have got a list with me which shows the raising charges of various coal concerns in Bengal. There are eight of them here, five under European management and three under Indian, and the average stands somewhere near Rs. 6-8. The total, therefore, comes up to Rs. 23-12. Now what about interest on finance? What about profits? Now, Sir, Sir Charles Innes has tried to impress upon the trade the necessity for reducing the price. Will he indicate the direction in which the reduction can be effected? Another statement the Honourable the Commerce Member made was that the Natal coal trade has cut prices, whereas the Indian trade has not. I do not know what authority he has for making that statement. If that be so, then I believe the case for a countervailing duty is unanswerable. Another piece of advice which the Honourable the Commerce Member has given to the trade is that the trade should combine and make determined efforts to improve their lot. I am sure the trade will be very thankful to the Honourable Member for this advice, but I may point out that it is perfectly superfluous. The trade did not close down so many mines for the mere fun of it, or merely to add weight to my arguments in support of this Resolution. Now, Sir, I will leave the Honourable the Commerce Member at that. My Honourable friend Mr. Willson has assured us that he has been getting his dividends quite all right these years. Our congratulations to him on that circumstance. He advises the trade only to stick to the best quality, but he forgets the smaller undertakings that are already being closed down. On this point my Honourable friend Sir Campbell Rhodes stated that the small undertakings are uneconomic. I believe he would very much welcome the consummation under which all these smaller coalfields would be closed down, much to the benefit of the shareholders of the bigger coal concerns. My Honourable friend Mr. Willson representing in this House the Associated Chambers of Commerce as he does, has very faithfully reflected the views of Sir Willoughby Carey expressed at their Conference. Neither Sir Willoughby Carey nor my friend Mr. Willson has a word to say about the Bombay market; they both cast longing glances at the ports of Singapore, Aden and other places, but do not very much care what happens to the Bombay market.

Now, Sir, my Honourable friend Mr. Willson says that the effect of putting on this countervailing duty would be to raise prices, and that the only guarantee against soaring prices is foreign competition. I may assure my Honourable friend that it is not my desire to eliminate foreign competition altogether. My Honourable friend Diwan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao has read out a long list of countries which export coal to India. I never suggested that we should put any high duty on coal brought from countries other than South Africa. So that the foreign competition would be there, and, if the circumstances to which my Honourable friend Diwan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao has referred, which enable Welsh coal to sell cheaper at Bombay—if those circumstances continue, there is no reason why Welsh coal should not be able to beat Indian coal in the Indian market. So, there you have got that element of competition already. And I may remind him also that there is another factor which will come into play, and that is, the internal competition. If you make the position of the coal trade more favourable, surely there will ensue competition among

the various concerns. The coal trade is not worked by a big combine operating throughout India. There are several concerns which will begin to compete with one another, and that certainly will have the effect—at least, it will tend to keep down prices.

Now one last word. My Honourable friend Sir Campbell Rhodes says that it will affect the Budget. I do not know how it will, but perhaps he forgets that, if you place the coal trade on a satisfactory footing, you can surely expect a much larger return in the shape of income-tax from these concerns which would otherwise close down. That is a factor which I am sure my Honourable friend Sir Campbell Rhodes forgot to consider.

With these words, Sir, I beg to place the Resolution before this House.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Sir, I will do Mr. Neogy this much justice—of all the speakers who have spoken in this debate he is the only one who has made any attempt to answer my real argument. My real argument was that there was no occasion, there was no necessity, to put on this countervailing duty because the remedy lay in the hands of the coal trade itself; and I strove to prove that argument by comparing the transport costs of Natal coal from Durban to Bombay—from the coalfields in Natal to Bombay, and the transport costs of Indian coal from Jherria to Bombay. And I proved there was an advantage in favour of Indian coal of Rs. 3 a ton from Jherria. Mr. Neogy has challenged those figures. He says that I did not take into account marine insurance, that I did not take into account finance, that I did not take into account profits, that I did not take into account Port Commissioners' charges. He has added on all those charges to the transport costs of Indian coal and he has proved that it costs Rs. 17-4 a ton to transport that Indian coal from Jherria to Bombay. But, Sir, he has forgotten that those charges equally have to be added on to the transport costs of South African coal. South African coal has to pay marine insurance, South African coal has to arrange for finance, South African coal expects a profit, South African coal has to pay Port Commissioners' charges; and it is exactly for that reason I missed out those things. I was comparing like with like, and this very clever red-herring which my Honourable friend Mr. Neogy has tried to lead across the trail leaves me entirely unaffected and also leaves my argument entirely unaffected. I claim that the argument I put forward in my first speech remains unchallenged by any speaker in this House.

Now, Sir, let me take Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas. Sir Purshotamdas stands before this Assembly as a late President of the Indian Merchants Chamber and Bureau and as a businessman, and I must say that I derived very considerable comfort from his speech, because Sir Purshotamdas also made not the slightest attempt to meet any one of my arguments. It was perfectly obvious to me that Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas knew that he had a very weak case and like so many people in that position he thought the only way to meet me was not to tackle my arguments but to try to cast suspicion upon my facts. He laid great stress upon the fact that I had no information about the local price of coal in Durban. Of course I had not, Sir. Why should I have? I do not deny and I never have denied that the price of export coal in South Africa is lower than the price of coal in that country. (*Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas:* "What is the difference,

[Sir Charles Innes.]

Sir?") I clearly stated that the rail freight on coal from Hattingspruit to Durban for local consumption there was 12s. 11d. per ton; and I also stated that the rail freight on coal for export from Durban was only 6s. 4d. a ton. I pointed out that the difference was 6s. 7d. per ton and it is perfectly obvious to every one, I imagine, that the price of coal in Durban must be dearer by at any rate that amount than the price of coal exported. There is no mystery about it and no capital can be made out of it, because I thought the fact was so self-evident that I need not go into it.

Again, Sir, both Mr. Neogy and Sir Purshotamdas have also drawn attention to the difference in the figures for rebate. I had forgotten what Mr. Chadwick said at that meeting in August 1923. But here, again, my argument is unaffected. The whole of my argument was based on the net railway freight from Vryheid to Durban and I based my argument about transport charges upon that. Now, the rebate is the difference between the rate for export coal and the rate for coal for local consumption. Now, during the war the South African railways adopted a different policy from us. They raised their rates on coal for local consumption and for bunkers to a very high figure indeed; but they maintained their rate for export coal practically at the same figure. Here are the figures taken from the Report of the General Manager of Railways and Harbours in South Africa. Before the war the rate was 4s. 11½d. per ton of 2,000 lbs. on export coal from Hattingspruit to Durban. In 1922 the rates had been raised to 5s. 7½d. per ton of 2,000 lbs. That is 6s. 4d. per ton of 2,240 lbs. Now, if you remember that the freight rates for local consumption were raised very high, that the rates for export coal were maintained at practically the same level, that accounts for the difference in the rates of rebate. But the whole of my argument was based upon the net freight rates from Hattingspruit to Durban.

Then, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, in default of a better argument, proceeded to adopt that easy course which is always open to non-officials, as stated by Sir Campbell Rhodes, of attacking the Government. He attacked the Railways. He told us that the whole of the coal industry had been paralysed by coal control. Sir, I can tell him this. If it had not been for the coal control, all the other industries in India would have been paralysed, and, when my Honourable friend Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas goes back to Bombay, and when next time he attends a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Tata Iron and Steel Company, let him ask his co-directors what would have happened to the Tata Iron and Steel Company if it had not been for the coal control. It is very easy now for him to say that all the troubles of the coal industry are due to the coal control. Sir, the Tata Iron and Steel Company would have been in very great trouble at this time if it had not been for the coal control, and so would all the other industries in India.

Then, again, Sir, he used the very extraordinary argument, that the bad quality of Bengal coal is due to bad railway facilities. I must say I cannot follow the sequence of thought. But, Sir, I will just say this. If railway facilities are so bad, why add to the difficulties of the railways by trying to encourage the people to send more and more coal to Bombay over those railways? Does not that prove my very point, the point that I have been trying to bring home not only to this House but also to the coal trade, that the whole solution of this problem lies in the coal trade

reverting to the route we followed before the War, namely the part-rail and the part-sea route?

I am getting a little tired, Sir, of these attacks on our railways in connection with the coal trade. Let me say something about the coal trade itself. What is one of the root causes of all this trouble of railway facilities in the coal fields? It is this. We have in the Jharria field alone 600 collieries, of which 389 or 60 per cent. produce less than a thousand tons of coal per month, that is, less than 2 wagon loads a day. That is in the Jharria field alone. What does that mean to Railways? It means that they have to send pilot engines all over the fields, dropping a wagon here and a wagon there, because these little collieries are able to load only one or two wagons. Then again we have to collect these wagons, and sort them in the up direction and down direction, and to various destinations. In Natal where they produce 3 million tons against 10 million tons in the Jharria fields, they have only 22 collieries, of which only two have an output of less than a thousand tons. Consider and contrast the state of affairs in the Jharria fields. We have got 600 collieries, most of them very small, most of them below the real economic size. It reminds me about a conversation I had with my Honourable friend Diwan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao two or three days ago. Many years ago the Department of Industries in Madras established a rice mill in the Tanjore district. It was a startling success. Within a very short time, there came into existence no less than 35 rice mills, not one of which could earn a living. Similarly, in the district from which Diwan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao himself comes, he tells me that at this time there are no less than 200 rice mills, not one of which works for more than two months a year. It is this multiplication of small collieries that causes all the trouble, and yet the Railways don't do badly. Not only do we carry a heavy general trade through these coal fields along our railway lines, but on the East Indian Railway we shore out coal from the fields at the rate of 2,070 wagons a day, that is at the rate of 27 tons a minute; in addition to that we bring, 2,070 empty wagons a day for entry. That means we take in and out of the coal fields something like 80 or 90 coal trains a day. There is a great deal said about the inefficiency of the railways. I think I have shown that the real trouble in the coal fields is very largely the inefficiency of the industry—it is the multiplication of these small collieries. I do admit—and always have admitted—that during the war we fell behindhand with transport facilities as compared with the increase of coal production, but let me tell Mr. Ramachandra Rao that this question of improvement in transport facilities in the coal fields occupies the main part of the five-year programme both on the East Indian Railway and on the Bengal Nagpur Railway.

The Honourable the Pandit, Sir, accused me, I understand, of having a cold heart, of having no national feeling in this matter. (*Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya*: "Over this question".) Sir, the difference between the Pandit and myself is not a difference of object; it is merely a difference of method. We both—as I entirely agree and as I have said before—we all of us agree here that we can wish for nothing more than that the Bengal coal trade should itself supply all the coal that India requires in our own parts and also build up a big export trade. Where the Honourable Pandit and myself differ is in the method by which we would arrive at this end. He recommends the method of a sort of intoxicant. This is the method of protection. Well, Sir, I am not going to say anything about protection

[Sir Charles Innes.]

on this occasion but I do say this that, if you can avoid protection, avoid it by all means. If you can get the same end by free trade, that is a very much better way to get it. Now that brings me back to what I have always maintained, which I have maintained throughout this debate

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: May I interrupt, Sir, to say that I do not want to take up the question of protection here. I want that the two persons who are to run the race should start with equal weights.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: As I said, Sir, I now come back to the point that I have striven to make all through this debate. It has been our policy ever since 1920 to try and drive this coal trade back from the all-rail route to Bombay to the part-sea, part-rail route. That policy, Sir, was endorsed by every Chamber of Commerce in India, including I may mention the Indian Merchants Chamber and Bureau. I have shown, Sir, by figures, which have not been challenged by anybody in this House, I have shown, Sir, that if only the coal trade will revert to that route, they have an advantage over Natal coal in transport charges alone of not less than Rs. 3 per ton. I want to know why in these circumstances the trade cannot itself attack and reconquer this Bombay market, and I have had no answer. Mr. Ramachandra Rao states that it is a difficulty of shipping. That is not the case at all, Sir. The last figures I saw were that there were ten million tons of shipping laid up in the world. If only the shipping world could come to know that coal freights are offering in Calcutta we shall get back into eastern waters a thing which we very badly want—the old British tramp. If the coal trade adopt the methods I have suggested and if it reverts to this part-rail part-sea route, then I fail to see any reason at all why it should not recapture this market without reducing its prices at all,—though I think there is scope for reduction in their prices. I say also that, if after they have made a real effort to recapture the market in Bombay, we are satisfied that they cannot do it, then the Government will be prepared to consider the putting of a small countervailing duty on South African coal. But that is a question for the future. The matter rests with the coal trade for the present and it is up to them to try to recapture this market by their own methods.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): May I ask the Honourable Member one question, Sir? How long will it take to recapture the coal trade if all the efforts which he has suggested are made thoroughly?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I am afraid, Sir, I cannot give any very definite answer to that question. I can only say that
4 P.M. within the last six weeks 4 steamers have gone, and at any rate these 4 steamers should give some indication of the progress they are making.

Mr. President: The question is:

“That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that in view of the recent depression in Indian Coal Trade, a countervailing duty be imposed on the South African Coal imported into India, to the extent of the indirect bounty enjoyed by it, in the shape of rebate on railway freight under the provisions of section 8 (a) of the Indian Tariff Act, 1894 (VIII of 1894), as amended and in pursuance of the policy indicated by the Indian Fiscal Commission in paragraph 141 of their Report.”

The Assembly divided :

AYES—77.

Abdul Karim, Khwaja.
 Abhyankar, Mr. M. V. .
 Ahmad Ali Khan, Mr.
 Ahmed, Mr. K.
 Aiyangar, Mr. C. Duraiswami.
 Aiyangar, Mr. K. Rama.
 Akbar Khan, Sardar Mahboob Ali
 Khan Mohammad.
 Alimuzzaman Chowdhry, Mr.
 Aney, Mr. M. S.
 Asjad-ul-lah, Maulvi Miyan.
 Bahawal Baksh, Chaudhri.
 Belvi, Mr. D. V.
 Bhat, Mr. K. Sadasiva.
 Chaman Lal, Mr.
 Chanda, Mr. Kamini Kumar.
 Chetty, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham.
 Das, Mr. Bhubanananda.
 Das, Mr. Nilakantha.
 Dumasia, Mr. N. M.
 Dutt, Mr. Amar Nath.
 Ghose, Mr. S. C.
 Goswami, Mr. T. C.
 Gour, Dr. H. S.
 Govind Das, Seth.
 Gulab Singh, Sardar.
 Hars Raj, Lala.
 Hari Prasad Lal, Rai.
 Ismail Khan, Nawab.
 Iyengar, Mr. A. Rangaswami.
 Jeelani, Haji S. A. K.
 Jinnah, Mr. M. A.
 Joshi, Mr. N. M.
 Kartar Singh, Sardar
 Kasturbhai Lalabhai, Seth.
 Kazim Ali, Mr. M.
 Kelkar, Mr. N. C.
 Lohokare, Mr. K. G.
 Makan, Mr. M. E.
 Malaviya, Pandit Krishna Kant

Malaviya, Pandit Madan Mohan.
 Mehta, Mr. Jamnadas M.
 Misra, Mr. Shambhu Dayal.
 Misra, Pandit Harkaran Nath.
 Murtuza Sahib Bahadur, Maulvi
 Sayad.
 Mutalik, Sardar V. N.
 Nambiyar, Mr. K. K.
 Narayandas, Mr.
 Nehru, Dr. Kishenlal.
 Nehru, Pandit Shamlal.
 Neogy, Mr. K. C.
 Pal, Mr. Bipin Chandra.
 Patel, Mr. V. J.
 Phookun, Mr. Tarun Ram.
 Piyare Lal, Lala.
 Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sir.
 Ramachandra Rao, Diwan Bahadur M.
 Rajan Baksh Shah, Mukhdum Syed.
 Rangachariar, Diwan Bahadur T.
 Ray, Mr. Kumar Sankar.
 Reddi, Mr. K. Venkataramana.
 Roy, Mr. Bhabendra Chandra.
 Samiullah Khan, Mr. M.
 Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Khan
 Bahadur.
 Setalvad, Sir Chimanlal.
 Shafee, Maulvi Muhammad.
 Shams-uz-Zoha, Khan Bahadur M.
 Singh, Mr. Gaya Prasad.
 Sinha, Mr. Devaki Prasad.
 Sinha, Kumar Ganganand.
 Syamacharan, Mr.
 Tok Kyi, Maung.
 Ujagar Singh Bedi, Baba.
 Venkatapatiraju, Mr. B.
 Vishindas, Mr. Harchandrai.
 Wajihuddin, Haji.
 Yakub, Maulvi Muhammad.
 Yusuf Imam, Mr. M.

NOES—39.

Abdul Qaiyum, Nawab Sir Sahibzada.
 Ajab Khan, Captain.
 Akram Hussain, Prince A. M. M.
 Allen, Mr. B. C.
 Blackett, The Honourable Sir Basil.
 Burdon, Mr. E.
 Butler, Mr. M. S. D.
 Calvert, Mr. H.
 Chatterjee, The Honourable Mr. A. C.
 Cocke, Mr. H. G.
 Dalal, Sardar B. A.
 Dunk, Mr. H. R.
 Faridoonji, Mr. R.
 Fleming, Mr. E. G.
 Ghulam Bari, Khan Sahib.
 Hailev, The Honourable Sir Malcolm.
 Hira Singh, Sardar Bahadur Captain.
 Holme, Mr. H. E.
 Howell, Mr. E. B.
 Hyder, Dr. L. K.

Innes, The Honourable Sir Charles.
 Lindsay, Mr. Darcy.
 Moir, Mr. T. E.
 Moncrieff Smith, Sir Henry.
 Nag, Mr. G. C.
 O'Malley, Mr. L. S. S.
 Owens, Lieut.-Colonel F. C.
 Parsons, Mr. A. A. L.
 Percival, Mr. P. E.
 Rhodes, Sir Campbell.
 Richey, Mr. J. A.
 Roy, Mr. K. C.
 Rushbrook-Williams, Prof. L. F.
 Singh, Rai Bahadur S. N.
 Stanyon, Colonel Sir Henry.
 Tottenham, Mr. A. R. L.
 Turing, Mr. J. M.
 Willson, Mr. W. S. J.
 Wright, Mr. W. T. M.

The motion was adopted.

RESOLUTION RE REDUCTION OF THE 'PROVINCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju (Ganjam *cum* Vizagapatam: Non-Muhamadan Rural): Sir, I beg to move:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to make necessary arrangements in framing the Budget for 1924-25 for giving substantial relief to the Provinces in the matter of provincial contributions and in any event not less than three crores be reduced from the amount of provincial contributions in 1924-25 to enable the provincial Governments to spend more money for development purposes, sanitation and education."

Sir, though in this Assembly this is the first occasion, I may mention that this is the fourth occasion on which this question has been discussed in one way or another, and I am sure that, so long as the Finance Member relies upon provincial contributions, this question will come up till it is finally solved. I do not propose to go into the debatable ground which takes us on to the side issue as to whether the contributions have been properly fixed. That question, according to my understanding of the position, was solved, or at least settled, when the division was effected of the revenues of the Central Government and the Provinces. The question of allocation was referred to the Financial Relations Committee, known as Lord Meston's Committee, who decided, rightly or wrongly it is not my purpose to say now, that out of the heads of revenue allotted to the provinces they should contribute to the Central Government to the extent of 983 lakhs in certain proportions. In their report they added further that Madras should contribute about 348 lakhs, the United Provinces 240, the Punjab 175, which they admitted in their report was double the proportion which these provinces ought on equity to contribute to the Central Exchequer. With reference to other provinces they said that Bombay should pay 56 lakhs, Bengal 63, Burma 64, Central Provinces 22, and Assam 15 lakhs, while Bihar and Orissa need not contribute at all. Admitting that there was some inequality in the proportions allotted to the first three provinces, they suggested that, in the course of seven years from that date, the provinces contributing the higher proportions should have their contributions reduced while taking a gradually increased amount from the provinces contributing less initially. According to their calculation, Madras is paying double the legitimate proportion, the Punjab is paying double the legitimate proportion, and the United Provinces has to pay nearly 60 per cent. more than what she has to pay. Naturally, when this decision was given, none of the provinces were satisfied, and everyone of them complained and, as we call it, they carried an appeal to the British Parliament, and a Committee, the Joint Parliamentary Committee, inquired into the matter again, and they gave relief in a particular manner with reference to the complaints made by some provinces. With reference to Bombay, they said, "we are prepared to give you some additional sum out of income-tax", which they have put at 3 pies per rupee, and they also added that no province which has initially to pay a smaller amount, need pay a higher amount according to the recommendation of Lord Meston's Committee. And, thirdly, they stated that the provinces which were obliged to contribute more than their legitimate share should get relief at the earliest possible opportunity, and the Government should shape their financial policy to that end. In order to emphasize my point, I may be permitted to read that recommendation of the Joint Committee's

Report, which you will find in the Appendix to the Government of India Act Rules, page 23:

"Realizing as they did (this Joint Parliamentary Committee) the extent to which the success of the reforms scheme will depend upon a satisfactory solution of the difficult question of the allocation of revenues to the provincial Governments and to the Central Government, respectively, the Committee have given the most anxious consideration to the proposals made to this end in the Report of the Financial Relations Committee and to the opinions of the various Local Governments. The Committee recognize the intricacy of the problem with which the Financial Relations Committee had to deal and the difficulty, if not almost the impossibility, of arriving at any solution which was likely to be acceptable to all Local Governments."

I may add here that that is a reason why I do not propose to convince some of my friends in this House that what they have done is fair to all provinces, because they themselves say that it is impossible to convince all the Members because generally it is not very easy even for the just Judge to satisfy all the parties' claims and aspirations; and they went on further:

"The proposals made by Lord Meston's Committee and embodied in these rules have met with varied reception. They are endorsed by the Government of India, and some of the Local Governments have accepted the contributions proposed for them, while others dislike the ultimate standards. But certain provinces, particularly the three Presidencies, are dissatisfied with the treatment of their own claims, and the Government of Bombay contest not only the amount of their contribution but also the allocation of the heads of revenue on which the whole scheme is based. The Committee therefore have no reason to differ from the fundamental features of the proposals, and they are definitely opposed to provincializing the taxation of income. They believe that such dissatisfaction as the proposals have aroused is inevitable in distributing the resources, and that the impossibility of removing by a stroke of the pen inequalities which are the result of long-standing historical causes has been overlooked."

In this connection also I may add the sufferings and inequity under which Madras has suffered not at the time of the year 1919 but from the year 1871. It has been a subject matter of comment and representation not once but several times by the Madras Government and by the Madras Legislative Council to the Government of India.

The Committee went on to say:

"None the less the Committee would be glad on grounds of policy to alleviate the disappointment caused by the restraints which the system of contribution lays on the employment by the provinces of their revenues."

And they add:

"There should be granted to all provinces some share in the growth of revenues from taxation of income so far as that growth is attributable to an increase in the amount of income assessed."

And they further say:

"That in no case should the initial contributions payable by any province be increased and therefore even those that are contributing a very small amount need not pay higher according to this but the gradual reduction of the aggregate contributions should be the sole means of attaining the theoretical standards recommended by the Finance Committee."

The manner in which this is to be effected is specified in Rule 18. And they add:

"The acceptance of this latter proposal emphasises the intention that the contributions from the provinces to the Central Government should cease at the earliest possible moment."

[Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju.]

They add:

"The Committee attach great importance to the fulfilment of this intention and they are convinced that the opposition which the proposals have evoked would be much diminished if it becomes possible for the Government of India to take steps to ensure the abolition of the contributions within a reasonably short period."

And they add:

"They trust the Government of India and the Secretary of State will in regulating their financial policy make it their constant endeavour to render the Central Government independent of provincial assistance at the earliest possible date."

Sir, this is emphatic enough. When they asked these provinces to contribute they stated:

"We look to the Government of India and the Secretary of State in Council that these contributions are wiped out at an early stage and they should try to reduce them within a reasonable time."

With this before us on the 30th of September 1921, the Government of India brought in an amendment of Rule 18 of the Devolution Rules to the effect that the contributions that have to be made by Bengal to the extent of 63 lakhs should be exempted for a period of three years. The reason stated by the Honourable the Finance Member at that time was not only financial but also political. Apparently he meant that the Bengal Government, or at any rate the transferred portion of it, refused to carry on the work unless they were freed from the burden. Whatever be the case, such a motion was made on the floor of this House. Immediately, in order to safeguard the interests of Madras, as well as other provinces, I sent in an amendment to the effect that since Government were showing some concession to Bengal according to its necessities, similar help or suitable assistance might be rendered to other provinces under similar circumstances. The Government replied:

"We are particularly concerned with Bengal now. That is the only subject before us. When the necessity arises and when the other provinces feel the grievance, it is open to Members to put it before us and it is equally open to us to see how far we can help them."

That is what the Finance Minister stated then and he added:

"We would like to see the day when the contributions from all provinces will be wiped out."

That was in the year 1921. Again the next year, in 1922, a Resolution was moved in this House:

"That the present total provincial contribution to the Central Exchequer be reduced by 2 crores of rupees, the benefit of such reduction being immediately given to the Provinces of Madras, the United Provinces and Punjab."

I may state, to clear a misapprehension, that the Resolution need not have added the words "United Provinces, Madras and Punjab," because, according to the Devolution Rule No. 18, the provinces which would get the benefit would be only these three provinces. Devolution Rule No. 18 states:

"From the financial year 1922-23 onwards a total contribution of 983 lakhs, or such smaller sum as may be determined by the Governor General in Council, shall be paid to the Governor General in Council by the Local Governments mentioned in the preceding rule. When for any year the Governor General in Council determines as the total amount of the contribution a smaller sum than that payable for the preceding year, a reduction shall be made in the contributions of those Local Governments only whose last previous annual contribution exceeds the proportion specified below of the smaller sum so determined as the total contribution."

And the only three provinces which are paying a higher amount than their legitimate total are these three Provinces. Unless the whole contribution is wiped out, the other Provinces who are paying comparatively very small amounts may not get a benefit. When this Resolution was put before the House, an amendment was moved by an Honourable Member from Bombay suggesting that the whole question might be referred to a fresh impartial Commission in order to consider the re-allocation of revenues. Now the Government, taking advantage of the mutual opposition of the Provinces, with the help of Bombay and some Bengal friends, have defeated the other Provinces, and again they have defeated the proposal of the Bombay Government with the help of Madras, U. P. and so on, and, therefore, both of them were defeated by the Government successfully. Now, on that occasion, what Sir Malcolm Hailey, the then Finance Minister, stated was, this:

"We can do our best in the matter of remission. It has been described as a promise only, but as we regard it, it is more than a promise, it is a definite policy."

Now, Sir Malcolm Hailey began in 1921 with a promise and went on in the year 1922 by stating, "it is not merely a promise but a definite policy." But we have not stopped there. We have gone a little further. In the year 1923 another Resolution was moved during the time of Sir Basil Blackett, the present Finance Minister. At that time the Resolution placed before the House was this:

"That this Assembly recommends to His Excellency the Governor General in Council that steps be taken immediately to set apart some revenue for the purpose of wiping out all contributions from the Provinces in the course of six years."

That was the proposition placed before the Assembly. At that time the present Finance Minister stated:

"I recognise that every one of the Provinces takes a very deep interest in its own behalf except perhaps Bombay which desires to manage the matter in its own way. All of them are looking to the Government of India at an early date to reduce their contributions."

Now the Government of India is under a very definite pledge. From a promise they proceeded to a definite policy and from that they have gone on to a pledge. The Government of India is under a very definite pledge in this matter which has been repeated again and again. It is, as one Member, Dr. Gour, said, *res judicata*.

"The Government of India has promised",

I am reading what the Finance Member said:

"that they will shape their financial policy towards the reduction and eventual extinction of the provincial contributions."

This is not merely a promise; it is a statement of fact. Now, Sir, it is not only a promise, not only a definite policy, not only a pledge but a statement of fact. I fail to see where I can find reduction. We paid for the year 1921-22, we paid our full complement for the year 1922-23 and for the year 1923-24. Three years have elapsed and definite policies and pledges and statements of fact are still on paper without securing any reduction. Whenever this proposal is brought up, if it happens to be before the Budget, we are told "It will be considered at the time of presenting the Budget" and, if after the Budget, we are told "It is too late, we have not provided for it." There must be some time, either before or after. If it is after, we cannot discuss it and, if it is before, the Finance Member is not in a position to say whether he will do it or not. But

[Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju.]

anyhow I am not asking you to favour this Province or that Province. What we claim is bare justice. According to the original report, as the Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey admitted, we ought to have been securing some relief by this time and we should every year get a reduction of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and that comes to $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The U. P. also should get it to the extent of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and the Punjab should get $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. according to that calculation. But this has not been done. They ask the Government of India and the Secretary of State every year to reduce it and eventually to wipe it out. After all it has been admitted by our Finance Member when he introduced the Budget. The discussion of the Resolution in 1923 was adjourned because the Finance Minister said he would see what could be done at the time of the presentation of the Budget. This is what the Finance Minister said about these Provincial contributions:

“The Government of India have stated plainly that as soon as they are able to do so they intend to reduce and eventually extinguish these contributions. I am aware this is not a solution which finds universal favour, though I think this is what the majority of the provincial Governments desire.”

Even then a promise was made, at least they admit that they made a pledge and they want to carry it out as soon as possible. But, in the meanwhile, what has been the fate of the various provincial Governments? Everywhere, Sir, Ministers have become thoroughly unpopular. It is entirely due, or partly, I must say, to want of adequate funds at their disposal to utilise either for sanitation or for education or for development purposes. Apart from other political causes this has been one of the main causes why Ministers in any province have not found it possible to show that they have done much in helping the people and in ameliorating their condition in any direction. Take Madras for instance. Though Madras was given Rs. 285 lakhs, according to the calculation on that date, the increase in salaries alone amounted to Rs. 2½ crores not only to the lowest subordinate but to all persons, high and low. They have been obliged to raise their taxation to the extent of Rs. 80 lakhs if I am right. I may state that they have prepared schemes and proposals in order to expand education. The Government of India said that they must increase the number of students in all public schools so far as elementary education is concerned, and that it should be doubled in ten years. In order to carry out that policy of the Government of India, the Madras Government attempted to do it and they have prepared a scheme. But, in order to give a salary to an elementary school teacher of not more than what a chaprassi gets anywhere in the country, that is, 12 rupees, they had to pay Rs. 122 lakhs extra; and they had to provide a further Rs. 54 lakhs for school buildings. They said that they had no money and that they could not do it. Not only is this the case with regard to education; but in regard to sanitation also, where they used to help various municipalities and district boards and local boards before; even the amount which they once granted was withdrawn on the ground that it was not immediately utilised; and they refused to re-grant it; they have issued circulars to all public bodies not to expect any help in any schemes they might have. The case is the same with regard to the medical side. The same tale will be told. Now, I do not complain that this is the peculiar misfortune of Madras alone. It is the misfortune of various other provinces. I do not say, and it is not necessary for me to say, in order to press my Resolution successfully, that any other

province is highly favoured or mine greatly injured; because so long as there is the Government of India Act, and, so long as there are the Devolution Rules, and till the constitution is scrapped and changed by one method or another, there is that which shows that we must do it in a particular manner and that shows that the Government of India are expected to reduce it or to remit it and eventually wipe it out. If any other province comes up with the same grievance and wants to set aside the whole fabric and wants to appoint a fresh Committee, it is not my business. I am not standing here either to support it or to oppose it. My contention is this. Government made a definite promise to us and gave us a pledge; I want them to carry it out. Nobody can say that we are paying over-much by way of increase to the lower-paid services. We were paying the village police the handsome sum of Rs. 3 a month and we have increased it to Rs. 5; that cost us several lakhs. The pay of village accountants who are responsible for the collection of revenue in the provinces and who have to keep the whole accounts of the villages has been raised to Rs. 15. In these matters we have to spend a lot; and this is the case in other provinces also. I therefore appeal to the Honourable the Finance Member more particularly, that we are realising a large amount of revenue for the Central Government and we here on our part contributed to it by increasing taxation to the extent of Rs. 28 crores. May I respectfully ask, should you not see your way to allow a certain amount for the benefit of the provinces to be utilised on sanitation, education and development purposes? Before the introduction of the Reforms, Sir, every Member of this House used to appeal to the Government to grant an increased sum for elementary education, for sanitation, for technical colleges, and so on. Now most happily the Central Government have handed over their responsibility in the matter of providing funds for nation-building purposes to the Provinces, reserving only enough funds for increase of salaries for the services, and for defence, and if these funds were also spent for the benefit of the country, the action of the Government would be very much appreciated by the people. Now, Sir, the duty of providing funds for nation-building purposes devolves upon the provincial Governments. Every province without exception complains that it is unable to develop nation-building schemes, and that very fact the Honourable the Finance Minister admitted in his speech. He said that "most of the provinces are unable to balance their Budget." I am glad, however, he has given a hint. In order to secure his sympathy, in order to secure any relief of contribution, he says that they need not produce a deficit budget as he promises to help without such deficit budget. That is the assurance he has given. Either on account of that or on account of the Lee Commission now sitting, most of the provinces this year may present a balanced budget; I am not sure. But whether they present a balanced budget or not, so far as my Presidency is concerned, I am perfectly certain that the funds are inadequate for very many purposes, even the buildings that were half finished were stopped because they could not provide funds. If under these circumstances they were to present a balanced budget, on the advice of the Honourable Sir Basil Blackett, in order to show that every province is managing its affairs efficiently, it should not be considered that things are all right in the provinces, because every province is suffering. In this connection I may quote what His Excellency Lord Willingdon said:

"If any relief comes, I do not utilise it in increasing salaries or by spending on the services. I will give every pie of it for sanitation, for education and for other useful purposes."

[Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju.]

Not only he, but his three Ministers, on two occasions, said that they would utilise any relief that may come to the province for nation-building purposes. Similarly, not only Madras, but other provinces also made similar requests. Therefore, Sir, without taking any more time of the House, I appeal to the Honourable the Finance Minister to translate the promise which he gave us to grant relief three years ago into action. Three years have elapsed since that promise was made. According to a Hindu saying, we will ask once, we will ask twice and we will ask thrice, and, if you put us off beyond that, it would only mean to drive us to despair, which perhaps may result in evil consequences not only to the Central Government but also to the provincial Governments as well as to the people. Therefore, Sir, I appeal to the Honourable the Finance Minister once more before I sit down to show us that he is earnest about the promise he made, that he will curtail the expenses somehow or other, and help the provinces. Sir, we have helped you in every possible way in increasing taxation to the extent of 28 crores. Would you not help the poor provinces who are labouring under great difficulties? Would you not help the provinces in carrying out some laudable objects, I mean nation-building purposes? With these words, Sir, I commend this Resolution for the acceptance of this House.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad (Bombay: Nominated Non-Official): I rise, Sir, to oppose this Resolution, because I venture to think that its adoption will not be in the interests of either the Central Government or of a good number of the provinces. I admire, Sir, the persistency of our friends from Madras in bringing up this proposition several times as they have done. I also admire their ingenuity in bringing it forward in a different garb each time. In September 1922 they brought forward a Resolution for the reduction of the provincial contribution by two crores, the same reduction to be given to Madras, the United Provinces and the Punjab. In November 1923 we had the same proposition in another garb under the heading of hypothecation of revenues and that proposition was that a sum be set apart from the revenues for wiping out the contributions in six years, the result of which would have been—the total contribution being 9 crores—that a crore and a half would have been necessary to be set apart, if that Resolution had been carried. And now you have the present Resolution in the form that a 3 crores reduction be made without saying who is to get the benefit of it. But, as my Honourable friend from Madras admitted, the only provinces that can get the benefit of this reduction, if it is allowed, would be only Madras, the United Provinces and the Punjab. (*The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett*: "And Burma."), because of the combined effect of Devolution Rules 17 and 18. My Honourable friend from Madras dwelt at considerable length on the hardship suffered by Madras because of its being obliged to make such a heavy contribution as 348 lakhs to the Central Revenues and he pleaded that, unless the contribution was reduced, all schemes of advancement in education, sanitation and other departments would be held up. Now, what I venture to submit, Sir, is this, that Madras is the last province that is entitled to complain about it, because it is the one province out of all that got the best out of the Meston Settlement. And I may remind the House, Sir, that, under the Meston Settlement, Bombay, Bengal and other industrial provinces suffered the most, while agricultural provinces like Madras, the United Provinces and the Punjab got the best. The initial mistake which was

committed was to adopt one basic principle with regard to a very varying set of circumstances and it was laid down that all the provinces should have the full revenues derivable from land revenue, excise and stamps allocated to them as provincial revenues, forgetting that such an arrangement could not possibly work fairly with regard to all provinces. As regards what one may call the agricultural provinces, such allocation of revenues was to their great benefit, while with regard to the industrial provinces, like Bombay and Bengal, the adjustment was, I venture to say, most unfair. And you have only to see the results that have followed from adopting this one basis of allocation of revenue. Madras, under this arrangement, by having the full land revenue instead of one half under the divided system that obtained before, had got a windfall of 570 lakhs in land revenue alone. And, after deducting from that the 348 lakhs which it has to contribute to the Central Revenues, they were still 222 lakhs to the good, as against a total of 639 lakhs of all the provinces put together. Therefore, it is apparent, Sir, on those figures that Madras came out best under the Meston Settlement. As I have said, the industrial provinces, like Bombay and Bengal, were dealt with most unfairly inasmuch as the whole of the income-tax was swept away by the Central Government. An idea would be formed as to what that meant to those provinces when the fact is remembered that in Bombay income-tax had grown in 10 years from a figure of Rs. 48 lakhs to 6 crores and more. The Meston Committee itself to a certain extent felt the unfairness of it and it was laid down, with regard to income-tax, that any increase in income-tax over the datum line adopted would be shared by the provinces in this way, that they were to get 3 pies out of a rupee of additional income-tax. The Joint Parliamentary Committee recommended that, and that was ultimately adopted. But, Sir, this apparent concession to the industrial provinces has proved, as it was bound to prove, most illusory because of the fact that the datum line that was taken, for instance with regard to Bombay, was again unfairly taken, if I may be permitted to say so. What was done was that the standard was taken of the Budget figures of 1920-21, which was in every way a most exceptional year. Therefore, as I have said, the concession of 3 pies out of every rupee of additional income-tax by more assesses being brought under income-tax has proved absolutely illusory. Further, those provinces have been denied any share in the total increase of income-tax by the raising of the rates of assessment. When 12 pies were raised to 18 pies, no part of that, under this arrangement, went to the provinces at all. Further, the standard adopted with regard to the expected expansion of revenue of the provinces was again by illustration with regard to Bombay taken for the year 1920-21, which was a very unfair standard to adopt because it ought to have been remembered, but was forgotten, that the year previous to 1920-21 was a famine year in the Bombay Presidency, with the result that the revenue that had to be suspended in the famine year was recovered in the year 1920-21. Therefore, the figures that were taken on that year for land revenue and other sources of revenue were very artificial figures indeed and those figures were taken to indicate what the normal expansion of revenue will be, with the result, Sir, that the whole settlement in that manner has been unfair to a degree to industrial provinces like Bombay and Bengal, and more particularly to Bombay. And Sir, Bombay, I venture to say, will never rest satisfied till the whole question has been re-opened and the whole question examined again by an impartial tribunal, and I should think, Sir, that every province ought to join in the demand, because we have Madras dissatisfied with

[Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.]

the arrangement, Bengal was very soon dissatisfied and they got relief from the Central Government by the remission of their contribution for three years, and I believe everybody else is dissatisfied, although they do not join in having a re-examination of the whole question. However, Sir, that is a larger question which may have to be taken up at some date, but, I do feel, Sir, that the difficulties that have arisen with regard to one province after another will never be solved by tinkering like this. They could only be solved, I submit, by having the whole question re-examined at an early date by an impartial tribunal. I mentioned, Sir, that the figures taken for the expansion of revenue of Bombay, Bengal and other provinces, particularly of Bombay, have proved to be fallacious. With regard to Madras, fortunately for them again, their expansion of revenue has been in actual figures much more than the Meston Committee calculated. Therefore, Sir, Madras, which in every way under the additional arrangement which gave them the whole of the land revenue, profited immensely also profited by the actual expansion of revenue. And, as I said in the beginning, it is certainly not Madras that has any reason to complain with regard to these contributions. If anybody has a complaint, Bombay has the most to complain of, so has Bengal, and some of the other provinces. Therefore, Sir, my submission is that it would be adding to the injustice already done to Bombay and Bengal now to accede to the Resolution before us for remission, the benefit of which remission, as my Honourable friend has admitted, will practically go to Madras as the largest contributor. What will be the effect of giving that remission? Three crores of rupees have to be found somewhere. If an additional amount has to be gathered, it can only be by fresh taxation. If there is to be fresh taxation, who will pay? All the other provinces will have to pay for the purpose of relieving Madras. Again, there, in all probability the industrial provinces will have to pay more. For how is the Central Government to increase its income except possibly by adding to the income-tax, by adding to the customs duties, with regard to which it is again Bombay and Bengal that contribute the most. So, the result will be that Bombay and Bengal, which have been so unfairly treated in the manner I have stated, will again have to bear an additional burden in order that Madras, which got such a windfall under the Meston Settlement, may still get more. (*A Voice*: "It is still starving".) So is every other province. Bombay is starved with regard to its medical relief, is still starved with regard to education and other national activities of that character. But what has Bombay done? It has shouldered the responsibilities. It has increased taxation, it has agreed to tax itself in order to meet its requirements. Let Madras follow that example. (*Several Honourable Members*: "We have.") If they have, then they have no cause for complaint. You have no cause to come here and say now, "Give us greater relief with the result that the other provinces may contribute to our advantage". I say this in no spirit of inter-provincial jealousy. I welcome the improvement of Madras as much as I welcome the improvement of conditions in Bombay as well as in the other provinces of this country.

But what I do say, Sir, is this, that this House must not do anything which would give an unfair advantage to a province which really does not deserve that advantage to the detriment of provinces which have been most unfairly dealt with in the manner I have submitted, and, as I have said, the only solution of the question is that the whole subject should be re-examined.

Then, Sir, as I have said, it is unfair to the Central Government. You have all these years the difficulty of balancing the budgets. You are not out of the woods yet, and I do not know what the Honourable the Finance Member is going to do to properly balance his budget this year.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett (Finance Member): I will tell you on the 29th.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad: In the meantime he is asked to give up 3 crores of rupees by this Resolution. The difficulties, great as they are in his way, will be further increased by having to find another 3 crores of rupees, to satisfy this Resolution. I therefore submit, Sir, that it is, to say the least, highly inopportune for this House to adopt this Resolution and, as I have said, it will not be in the interests of all the provinces. With these words I beg to oppose the Resolution.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: It may possibly be for the convenience of the House if I rise at this early stage in the discussion with a view, I hope, of possibly bringing this discussion to an end. The first speaker said that the Government managed, I think in Simla in 1921 or 1922, to carry a Resolution by trading on the mutual jealousies of the provinces. I shall be very glad if I can stop the continuance of anything like provincial recrimination, for, Sir, it is in my opinion thoroughly bad for the country, for India as a whole, that individual provinces should be in any way disagreeing in public or that there should be this friction between them. This problem has to be solved if only to prevent the growth of that unhappy spirit which is, I fear, an indirect result of the reforms. So I would ask that this problem may be treated in the excellent words of the Honourable Pandit Malaviya as a national problem to be looked at from a national point of view. It is never a convenient date to discuss provincial contributions. If you discuss it before the Budget, the Finance Member has to look wise and say that he will let you know later. If you discuss it after the Budget, the Finance Member will probably tell you that it is no good discussing the subject after the Budget is over. If you discuss it during the Budget, he may have to say—perhaps—"You want to reduce taxation. I cannot afford to give money to the provinces." The Government of India have several times promised that they will shape their financial policy towards the reduction and eventual extinction of the provincial contributions. Last year, on behalf of the Government, I went on to say that that was not merely a promise but was a statement of fact. I repeat that. The Government of India has shaped its policy and will shape its policy towards the reduction and the eventual extinction of the provincial contributions. I do not wish to follow either of the speeches that have been made already. They were so entirely unanimous. The House will observe the complete unanimity with which Bombay and Madras assert that the Meston award was most unfair to their particular province. I have not the least doubt that every one of the other provinces holds the same view equally strongly. (*Cries of "No, no," and Laughter.*) Well, I do not wish to start a scrap. Several other provinces hold similar views. I think that we must try and deal with this question as if there was something settled. The Meston award may or may not have been made at the best possible moment, and it may or may not have been the best possible award at the time, but in the interests of all of us I do think it is desirable that for the time being we should accept it as laying down the relations between the various provinces in so far as that particular side of the financial question is concerned. The last speaker suggests

[Sir Basil Blackett.]

that the solution is to re-open the whole question. I should be extraordinarily interested to study the subject scientifically, but I should not care to be a member of the Committee that was appointed to re-open and re-consider the question, because I should be prepared to prophesy in advance that every one would turn on that Committee in the end and say that the Meston award was bad but their's was worse. It is not a problem that is capable of a solution that will appeal to all the nine provinces; I do not think that we can get a solution that will appeal to the majority of them and to the Government of India as well. You will only get your solution now, I submit, by accepting for the time being that the Meston award is the basis on which we must for the time being act. That is the view that has been taken by the Government of India and it is on that view that the promise and the statement of fact as to the policy of the Government of India is based. After all, the problems of federal finance, which have been raised by the Reforms, are extremely intricate and extremely difficult. They were not finally settled by the first instalment of the Reforms and it is my belief that a good deal more thinking about them is needed, and advances in the way of improving the relations between the provinces themselves and between the provinces and the Central Government, offer one of the most hopeful fields for advances within the existing Government of India Act. The theory of the Meston award was that, as soon as possible, the Central Government should raise taxation for central purposes and the Local Governments should raise taxation for local purposes. So long as provincial contributions remain, you cannot get away from the fact that the Local Governments are raising taxation for central purposes. If we can get rid of those contributions, we reach the position where both the Central Government and the Local Government, respectively, has each its own sphere and is not trespassing on the preserve of the other. Therefore, I submit that the position of the Government must be what it is, that its policy ought to be, as it is being, shaped with a view to the extinction and eventual reduction as soon as possible of the provincial contributions, and that in the interests of India as a whole. But that does not mean that the Government can immediately accept the Resolution. The last speaker said that acceptance of it would involve the Government's raising additional taxation. I do not think that is necessarily true. It would necessarily mean that the Government must retain taxation higher than it would if it did not remit the contributions, but it does not necessarily mean that the Government would be unable to meet some portion of a reduction of the contributions without additions to the existing rate of taxation. I remember in the debate last year one of the speakers described me as a dark horse when I made almost my first speech, and I replied that, if he was a betting man, I did not think he ought to judge by my preliminary canter of my form when the Budget came on. I must say the same to-day. I cannot go further into an examination of the position such as it is going to be on the 29th February. It is therefore, I think, quite impossible for the Government, even if it wanted, to accept this Resolution. I think it is equally impossible for the House, even if one came from Madras or, for that matter, from the United Provinces, or the Punjab, or Burma, and had an interest in the first three crores of the reduction of the provincial contributions. Do you think that any of us, as Members of a national Assembly, ought to commit ourselves at the present moment, in the absence of the figures of the Budget, to the statement that three crores ought to be given away this year? The Budget

figures cannot be produced and cannot be known. When they are before this House, this House will necessarily wish to examine them and to express its views as to what is the best use for three crores of surplus, if available, or whether it is desirable to raise three crores of additional taxation if a surplus is not available. Is the House justified, or wise, in accepting a Resolution of this sort now and committing itself in advance? Sir, in view of the late hour, I do not think I need say more than I have said, but I would suggest to the House that it is not profitable that we should continue this discussion, because I can say no more in the absence of the Budget figures: all that we can do is to discuss amongst ourselves whether the Meston award is a good one, and possibly we might raise a certain amount of friction. I would therefore suggest to the House—I will not move, unless I am asked to by the House—I would suggest that the simplest way of dealing with this would be that we should adjourn the debate *sine die*. If that is not in accordance with the wishes of the House, I do not propose to move that motion.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I agree with the Honourable the Finance Member that this question ought to be dealt with as a national problem. But perhaps the points of view which he and I have taken are not quite identical and, in order that we should look at the problem from an identical point of view, I would draw attention to a few facts. I fully realise the difficulties to which the Honourable the Finance Member has referred. A few days before the Budget comes on to bring forward a motion for a reduction of three crores of rupees is not a light matter. At the same time we have to remember what the Honourable the Mover of the Resolution said, that this is the only time when the matter can with any reasonableness be placed before the House. Now we all agree with what the Honourable the Finance Member has said—at least many provinces have complained of it—that the Meston award is a bad one. The Honourable the Finance Member has advised us to accept it for the time being as a matter of necessity, as a necessary evil. Well, I wish to draw attention to what that evil inflicts upon the provinces. I wish the Honourable Member and all the Honourable Members of the House to realise what this award meant. It was an award based on no principle; it was based upon a calculation of what each province was expending. You will find in the Report of the Financial Relations Committee that they stated:

“That in making our recommendation as to the initial contributions we have had to consider the established programmes of taxation and expenditure and legislative and administrative expectations and habits that cannot, without serious mischief, be suddenly adjusted to a new and more equitable ratio of contribution.”

It was the established programme of taxation and expenditure which was the main basis of the award. Indeed, the existing scale of expenditure varied in various provinces, not because it had been based upon any principle or proportion but because the Governments of some provinces were more eager, more vigorous, more alert than the Governments of other provinces. The Governments which could get at the Government of India more readily than others succeeded in obtaining a larger scale of expenditure. They profited; they progressed. We rejoice in their progress, but other provinces were not allowed to progress at the same ratio. This was the complaint which we made in the old Councils on the question of the provincial contracts. That complaint was repeated

[Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.]

ad nauseam and, when the time came for these contributions to be adjusted, the country hoped that they would be placed on a sound and sensible footing. That was not done. It was an award passed, if I may say so, in defiance of all principles. It followed none, and now we are told, three years after this has been in operation that we cannot but take it for the time being as inevitable. Lord Meston's Committee themselves stated:

"It is necessary to accept it for the present but it is necessary in order to give time to the provinces to adjust their budgets to a new state of affairs and we are clearly of opinion that no scheme of contribution can be satisfactory that does not provide for a more equitable distribution of the burden of the taxation within a reasonable time."

When is that 'reasonable time' to come? Since this arrangement was arrived at, the Government of India have added 28 crores to the general taxation. We have not yet been able, with all that taxation, to remit the burden, to relieve the provinces, to give them what was their due. When will you do it and what is the consequence of this delay? My Honourable friend, the Finance Member, very rightly stated, as being in charge of Finance and also as being responsible for expenditure and income, that we must be content for the present because, otherwise, there might be two difficulties to face. First, there might be a surplus available and then the question will be as to the best way of using it. Secondly, if a surplus was not available, should taxation be maintained at a high level in order that this relief be given. Now, we are not in a position to know what the budget will disclose to us on the 29th. But are we to exercise our judgment as to the utilisation of the surplus if there be any. If there is no surplus, if taxation must be maintained at a high level in order that relief should be given, when will there be an opportunity to discuss that question except now. I wish all the Members of this House to realise what the refusal to accede to the reasonable demand of Madras and the United Provinces and the Punjab means. Expenditure—useful and beneficial expenditure—has been stopped. Progress has been arrested. The most backward province in the country in the matter of education, I am sorry to say, is my own province. We have not been helped. (*Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan*: "Not more than Bihar and Orissa".) I am sorry to say that we were beaten even by Bihar; but we have not been given an opportunity to improve our position with regard to education. We lose vast numbers of people owing to want of sanitary measures and sufficient medical aid and the general condition of the people is deplorably bad. We have been deprived for several decades—not for one year, not for one quinquennium, but for several decades. Ever since 1870, when the first provincial contracts were agreed upon, we were forced to make larger contributions to the Central Government than could be justified under any rule or under any principle. We protested against it and we thought that justice would be done. It has been perpetuated, made worse by the Western war. We feel that they have recognised that it was our right to get what we asked for, but they said: "We cannot give it to you. If you have this much, you will have a very large amount and you will not be able to spend it, you will not know what to do with it." That was utterly unjust. Here, on one side, you have the question whether three crores can be found by the Central Government, the total amount to be spread over a certain number of years, or whether the Central Government is to watch simply while the

Provinces are suffering in matters essential to the welfare of the people. I submit this is the national problem, the question of finding a few crores more for the Provinces is the national problem before the country. It is the national problem in the sense that millions of people of these Provinces are being kept out of education, are being kept out of the benefit of sanitary measures, are being kept out of the general advancement which would be promoted by the provincial Governments if the funds they are entitled to were made available to them. It is a question which involves the life and death of millions of people in these Provinces. I suggest it is a national problem. What does it matter whether expenditure is limited in other directions or not? Money must be found in order to help the Provinces to do their duty by the people who toil and moil and contribute to the exchequers, both Provincial and Central; the money must be found to improve their lot, and I submit that, so long as the Central Government refuses to look at the problem in this way, this injustice will be inflicted on the people. I therefore would request the Honourable the Finance Member and the whole House to consider the suggestion thrown out by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. I agree that the proposal, as it has been put forward, would require further consideration. I do agree that a re-adjustment of the whole financial relations between the provincial and Central Governments is desirable, it is not only desirable, it is a pressing necessity, if the people in the Provinces, the people who dwell in their huts, if they are to benefit by the taxation that is raised for them. What is the good of going on with the construction of a huge Imperial City like Delhi while millions are dying for want of food (*The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey*: "Millions?"), for want of economic necessity; while millions are growing up in ignorance, which is unfortunately accompanied by crime. Where is the justification for spending millions and millions upon increasing the salaries and pensions of the higher services, when millions of people are in that condition. (*The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey*: "Millions?") These are problems that require to be faced boldly, honestly and honourably, and I ask the Government of India to face those problems now. This is the time to make up their minds whether this problem does or does not deserve consideration. It is no answer to the Resolution to say, "We are not in a position to do that just now. For some time we shall not be in a position to do so." Your refusal, your unwillingness, to tackle the problem now does not mean merely keeping a creditor out of the money that is his due, it means that the people who are our care and your care, for whose welfare we meet here, those people are deprived of the prime necessities of life, which every civilized Government has made available for the people for whose welfare it is responsible. Russia has educated its millions. The United Provinces, the Punjab, Madras, very many Provinces, in this country are waiting for money. You have introduced the Reforms, you have appointed Ministers and put them in charge of education and taxation and other measures, but there is no money available! The Reforms become a mockery. While the Central Government has added 28 crores of taxation in the last three years and has added to its expenditure to the huge extent it has, the failure of the Government to adjust these provincial financial relations, the failure of the Government to give to the provinces the milk that the children need is deplorable, is tragic, and I ask the Government now to consider whether the question should not be taken up. My Honourable friend the Finance Member said that he would not like to be a member of the Committee which would sit to consider this question. I would request him to reconsider that opinion. I know he will reconsider it, I expect, I believe, he will reconsider

[Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.]

It. It is not a matter merely of adjusting the financial relations in the country; it is a matter which affects vital issues upon which depend the life and death, the happiness or unhappiness, of millions of people. I therefore strongly appeal to him and the whole House to accept this Resolution with the understanding that it is not to be given effect to immediately in this year's Budget but as an assurance on the part of Government to this House that this matter will be looked into at an early date. If it be necessary, I can, Sir, if you will permit me, move that the matter be referred to a Committee and that the Committee report early to this House. I do not wish this matter to be entirely shelved as it would be under the proposal of the Honourable the Finance Minister. I want it to be referred to a Committee of this House to be gone into fully and reported upon. If it be necessary, I would move a definite amendment to that effect.

Mr. President: I am not quite sure in what form the Honourable Member (Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya) proposes to put this amendment.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: In this form, Sir:

“That a Committee of this House be appointed to examine and report upon the financial relations between the Central Government and the provincial Governments” if that commends itself to you.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey (Home Member): I rise purely on a point of order. I would invite your attention to the fact that this Resolution refers entirely to the framing of the Budget of 1924-25 and for providing not less than 3 crores to the Provinces in 1924-25. The proposition that the Honourable Member has put forward as an amendment refers apparently to an entire reconstruction of the Meston Award,—a proposition which has no reference to the present Resolution.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: My Honourable friend is mistaken. I do not move this amendment in the pious hope that the matter will be considered after 12 months. I meant that this matter should be referred to a Committee, which Committee would go into it and put forward definite proposals before the Budget is presented. That is what I submit, and, in view of the seriousness of the questions involved, the Committee may be able to report in time so that before recommendations are made it may be possible to consider them along with the Budget. The Committee will be a Committee of this Assembly and it will meet early and probably when we meet together, the representatives of the different Provinces, we may be able to make some recommendations as to how the matter should be dealt within the next Budget.

Mr. M. K. Jinnah (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I rise to a point of order. Is this really an amendment under the rules?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: That is my point.

Mr. President: That is precisely why I asked the Honourable Member to give me the specific terms of his motion. The Resolution specifically refers to the Budget of this year and therefore it is a very restricted proposal though I understood this proposal for a Committee which he wishes to substitute for the Resolution is intended to refer the matter for examination to that Committee.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: This is a particular Resolution which will enable us to examine the whole question. This will be the basis upon which we shall go into the question and make our report.

Mr. President: I am not quite sure how to make the amendment fit into the Resolution. If I put it as an amendment, that will be to omit all the words after the words "Governor General in Council" in order to insert it. That would be the ordinary form of an amendment. It would mean that the Resolution itself would disappear.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Perhaps the Honourable Member would kindly give us the concrete form of his amendment together with the date on which the Committee will report. I may point out that there are only twenty-two days before the Budget; and it is only fair to the Honourable the Finance Member that he should have these recommendations some days at least before he makes his Budget speech.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: May I continue the discussion now, Sir?

Mr. President: I do not propose to carry on this debate much longer, but to adjourn the House almost immediately. It is already half-past five; and as Honourable Members are aware, the business having been commenced will pass on to the next day upon which business of this character will be set down.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I suggest, Sir, that it will be for the convenience of the House if we adjourned now to give us time to consider the amendment proposed by the Honourable Pandit. I move therefore that the House be adjourned.

Mr. President: I cannot accept a motion that the House do now adjourn, because the House is adjourned by the Chair. I understand the Honourable Member threw out a suggestion that the consideration of this matter be adjourned *sine die* but he did not move it. Do I understand the Honourable Member moves it now?

An Honourable Member: I understood the Honourable Member to say that it should be adjourned till to-morrow. That is the latest suggestion.

Mr. President: I would point out to the House that if I adjourn the consideration of this Resolution now, the Resolution and any amendment that is moved and accepted by the Chair passes to the head of the list of business on the next day upon which business of this class is set down, namely, the next day upon which non-official Resolutions will be discussed, namely, Tuesday next.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: That will suit us, Sir.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Perhaps it would be more convenient if I moved, Sir, that this debate be adjourned *sine die*; then we can get the opinion of the House as to whether they desire to continue the debate or not. At present it seems to be doubtful.

Mr. President: The question is that the debate be adjourned *sine die*, and in accepting that motion I would point out to the House that if it is carried this business will not be discussed on Tuesday.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: Sir, I am afraid that I must oppose the motion of my friend, the Finance Member. It seems to me that there are many considerations of which he should be aware before coming to a decision before the 29th February. If this motion is not accepted the consideration of this Resolution could be adjourned to Tuesday and we could bring to his notice several considerations which will probably induce him to take a view of the case more consonant with our wishes. I do not wish to go into those considerations at this late stage of the proceedings. I may say that some time after the debate in 1922 and before the debate of 1923 many provincial Governments appointed provincial retrenchment committees. Sir, from the statement made yesterday about provincial taxation we are also led to believe that the Government of India is not in full possession of the financial difficulties of the provinces. I should place before this House several considerations why some urgent action is necessary in regard to provincial contributions; and from that point of view I would suggest that this debate be adjourned till Tuesday and that it should not be adjourned *sine die*.

Mr. President: The question is that this debate be adjourned *sine die*.
The motion was adopted.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, the 8th February, 1924.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Friday, 8th February, 1924.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber at Eleven of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

ELECTION OF PANELS FOR STANDING COMMITTEES.

ELECTION OF THE STANDING COMMITTEES FOR THE HOME AND INDUSTRIES AND LABOUR DEPARTMENTS.

Mr. President: I have to inform the Assembly that up to 3 O'clock on Wednesday, the 6th February, which was the time fixed for receiving nominations for the four Standing Committees to be attached to the four Departments of the Government, only eight nominations had been received for each of the panels for the Home and Industries and Labour Departments. As the panels will consist of nine Members each and only eight have been nominated, I appoint a further period up to 3 P.M. to-day within which nominations will be received.

ELECTION OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE FOR THE COMMERCE DEPARTMENT.

Mr. President: I have further to acquaint the Members that as regards the Standing Committee for the Commerce Department, the number of candidates nominated for election is equal to the number required, and therefore I announce that the following 9 Members are declared to be duly elected:

1. Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas.
2. Mr. Bhubanananda Das.
3. Mr. H. G. Cocke.
4. Maung Tok Kyi.
5. Sardar Kartar Singh.
6. Mr. N. M. Dumasia.
7. Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao.
8. Mr. W. S. J. Willson.
9. Mr. Mahomed Ebrahim Makan.

ELECTION OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, HEALTH AND LANDS.

Mr. President: As regards the Standing Committee for the Department of Education, Health and Lands, there will be an election on Wednesday, the 13th February, as already announced.

MESSAGE FROM H. E. THE GOVERNOR GENERAL.

Mr. President: I have a Message from His Excellency the Governor General:

"In pursuance of the provisions of sub-section (3) of section 67A of the Government of India Act, I hereby direct that the heads of expenditure specified in that sub-section shall be open to discussion by the Legislative Assembly when the Budget is under consideration.

(Sd.) *READING,*
Governor General."

RESOLUTION RE THE GRANT OF FULL SELF-GOVERNING
DOMINION STATUS TO INDIA.

Mr. President: I think it might perhaps clear the ground of to-day's debate if, before calling upon Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar to resume the debate which was interrupted the other day, I say a word regarding the amendments on the paper. The Resolution itself has already been formally moved. The first amendment of real substance stands in the name of Pandit Motilal Nehru, and I propose at an early stage in the debate to call upon the Pandit to move it. Coming, then, to the further amendments on the paper, I presume—I see that Dr. Gour is not in his place—the amendment of which he gave notice will not now be moved seeing that he has put in another amendment to the amendment of Pandit Motilal Nehru. Amendment No. 2 on the paper standing in the name of Mr. Patel, in respect of clause (a), is outside the scope of the Resolution. In respect of clause (b), I think I must take it that it is covered in substance, at all events, by the amendment standing in the name of Pandit Motilal Nehru, and that if there is any subsidiary amendment to be made by Mr. Patel it will come later on. The amendment standing in the name of Mr. Mohammad Shafee, in respect of clauses (1) and (2), is out of order, and in respect of clause (3), only proposes a very minor change in the amendment standing in Pandit Motilal Nehru's name. No. 4, standing in Mr. Jinnah's name, except in so far as he proposes a Committee rather than a round table conference, is already covered by the amendment of Pandit Motilal Nehru.

In respect of No. 7—here I may perhaps take Nos. 7 and 10 together, No. 7 standing in the name of Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal and No. 10 standing in the name of Mr. K. C. Roy, these two propose a procedure which is substantially different from the amendment of Pandit Motilal Nehru, and other things being equal, I should propose to call on Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal to move his amendment probably as an amendment to the amendment of Pandit Motilal Nehru at a later stage in the debate.

No. 8 standing in the name of Mr. Das is also subsidiary, as are Nos. 9, 11 and 12.

As regards No. 13 standing in the name of Maulvi Muhammad Yakub, it will only be necessary to move that amendment if the amendment standing in Pandit Motilal Nehru's name is defeated, as the motion of Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar does not specifically provide for the protection of minorities. I take it that amendment No. 14 standing in Pandit Malaviya's name is also superseded by Pandit Motilal Nehru's amendment.

I hope that this explanation will serve to clear the ground, otherwise the debate may get hopelessly entangled in amendments.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar (Madras City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I formally moved the Resolution* which stands in my name, the other day, and I am really happy that I was able to do so, for I am a somewhat superstitious person. Sir, when I tabled my motion on this most important subject, I was wondering whether the chances of the ballot box would give me an opportunity to open that subject for discussion here to-day or on any other day. But, Sir, I happened to be present in Delhi on the first day of the ballot, and I brought my will to bear upon the ballot box with the assistance of an English friend of mine who happened to be present also on the spot. That English friend little knew what mischief I was up to. Before he knew what the subject was, and when the ballot box was about to turn, he wished me success. I grappled his hand and out came No. 1, which was my subject which is posted for discussion to-day. We shook hands together on the result of the ballot, and I hope, Sir, we will be shaking hands across the benches on the result of the motion to-day.

Sir, the subject of my Resolution is very plain. I ask for the revision of the Government of India Act. The Government of India Act was passed only recently after a great deal of discussion, after a great deal of examination, after joint deliberations of Joint Committees and after examination of witnesses who had gone all the way to England, and it must be a daring motion indeed to ask for the revision of such an Act, which was so carefully passed after such cogitation and consultation.

Sir, I plead guilty to the charge of venturesomeness in bringing forward such a motion. At the time this Act was under consideration I was not very much of an active politician. I had gone to the back benches in politics from the year 1917 onwards. I was watching from a distance the growth of this constitution. Sir, it happened to my lot, at the invitation of the Principal of the Madras Law College, to deliver a course of lectures on this new constitution. I examined this new constitution with a lawyer's eye, not with a politician's eye, and, having considered it in all its details, I came to the conclusion it was a vast improvement on the then existing constitution. I then came to the conclusion that I should lend a helping hand in working the constitution and so sought the suffrage of the citizens of Madras to be returned to this Assembly. You well remember the day, Sir, when I approached you with trembling feet in your Chamber, how morose and sullen I looked when I appeared before you. I was sullen, I was morose, but I was somewhat of an optimist at that time. I had faith in the constitution but I had not faith in the gentlemen on the Government Benches. I was suspicious what their attitude was going to be in working the Reforms. I was wary and cautious. Sir, when His Royal Highness, the Duke of Connaught, graced that Chair which you are occupying to-day, the gallant soldier that he was and with the invisible tears in his eyes, he referred to the shadow of Amritsar, he referred to his mother's message to this country, and, when, Sir, it was followed by announcements made by the then Viceroy and when again it was followed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief saying he was our humble

* "This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that he be pleased to take at a very early date the necessary steps (including if necessary procuring the appointment of a Royal Commission) for revising the Government of India Act so as to secure for India full self-governing Dominion status within the British Empire and Provincial Autonomy in the Provinces."

[Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar.]

servant, and when again Sir Malcolm Hailey, as he then was the Finance Member, told us that it was by our mandate taxation was to be imposed, when, Sir, I found frank and free answers given to questions put in the House, when I found a ready response on the part of the Government Benches to the Resolutions which were tabled on the non-official side, my optimism grew stronger, my sullenness left me and I threw my heart and soul into the work. Sir, 1921 was a blessed year in the working of the Reforms. We put our shoulders to the wheel, much to the annoyance of my friends, whom I am glad to welcome here to-day in this House. They misunderstood our position, they kept aloof and, Sir, when, therefore, we see them here to-day, some of them at least, when we see them at close quarters, we find what mutual mistakes we have been making hitherto. I had not known many non-co-operator friends in close contact. I knew some of the mild co-operators in Madras. Madras is always a mild place, as it is famous for its mild cigars. Therefore, I was not afraid of the non-co-operators in Madras, but I was somewhat suspicious of the non-co-operators from elsewhere. Sir, during the last few days it has been my proud privilege to associate with them not only on the floor of this House but round the table discussing grave and important issues, and I am sure my Honourable friends on the Government Benches also have had opportunities of knowing them at close quarters, not as represented in the columns of the "Pioneer" or the "Englishman," but as you come to know them on the spot. Sir, I am sure the first day's suspicious eyes are now no longer there. I was glad to note the other day the Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey hailing his old friend, Mr. Patel, and speaking to him in whispers. Sir, this is a bracing atmosphere. This is a place where we forget ourselves when we are bent upon the common good of the country. The common good of the country is what we are all after. Sir, many a misunderstanding between people and people in this land arises out of the fact that we do not know each other at close quarters. We see each other with others' lenses which magnify, which distort, and that is the cause, the frequent cause, of many a misunderstanding between the Englishman and the Indian, between the official and the non-official. Sir, as I stated, I was thanking Providence on that day when the ballot drew this Resolution as the first Resolution. I was doubtful whether the atmosphere in which I was going to move the Resolution was going to be a good atmosphere, was going to be a suitable atmosphere, for discussing such a grave issue. Sir, there again Providence has come to our rescue. By that one very just, wise and generous act of statesmanship on the part of Lord Reading's Government in releasing that great man, that great friend of the English Government, Mr. Gandhi, Sir, the Government have created an atmosphere for a full and free discussion of this most important Resolution. By that act they have brought good will into the floor of this House, and I hope, Sir, that, with the advent of the new Labour Government in England, good days are in store for India, good days are in store for the Empire. For without India what is the Empire? And after all, what is the object of a constitution for any country? The great object which the people who brought about this constitution in 1919 had in view was to get a Government with the consent and co-operation of the people. Those are the essential elements which any constitution-maker has to keep in view and with that great object this constitution was devised; but, Sir, has that object been fulfilled? Has that been achieved? Sir, there were three classes of people at the time the Reforms

came into operation: those who kept studiously out of it, those who wanted to work it in a spirit of responsive co-operation, and those on the official Benches who wanted to lend a helping hand in bringing into existence the new constitution. Sir, the latter two tried to do their best for the existing constitution. The goal has been laid before us, namely, full responsible Government in this country. There is no mistake about it. There is no going back upon it and the question is whether you have been placed properly on the road to responsible Government with a safe machine to work it. Sir, without examining the machinery, but examining it merely on theoretical grounds, some of my countrymen, I may say most of my countrymen, denounced it as unsuitable. We did not want to take that risk of pronouncing a verdict without trying the machinery. We tried it wholeheartedly, we tried it for three years and, Sir, what is the result? From the knowledge gained by experience in the working of the Reforms so far as the Central Government is concerned, I say without hesitation that the machinery is absolutely defective. If we have achieved anything under this machinery, it is due to the patience, to the tact and to the industry which we have bestowed in working that machinery. It might have broken down long ago. Instead of being acclaimed as a young Parliament which has got records of achievement to its credit, we might have gone home two or three years ago and said "This is broken machinery which we cannot use." Sir, we did not want to do it. We tried our best in order to work with the machinery. We have no less a person than His Excellency the Viceroy who says in closing the first Session of this Assembly:

"The close of this Session marks a stage in the working of these Reforms. We have reached the end of a definite part or chapter in the gradual development of self-governing institutions. We have advanced one step forward, an important step in the progressive realisation of responsible government."

Sir, we have taken one step. We have closed one chapter. Where is the next chapter? Where is the next step? Our foot is anxious to march. It is hanging in the air. It is dangling in the air. There is no step forward. Are we to walk backwards and forwards over the step which we have already crossed? Where is the next chapter? Are we to re-read the chapter which we have already read—read so well and so satisfactorily? That is where the difficulty comes. Sir, if you read the Preamble to the Act, if you read the section in the Act, it says that every 10 years, 20 years, or 30 years hence, 40 years hence, or 50 years hence,—a cycle of decades,—you will have periodical Commissions coming out to examine how far this institution has progressed or deteriorated, and how far you can march forward, or how far you can march backward. That is what is contemplated in the Act. No steps are provided in the Act for gradual realisation of responsible government. We have to go backwards and forwards over the same step. We have to read and re-read the same chapter. Sir, will any civilised nation be content with such a constitution? I ask in all seriousness, are we a civilised nation or not? Not in the words of Colonel Frank Johnson who justifies flogging of the people of this land because their civilisation is ancient. It has an ancient civilisation and therefore flogging was justified in his view. Sir, the more ancient the civilisation, I thought the more respect you would attach to that civilisation. Sir, if we are fit for this responsible Government at any stage, we are fit for full responsible Government. It is impossible to have a middle course. From representative institutions you have to spring to responsible Government. There is no such thing as a middle course. There may be safety valves here and there. There may be the Army,

[Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar.]

there may be the Navy, there may be the political relations, there may be the foreign relations which you may exclude. But, Sir, so far as domestic affairs are concerned, the internal development of the country is concerned, it is impossible to provide for partial responsibility in the way in which this constitution has provided. Sir, look at the idea. The trustees of this vast nation in this vast continent—I mean the British Parliament—are willing to entrust the lives, the education, the advancement and the development of this country to Indians, but they are not willing to entrust law and order in the hands of these men. Sir, is it right that the trustees should part with their trust in such vital matters as education, as public health, as sanitation, if we are not fit to handle these subjects? Are they not more important than law and order? Are not the lives of the millions of people, is not the health of millions of people, is not the educational advancement and the industrial advancement of millions of people as great a trust in your hands as the trust as regards law and order? The very division of functions, the very division of the subjects, indicates some lurking distrust of the people of this land. That is where it is. Unless that distrust disappears, unless that suspicion is removed, there can never be true advancement in the constitution of this country. Sir, I well remember how Lord Willingdon in choosing his Executive Councillor and entrusting him with the portfolio of law and order was warned by the wise people who surrounded him that he was undertaking a grave risk in entrusting that department to an Indian Member. He made that bold departure. He was an Executive Councillor no doubt, but he was an Indian. Sir, events have justified his choice. The very people who were afraid and suspicious of this move which Lord Willingdon made have afterwards gone to him and told him “you made a wise choice.” Sir, that will be the result. It is only the entrustment of responsibility which breeds responsibility. It is the sense of responsibility which will create responsibility. If you create a sense of responsibility among the people, I am sure they will respond to that trust. There will be no betrayal of that trust. I can assure you of that. Therefore, Sir, speaking of the Central Government, speaking of the way in which we have been working it for the last three years, I ask the Members of the Government Benches if they are feeling happy. Is my Honourable friend, Sir B. N. Sarma, feeling happy with his charge of the portfolio over Kenya and over South Africa? Does he face his quondam non-official friends with that face which he would have had if he were responsible to us? He has to answer here on the floor of this House against the weight of the non-official opinion of his own countrymen with whom he thinks, with whom he feels. He has no feeling apart from ours. When he stands up on behalf of Government, how eloquent he is in advocating those reactionary views, those views which I know in his heart of hearts he does not share! (Laughter.) Is that a happy position? Sir, what is the good of having an Indian inside the inner council when he cannot respond to the call of his countrymen? Sir, we want them responsible to this House. If he is responsible to some gentleman who pulls the wire seven thousand miles away, who is in theory responsible to the British Parliament consisting of about 600 Members, of whom about a dozen Members take an occasional interest in Indian affairs more by way of amusement—they are sometimes looked upon as cranks because they dabble in Indian affairs—is that conducive to good government? No doubt you have done very well. Nobody can deny that. But the time is long long past when that state of things can continue.

Sir, this Resolution of mine records, registers, a mandate which we, the elected Members, have received from the country: I deliberately say that we have received this mandate from the country. It is true that under the rules only about five million people have been enfranchised and this time large numbers of people went to the polls unlike on the last occasion. Sir, I ask you to read the result of the polls. For one man who went to the polls to record his vote I am sure a hundred people shared the views of that man. Sir, I made no mistake. I did not hide what my views were from my constituency. I asked them point blank for a mandate to place this Resolution before you. In the very first manifesto which I issued on the 16th August, 1923, I told them:

"My aim is Swaraj for the country and I want to win it peacefully through the Legislature. I therefore request you to give me that mandate by returning me once again and that with a solid majority."

Sir, my opponent appealed to the passions and prejudices which prevailed unfortunately in South India. He claimed that he was a non-Brahmin. He said that out of the 10,000 voters who had to go to the polls 8,500 were non-Brahmins, and 1,500 were Brahmins and asked the voters whether they were going to vote for the Brahmin or the non-Brahmin. That was his cry. Sir, my supporters put this pertinent question, "Are you going to send a man who will put up a fight for Swaraj or one who has hitherto hesitated to utter or write the word Swaraj?" Sir, the votes recorded gave the answer. Whether they are non-Brahmins or Brahmins they all want Swaraj. Sir, I addressed many audiences in the city of Madras. For one voter who was present there were at least one hundred non-voters present. There was not a single difference of opinion in that matter. Sir, people realised it. The great doubt which is felt as regards responsible government is whether the people understand the meaning of the vote. Sir, speaking of the cities with which I am acquainted, I am sure they understand the meaning of the vote. It is true that in some cases, in very few cases perhaps money buys the vote—I do not deny that. In what country does it not? But you ought not to judge by such exceptional cases. Here, so far as the people are concerned, they are accustomed to value the vote at any rate, they have traditions about it. When they read the Mahabharata, when they read the Ramayana, and when they read other ancient books which they have to read, they come across village assemblies, they come across accounts where the king consulted the people, they come across cases where elections were held. Therefore, the thing is still fresh in their minds, although the village institutions were killed by the regulations which were passed in 1816 in Madras. Still the idea survives and the people understand the value of the vote and you can very freely trust them with the vote and need have no fear. Therefore, I say that this Resolution records the verdict of the nation. So far as my Swaraj friends who have come into the Assembly are concerned, there can be no doubt as to the meaning of their return, and as regards those of us who do not come under the Swarajist flag there can also be no doubt as to the meaning of the vote recorded in our favour. Whether it is from North India, or from South India, or from West India, or East India, the one voice has gone forth that this machinery under which we are now working the constitution is unsuited, unsatisfactory, inadequate and can no longer hold. That is the verdict of the nation, and are you going to receive that verdict or not? Sir, one of the great Queens who ruled England, I refer to Queen Elizabeth, in one of her aphorisms said, the prince should have a big ear to hear far and near. Sir, I know that Lord Reading's Government is not deaf. Have they not shown this by this act,

[Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar.]

this magnanimous act to which I have referred, that they are responsive to public opinion? Lord Reading's Government I have great faith in. Notwithstanding the words that he uttered the other day, I know in his heart of hearts he is a radical. Whatever he may say here, I know what his heart says, and I am sure he will not turn a deaf ear to this verdict of the nation. Sir, there is some doubt in the minds of my English friends, my Scotch friends—I know my friend Sir Campbell Rhodes has closely investigated and examined the constitution under which we are working. He is as much dissatisfied with it as I am. I know it. Now, are you going to allow a constitution with which every one of us is dissatisfied—are you going to allow it to continue simply because you have put a section in the Statute that ten years hence a Commission will come out and examine it? Is it right, is the happiness of millions of human beings, civilised human beings, to rest on such considerations? Should not a move forward be made? Should not the thing be made more clear? Should the thing be kept in abeyance like this? Sir, look at the result. Every one who has worked the Act, directly he throws off the trammels of office, Sir, what does he say? What does Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru say, who was in the inner Cabinet, inside that glass dome working the levers, pulling the switches, operating on the engine inside that glass dome? Directly he got out of that glass dome, what did he say? He said, "The machinery is absolutely useless. We cannot work any longer. How long are we to go on bended knees before Rangachari and Seshagiri Aiyar and others of his ilk?" That is what he said. He says, "Here is a legislature clamouring for this, clamouring for that. Our hands are not free. We recognise the justice of the claim they make." He feels that this machinery cannot work in the Central Government. He has said that. I am sure there are Honourable Members here and I am glad to see Sir Chimanlal Setalvad (I am sorry he is not here)—Local Governments themselves, those who have experience of Local Governments and of this diarchical system will throw light upon the way in which the Local Governments are worked. But I speak with first hand knowledge, not that first hand knowledge as being inside the glass dome, but as being just outside and trying to rub and flatten my nose against it to enter into it—how long am I to go on doing that? A day will come when we will have to throw stones at the glass dome and break it and enter it by force. But we now want to take it by consent, by co-operation. We want to try to run the machinery which you are keeping safely in your hands. That machinery is built at our cost, is maintained at our cost, and, Sir, we want to have control over the running of that machinery. That is the real secret, that is the real secret of the agitation of the people, that is the real secret of the non-co-operation movement. That is the real secret of any agitation in this country. Look at the result. Now, instead of the intelligentsia of the country bestowing all its attention, earnest attention and thought on development departments of this country, instead of trying to do this, to do that and the other, what is it doing? For the last three or four years the whole country is in the vortex of agitation here, there and everywhere, and no public questions attract the attention which they ought to do. For instance, I travelled throughout the country with the Mercantile Marine Committee. Yesterday, Sir, my Honourable friend, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, bemoaned the absence of a mercantile marine in this country. But, Sir, a subject so important as that did not attract much attention in the country. We felt it. There is no public response to such Committees. We had to egg them on to come before us, those who had

got any interest in such questions. The whole intellect of the country is lost in cogitating about the Reforms. They are not satisfied with it. Their one object is to bring about Swaraj. Their one object is to bring responsible Government to this country. They think that these Committees are useless. You may travel about the country, you may do anything you like. We are not going to co-operate with you. That is the spirit you find. Any Committee which goes about does not evoke that enthusiasm, that response which I used to find in the earlier years. Public men shut themselves in. Take, for example, Lord Lee's Commission which is going about. How many elected Members of this Assembly took any interest in it? Probably, barring my friend, Dr. Gour, there is no one here who has gone before that Commission (*A Voice*: "Mr. Roy.") Well, have the Government asked themselves this question, why do people boycott these Committees? Are you going to allow this state of things to continue? Will not you, as wise statesman, take notice? Will not you see things in advance and see that things are put in order? Is it for the good of the country, for the Empire, that such a state of things should continue? Therefore, I say give up all notions of prestige. Take note of things as they are. In 1921 I well remember Lord Reading's Government were prepared to consider this question at a round table conference. Till December 1921 he was quite ready to go on with it and, unfortunately, things did not happen in the way in which they should have happened, and therefore the thing fell through. Why should we shut our eyes to solid facts which stare us in the face? It is not wise to do it. Therefore now that a new Assembly has come into being, now that we have got the co-operation of people who hitherto refrained from co-operating with you, this is a splendid opportunity for Government. In the last three or four days we have noticed how ready and willing our Swarajist friends in the Assembly are to throw in their lot with us, in improving legislation, in making suggestions as to Bills before us. They are as ready as any one of us to help the Government and to help this Assembly in transacting its business. You must take them with both hands. You have done it already. You have shown the way by one response, and now is the opportunity for the Government to show that they are really responsive to public demands, for no Government, as I have said, can get on without being responsive to public demands. There can be no mistake as to the verdict of the nation. They want a revision of the Act. They do not want this Act to continue. They want an early revision of the Act. The object of the revision should be to secure full responsible Government. Let there be no mistake as to my meaning. I want Dominion status abroad and responsible Government within, that is, the right to manage our own affairs, our internal affairs inside the country. This is what the people want. What is the verdict of even the Princes of this land who are not directly interested in the development of responsible Government in this country? I ask you, Sir, to look at the proceedings of the Imperial Conference which took place only recently when the Government of India's representative was openly insulted by an Irishman. What did that Irishman say at that Conference? This is Mr. Fitzgerald from the Irish Free State. This is that he said:

"Putting myself in the position of an Indian I do not think the Indian representatives here are of an equality with us because they are not really here in a representative capacity. They are not really sent by an independent Indian Government and they cannot really be regarded as equal with the rest of us. If I were an Indian, putting myself in their position, I would recognise that this hypersensitiveness that they have about their treatment outside India arises really from the fact that they have not so far reached the degree of self-government that the rest of us have reached."

[Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar.]

Sir, our representatives, I do not mean our representatives, because we did not send them, but the Government of India's representatives with whom we should identify ourselves in this connection, were openly insulted at this Conference. They were told "You are not our equals. What right have you to complain?" Are you going to allow that state of things to continue to your own discredit? The great Prince whom you deputed to that Conference said, pleading before that Conference:

"If India had some more definite proposition before it than having to wait every ten years for its destiny to be enhanced, if it had a reasonable assurance of rapid but progressive advancement, I believe that self-government, which is the goal of us all for two-thirds of India, would be achieved early and smoothly.

I add this, despite anything that may be said to the contrary, that achievement is possible within a very much shorter period than some people would like us to believe. I know, and I do not need to be told, that it depends to a great extent on India's capacity herself. I agree. But surely you do not desire to throw India on her own resources. Does not she look to Britain to give her periodical and sustained assistance so that my country may be, as it has been in the past, a really genuinely grateful and loyal partner in your wonderful heritage? I am speaking of self-government for two-thirds of India and in dealing with this subject I hope I may seek your indulgence for another few moments."

Then, pleading for a rapid realisation of full self-government, he said:

"I would much rather you got India round a table in confidence and worked out with her sons, plans and methods that would be the best suited to her environment, by which she can obtain her goal very rapidly but at the same time in a very peaceful and loyal manner. I say it is possible and probable of early success and you will be doing something for 300 millions of human beings that will cement them to you with gratitude and brotherly feelings."

So he went on in that strain. That is a Prince of the royal blood, the Maharajah of Alwar, who takes such vital interest in this advancement. It is not merely the people of this country who want a change. It is the Princes and the people of India for whom His Gracious Majesty the King Emperor has got such great regard who are yearning for this change. I say you should not overlook such a demand. It will be the height of folly to do so. It will be criminal to do so, and I implore you to have this constitution revised early. I may say, speaking for myself, I am indifferent as to what steps you adopt, whether it be a Royal Commission or a Committee or a Conference, but this state of things cannot continue and I ask that it be remedied early.

Mr. President: Resolution moved:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that he be pleased to take at a very early date the necessary steps (including if necessary procuring the appointment of a Royal Commission) for revising the Government of India Act so as to secure for India full self-governing Dominion status within the British Empire and Provincial autonomy in the Provinces."

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey (Home Member): Sir, I am very grateful to you for giving me this early opportunity of rising, and for several reasons. I desire, in the first place, that on our side the debate should preserve the atmosphere which has been set by the Mover of this motion, and nothing will be wanting on our part to follow the tenour he has adopted. He referred to the sullenness and suspicion amid which he entered on his duties in this Assembly. I noticed at that time no sullenness in it; there was always, even in moments when he expressed himself most strongly, an engaging sense of humour about him; but I certainly noticed, as time went on, his growing appreciation of the position of Government, its difficulties, its genuine desire to work the Reforms; and, Sir, I take it as a

happy omen that he now, who was once somewhat critical of us, has seen his way to submit his name to the suffrage of the Assembly as its Deputy President. Once we were subjected to his criticism, now we may be content to work together under what, if I may use a poetical phrase, I may describe as his "mild and magnificent eye". But that is not the only reason. We have here before us a number of Resolutions and an even larger number of amendments dealing with constitutional questions. My friends opposite, Sir—I do not use that phrase as a matter of convention; there have been many whose friendship I have had in the past; we may perhaps have been parted for a time, but I hope to renew that friendship now, and the friendship of their friends—as I say, my friends opposite and I have delayed these proceedings in the attempt to clarify the issues; but your opening instructions to us showed that there are still a number of cross-currents to be faced in this debate, and I think it is well that I should have an early opportunity of making clear our attitude, at all events on the one main proposition that is now before us. The Mover has not rendered my task easy; for he had submitted a proposition to the Assembly which reads clearly enough in itself; it is a patent demand that we should take early steps for revising the Government of India Act so as to secure for India full self-governing Dominion status. That could only mean one thing, that he and his friends consider that India is now ripe for full self-governing Dominion status, and that circumstances warrant that immediate steps should be taken to secure it for her. The appointment of a Parliamentary Commission was not essential; it was only one means which might be adopted to secure that definite end. But he did not argue that proposition. He argued another, the general need for advance in Reforms. Nevertheless, there is the proposition as it stands and as the world will read it. It may well be that a Resolution so framed may be the focus for many variants of a somewhat similar nature and for amendments comprising alternative policies. But, Sir, we can only regard the proposition as we see it, and as the world will see it. It contains, it is true, a subsidiary proposal, a reference to Provincial autonomy. I regard that as a minor proposition only, for if India is to have at an early date full responsible Government, nay more, a Legislature with the full and unlimited status now enjoyed by the Dominions, then the question of Provincial autonomy is one almost of domestic concern. Whether that fully responsible Legislature shall have any control over the Executive or whether its Ministers shall have any control over the Executive of the provinces is, I say, but a minor feature in the picture which he presents, and I shall trouble myself no further with that detail of his proposal. I shall address myself only to the main proposition, that India is now ready, and that India must have, at once, full self-governing Dominion status. I say we cannot afford to allow anyone to be in doubt as to the attitude of Government on that question. There are many interests concerned. There are the Indian States, to which the Mover referred. I do not say what their attitude is likely to be; but it is of vital interest to them whether they will at an early date have to deal with an Executive Government which is entirely responsible to an Indian Legislature, or whether they will have to deal with a Governor General in Council who, as now, is responsible to the British Parliament. And, again, European commerce will desire to know—I say nothing of what its feelings are likely to be at the contemplated change; but men who have put great sums of money into India, and may be daily increasing the sphere of their operations, have a right to know if we contemplate an early change of Government. The men entering our services will desire to know.

[Sir Malcolm Hailey.]

I predicate nothing as to their feelings. I only say that all men entering our services, whether civil or military, whether European or Indian, have a right to know if we intend a radical change of government at an early date. There is another interest, a great and extensive interest, which will desire to know our attitude; I mean the minority communities. I shall say no more at the moment regarding the very obvious interest that they must take in this question, for I shall have to return to it, but it is clear that they ought to know whether the Indian Government is prepared to recognize such a step, and whether the British Government is prepared to entertain it.

Here then, Sir, is our question. What is our answer to be? Just as we shall gain nothing by allowing the discussion to drift into cross channels, so, in rendering our answer, we should refuse to be deterred by any imputation to which our attitude on this subject may give rise. Opposition to this proposition does not mean in itself that we have fallen victims to that heresy which according to its harshest critics seeks a reversion to the ways of autocracy, and even according to those who take a more tolerant view shows a disinclination to the advance of Reforms. It does not necessarily mean that we should be unwilling to contemplate any change within the present scheme of Reforms. It is not certainly in itself an invasion of the principle of the Government of India Act or the declaration of August 1917. For, Sir, Mr. Rangachariar's proposition, as he has placed it on the paper, is directly opposed to the Government of India Act in two important respects. Remember that for the moment I am answering his proposition as framed, though much of what I say will apply also to the arguments he has used on the somewhat different proposition which he argued, and to some others of the proposals which are contained in the agenda before us. I say his proposition, as it stands, is opposed to the Government of India Act and in two important respects. The pronouncement of August 1917 spoke of "the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government in India". That is also the term used in the Preamble to the Act; that is the term used in the Royal Warrant of instructions which adds, that "thus will India be fitted to take her place among the other Dominions". The term has its significance; we know that it was deliberately chosen. The Congress and the League had asked the Imperial Government to proclaim its intention to confer self-government on India at an early date and the Cabinet chose the present term. The expression used in the Act is a term of precision, conveying that the Executive in India would be responsible to the Indian Legislature instead of to the British Parliament. If you analyse the term "full Dominion Self-Government", you will see that it is of somewhat wider extent, conveying that not only will the Executive be responsible to the Legislature, but the Legislature will in itself have the full powers which are typical of the modern Dominion. I say there is some difference of substance, because responsible Government is not necessarily incompatible with a Legislature with limited or restricted powers. It may be that full Dominion self-government is the logical outcome of responsible Government, nay, it may be the inevitable and historical development of responsible Government, but it is a further and a final step. The second point is this, that the Preamble of the Act specifically provides for the realisation of its ideal by successive stages. Now, it is here perhaps that the real cause of our difference arises. We hold both to the objective and to its realisation by stages. You, on

your side, even those who ask that we should not immediately go beyond the objective stated in terms of the Act, now object to the imposition of stages. You do not confine yourselves to a complaint that our progress is too slow; that our pedestrian pace is but a crawl; that we show a caution so extreme that it casts doubt on our desire to proceed at all. You definitely repudiate the imposition of stages in that progress. Now, I can understand this attitude from those who from the first refused to accept the prescription of a transitional period. There were some such; but the Mover was not one of them. There are indeed many here who were not of that class. I see, for instance, some of those who joined in signing the Memorandum of the Nineteen in 1916. They asked for increased powers; they certainly did not ask for full Dominion Self-Government. The Calcutta Congress of 1917 by a formal Resolution demanded that the realisation of full responsible Government should be guaranteed to India—when?—within a period of 15 years. That was to be provided in the proposed Statute of Reforms; they apparently had no anticipation in 1917 that full Dominion self-government would be workable at an earlier date. When the Reform scheme took shape in the Bill, the Home Rule League criticised it. There was much that they saluted with somewhat faint praise; but they formally accepted the principle that the advance must be by stages. These are the actual words of their representative, Mrs. Besant, before the Joint Parliamentary Committee:

"I accept realisation by successive stages, not because I admit that India has no inherent right to Home Rule or is incapable of complete home administration, but because time is needed to prepare home defence against invasion."

The National Congress had considered the question fully in its Delhi meeting in December 1918; it repudiated the suggestion that the people of India were unfit for full responsible Government. But what did it ask for? Full responsibility in the provinces without prejudice to the claim for a substantial measure of responsibility in the Central Government. There sits Mr. Patel, who represented the Congress before the Joint Parliamentary Committee. He stood by the Calcutta Resolution of 1917 that the realisation of full responsible Government should be guaranteed in India within a period of 15 years. He accepted the 10 years Statutory Committee, but it was only to inquire whether the 10 years' experience did not justify the immediate grant of full responsible Government or whether another period of 5 years should elapse. Read the many passages of Mr. Jinnah's evidence on behalf of the Muslim League. Is there a word there of immediate responsible Self-Government or full Dominion status? Not one. On the contrary, he put forward some views which may perhaps be interesting to the Assembly. He might perhaps feel a little more secure if he came and sat by my side while I read them. He wanted advance in the Central Government. But he wanted it by means of dyarchy. The Committee asked him:

"There were Indian witnesses who have been before this Committee whom you probably heard who were doubtful about dyarchy."

and he replied:

"I am not doubtful; I think myself it is bound to succeed. I do not see any other way and that is the very reason why I find the difficulty in the Congress-League scheme."

He formally accepted the ten-years Statutory Committee; so that there is very little comfort for the Mover there. Then take the name of an even less cautious man, the late Mr. Tilak. Did he want immediate

[Sir Malcolm Hailey.]

responsible Government? So far from that, he did not claim it until the 15 years period was over. He did not like periodical re-examination at all, but he thought that one such examination at the end of ten years was justified. I finally take Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. He said in 1919 or 1920 that even if 20 years were fixed as the outside limit we should know where we stood.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan): For taking complete charge of the army and administering the country.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Which is necessary for full Dominion status: I fail to see how that interruption advances the cause of the Honourable Mover. In fact, I do not know from where the Mover himself has taken his inspiration for this sudden demand. In last February he discussed Lord Peel's despatch of the 2nd November 1922; what did he demand then? Certainly not full Dominion status. I give his words:

"I want nothing more than this that the system should be re-examined by a Parliamentary Commission. All that we ask is that the thing be re-examined. It is not that we are extravagant in our demand. We only want an examination of the existing condition."

He has told us that he put forward his present demand in his election manifesto. I have it here, and I am sure his recollection must be wrong. There was a good deal about Swaraj. There was a somewhat heartfelt outpouring about the nastiness of communal feeling and the vice of communal representation, a matter which perhaps might have caused him to pause a little. But, Sir, there was nothing about the immediate grant of full responsible Government. I may perhaps be excused in this Assembly for referring to these much-abused men—the Liberals. I need not say that the Liberal Conference at Nagpur in 1922 made no such demand; even in 1923 it made a demand of an entirely different nature. In fact all my researches show me only this that there is not any genuine mandate on the side of the Mover. On the contrary, there is everywhere, and has been everywhere, a recognition of the fact stated by the present Premier in 1917 that "to build up a system of representative Government in India is bound to be a slow and a difficult process".

What then is the explanation of the demand? I first thought, when he spoke of the work that we had done together, that he was going to explain his demand in a manner entirely flattering to us; that we had progressed so far together in the last three years on the path of Reform that we had now proved that immediate Dominion self-status was feasible and could safely be granted. But as he proceeded, I realized that that assumption was too flattering. The opposite is the case. He and his friends now tell us that their experience has not justified the concession which they made to us in 1919, namely, that they would attempt together with us to work a transitional constitution. Their experience has shown that it will not function, and that it must be immediately supplemented by fresh management, fresh men and fresh methods. Then if that is so, I must take the strongest and soundest ground I can. I will not argue as a Member of the Executive Government who, by virtue of his office, is bound to support the policy of Parliament which laid down successive stages for realisation, and which claimed that Parliament itself, which has granted this constitution, must be the best judge of the fitness of India

for each successive stage. I will not take that ground. I will not dwell on the somewhat obvious fact that India desires to remain part of the British Empire (and let me say that even at the recent Congress, which met under feelings strongly hostile to the British Empire, there was no adhesion to a proposal for separation from that Empire; the Congress, at all events, was prepared to belong to what we heard a speaker yesterday, with a patriotism which was pardonable but perhaps exceeded his sense of proportion, describe as the Indo-British Confederation); if India desires to stay in the Empire, she might well concede something to the judgment of those who guard her from external aggression. She cannot save herself from all external ills by the simple and soulful exercise of self-determination.

Pandit Shamlal Nehru (Meerut Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): What will happen if she does not want to stay within the British Empire?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I can only say that in every sense she must prepare for the consequences. Nor again will I take any ground based on the threats that we have heard as to what is likely to happen if the demand is not granted. I may deplore them; but I deliberately put them aside. I am addressing the Members of this Assembly, and as Members of the Assembly, I can only regard them as bound to constitutional ideals and constitutional methods. Indeed with regard to such threats I prefer to take much the same attitude as Pandit Motilal Nehru himself in dealing with the Resolutions of the Gaya Congress:

"It is", he said, "a hotch-potch of pious wishes, with a few threats thrown in to season the dish for the acceptance of the more impatient non-co-operator." (*Laughter.*)

I shall not seek to demonstrate the achievements attained by us and by those who have helped us in the last three years, though I believe them to be solid and substantial, in the sphere both of legislation and administration; and, though I do not wish to embitter controversy, I am constrained to ask those who preferred to stay out in the wilderness during the last three years, devoting themselves to what they claimed to be a constructive programme of work, how it is that they have had to confess that these three years were barren of result. No, Sir, I shall take better grounds than these. I shall consider the case objectively and as an outsider might consider it; I shall look only at the feasibilities and the possibilities of the proposition which has been put down on the paper by Mr. Rangachariar.

I have to ask three, or perhaps four questions of the Assembly. Is Dominion self-government to be confined to British India only, or is it to be extended to the Indian States? If it is to be extended to the latter, under what terms have they agreed to come in, for I assume that you have got their agreement to this proposition? Are they to be dependent only on the Crown, or are they to be controlled by the new Government responsible only to the Indian Legislature instead of a Government responsible to the British Parliament? Will they accept that? Remember they are vitally concerned at every point, for whether in regard to fiscal arrangements, communications, or trade interests, our Legislature touches them closely. Some kind of federation is the objective frequently held out to us; indeed it is the fact that some such federation is necessary that has made many thinkers such as Mr. Jinnah claim that we need a second Chamber. But have you secured that federation yet, and on what terms will it be?

[Sir Malcolm Hailey.]

I pass to a second problem. I do not desire to exaggerate it, but it has to be faced. No conception of full Dominion self-government is possible which retains in the hands of an authority other than the Dominion Legislature itself the protection of minority communities. It is the use of this full dominion authority in South Africa against a minority which was locally unpopular that has lately caused us so much feeling against the Empire. I know that we are told that this is no real difficulty, and that it is we who have served, whether purposely or otherwise, to keep communal difficulties alive; and that when the day of independence has dawned, they will disappear in the bright sunshine of the new freedom. I do not see an equal feeling of confidence reflected in the preamble of the new National Pact, for it definitely states that the only obstacle to Swaraj is "the lack of mutual understanding in the different communities of India." How far that pact will secure the necessary understanding I do not intend to prophesy; I can only judge by the result of the Bengal Pact. Did that bring peace or a sword?

Mr. Chaman Lal (West Punjab: Non-Muhammadian): Peace in Bengal.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Peace in Bengal! The Honourable Member's interruption is timely. I will read him an extract from a Bengali newspaper:

"The Bengal Pact is a monstrous violation of national solidarity."

Again the same paper says:

"The government of one country by another is not so bad as the government of one or more communities by another."

I do not want to stress that point, for I see that it is amply recognised by the Resolution that follows. Moreover, it is not a point on which any of us should or would care to harp. There is not one of us here on our side who would not desire to see those questions solved and solved at an early date.

Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal (Calcutta: Non-Muhammadian Urban): Will the Honourable Member kindly give us the name of the paper from which he quotes?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I fortunately am able to do so. It is "The Bengalee" newspaper writing in December 1923. It is not a newspaper to which I believe the Honourable Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal now contributes.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Is the Honourable Member aware that the Honourable Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal contributed for a long time to "The Englishman" newspaper?

Mr. President: I must ask Honourable Members to allow the Honourable Member to proceed with less interruption.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I will take your word for it, and it is a sign of growing grace on his part. I say that we wish to see those differences solved, but we do not believe that full Dominion self-government is possible for India until they are solved. I am not alone in claiming

this; contemporary literature is full of recognition of the same fact. The report of the Congress Civil Disobedience Committee itself confesses that the great difficulty in any advance lies in the religious susceptibility of the Indian people. Or if you desire that I should take a somewhat extreme advocate of advance, I may quote Mr. Jamnadas Mehta. He says:

"The so-called unity is unreal and illusory, and to-day we must confess with shame that we are not quite fit for Swaraj."

Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal just now wished to know my authority for a quotation which I gave the House. I will give him another from an excellent authority, no less than a recent writing of his own, strictly apposite, as the House will realize:

"Unless this question is settled, when the country is still under British authority, responsible for the defence of its borders against outside invasion, and for the maintenance of peace and order within, the elimination of the present British Raj from India will be found to spell universal chaos and inter-communal fights, which will render our position in many ways worse than what it is at present."

I need say no more; I could say no more.

Now I take a third problem, a problem so important that it may be described in the words of the old writers, as the "very article by which the Republic stands or falls," I mean defence. I am not of course suggesting that India, so long as she remains a member of the Empire, will not be entitled to call for and will not receive the very fullest assistance from that Empire in any moment of vital emergency. But full Dominion status means a Dominion army under full control of the Dominion Government, and I have not yet seen any serious thinker who has pretended that India is yet in a position, or will in the immediate future be in a position, to create a Dominion army in the proper sense of the word. What did the Mover himself say in February 1923?

"The Army will be taken over by the Dominion as soon as the Government is ready to assume responsibility. That is when the army is Indianised in the sense in which we want it, not merely Indian troops controlled by European officers, but Indian in the true sense of the term, the officers and all ranks consisting of Indians."

Very clearly the word "immediate" cannot be employed here. You may charge it against us that we are ourselves responsible for this delay, and that we cannot take cover behind the consequences of our own omissions. I claim on my part that since the Reforms have been instituted, we have made serious and sincere efforts to begin the process of Indianisation; and in any case we are not for the moment on appraisal of merits, but on the consideration of the possibilities of the step you advocate. I would remind you again in all earnestness that there are difficulties in the attainment of your ideal of a Dominion army which will in any case long delay its consummation. I do not debate the question whether a purely Indianised Army would be that perfect weapon which you require for the defence of India; our opinions might differ on that point, and I have no wish to be dragged into the turmoil of that particular controversy. I will not refer here to the damaging fact that the controversialists have not yet decided whether, if we were invaded by what is for the moment our most powerful neighbour, one of our great communities ought to stand apart or even to join the enemy. That is an alarming consideration, but for the moment I pass it by. My point is different. The President of the last Congress, though in a somewhat different connection, had to confess that "the fighting classes of India are more sharply divided from the rest of the nation than perhaps anywhere in the world." It was for that reason and perhaps

[Sir Malcolm Hailey.]

for that reason only that he did not "desire to see India gain its end by violence," since it would place the power in the wrong hands. But what is the implication that I draw from that? It is this. If you create a Dominion army while those conditions still exist, it will not be a national army, it will be an army of those classes; and I warn my friends of the non-martial classes that the power which is now placed in their hands by the ballot box will speedily gravitate into other hands. There will be no British officers and no British troops to hold the balance.

I have one more question to ask. The demand for Dominion self-government assumes that its advocates have satisfied themselves that there exist those social and political foundations on which alone such constitutional structure can safely exist. Now I do not wish to exaggerate this point. I do not claim that a country must wait for constitutional advance until it has a large preponderance of educated voters. We did not wait for this in England. Again I do not wish to deny that the intelligentsia of this country has a great—perhaps a preponderating—influence over the mass of public opinion—certainly an influence out of proportion to its numerical strength. But I do claim that for the moment political advance in India has already outrun social advance. (*An Honourable Member*: "Whose fault is it?") Well, we can do something ourselves to secure political advance in India; social advance must rest on the Indian people itself.

Dr. H. S. Gour (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan): You have been opposing it.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: No; we have only opposed some of your own rather hasty advances in the matrimonial law! We were not alone there.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: But you can pride yourselves upon the progress of education among the masses.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Even if we could not, yet my point still remains good, that there is still wanting that sense of confidence between class and class which alone makes modern democratic institutions possible; that it would not be possible at this stage of India's development to expect the minority to accept without reserve the final verdict of the majority; and that India's political consciousness is not yet organised on lines which would either allow interests to be represented adequately, or leaders to be chosen whose guidance will be accepted with such confidence as to furnish the possibility of political stability. If I am right, then the grant of full Dominion status would be a danger rather than an advantage to India, so long as those conditions still prevail.

Now, Sir, these problems are grave. I do not say that they are insoluble, nor that they are insurmountable; but for the moment they must be faced, and no advantage is to be gained by pretending that they do not exist or hoping that they will be solved by a simple change in the form of the constitution. Their solution, not necessarily their complete solution, but such development as seems to promise their eventual solution, is a condition precedent to the change you advocate. I say that for the present, it would be impossible for us to make any such recommendation to the British Parliament or for the British Parliament now to entertain any proposal to this effect. It makes no difference to me what is the

political complexion of that Parliament, or under what guidance its policy is directed; the answer would be the same. But if it refused, that would be no proof of the want of goodwill for India and no proof of mistrust in its future. It would only be a proof that Parliament, mindful of its own past, and of the manner in which it has built up its own position on long and carefully tested experiences, is unwilling to jeopardise the structure to which it has laid its hand by adding the upper courses before it has thoroughly tested the foundations. "Those", says the prophet Isaiah, "who believe, do not go in haste". With every feeling for the aspirations which the Mover has voiced—aspirations which must strike some answering chord in the breasts of all—and there are many here—who are Liberals at heart, I cannot help thinking of the lines in which Shakespeare described a character in a somewhat similar position:

" Like one that stands upon a promontory
And spies a far off shore where he would tread,
Wishing his foot were equal with his eye;
And chides the sea that sunders him from thence,
Saying that he will lade it dry to have his way;
So do I wish the crown, being so far off,
And so I chide the means that keep me from it,
And so do I say I'll cut the causes off,
Flattering me with impossibilities."

Now, Sir, it is not enough perhaps that I should only return this answer. The House consists of those who represent constituencies, certainly the great majority of which demand a speedy constitutional advance; they may differ in the extent of their demand; but on that point they are united. It is right then that the House should demand from us whether we are prepared to proceed further on the path we engaged to tread together. They are entitled to press us here; and I have no wish to avoid the issue. I must define our position as clearly as I can, and I explain what action we do propose to take. In the first place, the definition of our position—We maintain that the objective of the Government of India Act is as defined in that Act, namely, responsible Government. We do not deny that full Dominion status may be the corollary of responsible Government. For the present we must limit ourselves to the objective of the Act. Secondly, we maintain the necessity, as the Act maintains the necessity, of the realisation of that ideal by stages; but we hold that the first stage of transitional government has not yet been sufficiently tested. All transitional systems of this nature are bound to be full of difficulties. In the development of dominion constitutions, it has always been difficult to find a middle stage between responsibility to one Legislature and responsibility to another; the endeavour to find an intermediate course was bound to produce seeming anomalies both in legislation and administration. I will not dilate on them; but it is clear that our transitional constitution could be worked only on one condition, that there was a genuine attempt made on all sides to make it function. On no other terms could it succeed. There were those who honestly attempted to do so, and I think India owes them gratitude; for the more successful was the first stage the easier it would have been to introduce the second. But that treatment it certainly did not encounter on the whole. One section of the community stood completely aloof. Many of those who had agreed to aid in exploring the possibilities of the scheme decided, for reasons quite extraneous to the

[Sir Malcolm Hailey.]

scheme itself, to make it the subject of embittered attack. Throughout the country attempts were made, and again for reasons really extraneous to the Reforms Scheme, to render the working of the whole of the administration impossible, and this had its inevitable reaction on the working of the transitional constitution. It is certainly not receiving fair treatment in the provinces to-day, I instance particularly the Central Provinces and Bengal. I am not going into motives here, but I only say this, that it is clearly impossible to expect a delicate piece of mechanism to work, if many of those who should be assisting, thrust obstacles into the machinery, partly because they do not like the nationality of the designers, and partly because they think the design should in itself have been different. That is the definition of our position; now for the action we propose to take. We do not limit ourselves to demanding that the system should be further tested. We propose to make a serious attempt to investigate justifiable complaints against the working of the scheme in practice; to assess the causes, and to examine the remedies necessary. We claim that this must precede any general inquiry into the policy and scheme of the Act, or general advance within the Act itself. In investigating these difficulties and may be defects in the actual working of the present system, we shall consult Local Governments on the subject; and we shall not close our ears to representations from outside. It may be that the remedy for these difficulties will be found by using the rule-making power within the Act; I refer to the utilisation of those sections to which reference is so often made, 19A, 45A and 96B. It may even be—I can say nothing as to this—that the inquiry may show that some changes are required in the structure of the Act in order to rectify definite and ascertained defects experienced in actual working. When we have our results, and those results are ready for presentation to Parliament, then before they are finally presented to Parliament we shall ask the Secretary of State to give every opportunity for discussion in this country both in the Legislature and elsewhere. That is as far as we can go at present; but I believe that this undertaking gives a guarantee that we are determined genuinely to discharge our duty to the Reform Scheme and to prepare the way for the next stage of advance. It will, I know, be unsatisfactory to many Members here who desire not only that the stages should be more clearly marked, but that they should proceed infinitely more quickly towards the final consummation. But, Sir, as I have said before, the achievement of political ideals must wait on the development of political conditions. With every desire to attain the former we can neither regulate nor control the latter. And if our promise is disappointing to many, yet on one point we can be clear. It is not open to us, and it is not open to any one here, to argue this case as though we were contestants battling in a court of law for the possession of the future of India. That is not so. Our objective is the same. Our aim is the same and our purpose as high as that of any of those who wish the best for India. We would fain have taken all with us along the same road; but if we have chosen a path which is longer than some here would desire to take; if it appears to be less easy, it is because we believe that we can plant our footsteps more firmly on the higher ground, and that our progress, if less rapid, will be more certain; we mistrust the morasses and the dangers of the shorter ways in the valleys below. We are vowed to this enterprise. We shall not falter in it; but we can persist to the end only on one condition. Unless the best of India join us, then our labour will be in vain, and in vain will India look for our journey's ending.

Pandit Motilal Nehru (Cities of the United Provinces: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I beg formally to move the amendment that stands in my name. It runs as follows:

"That the following be substituted for the original Resolution:

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take steps to have the Government of India Act revised with a view to establish full responsible Government in India and for the said purpose:

- (a) to summon at an early date a representative Round Table Conference to recommend with due regard to the protection of the rights and interests of important minorities the scheme of a constitution for India; and
- (b) after dissolving the Central Legislature to place the said scheme for approval before a newly-elected Indian Legislature for its approval and submit the same to the British Parliament to be embodied in a Statute.'"

Sir, I am very glad that I have had an opportunity of listening to the speakers who have preceded me. I hope now to be better able to deal with my proposition and with the position which I mean to lay before the House for its acceptance. As will be seen, the proposition divides itself into three parts. The first declares the goal; the second and third the various stages which have to be gone through to reach the goal. Now, so far as the first part is concerned, there is no exception taken to it to-day in this House, nor, as far as I am aware, has any objection been taken before this outside this House. The whole controversy ranges round the other two parts. But the Honourable the Home Member has raised certain questions which have reference to the first part also and I shall beg with your permission to refer to them at a later stage of my remarks.

I wish, first of all, to thank my friend, Mr. Rangachariar, for the very graceful compliment he has paid to the Swarajists and for the welcome he has extended to them in this House. I am particularly glad to find that my Honourable friend has admitted, though I do not know if he is aware of it, that he is not very far removed from a Swarajist. (Hear, hear.) When referring to the glass dome and his intention to throw stones upon it at some future time, he was really saying what the Swaraj Party has been saying for some time past, and what the Congress, ever since it resorted to a policy of non-co-operation, has been preaching to the country. He is, or if he is not yet, he will, I hope, be a very valuable acquisition to our ranks, and we shall welcome him with open arms. Now, Sir, beyond this I do not think it is necessary for me to deal with the remarks of my friend, Mr. Rangachariar, and I shall simply lay a few broad facts before this House in support of the proposition which I have the honour to move. It will be seen, as I have submitted, that the first part of my proposition is unexceptionable. That there is a deep-seated desire for Swaraj in the country I do not think any one will doubt. That that desire proceeds from the natural cravings of the human heart for freedom, I do not think any one will seriously deny. That being so, I say the first and the last requisite for full responsible Government is completely established. According to all modern conceptions, what you have to look to is a genuine desire proceeding from the natural instinct to which I have referred and the determination to attain that desire. That is all that entitles a nation, that is all that has ever entitled a nation, to complete self-government and complete responsibility. But I am not going to put my case so high to-day. The desire for Swaraj, as all must be aware in this House, has passed through the usual stages of ridicule and intimidation, rather unusually prolonged, and has now, it may be said, and properly said, emerged from an ordeal of fire unscathed and pure. That desire has led

[Pandit Motilal Nehru.]

different sections of my countrymen to different courses of action. It is all a question of the intensity of the feeling of each section, the point of view of each section and the mentality of each section of my countrymen. That each has been prompted and guided by the best of motives there can be no doubt whatever. The question then is: have we made out a case for the realisation of that desire? Well, what is asked for in my friend, Mr. Rangachariar's Resolution and what I ask for by my amendment is, without mincing words, a complete overhauling of the Government of India Act. The Honourable the Home Member has made a very strong case, or at least has attempted to do so, against that proposition. Now, Sir, what is the chief plank in his argument, and what is the great argument that has always been employed against any further advance in political rights to be given to the Indians? It is said that those who desire any further advance are precluded by the Government of India Act itself from making the demand, because the Preamble sets out in clear words that responsible Government will only be granted by successive stages and that Parliament shall be the sole judge of the manner and measure of each advance, or words to that effect. And it is said that you have no business to come forward and ask for anything. It is for you to satisfy Parliament, to satisfy us who are the agents of Parliament here—I mean the Government—that you deserve a further advance and you shall have it but not before that. Now, Sir, our answer, straight and clear, as unequivocal as the Preamble, is that that Preamble is bad, the whole law, the whole Act is as bad as could possibly have been devised to postpone, to stifle and to suppress the natural desire which I have already mentioned. That is what we say and we are perfectly entitled to say so. We feel that we must say so. What answer is it that the Act provides so and so, when the one reason why we do not want it is precisely because it provides so and so. Sir, it is arguing in a circle. We say that the Act has done a gross injustice to us in that Preamble and in the subsequent provisions of it which refuse to us the full rights of responsible Government that we demand. It is said: "You will not have them because the Act does not allow you to ask for them, but leaves it to the judgment of Parliament alone." Now, Sir, I ask what special sanctity is there in this particular Act of Parliament that we must not say a word against it? Wherein does it differ from other Acts of Parliament, all of which may be modified or repealed at any time? We ask for the modification of this Act or for its repeal, whatever may be necessary, and in doing so I really do not know what unconstitutional or improper act we are guilty of. Well, Sir, if it is true that we may ask for the modification of a piece of legislation which we take exception to, we are not going beyond our rights.

Then, the next question is, "Is the modification that we ask for justified under the circumstances?" That really is the crux of the
 1 P.M. whole matter. It has been said—and I have been hearing a considerable amount of loose talk during the last three or four days outside this House—that the Act contains within itself enough to give us that from which we can grow, from which we can acquire more by the building up of conventions and things of that sort. I wish at once to dispose of that argument. I say that, so far as I am concerned, it will take very strong authority, and that of the weightiest character, to convince me that any conventions can grow so as to defeat the express provisions of a Statute of Parliament. They are simply talking as if this Statute did not exist. But, even if such conventions could grow, I submit we are

not content to let them grow in the way in which it has been suggested. We wish that our rights should be formulated, recognised and clearly admitted, and not only admitted and recognised but actually conceded to us.

Now, as for the steps, the argument is that the Government are in fact doing the very thing that the Resolution and the amendment ask for, because what is called the working of the reforms constitutes the steps which are to be taken to secure the ultimate revision of the Government of India Act, and, in insisting upon the working of the reforms as they stand, we are doing all that is necessary to secure the revision of the Act and the inevitable establishment of responsible government after all the steps mentioned in the Act have been taken. Now, Sir, our submission is—and I am glad that the Honourable the Home Member has not been able to point to anything that I have said before I came to this House which conflicts with what I am going to submit now (Laughter)—we in the Congress have demanded ever since the year 1919 full responsible government; call it Swaraj, call it Dominion status, call it anything you like. The Honourable the Home Member has not paid attention to one very important fact that after the year 1919 the Congress has committed itself to a policy and a programme which were quite new and which had not been adopted before that year. I submit that it will serve no useful purpose except perhaps that of historical research to cite what the Congress said or what the leader of the Congress said in the years 1916, 1917 and 1918 and in previous years. From the year 1919 up to the present day the demand has been consistent that what we require is responsible government, that the Government of India Act is wholly inadequate and disappointing. The Congress has said that it will not rest until it has obtained either a revision or a repeal of that Act. That was the position under which the Act came into force and that is the position under which now it begins its second course. At this stage my friend, Mr. Rangachariar, thinks that it is not so improper as the Honourable the Home Member thinks to ask for a revision of the Act. As I have said, Sir, we have got to see other things besides the provisions of the Act itself if we wish to come to a right conclusion as to whether the time has come for its revision or not. What are we suggesting? We are not asking for complete responsible government to be handed over to us tied up in a bundle. We say we are quite capable of it, we are quite fit for it, but what is it that my amendment is suggesting? It simply suggests what the Honourable the Home Member says they are not unwilling to do, but upon conditions. In fact, when you come to examine the position as disclosed by the speech of my Honourable friend, Mr. Rangachariar and the Honourable the Home Member, the whole thing resolves itself into this, are we going to take this Committee fettered with the condition which the Honourable the Home Member has proposed? In effect he says "We stick to the principle of the Bill, we have no objection to exploring the avenues of improvement whether they are found within the four corners of the Act or without, but one thing must be certain and that is that we are not prepared to admit your claim to full responsible government or Dominion status." I may tell you at once that, so far as my Party is concerned, it will take a round table conference, or Committee, or whatever other name you may give it, but the scope of that Committee or that conference must not be limited. It must go into the whole matter. It must have the right to recommend whatever it considers proper. After all, it has no statutory powers, it is not a thing which can bind all parties for all time to come. It can only make recommendations and upon those

[Pandit Motilal Nehru.]

recommendations we ask the necessary steps to be taken to give them the sanction of law.

The fact is, Sir, that my amendment has been considerably toned down to meet the wishes of friends who are not Swarajists in this Assembly. It seemed to me that there could be no possible objection taken to it from the Government side but, when we find that even such a mild, such a modest, request as this simply asking for a conference to go into the whole matter to find out for itself what is to be done and what is not to be done, is to be subjected to conditions, then I really do not know what Resolution would have been mild enough for the Government Benches to accept. However that may be; it is my duty to make my position as perfectly clear as the Honourable the Home Member has made his. What we are asking for is not intended to convey something by way of a threat as has been believed in certain quarters and as has been hinted at by my Honourable friend the Home Member. We are putting before the Government an honest and a fair demand. This is the demand not only of the Swarajists but also of a very large number of the elected Members of this House, as the House will know by and by when other Honourable Members rise in their places to support it. It is not fair to tell us that you can only do this or you cannot do that. It is not fair to treat our demand as a threat and to threaten us in return with dire consequences if we dare to make it. What I say is this: whatever we can do in this House, it is quite obvious that it must be done within the rules and within what is called the constitution. Personally speaking, I say there is no constitution for India. I refuse to believe in this constitution. I agreed to come into this Assembly and I am bound by the rules. That is the only thing that I consider binding. I do not think that anything deserves the name of a constitution for a country in the making of which the people of the country did not have a voice, and for that reason I say that I do not give it the dignity of a constitution, although I submit to the rules. Now, if we submit to the rules, it is open to us to do certain things under these rules in this House and in the Provincial Councils. If we can obstruct you under the rules, what is there to prevent us from doing so as an answer to the attitude that you adopt? Sir, I may at once say that the Swarajya Party has sought the suffrage of the electorates not to engage itself in the humdrum business of putting questions and getting answers and acquiescing in the process marked out in the Act itself for further stages of advance and similar things.

We have come here to do something which we have not been doing so far. I think it will mightily please my friends of the Congress who are known by the name of "No-changers" to hear what I am about to say,—but I do not mind it, I have never concealed it; Sir, we have come here to offer our co-operation, non-co-operators as we are, if you will care to co-operate with us. That is why we are here. If you agree to have it, we are your men; if you do not, we shall, like men, stand upon our rights and continue to be non-co-operators. Now what threat is there in this? When I say what I am, what threat do I convey? Am I conveying any new idea? If we conform to the programme of non-co-operation, are we doing something that we have not been doing? We have so far been working outside the Councils and this Assembly with a definite object. That object we have still in view, that object we consider perfectly legitimate. But we have come here because the dust and heat of the controversy which has been raging for the last three or four years, in fact ever

since the inauguration of these reforms, has obscured the real issues. We have come here and our coming here affords an opportunity to clear those issues as no other opportunity can. We are here for that purpose. We are not here simply to wreck or to destroy. We have been referred to as a party of destruction, and wreckers. Yes, we are out to wreck and destroy things of evil, and, rightly or wrongly, we think that the present reforms are a thing of evil. We have come to ask you to meet us so that we may put our heads together,—to hear us and to let us hear you and then to come to some definite conclusion. If we agree, well and good; if we do not we shall agree to differ, and the issues will be clarified. That is the thing. It is no business of ours to wreck things which we believe are doing good to the country. At least it will be admitted that we have no personal motives. We have not any axes of our own to grind. We believe in a certain principle. We believe that our country has reached a particular stage, and that at that particular stage it is entitled to certain rights, which rights are being withheld from it. We say that we cannot get those rights by an armed revolution, by delivering a great thumping blow, which alone in other countries has gained freedom for the people of those countries. In the very nature of things we cannot do that and therefore we say, we shall simply not assist you. What law, what reason, is there which can compel us to co-operate with people who do not co-operate with us? However, I am not here, Sir, to justify the principles of non-co-operation, but I certainly am here to say that we claim to be as much bound by our own principles as any honourable body of men has ever claimed to be, and that is all.

Now, it is said that the Act has been passed and the policy of the Act has been approved by a series of Prime Ministers. We were told by His Excellency in his speech from the throne that, during less than four years of the period he has occupied his exalted office, there have been no less than four Prime Ministers in England and four Governments and that each Prime Minister and each Government has approved the policy of this Act. Now, Sir, that is certainly so. But I should like the Honourable the Home Member to answer the question, suppose there had been a dozen Prime Ministers and a dozen Governments in this interval of four years, would these reforms have been three times as good as they are to-day? I do not understand, Sir, I say with due deference, what has the change of Government or the change of Prime Ministers to do with a good or bad piece of legislation or with the fact whether it is suited to the circumstances of the country or not. Well, I think I would attach more value to the opinion of the Honourable the Home Member than I would to those of all the Prime Ministers that have held office ever since the beginning of Parliament up to this date. Why? Because he knows what I know, perhaps more. My only trouble with him is that I cannot get him to feel as I feel. My trouble with Parliament, with Prime Ministers and with the British public is that I cannot impart to them the knowledge which my friend the Honourable the Home Member possesses. Then there is the British public. It has been said that the British people must also be taken to have set their seal of approval upon these reforms, because there have been these frequent changes of Government. Well, Sir, I should have imagined that this rapid succession of Prime Ministers and Governments only went unmistakably to show that your home politics are in a hopeless muddle and that you cannot either afford the time or have the inclination to pay attention to matters outside, strictly speaking, the circle of your home politics, such as India and Dominion status for India. But however that may be, it is

[Pandit Motilal Nehru.]

a fact which I know personally, and which my friend Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya also knows, as we have both tried to gain a hearing at the bar of the august body known as the British people or the British public, that it is impossible under the best of conditions for Indians to secure a hearing in that great tribunal. We tried to do so and everybody knows how miserably we failed. It is impossible for us to approach that body. We can approach the Prime Minister; we can approach the Secretary of State; we can approach the Honourable the Home Member here and the other Government Members but the British public is altogether intangible and is something like the will-o'-the-wisp, which the further we follow the further it recedes. That is our experience. We therefore decided for want of anything better to depend upon ourselves and that is what we are doing.

Now, Sir, the process laid down is nothing, I submit, but a reversal of the natural order of things. What the Government of India Act provides is that an extraneous authority has the right to determine the stages, the manner, the measure and the time for the advance of a nation to attain its freedom. I do not think there is anyone who will question now or seriously argue against the proposition that if there is anything by which nations and communities—big and small—should be governed and should be guided, it is their own will. The House will be pleased to observe that clause 3 of my amendment has a direct reference to and is suggested by the right of self-determination. Now, that is the principle which we want the British Government and Parliament to accept. That is the principle which it will be for the round table conference first to say whether it is prepared to recommend and then for the new Legislature which I propose in the third clause of my amendment to accept.

Now, Sir, I may briefly explain clauses 2 and 3. It will be observed that we have left out all details and we did so because we thought they would more properly form the subject of subsequent negotiations and subsequent conversations. But I must make it perfectly clear that the representative round table conference mentioned in clause 2 must be really representative to the satisfaction of this House. It was intended at first to mention certain proportions but it was subsequently decided to drop them and to leave the word 'representative' there. That, I submit, is an essential condition of that clause of the amendment. Then, when we come to clause 3, I find that there is an amendment to that amendment of mine which is proposed by Dr. Gour. I do not know what his reasons are for omitting that clause because his amendment simply seeks to drop the third clause of my amendment. I wish to hear his reasons when he moves it and, if I have no right of reply, I hope some Honourable Member who will hear his reasons will be able to reply to him. For the present however I content myself by saying that that clause affords the only reason for having a conference and provides the only way by which you can ascertain the will of the people. I can understand a certain amount of nervousness on the part of my friend about another general election, but I can assure him that he will receive the same assistance as he did last time—(Laughter)—if he withdraws his amendment.

Another reason why we want this new Legislature to be elected is the same as was put forward by the Honourable the Home Member. He wants the best of India to agree to anything that is to be done so that there will be no future difficulties on the score of the constitution or of the rules

or of the exact rights which are going to be taken by us or given by the Government as it likes to put it. Now, I want also the best of India to come to this Legislature. As we are all aware, many of our best men are suffering from disqualifications and have not been able to contest the elections. I want them to be here. As for the proposal of my friend, the Home Member, that he wants the best of the people to agree to the arrangement, I can only say that it will all depend upon the manner in which the best of India is approached or if, I may put it the other way, in which the advances or the approach made by the best of India are received by the Government.

Now, I shall try to answer the questions which have been put by the Honourable the Home Member. I will first make the general observation that all these questions are really answered by the terms of the amendment which I have put forward before the House, because there is nothing in that amendment, as I said before, which asks that something should be done to-day without consulting the very interests, the very persons which the Honourable the Home Member mentioned are very necessary to be consulted. His first question was: Is this Dominion status to be confined to India or will it include Indian States as well, and, if so, on what terms? I say it all depends on our preliminary conversations. If the Indian States want to come in, let us have their representatives too. If they do not want to come in, we do not want them. All the questions that have been put are, I submit, sufficiently answered by one or the other clause of my amendment.

Then the next thing was that Dominion status of course implies protection of the Dominion by its own armies. I do realise that and we are perfectly willing to confer with you as to how that may be done. We do require men to protect our Dominion with our own armies, but is it at all fair on your part to turn to us whom you have deprived even the use of arms, who cannot even have such training in the use of arms as you give in your schools and colleges? And why, because you have prohibited it. I say, is it fair of you to turn round and tell us "You have got to be armed; you have no Army and therefore you cannot have Dominion status." What Army have you got? Is it not the Indian Army—I do not say it is the sole Army that protects us but is it not the largest factor in the British Army in India? I need not go into what the Indian Army has achieved because that is a very long story and everybody knows it. Were they Indian soldiers or were they not?

When it comes to the carrying on of the government, I find three distinguished countrymen of mine on the Government benches. You talk of Hindu-Moslem differences. Well, without prying into official secrets, I think I may ask for information whether these three gentlemen—one from Bengal, the other from the Panjab and the third from Madras—whether these gentlemen, when deciding matters relating to the administration, have been flying at each other's throats in the Executive Council Chamber. I mean, what is there that cannot be done if of course the proper steps are taken; and it is the taking of the proper steps upon which we lay special insistence. The steps may take some time; I do not say that everything has to be accomplished in a night. But to say that you are not entitled to it and you will not get it because we have said so—that is a position of great unfairness to which we are not going to submit.

Then the next question is, there are these communal differences. Of course communal differences there are. Unfortunately they exist. We

[Pandit Motilal Nehru.]

have not denied them. But as my friend the Honourable the Home Member has read an extract from the Congress Civil Disobedience Inquiry Committee, where the existence of these communal differences has been admitted, perhaps he will like to hear what he has overlooked—the remedy suggested and the reason for it.

Now in that report we find—paragraph 70 begins thus (I have not got the report but I read from the Annual Register):

“The Prime Minister of England in the famous speech recently delivered by him in the House of Commons has thus justified the maintenance of the Indian Civil Service for all time to come:

‘There is great variety of races and creeds in India, probably greater variety than in the whole of Europe. There are innumerable divisive forces there, and if Britain withdrew her strong hand, nothing would ensue except divisions, strife, conflict and anarchy.’”

The report proceeds:

“Now the strong hand of Britain is the ‘British Civil Service in India’. Remove the cause of ‘divisions, strife, conflict and anarchy’ and you take away the sole justification for the continuation of that distinguished service. There can be no question that inter-communal differences constitute the sole cause of ‘divisions, strife, conflict and anarchy’ and that inter-communal unity which means the removal of that cause means also the removal of all justification for the continuance of the Civil Service.”

Then, after dealing with the causes, the Committee go on to say:

“The only radical cure for the disease is the entire elimination of the mischief-maker; but that, in view of the conflict of interests we have pointed out above, cannot happen unless and until the costly maintenance of the Indian Civil Service ceases to depend upon ‘divisions, strife, conflict and anarchy’; in other words, unless and until Swarajya is fully established. It is only then that the mischief-maker will lose his occupation and think of some other opening for his activities.”

But, Sir, it is said by my learned friend that in spite of these differences he is willing to have some sort of inquiry. He has excluded certain things, however, from that inquiry, namely, the question of the immediate grant of Dominion status, and he has not given us full information as to what are the questions on which he would go to this Committee for inquiry. He has indicated that the advance that is necessary may be found within the four corners of the Act itself or that it may be necessary even to recast some portions of the Government of India Act; but not wholly modify it as is demanded by the Resolution of my friend and by my amendment. That is a question, Sir, which does not arise at the present moment.

I should like to say one more word, Sir, before I sit down and that is that the opportunity which this occasion offers is an opportunity which should not be thrown away either by the Government or by us. It will serve no useful purpose to continue the state of things which has existed during the last few years. The Government is very well aware that there is a section of the public of India which cannot be entirely ignored and which demands for the country certain rights and is prepared to put those rights before you, but is not likely to be frightened away by threats. It is not prepared to submit to conditions which are foreign to its policy, but is fully prepared to bear all the consequences of its action, action which it has decided upon after mature and deliberate consideration. I say this simply because the tone of the debate as set by my friend, Mr. Rangachariar, was different to the tone of the debate as modified by the Honourable the Home Member. I have said already, and I repeat it again, that we are not here to threaten anybody, nor even in our activities outside is it any part of our

business to threaten anybody, and I submit that what is taken as a threat certainly was not intended to be a threat. All that we want is that you should consider the proposition which we place before you in the same mood without saying that this thing or that thing will happen to us. It must be remembered that we, some of us at least, have burnt our boats behind us. We take our stand upon these rights, and it does not matter to us in the least what happens so long as we go on rendering such service to our country as we believe our country is entitled to.

Now, Sir, I do not propose to go into the distinction, the fine distinction, which the Honourable the Home Member has drawn between responsible Government and Dominion status and all the rest of it, but all I ask, and the whole object of my remarks is, that the Honourable the Home Member should reconsider his observations in regard to the conditions that he wants to impose upon either a Committee or a Conference or other agency which may be appointed. If he can see eye to eye with me on that point, if he agrees to remove all the conditions on behalf of the Government, then it will be for the Conference to make recommendations. The Government will be represented and every possible interest will be represented.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Sir, I hope you will pardon my saying one word. I was very loathe to interrupt the Honourable Member in the speech so thoughtfully phrased with such facility. He once or twice referred to the fact that I had mentioned the word 'threat'. You will bear me out when I say that I mentioned it only to discount it.

Pandit Motilal Nehru: I accept it.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I am glad, Sir, because I should be very unwilling indeed that we should discuss between us a question of such vital importance with the atmosphere of threats behind us. I accept it fully that the Honourable Member did not think that I had that in my mind and I now know that he has not had it in his mind.

Pandit Motilal Nehru: Sir, I can assure the Honourable the Home Member that I fully accept what he says. It is not that I thought he was giving any threats, but he mentioned those threats and I took him to mean certain things which had been mentioned outside the House.

Mr. President: Honourable Members are aware that, when we meet on Friday, which is not our usual practice, we as a rule adjourn for longer than the usual hour in order to meet the wishes of an important section in this House. I propose, therefore, now to adjourn till 3 o'clock, and, when we resume business, I shall probably have to remind the House of the existence of Standing Order 62.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Three of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Three of the Clock.
Mr. President in the Chair.

Sir Campbell Rhodes (Bengal: European): Sir, the chief point in favour of the Resolution before the House is the fact that it is moved by one who has done more probably during the last three years than any other

[Sir Campbell Rhodes.]

man on this side of the House to work the reforms. I am sorry to hear from him to-day that, following a visit to the plains of Raisina last Sunday, he has contracted that terrible disease of pessimism, from which I hope he will shortly recover. Now, Sir, if I am to sum up his Resolution and the amendment moved by my Honourable friend, I might do so in the well known words, "An infant"—and when I say an infant I hope the Honourable Member will understand that I am attributing to him merely the qualities of innocence and purity—"an infant crying in the night, an infant crying for the light, and with no language but a cry". The Pandit has expressed his thanks to the Mover of the Resolution for the welcome he gave him here to-day. May I join in that welcome and may I tell the Pandit, as I said in an article I recently wrote, that the absence of him and his friends, I felt, was a real loss to the last Assembly. Pandit Moti Lal Nehru told us this morning that the Act was bad. I am not standing up this afternoon to say that the Act is good. No Act, which is of a very transitional nature, can ever be considered good. But it is better than the Government of England Act, for that Act does not exist. The Pandit despises conventions. I defy him to tell of any progress in the world that has been brought about in any other way than by conventions. But this Act, good or bad, is before us and one of the conditions of that Act is that a Commission shall eventually come out to see whether it is desirable to extend, modify or restrict the degree of responsible government then existing. In his famous pronouncement of 20th August 1917, Mr. Montagu said:

"I would add that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples must be judges of the time and measure of each advance, and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility."

It is, therefore, a question of convincing the British Parliament of our co-operation, of our proper use of the powers we have and of the need for a further advance. That responsibility the British Parliament can delegate only to a Royal Commission for report and to no one else. Pandit Motilal Nehru has told us this morning not to neglect a certain section of the people. The British Parliament cannot afford either to neglect a certain section of people which numbers 240,000,000 souls. Coming now to the speech of the Mover of the amendment I can only sum up his very dignified and lucid exposition as a demand and a statement of the consequences of refusal. It is, therefore, as we stand before the tribunal of the British Parliament, a question not of voting but of argument. The British Parliament when it has to consider what effect will have to be given to this Resolution, if carried, will naturally look at the debate which took place on this proposal to see what arguments have been advanced in favour of the Resolution. Let us go into that evidence together. I think that the Honourable Mover of the Resolution and I am certain my Honourable friend the Pandit in his amendment are in considerable doubt as to whether we have now before us such evidence as should win our case. Otherwise why this disinclination to accept the findings of an impartial body? They fear that the British Parliament will say to them: "We have set before you a dish of reform. Some of you have nibbled at it, some of you have not touched it at all, and you all with one voice say, 'Take it away and bring us the second course.'"

Now, Sir, what is our evidence with regard to the provinces? How has responsible government prospered there? My own experience is chiefly in the province where I have spent twenty-seven years of my life. There I find that the fundamental drawback to the present system of dyarchy is that the members will not support their Ministers. I said recently in an article which I wrote—I said it because I believed it, I said it because I wanted to see if it would be challenged:

"It is doubtful whether there is to-day a single Indian politician to whom either the Viceroy or the Governors of Provinces can entrust a portfolio in full confidence that the new Minister would command for any length of time the loyal support of a majority of his fellow Members in his Council."

I went on to say that there were many men in India who were worthy of that support. No, Sir, there is not at the present moment that union amongst the Members themselves in support of their Ministers which is the fundamental basis of all responsible self-Government. There is union only in destruction. My Honourable friend the Pandit told us this morning that, when they drafted their amendment, their idea was to be constructive and to put forward the proportionate representation of the various bodies which would sit round his proposed round table but they decided to leave that over. I gather from his speech that he and his party have decided to leave all awkward questions over and only so long as it is a question of destruction, can they be unanimous. But the minute any constructive proposal comes in, then divided counsels appear. Now, Sir, taking again my own province I do not think we are ready for full provincial autonomy. I was told the other day, by a man who knows, that there is more crime in Bengal to-day than on the frontier. The Police Department is at present in Bengal not transferred. Mr. C. R. Das, who is not a pillar of this House but whom I might describe, I think, as a flying buttress of one of the parties, spoke in the Bengal Council recently and made the extraordinary admission that only the other day he had received pledges from some young man who had belonged to revolutionary societies that he would not take part in violent activities. Mr. Das said that, in spite of this pledge given to Mr. Das, the police had arrested him. One of Mr. Das's party in the same debate said that Regulation III had deprived him of some of his best friends. He thus explained the use of firearms in Bengal:

"They were smuggled into the country. They were cheap and people had a romantic attraction for arms because they were forbidden these arms. These arms came into the possession of young men and they could understand some misguided youths might collect associates and carry on a business which they thought would serve the best interests of the country."

I have never before seen revolution explained in such beautiful terms; and yet the Bengal Council insisted on the passing of the Goondas Act which allowed the deportation of men without trial. Personally, it is a matter of indifference to me when the time of my assassination comes whether I am stabbed in the back by a goonda for the sake of my watch and chain or shot in the back by a young man, a friend of one of Mr. C. R. Das's friends, in mistake for a Government official. Parliament has got to consider the communal aspect of the question. The result of the reform scheme has and must necessarily have been that all sections of the community have become more alive to political rights and in Bengal to-day the position as between the Hindu and Muhammadan is very serious. My Hindu friends complain to me that at the present moment they can get practically no offices in the Legislative Department. They complain that they cannot get the number of posts to which their

[Sir Campbell Rhodes.]

education entitles them. The Muhammadans complain that they cannot get the number of posts to which their numbers entitle them. We have therefore unless it is carefully handled, a very serious situation. The danger is that with full provincial autonomy one party would be in the ascendancy and the other might suffer, with the consequence, the inevitable consequence, that a strong and independent police force under the Executive would be absolutely essential, for the alternative to a strong police force under the Executive is the employment of the military, called in perhaps to do something which will not appeal to them in the way of putting down an agitation due to these unfortunate communal differences; and there is one thing we do not want, that is, every Englishman does not want, and I think our Indian friends too, namely, that, owing to the weakness of Government, we should find ourselves up against a military dictatorship. Now, as regards the Central Legislature, I think we can pride ourselves on having done more useful work. His Excellency the Viceroy has given his testimony to that fact. But here again we have only been unanimous in our destruction; and we have failed time after time, with some very notable exceptions, to be unanimous in construction. There have been no regular leaders, there have been no regular parties. There has not been that traditional support of the Government to which every Government is entitled, and without which a Government cannot put forward its best efforts. We were told during a debate the other day that the Executive Government here is not responsible to this House. I think the Finance Member told us so when at that very time he was moving a Bill which, as he informed us he could not put into force without the consent of this House. He was putting up a Bill which he said would confer powers on him which he would not have but for this House; and, further, he was telling us that we had powers at any time to repeal the Act. We have therefore considerable responsible government already. The present House is untried. This is not the time, before we know what the House is going to do, to decide on our evidence to put before a Royal Commission. There are two questions which the Honourable the Home Member asked which have not been answered. In fact I gather from the Pandit that here again these questions are not going to be answered by himself or by his party. If they are not, the Houses of Parliament will assume that there is no answer to these questions, that there is no evidence ready to put before a Commission, and that therefore it will be a waste of time for this Commission to come out. There is the question of the Army,—and my Honourable friend from Bengal told us that there was going to be a serious war in Asia within the next three years. There is the question of the Indian States. There is the question of turning the Civil Services out from their present position into one of similarity to the permanent staff at home. And here, Sir, I would like to pay a tribute to the Leader of the House for the way in which during the last three years he has endeavoured to make these reforms a success. Those who have worked with him have paid that tribute before, but I do not think that this debate should be barren of some tribute to him and his Colleagues, Indian and European, for the way in which they have attempted, and not unsuccessfully, to work the reforms. Only yesterday the Finance Member had to intervene to prevent one province flying at the throat of another. The time, therefore, Sir, I submit, is not ripe. We have to work together within the Act; as I have tried to show elsewhere, we have ample opportunities of developing practically all the conventions of the present British constitution.

Some of my community think that it would be a breach of faith with them, who have accepted the reforms unwillingly but accepted and tried to work them, if there were any attempt to bring out a Royal Commission within the 10 years. Personally, I am not in favour of any period. It is a question not of a period but of the progress we make. And in conclusion, Sir, I would like to say, as I have said elsewhere, a responsible House will very soon find itself in a position of responsibility. My Honourable friend the Pandit says that the Congress will not rest until Swaraj is attained. So I understood him. I hope the Congress will not rest. I hope the Congress will pursue a path of constructive policy, not destructive, and all of us on this side, certainly the community that I represent, very many of us who have been brought up, as the Home Member said, in a spirit of liberalism at Home, will work earnestly with them to attain full responsible government as soon as we ourselves are responsible and able to work it.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas (Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau: Indian Commerce): May I ask the Honourable the Home Member to make clear to the House what reference he made to the appointment of a Committee by Government in his speech? I discovered during lunch time that there were some misapprehensions as to exactly what he said, and I think it would help the discussion very materially if he does not mind making it clear.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I made no reference to the appointment of a Committee. I said that we should institute inquiry with the assistance of the Local Governments into difficulties and defects in the actual working of the Act in practice. I said further that, when our proposals had been formulated and were ready for presentation to Parliament, then, at that stage, we would ask the Secretary of State to give the very fullest opportunity for discussion in the Legislature and elsewhere of these proposals before they were presented to Parliament.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Purely departmental inquiries, I take it.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: That is so.

Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar (Madras ceded districts and Chittoor: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I have to my credit two amendments on the agenda paper, and, before proceeding to these amendments and what I have got to say about them, I wish to say a few words upon the remarks that have fallen from the various speakers who have preceded me. Sir, Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar in moving the Resolution has prefaced it by saying that by exercising his will power over the ballot box he was able to bring out this as the first of the non-official Resolutions in this Assembly. But I would remind him, Sir, that, in addition to his own will, there was a still higher will that operated. There was the will of that mighty soul which is engaged in a weak and emaciated frame, which was rendering penance during the last two years in the Yerawada jail. It is that *tapas* which fructified and opened the eyes of God towards the woes of India, so much so that the inanimate ballot box of this Assembly has taken now a national soul and a national life. Therefore, Sir, I give credit to that supreme influence which is now exercising and which is bound to exercise its influence towards the fruition of Indian aspirations.

Sir, this question, willingly or unwillingly, is bound to take two turns— one a racial question and another which I shall presently mention. The other day His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief told us that the racial

[Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar.]

distinction is not found anywhere outside this Assembly but only in this Assembly. May I remind, him, Sir, that this Assembly is nothing more than a mere mirror of the world outside. It is only a phenomenon and not the noumenon in itself, and I daresay His Excellency meant only a joke and never believed that the distinction was nowhere except in this Assembly; otherwise as the Scotch adage goes "a sooth boord will be no boord; a true joke will be no joke." Sir, there is another aspect which this discussion is likely to take. It is likely to draw the House into a division between two kinds of electorate that we have got. There is the electorate of all people who represent the 350 millions of India. The electorate composed of them will be on one side. And there is that powerful electorate called the 'Viceregal Lodge' on the other. But I am certain that on all hands it must be conceded that the time is ripe for India to get its own fullest stature as a nation. Sir, the Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey passed some observations which I must answer as best I can and leave the rest to the doyens of the party like Pandit Motilal Nehru inside and Deshabandhu Das outside. Sir, the Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey observed that among the various difficulties that we will have to face before the Government becomes responsible is the interest of the European commerce and of the European capital in this country. Sir, I may say that the European capitalists. . . .

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: If the Honourable Member will excuse me, may I interrupt him for a minute. I merely said that European capital and commerce in this country would like to know our decision. Nothing more than that.

Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar: Apart from any observation on his part I may also mention to this House that if India gets self-government, if India gets responsible government, the European interests in this country will be quite as safe and certainly safer than the Indian capital is under the present Government. (Hear, hear.) Sir, it is this country that has produced a man about whom it has been said by no less a person than Colonel Wedgewood:

"If ever India happens to be governed by Gandhi, that land will be governed more according to the Sermon on the Mount than any other land on earth."

This is an extract from what he said in his book on the 'Indo-British Commonwealth.' And, Sir, I may add that India under the inspiration of Gandhi is likely to produce many more Gandhis of his type and, when full responsible government is bestowed on India, the interests of every community will be safe, the interests of every nation and every race will be safe, and it can certainly be said that India is not a land of revenge or retaliation. Sir, the Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey has also taken serious objection to the fact that this proposition of Diwan Bahadur T. Ranga-chariar is opposed to the Government of India Act. It is the very thing which he wants. He wants a revision of the Government of India Act and not that we should proceed under the Government of India Act.

Then, Sir, he has put four questions to this Assembly. He says that, if this full responsible government is introduced, what will become of the Indian States? Sir, I have not the slightest objection that the Indian States will be able to move quite as freely and happily with the responsible Indian Government as they have been doing, or even better than they have been doing, till now.

Then, there is one thing more, that is the protection of minorities. He has indented upon the differences which are supposed to exist between the Hindus and Muhammadans. Differences did exist, but I am certain they are disappearing now, and, if Sir Malcolm Hailey is still in the dreamland of carrying on this Government on the *divide et impera* policy, I am sure, Sir, he is mistaken. The times are drawing near when Hindu-Moslem unity will become an established fact, and has almost become so already, and the fact that there are some differences here and there need not trouble anybody. Sir, there is one other matter about which I want to say a word with reference to his observations on the question of the Dominion army, with reference to the question whether India is competent to control an army of its own. I may ask, was it with a view to raise this objection to-day, Sir, that these gentlemen were raising an objection to the proposition of Mr. Venkatapatiraju yesterday? It is certain that full responsible government takes along with it the control of the army also. I feel quite certain, as I have said elsewhere to the Honourable Mr. Sastri, that India, when it is prepared to take up full responsible government, is equally prepared to take up the army also. The Indian army has already distinguished itself. India does not contain totally all cowardly Brahmins like myself, but it contains Kshatriyas and Singhs, and I am certain, Sir, that the Indian Army will be able to build up quite as strong a fortification as any other army on the face of the earth.

Then, there is the question of social and political problems. He has also drawn our attention to the fact that the educated people are exercising considerable dominion over the masses, and the masses are not up to date. Sir, he is mistaken. Probably it was the fact some years ago, but after the movement of Mahatma Gandhi came in, it is the masses who are controlling the educated section and not the educated section that is controlling the masses. People who have experience like myself of having gone to village after village for the purpose of this electioneering campaign at least, if not for any other purpose, will tell you the questions which the masses were putting to us as to whether we are standing up for full responsible government, and, unless we are going to get full Dominion status, they are not going to elect us. The result of the recent elections demonstrate the fact how those who have not been moving with the movement of to-day, with the current of the National Congress, have not been able to come back here except here and there through a back door. Those who have been defeated and are sitting at home to-day are meditating within themselves, "Had I but served the country with half the zeal with which I served the bureaucracy, I would have been in a better position to-day." Is that not proof positive that the masses are far in advance of the educated gentlemen in these days, I mean only so-called educated, because English education counts for nothing in these days? I can assure the Honourable Member that the masses are far in advance of us, and there is absolutely no fear that they want the tutelage of the bureaucracy any longer.

Sir, I wish to say only one word before I sit down on the points which I have raised by way of amendment. I may at once tell this Assembly that I do not propose to press my amendment, and I have committed myself, as a member of an honourable party, that has been formed, that I will not press my amendment, but I will join with the amendment that has been moved so ably, so calmly by my friend Pandit Motilal Nehru. However, I must draw the attention of the Assembly to the reason why I put forward two amendments. One was for the purpose of eliminating from

[Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar.]

Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar's proposition the words "at a very early date," and "including the procuring of a Royal Commission." It was to these two portions that I raised objection. So far as the question of substituting the words "at a very early date" by the word "forthwith" goes, my reason was simply this. I have not been a usual customer in the official Chamber nor do I know the code language they use directly, but from the little I have learned from outside the Chamber, I have always come to understand that the expression "at a very early date" has a distinct meaning altogether in their dictionary. "At a very early date," to my mind, to the extent of the knowledge which I have acquired of their dictionary, means "at a very late date," and includes "never." It was that fear that made me put forward that amendment that "at a very early date" must be substituted by the word "forthwith." "At a very early date," may mean even "years hence," and, if they accept your Resolution, they may say they are carrying on correspondence; they may say they are sending despatches; they may say they are going through papers; and all this correspondence may continue up to 1929, when eventually the Royal Commission is likely to come or bound to come under the Government of India Act.

The latest date for that Commission coming will be probably the 31st December 1929, and on the 1st January 1930 the Assembly which will then exist may send a New Year greeting to that Commission saying "Sirs, you are the direct outcome of a pious hope or rather a pious Resolution which my grandfather passed on the 8th of February 1924." It is that which prevailed in my mind when I put forward that amendment requiring the words "at an early date" to be substituted by the expression "forthwith."

My objection to the requesting or the solicitation of a Royal Commission was simply this. I have always considered that there have been four nightmares sitting tight on the progress of India. They are Royal Commissions, Round Table Conferences, deputations and—I forget the fourth (*Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty*: "Committees")—and mixed Committees. I thank my Honourable friend for reminding me; he remembers what I mentioned elsewhere. Sir, these four things have been sitting always as nightmares on the progress of Indian aspirations and until we get rid of them, we are not likely to improve nor are we likely to get the emancipation of this country. Stages there must be for them but not before a definite pronouncement is made upon our demand. Royal Commissions and Round Table Conferences are chambers of bargain; but ours must be a *kharar* transaction, a "fixed price" transaction. Pandit Motilal Nehru has made a demand for Dominion status or full responsible government being given. If that is accepted, then we will bargain about minor matters. But so long as that is not accepted, so long as Government invite you to a round table conference or to a round table dinner without meaning business,—Sir, I am always afraid of a round table conference.

Sir, so far as a Royal Commission is concerned, I ask what is the efficacy of asking for a Royal Commission? If you are making your stand upon the demand for Dominion status, once that is conceded there is absolutely no room for a Royal Commission. A Royal Commission means coming all the way from England to India to investigate how far we have progressed in our lessons, to hold an examination to see what percentage of marks we get. If that is the purpose, your demand is gone; but, if you stand upon

your demand, there is no efficacy in a Royal Commission being invited all the way from England to India when you want to revise the Government of India Act in accordance with the concession of Dominion status. The Royal Commission would then have to come only to teach us grammar and punctuation in the Government of India Act. Are you going to invite them for that purpose? Even if that is so—I mean even if you invite them for the sake of punctuation, the Royal Commission may come here and put a “full stop” before the sentence instead of after the sentence. I am therefore strongly afraid of a Royal Commission being invited. It was for these reasons that I put forward these two amendments, and I believe that every elected Member of this Legislative Assembly understands the definite demand that is made in the first portion of the amendment proposed by Pandit Motilalji. It is understood, I think, that, unless that is conceded, we have no room for bargaining at all. We understand full well that India cannot rise to the fullest stature of a nation until she gets rid of the trinity in unity which is now governing us. That trinity in unity is militarism, capitalism and imperialism in the unity of the present Government. We must get rid of that. Then we can claim brotherhood in the Indo-British Commonwealth, equal partnership in the Indo-British Commonwealth. Let us take our stand upon that. Let us not bargain until that is conceded. I therefore, Sir, do not press my amendments, because I understand that all this is involved and is implicitly understood by passing the Resolution of Pandit Motilal Nehru.

Dr. H. S. Gour: Sir, Honourable Members who are new to this House will not remember perhaps that a Resolution was moved and passed without a single dissentient voice calling for the appointment of a Royal Commission before 1929, and, if that Resolution was not moved by the then Home Member, he and the Treasury Benches were consenting parties to it. Well, Sir, after that Resolution unanimously passed by the vote of this House, and to which the Government stood committed, I confess to a great pain and disappointment at the speech of the present Home Member. I should have expected that following in the wake of his predecessor in office he would also accept a Resolution worded upon the same lines to which his predecessor gave his ready assent. (*The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey:* “Is that Mr. Rangachariar’s Resolution?”) I am referring to Mr. Mujumdar’s Resolution. Well, Sir, far from giving his assent to a Resolution for further advance, the Honourable the Home Member has indulged in what I am bound to call special pleading. He tells us that there are insuperable difficulties which have to be taken into account in connection either with Mr. Rangachariar’s Resolution or the various amendments to that Resolution. He speaks of the Indian States, of the minorities, of European commerce, of the social progress, of the Civil Service in India, and last but not least, of the internal and external defence of the country. Now, Sir, I ask the Honourable the Home Member if these difficulties loom large to-day, will they vanish and disappear in 1929, when, under the provisions of the present Government of India Act, a Royal Commission shall come out and decide upon the question of further Reforms? I ask the Honourable the Home Member, will the differences between the various communities settle themselves within the short space of five years? Will India be prepared for this advance within that period and will all the difficulties which he has categorised disappear in that time?

But, Sir, I am perfectly certain that the Honourable the Home Member realises, as we do, that all these difficulties are difficulties which, as the Honourable Pandit Motilal Nehru has pointed out, are for the consideration

[Dr. H. S. Gour.]

of the Conference. No political progress of the country can be retarded merely because there is a minority not sufficient educated to take advantage of it. In the constitutional progress of the country, surely there must be difficulties, but these are not difficulties which the constructors of a constitution can regard as invincible and insuperable. Well, Sir, I have said that I have listened to the Honourable the Home Member's speech with a feeling of great disappointment. I should have expected that the Honourable the Home Member would say 'you want further advance; we, the Government, stand committed to the Government of India Act, under the terms of which a Royal Commission must investigate the question of further advance. That Commission must come to this country within five years' time.' Sir, what is five years in the life of a nation? We should have the Commission now, and that Commission will investigate the line of further advance. Surely, Sir, if the Honourable the Home Member had encouraged this House in a spirit of compromise, I am perfectly certain that we, on this side of the House, would have said that the Government is in a compromising mood. But, when we find the Honourable the Home Member resisting every attempt made on this side of the House for Conventions and Conferences and lastly even for a Committee, and when Government merely say that they will hold an executive inquiry in which the Provinces will be consulted and then they will determine as to what further advance they must advise the Secretary of State to recommend to Parliament, I ask the Honourable the Home Member how long will such an inquiry take? Can he stand bail for the fact that such an inquiry would be completed any time within five years? Can he give an assurance to this House that while this inquiry is proceeding that transitory period of the Government of India Act will not have run out and that a Royal Commission would be appointed by Parliament to investigate as required by the Act? And suppose for the sake of argument, if this inquiry is pending, would it not be said by the Government of India that they are making inquiries into the matter as a preliminary investigation, and that the Royal Commission should be withheld till the inquiry is completed? I see, Sir, danger in this inquiry. I further ask, suppose for the sake of argument this inquiry completes its investigation and makes a Report, will it dispense with the appointment of a Royal Commission? Does the Honourable the Home Member imply that the recommendation he would send to the Secretary of State for presentation to Parliament would be given the shape of a Statute without a Commission visiting this country? These are matters upon which the Honourable the Home Member has thrown no light.

In these circumstances, Sir, I don't think this House will feel surprised if this inquiry is an inquiry which is not likely to advance the cause of further political progress in this country. We are further told that it will be competent for these inquirers to report whether further progress within the comprehension of the existing Government of India Act is possible and should not be made. I again ask the Honourable the Home Member to remember what this Assembly did on the 18th of July last and what his reply was not three days ago. This House decided by a substantial majority that further progress in the direction of political reform in this country within the comprehension of the existing Government of India Act should be immediately made. The Government of India assured this House a few days ago that they had sent a Despatch with a full report of the debates in this Assembly to the Secretary of State but that they had received no reply. It is a matter of 8 months that they have

received no reply. I ask the Honourable the Home Member, suppose an inquiry is set on foot and they send up a Despatch to the Secretary of State after 3, 4 or 5 years, what guarantee is there that the Secretary of State will then give a reply to the Government of India and how will the Government of India vindicate their position if their Despatch to the Secretary of State is received with cold silence? I submit, Sir, we have no guarantee that this inquiry will lead to anything, and I therefore think I must press my amendment.

The Honourable Pandit Motilal Nehru, in opposing my amendment, confessed to being ignorant of the reasons that have led me to formulate it. I shall therefore briefly explain my reasons to the House. Honourable Members will find that, if they turn to clause 1 of Pandit Motilal Nehru's amendment, if they omit the words "have the Government of India Act revised with a view to" in the first clause, it will improve the first paragraph, which seems to me absolutely and wholly redundant in view of the fact that the Government of India are not asked to revise the Government of India Act or to get it revised without, for the purpose, convening a round table conference and that round table conference will then formulate a scheme which will be presented to the people. Thereafter there will be a dissolution of the Central Legislature and the newly elected Members of the Central Legislature will approve of that scheme. Consequently, I submit that the main object which the Pandit has in view is to see that there is a Parliamentary Statute which will be the culmination of the scheme and which, I submit, therefore, is rightly placed at the end. But this is only a verbal change. I have weightier objections to Pandit Motilal Nehru's amendment and I shall briefly state them to you. Honourable Members will find that two stages are enumerated in clauses (a) and (b). First in chronological sequence there is to be a conference. If the conference decides upon a scheme, then there will be a dissolution, and after dissolution, the scheme prepared by the Conference must receive the approval of a newly elected Legislature. Now, I ask the Panditji that supposing that the Conference does not agree as to the scheme, what will become of the whole of his amendment? The Government will say, "We have loyally carried out your amendment. We have convened a Conference." Sir Campbell Rhodes opposed the reforms when they were introduced and he opposes a further advance to-day. He and the members of his community are hostile to further advance. How can we possibly have a scheme so long as we have such political reactionaries in this House? I submit that, if the Conference decides nothing, the whole of the amendment falls to the ground. I therefore submit that the House should be cautious in passing an amendment which is likely to have such a short life. But assuming for the sake of argument that the Conference decides upon a scheme and it is submitted to the country and the country then returns a fresh Central Legislature and they disapprove of it upon grounds upon which you and I would not agree, then again the scheme comes to nothing. What is then to happen? The Government of India will say, "We have carried out your amendment. We have convened a Conference. They do not agree." There the scheme ends. If we have a newly elected Central Legislature that disapproves of your scheme, then your scheme goes to the wind. I therefore suggest, Sir, that this scheme as stated in Pandit Motilal Nehru's amendment is likely to have a very short life. For that reason I have removed from his amendment those details which are likely to embarrass and destroy the main purpose which he has in view.

[Dr. H. S. Gour.]

Well, Sir, I should like to say a word or two in reply to my esteemed friend Sir Campbell Rhodes. He has not disguised the fact that he has been opposed to the Reforms and he does not now disguise the fact that he is opposed to a further advance. But if he had rest content with expressing his views without giving his reasons, I should have thought better of it. But when he descends into giving reasons, those reasons, Honourable Members will see, are not for delaying further advance but for denying them altogether and for all time. My friend will shudder from that conclusion himself because I do not think that with his professed liberal view in English politics and while in England, he will not possess even a vestige of liberalism to admit that some degree of political progress must be made in the fruition of time, though not now, at least in 1929. I was rather surprised to find a close family likeness between the reasons which he has given and those which the Honourable the Home Member categorises as insuperable impediments to further advance.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: "Not insuperable", Sir.

Dr. H. S. Gour: I am very glad to hear that these are not insuperable impediments. I think I forgot to mention that Mr. Montagu, 4 P.M. when introducing the Government of India Act, pointed out to the House of Commons at the time in these weighty words:

"I cannot reiterate too often that the basis of the whole policy is its transitional nature. You want to lead on to something else at the earliest possible moment."

And, speaking of the familiar objection raised by the Honourable the Home Member and raised in Parliament as to the incapacity of the Indian people to defend themselves, he said as follows:

"You must expect to see political life develop throughout India. Do not deny to India self-government because she cannot take her proper share in her own defence and then deny to her people the opportunity of learning to defend themselves."

Well, Sir, I commend these words of the then Secretary of State to the notice of the Honourable the Home Member in reply to his objections. It has also been said that this Royal Commission is expected in 1929. On a question being asked of the Secretary of State, he pointed out that the intention of the Act was that a Royal Commission must visit in 1929, not that it may not visit before. He said:

"There can always be a Commission appointed in the interim. What the Act says is that there must be a Commission appointed at the end of ten years."

Well, Sir, I can only say that I feel unconvinced by the arguments of the Honourable the Home Member and I think that if these arguments are sound they are sound not for opposing the Resolution to-day but for opposing it at any time. Turning to my friend Pandit Motilal Nehru I would ask him to accept my amendment for the reasons that I have given. If he is unable to do so, I have no doubt that some of his friends will be able to explain how his amendment is better than mine, in which case I shall be glad to vote for his amendment.

Mr. President: I understand the Honourable Member is moving his amendment?

Dr. H. S. Gour: With these words I move the amendment which runs as follows:

"That for Pandit Motilal Nehru's amendment the following be substituted:

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take steps to establish full responsible Government in India and for the said purpose to summon at an early date a representative convention to prepare, with due regard to the protection of the rights and interests of important minorities, a scheme of a constitution for India, and submit the same to the British Parliament to be embodied in a Statute.'

Mr. President: Further amendment moved:

"That for Pandit Motilal Nehru's amendment the following be substituted:

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take steps to establish full responsible Government in India and for the said purpose to summon at an early date a representative convention to prepare, with due regard to the protection of the rights and interests of important minorities, a scheme of a constitution for India, and submit the same to the British Parliament to be embodied in a Statute.'

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): In the first instance I should like to try and make the real issue before this House as clear as possible. After hearing the speech of the Honourable the Mover and the Home Member, I cannot share the opinion of those who say that the answer of the Government is disappointing, and my reasons are these. Under section 41 of the Government of India Act, 1919, it is laid down that a Commission shall be appointed at the end of ten years but it does not preclude, therefore, those who are in authority to institute an inquiry and appoint a Committee or a Commission earlier than ten years. Further, when Mr. Majumdar's Resolution was moved in this Assembly, two years ago, a formula was accepted unanimously by the Assembly itself. That formula expressly admitted that a Commission might be called earlier than ten years. I take it that, when the collective wisdom of that Assembly expressed that opinion, it must have expressed the opinion to reduce that period at least by two or three years, it cannot be a month or a week. Therefore, at any rate, the last Assembly, as it was constituted, expressed its opinion to that effect. Well, if you take 3 years, it will bring us to 1926. We are now in 1924, and to-day the Government have conceded, and I attach great importance to it, subject to the further remarks which I shall make later on, that they recognise the necessity of an immediate step being taken to examine, reconsider and revise the Government of India Act, 1919. I hope I understand the Home Member correctly. But he says that he will make a departmental inquiry. That is to say, if I understand the Home Member correctly and I stand corrected, he concedes the necessity of a step being taken forthwith, or at an early date. He says that the character of that step will be this, that they will make a departmental inquiry, that is to say, the Government of India will consult Local Governments or such persons as they may be advised, and they will formulate a scheme which they think proper. That scheme will then be submitted to the Secretary of State. After the despatches have gone backwards and forwards, the scheme will be placed before this Legislature and then it will be submitted to Parliament. Now, Sir, I recognise the first step, but I must say I cannot agree in this matter with the character of the procedure which was defined by the Home Member. Sir, just imagine: a scheme is to be formulated by a departmental inquiry which will, *ex hypothesi*, be framed in the secret conclave and the secret chambers of the Executive; the Government of India will take those decisions of formulating the proposals; after those proposals are formulated,

[Mr. M. A. Jinnah.]

they will go again to the Secretary of State for India. They will again be considered and examined behind closed doors at the India Office; and, when definite proposals have been formulated and serious decisions have been arrived at, you will then present that scheme to this Legislature,—with what chance of its being modified at that stage? I say it is an entirely wrong procedure to adopt. That is the fundamental difference between the Home Member and ourselves.

Now, Sir, I will not deal with the Resolution of Mr. Rangachariar, because I am in entire agreement with the amendment that is moved by Pandit Motilal Nehru. Now let us see what that amendment says. That amendment, first of all, asks the Government that they should take steps to have the Government of India Act revised with a view to establish full responsible government in India, and for that purpose, etc. Well, I shall not go into the constitutional gymnastics which the Home Member performed, by his fine distinction between Dominion status and full responsible government. I fail to understand exactly what is the distinction; it all depends upon how you define full responsible government. But, as I say, we are not concerned at the present with those highly technical constitutional questions; it is quite sufficient for my purpose, and I shall point out for the moment to the Home Member, as he was good enough to quote from the opinions of some of the public men, that he quoted me only partially, and he forgot that the answer quoted by him was given to a particular question; but I am sure that if he has read my evidence, he will, I think, have found that that very question as to what we mean by responsible government is answered by me and was the very first question that was put, and this is what I happened to say. I hope the House will excuse me for quoting from my own answer to the question, but I do so because the Home Member has quoted only part of it. This is what I said. The question was as follows:

“Do you accept the proposition that it is desirable to bring about the progressive realization of responsible government in India, and if so, how do you define the expression ‘responsible government’, and do you generally accept the proposition contained in the Preamble—(the answer I gave was as follows)—the proposition that it is desirable to bring about the progressive realization of responsible government in India is sound.”

That is my answer. Then I go further and say as follows:

“But a substantial step must be taken at once. We would define the expression ‘responsible government’, as far as we can define it, that the will of the Legislature, which is responsible to the electorates, must prevail over the Executive, subject to veto.”

Now, I ask the Honourable the Home Member what difference is there—perhaps he might claim to be a great constitutionalist and would enlighten us—what difference is there between full dominion status and the definition given by me of true responsible government? Therefore, Sir, it is irrelevant and beside the point really for our present purpose to go into those matters. What do we suggest in our amendment?

“This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take steps to have the Government of India Act revised with a view to establish full responsible Government in India and for the said purpose, etc. . . .”

Here, Sir, I pause for a single moment. The Honourable Member with his usual ability has tried to run away from the issue. First of all he set up a bogey of the immediate grant of full Dominion status. That is the first

bogey he set up. It is not there, excuse me. I shall explain, and I am surprised that the Honourable Member has not been able to understand it. Remember, says he, we have the question of Hindus and Muhammadans, not united. Remember we have got large commercial interests, European interests. Remember that your army now consists of the fighting classes. Remember that, and further remember that your own public men, when they gave evidence, before the Joint Parliamentary Committee, and the Indian National Congress never asked for such a thing as that. Remember the position of ruling princes. Sir, I can only tell the Home Member that all that energy was wasted for nothing. If he will carefully read that amendment, he will see that it is not a demand for immediate full responsible government. But it wants you to take immediate steps—I will repeat that—immediate steps are required. I recognise freely, frankly, that the Home Member's speech does convey to the House that they will take steps. Now, we come to the steps. What steps? I have described the steps which the Honourable the Home Member proposes to take. What steps do we suggest? The steps that we suggest are these, and I say, Sir, that these are the finest steps that Government could possibly be advised to take. If your purpose is high, as the Home Member said, if your purpose is really to look to and think of the welfare of India, if you really want the best of India to go with you, this is the best possible method for you to adopt, because after all you want confidence, support and co-operation from the best of India. We say to you that the finest method that you can adopt for that purpose is to summon a round table conference of representative men to frame a scheme in consultation with you, not without you. What objection have you to that? Why is it wrong? Why do you want to sit behind closed doors, in the secret chambers of the Executive? Why do you want to carry on your despatches backwards and forwards behind our back? Why do you want to take this decision and formulate these proposals and then come to us with all sorts of excuses and say that now this is very difficult to deal with. Sir, the proposal of yours is putting the cart before the horse. We want you to take the people with you. We want you to start in a manner which will carry the support of the people with you. What objection can you have to a round table conference of representative men for this purpose? Further, we give you a far greater security and far more real sanction and approval of the scheme that this round table conference may formulate. And what is that? Sir, the round table conference will consist of representative men. No doubt these people will carry the greatest influence with the people. On the other hand, we shall have the Government and we may have experts who are entitled to speak on constitutional matters. But, Sir, even when you have that we give you a far more convincing proof so as to make you feel that we have once for all settled this question in such a manner that it will carry the support, the confidence and the co-operation of the people; and for that purpose we suggest that, when a scheme is framed by this round table conference, dissolve this Assembly, the Central Legislature. Let that scheme go out to the country and let us vacate these seats. Of course, you will draw your pay just the same. It does not matter to you. But we shall have to spend more money in electioneering. We shall have to spend some thousands of rupees by going from place to place, begging each voter if he will vote for us or not. Sir, we shall be more out of pocket and shall undergo the trouble and inconvenience of which you have no idea and no experience. We shall then have to convince the electorates, which you have created under the Government of India Act. And, if we come back

[Mr. M. A. Jinnah.]

with that mandate of the electorates, who are the real masters after all—and we want them to be real masters because without them no scheme is worth the paper on which it is written—then we shall say that we are in a position to give our sanction which shall be lasting, which will give you all the support you require. Any Government that is formed will not be a Government run as it is to-day by a minority and supported by a section of the Statute which gives it the power to certify in the place of the majority. That is what we want. Now, what objection can you have to that? What is wrong about it? Sir, the Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey, the Home Member, quoted a passage from my evidence, although it was in answer to a particular question, but I take complete responsibility of it. It was as follows:

“ We have no other method to suggest. Dyarchy fits in more with the order of things as they exist at present in India and it can be justified on the ground that it is for a transitional period.”

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey did not tell the House that the crux of my evidence before the Joint Committee was this: that at the present moment I am inclined to think that dyarchy is the best possible system that you can introduce. But, Sir, my proposal was that there should be dyarchy in the Central Government also. It was on that footing that this answer was given. Further, the Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey must remember this that that was my opinion in 1919. The Honourable Member then was a Commissioner in a district. Since then he has become the Home Member and has been designated Governor of a Province. A great deal of water has run down the Thames since then. We were in 1919 considering a question, or rather a constitution of far-reaching importance, dealing with a vast population of a country like India. Is an opinion given at that time to be an opinion to last for all time? We have realised, Sir, and I have very little doubt about it in my mind, that dyarchy has failed, and I believe I am not the only one who thinks so. I believe even those men who faithfully and loyally worked the Reforms, men who were wedded to these Reforms, say so. Take the case of Mr. Chintamani. What does he say? He was one of the stalwarts amongst the supporters of these Reforms. Therefore, Sir, it is no use merely getting hold of a few words and quoting them. I thought the Honourable the Home Member would have something better to advance than to pick up a sentence here and a sentence there, and say you said this in 1918, or in 1919. Sir, I do not wish to waste the time of this House, but I do submit this, and I say to the House that the simple issue before the House to-night is this: what is going to be the character of the step? That is the simple issue. We have heard the Honourable the Home Member. I absolutely and entirely oppose the character of the step that he has described, and I therefore ask the House to vote in favour of the character of the step that we suggest. Until something better is suggested, I am not satisfied with the step which is suggested by the Home Member. I hope I have not exceeded my time, but I wish to say this with regard to Dr. Gour. I speak with very great respect, and I say this. I really fail to see how his amendment is going to prevent the Government from doing what he said or attributed the Government might do. He suggested a convention. On what footing will that convention be called? Who will call that convention? What will be the qualification of those who will be the members of that convention? Who will decide these questions? I cannot really understand how that is going to prevent the Government, if they wish to procrastinate or delay the matter, from doing so. But I am not one of those who will, in season and out of

season, attribute motives to Government. I accept the word of the Home Member when he says that they want to take steps. I accept that word and I am ready to take it that that is an honourable assurance that we accept and it will be done without delay. I accept that and I am not going to start by saying "you will delay and you will frustrate." We will see, but I submit to this House that I really fail to understand Dr. Gour. Instead of saying "round table conference", he says "convention." "Convention" has got some constitutional meaning, I understand. Otherwise I do not see any difference between convention and round table conference; but there is a constitutional difference, and I say it does not improve matters at all. On the contrary, it makes the position of Government far more difficult to call a convention, and it is likely to bring about far greater delay than a round table conference. Therefore, I strongly oppose his amendment.

With these words, Sir, I may say I am very glad that the tone and the attitude of the Home Member, speaking on behalf of the Government, has been very conciliatory. We appreciate that, we fully appreciate that; but I do press the Honourable the Home Member to accept our method of starting with that step.

Mr. N. M. Dumasia (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Mr. President, it is a sign of happy augury for the good of this country that we meet to-day in a calm and peaceful atmosphere to consider the problems leading to the advancement and prosperity of this country. That calm and peaceful atmosphere has been induced by the release of that great Indian patriot, Mr. Gandhi, and for that our congratulations and our gratitude are due to Government. Sir, I belong to a community which has been in a minority. I belong to a community whose leaders were the first to unfurl the banner of Swaraj—a community which has produced such great patriots as Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. I am here to maintain the noble traditions they established in years gone by.

Sir, Swaraj is our birthright and no body can deny it to us. But, Sir, we must remember that our rulers have recognised the fact and the word "Swaraj" which was considered to have a sinister meaning not many years ago, was given a finer and new meaning by His Majesty the King Emperor when, in the Message sent through His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, His Majesty said:

"For years—it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of Swaraj for their motherland. To-day you have beginnings of Swaraj within my Empire and widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which my Dominions enjoy."

Sir, this clearly shows that the representative institutions that were established three years ago were meant to give complete self-government to India as an equal and integral part of the Empire. Sir, much water has passed under the bridge since those Reforms were introduced. A new sense of nationhood has been awakened, race-consciousness has been intensified and there is a quickening impulse for progress. New forces and new influences are at work all tending towards progress. As the late Prime Minister of England, Mr. Lloyd George, said: "The world is rushing along at a giddy pace covering the track of centuries in a year." That being so, does not statesmanship require that there should be an immediate revision and extension of the Reforms? Sir, the time-limit is always a mistake. The German Kaiser fixed a time-limit for entering Paris. Mr. Gandhi fixed a limit for Swaraj. It was a year. We know the result.

{Mr. N. M. Dumasia.]

The British Government may find that they were as mistaken as Mr. Gandhi in fixing a date for the revision of the Constitution. It therefore behoves them not to wait till the statutory period has expired. Sir, we have met to-day in the ancient capital of India around which cluster age-long memories, memories of the fall and rise of dynasties, memories of the fiercest battles fought, memories of the magnificent grandeur which surrounded the old courts of the Mughals.

Sir, the conquest of India by the Mughals was made at the gates of Delhi; the battles of Panipat record the heroic deeds of the different warring sects; to-day, under British rule we have not to draw the sword for the conquest of India. We are assured of Swaraj by peaceful means. That is a great triumph of British rule in India. To-day we have only to bring constitutional pressure to bear on the Government to obtain our rights and privileges. To-day we see the alliance of Hindus and Muhammadans, which fifty years ago nobody would have dreamt of in the capital of Delhi. All this is due to the influence of the Pax Britannica. Sir, no body wishes to stand between India and Swaraj; but that Swaraj, Sir, should not be of that nature which stank in the nostrils of Mr. Gandhi. We ought to remember one thing, that between India and anarchy it is the British rule that has stood for so many years. It is the British rule which rescued India from chaos and anarchy and guaranteed to us the blessings of unbroken internal peace and security against external aggression. I will support any legitimate demand for the advancement of our country, but that demand should be such that it will be considered reasonable. Sir, the greatest curse of India is dissension among communities. The greatest curse of India is that it has been divided into so many races and communities. The curse of untouchability has not been removed and, if the British were to retire from India to-day, there is nothing to show that there would not be confusion and anarchy again. I am fortified in this opinion by the views expressed by my friend, the Honourable Mr. Jinnah. In 1916 Mr. Jinnah said:

"There is first the great fact of the British rule in India with its Western character and standards of administration, which, while retaining absolute power of initiative, direction and decision, has maintained for many decades *unbroken peace and order in the land, administered even-handed justice, brought the Indian mind, through a widespread system of Western education, into contact with the thoughts and ideals of the West, and thus led to the birth of a great and living movement for the intellectual and moral regeneration of the people.*"

I will now quote a greater man than Mr. Jinnah, the late Mr. Gokhale, and I am sure one day Mr. Jinnah will attain Mr. Gokhale's height of eminence. What did he say? At Poona in 1909, Mr. Gokhale urged acquiescence in British rule for two reasons:

"One that considering the difficulties of the position, Britain had done very well in India, the other that there was no alternative to British rule and could be none for a long time"

Sir, I ask the Members of this House to pause and consider dispassionately the opinion of one of the greatest leaders of the Indian community. He was one of the greatest of Indian patriots:

"They could proceed in two directions: first toward an obliteration of distinctions, on the grounds of race, between individual Indians and individual Englishmen, and second by way of advance toward the form of Government enjoyed in other parts of the Empire. The latter was an ideal for which the Indian people had to qualify themselves, for the whole question turned on character and capacity, and they must realise that their main difficulties lay with themselves."

Again, Sir, the same Indian leader, the late Mr. Gokhale, when a campaign was started to seduce Indian students, said:

"A considerable part of what it has preached could not find ready acceptance on every hand, that love of country should be a ruling principle of our lives; that we should rejoice in making sacrifices for her sake; that we should rely, wherever we could, on our own exertions . . . side by side with this undoubtedly valuable work, the new party gave to the country a great deal of what could only be regarded as unsound political teaching. That teaching was in the first instance directed to the destruction of the very foundations of the old public life of the country. But, once started, it could not be confined to that object, and in course of time it came to be applied generally. Its chief error lies in ignoring all historical considerations and tracing our political troubles to the existence of a foreign Government in the country. Our old public life was based on frank and loyal acceptance of British rule, due to a recognition of the fact that it *alone could secure to the country the peace and order* which were necessary for slowly evolving a nation out of the heterogenous elements of which India was composed and for ensuring to it a steady advance in different directions."

Sir, the importance of maintaining law and order and internal peace and security against foreign aggression cannot be exaggerated.

Now, coming to the Resolution and amendments, I see, Sir, that after hearing some of the intellectual giants of the country I have not grown wiser but I have grown sadder. Sir, to take first the Resolution of my Honourable friend, Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar, I can only say that its terms are vague and indefinite and the Resolution means nothing. It says:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that he be pleased to take at a very early date the necessary steps (including if necessary procuring the appointment of a Royal Commission) for revising the Government of India Act so as to procure for India full self-governing Dominion status within the British Empire and Provincial autonomy in the Provinces."

We do not know in what period that status of self-governing Dominion is to be acquired. We would have liked to know from the Honourable Mover of the Resolution the period that he set to it, and whether it was to be immediate or at some distant future.

Then, Sir, coming to the amendment of my Honourable friend, Pandit Motilal Nehru, I find nothing objectionable in the first two paragraphs. But, Sir, the very harmless and innocent looking character of this amendment makes me suspicious. Sir, the avowed object of the Swarajist in entering the Assembly was to destroy. (*Voices from different corners of the House: "No, no."*) Well, Sir, that was the programme laid before the country (*Cries of "No, no."*) Well, I am glad I stand corrected. Anyhow, Sir, the whole-hoggers were for immediate Swaraj. (*Voices: "They are still."*) Very well, Sir, I am glad to hear that they are still for immediate Swaraj. That clears a lot of ground from under our feet. If that be so, then the amendment ought to have made it clear so that we may know where we stand, because this innocent looking measure still shows that there are still whole hoppers. As the amendment stands, Sir, Members may be induced to vote for it, but when we know from our friends that by that amendment they demand immediate Swaraj, then I must say that the time has not yet come for it. (*A Voice: "What do you mean?"*) I say, Sir, what I mean. Sir, we all want Swaraj, but that is by gradual stages and not immediately.

Sir, some of the speakers who preceded me said that they want immediate Swaraj. Sir, I was one of those who thought that a round table conference was necessary to come to a common understanding, but after the explanation which has been given by the Leader of the House, I think

[Mr. N. M. Dumasia.]

the necessity for a round table conference no longer exists. I was of opinion that Government ought not to take a *non-possumus* attitude but they must make their position clear. The Government of India have made their position clear. They have made a gesture to which we were all looking forward. They recognise the necessity of the revision of the Government of India Act, for introducing the second step in the constitutional reforms of the country. (*Dr. H. S. Gour*: "They have said nothing of the kind.") Well, Sir, the Honourable Mr. Jinnah said this and nobody challenged it and I take it that this is so. What we want is the revision before the expiration of the statutory period; and as Mr. Jinnah has very ably put it, we want to know the character of that revision.

Then, Sir, the Honourable Sir Campbell Rhodes said that the Members of the Provincial Council did not help the Ministers. I join issue with him there. So far as the Bombay Legislative Council was concerned, the Members gave the fullest assistance to the Ministers but the Ministers were more bureaucratic than bureaucrats themselves, and I am of opinion that dyarchy has failed and has failed miserably, because the Ministers who were entrusted with nation-building activities were starved for want of funds, and I am of opinion that Government must take steps towards further constitutional progress and Government should not delay it even for a moment. We should be assured now that the next stage in the chain of Reforms would not be delayed. Sir, during the war, a new spirit of equal partnership had arisen. We were welcomed as equal partners in the Empire. We were asked to make equal sacrifices for common aims and common objects. We were asked for co-operation in the common goal, but, Sir, unfortunately, that spirit has not survived the conclusion of the war. India has many grievances. These grievances should be redressed but I think that now that we have got this machinery, through this machinery we must try to bring constitutional pressure upon the Government to redress our grievances and, fight the constitutional battle for Swaraj. Sir, if the Honourable Mr. Nehru assures us that he does not convey more than the actual wording of the amendment, that there is no intention of causing destruction and that he is ready to co-operate with Government on constitutional lines, and that he asks for full responsible government by gradual stages, then I may say to him, as he said to the Honourable the Leader of the House, "my vote is yours and that I am yours." But, Sir, he must make it clear that he and his party are not out to destroy but to advance the constitution and constitutional progress in the country. But, Sir, if behind that amendment lies the object of overthrowing the Government, of destroying the Reforms, then I must say, Heaven forbid, that we should ever live to see that ill-fated day. There has been a great deal of confusion in the minds of Swarajists themselves and that is indicated by the various amendments that have been tabled. Sir, I think, after the explanations that have been given by the Honourable the Home Member, I hope he will give a further explanation as to by what method and in what way he wishes to recommend to the Secretary of State the revision of the Reforms. I say that India is ripe and ready for another step and an important step for constitutional advance, and, if that step is taken immediately, we must rest content for the present and like the Fabian we must ask for more and more until we reach the final goal, namely, Swaraj, which is our birthright and which is our ultimate goal and to which our rulers are pledged.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Might I have the indulgence of the House for one moment, for I fear from what Mr. Dumasia said, that he was under the impression that I had gone somewhat further this morning than I had actually intended to do. I replied at the beginning of this afternoon's debate to Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas giving the terms of what I said this morning. May I repeat what I said? "The Government of India are prepared to examine, in consultation with Local Governments, into the existence of any defects in the working of the Act as revealed by experience with a view to their remedy." That was the statement that I made this morning. I did not say that we were prepared to set on foot any wide investigation as to the complete revision of the Act such as Mr. Dumasia seems to suggest.

Mr. T. E. Moir (Madras: Nominated Official): Sir, the last two speeches to which the House has listened from the Honourable Mr. Jinnah and the Honourable Mr. Dumasia brought the debate back to a level on which I have been able to move more freely. The two previous speeches were to me perorations punctuated, or to my mind punctured, by questions to which the speakers refused to pause to give an answer. It is, I think, a matter of great regret that the new party to which we have heard reference made did not come into being in time to complete that task on which those who live in the neighbourhood of Raisina know many Members of this Assembly have been engaged during the past few days, namely, to clarify the issues, because, it would certainly, I think, have been of great assistance to this House if we had had a clear cut issue and we had not been left quite so much to consider for ourselves what was the exact meaning to be attached to the various Resolutions and what was aimed at by the proposed amendments. I attempted to place myself in the position of those who have been engaged in this somewhat arduous process of drafting and I tried first to determine what exactly was intended to be the difference between terms such as "immediately", "forthwith" or "at an early date." Having listened to the explanations which have been given I have come to the conclusion that they all mean the same thing and that the more simple term "at once" in its ordinary acceptation, meaning "as soon as you can," covers them all, that you might by subtle explanations classify the supporters of these various Resolutions and amendments into immediate-futurists or paulo-post-futurists, but that there is essentially no difference between them and that what is asked is that immediately or forthwith steps should be taken for the establishment of full self-government or responsible self-government or government modelled on Dominion status, not at some future date—10 years hence or 15 years hence or 20 years hence—but as soon as those steps can be taken which are necessary in any case for carrying out the intention expressed in these Resolutions.

Now, Sir, to whom are these various requests or behests addressed? I think, Sir, it is a great compliment to one of the finest speeches to which I have ever had the privilege of listening, that of the Honourable the Leader of the House, that practically every Member who has spoken from this side of the House has thought it sufficient to address himself to the Leader of the House, that it was he who required an answer. But, Sir, it is not even to the Leader of the House, it is not even to this Assembly, that we have to address ourselves. It is not even to the Government at present in power in Great Britain, it is not even to the Parliament of Great Britain, it is in the last resort to the people of the United Kingdom. Now, Sir,

[Mr. T. E. Moir.]

it seems to me that, if we are going to address the people of Great Britain, it is as well that we should have a somewhat clearer idea whom we are addressing when we attempt to formulate our requests. I was astonished to hear the Honourable Mover of the Resolution, Mr. Rangachariar, express the opinion that no interest was taken in Indian affairs in Great Britain and that indeed there were not more than sixteen members of Parliament who took an interest in our affairs. It seemed to me, Sir, a remarkably poor compliment at any rate to the other 176 members of the Labour Party to which reference has been made, and it seemed to me to be entirely contrary to facts, of which I have personal knowledge. What is the use of setting up a false representation of the British people? Children attempt to draw a picture of a dragon and achieve a cross between a kitchen table and a cockscrow, and because they are not certain that the picture approaches reality, in order to show what they have drawn, they put underneath the drawing "This is a dragon". Well, Sir, there is as much resemblance between their picture and the reality as there is in Mr. Rangachariar's description of the British people with reference to India. Having been recently at Home I have attempted to find out their interest in Indian questions, and the attitude of my fellow-countrymen towards this country. It is perfectly true that the ordinary man whom you meet does not pretend to any great knowledge of India, although, since the war, and I think it

5 P.M. was one perhaps of the few good results of the war, many people in Great Britain are acquainted with India, with its people, with its problems and are in a position to take a more sympathetic and understanding attitude towards such problems than their forefathers were. In the ordinary man whose knowledge is, as I have stated, limited, there is undoubtedly a feeling of great anxiety regarding India: indeed anxiety is expressed in all quarters in regard to what was not very long ago commonly referred to as the brightest jewel of the Crown. They are not quite sure as to how things are going on in this country. They hope for the best but they are not quite sure whether they will not have to prepare for the worst. Turning to what I might call more informed opinion, let me admit at once, there are men who in the interest as they consider of their own country regard with indifference the prospect of the severance of the ties between Great Britain and India. That I may say was a phenomenon which I had not met as far as I could recollect on previous visits which I happened to make to my own country. Such men are not numerous but they represent a certain feeling that is growing. They allege two grounds. One is the political ground. The exponents of this theory say:

"We find that our own affairs are far too much hampered by this connection. We are anxious to see full freedom restored to ourselves in the political sphere. We regard our foreign policy as being deflected, unduly deflected, by this constant regard which we have to pay to feeling in India and to our responsibility for India."

There were others who base it on the economic ground, not out of any feeling of hostility to India but simply because so far from agreeing with Mr. Rangachariar's view that opinion is indifferent to India, they felt that opinion at Home is too much attracted towards the East and the true interests of the country hampered by its entanglements in the East, in Palestine, in Mesopotamia, and to my astonishment I found that among these entanglements they were beginning to include India. They held those views, as I have stated, not because of any hostility to India but because they felt that the East was diverting the attention of our Government at

Home and of our people from what was the real task, namely, the development of the Dominions and drawing closer those ties between the Home country and the Dominions which they said were being perpetually strained by Indian questions; they wished for the earliest possible settlement of the question of our responsibilities towards this country. This, Sir, I hope will prove to be a small and negligible body of opinion, and I was glad to find that there were two very large schools of opinion which held very different views. In one case, those who hold these views are actuated by a deep feeling of attachment to India. They based their feelings more on sentiment. They were attempting to get rid of every cause that might possibly create friction between the two countries, in the desire to go as far as possible in order to meet India and to help her; and let me say that among the most active workers in that cause were men who, as soldiers, as civil officers or as men of business have given their lives to India, and found in it their career and their inspiration. There is another large body of opinion; in fact I might say that it forms the bulk of instructed opinion. The Englishman is always being accused of being unable to see more than one side of the question. It is an accusation which is frequently brought against him in this country. But, Sir, that has its purpose, it does service. There is one matter on which the Englishman can only see one side of the question, and that is that the highest possible form of Government for any community is full and responsible self-government. But, while they hold that ideal, they are well aware that there is no categorical imperative in politics. It is the only system that they can conceive being worked. They are beginning to be afraid, however, when they hear of what is happening in India, that the rule is not universal, and that when Indians refuse to work the Reforms, it is not because of the defects in the Reforms but because they feel themselves incapable of working such a system, a system of democratic responsible self-government. While, Sir, holding that political faith, they do not confuse the means with the end; any form of Government is a means to an end,—the greatest happiness of the people, and they feel that by what is happening in India they are going to be dragged into a conflict between their political faith and the sense of the awful responsibility with which they are charged towards the teeming millions of this country. Further, even as regards that responsibility, they feel that even wider responsibilities rest on them than before the war. It is not only their responsibility but they feel that they are responsible to the rest of the world, to all those communities who have retained their sanity, that India shall not relapse into that pit from which so many of the countries of the world are at present struggling possibly in vain to emerge. It is no use answering them with rhetoric. They have one example before their eyes now to which possibly attention has not been drawn—certainly has not been largely drawn in this country. It is to a neighbour of ours, China. Now, Sir, may I read one extract relating to that country which would express more clearly than I can what it is that people at Home are apprehensive of. It runs as follows:

"Her condition may be summed up in the one word—anarchy. The tragedy of China is that her people fondly imagined in 1911 that Utopia was to be attained by the simple device of changing the form of Government without any corresponding change in the spirit and general outlook of the people. That is why we are witnessing to-day the reign of a despotism infinitely worse than the despotism in the worst days of the Manchus, because the latter, with all their faults—and they had not a few—at least were able to exercise the elementary function of a Government, the assertion of authority, whereas the latter-day Peking 'Government' is powerless to govern anybody." You may say that they are wrong in having these apprehensions. What I wish to impress upon the House is that they exist and that it is not

[Mr. T. E. Moir.]

mere rhetoric that will answer them. So far I have heard no answer which, in my opinion, would in the least convince the British people that those problems to which the Leader of the House made reference were capable of immediate solution. (*Diwan-Bahadur T. Rangachariar*: "Never, never".) Now, Sir, there is one other point I should like to make as regards public opinion at home. I think I made it clear from what I have said that, while there are some elements at home which would be prepared to risk the future of India in England's interests, there is no school of thought of any kind which desires to delay the grant of full responsible Government to India one day later than it can be done with due regard to the interests of India itself. Now, Sir, that is the position, the feelings and apprehensions to which we present on this occasion the demand, we are making—in terms such as "forthwith", "immediately", "at an early date". They all mean the same and we rather resent the action of the Leader of the House in pointing out questions which have to be answered to justify them. But there is still more serious objection to the actual terms of the amendments which are now under consideration. What do they amount to in effect is this—and I omit all reference to details—that a scheme for carrying out the desire of the House as expressed to-day is to be prepared out here by a round table conference or by discussion or by other means and it is to be placed before this Assembly for ratification and it is then to be presented to the British Parliament to be embodied in a Statute. Sir, since when has it been the custom of the British Parliament—the Mother of Parliaments—to have Statutes presented to it for sanction to be embodied in a Statute? (*Dr. H. S. Gour*: "What about Australia?") I do not believe that the Honourable Member has the slightest intention of making such a suggestion, but with the wording of his amendment, what other opinion can be formed of it. (*Honourable Members*: "What about Australia, South Africa and Ireland? Are they not precedents?") The British Parliament are to have no voice in this matter. I have heard no mention of any suggestion that the British Parliament should be represented on any conference or any round table conference. (*Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas*: "They will have the final voice.") But, Sir, I need not dwell on that point too much. I merely suggest that it is a matter of regret that the process of drafting and of arriving at the terms of the final Resolution to be placed before this House could not be dealt with more carefully. There was, however, one thing which to-day had given me great comfort and that was the announcement that the Leader of the House made as to the steps which the Government of India propose to take. Now, Sir, I belong to a province which has honestly attempted to work the Reforms. I was rather disappointed that my friend, Mr. Rangachariar, who comes from the same province, did not emphasise that fact in his speech. The one point to which he pointed with pride was that the portfolio of law and order in that province had been entrusted to an Indian Member of the Executive Council. I never supposed for a moment that my province could not produce from amongst the Indians either in the service or in the political world men capable of holding these high offices and discharging their trust. But surely, Sir, the question is not whether a particular office has been entrusted to a particular man. Surely the question is whether in Madras we have been able to do something to advance India towards that goal at which we are all aiming, and I claim, Sir, that we have done so. I should be glad if Mr. Rangachariar had also paid a tribute to the work of our Ministers and all those who

have supported them in Madras. I regard them as having done most admirable work, but our one fear has been, Sir, that events elsewhere would crowd out the claims of Madras to recognition; that because Bengal has lapsed from sanity, our advance is to be jeopardised, or that our rate of progress is to be measured by that of the Central Provinces cart. Now, Sir, for that reason, I welcome the announcement of the Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey. I do think there is wide scope for an inquiry on the lines he has indicated. No one is more anxious than we are in Madras that the present Government of India Act should have full scope and that, if the manner in which it has been administered offers any obstacles to the full and proper working of that experiment upon which we are engaged, that that shall be investigated and removed as early as possible. We see in Madras, and I am certain, though I can only speak for myself, that a large number, if not all the members of the services there will endorse my words. We have the fullest confidence of the future in Madras Province, and we shall be willing to see all that can be done to carry on this experiment to which we have been only too glad to lend our assistance, and I hope that the intentions of the Government of India, when they come to be given effect to, will be carried out in no narrow and grudging spirit, but with a view to completing and making perfect as far as possible under the Act, this experiment, widening it, placing it on a broader basis if you like, so that when 1929 does come, in Madras we shall be able to point to our record with entire confidence. Now, Sir, I think that, although some of the speeches made this evening disappointed and discouraged me, there is reason to hope that, when the House thinks longer over it, they will see that there is much more in the offer made by the Leader of the House than they were at first inclined to suppose. Now what is the natural line of progress in India? Is it possible, considering the far wider sphere of responsibility that is placed on the Central Government, that you can advance in the same measure and at the same time in the Central Government as you can in the Provincial Government? That is a view of which you will find it very difficult to convince the people of Great Britain. There are two things we can do. We can accept, and I hope we shall, the offer made by the Leader of the House. From the very thoughtful speech which, not knowing him and possibly being misinformed, rather surprised me, from Pandit Motilal Nehru, it seemed to me that his views were not so diverse from those which I have ventured to express as I anticipated. And I would earnestly ask him to consider whether this offer should not be accepted. What is the alternative? I am afraid if we are going to enter upon that course which we all wish to avoid, that we shall lose sight of the direct road of progress, and that we shall enter into a barren and possibly dangerous conflict with the authority from whom the powers of this Assembly are derived. Sir, does any one wish to plunge India back into the dangers and the confusions of the past few years? We in Madras do not. Mr. Rangachariar may rate the Industries Department above that of law and order. I can assure him he will get very little support in Madras for that view. We have too much experience. We remember Malabar; we remember Perambur. We know the trouble we have had to face in the Agency. But, Sir, if we adopt the alternative, is it not possible, if we are going to enter into a conflict—pursue the wrong line and enter into a conflict of the kind which some of the speeches have indicated,—that we may do serious harm to India? Sir, I remember some years ago visiting the Kolar Gold Fields in Mysore and being shown round one of the mines

[Mr. T. E. Moir.]

by the Chief Engineer. My attention was attracted to a part of the mechanism for winding the cages up the shaft from depths of as much, I think, as 3,000 or 4,000 feet. I asked him what this particular part of the mechanism was and he said:

"That is our safety device; we take every possible precaution but cases have been known where the steel cable has snapped, and when that happens not merely the cage with its occupants or contents is precipitated to the bottom but the whole machinery is wrecked."

I said to him "Have you ever tried your safety device?" He said "No, because it might not work. Then the whole machine would be wrecked." Now, our position in India is very much the same. We have in the last few years put an immense strain on the machine. We have our safety device. We are not quite sure, because we cannot experiment, that it will work under all circumstances. I would ask those who express so much anxiety to test or get rid of that safety device, if they feel quite sure that they know where they are going. I can tell them this, that if a crash did come, when the dust had subsided and the process of reconstruction had recommenced, it is not men of my race who would find any consolation in the fact that beneath the wreckage lay the reputations and the political aspirations of those who precipitated the catastrophe.

Mr. President: It appears to me that it will not be possible to conclude this debate satisfactorily to-day unless we sit very late to-night. As Honourable Members with experience of the previous Assembly are aware, I am quite prepared to do so myself, but I think it is against the wishes of the House; and if the Honourable the Home Member can in any way meet what I take to be the desire of the House, he might perhaps explain to us whether he has any proposal to make.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I think that the state of business next week will allow us to continue this discussion on a Government day. I would have suggested Monday, but I am not sure how long the business on that day will last. Looking at the list of business, I think it will be safe to promise that if the House so desires, we can continue the discussion after concluding the Government business on Wednesday next.

Mr. President: In that case I propose to adjourn the House now and the debate will be resumed on Wednesday next on the conclusion of Government business.

ELECTION OF PANELS FOR STANDING COMMITTEES.

ELECTION OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT.

Mr. President: I have to announce that the following Members have been elected to serve on the Home Department Standing Committee:

Mr. N. M. Samarth,
 Mr. S. C. Ghose,
 Sardar Bahadur Captain Hira Singh,
 Mr. N. M. Dumasia,
 Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar,
 Mr. H. R. Dunk,
 Mr. K. Ahmed,
 Prince Akram Hussain, and
 Mr. B. C. Roy.

ELECTION OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIES AND LABOUR.

Mr. President: Similarly, the following Members have been elected to the Standing Committee for the Department of Industries and Labour:

1. Mr. N. M. Joshi,
2. Seth Kasturbhai Lalbhai,
3. Mr. B. C. Roy,
4. Mr. Darcy Lindsay,
5. Mr. E. G. Fleming,
6. Sardar Gulab Singh,
7. Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas,
8. Sir Campbell Rhodes, and
9. Kumar Ganganand Sinha.

STATEMENT OF BUSINESS.

Mr. President: The Honourable the Home Member desires to make an announcement regarding business for next week.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey (Home Member): Sir, Government propose that on Monday the 11th the Bills to amend the Indian Tariff Act and the Indian Passport Act should be taken into consideration and the Bill to amend the Indian Income-tax Act should be referred to a Select Committee. It is proposed also to ask for leave to introduce a Bill amending the Criminal Law to provide for the protection of minor girls. On Wednesday the second reading of the Central Board of Revenue Bill will be taken. We also propose to take, after conclusion of Government business, the continuation of to-day's debate. On these two days any elections that may be necessary for the purpose of constituting the panels from which the Departmental Standing Advisory Committees are to be constituted will be held. Tuesday and Thursday are non-official days for Resolutions. The Resolutions to come forward have already been settled by ballots, the results of which have been communicated to the Members of the House.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, the 11th February, 1924.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Monday, 11th February, 1924.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber at Eleven of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

MEMBERS SWORN:

Sir Palamaneri Sundaram Aiyer Sivaswamy Aiyer, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.; M.L.A. (Madras: Nominated Non-Official): Sir Gordon Fraser, Kt., M.L.A. (Madras: European): Mr. Mahmood Schammad Sahib Bahadur, M.L.A. (West Coast and Nilgiris: Muhammadan).

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

POLITICAL OFFICERS.

206. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state the names of Officers of the Political Department who have not passed any Departmental Examination and yet are invested with first class and summary powers? How long has each of them been exercising those powers? What are the special reasons justifying Government to invest them with those powers?

Mr. E. B. Howell: The information required is contained in the statement laid on the Table.

Statement referred to in reply to Mr. V. J. Patel's Question No. 206.

1	2	3
Names of Officers of the Political Department who have not passed their Departmental Examinations but are exercising 1st class and Summary Powers.	Nature of powers exercised with dates.	Reasons for exercising powers in column 2.
1. Major C. K. Daly	Powers of a Magistrate, 1st class, with additional powers, since 1st January 1921, as Political Agent, Bahrein, Persian Gulf.	
2. Major E. G. Hinde	Powers of a Magistrate, 1st class, with additional powers, since 28th September 1923, as Political Agent, Maskat, Persian Gulf.	
3. Captain E. H. Gastrell	Powers of a Magistrate, 1st class, with additional powers, since 10th November 1922, as Vice-Consul, Ahwaz, Persia.	
4. Major H. W. C. Robson	Powers of a Magistrate, 1st class, since 9th April 1923, as Assistant to the Resident in Kashmir.	Owing to the suspension of recruitment of Military Officers during the war and the consequent depletion of the cadre, officers admitted to the Department after the reopening of recruitment in 1919 were required to man the cadre posts of the Department and could not be attached to a major province for the usual training and Departmental Examinations. Steps are being taken to give them the necessary training by withdrawing as many of them at one time as can be spared without dislocation of work.
5. Captain D. deM. S. Fraser	Powers of a Magistrate, 1st class, since 20th November 1922, as Residency Magistrate, Indore.	
6. Major A. E. B. Parsons, O.B.E.	Powers of a District Magistrate and a Court of Sessions, since 28th December 1923, as Political Agent, Tachi, North-West Frontier Province.	
7. Captain L. E. Barton	Powers of a Magistrate, 1st class, since 17th October 1923, as Assistant Commissioner, Thal, North-West Frontier Province.	
8. Captain B. Stuart Horner	Powers of a Magistrate, 1st class, since 3rd April 1923, as Magistrate, Abu. Is a Barrister-at-Law.	

RAILWAY QUARTERS FOR EUROPEANS, ANGLO-INDIANS AND INDIANS.

207. *Mr. V. J. Patel: Will Government be pleased to publish a comparative statement showing the number and cost of quarters constructed or proposed to be constructed for the use of Railway Officials both European and Anglo-Indian on the one hand and Indian on the other?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Government have not got the information and would prefer not to put Railway Administrations to the trouble of collecting and compiling it.

PROTECTION OF PRINCES BILL.

208. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Is it a fact that the 'Protection of Princes Bill' was introduced into the Assembly on a definite suggestion made by the Secretary of State to the Government of India in that behalf? Will the Government be pleased to lay on the Table all the correspondence on the subject between the Government of India and the Secretary of State?

Mr. E. B. Howell: The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the reply given by Mr. Denys Bray on the 15th January 1923 to question No. 30 asked by Mr. K. C. Neogy in this House.

Mr. V. J. Patel: Will Government be pleased to say why the second part of the question remains unanswered? Will they be pleased to lay on the Table the correspondence?

Mr. E. B. Howell: Mr. Denys Bray's answer concluded with the following sentence:

"The Government of India do not propose to ask for permission to publish any further correspondence between the Secretary of State and themselves on this subject."

Mr. V. J. Patel: Will Government be pleased to say what objection they have to lay on the Table the correspondence?

Mr. E. B. Howell: I would ask for notice of that question.

STAFF OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA.

209. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state how many persons drawing more than Rs. 300 a month are employed under the High Commissioner for India in London and what are their educational qualifications and nationalities?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The staff under the High Commissioner drawing more than Rs. 300 a month numbered 112 on October 1st, 1923. Of this number 5 are Indians and the rest Europeans. The Government of India have no detailed information about the educational qualifications of each individual, but the clerical staff is required to be of the same educational standard in each grade as that fixed for employment in the corresponding grade in the Civil Service in England.

Mr. V. J. Patel: Will Government be pleased to get the information and lay it on the Table?

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: Will the Government be pleased to state whether the Secretary of State has made any rules in connection with the recruitment of these officers under the High Commissioner?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The rules are the same as those prescribed for the different grades of the Civil Service in England.

Mr. V. J. Patel: Will Government be pleased to get the information regarding the educational qualifications of these employees and lay it on the Table?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I understand that the information is available in various publications that are available in India. I will ascertain and let the Honourable Member know.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: Can Government say whether these appointments are made on the certificate of the Civil Service Commissioners in England?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: These appointments are mostly clerical appointments and are made by the High Commissioner for India.

RESOLUTIONS IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AND COUNCIL OF STATE.

210. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) the number of Resolutions of which due notice was given,
- (b) the number of the admitted Resolutions, and
- (c) the number of admitted Resolutions which did not come up for discussion,

during the first term of the reformed Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, respectively.

Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith: Two statements giving the information asked for are laid on the Table.

Statement showing the number of Resolutions received, admitted and could not come up for discussion during the first Legislative Assembly.

Sessions.	Total number of Resolutions of which notice received.	Total number of Resolutions admitted.	Total number of Resolutions which did not come up for discussion.
Delhi Session, 1921	138	129	96
Simla Session, 1921	238	204	176
Delhi Session, 1922	267	224	186
Simla Session, 1922	262	236	221
Delhi Session, 1923	374	368	350
Simla Session, 1923	142	127	126
Total	1,421	1,298	1,155

N.B.—In cases where several Members gave notice of the same Resolution, the notice by each Member has been counted as a separate Resolution.

Statement showing the number of Resolutions received, admitted and could not come up for discussion in the Council of State till the end of the Simla Session, 1923.

Sessions.	Total number of Resolutions of which notice received.	Total number of Resolutions admitted.	Total number of Resolutions which did not come up for discussion.
Delhi Session, 1921	63	51	15
Simla Session, 1921	63	47	25
Delhi Session, 1922	38	32	4
Simla Session, 1922	42	35	19
Delhi Session, 1923	38	32	10
Simla Session, 1923	15	14	6
Total	259	211	79

Mr. V. J. Patel: In view of the large number of Resolutions that remain undiscussed, will Government be pleased to say whether they propose to advise His Excellency the Governor General to increase the number of non-official days?

Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith: Does that question necessarily arise out of my answer, Sir?

QUESTIONS IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AND COUNCIL OF STATE.

211. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) the number of interpellations of which due notice was given, and
- (b) the number of interpellations which were admitted and the number which were disallowed

during the first term of the reformed Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, respectively?

Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith: I lay two statements on the Table.

Statement showing the number of questions received, admitted and disallowed in the Legislative Assembly up to the end of the Simla Session, 1923.

Sessions.	Total number of questions of which notice was received.	Total number of questions admitted.	Total number of questions disallowed.
Delhi Session, 1921	804	698	92
Simla Session, 1921	947	762	169
Delhi Session, 1922	971	710	229
Simla Session, 1922	737	601	127
Delhi Session, 1923	1,131	930	189
Simla Session, 1923	610	520	83
Total	5,200	4,219	889

N.B.—Questions which were withdrawn or cancelled by the Member who gave notice thereof have not been shown.

Statement showing the number of questions received, admitted and disallowed in the Council of State up to the end of the Simla Session, 1923.

Sessions.	Total number of questions of which notice was received.	Total number of questions admitted.	Total number of questions disallowed.
Delhi Session, 1921	273	233	20
Simla Session, 1921	260	201	21
Delhi Session, 1922	170	155	12
Simla Session, 1922	194	164	24
Delhi Session, 1923	163	216	46
Simla Session, 1923	128	86	19
Total	1,294	1,045	142

N.B.—Questions which were withdrawn or cancelled by the Members who gave notice thereof have not been shown.

MOTIONS FOR ADJOURNMENT IN THE TWO CHAMBERS OF THE INDIAN LEGISLATURE.

212. *Mr. V. J. Patel: Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) the number of motions for the adjournment of the business of either Chamber for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance of which a written statement as required by the Rules was received by the Secretary,
- (b) the number of such motions ruled out of order by the President,
- (c) the number of such motions for which leave was refused by either Chamber,
- (d) the number of such motions which were discussed by either Chamber,
- (e) the number of such motions which were withdrawn, and
- (f) the number of such motions which were adopted or defeated,

during the first term of the reformed Legislative Assembly and the Council of State?

Sir Henry Moncreiff Smith: Two statements are laid on the Table.

Statement showing the number of motions for adjournment under Rule 11, received, ruled out of order, discussed, etc., during the first Legislative Assembly.

Sessions.	Number of motions received.	Number of motions ruled out of order.	Number of motions for which leave refused by Assembly.	Number of motions discussed.	Number of motions withdrawn.	Number of motions passed.	Number of motions lost.	REMARKS.
Delhi Session, 1921	1	...	...	1	...	...	1	
Simla Session, 1921.	2	1	...	1*	...	...	...	* Automatically terminated under Standing Order 24 (1).
Delhi Session, 1922.	4†	...	...	1	...	...	1	† All motions related to the same subject. [See Rule 12 (i).]
Simla Session, 1922.	3	3	...	...	...	...	...
Delhi Session, 1923.	3‡	...	...	1	...	1	...	‡ All motions related to the same subject. [See Rule 12 (i).]
Simla Session, 1923.	6	6	...	...	...	...	...
Total	19	10	...	4	...	1	2	

Statement showing the number of motions for adjournment under Rule 11, received, ruled out of order, discussed, etc., in the Council of State since the 3rd February 1921.

Sessions.	Number of motions received.	Number of motions ruled out of order.	Number of motions for which leave was refused by Council.	Number of motions discussed.	Number of motions withdrawn.	Number of motions passed.	Number of motions lost.	REMARKS.
Delhi Session, 1921.	2	...	1	1	1	...	...
Simla Session, 1921.	5	2	...	1	2*	...	...	* One withdrawn without discussion.
Delhi Session, 1922.	4	2	...	1	1†	...	1	† Ditto.
Simla Session, 1922.	1	...	...	...	1‡	...	...	‡ Ditto.
Delhi Session, 1923.	Nd	...	...	...	...	...	...
Simla Session, 1923.	1	...	...	1§	...	...	...	§ Automatically terminated under S. O. 23(1).
Total	13	4	1	4	5	Nd	1	

DISQUALIFICATIONS FOR ELECTION TO THE PROVINCIAL AND INDIAN LEGISLATURES.

213. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state whether they have advised or propose to advise His Excellency the Governor General to remove the restrictions which debar persons against whom a conviction by a Criminal Court of more than six months is subsisting from election to a Legislative Council or to the Indian Legislature? If the Government is not prepared to take this step, will they be pleased to state the reasons?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I presume the Honourable Member wishes to know whether Government propose to advise His Excellency the Governor General to remove the disqualification in question by the exercise of the prerogative powers of pardon which have been conferred upon him.

The answer to the question is in the negative.

The position of Government in the matter as regards certain classes of persons subject to this disqualification was explained by the Honourable Mr. Crerar in a statement in the Council of State on the 14th March 1923, and I would invite a reference by the Honourable Member to that statement.

PROPAGANDA WORK IN AMERICA BY MR. RUSTOMJI.

214. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state

- (a) the amount of remuneration paid by the Government of India to one Mr. Rustomji for his lectures, etc., about India in the United States of America?
- (b) with what paper in Bombay was Mr. Rustomji connected before he got this job?
- (c) whether there are any other persons in the United States of America or any other country doing similar work for which remuneration is paid by the Government of India? If so, what are their names and what remuneration does each of them get?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I have nothing to add to the reply which I gave to Mr. Muhammad Faiyaz Khan on the 15th January of last year.

Mr. V. J. Patel: Does it include an answer to question No. (c),—whether there are any other persons in the United States of America or any other country doing similar work?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: My answer does not include an answer to that question.

Mr. V. J. Patel: I want an answer to that question, please.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: My answer will be exactly the same which I gave on that occasion.

Mr. V. J. Patel: Has the Honourable Member any objection to giving an answer?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: It was, that we are not prepared, just as no Government in similar circumstances would be prepared, to give information on a subject of this nature.

Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Roy: Will Government be pleased to state under what head such expenditure is shown in the demands for grants?

Mr. President: The Honourable Member had better give notice of that question.

Mr. V. J. Patel: Is the amount paid to this gentleman votable?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: No, Sir.

IMPERIAL MEDICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE.

215. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state whether the scheme for the establishment of an Imperial Medical Research Institute in Delhi has been settled?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: The scheme for the establishment of an Imperial Medical Research Institute at Delhi has been held in abeyance as a result of the recommendation made by the Retrenchment Committee.

VIZAGAPATAM HARBOUR.

216. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** What were the proposals of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway Company for the solution of the financial difficulties regarding the Vizagapatam Harbour Scheme and whether any decision had been reached in the matter, and if so, what?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Several alternative schemes have been proposed by the Bengal-Nagpur Railway for financing the proposed development of Vizagapatam Harbour but none of them has been considered a satisfactory solution of the problem. As the matter is one in which the Local Government is keenly interested, and no final decision has yet been arrived at, it is not considered desirable at present to disclose the details of the various proposals.

Mr. V. J. Patel: When is the decision likely to be reached?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The question is a very difficult one but I can promise the Honourable Member that we shall do our very best to arrive at an early decision. But I must warn him that the whole question is rather mixed up with the Raipur-Vizianagram Railway and that also is a question to be taken into account.

Sir Campbell Rhodes: Will the Honourable Member also consider that, in view of the early development of the Talcher coalfield, the development of the Vizagapatam Harbour is a matter of great importance?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: We shall certainly take that factor into account, Sir.

ADDITIONAL TAXATION LEVIED BY THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT SINCE THE INAUGURATION OF THE REFORMS.

217. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state what is the total amount of additional taxation levied by the Central Government since the inauguration of the reforms?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Additional taxation expected to yield 41 crores has been imposed by the Central Government since the inauguration of the reforms.

NOMINATION OF INDIANS FOR SANDHURST.

218. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state how many Indians are being nominated each year for Sandhurst and whether the Government propose to start a Military College in India and, if so, when?

Mr. E. Burdon: The answer to the first part of the question is that 10 Indians are nominated each year for Sandhurst. As regards the second part, I would invite the attention of the Honourable Member to the reply† given on the 15th January 1923 to unstarred question No. 55.

INDIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE ROYAL MILITARY ACADEMY, WOOLWICH.

219. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state what is the total amount contributed by the Indian Exchequer towards the maintenance of the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, during the last ten years and how many Indian candidates have been nominated for admission to that Academy during the period?

Mr. E. Burdon: The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the reply† given on the 15th January 1923 to unstarred question No. 57. I am unable to state the amount paid on this particular account during the past ten years.

Mr. V. J. Patel: Why is the Government unable to give that answer?

Mr. E. Burdon: The reason is given in the reply to which I have already referred the Honourable Member. Broadly speaking, it is this. India pays through the capitation payment for British troops a share of the cost of the Royal Academy at Woolwich based on the number of recruits she takes from the institution annually to maintain the sanctioned establishment of Royal Engineers. But what precise portion of the capitation payment is attributable to this particular service is not known in India and could not be separated here. The calculation is made in England.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: May I ask whether any Indians are admitted to the Woolwich Academy?

Mr. E. Burdon: No, Sir.

INDIANS IN THE NAVAL AND AIR FORCES.

220. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state how many Indians have been admitted to the Navy and Air Force since the last war?

Mr. E. Burdon: No Indian officer has been admitted to the Royal Navy or the Royal Air Force since the war. There is an Indian technical section attached to the Royal Air Force in India in which Indian artificers to the number of 114 are employed.

† Vide p. 1011 of L. A. Debates, Vol. III.

Mr. V. J. Patel: Is there any immediate intention of admitting Indians to these services?

Mr. E. Burdon: No, Sir.

GOVERNMENT SERVANTS AND MEMBERSHIP OF POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS.

221. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state whether there are any rules prohibiting Government employees from becoming members of the Indian National Congress or the Liberal Federation or any other political association?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Yes. The matter is governed by rule 23 of "The Government Servants' Conduct Rules". A copy of these Rules is in the Library of this House.

Mr. V. J. Patel: I understand from those Rules that active participation is not permitted. Is there any objection to their being members of these Associations?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: It is difficult to separate the question of membership from active participation in a political association. That is a difficulty which I think the Honourable Member will realise himself.

Mr. V. J. Patel: If it is difficult for Government how can they

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: That is why we make a definite rule.

Mr. V. J. Patel: What is the interpretation of Government? Can their employees become simple members of these Associations without taking active part in them?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: No, Sir, they cannot. I think perhaps the Honourable Member took part in a controversy we once had in regard to membership of a society known as the Round Table? If so, he will appreciate my point.

Mr. V. J. Patel: Is the Government aware that members of the Executive Council do take active part in conferences held under the auspices of the Liberal Federation?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: They are not, as far as I am aware, members of that body.

Mr. V. J. Patel: Is Government aware that Ministers as well as Members of the Executive Council in Bombay took active part . . .

Mr. President: That question is to be put in the Bombay Legislature.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: And perhaps, Sir, you will allow me to add that the action of Ministers is not regulated by the Government Servants' Conduct Rules.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: Will the Government be pleased to say whether there is anything in the Government Servants' Conduct Rules which prevents the presence of public servants at meetings of the Congress or Federation?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I should have to look into the rules again before returning a definite answer to the question.

NUMBER OF VOTERS FOR THE PROVINCIAL COUNCILS AND THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

222. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) the total number of voters for each of the Provincial Councils and the Legislative Assembly on the occasion of the first General Elections and the last General Elections respectively?
- (b) the total number of voters who recorded their votes on each occasion for each of the Provincial Councils and the Assembly?
- (c) the number of seats that were uncontested on each occasion for each of the Provincial Councils and the Assembly with the number of voters for all the uncontested seats?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: (a), (b) and (c). The Honourable Member is referred to the Return presented to Parliament showing the results of the first general elections to the Indian Legislature and provincial Legislative Councils. A copy of this Return has been placed in the Library of this House. A similar Return is now under preparation as regards the last general election and a copy of it will be placed in the Library in due course.

DEADLOCK IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

223. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased

- (a) to state whether the attention of the Government has been drawn to the deadlock created in Central Provinces, as a result of the motion of 'no-confidence' in the Ministers adopted by the Central Provinces Legislative Council at one of its recent meetings?
- (b) to lay on the table the correspondence between the Central Provinces Government and the Government of India as also that between His Excellency the Governor of the Central Provinces and His Excellency the Governor-General on the subject? What steps do Government propose to take to ease the situation by satisfying public opinion?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: (a) Government have seen the reports in the press regarding the motion of want of confidence which was adopted by the Central Provinces Legislative Council. They are not aware that any deadlock exists.

(b) There has been no correspondence on the subject between the Government of the Central Provinces and the Government of India; the Honourable Member is no doubt aware that the Government of India would not in any case be prepared to publish correspondence between His Excellency the Governor of the Central Provinces and His Excellency the Governor General, nor would they necessarily be aware of its existence.

STRENGTH OF THE VARIOUS PARTIES IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

224. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) the total number of Swarajist members
- (b) the total number of Independent members, and
- (c) the total number of Liberal members in the Assembly?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The information asked for by the Honourable Member is not within the knowledge of Government.

Mr. K. Ahmed: What is the test for classifying (a), (b) and (c) Members?

Mr. President: The Honourable Member is probably in a better position to answer that than the Home Member.

Mr. K. Ahmed: I would like a reply to my question.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I am afraid I cannot enlighten him. There are perhaps gentlemen sitting in the House who can.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: May I ask how a Swarajist is to be known, by his white cap or some other method?

Mr. V. J. Patel: May I answer that question. The Swarajist is one who would not allow himself to be used as a tool in the hands of Government to fight the great non-co-operation movement.

Mr. President: I must remind the Honourable Member that every Member of this House serves here on conditions and one of the primary conditions is that he respects the bona fides of every other Member of this House.

OFFERS TO SWARAJISTS TO ADMINISTER TRANSFERRED SUBJECTS IN
BENGAL AND THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

225. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state whether they or His Excellency the Governor General were consulted by the Governor of Bengal before he invited Mr. C. R. Das to accept responsibility for the administration of the Transferred Subjects and by the Governor of Central Provinces before he invited Dr. Moonje to do likewise? Will Government be pleased to lay on the table the correspondence on the subject?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The Government of India were not consulted by the Governments of Bengal and the Central Provinces nor by Their Excellencies the Governors of the two Provinces. They do not know whether His Excellency the Governor General was so consulted and they would not in any case be in a position to lay such correspondence on the Table.

RESERVED AND TRANSFERRED SUBJECTS.

226. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Is it within the competence of any authority in India to turn Reserved Subjects in the Provinces into Transferred Subjects? If not, what other procedure is involved to effect such transfer?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I would refer the Honourable Member to the provisions of section 45-A read with section 129-A of the Government of India Act.

Mr. V. J. Patel: It is not quite clear. Will the Honourable Member be pleased to say whether the Government of India has got power to transfer reserved subjects to transferred departments?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: On previous occasions when I undertook to interpret the Government of India Act to this House, my views on the subject have not always met with that perfect approval which I could have desired. I prefer therefore to refer the Honourable Member to the Act itself and to ask him to seek the assistance of his legal friends in the work of interpretation.

LEAVE OF CLERKS IN THE OFFICE OF THE ACCOUNTANT GENERAL, BOMBAY.

227. *Mr. V. J. Patel: Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether it is a fact that the clerks in the Accountant General's office, Bombay, are not granted leave according to the Standing Orders on the subject?
- (b) Whether it is a fact that, notwithstanding the production of medical certificates from competent medical authorities, and leave on full pay being due under the rules, they are sometimes given half pay and sometimes no pay at all?
- (c) Whether it is a fact that in one case a clerk who was on leave on the Civil Surgeon's certificate was ordered to join duty and threatened with suspension unless he did so promptly?
- (d) If so, will Government be pleased to redress the grievances of the clerks and reform the administration generally of the Accountant General's office, Bombay?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The Government have no information on the subject. They have asked the Auditor General to make inquiries and to take such action as may be required.

STRENGTH OF THE VARIOUS PARTIES IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

228. *Mr. V. J. Patel: Will Government be pleased to state which of the three groups—Swarajist, Independents and Liberals—has secured the largest number of seats in the Assembly?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The question is in substance the same as the Honourable Member's question No. 224, and, as I have already indicated, Government have no information on the subject.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Has the Government any information as regards the amount of money spent and the number of polling agents, canvassers, volunteers, etc., of the Swarajists engaged

Mr. President: The question does not arise.

RESTRICTIONS ON THE RETURN TO INDIA OF MR. B. G. HORNIMAN.

229. *Mr. V. J. Patel: Will Government be pleased to state whether there are any restrictions in the way of Mr. B. G. Horniman to return to India and, if so, how long they are yet to continue?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Mr. Horniman is subject to Rule 3 of the Passport Rules requiring possession of a passport.

ACTION TAKEN ON CERTAIN RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

230. *Mr. V. J. Patel: Will Government be pleased to state what action they have so far taken on the following Resolutions passed by the Council of State?

- (1) Resolution to investigate into unemployment in India and to create permanent unemployment agencies with Advisory Boards of employers and employees.

- (2) Resolution to examine recommendations regarding unemployment to see how far they can be acted on.
- (3) Resolution to examine the possibility of establishing a Government Public Health Service.
- (4) Resolution to fix 14 as the minimum age of children to be employed at sea with certain reservations.
- (5) Resolution for an examination into the methods of recruitment for seamen to suggest improvements.
- (6) Resolution to fix the minimum age for employment as trimmers and stokers at 18 and compulsory medical examination of young persons employed at sea.
- (7) Resolution to legalise emigration of labour to Mauritius.
- (8) Resolution to put a stop to the practice of conveying human beings in cattle trucks and goods wagons.
- (9) Resolution to separate the budget for the working of military or strategic railway lines.
- (10) Resolution to reconstitute the Railway Board with a strong Indian representation, as recommended by the Acworth Committee.
- (11) Resolution to increase the number of Indians in the higher grades of State Railways.
- (12) Resolution to give Indian Shipping Companies the opportunity to quote for the carriage of Government and Railway materials and preference if quotation be approximately the same.
- (13) Resolution for an expert Committee to consider industrial finances and industrial banks.
- (14) Resolution for a census every ten years of production in India, classified according to provinces showing particulars of agricultural products.
- (15) Resolution regarding the administration of Aden to be continued under the Government of India.
- (16) Resolution for an inquiry into the methods of compilation of statistics regarding social, economical and constitutional progress of India with a view to improving them.
- (17) Resolution to amend the Standing Orders of the Council of State on petitions relating to Bills.

Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith: The information is being collected and will be laid on the Table.

REGISTRATION OF TRADE UNIONS.

231. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state whether any legislation exists in British India to register Trade Unions and also for the protection of Trade Unionists from civil and criminal liability for *bona fide* Trade Union action? If not, will Government be pleased to state whether they propose to undertake any such legislation and when?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: The answer to the first part of the question is in the negative. The Government of India have the question under consideration, but it is impossible to say yet when legislation is likely to be introduced.

Mr. V. J. Patel: How long has the question been under consideration?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: For about two or three years.

Mr. V. J. Patel: Is the Government likely to reach a decision in the near future?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: I have already said that I cannot give any undertaking on that point.

Mr. V. J. Patel: I do not want any undertaking, but can I have any idea as to when the Government is likely to reach a decision in this matter.

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: I have already said that I cannot give any undertaking in this matter.

MINIMUM AGE FOR CHILD LABOUR.

232. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to say what steps have so far been taken in British India to give effect to the Resolution of the International Labour Conference that the minimum age for admission of children to employment should be 14?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: It is presumed that the Honourable Member's question refers to the Draft Convention of 1919 fixing the minimum age for admission of children to industrial employment, which proposed the exclusion of children under 12 from certain classes of industrial establishments in India. The steps taken to give effect to the provisions of the Draft Convention include the passing of the Indian Factories (Amendment) Act (II of 1922), the Indian Ports (Amendment) Act (XV of 1922) and the Indian Mines Act (IV of 1923).

RECRUITMENT OF SEAMEN.

233. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to lay on the Table the report of the Committee to inquire into the methods of recruitment of seamen in India appointed as a result of the Resolution adopted by the Assembly in 1921 in that behalf?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Honourable Member is referred to the Resolution of the Government of India in the Department of Commerce, No. 2663, dated May 25th, 1922, which was printed on pages 623-626, of Part I of the Gazette of India, dated May 27th, 1922. A copy of the Resolution in question will be found in the Library.

ABOLITION OF IMPRESSED LABOUR.

234. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state the result of the examination of the question of abolishing impressed labour, etc., either established by custom or by law?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: The examination of the question was undertaken in three parts, and the following is a summary of the position in each case:

First. As regards the laws regarding impressment of labour in force in the minor Administrations which have no local Legislative Councils, the local Administrations were addressed in the matter, and as a result of the replies received, the Chief Commissioner of Ajmer-Merwara was instructed to revise certain rules and orders in force in that province with regard to the hire of baggage camels, the supply of grass and fuel and

the impressment of labour. These instructions have since been carried out. In the remaining administrations the existing orders needed no revision.

Second. The attention of the Local Governments of the Governors' provinces was drawn to the provisions in the existing Acts under which impressment of labour, etc., was permitted in those provinces. The replies received showed that except in one or two cases in which the Local Governments were prepared to take the necessary action, practically all the Local Governments were of opinion that the laws in force in their provinces on the subject did not require amendment. The matter being primarily of local concern, the Government of India decided to take no further action.

Third. An examination of the laws and orders authorising the impressment of labour, etc., for military purposes was undertaken by the Government of India and as a result the Local Governments of Governors' provinces were asked whether they considered any relaxation or modification of the laws, etc., in question desirable. Their replies are being received.

Mr. K. Ahmed: With reference to the question No. 234 just answered and the previous one about recruitment of Indian seamen, do I understand that the Government of India has no correspondence in this matter and that the Members of this Assembly, representing the people of this country, have no voice in it?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: The Honourable Member had better give separate notice of that question.

Mr. K. Ahmed: In a question like this, we expect, Sir, that the Government Member in charge should give the answer to the supplementary question; in view of that, may I ask

Mr. President: The Honourable Member said "Government Member in charge"; but he has just asked two Government Members to reply simultaneously.

ADMISSION OF INDIANS TO THE NAVAL, MILITARY, AIR AND AUXILIARY FORCES.

235. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to say what action the Secretary of State for India has taken on the Resolution of this Assembly to admit Indians freely to the Naval, Military and Air Forces, Ancillary Services and the Auxiliary Forces and to give not less than 25 per cent. of the King's Commission granted every year to Indians to start with and with what result? Will Government be pleased to lay on the Table all correspondence on the subject?

Mr. E. Burdon: The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to items, 1, 2 and 7 of the statement† laid on the Table on the 2nd July last in answer to question No. 55. Government do not propose to lay on the Table the correspondence in question.

Mr. V. J. Patel: What objection has the Government to lay this correspondence on the Table?

Mr. E. Burdon: They consider that it would not be in the public interest to do so.

† Vide pages 4135-38 of L. A. Debates, Vol. III.

PAY OF COMMISSIONED RANKS.

236. *Mr. V. J. Patel: Will Government be pleased to say what action they have taken on the Resolution of this Assembly that the pay of all commissioned ranks should have an Indian basis with overseas allowances for English officers?

Mr. E. Burdon: The Government have not yet arrived at a final decision in regard to this matter. At present, Indian officers with the King's commission receive the same rates of pay and allowances as do British officers of the Indian Army. No system of overseas allowance has been introduced.

OFFICERS OF THE TERRITORIAL AND AUXILIARY FORCES.

237. *Mr. V. J. Patel: Will Government be pleased to say what action the Secretary of State for India has taken on the Resolution of this Assembly to give equal status and rank to officers of the Territorial Force and officers of the Indian Auxiliary Force? Will Government be pleased to lay on the Table all the correspondence on the subject?

Mr. E. Burdon: In answer to the first part of this question, I invite the attention of the Honourable Member to items 14 and 15 of the statement to which I referred in reply to an earlier question asked by the Honourable Member. Government do not propose to lay the correspondence on the Table.

Mr. V. J. Patel: I suppose it is not in the public interest to lay it on the Table?

Mr. E. Burdon: That is so, Sir.

DEFENCE OF INDIA BY INDIANS.

† 238. *Mr. V. J. Patel: Will Government be pleased to state whether they have appointed, as recommended by this Assembly, any Committee to examine and report on the best method to give to Indians the right to defend their country for the attainment of full responsible government? If not, will Government be pleased to state the reasons for their inaction in so vital a matter?

MILITARY EXPENDITURE.

† 239. *Mr. V. J. Patel: Will Government be pleased to state whether they have appointed, as recommended by this Assembly, any Committee to examine and report on the financial capacity of India to bear military expenditure. If not, will Government be pleased to state the reasons for their inaction in so vital a matter?

EQUALITY OF STATUS IN THE DOMINIONS.

† 240. *Mr. V. J. Patel: Will Government be pleased to state whether they have appointed, as recommended by this Assembly, any Committee to examine and report on the equality of status in the Dominions? If not, will Government be pleased to state the reasons for their inaction in so vital a matter?

† For the answer to this question—see Answer below Question No. 241.

RECRUITMENT OF COMMISSIONED RANKS.

241. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state whether they have appointed, as recommended by this Assembly, any Committee to examine and report on the methods of recruitment of commissioned ranks? If not, will Government be pleased to state the reasons for their inaction in so vital a matter?

Mr. E. Burdon: Sir, with your permission, I propose to answer these four questions together, since they refer to one of the Resolutions which was adopted by the Assembly on the 28th March 1921 in connection with the Esher Committee's report.

The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to part 13 of item 4 of the statement laid on the table on the 21st February 1923. The questions mentioned were referred to the Military Requirements Committee.

INTERCHANGE OF BRITISH AND INDIAN SERVICE OFFICERS.

242. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state what action they have taken so far on the Resolution regarding the interchange of British and Indian Service Officers adopted by the Assembly in March 1921?

Mr. E. Burdon: The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the reply given on the 2nd July last to question No. 58.

Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar: Will the Honourable Member be pleased to state why such answer should not be repeated again instead of referring Honourable Members to previous proceedings of a previous Assembly?

Mr. President: For the very good reason that the information is already available.

CHEAP AND SPEEDY JUSTICE.

243. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state what action they have taken to provide means for cheap and speedy justice in India?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The actual administration of justice is a provincial subject, and I suggest that questions relating to the cheapening and simplifying of its methods would best be asked in a provincial Council. I would, however, invite the Honourable Member's attention to the Resolution of the Government of India in the Home Department, dated the 24th of January 1924, under which a Committee was constituted to inquire and report upon the changes and improvements which should be made in the substantive and adjective law, so as to provide for a more speedy, economical and satisfactory despatch of the business transacted in the Civil Courts in India. Copies of the Resolution have been placed in the Library of this House.

Mr. V. J. Patel: If it is a matter of provincial interest, why do the Government of India take the trouble of appointing a Committee?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Because, it was possible that changes in the general law were required.

Baba Ujagar Singh Bedi: Will the Government be pleased to consider the question of abolishing lawyers so as to get cheap and speedy justice?

† Vide pages 4138—39 of L. A. Debates, Vol. III.

Dr. H. S. Gour: Will the Government be also pleased to abolish the judges in order to ensure speedier justice?

(No answers were given to these two questions.)

RECRUITMENT OF THE ALL-INDIA SERVICES.

244. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to publish the result of the inquiry undertaken by them regarding the question of arranging for recruitment of the All-India services in India and providing for educational facilities for entry into technical services?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Government have not yet reached any decision in regard to the question of the recruitment for All-India Services in India. This is one of the matters being examined by the Royal Commission.

As regards the second part of his question, I would refer the Honourable Member to the reply given by the Honourable Sir Charles Innes to Sardar V. N. Mutalik's question No. 145 on the 4th February. My Honourable Colleagues in charge of Departments which control technical services can no doubt supply the Honourable Member, if he so desire, with similar information in regard to the particular services with which they are concerned.

RECRUITMENT OF THE FOREST SERVICE.

245. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state the decision of the Secretary of State on the question of recruitment for the Forest Service by selection in England and India and recruits to be trained at a central institution in England? Will Government be pleased to lay on the Table the correspondence on the subject?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: In accordance with the wishes of the Indian Legislature, as voiced in the Resolutions adopted by the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State on 11th and 19th September 1922, respectively, the Government of India have prepared a scheme for the joint training of Indian Forest Service recruits at Dehra Dun which will be submitted to the Secretary of State for orders as soon as the Standing Finance Committee have approved the financial expenditure involved. All the relevant correspondence relating to the proposal to train recruits at a central institution in India was published in the Gazette of India, dated the 20th August 1921, and copies of the papers were laid before the Members of both Houses at the time when the Resolutions referred to were discussed. There has been no further correspondence since except that of a routine nature.

RESEARCH SCHOLARSHIPS.

246. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state what action they have taken on the Resolution of this Assembly passed in January last year for the grant of 25 scholarships (foreign) every year for research, each for five years?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: The Honourable Member's attention is invited to the reply given to the question on the same subject asked by Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju on the 4th February 1924.

PURCHASE OF STORES.

247. *Mr. V. J. Patel: Will Government be pleased to state the total purchases on Government account including State Railways for each year in the five years ending 1922-23 and how much of this amount was spent on material of Indian origin, how much on material of the British Empire excluding India and how much on material of other countries?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: The Honourable Member is referred to the reply given by me to starred question No. 88 on the 4th February. The Government of India have not the figures for the years 1918-19, 1919-20 available and hope that the information given in their previous reply will be sufficient for the Honourable Member's purpose.

PAPER USED IN GOVERNMENT PRINTING AND STATIONERY.

248. *Mr. V. J. Patel: Will Government be pleased to state the value of the total amount of paper used in Government printing and stationery, and how much of this is accounted for by paper of Indian origin and how much of other parts of the British Empire?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: The figures showing the value of paper used in Government printing and stationery will be found in the Annual and Triennial Reports of the Central Stationery Office. The Report for the period ending 1922-23 is in the Library. The percentage of stationery supplies (including paper, typewriters, miscellaneous articles, etc.), manufactured in India amounted in 1922-23 to over 77 per cent. of the total purchases in value. The Government of India are unable to state in what proportions the balance was obtained from the British Empire, or foreign countries, without a detailed examination of the figures which would involve an amount of labour which would not be justified.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Are the Government aware that the paper that comes from Norway and probably one or two other countries of the world is much cheaper than the British-made paper and that they are chiefly sold in the town of Calcutta and probably one or two other towns in India?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: I do not exactly know, Sir, what the Honourable Member means by 'British-made' paper.

Mr. K. Ahmed: By 'British-made' paper I mean the paper referred to in the question of Mr. Patel, which the Honourable Member has just answered.

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: I do not know whether the Honourable Member, when he speaks of 'British-made' paper, includes Indian paper or not.

Mr. K. Ahmed: That is for the Honourable Member to decide in the light of the reply given by him to the principal question. (Laughter).

BALANCE SHEETS OF FOREIGN BANKS.

249. *Mr. V. J. Patel: Will Government be pleased to state what steps they have taken to have the balance sheets of foreign banks operating in India published for information of the commercial community?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The matter will receive due consideration when the Indian Companies Act, 1913, is next amended.

Mr. V. J. Patel: Is it intended to make a provision in the new Act proposed to be enacted to have those balance sheets of foreign banks published?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I have already stated that the matter will receive due consideration.

Mr. V. J. Patel: May I know exactly what the Government intend to do in this matter?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: As I said once before, the answer is in the interrogative.

REPAIR FACILITIES FOR FOREIGN SHIPPING COMPANIES.

250. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) what repair facilities have been given to foreign shipping companies in India?
- (b) how many Government docks there are for effecting repairs to ships?
- (c) what is the total outlay incurred thereon yearly and whether they show a net loss or a net profit?
- (d) on what terms land has been given for repair dock purposes to the British India Steam Navigation Company in Bombay?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) and (b). There is only one dockyard belonging to the Government of India, namely, the Royal Indian Marine Dockyard at Bombay. This dockyard is maintained for the repair of Government vessels. The Regulations prohibit the repair in the dockyard of vessels belonging to private Companies, except in special cases. Such special cases are rare. Applications are considered only when it can be shown that private docking facilities cannot be secured.

(c) The actual expenditure incurred in India on the maintenance of this dockyard in 1922-23 amounted to Rs. 17,06,675 and the budget estimate for the current year for the same purpose is Rs. 12,98,780. These amounts do not include indirect charges on administration, etc., nor such expenditure as leave allowances paid in England.

(d) The Government of India have no information on the subject. The terms were presumably settled by the Government of Bombay.

INDIAN DEBT.

251. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) the total amount of debt of India as on the last date of the official year in 1900-01, 1910-11, 1920-21 and 1922-23 with corresponding figure of debt charges?
- (b) whether the figure of charges given above includes charges payable by Provincial Governments, Native States and local statutory bodies?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I would refer the Honourable Member to the Finance and Revenue Accounts for the years concerned, which give all the information required.

Mr. V. J. Patel: Is the information required by clause (b) also given there?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: All the information, I understand, is in the Book.

POST OFFICE AND CASH CERTIFICATES.

252. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) whether they propose to continue the system of issuing Saving Certificates in connection with the Post office?
- (b) what was the total number of such certificates outstanding as on 31st March, 1923?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The Government have no intention of discontinuing the issue of Post Office Cash Certificates of which on the 31st March 1923, approximately 6,83,000 were outstanding representing at issue price Rs. 313 lakhs. The number outstanding at 31st December 1923, represented at issue price approximately Rs. 735 lakhs.

CASH BALANCES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

253. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state what were the cash balances of the Government of India as on the 31st March, 1922, 1st January, 1923, and 1st June, 1923, and how much of this was in the hands of:

- (a) the Secretary of State;
- (b) Imperial Bank of India;
- (c) in Reserve Treasuries, and
- (d) with local Treasuries where there are no branches of the Imperial Bank?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: A statement containing the information asked for is placed on the Table.

As regards part (c), Reserve Treasuries were abolished on the constitution of the Imperial Bank of India in January 1921.

Statement of Cash balances of the Government of India.

Held by—	31st March 1922.	31st December 1922.	31st May 1923.
	£	£	£
The Secretary of State and The High Commissioner for India	8,993,607	13,024,496	7,230,923
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Imperial Bank of India	20,07,88,000	14,15,75,000	12,38,32,000
Government Treasuries not banking with the Imperial Bank.	5,58,25,000	3,45,27,000	3,74,42,000

CHANGES IN THE POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

254. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state what changes they propose to make in the Political Department on account of the transfer of States from the supervision of the Government of Bombay to that of the Government of India?

Mr. E. B. Howell: The question is at present the subject of inquiry by an officer of the Government of India in consultation with the Local Government.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA re THE ARREST OF MR. GANDHI, ETC.

255. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to lay on the Table a copy of the correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Government of India:

- (a) in regard to the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi?
- (b) in regard to the rejection by the Assembly of the grant for the Public Service Commission and with regard to the terms of reference, personnel and appointment of the said Commission?
- (c) in regard to the situation created by the refusal of the Assembly to grant the increased salt duty and the necessity for certification?
- (d) in regard to the 'Princes Protection Bill' from the moment it was decided to introduce it to the present time?
- (e) with regard to the question of constitutional reforms subsequent to the correspondence which was published and which included Lord Peel's reply to the Viceroy on the subject?
- (f) with regard to India's participation in the last Imperial Conference, the preparation of the terms of reference and the agenda and including the request, if any, made by the Government of India to have the question of Indians abroad fully discussed?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: (a), (b), (c), (e) and (f). Government are unable to lay on the Table the correspondence referred to by the Honourable Member.

(d) I would refer the Honourable Member to the reply† given in the Legislative Assembly on the 15th January 1923, to Mr. Neogy's question No. 30.

INDIAN COMMITMENTS AT THE IMPERIAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.

256. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state what commitments this country has made through the presence of Sir Charles Innes at the Imperial Economic Conference and whether India is bound in any way to make purchases inside the Empire in future?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: I would refer the Honourable Member to the reply given by me to starred question No. 97 on the 4th February 1924.

† Vide p. 977 of L. A. Debates, Vol. III.

Mr. V. J. Patel: That reply is too general. May I know exactly whether any commitments have been made by the Honourable Sir Charles Innes?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: I stated distinctly in that answer that there were no commitments whatever.

GOVERNORS' CONFERENCES.

257. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) the significance of the Governors' Conference which meets at Delhi from time to time,
- (b) the nature of the control which is being exercised by the Government of India for Reserved Subjects in the Provinces,
- (c) whether the Government of India or the Viceroy have anything to do with the Instrument of Instructions which every Provincial Governor brings with him and whether the Government of India or the Viceroy have the power in practice to modify or to add to such Instruments?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: (a) I hope the Honourable Member will not accuse me of flippancy, but I am afraid that I can only say that the purpose of these Conferences is to confer. I am not aware that they have any other significance.

(b) The nature of the control in question is indicated in section 45 of the Government of India Act.

(c) No. The Instrument of Instructions to each provincial Governor is issued by His Majesty and no authority in India has the power to modify the Instrument.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: May I know, Sir, if any specific rules have been issued by the Government of India with regard to their power of superintendence, direction and control over provincial Governments, apart from the Devolution Rules?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The powers of superintendence, direction and control are for the most part exercised in a number of executive instructions scattered through a great deal of correspondence. I am not referring, of course, to questions of purely financial control, but to questions of administrative control. I should be unable to refer the Honourable Member to any definite code of rules on the subject.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: May I ask whether, as the Act specifically provides for rules being made for the classification of subjects between central and provincial, there are any such rules, apart from the Devolution Rules?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: If the Honourable Member is referring to the classification of subjects under section 45 A of the Government of India Act, that classification has of course been embodied in the Devolution Rules. We have no further classification of subjects than that. I note that those Devolution Rules under section 129 A of the Act have to be sanctioned by the Secretary of State and laid before Parliament.

Mr. K. Ahmed: With regard to supervision and control by the Central Government of the provincial Governments, are the Members of this

Assembly entitled to enter into them and put any question on the subject to be answered by the Members in charge of the Government Departments?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I am afraid I did not quite catch the purport of the Honourable Member's question. I would be very much obliged if he would repeat it.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Are the Members of this Assembly, representing the people of this country, entitled as a matter of right, to put any questions to the Honourable Member in charge of the Government Department exercising powers of supervision, direction and control over the subjects of provincial Governments?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I am afraid I can give no other answer to that than to say that the rules which apply to the asking of questions in this House are laid down in the Standing Orders. They are I think fairly wide. If the Honourable Member requires any more definite information on that point, I shall be quite glad to give it to him when I appreciate more exactly the nature of the information he desires.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Then what is the reason, Sir, that in season and out of season the Government Members as a matter of fact have repeatedly answered in this House for the last three years that it is a matter which is for the provincial Government and therefore the Government Members will give no answer to any questions on the subject.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member can see by studying the Rules and Standing Orders whether rule 7 applies to his own question or not. If he is in doubt, he can judge by whether his questions are admitted or not.

Mr. K. Ahmed: May I ask whether the Chair appreciates the point and whether any question will elicit further information on the matter in issue?

Mr. President: I fully appreciate the difficulty the Honourable Member has in interpreting Rule 7.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: It might perhaps be convenient if I added that the further implications of this question can be explored in the course of two Resolutions which are coming before the House.

INCOME-TAX PAID BY FOREIGN COMPANIES.

258. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state in what manner and to what total amount is the income-tax paid by the following during each of the five years ending 1922-23?

- (1) foreign insurance companies including life companies,
- (2) foreign banks including the English exchange banks,
- (3) foreign shipping companies,
- (4) tea companies under foreign management,
- (5) jute companies under foreign management,
- (6) indigo factories under foreign management.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The information is not available and its compilation would involve time and trouble disproportionate to its value.

Mr. W. S. J. Willson: Are there any managements under (4), (5) and (6) under foreign management?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I am unaware as to whether there are any firms of the kind concerned which are not under management which would be comprised under a definition such as was applied just now to "British paper."

INDIANS ON STATE RAILWAYS.

259. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state the number of Indians employed in State-managed Railways and receiving a total salary with an allowance above Rs. 300, Rs. 500, Rs. 750 and Rs. 1,000 and the total number of others receiving the same during each of the last five years?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The information in the form asked for by the Honourable Member is not readily available, but a statement is placed on the Table showing the number of Indians employed during the last two years on State-managed railways as gazetted officers and as officials drawing Rs. 250 per mensem and over, as compared with the total numbers employed. Similar figures for 1919, 1920 and 1921 are not available.

Analysis of numbers of staff employed on State-managed Railways.

NOTE.—"Statutory Indians" for the purpose of this statement includes Indians and Anglo-Indians.

Classification.	NOVEMBER 1922.					NOVEMBER 1923.				
	Total number.	Indians.	Percentage Indians of total.	Statutory Indians.	Percentage Statutory Indians of total.	Total number.	Indians.	Percentage Indians of total.	Statutory Indians.	Percentage Statutory Indians of total.
Gazetted Officers	463	123	26.3	148	31.9	473	128	27.0	154	32.3
Officials (excluding gazetted officers) drawing Rs. 250 per mensem and over or on scales of pay rising to Rs 250 per mensem and over	1,793	565	31.5	1,094	61.0	1,711	548	32.0	1,051	61.4

RESERVATION OF RAILWAY COMPARTMENTS.

260. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Has the attention of Government been drawn to the unsatisfactory condition of law regarding the reservation of compartments by railway companies for particular communities, particularly for Eurasians and Europeans?

(a) Do Government propose to take early steps to put the law on a proper basis?

(b) Are Government aware that there is considerable feeling in this country against this practice of reservation?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Government are aware that notice has been given of a Bill to amend the Railway Act in order to remove an alleged uncertainty in the law on this point. The other points raised in the Honourable Member's question will no doubt be fully discussed if leave is given by the House to introduce the Bill.

Mr. V. J. Patel: Is it likely to be introduced?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I believe, Sir, it is down for the 21st of February.

INDIAN APPRENTICES IN THE B. N. AND G. I. P. RAILWAYS.

261. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) how many Indians have been taken under the new scheme of apprenticeship adopted some years ago by the Bengal-Nagpur Railway and the G. I. P. Railway in the superior traffic or loco. service,
- (b) how many of these are still continuing in the service,
- (c) are Government aware of the reasons why some of these Indians have left the service?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Government have no information but will make inquiries.

STATEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS BEFORE THE INDIAN MARINE COMMITTEE.

262. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Has the attention of Government been drawn to the statements emanating from officials paid out of the revenues of India and made before the Indian Marine Committee to the effect that Indians are and will remain a backward race and will never be fitted for taking proper positions as deck officers or as engineers at sea? (b) Has Government authorised such statements? (c) if not, what steps do Government propose to take in this connection?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Government have not seen the statements referred to and did not authorise them. If such statements were made, they no doubt represented the personal opinions of the officers making them.

SUPERIOR STAFF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA SECRETARIAT.

263. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state the total number of Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries and Assistant Secretaries at the Central Secretariat at Delhi? How many of these are Indians? Is it a fact that Government propose to adopt in future the rule of appointing an Indian Secretary for every department which has got an English member?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The Honourable Member presumably requires information in regard to the complete number of officers serving in the Government of India Secretariat, some of whom are at present in Simla. A statement containing this information is laid on the Table.

Government are not aware of any such proposal as that referred to in the second part of the Honourable Member's question.

Number of Secretaries, Joint Secretaries, Deputy, Under and Assistant Secretaries employed in the Government of India Secretariat.

Designation.	Number.	Number of Indians.	REMARKS.
Secretaries	10*	...	*Includes the Secretary, Railway Department, who holds the status of a Deputy Secretary.
Joint Secretaries	4†	1	†Includes the Joint Secretary, Railway Department, who holds the status of a Deputy Secretary and who is an Indian.
Deputy Secretaries	11	2	
Under Secretaries	4	2	
Assistant Secretaries	17	5	
Total	46	10	

Note.—The post of Financial Adviser, Military Finance, is held by an Indian who holds the status of a Joint Secretary to the Government of India.

OFFICERS OF THE POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

264. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state the total number of officers of the Indian Political Department as on 31st March, 1923, getting more than Rs. 400, more than Rs. 600, more than Rs. 1,000, and will Government indicate how many of each of the above number were Indians, (b) will Government be pleased to state what qualifications they look for in new recruits for the Political Departments?

Mr. E. B. Howell: (a) The number of officers of the Indian Political Department on 31st March 1923, who were in receipt of salaries—

- From Rs. 400 to Rs. 600 was *nil*.
- From Rs. 600 to Rs. 1,000 25, of whom two were Indians.
- Above Rs. 1,000 117, of whom two were Indians.

(b) Recruitment for the Indian Political Department is ordinarily made from—

1. Members of the Indian Civil Service (both British and Indian).
2. British officers of the Indian Army and Indian officers of the Indian Army holding King's Commissions.
3. Indian officers of the Provincial Civil Services in cases of special merit.

In making selections from among candidates drawn from these sources, a variety of considerations are taken into account—among them character, tact, ability, education, linguistic attainments, previous distinctions, and physical fitness.

AFFAIRS OF THE ALLIANCE BANK.

265. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) whether any attempt was made to put an Indian liquidator in view of the preponderating Indian stake;

- (b) whether they discharged this attempt indirectly by instructing the Imperial Bank of India to oppose it at the creditors meeting in Calcutta;
- (c) whether any papers or reports have been placed before it with regard to the affairs of the Alliance Bank before or after the failure;
- (d) whether any estimate has been made of the loss which would be incurred by the taxpayer through the guarantee of fifty per cent. payment to depositors against Government guarantee?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a) and (b). The Government did not interfere in any way in the appointment of the liquidators and gave no instructions to the Imperial Bank.

(c) No.

(d) Yes. It was estimated that no loss would be incurred and this estimate is likely to be realised.

IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA.

266. **Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) what is the total amount and percentage of Government funds placed with the Imperial Bank of India on the last date of each quarter ending 1922-23;
- (b) what is the nature of the control exercised over the affairs of the Imperial Bank by Government to safeguard their interests;
- (c) what steps do Government propose to take in order to render the Imperial Bank a truly national institution promoting the trade and commerce of this country and favouring Indian Nationals as against all outsiders?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a)—

	Government Balance with Imperial Bank.	Percentage of total Government Balances in India.
On 30th June 1922	16 crores 64 lakhs	79.58
On 30th September 1922	13 „ 62 „	79.56
On 31st December 1922	14 „ 16 „	80.39
On 31st March 1923	20 „ 52 „	79.02

(b) I would refer the Honourable Member to sections 23 to 28 of the Imperial Bank of India Act, 1920, and to articles 14 and 15 of the agreement between the Secretary of State for India and the Imperial Bank which was laid on the Table of this House on the 17th July last.

(c) The Government do not contemplate any steps involving a radical alteration of the constitution of the Imperial Bank.

Mr. W. S. J. Willson: Would the Government have any right to impose on the Imperial Bank the necessity to favour one class of shareholders against another class?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I am not sure that the question arises, but the answer is presumably in the negative.

THE AUXILIARY AND TERRITORIAL FORCES.

267. ***Mr. V. J. Patel:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) the total number of men in the Auxiliary Force and what is the cost to the tax-payer per head;
- (b) the total number of men in the Territorial Force and the cost per head for each;
- (c) is it true that the Auxiliary Force is confined to Eurasians and Europeans;
- (d) the number of Indians in the Artillery Force of India and their rank; and
- (e) how many Indians there are in the Cavalry Force of India?

Mr. E. Burdon: (a) The actual strength of the Auxiliary Force on the 1st January 1924 was 34,636, and the average cost of a private of the Force is estimated at Rs. 40 per training year.

(b) The actual strength of the Indian Territorial Force, including the University Training Corps, is 15,595. The approximate cost of an Indian other rank of the Force is estimated at Rs. 26 per training year.

(c) Enrolment in the Auxiliary Force is open to all European British subjects and to persons of European descent.

(d) and (e). A statement is laid on the Table showing by ranks, the number of Indians serving with the Artillery and Indian Cavalry units in India.

Statement showing the number of Indians, classified according to the rank held, serving with the Artillery and Indian Cavalry units in India.

Artillery.		Cavalry.	
Indian officers—		Indian officers—	
Subedar Majors	12	Risaldar Majors	21
Subedars	74	Risaldars	147
Jemadars	115	Jemadars	189
	Total	Jemadar clerks	21
	201		Total
			378
Indian other ranks—		Indian other ranks—	
Staff Havildars	172	Dafadars	945
Havildars	473	Lance-Dafadars	777
Naicks	628	Trumpeters	163
Lance-Naicks	314	Sowars	8,694
Gunners	2,527		Total
Drivers	7,216		11,962
Trumpet Majors	9		
Trumpeters	50	Followers—	
Havildar Fitters	5	Class I	793
Farriers	31	Class II	3,523
Naicks Farriers	40		Total
Farriers	205		4,326
Clerks	122		
	Total		
	11,993		

GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

268. *Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Roy: Will the Government be pleased to state:

- (a) How many vacancies in the Geological Survey of India have been filled up in 1923?
- (b) Were these vacancies notified:
 - (a) in India;
 - (b) in England?
- (c) How many applications for these appointments were received from India?
- (d) (i) What was the procedure adopted in selecting candidates from among these applicants, to appear before the Selection Board in India for interview?
- (ii) How many were recommended by the Selection Board in India to the Secretary of State for India for appointment?
- (iii) How many were finally appointed from these candidates in India by the Secretary of State?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: (a) Three.

(b) Yes.

(c) Thirty-six.

(d) (i) A sub-committee of the Selection Committee consisting of Dr. E. H. Pascoe, Director, Geological Survey of India, Mr. G. H. Tipper, Superintendent, Geological Survey of India, and Sir Deva Prasad Sarva-dhikari, then M. L. A., was convened to make a preliminary selection of likely candidates from the applications received. Seven of these candidates who were considered as the most suitable, were interviewed by the full Selection Committee.

(ii) The Selection Committee recommended the name of only one candidate for appointment to the Geological Survey of India and his application was sent to the Secretary of State for India for consideration by the Selection Board in England.

(iii) This candidate was not appointed by the Secretary of State for India. I may add, however, that an Indian candidate who was already in England is among those recently appointed by the Secretary of State.

APPLICANTS FOR VACANCIES IN THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

269. *Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Roy: Will the Government be pleased to lay on the Table a full statement of the names, nationality, age, qualifications and career, theoretical and practical, of:

- (a) Applicants for vacancies in the Geological Survey of India who were not invited to appear before the Selection Board in India in 1923.
- (b) Applicants who were invited to appear before the Selection Board in India in 1923.
- (c) Applicants who were recommended to the Secretary of State for India for appointment by the Selection Board in India in 1923.
- (d) Applicants who were appointed by the Secretary of State from among the candidates recommended by the Selection Board in India in 1923.

- (e) Officers finally selected by the Secretary of State for India in 1923.

The Honourable Mr. A. G. Chatterjee: The compilation of the detailed statements required by the Honourable Member would entail the expenditure of an inordinate amount of time and labour. I shall, however, be glad to shew the Honourable Member the applications of the candidates in original, if he so desires.

IMPORT OF SPLINTS, VENEERS AND EMPTY MATCH BOXES.

270. ***Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Roy:** Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the large importation of splints and veneers for matches and also dummy match boxes into India from Japan and other foreign countries?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The answer is in the affirmative.

UTILIZATION OF THE SERVICES OF UNANI AND AYURVEDIC EXPERTS.

271. ***Kumar Ganganand Sinha:** Will the Government be pleased to state:

(a) what steps have been taken to utilise the services of Unani and Ayurvedic experts as suggested by the Resolution of Rai Sahib Lakshmi Narain Lall which was adopted by this House on 12th January 1922?

(b) whether any Committee was formed in pursuance of the same Resolution? If so, with what results? and if not, why?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: In accepting the Resolution referred to by the Honourable Member the Government of India made it clear that, in so far as action in the Provinces was concerned, they could only forward copies of the discussion to Local Governments for such action as the latter might consider necessary. For themselves they offered to promote consultation between the staff of their proposed Central Research Institute and distinguished Vaidyas and Hakims with a view to examining the necessity of appointing a Committee of experts. Copies of the proceedings were duly forwarded to Local Governments. Owing to financial stringency the scheme for the establishment of a Central Research Institute has had to be held in abeyance and no action by the Government of India has thus been possible.

MEDICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE.

272. ***Kumar Ganganand Sinha:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state as to when the Medical Research Institute as contemplated by the Resolution of Mr. M. S. D. Butler and adopted by this House on 23rd September 1922 is likely to be established?

(b) What progress has been made in that direction?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: Attention is invited to the reply given to-day to the similar question put by Mr. V. J. Patel.

RAILWAY RISK NOTES.

273. ***Kumar Ganganand Sinha:** Will the Government be pleased to state what action it has taken on the recommendations of the Railway Risk Note Committee?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The forms have been revised by Government's legal advisers in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee and steps are being taken to introduce the new forms.

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR THE TECHNICAL TRAINING ABROAD OF INDIANS AND ANGLO-INDIANS.

274. ***Kumar Ganganand Sinha:** Will the Government be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether any action has been taken on the Resolution to provide for the education and training abroad of Indian and Anglo-Indian youths in several branches of technology which was moved by Mr. N. M. Samarth and adopted by this House on 23rd February, 1922?
- (b) If so, the names, designations and subjects for studies of students who have received the scholarship during the last two years.
- (c) If not, the reason of it and the possible period after which the Resolution will be given effect to?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: (a) The answer is in the affirmative. The Honourable Member's attention is invited to the reply given by me to Sir D. P. Sarvadhikary's question on the same subject on the 6th September 1922. According to the ruling given by the Auditor General, provision for the grant of technical scholarships from central revenues can only be made in the subjects specified below, the remaining subjects mentioned in Mr. Samarth's Resolution having been definitely classed as provincial:—

- (i) Ship-building and ship-engineering.
- (ii) Oceanography.
- (iii) Wireless telegraphy.
- (iv) Gunnery and other modern weapons of warfare.
- (v) Mining.
- (vi) Metallurgy.
- (vii) Geological surveying.

The question of training Indian and Anglo-Indian youths in ship-building, ship-engineering and nautical subjects generally was among those remitted for inquiry to the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee. That Committee has not yet reported, and no scholarship has therefore been granted as yet for training in these subjects. As regards wireless telegraphy, the Government of India have under consideration the question of recruiting an Indian officer possessing a science degree and sending him to England for training. As regards gunnery and training in the handling of modern weapons of war, the Honourable Member's attention is drawn to part 4 of item 14-B of the statement laid on the Table on the 21st February 1923. No scholarships have been granted to Indian Officers and other ranks for the reasons mentioned in that statement. I may add, however, that a scheme for the training of apprentices in the Ordnance factories has just been sanctioned by the Government of India and will come into operation forthwith.

As regards mining, metallurgy and geological surveying, one scholarship in each of these subjects was awarded during the last year and it is proposed, if funds permit, to grant a similar number of scholarships in these subjects during the current year also.

(b) The details of the scholarships awarded during the year 1923 are as follows:—

Subject.	Name.	Designation.
Mining	Mr. Sudhansu Kumar Bose, B.Sc.	Overman at Sanctria Colliery of the Bengal Coal Company, Limited.
Metallurgy	Mr. Tara Gati Banerji, B.Sc.	Apprentice in the Jamalpur Workshop of the East Indian Railway.
Geological Surveying	Mr. Shishir Kumar Chatterjee, M.Sc.	Advanced student of the Presidency College, Calcutta.

No scholarships were granted during 1922.

(c) This does not arise.

PURCHASE OF STORES BY THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA.

275. *Kumar Ganganand Sinha: Will the Government be pleased to lay on the Table the report, if any, of the High Commissioner regarding the purchase of stores during the last three years? If there be no such report, will the Government be pleased to call for one?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: The exact nature of the report contemplated by the Honourable Member is not clear. The High Commissioner furnishes to the Government of India every six months a statement showing all cases in which he has accepted tenders other than the lowest for stores supplied to India. These statements are laid on the Table of the House as soon as they are received.

In addition, the High Commissioner furnishes a summary of all payments made by him for stores procured for shipment to India. These are included in the Home Accounts of the Government of India. The High Commissioner also sends to the Chief Controller of Stores, Indian Stores Department, copies of all contracts placed by the Director General of Stores in London. It is not in contemplation to call for any further reports on the subject.

ADMISSION OF INDIANS TO THE MILITARY, NAVAL, AIR AND AUXILIARY FORCES.

276. *Kumar Ganganand Sinha: Will the Government be pleased to—

(a) lay on the Table its correspondence with the Secretary of State for India regarding the free admission of Indians to all arms, Military, Naval and Air forces, the Ancillary Services and Auxiliary forces and about the yearly grant of King's Commission to Indians?

(b) state whether it has come to any decision with regard to the pay of all commissioned ranks? If so, what? If not, why?

Mr. E. Burdon: (a) Government are not prepared to lay the correspondence in question on the Table.

(b) It is presumed the Honourable Member is referring to the Resolution on this subject which was adopted by the Assembly on the 28th March 1921, and I, therefore, invite his attention to the reply given to question No. 236 asked by Mr. V. J. Patel.

PROTECTION OF THE STEEL INDUSTRY.

277. *Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Will Government be pleased to state whether they have received the report of the Tariff Board on the question of protection regarding the steel industry in India?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: No, Sir.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: May I, Sir, know whether the Government are aware that the Tariff Board has now in fact made their report on the steel industry?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: All I can say, Sir, is that the Government of India have not yet received the report.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: May I repeat my question—are the Government aware that the Tariff Board have now in fact made their report?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I do not know what the Honourable Member means by the words "made their report". They have not made their report in the sense that the report has not yet been made to the Government of India. If the Honourable Member wishes to know whether the Tariff Board have finished their report, that is a question I cannot answer.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Has the Government got any information, having regard to the very serious state of the steel industry, when this report is likely to be submitted to the Government of India?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I hope, Sir, that the report will be submitted within a very short period.

Mr. K. C. Roy: Does Government propose to call for an *ad interim* report?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I will look into that point and find out from the President whether they have arrived at their conclusions and, if so, whether they can let us have a summary of those conclusions.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: In that event, are the Government prepared to take any steps during this Session?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Honourable Member had better wait till his next question which if he will permit me I will now proceed to answer.

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty: Has it been brought to the notice of Government that the condition of the steel industry is so precarious that some big works are in danger of being closed if immediate protection is not granted to them?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: In the course of the evidence recorded by the Tariff Board I have seen statements to that effect.

Mr. Campbell Rhodes: Will the Government give the House an opportunity of considering the report before any action is taken?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: That, Sir, is a point which will require consideration.

PROTECTION OF THE STEEL INDUSTRY.

278. *Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Will Government be pleased to state whether they propose to take any and what measure this Session in connection with the steel industry in India with regard to its protection?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: All that the Government can say at present is that they will give immediate consideration to the Report as soon as it is received.

RETRENCHMENT ON THE NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY.

279. *Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas: Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) if it is a fact that, as a measure of retrenchment, a number of subordinate employees on the North-Western Railway of long services and of permanent pay, have been reverted to classes lower than those earned by them by service and due promotion?
- (b) if any supervising officers on the same railway have been thus treated?
- (c) if so, how many?
- (d) if not, does Government contemplate taking necessary steps to restore the persons affected to their old grades and classes?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) and (d). Government have no information in regard to particular cases but it is quite possible that certain surplus staff instead of being discharged under the retrenchment scheme have been given by the Administration the option of being retained in a lower capacity temporarily.

(b) The answer is in the negative.

COMPENSATORY ALLOWANCES FOR THE STAFF OF THE NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY AT KARACHI.

280. *Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas: Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) if any steps have been taken to afford relief in the shape of compensatory allowance for expensive stations, to employees on the North-Western Railway posted at Karachi on the lines of Bombay Government Resolution No. 2837 of 8th December, 1923, sanctioning grant of Karachi allowance for all Government servants drawing Rs. 100 and over with retrospective effect from March 1923?
- (b) if not, do they contemplate such steps in regard to Railway servants drawing Rs. 100 and over who are posted at Karachi as any other Government servants?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The matter is one primarily for the Agent, North-Western Railway, to consider and the Railway Board have received no recommendation from that officer. The rates of pay and conditions of service of the railway employees at Karachi quite possibly differ from those of the Local Government's servants stationed there.

ACTIVITIES OF MUSA KHAN IN WAZIRISTAN.

281. ***Mr. K. C. Roy:** Will Government be pleased to state who is Musa Khan, and what is the nature of his activities in Waziristan?

Mr. E. B. Howell: Musa Khan, Mahsud, is tribally speaking one of the minor headmen of his section, the Abdullai, who reside in and around Makin. He has been the focus of opposition to Government ever since the Mahsud operations of 1919-20. Under his influence the Abdullai for long held aloof from a settlement with Government but the bulk of them accepted the very lenient terms offered by Government in February 1923. Musa Khan and his immediate following, who are suspected of having compassed the death of Lieutenant Dickson in December 1922, are however excluded from the settlement.

Mr. K. Ahmed: What was the reason for Musa Khan's committing the offence with which he is connected?

Mr. E. B. Howell: I am afraid I cannot answer for Musa Khan's motives.

Mr. K. Ahmed: What was the cause or causes—his plea of defence—why Musa Khan committed the offence in question?

Mr. E. B. Howell: It must be a matter of surmise to every one except Musa Khan.

DISCONTINUANCE OF THE ONE-RUPEE NOTE.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Will Government be pleased to state what decision they have come to in regard to the Retrenchment Committee's recommendation that the one-rupee note should be discontinued?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blckett: I am glad of the opportunity given me by the Honourable Member's question to announce that the Government of India have decided, after the termination of the present contract with the Bank of England which has still some months to run, to place no further order for one-rupee notes. The one-rupee note will of course continue to be legal tender.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

DISTANCE BETWEEN CALCUTTA AND DACCA.

73. **Mr. Kumar Sankar Ray:** Will the Government be pleased to state:

- (a) How is the distance of 265 miles as given in the Eastern Bengal Railway time table between Calcutta and Dacca *via* Narayanganj arrived at?
- (b) What is the average mileage actually run by the steamer plying between Goalundo and Narayanganj?
- (c) Comparing the total distances required to be travelled from Calcutta to Dacca *via* Sirajgunj and Narayanganj routes why is it that the time taken by the Sirajgunj route is so much longer specially when a greater distance has to be travelled by steamer *via* Narayanganj?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) The distance of 265 miles between Calcutta and Dacca *via* Narayanganj has been arrived at as follows:

Calcutta to Goalundo	150
Goalundo to Narayanganj	104
Narayanganj to Dacca	11
Total	<u>265</u>

(b) The steamer service between Goalundo and Narayanganj is not controlled by the railway and Government have no information regarding the average mileage actually run between the points specified.

(c) The chargeable distance between Calcutta and Dacca *via* Sirajganj is 347 miles against 265 miles *via* Narayanganj and the greater distance by the Sirajganj route includes 127 miles of metre gauge line.

LATE ARRIVAL OF TRAINS AT DACCA *via* SIRAJGANJ.

74. **Mr. Kumar Sankar Ray:** Is it a fact that the timing given in the Eastern Bengal Railway time table for reaching Dacca from Calcutta by the Sirajgunj route is rarely kept and that trains are usually late by 2 to 3 hours?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Owing mainly to river difficulties and engineering restrictions on the line, the train from Calcutta to Dacca has not been keeping good time lately. The average late arrival of this train at Narayanganj, the terminal, was as follows:

In October 1923	22 minutes.
In November 1923	10-3 "
In December 1923	14-5 "
In January 1924	10-7 "

SPEED OF THE EASTERN BENGAL RAILWAY TRAINS.

75. **Mr. Kumar Sankar Ray:** Is it a fact that the speed of the Eastern Bengal Railway trains are generally speaking slower than those of the East Indian Railway trains? If so, why?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The greater portion of the Eastern Bengal Railway consists of metre gauge and it is therefore difficult to compare the speed of trains on that railway with that obtaining on the East Indian Railway. The speed on the broad gauge portion of the Eastern Bengal Railway does not compare unfavourably with the speed on the East Indian Railway.

PROPOSED METRE GAUGE RAILWAY FROM CHITTAGONG TO ARAKAN.

76. **Mr. Kumar Sankar Ray:** Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the memorial of the people of Chittagong (resident within the municipality of Chittagong and assembled in a meeting held on the 14th January 1924) protesting against the construction of a metre gauge railway line from Chittagong to Arakan through the busiest and most thickly populated parts of Chittagong, namely, Alkaran, Bandel, Patherghata and other places? If so, is the Government going to change the route so as to avoid causing inconvenience to the public?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative.

The question of the alignment of the Chittagong-Akyab Railway will receive consideration if and when the construction of the line is sanctioned.

SHUTTLE TRAIN BETWEEN GOALUNDO AND RAJBARI.

77. Mr. Kumar Sankar Ray: Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the memorial sent to His Excellency the Governor of Bengal by Kumar Mansankar Ray Chaudhury as president of a public meeting held at Goalundo on the 26th December, 1923, a copy of which was forwarded to the Chairman, Railway Board, Simla, on or about the 16th January, 1924? If so, is the Government going to re-establish as early as possible the shuttle train between Goalundo (local) and Rajbari?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The reply to the first part of the question is in the affirmative. The matter will be brought to the notice of the Agent, E. B. Railway.

SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS.

78. Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: Will the Government kindly state:

- (a) What practical steps have been taken in the matter of the separation of Judicial and Executive functions?
- (b) Has the Government received any reports from the Local Governments on this question? And will the Government kindly lay them on the table?

SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS.

79. Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: Have the Government of Bihar and Orissa submitted their report on the question of separation of Judicial and Executive functions? And if so, when will it be available to Members of the Assembly?

SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS.

80. Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: Is the Government in a position to give an approximate date by which the separation of Judicial and Executive functions could be effected in practice?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Halley: The Honourable Member is referred to the reply* given by me on the 16th July 1923 to starred question No. 248 asked by Rai Bahadur L. P. Sinha. Since then the Government of India have received proposals from the Government of Bengal, but that Local Government propose to place their scheme before the local Legislative Council for criticism. No action has so far been taken, pending the receipt of the final views of the Governments of Bengal and Madras. Government cannot at present make any further statement on this subject.

* Vide p. 4633 of L. A. Debates, Vol. III.

VOTE OF NO-CONFIDENCE IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

81. **Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** Is the Government aware that a vote of "no-confidence" has been recently passed by the Legislative Council of the Central Provinces; and that the Council has been adjourned *sine die*?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The Honourable Member is referred to my reply to Mr. Patel's question No. 223 given to-day.

VOTE OF NO-CONFIDENCE IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

82. **Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** Has the Government of India received any report or communication from the Government of the Central Provinces, relating to the vote of "no-confidence" passed by the C. P. Legislature? And if so, will Government be pleased to lay a copy on the table?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The Honourable Member is referred to my reply to Mr. Patel's question No. 223 given to-day.

VOTE OF NO-CONFIDENCE IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

83. **Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** What constitutional action the Government of India has directed the C. P. Government to take; or what action the Government of India has taken, or proposes to take in connection with the vote of "no-confidence" passed by the C. P. Legislative Council?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The Government of India have taken no action in the matter, and they do not at present intend to take any action.

FLOODS IN WESTERN BIHAR.

84. **Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** (a) Did the Government of India call for, or receive any report from the Government of Bihar and Orissa, relating to the unusually heavy flood which occurred in the Western portion of Bihar during the last rains? And if so, will the Government be pleased to lay a copy on the table?

(b) If the answer to the above be in the negative, will the Government kindly state why no enquiry has been made, and no report is forthcoming?

(c) Is the Government aware that the insufficiency in the number and dimensions of the water-ways on the embankment of the B. N. W. Railway and the E. I. Railway is partly responsible for the floods which occurred in Western Bihar during the last rains, as the natural flow of water is impeded by such embankments? And do the Government intend to consider the question of having more water-ways in the railway embankments?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: (a), and (b). The flood was duly reported by the Local Government to the Government of India. No useful purpose would be served by laying the report on the table but I shall be happy to show it to the Honourable Member if he so desires.

(c) From the information at their disposal it does not appear to the Government of India that the flood was due to insufficiency in the water-ways provided in Railway embankments.

REGISTRATION AND PROTECTION OF TRADES UNIONS.

85. **Mr. Chaman Lal:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state their intentions in regard to the Bill for the Registration and Protection of Trades Unions?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state whether it is their intention to introduce legislation for the Registration and Protection of Trades Unions on the lines of British legislation on this subject?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: The Honourable Member is referred to the answer given to-day to Mr. V. J. Patel's question on the same subject.

MINIMUM WAGE FOR KEY INDUSTRIES.

86. **Mr. Chaman Lal:** Will Government be pleased to state their intention with regard to the introduction of legislation for the establishment of a Minimum Wage for key industries?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: No such legislation is contemplated.

INTRODUCTION OF LEGISLATION ON THE LINES OF THE BRITISH INSURANCE ACT.

87. **Mr. Chaman Lal:** Will Government be pleased to state whether it is their intention to introduce legislation on the lines of the British Insurance Act?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The whole question is under consideration and the Government hope to come to a conclusion at an early date.

ENTRY OF MR. B. A. HORNIMAN INTO INDIA.

88. **Mr. Chaman Lal:** Will Government state whether it is their intention to move the Foreign Office to cancel all restrictions imposed upon Mr. B. A. Horniman preventing his entry into India?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I would refer the Honourable Member to the answer just given to Mr. Patel. The Government of India do not intend to take steps in the direction indicated by the Honourable Member.

CONSTITUTIONAL DEADLOCK IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

89. **Mr. Chaman Lal:** Will Government state their intention in regard to the Constitutional dead-lock which has arisen in the Central Provinces' Legislature?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The Honourable Member is referred to my reply to Mr. Patel's question No. 223 given to-day.

DEMANDS OF THE SWARAJYA PARTY'S CENTRAL COUNCIL.

90. **Mr. Chaman Lal:** (a) Will Government state whether they have received a copy of the demands made on behalf of the people of India by the Swarajya Party's Central Council and whether these demands have been communicated to the Secretary of State for India?

(b) Will Government be pleased to lay on the table all correspondence relative to this demand which has passed between the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: (a) and (b). No.

BRIGADE ORDER re VOTING FOR A SWARAJIST CANDIDATE.

91. **Mr. Chaman Lal:** Will Government state what action they contemplate against the authorities responsible for issuing a Brigade Order in Sialkote exhorting military officers to vote for a non-Swarajist candidate?

Mr. E. Burdon: The Government of India have no information that any such order was issued but are inquiring. I will let the Honourable Member know the result in due course.

RELEASE OF MR. GANDHI.

92. **Mr. Chaman Lal:** Will Government be pleased to state their intention in regard to the immediate and unconditional release of Mahatma Gandhi?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Mr. Gandhi was released unconditionally on the 4th February 1924.

PANEL OF CHAIRMEN.

Mr. President: Under Rule 3 of the Legislative Rules I appoint the following four Members of the Assembly to be Chairmen on 12 Nov. the panel:

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad,
 Sir Henry Stanyon,
 Mr. M. A. Jinnah, and
 Mr. K. C. Neogy.

THE LIBRARY COMMITTEE.

Mr. President: Members are also probably aware that during the course of the first Legislative Assembly a special Committee was set up to deal with matters arising out of the administration of the Library of the Legislature, and it was agreed then that the Committee should consist of four Members, two appointed by the President of the Council of State and two appointed by the President of the Legislative Assembly. To that Committee I appoint, with their acquiescence, Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao and Mr. K. C. Roy, to represent this House on that Committee.

THE INDIAN PENAL CODE (AMENDMENT) BILL.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I move:

"That the Bill further to amend the Indian Penal Code, for certain purposes, be referred to a Select Committee consisting of the Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey, Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar, Maulvi Muhammad Yakub, Mian Abdul Haye, Mr. Shanmukham Chetty, Dr. H. S. Gour, Diwan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Mr. E. G. Fleming, Mr. P. E. Percival, Mr. N. M. Joshi and myself, with instructions to report on or before the 29th February, 1924."

Sir, I do not wish to take up the time of the House as the matter was only the other day thrashed out, when it was agreed upon by the House that this Bill should be referred to a Select Committee. This only now gives the personnel of the Select Committee.

Mr. President: This is a purely formal motion, the motion that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee having been carried against the original motion standing in the Honourable the Home Member's name that it should be taken into consideration.

Dr. H. S. Gour (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I should like to draw the attention of the House to a small point which I asked the House to send on to the Select Committee for consideration. As the Bill was originally drafted

Mr. President: That is not in order. The Bill has been referred to a Select Committee and this is merely a formal motion proposing the names of the Committee.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao (Godavari *cum* Kistna: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I beg to move that the name of Dr. S. K. Datta be added to this Committee. I have spoken to the Mover of this motion and he has no objection.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: I have no objection, provided the House will accept it. I agree to the name being added.

Mr. President: Has the Honourable Member Mr. Datta's authority?

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: Yes.

Mr. President: The question is that the name of Dr. S. K. Datta be added to the Select Committee.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That the Bill further to amend the Indian Penal Code, for certain purposes, be referred to a Select Committee consisting of the Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey, Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar, Maulvi Muhammad Yakub, Mian Abdul Haye, Mr. Shanmukham Chetty, Dr. H. S. Gour, Diwan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Mr. E. G. Fleming, Mr. P. E. Percival, Mr. N. M. Joshi Dr. S. K. Datta and the Mover, with instructions to report on or before the 29th February, 1924."

The motion was adopted.

THE INDIAN CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey (Home Member): Sir, I beg leave to introduce:

"A Bill further to amend the Indian Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, for the purpose of affording greater protection to persons under the age of eighteen years."

I think that this Bill needs but little introduction from me, certainly to many Members of this House; for there are those here who took part in our discussions in 1913 and 1914 on the Bill which we now resuscitate. The recollections of some will perhaps go further back than that. If I am correct, our inquiries in connection with representations received of the necessity of measures of this kind began as far back as 1868; between 1900 and 1912 there were no less than three inquiries instituted on the subject, dealing I think mainly with one special aspect of the problem, the case of the employment of girls in temple service. We at the time were not prepared to come forward with legislation on the subject, partly because we doubted whether the evil was so extensive as to call for legislation and partly because we felt some scruple, in view of religious prejudices, in legislating on this particular topic. It was in 1912 that Sir Maneckji Dadabhojy introduced his Bill and we had at the same time before us two other Bills drafted by Mr. Mudholkar and Mr. Madge. As the result of inquiries made in regard to those three Bills, we decided that the time had then come for a cautious advance in this direction, and in 1913 Sir Reginald Craddock placed his Bill before the old Legislative Council. There were some in that Council who thought that the Bill in some respects went too far, or rather I should say, that though it was not too extensive in scope, some of its details were such as to raise objections on religious or other grounds. Further action was deferred at the time owing to the war. Now, it is clear that public opinion has moved somewhat fast since then, and, if we ourselves have not reacted to that opinion, it is because we have been waiting to see how far action which was being taken in the local Legislatures was adequate to cope with the question. The Madras local Council passed a Children's Act in 1920, and a similar Act was passed by Bengal in 1922 and again amended in 1923. We understand that the Bombay Government have an intention of bringing forward a Bill with a similar scope in their local Council. Most of this is legislation on the lines of portions of the very comprehensive English Children's Act of 1908. A somewhat different aspect of the same problem was dealt with in the Burma Suppression of Brothels Act of 1921 and the Bombay Prevention of Prostitution Act, 1923, and the Calcutta Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act of the same year. Now, our present Bill is meant to be supplementary to this legislation in some respects and in others to bring the general criminal law in conformity with the standards which have been laid down by local legislation. We have tried to avoid as far as possible the more contentious issues raised in the previous proposals for legislation and also in Resolutions before this Assembly. We have not, for instance, definitely assumed that employment as *Devadasis* is equivalent to employment for purposes of prostitution; but should such employment actually prove to come within that definition, our Bill will enable it to be dealt with more effectively than hitherto. Then, again, we have thought it necessary to exercise a certain caution in regard to the definition of 'immoral purposes' or 'illicit intercourse'. The Bill will extend to the whole of India, including many backward tracts. We

[Sir Malcolm Hailey.]

believe it is only proper in the circumstances that we should recognise that there are certain relationships in those tracts which have the force of quasi-marital relationship, though not strictly matrimonial. I have referred only to the general tenour of the Act. I do not propose now to refer to the details. The Bill is obviously one that requires much consideration, and, if the present motion is accepted by the House, I shall endeavour in making subsequent motions to provide time for the fullest consideration of all its details. Meanwhile I can commend it to the House as a piece of sound social legislation; it is cautious, but it need not be discounted purely for that reason. In fact, I believe that all social legislation should proceed by gradual stages, providing social opinion with new standards and traditions at each step. If this is done, then, when the Legislature makes each new step forward, it will have behind it a body of solid and convinced public opinion prepared to make the law effective. Thus only can we secure that the social law should not be the sole creation of the Legislature, but that it should in fact be the endorsement at each stage of the social standards of the great mass of thinking men in the community to which it refers. I beg leave to introduce the Bill.

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

THE INDIAN INCOME-TAX (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett (Finance Member): Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill further to amend the Indian Income-tax Act, 1922, for certain purposes, be referred to a Select Committee consisting of Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar, Mr. W. S. J. Willson, Mr. H. G. Cocks, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Mr. S. C. Ghose, Mr. Bhubanananda Das, Mr. A. R. L. Tottenham and myself, with instructions to report on or before the 29th February, 1924.

Sir, the purpose of this Bill, as I explained on its introduction, is to provide for certain omissions and make clear the meaning of certain sections of the Income-tax Act which have created doubts. Unless the House desires, I do not think that it is necessary for me at this stage to add to what I have already said as to the purpose of this Bill and to what is said in the Statement of Objects and Reasons.

The motion was adopted.

Khan Sahib Ghulam Bari (West Central Punjab: Muhammadan): Sir, I want to suggest that the name of Baba Ujagar Singh Bedi be added to the Select Committee.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I have no objection.

Mr. President: The question is that the name of Baba Ujagar Singh Bedi be added to the Select Committee.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Abdul Haye (East Punjab: Muhammadan): Sir, from the Statement of Objects and Reasons I find that it is not intended to exempt the Mussalman community from the operation of this Act. It is desirable that the Mussalman community should not go unrepresented, and I therefore propose that the name of Khan Sahib Maulvi Ghulam Bari be added to the Select Committee.

Mr. President: Has the Honourable Member his authority?

Mr. Abdul Haye: Yes, Sir.

Mr. President: The question is that the name of Khan Sahib Maulvi Ghulam Bari be added to the Select Committee.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That the Bill further to amend the Indian Income-tax Act, 1922, for certain purposes, be referred to a Select Committee consisting of Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar, Mr. W. S. J. Willson, Mr. H. G. Cocke, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Mr. S. C. Ghose, Mr. Bhubanananda Das, Mr. A. R. L. Tottenham, Baba Ujagar Singh Bedi, Khan Sahib Maulvi Ghulam Bari and the Mover, with instructions to report on or before the 29th February, 1924."

The motion was adopted.

THE INDIAN TARIFF (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes (Commerce Member): Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill further to amend the Indian Tariff Act, 1894, for certain purposes, be taken into consideration."

When I introduced this Bill a few days ago, Sir, I gave a very brief explanation of its object. I have been informed by some of my friends opposite that the exact purport and meaning of the Bill is not fully understood by the House, and therefore with the permission of the House I shall endeavour to give a somewhat clearer and fuller explanation of the objects of the Bill.

The operative part of the Bill is clause 3 which substitutes a new section 5 for that section in the existing Tariff Act. If the House will pass this Bill, the effect of the amendment will be this. You will have conferred upon the Government of India the power to impose customs duties at the rate sanctioned in the Schedule to the Tariff Act on goods coming into British India or going out from British India, firstly, from and into foreign countries outside the limits of India, secondly, from and into foreign European settlements inside the limits of India, and, thirdly, from and into Indian States. The House will see that in the clause provided, we use the expression "from or to any territory outside British India". I think the use of that phrase was misunderstood by my friend Mr. Dumasia when he made his speech opposing the introduction of the Bill the other day, British India under the General Clauses Act has a technical meaning. It excludes all Indian States. The word "India" includes all Indian States. The words "British India" exclude all Indian States. Now the only change of any importance that we are making is that we are asking for power to impose customs duties on goods coming into India from foreign countries outside our borders. I gave an illustration when I introduced this Bill when I told the House that in the course of the last year we have found that a very large number of dutiable articles, especially small articles which are easily portable, such as matches and cigarettes, are pouring into Burma over the Siamese frontier. I told the House that we cannot deal with the matter at present because we have certain Treaties and Agreements with the Siamese Government. And we shall have to consider in consultation with that Government the question whether we shall terminate or modify in any way those agreements. But, even if we do terminate or modify

[Sir Charles Innes.]

those agreements, we shall still be helpless because our Tariff Act, as it exists at present, gives us no power at all to impose duties on goods coming over our land frontier. I hope I have explained that point to the House.

Now, let me take the question of foreign European settlements inside British India. I refer of course to small enclaves like Pondicherry, Chandernagore and places of that kind. The existing Tariff Act imposes upon us the obligation to levy customs duties on goods passing by land out of or into these foreign settlements. The exact words are:

"Duties or customs shall be levied on goods passing by land out of or into European foreign settlements."

Now that goes too far. We require these powers in respect of foreign settlements which are on the sea coast and which are importing dutiable articles direct themselves; but it is quite unnecessary for us to impose these customs duties in respect of dutiable goods going into or coming out of places which are not on the sea coast. Chandernagore is a case in point. We do not have any customs barrier there because on dutiable goods the duties have already been paid at our ports. Similarly, dutiable goods leaving Chandernagore will naturally be subject to the export charges when they leave our ports. That is why the Legislative Department has substituted for the word "shall" the word "may". Instead of imposing upon us the obligation to levy duties in respect of foreign European settlements, it gives us the discretion to impose these duties in respect of such foreign settlements as may be necessary.

Now I come to the Indian States. As I have explained, these Indian States are for the purposes of this Act outside British India. Now, here again my Bill makes no change of any substance at all. Under the existing Tariff Act we have power to declare Indian States, if we so desire, to be foreign territory, for the purpose of the Tariff Act, and, if they are declared to be foreign territory, then under the Act as it stands we are required to impose customs duties on dutiable goods going into those Indian States or coming out from them. But under the Tariff Act as it stands that power was exercised by the Governments of Madras, Bengal and Bombay in respect of Indian States inside those Presidencies or bordering on them. They could declare those Indian States to be foreign territory subject to our control. Now, as the House knows, customs duties have become a Central subject and therefore there is no need for any powers of that kind to vest any longer in Local Governments. Therefore the only change that we have made is that we have eliminated the Local Governments and have taken over ourselves the discretionary power to impose customs duties on goods going into or coming out of Indian States. It may be asked, why is it necessary that we should have those powers? As far as I know, they are not exercised at all at present. None of the Indian States at present is declared to be foreign territory for the purposes of these powers, but it is always necessary to have these powers in reserve. Some of these Indian States have their own ports; they have direct access to the sea. It would be possible for them to allow goods to come into their territories through their own ports and not to pay our customs duties, and then, if we had no customs barrier, those goods could pass through their territories and into British India, and that would be not only unfair to our own merchants in British India but would also cause us considerable loss of revenue. We try to meet this difficulty by coming to an arrangement with these Indian

States that they will impose the same customs duties that we do. But it is always possible that that arrangement may break down and we may find it necessary some day to put up customs barriers all round Indian States which have direct access to the sea. But, as far as I know, it is not intended to do that at present. It is merely a power in reserve;

Now, Sir, I hope I have explained quite clearly the objects of this Bill. We make no change of any substance at all in respect of foreign European settlements in India and no change of substance in regard to Indian States. The only important thing we are asking the House to do is to empower us to impose customs duties on dutiable goods which come in from foreign territories outside the limits of India; and that is, as I have pointed out, a very serious matter to us, because over this one frontier we are now losing revenue which is estimated on matches alone to be 12 lakhs of rupees during this year. In these circumstances, Sir, I hope that the House will agree to take this Bill into consideration.

Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju (Ganjam *cum* Vizagapatam: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, the Honourable Member for Commerce has given us a fuller explanation than he did on the previous occasion with a view to enlightening the House on several points. But still I am not quite sure that we are in full possession of all the necessary factors to enable us to consider whether the Bill, as it is introduced, should be passed or not. Of course we do not want to stand in the way of Government realizing the dues on dutiable goods brought over the land route by persons trying to evade payment of customs duties. As the Honourable Member has pointed out, if certain goods like matches are being brought in, without paying duty by the land route from China or Japan, then it is necessary to introduce some method of compelling the payment of duty on such goods. But I feel that there is a possibility of interpreting the language of the Statute so as to make it apply to matches manufactured in British India or sent out of our territory. Perhaps there is no export duty on matches but there are other things on which duty has to be levied at the same rate whether they are manufactured here or not, when they are sent into Indian States. I do not think the Honourable Member for Commerce is at all anxious to impose any duty on goods manufactured in India or exported from India to any Native State. Even with regard to Native States we are in a difficult position. In one of the sessions of the Princes' Chamber His Excellency the Viceroy said that it would be useful to consider the possibility of using the Princes' Chamber as an agency for consultation on fiscal matters which affect all the subjects alike. Before the Fiscal Commission a representative on behalf of 32 States complained that we were raising revenue from customs and were not giving them any share and they were put to a lot of difficulty by the levy of customs on goods reaching Indian States. Particular reference was made to Baroda which was declared to be a foreign territory though they did not impose any duty on goods imported from British territory or exported into British territory, while we were imposing certain duties on goods imported into Baroda. And take Hyderabad, they are imposing about five per cent. duty on goods imported into or exported from it. Whereas with reference to certain goods which we are importing from outside we are imposing 30 per cent. duty, are we to impose the same duty, or should we adopt a reciprocal duty? In the case of Native States, whatever duty they impose on goods imported from India, we should be in a position to impose it upon the goods brought in

[Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju.]

from that State. Gwalior, I suppose, also imposes some duty, so also does Indore; but it is not to the extent to which we impose it,—they call it perhaps excise duty. But in all these matters my anxiety is that we must protect ourselves; and by the phraseology adopted in the Statute it should not necessitate or enable the imposition of any duty on goods manufactured in India, and we should not injure the interests of the subjects in British States as well, because on more than one occasion it was stated, and especially when they were invited to give evidence before the Fiscal Commission, it was stated that British subjects in India and subjects of Indian States should be treated all alike in fiscal matters. Now I think we should have some precaution to provide against such a contingency of a differential treatment; and therefore I would like, as this Act is intended to be put into force only in April and not earlier, and as there would be no difficulty, if the Honourable Member for Commerce agrees, to refer it to a Select Committee so that all these questions might be considered in order to see whether there is any need for protection with reference to the matters which I have mentioned, and whether anything can be done with reference to States which do not impose any duty on goods imported from British India or exported to British India. I have no objection to imposing any duty with reference to goods imported from foreign countries,—we are not much concerned about them— but my difficulty comes in because most of the States are in India and most of the subjects concerned are owning properties in both places and their companies are registered both in British India and in Native States, and it is very difficult to discriminate between these two, unless we understand the real position between the parties. Of course Government should have the power of imposing duties whenever they want it, when any particular Indian State does not agree to any particular course suggested by the Government, but here they have made it impossible for the Government of India to get out of it because they say *shall* levy the same rate: there is no possibility of reducing the rate with reference to any particular matter or state. For instance, we have to get raw silk from Kashmir, we would like to import it into British India without any duty, unlike any other silk imported from elsewhere. Perhaps we may want sandalwood oil from Mysore, we may want soap from Mysore, glycerine, cocoa, chocolate,—one will not impose the same duty as we propose to impose on those articles introduced from foreign countries. With reference to all these matters, instead of passing it now, I respectfully submit that the House might agree that the question should be thoroughly examined, and protection might be given in such cases where they need protection by referring the matter to a Select Committee.

Mr. D. V. Belvi (Bombay Southern Division: Non-Muhammadian Rural): Sir, I regret my inability to accord my support to this motion. I find, since my arrival at this Imperial City of Delhi, that legislation is proceeding at what we may call a break-neck pace. This Bill was introduced into the Assembly on the 6th February 1924, and it was set down for hearing on the 11th. It was published in the Gazette of India on the 9th February. It seems that things are moving much too fast for the country. It is impossible to believe that this House is not aware of the fact that there are 300 millions or so of people, I believe, outside this Council Chamber, and that some sort of notice of intended legislation should be given to the country at large. The Bill should have been circulated in the country. I

fear that a copy of the Gazette of India has not reached even Bombay, not to speak of Madras, yet. I submit that this Legislature should not pass any measure of legislation in indecent haste. I submit that this Bill should be published in all the local Gazettes of the various provinces, and the Local Governments should be asked to translate it into the principal languages of the provinces. I have had some sort of experience as a legislator myself. I have worked as a Member of the Bombay Legislative Council for 10 years, and I found that things were done there with much more considerateness for the feelings and for the interests of the people who were to be affected by legislation, and there was a rule there that no Bill could be considered until 18 clear days' notice had been given of its introduction. It seems that the Legislative Department of the Government of India are in very great haste, when the month of April is quite close. Were they sleeping hitherto, so far as this particular Bill was concerned? This Bill ought to have been published some time before so that the country might study it on its merits.

Turning to the principle which underlies this Bill, it seems to me that the Bill is not so very innocuous as it appears. It wears an appearance of innocence, but, examined closely, it is a very dangerous Bill. What guarantee is there that this Bill, if passed into law, will not affect injuriously the industries in Native States? It is true that the Honourable the Mover of the Bill has told us that it will affect only goods which are imported into India by land from outside India, and that the duty will be levied only on such goods. I do not find that any such explanation is given in the body of the Bill itself. When the Bill becomes law, it is not the Statement of Objects and Reasons nor the speech of the Honourable the Mover that will be taken into consideration, but the exact phraseology of the Act itself which will have to be construed. It is a very dangerous measure of legislation. Now, consider what the effect of a strict application of this measure to industries in Native States will be. I may make my position quite clear by taking concrete instances. In the Bombay Presidency there is a Company which makes very good iron ploughs. That industry is situated in a small State known as the State of Aundh. The distance between the factory and British India is only a furlong or so. Now if a duty is levied on ploughs turned out by this factory, I make no doubt that the agricultural industry in the Bombay Presidency will be very hard hit. Is there any guarantee that industries such as these will not be hurt by this legislation? Take again the States of Mysore and Baroda. In Baroda there are "The Alembic Chemical Works" which manufacture many useful articles, and these articles are imported into British India. Is there any guarantee that these articles will not be taxed under the provisions of this measure? Take, again, Mysore where there are the sandal oil industry, the soap industry and many other small industries. All these industries run a risk of being taxed and handicapped by this legislation. Unless this Bill is very carefully examined by a Select Committee, the appointment of which has just now been proposed by my Honourable friend, Mr. Raju, it seems to me that it is likely to prove very harmful. On these grounds, I am compelled to withhold my assent to this Bill. I do not want to be a party to any hasty legislation. Every piece of legislation must be passed in this Assembly with due regard to the fact that there is a very large country which is to be affected by it. Unless this plain fact is borne in mind, it seems to me that the interests of the people of the country will not be safe in the hands of this Legislature.

Mr. N. M. Dumasia (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, this Bill involves a very important principle. If this is intended only to protect the British revenues, then there need be no objection to this Bill. But, Sir, from the Statement of Objects and Reasons we can see that it appeared that the scope of the Bill was wider. If it is passed, then it may penalize the industries in Indian States. If this Bill is intended to levy duty on goods which are being smuggled into British India through the ports of the Indian States, then this Bill, I must say, is necessary. But there are certain other important considerations involved in it. How are the Government revenues to be protected from goods brought through the ports of Kathiawar? Are they going to impose the customs barrier at Viramgam again? We all know the history of the customs barrier that was established at Viramgam and which caused the greatest hardship not only to the subjects of the Indian States but to British subjects. I think that this question ought to be referred to a Select Committee, because it involves the rights of Indian States as well. In Kathiawar there are several industries, like silk and so on, and I know, when the customs duty was imposed at Viramgam, all the goods imported into British India were taxed. How are you going to distinguish between the goods imported into the ports of Indian States from foreign countries from goods that may be brought into British territory from Indian States? This is a very delicate question and it may produce heart-burning not only among the subjects of Indian States but among the subjects of British India, if the customs barrier is again established at Viramgam. I know that for the last several months goods have been smuggled into British territory from various ports of Kathiawar and Cutch, which, while depriving Government of their revenue, has ruined the trade of some merchants in Bombay. But, Sir, we must take care that in passing this legislation to protect our revenue we do not unconsciously penalise Indian States or their industries, though, I admit, that is not the object of the Bill. I hope the question will be referred to a Select Committee so that some thorny questions which are likely to arise may be solved permanently.

Sir, I move that the question be referred to a Select Committee.

Mr. President: Amendment moved:

"That the Bill further to amend the Indian Tariff Act, 1894, for certain purposes, be referred to a Select Committee."

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Sir, I must confess that I have been taken by surprise by the dangers which Mr. Venkatapatiraju, Mr. Belvi and Mr. Dumasia have found in this Bill. Indeed, when I heard Mr. Belvi's speech about the danger of proceeding at break-neck speed, it seemed to me an observation which might have been made on a debate for constitutional advance but not on a debate connected with a little Bill of this kind. What the three Honourable Members who have just spoken have omitted to notice is that we are not making any change of substance in regard to our Tariff Act in so far as it affects Indian States. Mr. Belvi and Mr. Venkatapatiraju suggested that we might use the provisions of this extremely dangerous Bill in order to hamper the growth of industries of Indian States. Sir, Mr. Belvi mentioned the sandalwood oil industry in Mysore. To my certain knowledge the sandalwood oil industry has been flourishing in Mysore for the last 10 years. We have had these powers under the existing Tariff Act. They have never been used in any way to hamper that industry, nor is there any intention that we should ever use them against that industry or to hamper the industry.

of iron ploughs. As I have said, all that the draftsmen have done is to bring the existing section 5-A of the Indian Tariff Act more into accord with modern conditions. They have not changed the law in substance at all. Mr. Venkatapatiraju makes the point that the section as now provided is too restrictive. We cannot enter into the question of making reciprocal arrangements. It is a very large question. If it is ever necessary to take it up, you may rest assured that we will bring in a Bill. I should like the House to realise, as I have said, that we are merely leaving the law which exists alone in all these matters. At the same time there is no immediate hurry about the Bill. If there is a general desire in this House that the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee, Government have not the slightest objection.

Mr. President: The original question was:

"That the Bill further to amend the Indian Tariff Act, 1894, for certain purposes, be taken into consideration."

Since which an amendment has been moved:

"That the Bill be referred to a Select Committee."

The question is that that amendment be made.

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Perhaps, Sir, you will allow me to put up names for the Select Committee at some future date—Mr. Dumasia and I.

THE INDIAN PASSPORT (AMENDMENT) BILL.

Mr. E. B. Howell (Foreign Secretary): Sir, when the Bill to amend the Indian Passport Act, 1920, was introduced last week, I gave some indication of the scope and purposes of the amendment beyond those already contained in the Statement of Objects and Reasons. I do not know whether the House desires any further enlightenment on the subject of the proposed amendment and I am reluctant without an assurance that that is the wish of the House to take up its time with unnecessary explanation. (Long pause.) I beg, Sir, to move that the Bill to amend the Indian Passport Act, 1920, for certain purposes, be taken into consideration.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That the Bill to amend the Indian Passport Act, 1920, for certain purposes, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: The question is that clause 2 stand part of the Bill.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muhammadar Rural): Sir, the same objections which applied to some of the previous Bills apply to this Bill also. In the first place the Bill has not been published nor has it been circulated. Surely, Sir, we are not expected, in this House, to reply to the Statement of Objects and Reasons laid before the House at a moment's notice. We are not supposed to assume that the Bill before the House is good in all respects; but we are to come out ready with our answers to the different arguments advanced in favour

[Mr. N. C. Kelkar.]

of the Bill as if we were a penny in the slot machine. It requires a certain amount of time to verify the statements made in the Statement of Objects and Reasons. It does require time to refer to the original provisions of the Bill to which the amending Bill is an amendment. It is absolutely unfair that the Government should put forward Bills in this hurried fashion. All this unpleasant discussion could certainly have been avoided if the Member in charge of the Bill himself was fair enough to propose that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee. I do not know why he draws upon himself all this unpleasant criticism which he could obviously avoid by himself proposing that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee. I think it was certainly in his power to make that motion himself.

Then, with regard to the provisions of the Bill, there again the same objection arises, which is usually advanced with reference to the hiatus that exists between the Statement of Objects and Reasons and the provisions of the Bill itself. Here you will see that it is stated in the Statement of Objects and Reasons that the Bill is intended to apply to aliens—undesirable aliens—who come into this country, reside here for a certain time, and do not go back or otherwise violate the provisions of the passport.

In clause 2 of the Bill you will find the words :

“Prohibit any person who has entered British India under a passport authorising such entry for a specified temporary purpose only, from remaining in British India after the expiry of such period as is reasonably sufficient for such purpose, or from going to any place in British India otherwise than for such purpose.”

Here the word “alien” is not mentioned.

My principal objection to this clause is that, if it was really intended that the Bill should apply to aliens only, that word should have been specifically mentioned therein, whereas in its present form it can be made to apply to any person whatsoever. For instance, it may apply to an Indian who has already been domiciled or naturalised in India and who has got his home in India, by the simple operation of the wording of the Bill. Take the case of a man who goes to England. Now, we all know what happens when we go to foreign countries. We are entirely at the mercy of the people who are authorised to give passports. I may only mention one instance in point. Take the case of Mr. Horniman. Mr. Horniman was externed from India under legal authority. But can any one say why he cannot return to India? My answer to that question is that he cannot come to India not because he is prohibited by law but because of the passport officer who refuses to give the passport. So, in effect, Mr. Horniman is legally externed from India but he is illegally confined in England simply because the passport officer is not giving him a passport. That is, of course, my information and it is also my inference. If the Member in charge can correct me on that point, of course, he is welcome to do so. Here is the instance of a man who cannot return to India.

Mr. President: But this clause specifically provides that the man can return to India.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar: I do not understand what is the use of his return if the passport officer actually states in the passport that he is to remain in this country only for a limited period of time. I do not see what objection there was to actually insert the word ‘alien’ in this clause. As it stands

it applies to any person, even an Indian, who has gone to foreign countries. Supposing there are some Indians who have gone to a foreign country and are under a cloud there, or certain information has been received by this Government that they are not behaving properly, or are doing some political work there, then the limitations put upon the passport will give a handle to this Government to pursue those particular people when they return and to compel them to leave India. I am not quite clear whether even the plea of the natural rights acquired by domicile or naturalisation can help a man in this case; whether he can refuse and say "I am not going out of India or returning from this country simply because the passport officer has chosen to put a time limit upon my stay in India." That is a point which must be made clear and I give that only as an instance. It is absolutely unfair that a measure of this kind should be thrust upon this House in this hurried fashion. The speech delivered by my friend Mr. Belvi was misinterpreted by the Honourable Member when he said that it was a speech which should have been made with reference to the constitutional advance of India. That is, of course, an unfair interpretation of what he said. On the other hand, we are really hurried and hustled in point of measures like this. No previous information is given and we are asked on the spur of the moment either to say 'aye' or 'no'. I do not think it would be fair to be called upon either to assent to this Bill or to dissent from it on the spot. And, again, I do not see why the Honourable Member himself should not have made a motion that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee. Of course, it looks very uncharitable if we have to read between the lines of a measure before the House or to suspect that the Government have been actuated by certain motives. In many cases our suspicions may not be true. In many cases they may be unfounded and Government may be perfectly right. But once a power has been acquired there is absolutely no guarantee that it will not be abused by Government. In many cases there may be a secret motive on the part of the Government which may not actually be disclosed in the Bill itself. I repeat that it looks uncharitable to throw any doubt upon the designs of Government, but from experience we have come to know that the design of Government in many such measures is—and I will give a simile to illustrate it—like an actor who enters on the stage in very decorous clothes to play the rôle of a Bishop but is wanted behind the scenes by detective officers to be prosecuted for misbehaviour. I therefore say that this Bill should have been referred to a Select Committee to thresh out all the details and look into all the bearings of the subject.

Colonel Sir Henry Stanyon (United Provinces: European): Sir, the House has been treated in the speech of the Honourable Member who spoke last to something that is very common in the law courts of this country—a hasty and inaccurate reading of a measure. I do not find one word in the Statement of Objects and Reasons to say that this Bill is to apply only to *ex-enemy* aliens. The Statement of Objects and Reasons gives merely as an illustration cases which have occurred in which *ex-enemy* aliens were concerned to make clear the defect existing in the present Passport Act of 1920. Nor do I find in the Bill itself a proposal to make that wide application which the Honourable Member who spoke last finds in it. He has seen a mirage of what has no real existence. If he will read the Bill more carefully he will see that the sub-section of clause 2 does not apply to Indians who go to foreign countries and want to come back again, but to "any person who has entered British India under a passport

[Colonel Sir Henry Stanyon.]

authorising such entry for a specified temporary purpose only." The whole of that passage must be read before the House can understand how far this Bill applies. It applies to a person who has entered India under a passport which restricts his stay in India to a specified time. Government have found in particular cases that persons who came into India under a passport for a certain purpose—in the cases mentioned for transshipment—stayed much longer than was necessary for that purpose, and that Government were powerless to limit the stay to the term of the passport. That defect is all that this Bill seeks to remedy. No one has a stronger belief than I have that this House should not consent to any legislation, which is a legislation of substance, without careful consideration and, ordinarily, without reference to a Select Committee, and the House is aware that only the other day I supported a proposal to refer to a Select Committee the simple question whether an age-limit should be changed from 16 to 18 years, because there seemed to be difficulties connected with the change. But surely there is enough legal talent in the House to deal with a purely formal measure of the kind now before us without taking the course of delaying it by referring it to a Select Committee. The House

is asked only to deal with people who have already come into India on passports for a limited period, and to give legislative authority that when the limits of those passports have been exhausted, such people shall go out of India. Surely we do not want a Select Committee or delay to deal with a simple matter of this kind?

Mr. N. C. Kelkar: May I ask the Honourable Member a question? Will the Honourable Member prove to me that there is nothing to prevent a passport officer in England from refusing a passport to me if I call for it in England or from giving me only a limited passport? Is there any legal remedy for me to obtain a passport in England without limitations being put?

Mr. President: This Bill does not propose to deal with that question; it deals with the question whether the power the Government possesses already

Mr. N. C. Kelkar: It bears on it.

Mr. President: It may bear on it, but it is not in order in this debate.

Colonel Sir Henry Stanyon: The question asked, as Mr. President has pointed out, is irrelevant to the Bill. I am perfectly willing to give the Honourable Member legal advice on any point at the proper time and at the proper place, but not here. I put it to the House that it is a question of commonsense. Here we have a simple measure in plain and unambiguous terms, referring to a particular class of people,—people who first have to get passports to come into India, with a limit of time stated on those passports. All that the House is asked to sanction is that Government shall have the power to tell such people, when their passports are exhausted, that their invitation is ended, and to give them *ejazat* to depart.

Pandit Shamlal Nehru (Meerut Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, the system of passports came into force in India during the war. It may have been very necessary during the war, but after the war, this system should have been done away with. I do not understand why it has been brought on to the Statutes of the country. As I said, if there was any necessity during the war—there must have been, I have no quarrel

with its having been put into force during the war, but now what necessity is there for it? The Honourable the Mover has not said that there is any necessity at all; but whoever and whatever comes to India sticks to it like a leach. Do not the Government think it proper to repeal the Act instead of adding harsher and harsher measures to it every day?

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I am not used to the law courts which the Honourable Sir Henry Stanyon described, where people are in the habit of taking rash and reckless views of the Bill. They may be in some parts of India, I daresay. Nor am I so confident, as the Honourable Member is, that there is no difficulty about this Bill. Sir, I think that all regulations which impose passports are the biggest nuisance and the sooner they are done away with the better. But that is not the only question before us at the present moment. The question before us now is whether this Act should be amended, and whether any necessity has arisen for the purpose of amending this Act. My Honourable friend, Mr. Kelkar, struggled to make his point clear, but he did not quite make it clear. I may put to Sir Henry Stanyon an illustration and I may give him the answer, and if he likes his fees, I am prepared to pay his fees, provided they are not exorbitant. Supposing I went to England and I remained in England for a year. Remember the passport is only in force for two years. My passport expires before I return from England, and supposing I am in the bad books of the authorities in England and they say to me, "We will give you a passport provided you come back within a fortnight from India; you shall not stay in India more than a fortnight". Now I will read to Sir Henry Stanyon the section which it is intended to introduce. It says:

"Any person who has entered British India under a passport authorising such entry for a specified temporary purpose,"

Shall I not be entering British India with a passport which says I shall remain here only for a temporary purpose? Am I not that person? Will it, or will it not come under the Statute? Sir, therefore the question is not so simple, and I am not prepared at present to express my opinion either against the Bill or in favour of it; but I do ask this House to consider that it is a matter that ought to be referred to a Select Committee.

Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith (Secretary, Legislative Department): Mr. Kelkar at the end of his speech proposed that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee. I noticed, Sir, that you did not put that from the Chair. The position I understand now is that the Bill is under the detailed consideration of the House and any opportunity of referring it to a Select Committee has gone and we have to proceed with it.

Mr. President: The House, at any rate that portion of it which was paying attention, will have observed that I put the motion that the Bill be taken into consideration, and according to my usual practice, I looked round the House. That motion was duly carried, whereon I called "Clause 2".

Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith: Sir, I do not wish to suggest that Government would necessarily have opposed any motion for reference of this Bill to a Select Committee. If any Honourable Member had taken the right opportunity to move an amendment to that effect to Mr. Howell's motion, it would have received consideration from the Government and from the House. I only say now it is too late. We cannot break through our rules to do it.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: May I rise to a point of order? I am very sorry that I have been misunderstood. I really was under the impression that we had not got to the particular consideration of the Bill, but, if that is so I want to make it quite clear that I strongly oppose this Bill.

Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith: The remarks hitherto made from the opposite side have had very little relevance, as Sir Henry Stanyon pointed out in fact no relevance, to this particular clause of the Bill which is now under the consideration of the House. Mr. Kelkar referred to Mr. Horniman's case and Mr. Jinnah referred to a hypothetical case of his own. He said "Suppose I go to the authorities in England or elsewhere and ask for a passport to return to India, and suppose they say 'we will give you a passport to return to India to stay there a fortnight.'" Now that is a power that they have under the law as it stands at present. It is not a power that we are putting into the Act. Therefore, whether we amend the law or not, the authorities at Home have perfect power to grant Mr. Jinnah a passport for a fortnight only. But suppose the House rejects this Bill, the following result ensues. They say to Mr. Jinnah "We will give you a passport which will enable you to stay in India for a fortnight." Mr. Jinnah says "That is no use to me, I won't come back in a fortnight," and the answer is undoubtedly as it stands at present: "Well if you won't come back, and as there will be no power to deal with you, under the Indian Passport Act, we much regret that we cannot give you a passport at all." That is the only result, Mr. Jinnah will not get a passport unless we got this amendment of the Act. That is the law as it now stands. We are not proposing to alter that law at all. We are really merely providing by this Bill for a certain relaxation. We now discover that we cannot turn out people who do get passports for a temporary purpose. The only result is that, if the House will not give us sanction to deal with such persons, then instructions will have to issue that such persons shall not get passports at all to come through India. It is not a question of coming to India but coming to Bombay or Karachi, there to step from one boat to another. It is a case of a gentleman wanting to go to Siam and going through Burma to go to Siam. We merely drive that gentleman to go round by China or some other route. I am not very familiar with the geography of Eastern Asia. Honourable Members seem to think that we have some intention of stiffening up our passport law altogether. We are not doing anything of the sort. The issue of passports for returning to British India is left entirely unchanged by this Bill. It is a mere question of giving us a small power to deal with people who do not observe the conditions on which they have been given passports.

It has been suggested by Mr. Kelkar—to revert to the question of hustle—that this Bill ought to have been referred to a Select Committee. It has been suggested that Government are unduly trying to hustle this Bill through. Now the statutory period laid down in our rules after which a Bill can be taken into consideration is three days. In this case we have had five days. I admit it is not a very long period, but our rules allow us to put a Bill up after three days. This is a Bill of one clause only, and five days, I should have thought, would have been enough for the consideration of its provisions. With regard to hustle, Sir, we are really between the devil and the deep sea in this matter. There are certain Members of this House who are constantly urging us to hustle, hustle, as much as possible with our Government legislation. They tell us we are dilatory. They ask us why we cannot put down two motions in regard to the same Bill together and get done with it; and really it is very difficult for Government

to know what the House really desires in this matter. I hope, Sir, the House will agree that this clause 2 of the Bill shall stand part. It does not merit the suspicion that it has met with. It is perfectly innocuous and I agree with every word that Colonel Sir Henry Stanyon has said on this point.

Mr. T. C. Goswami (Calcutta Suburbs: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Mr. President, I feel very thankful for the last few speeches, because they have given me time to read through the Bill; for as a matter of fact, the complaint has not been challenged that we really have had very little time to consider the Bill. I do not think Mr. Jinnah's point has been answered at all. Mr. Jinnah goes to England, stays there for more than two years. His passport expires. He is in the bad books of Government.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Which, I hope, I shall never be.

Mr. T. C. Goswami: He wants to return to India, and he gets only a passport which allows him to stay in India for a fortnight. Great lawyers have spoken, I am not a lawyer; but I take it that a commonsense view of the matter is not altogether out of order; and I read here, that under the Act, that is the old Act, there is a penalty for entering India without a passport but not for remaining in India. That would enable Mr. Jinnah—without this amendment—to remain in India in spite of the fact that he is in the bad books of Government.

Now, Sir, during the last two or three years there has been a marked relaxation of passport rules in most European countries. In fact there has been a tendency in several European countries to discontinue the *visa* system altogether, and that was the result of public opinion being very strongly opposed to what were considered to have been unnecessary restrictions on travel and communication. Rigidity of passport laws must also tend to affect commerce adversely.

This Bill seeks to exclude undesirables from entering India or remaining in India. I believe it is the experience of Governments all over the world that undesirables as a matter of fact are not prevented by passport restrictions. They do come in. They manage to smuggle themselves in somehow, and I do not think this Bill will have the effect of really preventing undesirables from entering India. It will merely complicate passport regulations which ought to be relaxed, now that there is no war.

I strongly oppose the Bill.

Mr. Narayandas (Agra Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, considered from whatever point of view this Bill implies certain restrictions on the free movement of what we may call an alien. We may call him an undesirable alien but the question is who is to decide on the undesirability of a person? We do not know who are aliens and who are not, and we are going to introduce a restriction into the legislation of our country which is nothing but an imitation, a copy, of what Colonials are doing in respect of ourselves. Our C. I. D., the officers of our police, will constantly be on the watch. I think the underlying purpose of this amendment is to put a check on the possible or imaginary political activities of certain persons. Now, we wish to be open to all the propaganda of the world. We do not wish to be shut off in a compartment or shut others off as undesirable aliens. Let their undesirability be unfolded here. Let it be subjected to a close analysis. Let them do what they like, we are not going to imitate their manners, we are not going to be influenced by them. We have got discretion, we have got reason. Why should we exclude any persons?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Halley (Home Member): Not even South Africans?

Mr. Narayandas: Of course I am not going to give my support to this Bill. If my Honourable friend is not going to listen to me, I will oppose it as strongly as I can.

Mr. P. E. Percival (Bombay: Nominated Official): Sir, Honourable Members have referred to the general question of passports, whether they should be given or should not be given; but I venture to think that that question is entirely beside the point. We have at the present moment one particular clause of the Bill to consider and nothing else. The motion that the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee was unfortunately made too late, so that question does not arise now. We have only to consider what is the effect and meaning of this particular clause?

Now, Sir, in the speeches made against the proposal, I have not heard any arguments as to how the clause should be amended or how people will be injuriously affected by it.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: You do not give us time.

Mr. P. E. Percival: Mr. Jinnah in his first speech said he did not know whether it was a good or a bad Bill. Half a minute later, when Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith said the time for referring the matter to a Select Committee had passed, he said it was a very bad Bill and he would oppose it. He made up his mind very quickly.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: You do not give us time.

Mr. P. E. Percival: Will some Honourable Member give us a specific reason why this Bill is objectionable? My Honourable friend, Mr. Kelkar, referred to Mr. Horniman not being able to come back to India. I fail to see how that has any bearing at all on this Bill. The Bill deals with people remaining in India. Mr. Horniman is not in India. The only argument which has been advanced is that of Mr. Jinnah who referred to his own case. He said "Suppose I get a temporary passport to come to India for a fortnight; then I shan't be able to remain in India." Well, Sir, why should he remain in India? He has taken a passport for a fortnight, and he has agreed to take a passport, for a fortnight. The proposal made by the Honourable Members is that a person who has taken a passport for a fortnight should stay here indefinitely. That is the only result that would follow from the throwing out of this Bill.

I suggest that no definite objection has been raised so far to this clause and that it should be passed.

Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar (Madura and Ramnad *cum* Tinnevely: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I propose that the consideration of this clause be adjourned to this day next week. I make this proposal because I find that technical objections have been taken to the reference to a Select Committee and sufficient notice was not given to Members before the Bill was taken into consideration. We have had no time to send in amendments to the clauses since notice was sent and I think it is but proper, in view of the discussion that has taken place, that we should be given time for consideration of the Bill and for proposing any amendments. I propose that the consideration of the Bill be postponed till this day next week.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I put it to the House that this is really a very small matter for us to be at cross purposes about. Admittedly, all that the Bill does is to give a missing sanction to what is really the existing practice provided for by the substantive law, and the result of refusing such sanction would of course be that passport issuing authorities would be obliged to deny this particular privilege to travellers. There is really no more to it than that. Let me repeat, that, unless we can make effective this particular procedure, then the risk is that it would not be put in force, and passports would necessarily be entirely refused; the loss would be that of the traveller, not ours. When we put this Bill forward, naturally we had only this fact in our minds. When a measure is likely to be controversial, or when it is likely to affect large numbers of the public, or when Local Governments and other Administrations are affected, we usually propose in the first instance to circulate the Bill and collect public opinion on it. If its details, on the other hand, are likely to be controversial rather than its principles, if its drafting is a matter of difficulty, if in carrying it out there are likely to be further implications than appear on the face of the Bill, then we usually propose that it should be taken to Select Committee. In other cases of a very simple nature, such as this, we think that it may as well be considered at once on the floor of this House. I can say in all confidence that, when we were arranging the business of the House, we considered this Bill to be of the last class, and had no idea of rushing it through. It is indeed in itself one which affects Government so little and the traveller perhaps so much that there is no reason why we should have sought haste in the matter. It seemed, as I say, a very simple measure, one which could be discussed with ease across the floor of the House. If I had the slightest idea that Honourable Members on their part had any suspicion of our motives, I should at once have proposed on behalf of Government that it should be taken to Select Committee; and indeed, when the matter came up and when my friend, Mr. Howell, moved the motion for taking the Bill into consideration, if there had been any doubt at the time, I should have expected Honourable Members on their part then to rise and state their doubts and ask for further time. If they had done so, I should have at once advised Mr. Howell to take the Bill before the Select Committee. It has been proposed that the Bill should be considered a week hence. I wish to be perfectly consistent. As I have said, I should have been willing to take this Bill to a Select Committee. I am perfectly willing now on my part to arrange for another day for its consideration. I cannot say that it will be this day next week; it depends on Government business; but it will be given time approximately a week hence, in order that Honourable Members may have a further opportunity of considering this Bill in detail, and, I hope, of disabusing their minds of any suspicion in this matter.

Dr. H. S. Gour (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, the Honourable Mr. Percival invited Mr. Jinnah and the Members of this Assembly to formulate specific objections to this Bill. I shall answer his invitation. If the Honourable Mr. Percival will turn to the operative section, he will find that that section deals with three points, first, as to the persons, secondly, as to the time and, thirdly, as to the place. Now, as to the persons: Mr. Jinnah has pointed out that if a British Indian goes to Europe, say to England, and wants his passport for his return to his motherland and, if he is not, as Mr. Jinnah put it, in the good books of the Government, the Government may give him a passport to go out to India on condition that he leaves that country within a fortnight

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: No, Sir; they would deport him India; that is the proper procedure, and that would be done.

Dr. H. S. Gour: That is one way of doing it

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: That is the way of doing it.

Dr. H. S. Gour: He then goes back; he is compelled to leave his motherland because the Government of India will put in force amended clause 3; that is Mr. Jinnah's view and that has not been answered. But I give two other reasons, and I humbly submit, weightier reasons, for not passing this measure to-day. Let Honourable Members read on the section and they will find that it reads as follows:

"Remaining in British India after the expiry of such period as is reasonably sufficient for such purpose."

The Government of India are to decide for what period a person entering into British India is to reside, and if you read on, you will find that the Government of India are also to decide as to the place or places which the traveller can visit and the place or places which he has to abstain from visiting. Therefore it comes to this: the Government of India circumscribe the movements of visitors to this country, first, as to the time and secondly as to the place. Now, let me illustrate this point by an example. A foreign traveller comes to this country for the purpose of carrying on, we shall say, a religious propaganda. He receives a passport to visit British India as a temporary visitor. His religious propaganda savours of political and is not acceptable to the Government of India. The Government of India say to him "You shall not visit such and such a place; you confine your religious propaganda to such and such places. I think we have had quite enough of that propaganda in this country; you will now clear out". Now, I ask, Sir, does not this section empower the Government of India to do it? If Honourable Members will read the section, they will see that it fully empowers the Government of India to do all this. I think the Honourable Mr. Percival will now feel convinced and walk into the lobby with me if we have to oppose this measure, as we shall be constrained to oppose it if the motion that is made to refer this matter to a Select Committee is still resisted. I understand from the Honourable the Home Member that he does not oppose the motion to refer this Bill to a Select Committee. We shall examine the Bill there and we shall introduce in the Select Committee changes which, while safeguarding the rights of the Government of India, will equally safeguard the rights of the traveller who comes to this country on a visit. Sir, if there is any insuperable impediment to the reference of this Bill to a Select Committee, then I submit we shall have no option left but either to throw it out or to ask for its postponement; but of the three alternatives presented to this House we on this side should certainly prefer a Select Committee and the further examination of this Bill by that body. I think, Sir, that, though the measure is small and consists of only a few lines, there are certain points in that measure which I have pointed out which require further examination. I therefore move that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee.

Mr. President: I am a little surprised that an old hand like the Honourable Member from Nagpur should have wasted the time of the House by presenting that motion. I specifically informed the House that the time had passed for that motion, and in this case the Honourable Member had no excuse whatever for making that motion.

Dr. H. S. Gour: I understood, Sir, that the Honourable the Home Member had himself made that motion.

Mr. President: The Honourable the Home Member pointed out that, if that motion had been made at the proper time, he would not have resisted it. It is not in the power of the Honourable the Home Member to make that motion now, nor is it in the power of any other Member. The Honourable Member has been attending to the business of this House, and he must have known that this House, and not the Chair, decided to take the Bill into consideration.

Mr. Abdul Haya (East Punjab: Muhammadan): Sir, I rise to oppose the motion of my Honourable friend over there to defer the consideration of this Bill to another day. I understand from the Statement of Objects and Reasons to this Bill that the Passport Act as it exists at present has got a defect, and the object of this Bill is to remove that defect. I gather that the present law is defective, and it is on that account, Sir, that I suggest that the defect should not be removed. I am one of those who believe that the Passport Act should be removed from the Statute-book altogether. I consider its existence as a slur upon this country and upon Indians. It is because of a desire to have it removed from the Statute-book that I request this Honourable House to reject this Bill and to keep it defective for to-morrow, so that when we have another Bill before us to repeal the law, the Official Benches might possibly agree with us in saying that it should be repealed, because it would be from their point of view also defective. It is no use, Sir, repairing a house to-day if we have decided that it should be demolished to-morrow.

Mr. President: The original question was:

"That clause 2 stand part of the Bill,"

Since which an amendment has been moved:

"That the further consideration of the Bill be postponed."

The question I have to put is that the further consideration of the Bill be postponed.

The Assembly divided:

Mr. President (during the process of voting): If Honourable Members do not desire to record their votes, I shall order the doors to be locked.

AYES—43.

Abdul Qaiyum, Nawab Sir Sahibzada.
Aiyangar, Mr. K. Rama.
Aiyer, Sir P. S. Sivaswamy.
Ajab Khan, Captain.
Allen, Mr. B. C.
Bhat, Mr. K. Sadasiva.
Blackett, The Honourable Sir Basil.
Burdon, Mr. E.
Butler, Mr. M. S. D.
Calvert, Mr. H.
Cocke, Mr. H. G.
Dalal, Sardar B. A.
Datta, Dr. S. K.
Dunk, Mr. H. R.
Faridoonji, Mr. R.
Fleming, Mr. F. G.
Fraser, Sir Gordon.
Ghose, Mr. S. C.
Hailey, The Honourable Sir Malcolm.
Hira Singh, Sardar Bahadur Captain.
Holme, Mr. H. E.
Howell, Mr. E. B.

Innes, The Honourable Sir Charles.
Joshi, Mr. N. M.
Lindsay, Mr. Darcy.
Mahmood Schammad Sahib Bahadur,
Mr.
Moncrieff Smith, Sir Henry.
Nag, Mr. G. C.
O'Malley, Mr. L. S. S.
Owens, Lieut.-Colonel F. C.
Parsons, Mr. A. A. L.
Percival, Mr. P. E.
Rhodes, Sir Campbell.
Richev, Mr. J. A.
Roy, Mr. K. C.
Rushbrook-Williams, Prof. L. F.
Shams-uz-Zoha, Khan Bahadur M.
Singh, Rai Bahadur S. N.
Stanyon, Colonel Sir Henry.
Tottenham, Mr. A. R. L.
Turing, Mr. J. M.
Willson, Mr. W. S. J.
Wright, Mr. W. T. M.

NOES—62.

Abdul Haye, Mr.	Malaviya, Pandit Krishna Kant.
Abdul Karim, Khwaja.	Menta, Mr. Jamnadas M.
Abhyankar, Mr. M. V.	Misra, Mr. Shambhu Dayal.
Ahmed, Mr. K.	Misra, Pandit Harkaran Nath.
Aiyangar, Mr. C. Duraiswami.	Murtuza Sahib Bahadur, Maulvi
Akbar Khan, Sardar Mahboob Ali	Sayad.
Khan Mohammad.	Mutalik, Sardar V. N.
Alimuzzaman Chowdhry, Mr.	Narayandas, Mr.
Aney, Mr. M. S.	Nehru, Dr. Kishenlal.
Belvi, Mr. D. V.	Nehru, Pandit Motilal.
Chaman Lal, Mr.	Nehru, Pandit Shamlal.
Chanda, Mr. Kamini Kumar.	Neogy, Mr. K. C.
Chetty, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham.	Patel, Mr. V. J.
Das, Mr. Bhubanananda.	Phookun, Mr. Tarun Ram.
Das, Mr. Nilakantha.	Piyare Lal, Lala.
Duni Chand, Lala.	Ramachandra Rao, Diwan Bahadur M.
Dutt, Mr. Amar Nath.	Rajan Bakhsh Shah, Mukhdum Syed.
Ghulam Abbas, Sayad.	Ranga Iyer, Mr. C. S.
Ghulam Bari, Khan Sahib.	Ray, Mr. Kumar Sankar.
Goswami, Mr. T. C.	Reddi, Mr. K. Venkataramana.
Gour, Dr. H. S.	Roy, Mr. Bhabendra Chandra.
Gulab Singh Sardar.	Samiullah Khan, Mr. M.
Hans Raj, Lala.	Sarfraz Hussain Khan, Khan
Hari Prasad Lal, Rai.	Bahadur.
Hyder, Dr. L. K.	Shafee, Maulvi Muhammad.
Ismail Khan, Mr.	Singh, Mr. Gaya Prasad.
Iyengar, Mr. A. Rangaswami.	Sinha, Mr. Ambika Prasad.
Jinnah, Mr. M. A.	Sinha, Kumar Ganganand.
Kartar Singh, Sardar.	Syamacharan, Mr.
Kazim Ali, Mr. M.	Tok Kyi, Maung.
Kelkar, Mr. N. C.	Venkatapatiraju, Mr. B.
Kun, Maung.	Vishindas, Mr. Harchandrai.
Lohokare, Mr. K. G.	

The motion was negatived.

Mr. President: The question under debate is that clause 2 stands part of the Bill.

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty (Salem and Coimbatore *cum* North Arcot: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I am quite sure I am voicing the opinion of the Honourable Members of this House when I say that it is not the intention of this House to overthrow this Bill altogether without considering its merits. But our contention is that in a big House like this it is not possible to consider carefully the *pros* and *cons* of the Bill and to measure its defects if there are any and remedy them by making suitable amendments. Unfortunately for us we were not quite on the alert when the motion for taking this Bill into consideration immediately was put to the vote by the Chair. Therefore, I appeal to the Mover of this Bill to consider the real difficulty of this House and I would request him to be pleased to withdraw this Bill under Standing Order 50 for the present and bring it again so that it might be referred to a Select Committee and taken into consideration.

Mr. President: The House has just decided that it will proceed with the consideration of the Bill. We are now on clause 2. It is perfectly open to the Honourable Member to speak on that but it is not open to him to propose dilatory motions.

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty: I am only appealing to the Honourable Mover.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: As I said before in explaining our position, we did not regard this matter as one of great urgency, and, if Members of the House had asked for its reference to a Select Committee, we should not have opposed the motion. I think that our attitude on the subject is sufficiently clear from the fact that I was quite prepared to accept the proposal to defer discussion on the Bill in order that Members might think out any amendments that might be necessary and discuss these across the floor of the House. Now may I say that I myself, not to use any more contentious word, regard it as unreasonable on the part of the House that they should not accept even that proposal, for they could have had a week, nay if they wished 10 days or a fortnight in which to study the Bill, prepare their amendments, and take the voice of the House on them. Surely, we have some right to claim that the House is not in a reasonable mood in a matter when it acts in that way. Now no dilatory motion, as the Honourable the President has said, is possible at this stage of the proceedings. Some of my friends opposite have told me of their real difficulties in the matter; they have explained that it was through a lack of attention perhaps or a failure to notice exactly what was happening that they did not rise to propose a Select Committee. It is suggested that we should withdraw the Bill and re-introduce it with a motion for reference to a Select Committee. If you, Sir, have no objection after the vote of the House, I am quite prepared on my part to take that course. I take it, not because I think that there is anything in the merits of the Bill that demands it, or because I think that the House can take great credit for the attitude it has adopted, but because I am determined that on our side we shall never be lacking in the quality of sweet reasonableness.

Mr. E. B. Howell: Sir, I beg to ask for leave to withdraw the Bill.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That leave be given to withdraw the Bill to amend the Indian Passport Act, 1920, for certain purposes."

The motion was adopted.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, the 12th February, 1924.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Tuesday, 12th February, 1924

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber at Eleven of the Clock,
Mr. President in the Chair.

MEMBER SWORN

Maulvi Abul Kasem, M.L.A. (Bengal Nominated Non-Official)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

RAILWAY LANDS.

282. *Mr. Kumar Sankar Ray: Will the Government be pleased to state the quantity of land held by the different Railway authorities in India outside the area actually covered by Railway lines, stations and workshop compounds and what, if any, profits do the Railway authorities get out of such lands?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The information asked for is not available. But I may add that Railways do not permanently acquire land beyond what is actually required for operating the Railway or what is likely to be required in the near future and any revenues which Railways may obtain from the leasing of land not actually required for the tracks for grazing or other purposes are very small.

INDIAN SOLDIERS EMPLOYED IN MESOPOTAMIA.

283. *Sheikh Sadiq Hasan: (a) Will the Government be pleased to state the number of Indian soldiers now employed in Mesopotamia?

(b) Does the Government intend the early withdrawal of the Indian Army from Mesopotamia?

Mr. E. Burdon: (a) It would not be in the public interest to give the information asked for by the Honourable Member in this part of his question.

(b) No.

APPOINTMENT OF AN INDIAN AS MEMBER OF THE RAILWAY BOARD.

284. *Sheikh Sadiq Hasan: (a) Is it a fact that no Indian has been appointed a member of the Railway Board since its formation?

(b) Does the Government intend to consider the advisability of appointing an Indian member on the Railway Board?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) Yes.

(b) Appointments to the Railway Board are such as can only be filled by officers with suitable railway experience and of the necessary seniority, and at the present there are few Indians in the senior ranks of the railway service.

STOPPAGE OF MAIL TRAINS AT AMBALA CITY.

285. *Lala Duni Chand: (a) Is it a fact that both the Lucknow Punjab Mail and the Bombay Punjab Mail used to stop at Ambala City Railway Station up to the end of August 1922 and from 1st September 1922 neither of the two Mails stops there and this works great hardship upon the travelling public?

(b) Will the Government be pleased to state the reason or reasons for this action on the part of the Railway Authorities?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) The reply to the first portion of the question is in the affirmative and to the second, in the negative.

(b) The reasons were to accelerate the Calcutta and Bombay Mail Trains between Lahore and Saharanpur and to effect economy by cutting out unessential halts. Before this was done a thorough examination was made and it was found that the number of passengers entraining and detraining at Ambala City Station by the trains referred to was not sufficient to justify the stoppage at that station as well as at Ambala Cantonment.

IMPRISONMENT OF PERSONS UNDER THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER REGULATIONS.

286. *Lala Duni Chand: (a) Will the Government be pleased to state how many persons in the North-West Frontier Province were sentenced to imprisonment under Section 40 of the North-West Frontier Regulations during the years 1921 and 1922 on their refusing to furnish security?

(b) Is it a fact that some of them are men of high education and social position?

Mr. E. B. Howell: The information is being obtained and will be furnished to the Honourable Member in due course.

ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN OF UTMANZAI.

287. *Lala Duni Chand: (a) Is it a fact that Mr. Abdul Ghaffar Khan of Uzmanzai of Peshawar District was sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for 3 years on his refusing to furnish security in the sum of Rs. 10,000?

(b) Is it also a fact that the only evidence against the said Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan consisted only of the hearsay statement of Mr. Abdul Aziz, C. I. D. Inspector?

(c) In case the Government may not be prepared to admit the hearsay nature of the evidence of the said Abdul Aziz, will the Government be pleased to state briefly what his evidence was?

(d) Is the Government aware of the fact that since his admission into jail his weight has been considerably reduced and his health has greatly suffered?

(e) Is the Government aware of the existence of a strong feeling of resentment throughout the North-West Frontier Province against the continued incarceration of this gentleman?

Mr. E. B. Howell: (a) Yes.

(b), (c), (d) and (e). The information is being obtained and will be furnished to the Honourable Member in due course.

COTTON MILLS.

288. ***Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state how many mills for cotton industry are working in all the provinces?

(b) What is the value of their total annual outturn?

(c) What is the extent of the foreign capital (British and non-British separately) invested in the said mills and that of the purely Indian capital?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: (a) There were 243 Cotton Spinning and Weaving Companies at work in 1922-23. The actual number of mills working at the present moment cannot be stated.

(b) The value of the outturn in 1922-23 was 56 crores 55 lakhs.

(c) No information is available.

IMPORTATION AND SALE OF MILL-MADE CLOTH AS HOME-SPUN KHADDAR.

289. ***Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar:** With reference to the observation at page 121 of "India in 1922-23", viz., "It should be noticed that a certain amount of grey cloth, both imported and Indian mill-made, was sold in India as home-spun (Khaddar)"—

(a) Will the Government be pleased to state whether there is any rule that imported goods and mill-made goods must bear the label on each piece indicating the place and the name of the firm where it was manufactured?

(b) If the answer to (a) is in the negative, will the Government be pleased to state if it is its intention to lay down such rules as will prevent fraudulent smuggling of goods under false names or pretence?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The sentence which the Honourable Member has quoted in his question relates to an incident in the trade of India in the year 1921-22, which, as far as imported cloth was concerned, was the subject of a question in this Assembly. The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to my answer to question No. 262 on March 11th, 1922. The information at that time at the disposal of the Government of India was that any fraud of this kind had ceased to be serious in December 1921. The position throughout 1921-22 was kept under careful watch and no reports of such imports subsequent to March 1922 have been received. Provisions in law exist for dealing with any importations of foreign made cloth falsely labelled as Indian made.

2. There is no law requiring that on any goods manufactured in India either the place of manufacture or the name of the manufacturer should be shown. The Government are not aware that goods forming ordinary articles of commerce in any country are required anywhere to be marked with the name of the manufacturer.

3. The present rules provide penalties for goods being imported with a mark indicating their manufacture in a country other than that in which they are made.

CONSPIRACY CASE AGAINST THE SHRIMONI GURDWARA PARBANDHAK COMMITTEE.

†290. *Sardar Kartar Singh: Will the Government be pleased to state whether the expenses incurred for the prosecution of the conspiracy case against the S. G. P. C. members is being borne by the Government of India or by the Punjab Government: if by both, in what proportion?

THE SHRIMONI GURDWARA PARBANDHAK COMMITTEE AND THE SHRIMONI AKALI DAL.

†291. *Sardar Kartar Singh: Is it a fact that the declaration of the S. G. P. C. and the Shrimoni Akali Dal, under section 16, clause 2, of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, as amended by the Devolution Act of 1920, has been made at the instance of the Government of India against the wishes of the Punjab Government? Will the Government be pleased to lay all the correspondence on the table for the information of the House?

POLICY OF THE PUNJAB GOVERNMENT TOWARDS SIKHS.

292. *Sardar Kartar Singh: Will the Government be pleased to state if the policy adopted by the Punjab Government towards the Sikhs in the Punjab is directed by the Government of India? If so, to what extent?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I may answer Questions 290 to 292 at the same time, if the Honourable Member has no objection

No. 290. By the Government of the Punjab.

No. 291. The answer is in the negative.

No. 292. The action taken by the Government of the Punjab against certain members of the Shrimoni Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee had the approval of the Government of India.

Sardar Kartar Singh: Does not the Government recognise that the Shrimoni Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee is a representative body of the Sikhs?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I think the exact attitude of Government towards this Committee could be better stated in the Punjab Council and at greater length than it is possible in answer to a question here.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Is the Government aware that the Government of the Punjab did recognise the Shrimoni Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee as representative of Sikh religious opinion, and does the Government of India see any justification for allowing the present changed attitude of the Punjab Government to go on?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I am aware of the recognition accorded to that Committee in the Act which was passed in the Punjab Council. I am not aware that, as far as that particular recognition was concerned, any change has taken place.

LAWRENCE STATUE AT LAHORE.

293. *Sardar Kartar Singh: Will the Government be pleased to state whether there has been any correspondence between the Government of India and the Punjab Government on the subject of the removal of the Lawrence Statue from its present site on the Mall at Lahore? If so, will Government lay it on the Table?

† For the answer to this question, see below question No. 292.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: There has been some correspondence of a confidential nature. I am not prepared to publish it.

Sardar Kartar Singh: Are the Government prepared to advise the Government of the Punjab to remove this Statue?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: If we were prepared to issue advice to the Government of the Punjab, it is unlikely that I should reveal the fact here.

SUPERIOR SECRETARIAT APPOINTMENTS.

294. ***Sardar Kartar Singh:** Will Government be pleased to lay a statement on the table showing (a) the number of secretariat appointments in the various Departments of the Government of India that fell vacant during the last one year, (b) how many of them were given to Europeans and Anglo-Indians and how many to Indians?

(By Secretariat appointments is meant the posts of the Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries, Under Secretaries and Assistant Secretaries).

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The Honourable Member is referred to part (b) of the reply given by me to Mr. Rangachariar's question No. 134 on the 4th February 1924.

SECRETARY TO THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA.

295. ***Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** (a) Will Government be pleased to mention the reasons which actuated them in placing the services of Mr. Bhore, Secretary to the High Commissioner for India in London, at the disposal of the Madras Government and in appointing Sir Edward Cook to his place?

(b) Did Government try to secure the services of an Indian gentleman for the post before appointing Sir Edward Cook; if so, with what result; if not, why not?

(c) Have Government accepted the principle of having always an Indian as High Commissioner for India? If not, why not?

(d) Does the appointment of Sir Edward Cook as Secretary to the High Commissioner for India mean that in case of the retirement of the present High Commissioner his successor will not be an Indian?

(e) Will Government be pleased to place on the table correspondence (relating to the appointment of Sir Edward Cook) between them and the High Commissioner for India and also between them and the Secretary of State for India?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) When in 1920 the post of Secretary to the High Commissioner was created, it was decided that an officer should hold it for three years. Mr. Bhore joined duty as Secretary on October 1st, 1920, and consequently the post became vacant in the ordinary course on the 1st of October last. Sir Edward Cook was selected to succeed Mr. Bhore, as the High Commissioner had asked for the assistance, as Secretary, of an official who had had administrative experience in the Government of India.

(b) No, Sir. It did not seem to the Government of India unreasonable for an Indian High Commissioner, especially one new to this work, to desire to have as his Secretary an official with the experience I have indicated and the Government of India accordingly gave weight to this consideration.

(c) No. Under the terms of His Majesty's Order in Council, dated 13th August 1920, which was published in the Notification of the Government of India, No. 6634, dated 2nd October 1920, the field of selection is left unrestricted and the Government of India consider that this is desirable so that, when and as a vacancy occurs, they may be free to select a person, who, from a consideration of all the circumstances of the time, seems then to be the most suitable.

(d) No such inference arises.

(e) The Government do not propose to lay the correspondence on the Table.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta: Am I to understand that Mr. Bhore's services were not found to be satisfactory?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Certainly not. Mr. Bhore vacated his appointment after completing his tenure of that appointment, namely, 3 years.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta: Then why was he not confirmed?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Mr. Bhore was confirmed. He held the appointment for 3 years.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta: Then why was he not kept on?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Mr. Bhore, as I happen to know, did not want his appointment renewed.

STAFF OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA.

290. ***Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state the total strength of the staff of the High Commissioner for India? How many of these are Indians and how many Europeans?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state the names of Indians and Europeans on the staff of the High Commissioner for India together with the salaries drawn by each of them?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) The total strength is 528. In this figure are included the staff not only of the High Commissioner's own office but also of the Stores Department, the Depot Branch of the Stores Department (in which 152 persons, mostly labourers, are employed), the Accounts Department, the Students Department and the Indian Trade Commissioner. Fourteen are Indians and the rest Europeans.

(b) A statement showing the names and the pay of the Indian members of the establishment is being sent to the Honourable Member.

CONTRACT FOR THE BOMBAY CITY MOTOR MAIL SERVICE.

297. ***Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether the difference between the highest and the lowest tenders for the existing contract re the haulage of mails in the town and Island of Bombay was Rs. 30,000 (Thirty thousand only) annually and whether the highest tender was accepted?

(b) If the answer to (a) be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state the reasons for accepting the highest tender?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: (a) The difference between the highest and lowest tenders received for the renewal from the 1st November, 1923, of the contract for the Bombay City Motor Mail Service was as stated. The highest offer, however, was subject to a deduction of Rs. 18,000 for rent for the postal stables occupied free under the existing contract. No other tender included an offer for these premises. After consideration of all the tenders received Government decided that it was inadvisable in current circumstances to enter into a contract for a number of years and that it would be better to continue the existing arrangements for a further year by which time it was hoped that prices would have fallen and more favourable offers would be received for the contract.

(b) This does not arise.

ADJUSTMENT OF EXPENDITURE INCURRED ON TELEGRAPH WORK DONE IN COMBINED OFFICES.

298. ***Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state what effect has been given to Item No. 12 of the Director General's replies to the All-India Postal Union contained in the No. A. M. 502 of the 28th April 1923, regarding crediting the Postal Branch with the cost of the work performed by combined officers for the Telegraph Branch?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: An appropriate method of estimating the expenditure incurred on account of the Telegraph work done in combined offices has been devised and the necessary adjustment between the Postal and Telegraph Branches will be made in the accounts for future years.

RECOVERY OF HOUSE RENT AND MUNICIPAL TAXES FROM TELEGRAPH OFFICIALS.

299. ***Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state (a) what effect has been given to the recommendations of the Inchcape Committee in the case of the Telegraphic service?

(b) Whether house rent is recovered from the general scale Telegraphists for the Government quarters provided to them?

(c) Whether municipal and other charges are recovered from Telegraphic officials occupying departmental quarters?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: (a) I would invite the Honourable Member's attention to item 28 and following items in statement No. III laid on the Table by the Honourable Finance Member in reply to a question by Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary on the 2nd July 1923.

(b) The reply is in the negative.

(c) Municipal and service taxes are recovered from Telegraph officials occupying departmental quarters, except in the case of the telegraph linestaff.

CIVIL JUSTICE COMMITTEE.

300. ***Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar:** With reference to No. F.-159-22-Judl. of the Government of India, Home Department and the Resolution dated 24th January 1924 appointing a Committee:

(a) Will the Government be pleased to state what is the probable amount that will be spent or is proposed to be spent on this Committee inclusive of the pay of those who will fill the places of the official members of the Committee during their absence on this duty?

- (b) What is the probable time within which the Committee is expected to complete its investigation and send up its report?
- (c) Will the Government be pleased to state how they propose to meet this expenditure and whether the expenditure will be distributed among the Provincial Governments?
- (d) Is it not a fact that at least six experienced Judges of the Madras High Court were decidedly of opinion that the proposed Committee will serve no useful purpose?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: (a) The total expenditure of the Committee has been approximately estimated at Rs. 2,50,000. This figure is, however, only approximate. It includes the pay of the official members of the Committee but not the pay of persons appointed to fill the posts of these members during their absence on special duty. The Government of India have no information on the latter point, and clearly, as the pay of the official members is included, the pay of substitutes appointed to fill their posts should not be included in any estimate of the cost of the Committee.

(b) It has been assumed that the Committee may complete its investigations and report to the Government of India within 5 months, but I cannot say whether this estimate will be fulfilled.

(c) The expenditure will be met from central revenues.

(d) The opinions of the authorities consulted by the Government of India were published as annexures to the Resolution appointing the Committee and a copy of the Resolution with those annexures has been placed in the Library of this House. I can only say that I should not interpret the views expressed by the Judges of the Madras High Court in the way that the Honourable Member has done.

Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar: Does the Committee propose to go into the interior of the Province to the district headquarters?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The arrangement of its work is left really to the Committee itself. If they find it necessary to make inquiries in the mofussil, they will no doubt do so. If it is the Honourable Member's intention to invite them to do so, I shall be very glad to bring before them the suggestion he has made.

TRANSFER OF THE E. I. AND G. I. P. RAILWAYS TO STATE MANAGEMENT.

301. ***Mr. Bhubanananda Das:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state what arrangements are being made for taking over the East Indian Railway at the end of this year and the G. I. P. Railway at the end of next year?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state the nature of the organisation which is going to control these two Railways in future and the exact manner in which it is intended to associate non-official Indians with the administration?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) The Railway Board are working out with the Agents of the two Railways mentioned the details of the transfer of the lines from Company to State management, especially in regard to the transfer of staff and stores. The High Commissioner for India has also been asked to concert in communication with the Home Boards of the two Companies, the arrangements necessary for the carrying on of the work now performed by those Boards; and it is understood that he is already in touch with them in this matter.

(b) The two Railways will on their transfer to State management be in charge of Agents and will be managed and controlled in the same way as other State-managed Railways. Non-official Indians will be associated with their administration through the medium of Local Advisory Committees.

INDIANS ON THE RAILWAY BOARD.

302. *Mr. Bhubanananda Das: (a) Have Government considered the recommendations of the Railway Committee to put Railways and major ports under a single administration in charge of a member of the Executive Council called Member for Communications?

(b) So long as this step is not taken, will Government be pleased to indicate how many Indians there are at present on the Railway Board?

(c) How many Indians it is intended to put on the Railway Board in future?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) Yes.

(b) and (c). There are no Indians on the Railway Board at present. Appointments to the Railway Board are such as can only be filled by officers with suitable railway experience and of the necessary seniority, and there are at present few Indians in the senior ranks of the Railway Service.

Mr. Bhubanananda Das: Are there no Indians of suitable railway experience who can be taken into the Railway Board?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: We fill up appointments to the Railway Board from Agents, General Managers and Chief Engineers of Works, and there are no Indians in those categories at present.

OFFICIALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA DRAWING MORE THAN *RS. 750

303. *Mr. Bhubanananda Das: Will Government be pleased to give a list of the officials attached to the various Departments of the Government of India getting more than Rs. 750 and indicate for each Sub-Department the percentage of Indians there are of the total number?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: A statement is laid on the table.

List of officials attached to the various Departments and attached offices of the Government of India who are in receipt of a pay of more than Rs. 750 a month, and the percentage of Indians to the total number in each office.

(N.B.—“Statutory natives of India” have not been included as “Indians” for this purpose).

Departments.	Attached Offices.	Officials.	Percentage of Indians.	REMARKS.
Home		Secretary. Joint Secretary. Deputy Secretary. Officer on Special Duty. 3 Assistant Secretaries.	14	

Departments.	Attached Offices.	Officials.	Percentage of Indians.	REMARKS.
			Per cent.	
Home— <i>contd.</i>	Director, Intelligence Bureau.	Director. 2 Assistant Directors. (Government Examiner of Questioned Documents.	20	
	Director, Public Information.	Director. Assistant Director.	50	
Foreign and Political.		Political Secretary. Foreign Secretary. 2 Deputy Secretaries. Under Secretary. Assistant Secretary. Registrar. 6 Superintendents.	<i>Nil.</i>	
	Office of Military Adviser-in-Chief, Indian State Forces.	Military Adviser-in-Chief.		
Railway		Chief Commissioner of Railways. Financial Commissioner. Two Members, Railway Board. Chief Engineer. Chief Mechanical Engineer. Secretary. Joint Secretary. 4 Assistant Secretaries. 3 Officers on Special Duty. Registrar. 7 Superintendents.	22	
	Office of Accountant-General, Railways.	Accountant-General. Deputy Accountant-General. Assistant Accountant-General.	33½	
Education, Health and Lands.	...	Secretary. Deputy Secretary. Under Secretary. Educational Commissioner. Inspector General of Forests. Registrar 3 Superintendents.	22	
	Office of Director General, Indian Medical Service.	Director General, Indian Medical Service. Deputy D. G., I. M. S. Public Health Commissioner. 2 Assistant D. G., I. M. S. Chief Superintendent, Office of D. G., I. M. S.	<i>Nil.</i>	
	Office of Director General of Archaeology.	Director General of Archaeology. Deputy Director-General of Archaeology.	<i>Nil.</i>	

Departments.	Attached Offices.	Officials.	Percentage of Indians.	REMARKS.
			Per cent.	
Finance	...	Secretary. Deputy Secretary. 2 Additional Deputy Secretaries. 1 Under Secretary. 3 Officers on Special Duty. 2 Assistant Secretaries. 1 Chief Superintendent. 2 Superintendents.	61.5	
	Central Board of Revenue.	2 Members 1 Personal Assistant.	33.4	
Office of Financial Adviser, Military Finance.	...	Financial Adviser. 4 Deputy Financial Advisers. 6 Assistant Financial Advisers.	36	
	Military Accountant General's Office.	Military Accountant General. 2 Deputy Military Accountants General. 2 Assistant Military Accountants General. 2 Deputy Assistant Military Accountants General.	43	
Commerce	...	Secretary. 2 Assistant Secretaries. Actuary to the Government of India. 3 Superintendents.	43	
Legislative	...	Secretary. Joint Secretary. Additional Joint Secretary. Deputy Secretary. Additional Deputy Secretary. Solicitor to the Government of India. Assistant Solicitor. 2nd Assistant Solicitor. Registrar. 1 Superintendent.	27	
	Local Clearing Office.	Controller.		
Army	...	Secretary. Deputy Secretary. Establishment Officer. Assistant Secretary. 3 Superintendents.		
	General Staff Branch.	Officer Supervisor.	Nil.	
	Q. M. G.'s Branch.	Officer Supervisor. Chief Clerk.		
	A. G.'s Branch	Officer Supervisor.		

Departments.	Attached Offes.	Officials.	Percentage of Indians.	REMARKS.
			Per cent.	
Army— <i>contd.</i>	Military Secretary's Branch.	Officer Supervisor.	} Nil.	
	Engineer-in-Chief's Branch.	Consulting Architect. Officer Supervisor.		
	Assistant Military Secretary (Personal) to H. E. the C.-in-C.	Personal Assistant.		
Department of Industries and Labour.		Secretary. 2 Deputy Secretaries. Under Secretary. 2 Assistant Secretaries. 2 Superintendents. Consulting Engineer.	} 11	
	Indian Stores Department.	Chief Controller. Director of Inspection. Director of Purchase and Intelligence. 2 Deputy Directors. 1 Officer on Special Duty. 1 Assistant Chief Controller. 3 Assistant Directors.	} 20	

EXPENDITURE ON THE CAMPAIGN IN WAZIRISTAN.

304. ***Mr. Bhubanananda Das:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state what was the total expenditure of the Government of India including normal establishment charges of the campaign in Waziristan during the last three years?

(b) What operations have been undertaken since the close of the Waziristan campaign across the borders?

(c) What is the present state of affairs with regard to the relations with border tribes?

(d) Will Government be pleased to state whether they still adhere to the forward policy on the Frontier?

(e) Will Government be pleased to lay on the table all correspondence which took place with regard to this matter between them and the Secretary of State?

Mr. E. B. Howell: (a) The total expenditure of the Government on the campaign in Waziristan for the last three years, excluding Political charges, figures for which are not at present available but will be supplied to the Honourable Member on receipt, is as follows:—

	Rs.
1920-21	17,38,41,737
1921-22	10,63,67,337
1922-23	8,05,15,775

(b) The Waziristan Campaign cannot be said to have closed until the evacuation of the Takki Zain Line in the beginning of December last. Since then there have been no operations across the border.

(c) The relations of Government with the border tribes are generally satisfactory at present. For instance, the measure of the assistance recently rendered by the Afridis to prevent the escape of the Kohat gang into their territory was a thing quite unprecedented in frontier history.

(d) The Government adhere to the policy explained by Mr. Bray in his speech delivered in this House on the 5th March 1923, to the report of which the Honourable Member is referred.

(e) Government do not consider it in the public interest to make public the correspondence on the subject.

OUTSTANDING ACCOUNTS BETWEEN THE HOME AND INDIAN GOVERNMENTS IN RESPECT OF WAR MATERIALS, ETC.

805. *Mr. Bhubanananda Dās: Will Government be pleased to state:—

(a) Whether there are any outstanding accounts between the Government of India and the Government of the United Kingdom in respect of (1) war materials and supplies from India during the war, (2) the sale of surplus stores in Mesopotamia, (3) the sale of ships, (4) contributions in regard to Persia, (5) contribution in regard to training of men for the Indian Army, (6) payments made to the English Territorial Army when they were in India and were being sent away, (7) payment of gratuities, passage money and every other description of payment made to demobilised officers either of the Indian Army or of His Majesty's Force in the United Kingdom?

(b) In each of these cases the figures of receipts and payments by the Government of India during each of the six years ending 1922-23?

Mr. E. Burdon: (a) As regards (1), (5) and (6) the answer is in the negative. As regards (2) and (3) the sales were effected by representatives of His Majesty's Government direct. As regards (4) the question of incidence of expenditure in East Persia during the latter part of the Great War has not yet been settled definitely.

As regards (7) the question of the proportion in which the charges connected with the maintenance and disposal of Indian Army officers recruited during the Great War and afterwards compulsorily retired on certain terms as being surplus to post-war establishments, should be divided between Indian Revenues and His Majesty's Government, is under consideration. The apportionment between the two Governments of charges relating to disbandment of British troops owing to permanent reduction in strengths carried out since the termination of the Great War is also under discussion.

(b) In view of the answers given to part (a) of the question, there are no outstanding figures of receipts and payments under (1), (2), (3), (5) and (6). It is not possible to give figures under (4) as accounts for East Persia were not maintained separately. Under (7) the total payments both in India and in England in 1922-23 on account of maintenance and other charges of surplus officers of the Indian Army amounted to Rs. 2,20,13,237 and this was the year in which the retirements commenced.

There were no receipts. The Government of India have no information regarding receipts and payments in connection with the disbandment of British troops in 1922-23 or earlier years as these were incurred by the War Office in England.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

COST OF THE INDIAN SUGAR COMMITTEE.

93. **Mr. Ahmad Ali Khan:** Will Government be pleased to state the total expenditure in connection with the enquiry of the Sugar Committee of 1921?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: The total expenditure amounted to Rs. 2,71,043.

IMPORTS OF SUGAR FROM JAVA, CUBA AND HAWAII.

94. **Mr. Ahmad Ali Khan:** Will Government be pleased to state the quantity (in maunds) and the value of sugar imported into British India during the years 1921, 1922 and 1923, from the following countries—

1. Java, -
2. Cuba, -
3. Hawaii?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The information regarding sugar imported from Java is obtainable in the Annual and Monthly Accounts relating to the Sea-borne Trade and Navigation of British India to which the attention of the Honourable Member is invited. Copies of the publications are in the Library.

No sugar is shewn as imported from Cuba or Hawaii.

REPORT OF THE INDIAN SUGAR COMMITTEE.

95. **Mr. Ahmad Ali Khan:** Is it a fact, as stated by Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee in an article dealing with Indian economic conditions contributed to the "Asiatic Review" and reproduced in the "Statesman" of January 10, 1924, that no action on the Report of the Sugar Committee has yet been taken? If so, will Government explain why?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: It is not a fact that any such statement was made in the article referred to. This being so, the second part of the question does not arise.

ASSAM TEA GARDEN EMIGRANTS.

96. **Mr. Chaman Lal:** (a) Is the Government aware that in the published annual report of the working of the Assam Labour Board during the year ending the 30th of June 1923, occur the following remarks:

"The only feature calling for remark is the tendency for cases of interference with emigrants, on the part of minor political agitators and petty officials to increase. Such persons when they see a batch of tea garden emigrants in a train endeavour to dissuade them from going to Assam and in a number of cases have succeeded in doing so. As they in every case leave the emigrants stranded in a strange place and never offer to assist them to return to their homes, it is clear that they are not actuated by motives of philanthropy."

(b) Will Government place on the table a copy of the evidence on which such charges as the above have been based?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: (a) Yes.

(b) The statement quoted was made not by Government but by the Assam Labour Board to whom the Honourable Member is at liberty to refer.

WAGES IN THE TEA PLANTATIONS OF ASSAM FOR ADULT MALE AND FEMALE LABOURERS.

97. Mr. Chaman Lal: Is Government aware that the law prescribes wages for male adults at less than fifteen rupees a month on an average in the Tea-plantations of Assam and for female adults at less than seven annas a day and for children less than four annas a day?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: The Honourable Member is mistaken. The law prescribes nothing of the kind.

BRIGADE ORDER re VOTING FOR A NON-SWARAJIST CANDIDATE.

98. Mr. Chaman Lal: (a) Is Government aware that a Brigade Order was issued in Sialkote recommending to military officers the name of a non-Swarajist candidate as the most desirable person for whom they should vote during the recent elections?

(b) Will Government be pleased to lay a copy of this Order on the table?

Mr. E. Burdon: The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the reply given on the 11th instant to his unstarred question No. 91. I will furnish him with a reply to this question as soon as the information that has been called for is received.

PLAGUE IN INDIA.

99. Mr. Chaman Lal: (a) Is Government aware that India is alone among the civilised countries of the world where plague has become endemic?

(b) What effective steps does Government contemplate to combat this disease?

(c) Is Government aware that the Government of the United States of America successfully checked the incidence of plague in the Phillipine Islands within four years of its appearance and that no cases of plague have since been reported in those islands?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: (a) The answer is in the affirmative.

(b) The plague policy of Government of which the most recent enunciation is to be found in the Government of India's Resolution No. 637-Sanitary, dated the 18th August 1920, has been framed with a due regard to and after careful consideration of the epidemiological and etiological facts of the disease as ascertained by various expert scientific inquiries which have been conducted on this problem by European experts and by medical officers of this Government and of this country, both British and Indian. It is for local Governments who are now entrusted with the administration of Public Health to carry out the policy outlined in the Resolution.

(c) Inquiries are being made on the subject.

EXPORT OF CATTLE.

100. **Mr. K. Venkataramana Reddi:** Will the Government be pleased to furnish information as to the number of cattle (particularly young cows) exported to foreign countries during the last two years?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the reply given on the 1st instant to Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju's question on the same subject.

RESOLUTION RE THE VESTING OF THE REVENUES OF INDIA
IN THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao (Godavari *cum* Kistna: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, in view of the discussion on the Resolution moved by my friend, Mr. Rangachariar, I do not propose to move this Resolution.*

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Halley (Home Member): May I intervene for one moment? I hope that what I say will not be taken as any suggestion of a rebuke to the Honourable Member, but rather as a request to him. The House has tabled a considerable number of Resolutions. Those Resolutions have to be studied with some care by Government; for it will be of little use if we came down to the House without a thorough study of the propositions which have been placed before it—not necessarily for the purpose of opposing them; very frequently our study enables us to give a far more favourable answer to the House than would otherwise have been possible. It will be a great kindness, much appreciated by us, if Members who do not wish to move their Resolutions will give us some notice in advance. There are a limited number of working hours in the day for each of us, and if a considerable amount of that time is to be taken up in preparing for Resolutions which are not afterwards discussed, then, leaving aside the private aspect of the question, there is after all that amount of loss of public time.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: Sir, I might perhaps say a word by way of explanation. I know, Sir, the great inconvenience that is caused if Resolutions which are tabled are not moved or no intimation is given to the Honourable Members in charge of the Resolutions on behalf

* "This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that he may be pleased to take the necessary steps for the amendment of the Government of India Act so as to provide:

(1) That the revenues of India shall vest in the Governor General in Council and that the power now vested in the Secretary of State for India in Council for the appropriation of Indian Revenues should be confined only for the following purposes:

- (a) Expenditure on the India Office establishments.
- (b) Expenditure on the Military services up to the limit of 50 crores of rupees.
- (c) Expenditure classed as ecclesiastical.
- (d) Expenditure classed as political.
- (e) The payment of all expenses, debts, and liabilities hitherto lawfully contracted and incurred by the Secretary of State in Council on account of the Government of India.

(2) This Assembly further recommends that the power of superintendence, direction and control now vested in the Secretary of State in Council should be confined only for the purposes mentioned in clause I and that the Governor General in Council acting with the Indian Legislature should have full power in all other respects in regard to the appropriation of Indian revenues."

of Government. I may say that I made up my mind in consultation with friends after coming to this Chamber this morning and I intimated it as soon as I made up my mind to the Honourable Sir Basil Blackett and also to the Honourable the Leader of the House. I had no intention of causing any inconvenience.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I am sure of that, Sir.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: And I am sure that we appreciate the difficulties under which the official Members in this House labour. I hope that the Honourable Member will be equally solicitous to consult our convenience and our difficulties in regard to Resolutions and questions that are discussed in this House. There are many difficulties from our standpoint also, which in course of time I hope to bring to the notice of the Honourable Member, and I trust they will receive the consideration that they deserve.

RESOLUTION RE MUHAMMADAN REPRESENTATION.

Khan Sahib Ghulam Bari (West Central Punjab: Muhammadan): Sir, I had a mind to move the Resolution* to-day but on certain considerations I beg your permission to discuss it on the 14th or 19th. A similar Resolution comes up for discussion on the 14th and 19th.

Mr. President: I understand the Honourable Member desires to withdraw his Resolution; it is the case that it does appear on the Resolution list for a subsequent date.

Khan Sahib Ghulam Bari: I beg your permission to discuss it on the 14th or 19th when this Resolution comes up again.

Mr. President: The Resolution is withdrawn.

RESOLUTION RE QUESTIONS PUT BY NON-OFFICIAL MEMBERS ON SUBJECTS OVER WHICH THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL HAS CONTROL AND SUPERINTENDENCE.

Mr. K. Ahmed (Rajshahi Division: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I rise to move the Resolution that stands in my name:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that all important questions put by the non-official Members on subjects over which the Governor General in Council has control and superintendence, be answered by the Government Members in this Assembly after obtaining the necessary information from the provincial Governments."

The reason, Sir, why I have taken the trouble to move this Resolution speaks for itself, as each and every Member of this Assembly is either already disgusted or will soon be with the stereotyped answer given in

* "This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that he may be pleased to take steps to give gradual effect to the following:

- (i) In a province where Muhammadans are in a majority, they will get 52 per cent. and non-Muhammadans 48, and
- (ii) In a province where the non-Muhammadans are in a majority they will get 75 per cent. and the Muhammadans 25 per cent. of representation in both the Indian and Provincial Legislatures and Government services as far as possible."

[Mr. K. Ahmed.]

this Assembly by Government Members to questions put to them on important subjects for the information of the public. Questions after questions have been put by Members within the last three years on most important subjects in relation to which the Government of India have power of superintendence, direction and control over provincial subjects, and, though the Government had full information, as they are expected to have, they have refused to answer on the ground that they are provincial questions and that an Honourable Member, who perhaps may come from a corner of the Punjab, should go to the far distant land of Burma and request a non-official Member there to make an inquiry by putting questions in the provincial Council there and get an answer. Is that sort of answer, Sir, very often given in this Assembly, satisfactory? Even in the House of Commons, if a question is put regarding Indian affairs, the Secretary of State for India, who has got the power of superintendence, direction and control over Indian affairs, never refers a Member of Parliament there to go to India after a long journey and address himself to Members of this Assembly or the other House and get an answer from the Member in charge, sitting on the Treasury Bench. Honourable Members, who have watched the proceedings of this House for the last three years, from 1921, would have seen how many times it has been repeated both in the questions and supplementary questions put in this House and the Government have failed to satisfy the representatives of this country in regard to information sought. Now, Sir, if that is so, a serious question arises for consideration by Honourable Members of this Assembly. We are determined with one voice that we shall pass this Resolution with this idea that the representative people of this country should not any more be deprived of their right given to them, not merely by the Act, but by the very right that the people in England say that they have given us a Parliament in the Imperial City of Delhi and in Simla, where our people may ask questions of the Government and get direct answers. It will also be seen from the published debates for the last three years that, when some of my Honourable friends who are probably not here put certain questions in the provincial Councils, they were told that the subject matter of their questions was being dealt with by the Government of India in the Imperial City of Delhi, that is, by this House. When the same questions were put in the Central Legislature by the Members, Sir, they were asked to put those questions in the Bengal Council. I remember an instance in which the same question was put in the Bengal Council as well. Sir, may I ask how many times can a Member come to the Government of India and how many times can he go back to the Government of Bengal? I do not like to say any more on this subject, but it seems to me, Sir, that it is high time that we must carry this Resolution, and I beg all Members of the Government to be good enough to come forward and satisfy us and give us an undertaking that they will try their level best, as they do try in ordinary questions that are placed before them, to send all questions relating to the provinces to the various provincial Governments or to the departments concerned in the respective provinces and make inquiries before they tell an Honourable Member to put the same question in the provincial Council. I ask, Sir, why should not Government Members send all important questions to the various provincial Governments concerned and get answers prepared and then give them to us? I may say here that in regard to a most important question relating to Mahatma Gandhi, we were told "Go to the Government of Bombay." If certain people are convicted in the United Provinces and, if

questions are put in that connection, we are referred to the United Provinces Council. Then, Sir, we had also on numerous occasions put questions relating to the Moplah train tragedy and we were asked to go to the Madras Council. If a provincial Government has committed a great blunder, why not come forward and give an answer to the questions put here in that behalf instead of putting forward lame excuses? When they do so, it means this, that Government do not like to give a suitable answer to some of the most important questions and they intentionally deprive the representatives of this country in this House of an answer which they reasonably expect from the Government of India in this Chamber. Sir, I submit that this is not at all fair. I therefore place this Resolution before the House in the hope that each and every one of my Honourable Colleagues will give his cordial support to my Resolution. I think, Sir, I have made out a very strong case for the acceptance of my Resolution, namely:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that all important questions put by the non-official members on subjects over which the Governor General in Council has control and superintendence, be answered by the Government Members in this Assembly after obtaining the necessary information from the Provincial Governments."

Sir, I commend the Resolution to this House.

Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith (Secretary, Legislative Department): Sir, the Honourable the Mover of this Resolution has been brief, and I shall try to follow his example. I think, perhaps, the most convenient way of considering the matter is to examine first of all the bearing on this Resolution of our existing Rules and Standing Orders. The Honourable Member made no reference to Rules and Standing Orders. Possibly he presumed that, if this Resolution was adopted and accepted by the Government, the necessary steps would be taken to amend the Rules and Standing Orders. Now, we have, in the first place, Rule 6 which lays down that questions may be asked on matters of public concern within the cognisance of the Member of the Government concerned, and the framing of that rule involves the necessary corollary that questions that do not comply with the rule are not admissible. In fact, Standing Order No. 16 requires you, Sir, to disallow questions which infringe the rules as to subject matter. Now, it may be possible,—I shall advert to this later,—that questions contemplated by the Honourable Member's Resolution would not deal with matters of public concern. It would be a question of interpretation. Rule 7, Sir, gives the President power to disallow a question which deals with a matter which is, in his opinion, not primarily the concern of the Governor General in Council. Here we have a rule which runs distinctly counter to the Honourable Member's Resolution. Matters which are of provincial concern can hardly be matters which are primarily the concern of the Governor General in Council. Now, Sir, I do not press these objections to the Honourable Member's Resolution, because Rules and Standing Orders can be amended. It is rather a cumbrous process at times; if the Honourable Member takes any interest in the matter and if he looks at section 129A of the Government of India Act, he will find out how our rules of legislative business can be amended. Nor do I wish to suggest by what I have said that Government have any desire to withhold information in reply to questions reasonably asked, information which can reasonably be given. The whole question comes down to this, whether the recommendation set out in Mr. Ahmed's Resolution is reasonable. That brings me, Sir, to the terms of the Resolution. I have very little quarrel with him on the ground that it is not specific enough—it is a very clear Resolution except in one respect, and the one word with which I quarrel

[Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith.]

is the word "important." Now, "important," Sir, is a very vague term; it is a term of degree, and the Honourable Member in his speech gave us no indication at all as to what was to be the criterion for the application of this word "important." Sir, is it to be the Honourable Member who asks the question who is to decide whether it is important or not, or is it to be you, Sir, or is it to be the Government of India who have to answer the question? Certainly, Sir, if we amended the rule, we should not be able to include the word "important." I doubt if any Statute Book in the world contains it. We must have something more definite than that. What is important to one Member or to one individual may be a matter of mere parochial interest to another Member or individual. I have some recollection, Sir, of a question asked in this House about two years ago. The Honourable Member who put that question was complaining that a particular railway station was situated at some distance from the particular town which it served, that the road which connected the two places ran through a forest, and that tigers pounced out on unwary passers by and devoured them. Now, Sir, that may have been a matter of great importance to the Honourable Member who put the question but, if I remember rightly, Sir, the House did not take it seriously. When Government were asked what they were going to do about it, Government were unsympathetic and the real answer was provided by another Honourable Member from the same province who suggested that the questioner should himself undertake to go and shoot the tiger. That merely shows, Sir, that we should be in some difficulty in interpreting this word "important."

Now, I pass on to the other part of the Resolution, Sir. The Honourable Member undoubtedly has in mind section 45 of the Government of India Act when he refers to matters over which the Governor General in Council has control and superintendence. Now, under section 45 of the Government of India Act, every Local Government is under the superintendence, direction and control of the Governor General in Council in all matters relating to the government of its province. That, Sir, is subject to rules made under the Act and we all know, Sir, that the Government of India have superintendence, direction and control over all provincial reserved subjects and, to the limited extent provided in Devolution Rule 49, over provincial transferred subjects. Now, there are, Sir, in the list of provincial subjects 52 items, ranging over a vast number of subjects. The transferred list at present contains 20 items. I think, Sir, it is obvious that the result of adopting my Honourable friend's Resolution must necessarily be a vast increase in the number of questions put in this Assembly with which Government will have to deal and to which Government will have to furnish replies. If, Sir, we want any further evidence of that, we get it from the fact that a large number of Members have given notice of this Resolution. It was on the paper the other day. It was balloted for by two Members for to-day. It is first on the list for the 14th. It again comes first on the list for the 19th. We may assume that Honourable Members who take such an interest in this matter are likely to avail themselves freely of the privilege which we should be affording by amending our Rules and Standing Orders so as to permit these questions. The result would be an enormous increase of work. It would mean an increase of work for the staff of this House, for you, Sir, and more particularly for the Members of the Government of India and their ministerial establishment, for they have the work of collecting and preparing the answers to these questions. But it would not end there, Sir. It would mean more work for the Local Governments also; for though the Local Governments have to supply

us with information on all these matters over which the Government of India have superintendence, direction and control, it does not follow by any means that the Government of India will have the information desired on the spot, because the Government of India certainly do not interpret section 45 as justifying them in giving general orders to Local Governments to keep them diligently informed of every matter that takes place in the provinces. Therefore, Sir, the Local Governments will be kept busy by us, and not only the Local Governments,—possibly the High Courts. Some information will have to be collected from the districts. District judges and district officers will have to be asked, tahsildars and Superintendents of Police.

Now, Sir, the Honourable Member assumes that all this will be done within ten days. Our Standing Orders at present require me as Secretary of this House to put on the first List of Business, after the expiry of ten clear days of notice, all questions which have not been disallowed; and, therefore, questions would have to appear at the end of ten days to which in many cases the answer would merely be that the information is not yet ready. I think, Sir, if we amend our Standing Orders in this matter, we should have to increase the period—nothing less than 20 days would be a suitable period. Then, Sir, Honourable Members of this House who ask important questions which do concern the Government of India would have to wait that additional period before they could get their answer. I do not think, Sir, that this would be a desirable result or that it would commend itself to Members of this House.

There is just one more difficulty about it, Sir. As the Honourable Mover of this Resolution knows, supplementary questions are not unknown in this House, and, unless we call for very full information in every case from the Local Government, the Government of India would not be able to deal with these supplementary questions. We should have to ask for notice or say that we will inquire and let the Honourable Member know at a later date. That perhaps is a small matter, but still it is a matter in which the adoption of the Resolution would result in some difficulty.

I do not think, Sir, that there is any difficulty in getting these questions which the Honourable Member has in mind answered in the Local Councils. After all, you have to remember that in Bengal, say, there are far more Members from Bengal—in fact they are all from Bengal—than there are in this Assembly. Every part of the province is well represented, and there should be no difficulty whatever in getting questions put in the Local Council where the information will be available at once. This is one of the things for which the Local Councils were created. It is quite possible there may be some resentment on the part of the Local Governments and the Local Councils that we here, the Government of India and the Central Legislature, are attempting to usurp some of their functions. I think, Sir, Rule 7 was deliberately framed as it is to draw a clear dividing line between questions of provincial interest and questions of central interest, and it would be a great pity if that dividing line were now removed. We sometimes hear, Sir, in this House the expression “provincial autonomy”. Surely, Sir, the adoption of this Resolution would be a retrograde step in that matter. I therefore confidently expect the Members of the Nationalist Party to vote against the Honourable Member's Resolution.

I oppose the Resolution.

Mr. G. Duraiswami Aiyangar (Madras ceded districts and Chittoor Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I wish to associate myself with this Resolution and support it to the extent of my experience of disappointments in

[Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar.]

asking questions relating to such matters. I have been also told on one or two occasions when I put questions relating to important matters—matters which I considered to be important and which I believed the Assembly also would consider to be important—that those were disallowed on the ground that they did not concern directly His Excellency the Governor General in Council. I may instance one or two of them for the information of the Members of this Assembly. Sir, there was one question which related to the supervision of the High Courts over the district and subordinate courts in each Presidency. This question I thought directly arose out of the Judicial Delays Committee which has been recently appointed by His Excellency the Governor General in order to take steps and report what codification or amendments of law may be made in order to reduce delays in the administration of civil justice. It is a part and parcel of that report and the papers published along with it show that there were some observations made by some of those to whom the question was referred that delays were partly due also to the non-supervision of the High Courts over the subordinate courts. Therefore, as a part of the series of the questions some of which were answered to-day—for instance Question No. 300—I put those questions relating to the supervision of the High Courts over the subordinate courts and I thought that the matter concerned this Assembly quite as much as any local Council. It was not on account of any inquisitiveness whether these High Courts were superintending the subordinate courts that I put that question. I thought it would be of some use to this Assembly in considering the question of the necessity or otherwise of the Judicial Delays Committee. I was told that it did not concern directly His Excellency the Governor General in Council although it has occurred in the course of the papers which were published along with the Government Order appointing the Committee. There was another question asked referring to the existence of District Board Railways in the different provinces. No doubt it may directly concern the local Councils to know whether there are Railways carried on by any District Boards out of the railway cess, but I thought that as the Railway policy may be a policy of general importance for all India, if information was collected by this Assembly as to the existence of District Board Railways in all the provinces, there might be a certain uniformity of policy adopted with reference to the co-ordination of efforts and there might arise a case in which District Board Railways may be so arranged as to form a combination of the efforts of one district in one province and of an adjoining district of another province in order to formulate or help in co-ordinating the efforts of the various provinces in forming District Board Railways as feeder railways to the main railways. I thought that question would be of some importance as a piece of information to this Assembly. That also was disallowed. I thought also, Sir, that the general control or supervision over all the jails in the various provinces and particularly the treatment of political prisoners in the various jails in the various provinces should also be a matter of information and knowledge for the Members of this Assembly. That question also was disallowed. These are not questions which can at any time be said not to be important in the sense that the Members should always have recourse to the local Councils for an answer. It must also to a great extent be left to the good sense and discretion of the Members of the Assembly what questions to ask and what questions not to ask. But to say, Sir, that the mere passing of this Resolution will lead to a volume of questions flowing in day after day from every Member asking for the details of every district—as to whether there is a pond reserved in a particular

village near Titupati or any other place—such are not the kind of questions that Members will be expected to ask considering the decency of their position. It is unjust to say that simply because this Resolution is accepted by the Government or passed by this Assembly, there will be a flood of questions of all kinds in this Assembly, so much so that the Government Departments will be put to trouble. Nor is it necessary, Sir, for the Honourable Member of Government to say that supplementary questions are permitted and it would be a great difficulty if supplementary questions are raised with reference to the information which was called for from Local Governments. Sir, if supplementary questions do arise, and if the information that has been supplied to this Government is not enough to enable them to answer those supplementary questions, Members of the Assembly are not so impatient as not to wait for the answers also to be duly obtained and given. We have been trained not to impatience but to patience. On very many occasions we have got answers which train every Member of the Assembly to a course of patience and not to a course of impatience. In fact, even yesterday, I requested whether it would not be possible for the Honourable Members of the Government, when they answer questions, to give us direct answers. There is no necessity for them to refer us to questions and answers given two or three years ago. I was told by the Honourable the President, to which decision I submit, that, because these answers are already recorded, there is no need to repeat them again. Still, Sir, it is often easy for the Government to say—for these Members will have to go and search and ransack the records of three or four years back in the Library—it would be easier for the Government to state in as many words as it requires them to state that answer, the answer given on a former occasion. But this is a matter which does not directly relate to the subject in issue. So far as this subject is concerned, I have quoted before you some instances and it cannot be said that the instances which I have quoted are not instances of importance, instances in which this Assembly will be interested in getting the information. It seems to me, therefore, that this Resolution is a Resolution which the Government itself must easily accept. I thank the Honourable Member for having pointed out the vagueness of the word "important" on this occasion instead of allowing the Resolution to be passed and afterwards raise the plea that the Government do not consider any question to be important and therefore do not give the answers. Better that the question is raised now. It can be said that the question of importance cannot be defined by anybody but it can always be left to the discretion in the first instance of the Members who ask the questions and in the second stage to the discretion of the Honourable the President to allow or not to allow it considering the importance of the question, according to his own view.

Dr. H. S. Gour: What? The President has no power.

Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar: In any case, I will not be sorry if, after considering the question whether it is important or not, the President comes to the conclusion that it is not important. Such questions may not arise very often. But, on the other hand, to deny once and for all this Resolution simply on the ground that "important" is not defined and is a vague term—I submit, Sir, that the answer given by the Honourable Member of Government cannot be said to be satisfactory on that score. The Honourable Member is also solicitous of our views that there should be provincial autonomy. I am glad he is. But this does not take away in any manner our desire to give provincial autonomy to the provinces. Simply because Members of this Assembly would like to have information collected of the various circumstances which prevail in the various provinces and of the

[Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar.]

existing state of things in the various provinces, it does not mean that it in any way derogates from the principle of provincial autonomy. To say that it would be derogatory to provincial autonomy and that it would be a retrograde step on that account is no argument which this Assembly can easily swallow. Therefore, Sir, I have great pleasure in supporting this Resolution.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I had no intention of taking part in this debate and I would not have uttered a single syllable but for an observation of Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith. Sir, "provincial autonomy" seems to be one of the very-much-abused terms. It is a phrase, Sir, which means autonomy for the provinces and not autonomy for the autocracy in the provinces. The Nationalist Party, Sir, does not contemplate provincial autonomy with a central autocracy, nor does it contemplate autonomy for the provincial autocracy so long as it is not responsible to the Provincial Legislature. At present there is no such responsibility to the Provincial Legislature on the part of the Provincial Government. At present in my own province—the United Provinces—a Resolution has been passed for the release of the Kumaon prisoners, but that Resolution has not so far been given effect to by the Provincial Government. Certainly we are not in a hurry to give autonomy to the Provincial Governments so long as they are not responsible to the Provinces. As for the release of Kumaon prisoners, it is not under the present circumstances for me to raise that question here because there are certain obstacles in the way which the Honourable Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith pointed out. It is the object, Sir, of the Nationalist Party to remove those obstacles, and then we shall consider provincial autonomy.

Mr. K. Ahmed: I have got a few observations to make in explanation of the remarks which have been made by my Honourable friend, Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith, and on which he laid so much stress. We are not unaware of a practice in the Courts that, where a lawyer has got a very hopeless case and he has previously got the brief and the fee which he finds it very difficult to return, because he has digested it, he takes to abusing his opponent. My Honourable friend, Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith, is in the same position, and, instead of accepting my Resolution, he has advanced lame excuses in opposing my Resolution. Sir, I may say that you, as the worthy and able President of this Assembly, have taken a great deal of trouble in going through every question before it is allowed and entered in the agenda paper of the day. Is it not interference on the part of my Honourable friend if he is to say whether the Honourable President is justified in allowing a question, looking at its importance? Again, if a question is objected to by a Government Member after it is placed on the agenda paper, the objections are completely threshed out and then, if the Government is defeated, the question goes on. Sir, I do not find anything in support of the position taken up by my Honourable friend.

Then he has chosen to attack me by saying that I have been putting supplementary questions. No doubt, if he remembers, he will know that they arose out of past questions which were objected to being put by one of those non-official Members from Bengal who, rightly or wrongly, took advantage of the non-co-operation propaganda three years ago, in the year 1920, to come here. He is no longer here nor is he in the Provincial Council, and he wanted, as many other people did, to make friends with the

Government Members on some pretext or other and show that he had the honour of belonging to a big Legislature and had cultivated friendship with high officials of Government. As my Honourable friend has introduced a personal question, I am constrained to expose the whole thing. I personally went to the office of the Secretary of this Assembly and told him that somebody with the help of the reporter of the "Pioneer" or the "Eastern Mail" wanted to misrepresent and ridicule me because I did not satisfy his curiosity. This reporter is a curious representative of the Press, or in a curious way wanted to misrepresent the country and its people by saying my questions were not suitable questions, or that they were very harsh and difficult for the Government to answer. They wanted to ridicule me, though as a matter of fact, that friend was not able or strong enough or had not the nerve enough to do it. Any way he wanted to caricature me by putting in new things when the proof went to him, and that was the time that the Secretary said that it ought not to be done and he could only make a verbal alteration here and there. There is the official record of the Debates. I do not go to the law courts against this person for defamation, because he is neither here nor there, but he is thrown upon the world. So, the excuse pleaded by my Honourable friend, Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith, will no longer hold good. This Assembly now consists of respectable representatives with a vast knowledge and experience of the country, and I dare say that none of them will be prejudiced by the sort of answer that has been given. I think, Sir, that the reporter in the gallery who wanted to defame me was probably told by my friend that he would not get permission next time to misrepresent the Assembly. Again, Sir, with regard to the railway station incident I wanted to put a supplementary question. The matter had been inquired into by the President of the Railway Board and they had already taken steps. The officers in the province, from the District Magistrate to the Commissioner, and the Government of Bengal were also of the same opinion as I was and, as a matter of fact, the Railway Department have taken enough pains to draw maps and after making inquiries after inquiries they have satisfied themselves as to the responsible nature of the question that was put. There, again, my Honourable friend is throwing a stone in the bush with the idea of hitting me, but I am sure it has missed its mark. Then, again, reference was made to Standing Order 16. It is not laid down in the Government of India Act, section 139A. With regard to the word "important" my Honourable friend from Madras has enlightened this Assembly as also has my Honourable friend, Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer from the United Provinces. With regard to the ten days' notice, do the Government seriously say that they have answered questions without consultation during that period, and have they answered all the questions soon after the ten days' notice given by Honourable Members? I venture to think they have not. Questions have been answered not only after ten days but after twice as much as ten days, that is, 20 days, or say, even 25 days or 30 days. I dare say that all the information is received and that the Government of India after receiving the information answer the questions. When they do not get the answers, they say that they will take time, and time is granted. No Honourable Member of this Assembly objects to time being granted. Even if answers are got after a month, they are then placed before the Assembly. I do not see what sense and what excuse there is in saying that a lot of money will have to be spent and that a lot of trouble will have to be taken. We are here to trouble ourselves and to trouble you because that is the trouble of the country. The country wants to be satisfied whether the Honourable Members in charge are troubling themselves to appreciate the position and the duty that is placed upon them. Before 1921, when there

[Mr. K. Ahmed.]

was no majority in the Assembly, Honourable Members used to be satisfied with whatever answers were given them. Those days are gone. Here we have come with a strong determination and we want to test the department by putting questions and supplementary questions, for which we must have the answer for the benefit of the country. Nothing has been said about this except that the Honourable Member wanted certain amendments to Standing Rules and Orders. In the next breath he said he wanted to extend time and revise the Standing Orders. My Honourable friend I know is fond of drafting and I hope he will take the trouble to do it, and I hope there will be no difficulty in accepting my Resolution.

Mr. President: The question is:

“That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that all important questions put by the non-official Members on subjects over which the Governor General in Council has control and superintendence, be answered by the Government Members in this Assembly after obtaining the necessary information from the provincial Governments.”

The motion was adopted.

RESOLUTION *RE* THE PROVISION OF CONVENIENCES FOR INDIAN RAILWAY PASSENGERS.

Haji Wajihuddin (Cities of the United Provinces: Muhammadan Urban): Sir, the Resolution which I have the privilege to move this morning runs as follows:

“This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to direct railway authorities throughout India to adopt the following measures for the convenience of Indian passengers:

- (a) increase of the number of passenger trains where necessary to avoid overcrowding;
- (b) introduction of intermediate class where not already provided;
- (c) adequate supervision of watermen both Muslims and Hindus on small stations to provide water on every passenger train;
- (d) provision of Hindu and Muslim refreshment rooms on all principal stations where not already made;
- (e) provision of inter class waiting rooms for males and females, respectively, on all the principal stations where not already provided.”

I am sure the necessity to adopt these measures is very keenly felt throughout the country and need no comments; but in moving the Resolution I think it is my duty to make it more clear. I shall, therefore, try to explain it a little at length and shall appeal to the high sense of justice of the House. Things change according to the changing circumstances, but we have been travelling in the railway trains for nearly half a century without perceiving any marked change in their management, although we feel we ourselves have much changed. Now, Sir, it is in our hands to take such measures which, when put into practice, will lead the common people to believe in the justice of the British Government as well as in our own importance and the good use of the new constitution. Taking the first part of the Resolution I may say that for the opulent traveller, who always finds himself comfortably accommodated in the soft and warm coaches of the neat well aired and well furnished first and second class compartments, it is hardly possible to realise for a moment the stifling atmosphere of a miserable third class compartment labelled to carry 17 passengers but packed up with full two score or more human beings who have paid money to bear this hardship. It is really astonishing how they manage to

keep the flame of life burning. The poor Indian passengers are surely to be pitied and the cruel and inhumane treatment which they meet with at the hands of the railway authorities is even monstrous enough for the lower animals. They who have had a chance to travel by passenger trains running between Lahore and Ambala or Agra and Delhi and so on must have observed the never ebbing and ever swelling rush of passengers in the third class compartments, but the railway authorities had perhaps never given a thought to increase the number of trains. If there is justice in the world, I strongly hope that the Government as well as the railway authorities will take steps to ensure the comfort of the public which is their due.

(b) As regards the intermediate class compartments, I may remark that it is a purgatory between the comforts of the first and second class compartments and the miseries of the third class. Those, who are not rich enough to enjoy the former and are too refined to tolerate the latter, may console themselves by taking to this intermediate class, but on certain lines and certain trains it is denied to the public or rather to the educated middle class of Indians who badly suffer on account of this neglect. May I be allowed to say, Sir, that since the prohibitive enhancement of fares on railways the inter class is largely used by the respectable class of Indians who cannot afford to pay the high second class fare. Statistics would show that the number of those using inter class is far larger than those using second class. It would not matter very much in the present circumstances, if Railways abolished the second class altogether and instituted in its place an inter class of an improved type such as is provided on the mail trains of the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway. For the present the inter class, although it is almost double the fare of the third class, reaching the level of the pre-war rates for second class, is nothing more than third class with the exception that it has coarse cushions on its benches. In fact on many railways third class carriages have been marked inter class without any improvement in their structure except cushions on its narrow seats.

(c) For the third and fourth part of my Resolution I shall have very little to say for it is as plain as day that an adequate provision of Hindu and Muslim watermen on all small stations is badly needed. I myself have often seen that on several stations only one or two watermen attend the train and just after they have supplied water to a few passengers they leave the platform and poor passengers are left to their fate athirsting for water for hours on a hot summer day, which led during the last summer certain local national societies in the Punjab and the province which I have the honour to represent to provide free *sabil* of *sharbat* and cold water on certain stations of the N. W. Railway.

(d) Coming to the question of refreshment rooms for Indians, I ask for no favours, no amenities, but bare justice. The railways would appear to concentrate their attention on questions connected with European passengers' comforts and pay very little, or no attention at all, to the question of providing food for their far larger numbers of Indian passengers. The only exceptions in this case are the N. W. R. and the G. I. P. On almost all other railways they run well appointed dining cars for European passengers, who mostly travel by mail trains, and besides these dining cars, they have first and second class refreshment rooms also for European passengers. I will tell you, Sir, why they are meant only for European passengers. They are managed by European firms and an indispensable article of food in them is the ham or beef which is so repugnant to the religious feelings of Indians. So, whilst there are dining cars, first class refreshment rooms, second class refreshment rooms for European passengers, there is nothing

[Haji Wajihuddin.]

for Indian passengers except the coarse *roti tarkari* sold by platform hawkers, generally of a very inferior type and not infrequently unhealthful. There are two classes of passengers everywhere, upper and lower class. These *roti tarkari walas* may fill the needs of the poor traveller, which they even do not, but they cannot meet the requirements of the upper class traveller. In the first place these vendors sell their wares under the contract system. Most of these contracts are said to be given on the basis of favouritism. There are reasons to believe that large sums are involved in sub-letting such contracts, which come out of the pockets of passengers, and result in the sale of inferior stuff. Then the poor lower class passenger wants a full meal at minimum rates, which he does not get, and, according to my information, no attempt is made by railways to fix a minimum rate, with one exception, the Madras Railway. But what of the upper class passenger? He cannot eat the coarse food supplied by these vendors. He cannot eat in the first and second class refreshment rooms, where beef and bacon is cooked. He requires decent food, and the only way to do this is either to abolish the system of European management of refreshment rooms and give it to Indians, who will not cook obnoxious food, or, if the European refreshment room is indispensable, then separate refreshment rooms for Indians should be provided. Railways can easily convert their second class European refreshment rooms, which are superfluous beside the 1st class rooms, into Indian refreshment rooms, where second class European passengers will always be welcome. Many of them, even now, use the Indian refreshment rooms on the N. W. Railway because the food supplied is far superior to the food obtained in second class refreshment rooms, and is much cheaper. But, may I ask why should there be European refreshment rooms managed by European firms? Indians can do the work as well. If I mistake not, on the G. I. P. an Indian firm holds the contract for the European dining cars and refreshment rooms, and does better service than European firms. Why not follow that line so that Hindus and Muhammadans may use the first and second class refreshment rooms which exist, and there will be no necessity to have Indian refreshment rooms separately.

(e) With reference to the last item, I may be permitted to remark that it is the greatest injustice and disrespect towards the respectable passengers of the intermediate class to deny them even the comfort of a bare room to wait for the next train. Third class passengers too are provided with sheds, but the intermediate class passengers are often seen passing the long and cold winter nights by walking up and down the platforms on principal stations like Tundla, Meerut Cantonment and City Junctions, because the railway servants would not let them enter the first and second class waiting rooms, and their own sense of self-respect would not permit them to pass into the shed outside. It is even a greater hardship with the females belonging to this class, who are obliged to sit in a corner of the platform, wrapped up in their mantles. I myself have seen certain inter class single waiting rooms at Ghaziabad, Amballa and other stations without a lavatory attached thereto, where too, there is none for females. I may suggest also that on several principal stations separate rooms are kept for first and second class passengers, but as there is no great difference in the status of these two classes, both of them can wait in the same room. Thus a slight change can effect the desired arrangement.

I shall try your patience no longer and shall come to a speedy close, trusting that all our forces will be united to carry out the Resolution, and sincerely hoping that Government too will support my motion.

Mr. N. M. Joshi (Nominated: Labour Interests): Sir, the withdrawal of certain Resolutions this morning has, besides the Government, put me also to some inconvenience. Sir, I did not expect this Resolution to come up for discussion to-day, but as it has, I feel I should make a few remarks on certain points mentioned in it. The question as regards the overcrowding of passenger trains on Indian railways was discussed in this House in the year 1922 at the Simla Session. On that occasion I had proved—I do not know whether Government were satisfied with my proofs or not; but I had proved to the satisfaction of the House inasmuch as my Resolution was carried—that the Government of India do not pay sufficient attention to providing adequate accommodation for the passenger traffic. They give greater attention to goods traffic than to the passenger traffic. As a matter of fact I could show by figures on that occasion that during a decade the Government of India had provided more wagons than were really necessary, although I admit there was a cry from the mercantile community that there were not sufficient wagons for them, but, if we could go simply by figures, it is easy to prove that Government had provided more wagons than were really necessary, and had not provided sufficient carriages to meet the increased passenger traffic. The passenger traffic, Government themselves have admitted, increases every year by 20 per cent., but Government do not make provision for meeting this 20 per cent. increase in the passenger traffic. I want, Sir, the Government Member in charge of this Department to assure this House that Government will not only provide for the increased passenger traffic every year, that is they will increase their passenger accommodation by 20 per cent., but also will provide some more accommodation in order to reduce present overcrowding. If they merely provide this 20 per cent. increase of accommodation, the present overcrowding will not be reduced at all. Sir, there is no doubt, and Government themselves have admitted it, that the carriages on Indian railways are overcrowded. In England the average number of passengers on each train is about 50: in India the average is about 250. Sir, the complaint is not merely that Government do not pay sufficient attention to passenger traffic. That complaint is there. But Government also discriminate between one kind of passenger traffic and another kind of passenger traffic. Sir, why should they pay greater attention to second and first class passengers than to third class passengers? It may be said that it is quite natural; the present Legislature consists of people who represent the interests of those gentlemen who travel second and first class—at least the majority of them do. (*Cries of "No, no"*.) But, Sir, the Government do not exist in order to look after the interests of those people who come to the Legislatures. It is their duty to safeguard the interests of those who have no voice to speak with, because after all it is 5 millions of people only who are represented in this Assembly while the other 295 millions of people are not represented in this Assembly. It is their duty to look to the interests of those 295 millions, otherwise they cannot really deserve to assume the name of a national Government.

Now, Sir, what is the position as regards the attention paid to different classes of passenger traffic in India? I take the instance of the G. I. P. Railway. On an average there are two first class carriages on each train for 4 passengers each. If you take the third class on the same railway, you find there are 8 carriages for 224 passengers—that is 28 passengers to every carriage. Sir, you will thus see that the difference between the two classes is 1 to 14. But the fares are not 1 to 14; the fares are 1 to 6. The third class passenger pays one-sixth of the fare that the first class

[Mr. N. M. Joshi.]

passenger pays and gets only one-fourteenth of the space allotted to the first class passenger. Sir, it is necessary that the Government of India, if they care to be considered an impartial Government, should pay sufficient attention to this matter. The Government are inclined to show greater favour to those classes who are able to voice forth their grievances more loudly than the voiceless people in the country and there is not the slightest doubt that the Government at present are not impartial as regards this matter.

There are several points which may be referred to but unfortunately the Resolution is somewhat of a narrow scope and I cannot go into all these matters; but I do insist that the Government of India and the Railway Board should make sufficient and proper arrangement for the provision of facilities for the comfort of the third class passengers. Now, it is not merely a question of trains and carriages. The Government of India also seem to consider that the third class passenger has no need to go by through trains. You take the Punjab Mail which goes from Bombay to Lahore and Peshawar. There is no third class carriage on that Mail. The Railway Board thinks that no third class passengers from Bombay have to go to Peshawar. Or Government perhaps think that these poor people have no value for their time. But I do feel and this House ought to feel that poor people value their time just as much as anyone else. Therefore, if any fast trains are to be run, they must be open to all classes of people. It may be said there *are* some fast trains for third class passengers. That is not enough. I want the fastest trains open to third class passengers. And in this matter I want the Government also to look to the business side of the proposition. It is the third class passenger who pays them more than any other class of passengers. The statistics in the annual report of the Government of India on railways used to show every year that it was the third class traffic which paid, while the first class traffic never paid—that was always unprofitable, and the second class traffic, if it made any profit, made much less than the third class. I want the Government of India to be businesslike and give greater attention to the third class traffic, because that traffic is the most profitable and therefore ought to receive greater attention from them.

Sir, in this connection I want to refer to the arrangements for refreshment and waiting rooms. Take any station, as my Honourable friend, Haji Wajihuddin, said, there will be a first class waiting room, there will be a second class waiting room, though for very few passengers; but, if you look for a third class waiting room, it is a small room and kept very dirty. I want Government to inquire and find out what money they receive in any particular station from the first and second class passengers and what money they receive from the third class passengers, and to distribute the money according to the proportion they pay. If that is done, I am quite sure the third class passengers will get at least ten times better waiting rooms than they get at present. But, unfortunately, Government make it their business to please the class of people who travel second and first class.

The same remarks apply to the dining arrangements. Sir, there are dining cars on the trains. As my Honourable friend said, they are only intended—by what rule I don't know but in practice they are intended for second and first class passengers. Not only so, but the dining cars can

only be used by those who take food of the European style. There are a number of Hindu passengers in the second and first class, but the arrangements in those cars are made generally to suit the taste of people who take European food. This, Sir, is also a point which the Government of India should carefully investigate—whether these dining cars are a business proposition. If you ask my experience—I have no figures but one can go on experience and what one sees in travelling—I feel sure that these dining car arrangements will not be found on inquiry to be a business proposition. And yet they are being continued. Again, there is the question of the arrangements at the station for refreshments for different classes of people. My Honourable friend has already pointed out that at some stations there is a separate refreshment room for second class and a separate refreshment room for first class, but as regards third class there is no refreshment room. Sir, in one of my former speeches on this subject I quoted the opinion of a high Government official to the effect that it took the Railway Board 50 years to find out that third class passengers have certain natural functions to perform. Sir, I do not know how many years the Government of India will take to find out that the third class passenger needs food just as much as other classes of passengers. You will not find at present any except perhaps the biggest stations in the country where there are decent refreshment rooms for third class passengers. There may be a dozen stations in the whole country where there are refreshment rooms for third class passengers. Sir, I do not say there are no arrangements whatever; I see the Honourable the Commerce Member staring at me; but I am quite sure of my facts. Let us go to any ordinary station. You may find some arrangements, some box kept there in which refreshments or food—fresh food it must be—for the third class passengers is kept. But is that a refreshment room, I want to know? That box is generally kept in the waiting room for third class passengers, taking away so much space out of the waiting room. I think, Sir, that this is not treating third class passengers fairly. If you take sufficient money from them, you ought to give them treatment which is also fair. In charging them, you do not charge them less than their due share; so, when you provide comforts, you must also give fair treatment. I therefore feel that Government should provide refreshment rooms for third class passengers in all the important stations. At least, when they allocate a certain proportion of money for a particular class of passenger, they should take into consideration the amount paid by that class of passenger. If they do it, I shall be satisfied. But I am anxious that the Government of India should put in their reports figures showing what each class of passenger pays and what each class of passenger receives. If that is done, I am quite sure that the lot of the third class passenger will be much better than what it is to-day, because the third class passenger pays sufficient to receive sufficiently fair treatment. I therefore hope that this subject will receive the attention of this House and that this House will wholeheartedly pass this Resolution.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I strongly support the Resolution which is before the Assembly. I think it is a pity that the attention of the Government and through it of the railway authorities should have to be drawn so many times to the grievances of the third class passengers and that these grievances should still remain largely unredressed. In fact I consider that the failure of the railway administration, speaking generally, to consider the comforts and requirements of the third class passengers

[Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.]

constitutes a scandalous mismanagement of railway administration so far as that is concerned. The Railway Act in section 63 provides as follows:

"Every railway administration shall fix, subject to the approval of the Governor General in Council the maximum number of passengers which may be carried in each compartment of every description of carriage, and shall exhibit the number so fixed in a conspicuous manner inside or outside each compartment, in English or in one or more of the vernacular languages in common use in the territory traversed by the railway, or both, etc., etc."

Section 93 lays down:

"If a railway company contravenes the provisions of section 53 or section 63, with respect to the maximum number of passengers to be carried in any compartment, it shall forfeit to government the sum of twenty rupees for every day during which the section is contravened."

Section 102 says that:

"If a railway servant compels or attempts to compel or causes any passenger to enter a compartment which already contains the maximum number of passengers exhibited therein or thereon under section 63, he shall be punished with fine which may extend to twenty rupees."

Section 109 of the Act lays down:

"If a passenger, having entered a compartment which is reserved by a railway administration for the use of another passenger, or which already contains the maximum number of passengers exhibited therein or thereon under section 63, refuses to leave it when required to do so by any railway servant, he shall be punished with fine which may extend to twenty rupees."

All these provisions were enacted to prevent over-crowding in railway compartments. Yet, while this Act was passed in 1890, the complaint that railway compartments are generally over-crowded in the third class has continued to exist. I think this is a matter the responsibility for which rests upon the Governor General in Council under the Act, the Governor General in Council, having satisfied himself that a certain number only of passengers should be allowed to travel by a compartment, and having fixed the number, ought to institute some means of finding out the delinquents who infringe the rule and punish them. Every gentleman who travels by the railway is able to notice how much overcrowding is permitted in third class compartments; and, while we all notice what is going on, it seems there is no remedy applied. The Government have appointed men as inspectors, policemen and C. I. D. men, to watch certain things and certain persons at railway stations and in railway trains. It is time that they appointed some men to see where overcrowding takes place and to prosecute the railway companies which permit it. The fine imposed by the Act is perhaps not sufficient to deter them from violating the provisions of the Act; twenty rupees a day for every infringement of the rule is hardly sufficient, I fear, to deter the company from continuing the evil practice. But the Government, having recognised that the human beings who travel in railway compartments have to be protected from the effects of overcrowding, ought to take some steps to see that infringement of the provisions referred to above is punished. The Resolution suggests one means of doing it. It is a very sensible means, namely, an increase in the number of passenger trains where necessary to avoid overcrowding. Most certainly it ought to be tried. But we ought also to try the first means, the prosecution of companies, proceedings against companies, where they infringe the rules laid down in section 63. That will compel them to run more passenger trains both in order that the provisions of section 63 and connected provisions should be given effect to, and that their income should not

suffer. The third class passengers, as has been pointed out, contribute the bulk of the revenue of the railways. The first class and second class passengers enjoy the comforts that they do enjoy in those classes at the expense of the third class passengers. It is therefore only due to the third class passengers that greater facilities should be provided for them and that they should be exposed to less discomforts, and hardships than they are at present. I hope, Sir, that this Resolution will be unanimously accepted, and not only that, but that the Government will take immediate and effective steps to see that the provisions of the Act to which I have drawn attention are kept in mind by the railway administrations and enforced, and to see that there is an increase in the number of passenger trains proportionate to the increase in the number of passengers. The railway authorities cannot say that they permit overcrowding only occasionally. I travel a good deal in mail trains and express trains. Of course the mail trains are generally overcrowded; but even in express trains, I can hardly recall any instance where there has not been an overcrowding on the occasions that I have noticed; and the third class passenger trains are even worse. I do not see any reason why railway companies should be allowed to charge the full fare that is fixed for the third class passengers and not give them the facilities which the Act lays down should be provided for them. I hope, therefore, that now that attention has been drawn to the evils of overcrowding in railway compartments, the Government will see that the number of passenger trains is increased. The station staff can surely find out by telegram from other stations whether a train is full or is not full; when they know that a train contains the full number of passengers it can hold, they ought to keep the passengers outside the platform and inform them that a second train will run after a certain time. There will then be no rush to get into the railway trains, as there often is, and for which the railway authorities are mainly responsible. It may be said that the passengers do not conform to the provisions of section 109 under which they are liable to a penalty of Rs. 20 if they enter a compartment which contains the maximum number of passengers and refuse to leave it when they are asked to do so. But, when the railway companies do not observe the rules that are contained in sections 63, 93, and 102, they cannot prosecute any passengers who may infringe the rule under section 109. The two things that are needed are, therefore, firstly, strict enforcement of the provisions of the Act against overcrowding and, secondly, the provision of a larger number of passenger trains to carry the passengers to whom the railway companies sell tickets. If the Government will not take early steps to remedy this evil, I suspect that there will be a number of suits started against the railway companies now and that the railway administrations will find it rather a difficult job to get on as they do at present. But because of the difficulties of such suits and because of the time and trouble involved, people have been waiting to see if Government would remedy these evils, and I hope that Government will take early steps to do so.

The second matter to which I want to draw particular attention is the larger provision of intermediate class compartments in the railway trains. I should say that, where there is one first class compartment, there should be 6 intermediate class compartments. I do not wish to lay down any particular figure dogmatically, but I give an indication of the number of passengers who will travel by the intermediate class if they find sufficient accommodation in that class. I would also urge upon the Government to take steps to provide more third class compartments of the better type.

[Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.]

The improvement of the third class compartments has not kept pace with the requirements of the travelling public. The old compartments are still largely used. They ought to be discarded or improved. There is no provision for convenience in those compartments and the arrangement of seats is very unsatisfactory. I want particularly to draw attention to the necessity of providing sleeping accommodation in third class compartments. The passengers who travel by that class are as much human beings as any of us sitting here, and I ask every Member who travels first or second class to imagine what discomfort he would be exposed to if he had to sit up the whole night along with nine other passengers in a small third class compartment. Who is it, Sir, that would not feel that is a very severe kind of punishment inflicted on third class passengers for no other reason than that they cannot but travel by the third class, and that the Government does not see that the railways provide those passengers with the conveniences and with the necessary accommodation which the Act requires, that the railway companies should provide for them? It is a very real hardship, it is a very severe trial, to third class passengers having to sit up a full night in overcrowded compartments and travel long distances. The Government ought to see that the Railway authorities put an end to the discomforts of third class passengers. There are a number of third class compartments of the new type, in which there is sleeping accommodation provided, but unless there is somebody to see that not more passengers are put in one compartment than can sleep on the benches, the better type of compartments will really not be of sufficient avail to the travelling public.

The next point to which particular attention has to be invited is adequate supervision of watermen, both Muslims and Hindus, at small stations. It is distressing to find, as I have found on many occasions at stations no man available to give water either to Muslim or Hindu passengers, and the people crying out and running from one end of the platform to the other in search of water. A thing like that should not be permissible, and yet it does happen. This complaint has existed not in one province, but in several provinces. I have myself many times noted the failure of the railway authorities to provide sufficient water to the travelling public which really inflicts a real hardship upon them.

The question of providing Hindu and Muslim Refreshment Rooms is also important, but more important is the provision of larger accommodation for third class travellers in waiting rooms. In several stations the accommodation is entirely unsatisfactory, and the passengers are exposed to the rain and sun and to the cold of the nights, when they are waiting for trains. For instance, at Hardwar and at Kashi, the accommodation is so insufficient, that the prisoners—I mean the travellers—have to remain outside, yes, they are worse than prisoners; that is really so. If the Honourable Member for Commerce went and saw their condition, he would think it would be a mercy to lock them up for a little time rather than allow them to expose themselves to the cold and the rain to which they are exposed. It is a matter which reflects very seriously on the administration of railways and on the inaction, or I may say, on the indifference of the Government to the comforts of the travelling public who contribute so largely to the exchequer of the Government. The railway fares have been increased beyond justification. The comforts have not been provided to the extent that they should be, and therefore I strongly commend this Resolution to the House, and I hope that early action will be taken on it.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes (Commerce Member): Sir, I think it will be convenient if I speak at this stage in order that I may indicate the attitude of the Government in regard to this Resolution. As it is worded, we cannot accept it, as it orders us to direct railway administrations to do certain things, but I may say that I shall not offer any serious opposition to the Resolution, and that, if this House likes to adopt it, I will certainly communicate it to all railway administrations.

Now, Sir, hearing the speech of the Honourable Pandit, one would think that he was the first person who ever discovered this question of the grievances of the third class passengers. He mentioned the phrase "now that attention has been drawn to the question." Sir, had the Honourable Pandit been in the last Legislative Assembly, he would have known that we have discussed this question on more than one occasion, and, Sir, had the Honourable Pandit troubled to study the question, he would have known that there is no subject to which the railway administrations are paying greater and more earnest attention at the present moment than the whole question of facilities of travel for third class passengers. We have published

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: I thought, Sir, the Honourable Member would understand that by saying "now that attention has been drawn to the subject," that I meant at this moment, and that I did not forget what had been done, I meant that action had not been taken to the extent it should have been.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Had the Honourable Pandit tried to get himself in touch with this question, he would have known that we have published press communiqués on the subject. We have included very special paragraphs about the subject in our last Administration Report; we have attached a special memorandum upon the subject to the last budget memorandum. As I say, Sir, this is a subject to which for several years past the Railway Board have been devoting special attention. I have here a list of the references we have made to railway administrations on the subject. We have addressed since 1918 no less than seven full dress circulars to railway administrations on the general question of facilities for third class passengers, and in addition we have sent a host of letters to them on minor points. And I say, Sir, that there has been a great improvement in the matter in the last few years. I do not deny for a moment that overcrowding was bad during the war and in years immediately succeeding the war. Take first the question of overcrowding: at the end of the war things were very bad. Everybody knows that during the war we were totally unable to get new coaching stock; everybody knows that during the war our railways were taxed to their uttermost limits with the result that our coaching stock got into bad condition, and in 1920-21 I admit that there was general overcrowding in the railways. Since then the position, I think I can show, has improved. In 1921-22 and 1922-23 we have made on first class railways a net addition of 683 coaches. Between 1921 and March the 31st, 1923, we added nearly five million miles to our passenger train and mixed train mileage and last year the increase of passenger traffic was not so heavy as it used to be. I think it will be within the knowledge of every one that the position in regard to overcrowding is better than it was. But what I feel

1 P.M. in discussing a question of this kind is that it is difficult to discuss it as a general question in this House. Sir, Haji Wajihuddin comes, I believe, from Meerut. The Pandit, of course, we all know, travels all over India. But most of the gentlemen here come from one particular part. They cannot say what the conditions are on every railway in India.

[Sir Charles Innes.]

Conditions differ from railway to railway and also on different parts of railways. On some railways conditions are worse than on others. In some parts of railways conditions are worse than in others. It is all a question of the particular circumstances of the line and of different parts of the line. Now, what I feel is that a question of this kind can so much more usefully be discussed by the Local Advisory Committees which we are now establishing on all railways. And this is what we have done—this is what we are doing. When we got the reports which we had called for in connection with Mr. Joshi's Resolution of 1922, we sent them back to all the Agents; we told them to revise them in accordance with any cuts which had been made in connection with the Inchcape Committee's Report and we asked the Agents to discuss these reports with their Local Advisory Committees—and that is the sort of discussion which is useful. Let me give you an example. On the Assam Bengal Railway, the Agent put up a long note upon the facilities for third-class passengers. It did not impress the Local Advisory Committee very much. They recorded that note. But they promptly went on to ask whether he could add an extra third-class carriage to the train now running between Ashuganj and Akhaura and take it to Chandpur. The Agent agreed. Now, here was a case where these men having local knowledge did not want a general note. They said: "Here is a particular train, it is very overcrowded, can you add a third-class carriage and take that carriage on to a certain station? And the Agent agreed. I think that is the way in which to deal with this question. I will take another Railway. Here is a press communiqué issued by the Agent of the Madras and Southern Mahratta, which has evidently escaped the attention of the Honourable Pandit. He begins by saying that 90 third-class bogie vehicles for broad gauge and an equal number for metre gauge have been sanctioned for construction by 1927. And he goes on to say:

"The train service on the Poona-Kolhapur section where passenger traffic is very heavy has been greatly improved by providing a second through train between Poona and Kolhapur and the introduction of an extra train in each direction between Poona and Miraj with suitable connections to and from Kolhapur at Miraj and to and from Bombay at Poona, so that there are at present 6 trains between Poona and Miraj against 4 previously. The service on the Bijapur Branch has also been accelerated to maintain better connection at Hotgi with the G. I. P. Railway and Gadag with trains to and from Hubli. An extra train has been put in between Hubli and Gadag and Gadag and Bagalkot for the convenience of passengers in these sections. A through train has been arranged to run across the Peninsula between Mormagao on the West Coast and Masulipatam on the East Coast. An extra local train has been arranged to connect Anantapur—the headquarters of the District—with the trains to and from Pakala, running through that district. The local service between Arsikers and Harihar, one train each way, which was cancelled some time ago, has been restored."

Now, Sir, that is what is being done on a single Railway. You will see that in particular routes, where there is overcrowding, railways are putting on extra trains. But the House must remember that it is not always a question of merely putting on an extra train. Generally speaking, you may take it that a railway administration, which is a business concern, will always put on an extra train if the traffic demands it and if they see that they will make a profit by so doing. A passenger train costs us Rs. 4/8 a mile and, if we see sufficient traffic to bring us a revenue exceeding that Rs. 4/8 a mile, you may be sure that we will put on a passenger train if we possibly can.

But, the matter does not end there. Here comes the other factor—I have had occasion to bring this point to the notice of the House before. In the first place, the putting on of an extra passenger train may mean the

cutting off of an essential goods train. It all depends on whether the particular section of the line is being worked up to its full capacity. Now, Mr. Joshi says: "Where your passenger traffic and goods traffic are in conflict, scrap the goods traffic and go in for passenger traffic." That is not what the House said on the coal debate the other day. They were all accusing me then for not making proper arrangements for goods traffic. I don't know where I am. One day the House clamour for more goods trains; the next day with equal earnestness and eloquence they clamour for more passenger trains. The fact of the matter is that these questions have to be decided according to the merits of the case on each particular part of the line, and that is why I say that, though I entirely agree that this House should keep an eye on this question and should always be ventilating it and keeping us, the Railway Department, up to the mark, the really wise course for the House is to leave these matters to be dealt with more and more by the Local Advisory Committees with the Railway Administrations; because it is only the Local Advisory Committees that know exactly where the shoe pinches and where there is a real need for additional trains.

Let me examine this question a little further. Take the B. B. and C. I. Railway. I will give you another Railway. On the B. B. and C. I. Railway, the Agent writes as follows:

"There is no overcrowding normally on the B. B. & C. I. Railway trains except on the long distance fast trains. A lower rate of fare is charged for tickets available by the slower trains to induce passengers to travel by them and thereby distribute the traffic more uniformly on all the trains as it is the aim of every railway to get a full load for their trains. When a train is constantly overcrowded it is an indication that another train can be included in the schedule, and this has been done on the B. B. & C. I. Railway by the running of an additional train between Bombay and Baroda and the overcrowding as a result has practically ceased."

In Bombay I think the worst overcrowding is naturally in regard to suburban traffic. What are we doing there? We have sanctioned at great cost electrification schemes for suburban traffic both on the G. I. P. and the B. B. & C. I. Railways. We are also remodelling Victoria Terminus station. And when this electrification scheme and that remodelling are finished, we shall increase the train density by 650 per cent. It is not there, you see, merely a question of putting on extra trains. What we have got to do now is to electrify, and that is what we are doing.

And, since the House is not satisfied, I will proceed to give them some more details. The East Indian Railway's existing programme provides for an addition of 150 coaches a year. On the North Western Railway, apart from the provision of new coaching stock, the Railway is devoting special attention to the two sections of the line where passenger traffic is densest, namely, the Lahore-Rawalpindi and the Raewind-Khanewal sections. Here it is not merely a question of extra coaching stock; it is a question of additional crossing stations, the improvement of small stations, the doubling of parts of the line, the strengthening of the bridges and of the permanent way, and the improvement of watering arrangements for the train. Here again, all these matters are being discussed with the Local Advisory Committees, who have agreed that the Agent is working on the right lines. On the South Indian Railway, 239 third-class bogie carriages are being provided in the programme. On the Eastern Bengal Railway 285 extra wagons *plus* a large number of renewals.

Now, Sir, I have given you some actual facts and figures, and I do hope that Members will realise that this question of overcrowding is being tackled in real earnest, by the Railway Board and by the Railway Administrations. As I said, I welcome these discussions, because I think it is good

[Sir Charles Innes.]

for the Railway Administrations and it is good for the Railway Board and it is, no doubt, good for me. But may I say that I should appreciate some recognition on the part of the House of the fact that for some years past we have been, and we are, now, devoting very special attention to this subject.

Now, Sir, I pass on to part (2) of the Resolution—introduction of intermediate class where not already provided. We have provided intermediate class accommodation on all State and Company lines in India with the exception of two Railways, the B. B. & C. I. and the South Indian Railways. On these two Railways it is only provided on certain trains. Here again let me turn to an instance where the question was discussed. This very question was discussed by the Agent of the Assam Bengal Railway with his Advisory Council and this is what the Agent says:

“The accommodation for intermediate class passengers has received greater attention of late years and a large number of compartments have been added, so that separate compartments for Indian ladies and gentlemen can be given on all trains. It is hoped that the increased number of intermediate class compartments under provision will permit of carriages being marshalled on trains so that the intermediate class compartments are together. In 1918 there were 80 intermediate class compartments irrespective of the old type intermediate compartments in brake vans and by March of the current year these had been increased to 114 or an increase of 42 per cent. It is hoped to provide an additional 64 intermediate compartments in the near future and of these 16 carriages or 48 compartments will be so arranged that Indian gentlemen can reserve coupes if required.”

I merely read this to you because it bears upon this part of the Resolution. That shows what one single railway is doing. You may take it from me that all the other railways are working on the same lines.

Now, Sir, we pass on to the next part of the Resolution, namely, adequate supervision of watermen, both Muslims and Hindus, at small stations to provide water on every passenger train. We do provide watermen at all stations, and we do in the hot weather increase the number of these watermen considerably. I was not aware that there was any special need for any measures of supervision of the work of these men. Naturally, the station staff, the Traffic Inspectors, the Transportation Inspectors and the Station Masters are expected to supervise their working. What we are also trying to do is to improve the water-supply at stations throughout India. The B. B. & C. I. have specially provided taps and hydrants at various stations. All railways are tackling this problem in their own way, and I was glad to see that an Honourable Member paid the Railway Board a very rare compliment the other day by expressing approval of the arrangements made by one particular Railway. Sir, I think this is the first time this has happened in my experience of the Railway Board.

Let me then pass on to the provision of Hindu and Muslim refreshment rooms at all principal stations where not already made. I think, Sir, that the best plan is—general statements help neither you nor me—to get down to actual details and tell you what has been done on one particular Railway. This is what the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway have done:

“The present Indian refreshment room at Hospet will be dismantled and a new type refreshment room will be built very shortly. New Hindu and Muhammadan refreshment rooms were built at Bangalore City and brought into use this year. Improvements to the Indian refreshment room at Dharmavaram have been sanctioned and will be taken in hand shortly. New Hindu and Muhammadan refreshment rooms are under construction at Guntakal to replace existing ones. Several other rooms which are old are being replaced by new buildings. In all there are 16 Indian refreshment rooms at important stations on the metre gauge and 18 Indian refreshment rooms on the broad gauge”

Mr. K. G. Lohokare: (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muhamraadan Rural): Possibly that is the only Indian Railway?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I am afraid I did not catch the Honourable Member.

Mr. K. G. Lohokare: Possibly that is the only Indian Railway making these arrangements?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Not at all, Sir:

"Besides, there are fruit stalls at several stations. It is proposed to build new type refreshment rooms and fruit stalls at a few more stations. The Indian refreshment rooms and stalls are supervised by an Indian officer specially appointed for the purpose with a separate office established to assist him."

The Honourable Member opposite, whose name I am afraid I do not know, suggests that this is the only Railway doing it. I might give some details regarding another Railway. This happens to be the South Indian Railway. I see from here that the Indian refreshment room at Trichinopoly Fort has just been completed, an Indian refreshment room has just been opened at Maniyachi, then another at Salem and another at a place with a long name which even I, accustomed to Madras, find it difficult to pronounce. In addition, estimates are being prepared and provision is being made for Indian refreshment rooms at 6 other stations.

Now, I pass on to the last portion of the Resolution, the provision of interclass waiting rooms for males and females, respectively, on all the principal stations where not already provided. We have already addressed Railway Administrations on this very subject, and the general trend of opinion was that, so far as the male passenger is concerned, such accommodation was not necessary and that railways provide separate waiting accommodation for interclass female passengers where the traffic requires such facilities. What we are doing with regard to these waiting room facilities is that we are spending a large amount of money on them, but we devote it at present mainly to improving the sheds all over the Railways and building new sheds. I have details here but I would not go into them.

There is one remark of general application which I must make in regard to these questions of comforts and amenities. Mr. Joshi accused the railways of not working on business lines. What I should like the House to consider is this. We are trying to keep our third class passenger fares as low as possible. I quite agree we should do all we can within reason for the comfort of our third class passengers. But the House must see that, if we go on providing facilities and amenities for third class passengers, the time will come when we shall have to raise the fares. Does the House think that the class of passenger we cater for would like to have a low fare and a rather low standard of comfort or a higher standard of comfort and a higher fare? I do not for one moment say that that is the only point that we have to take into consideration, because it is not. But it is a factor which we have always to keep before our mind. Still, I do not think there is very much difference on the main point between the House and myself. I would ask the House to accept my word. We in the Railway Board and all the Railway Administrations have for the last several years been devoting the very greatest attention to this question of facilities of travel for third class passengers. I think that within the last two or three years we have made a very real improvement and I hope that, as we go on executing our programmes, we shall continue to make those improvements and then make better improvements. I have already explained the attitude

[Sir Charles Innes.]

of Government. I cannot, as it is worded, accept this Resolution, but if the House likes, I will certainly forward it on to Railway Administrations for consideration.

Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal (Calcutta: Non-Muhammadan Urban): I want, Sir, to intervene in this debate mainly for one reason, and the reason is this. I owe it to a part of my constituency to do so. During the last election, some people among my electors told me upon reading my election manifesto:

"We are not interested, Mr. Pal, in your high politics. We are poor people who want the little comforts of life, and, if you can do some thing for us, poor third class passengers, who have constantly to travel by tram, we shall be thankful to you."

I pledged myself to do that little something when the opportunity came. There is evidently absolutely no difference of opinion in regard to the substance of this Resolution. We are all agreed—the other side and this side. We rarely agree, but on this occasion we are all agreed as to the condition of third class passengers, the wretched condition of third class travelling in India. The Government do not admit that it is an ideal mode of travelling. We do not say that it is so. But what the Government say is, "Look here. We have been doing a lot and we intend to do more as times progress." We accept that assurance—I accept that assurance, we all accept that assurance. (*A Voice*: "Acknowledge.") I acknowledge it with thanks. That is all right. But our complaint will always continue to be persistent, strong, sometimes irritating also, Sir, as long as we have not got the full measure of relief in this matter. Those who have had the good fortune or the misfortune to travel in other parts of the world, what will they think of our Indian railways? When I travel in an Indian train, be it second—I never go higher than that,—or be it third sometimes, I always wonder (*A Voice*: "You get first class.") Yes, I get first class, but I travel second reserved. I do not put anything into my pocket out of the allowance that I get, but I travel second class in a reserved compartment which gives me greater comfort with a little more expense. When I travel in India, I always remember with regret my travels in England, in France, and also more than in England and France, in America, and, while I was listening to this debate, I was thinking if the day would not come, I believe it will come when we get Swaraj of the type I want, when we get Swaraj which will be the *raj* of the people and not the *raj* of any particular section of the people, when I get Swaraj which will be the *raj* of the poorest men in India and not the richer or the wealthier and the more fortunate classes—when I get that Swaraj, I think we shall not have three classes of railway travel in India but one class and that the third class as they have got in America. I was thinking—I am an Oriental and my imagination runs, I think, a little ahead—I am looking forward to the day when we shall have in India one single class of railway passengers fully provided with all the comforts that they may reasonably demand, and those who require extra comforts may have Pullman cars which will bring revenue to the railways and may travel in parlour cars or in luxurious sleeping cars. That is my ideal. So far as the railways are concerned, there will be no difference between one class and another. The railways will provide the same kind of accommodation, but those who can pay extra can get entrance into the Pullman car and ride in that car or in the parlour or sleeping car as they want or as they can afford to pay for. That is the ideal to which I am looking forward. I do not want to deprive the rich of the comforts of life, but I want to secure for the poor the fullest measure of what they pay for.

As regards dining and other things such as overcrowding, we have overcrowded that subject, I think, with our comments already and I will not crowd it more. It is acknowledged that in all the railways there is more or less of overcrowding. I will not labour that point but with regard to the dining accommodation I really do not see why we should have only one dining car and that for my European friends. (Voices: "No.") I do not mean for European friends but in the sense that I am not admitted there in my *dhoti* and my *chaddar*. I force my way there sometimes, sometimes I am obstructed also—that I know. I know my Honourable friend, Sir Henry Stanyon, will take my word for it that one day when I was travelling from Bombay to Poona and I tell you (A Voice: "No.") Don't say "No" before hearing what I have experienced myself and what my Honourable friend, Mr. Abul Kasem, may have experienced himself—(Mr. K. Ahmed: "You may catch cold in a *dhoti*.") Well, I have not got the protection against cold with which my Honourable friend has been provided by nature, but my *dhoti* protects me as well. Now, I was telling you that I was travelling from Bombay to Poona. I was travelling second and I had my second son with me and he had only a shirt and a *dhoti*, and *chaddar* on, just like the Bengalis. I had a coat on, and both of us went to have our tea in the dining car. The manager of that car came up and told my son: "this is not meant for you." (A Voice: "Shame.") I brought him to his senses. I said: "What do you mean? This is meant for every one who pays. Besides you ought to remember that we are second class passengers." Then he went away. So, these things sometimes do happen. I have seen it on the B. N. Railway and I have seen it in other railways also, but they are becoming more and more rare because *dhotis*, hats and coats is coming down a little. So, that does not matter. When I spoke of dining cars for our European friends I meant, for those gentlemen who are used to European ways of dining, not always drinking, but European ways of dining. It is meant for them, it suits them, but what about those poor people, those Hindus and Muhammadans who are not used to handling the implements of dining of our European friends? What about them? (A Voice: "Use your hands.") You use your hands but you do not find it comfortable there. Now, I have seen only one railway in all India—perhaps that is not within civilisation—the Jodhpur-Bikanir Railway. I have travelled by that line and I found the second class compartments exceedingly uncomfortable—it was not so uncomfortable for me because I had a lower bunk, but another passenger who had the misfortune of not being provided with a lower bunk and had to jump into the higher, every two minutes found himself, I think, in contact with the ceiling. That was his position. That was the kind of accommodation they provided in the first and second class compartments on the Jodhpur-Bikanir Railway, but there were dining cars, refreshment arrangements within the running train itself, for non-Europeans also. For Hindus they had excellent *puri* fried in excellent *ghee* and for Muhammadans also they had their *roti* and their *kabab* as they had arrangements for European gentlemen or those who affect European ways, and I had the satisfaction of my life in finding that the European dining arrangements were worse than the Indian dining arrangements. Now, if that is so in one railway, I do not see why the Honourable the Commerce Member may not find it possible to urge upon the Agents to make similar arrangements in the other railways in India.

Then there is another matter, Sir. We know my Honourable friend the Commerce Member has repeatedly referred to what this Agent has told

[Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal.]

him and what that Agent has told him. We know they pass on our Resolutions to the Agents and the Agents are left to carry them out. Now, it looks very much like, what shall I say, Dolly Reforming Herself—the railways reforming themselves. I hope that our Honourable friend will see to (I do not want to use the word duty) his responsibilities and obligations to the tax-payer. We want him to see that the Agents carry out the wishes of this House and the instructions from the Government faithfully. He is there, the Government is there, the Railway Board is there, not to help the dividends of the railway companies but to protect the interests of the people of India, and it is here that we appeal to them to look to our interests. They have got flying ticket checkers in all the railways. These are employed by the Agents. They are business men and they want to see that nobody cheats them out of their legitimate fare. Now, cannot the Honourable the Commerce Member arrange for a few flying railway inspectors on behalf of Government to see to it that the provisions of the Railway Act are carried out faithfully? Now, that is a thing which we can reasonably expect from him and he has been so reasonable, so willing to help up in this matter; he has been so alive to his duties by the tax-payer in India. We hope he will not refuse to pay some attention and, unless the Finance Member intervenes with a "No", I hope he will try to carry this suggestion out. There is only one other point to which I want to invite the attention of the Honourable the Commerce Member and it is in regard to the provision of ladies' intermediate compartments on all mail trains. I understand, I speak subject to correction if I am wrong, I hope the Honourable Member will correct me, that no intermediate ladies' compartment is provided on the mail train between Bombay and Calcutta on the B. N. R.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I am afraid I must ask for notice of that question.

Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal: I can tell the Honourable Member from very recent knowledge, because members of my family were travelling from Jamshedpur to Calcutta and they had to be crowded into a men's compartment. They could not go into a second class compartment as they did not like to be all by themselves at night. They were coming alone and they wanted an intermediate ladies' compartment but no intermediate ladies' compartment was reserved on the Bombay to Calcutta mail on the B. N. Railway. One is, I think, provided in the train that goes from Calcutta to Bombay but none are provided in the train that comes from Bombay to Calcutta, perhaps because there are no *zenana* on the Bombay side. Whatever that may be, now that I have drawn the attention of the Honourable the Commerce Member to it, I hope he will look into the matter and see that in every mail train a special reserved ladies' compartment is provided, both in the third and intermediate, as well as in the second and first as usual. With these words I support the Resolution.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas (Indian Merchants Chamber and Bureau: Indian Commerce): I do not think the House would like me to say anything in supporting the Resolution at this stage regarding the various details indicated by the Honourable the Mover. The Honourable the Commerce Member in the course of his reply naturally felt somewhat disappointed at the very strong feeling expressed in this House and he reminded us that in the previous Assembly similar Resolutions were moved and were more or less of the nature of what are known as hardy annuals. I do not

I think it would be difficult for the Honourable Member to understand the reasons of this strong feeling on the question of due accommodation for third class passengers on Indian railways. I am sure that this strong feeling has not got much to do with the present executive of the railway department, and, as far as I am concerned, I am prepared to say publicly in this House that the Honourable Sir Charles Innes, ever since he took up the railway department under him, has spared himself neither pain nor efforts nor justifiable and available amounts of money in the direction indicated by the Resolution. But, in spite of it, I do not think the Honourable Sir Charles Innes himself will refuse or hesitate to agree with me when I say that there is a great deal of scope still for more progress, for faster progress and for the reflection of the public feeling in this connection in this House for some time more to come. The reason, Sir, is not difficult to explain. I feel and I am convinced that there is much leeway to be made up by the railway administration in India in the direction of providing adequate facilities for third class passengers. This class of passengers may, I think, safely be called the royal class of patronisers of the Indian railways, the only class of passenger traffic, which is a paying proposition; for, the second and first class passenger traffic is not a paying proposition. I am afraid the bare needs and requirements of this class of passengers have so long, so steadily and so continuously been neglected for well over half a century that it must take the public at least a few more years before they begin to realise that the railways are coming up to what is required as the bare necessities of the case. I therefore feel that it is easy to reconcile the two strong senses of opinion that we have seen reflected in this House; the one reflected by the Honourable the Mover of the Resolution can be understood because many and serious shortcomings still exist. The other feeling expressed by the Honourable Member in charge of the Railway Department can easily be understood on this side of the House, because most strenuous efforts are being made by the Railway Department to catch up the past deeds of omission and commission of the predecessors of the existing band of officials. There is still a lot to be done and all that we on this side of the House wish to impress upon Government is that neither pains nor time nor money should be saved in the direction of setting right what was the just due to this class of passengers on the Indian railways for the last number of years.

I may be reminded that I was one of those who recommended that railways in India should be worked as a business proposition. I had something to do with saying that no new expenditure should be incurred at present unless there is approximately a 5 per cent. return. This is quite reconcilable with the other proposition that you can improve the facilities of the third class passengers. All that you want is that the Railway Administration should hit upon the right set of people, including my friend over there, Mr. Joshi, who will put them in touch as to the right way and who will communicate to the Railway Department how these facilities can be provided.

The Honourable Member said that seven circulars had been sent out since 1918 to the various railways pointing out in great detail what the Government of India would like the railways to do to mend the defects that have existed till now in the railway administration as far as this class of passengers goes. I am sure that the Member in charge of the Department is fully aware, from year to year, as to how improvements take place in the provision of these facilities, but I think it would be very

[Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas.]

useful, Sir, if once a year the Railway Department could issue a statement showing how many new refreshment rooms of the nature indicated in this Resolution have been provided since the previous year, how the density of passengers in third class carriages has decreased since the past year, because it is admitted that the third class carriages still run overcrowded; how the number of water-suppliers has similarly increased, and so on. I think that a statement of this nature from year to year would give that conviction to this House which is what we all want, that we are not guilty of voting out any money for the railway administration when we know that the third class passenger is not being given what is his due.

The Honourable Member referred to Advisory Committees in various Provinces. Unfortunately, Sir, in my Province the Advisory Committee has not yet started; but I believe that, if Advisory Committees are encouraged to put before the railway administrations the directions in which they think the urgent necessities of third class passengers could be met by the railways, they, at least the non-official members acting on such Advisory Committees, will not take long to flood railway administrations with what would satisfy this House. I am sure that nobody in this House wishes to be impatient and rush the railway administrations into laying out money in a manner which could be said to be not usefully spent. But, Sir, a good deal of money could be usefully spent to the great contentment of the masses who travel by the third class and to the great satisfaction also of the Government, whose anxiety, I know, it must be, to see that the masses travel comfortably, at least as comfortably as is in keeping with the fares that they pay. With these words, Sir, I hope that the Honourable Member will not mind the word "direct" as used in the Resolution, and may be prepared to accept the Resolution.

Mr. H. G. Cocke (Bombay: European): Sir, I move that the question be now put.

Mr. President: The question is that the question be now put.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to direct railway authorities throughout India to adopt the following measures for the convenience of Indian passengers:

- (a) increase of the number of passenger trains where necessary to avoid overcrowding;
- (b) introduction of intermediate class where not already provided;
- (c) adequate supervision of watermen both Muslims and Hindus on small stations to provide water on every passenger train;
- (d) provision of Hindu and Muslim refreshment rooms on all principal stations where not already made;
- (e) provision of inter-class waiting rooms for males and females respectively on all the principal stations where not already provided."

The motion was adopted.

EXERCISE OF MR. PRESIDENT'S DISCRETION UNDER STANDING ORDER 8 (4).

Mr. President: The Assembly will observe that, unless I exercise my discretion under Standing Order 8, the business set down for the day now

comes to an end. Under our ballot procedure five Resolutions first emerging from the ballot are set down on the ordinary List of Business. Three others are added to that on the secondary List of Business, but no Resolutions standing on the secondary List can be transferred to the regular List of Business unless, under section 4 of Standing Order 8, I exercise my discretion in its favour. It seems to me that to-day is a case in which I may do so; but before doing so, I remind the House that, if a precedent is set, it is a narrow precedent. I should not propose to transfer from the secondary List to the ordinary List of Business any Resolution under circumstances such as prevail to-day, unless, not only the Mover of the Resolution himself, but also the Member of the Government concerned in replying agree that that shall be done. It is obvious that, unless a Member of the Government and indeed the House itself, has notice of say at least 24 hours, that the business standing higher on the List of Business is likely to fail, as it has done to-day, the secondary List of Business cannot be adequately dealt with unless such time for preparation is given both to the Member moving and to the Member replying.

Honourable Members will observe that the Resolution which has just been moved and carried was moved from the first place on the secondary list to the last place on the primary list because of the failure of other Resolutions. That brings me to the Resolutions standing in the name of Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas, the first of which falls out because the action has already been taken. The second, I understand, he is not prepared to move, nor the third. Therefore we come to the Resolutions standing in Dr. Gour's name, of which the first falls out for the same reason. The second falls out for the reason that the Army Department is not prepared to reply; but I am prepared to take the sense of the House whether we should embark on a discussion of the third Resolution standing in Dr. Gour's name, and, as the Members may not have the terms of the Resolution immediately before them, I propose to read it now. The Resolution in question, which stands as Dr. Gour's third Resolution, is as follows:

"This Assembly recommends to His Excellency the Governor General in Council to be so pleased as to take early steps to bring into existence a Supreme Court for India for the disposal of the civil appeals now heard by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England, and for the hearing of criminal appeals in serious criminal cases."

I may say that I should not be disposed to exercise my discretion at all in regard to this Resolution were it not for the fact that it is one of which notice has been given on several previous occasions in the life of the last Assembly, and therefore the case for dealing with it may reasonably be understood to be prepared in the Home Department.

In defining the character of the precedent which I am now setting up, I want to carry with me, not only the Mover of the Resolution and the Government Member who has to reply, but also the sense of the House. In other cases, of course, I shall exercise my own discretion under the Standing Order; but in this case, owing to the peculiar circumstances, I wish to carry the sense of the House with me.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey (Home Member): I cannot say there is on my part any great anxiety to deal with this question, for I feel in the same position as some Honourable Members have expressed in dealing with some of our recent proposals for legislation, that these matters should not be considered too hurriedly and without due notice. At the same time I cannot say that this matter has not been considered by the Government in the past. It has been before the Assembly twice, and I

[Sir Malcolm Hailey].

myself defined the attitude of Government to Dr. Gour in answer to a question three days ago; so that I cannot say I am not prepared to deal with the question, and if it is the desire of the House that we should proceed with it, I can offer no opposition.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Non-Muhamadan Rural): Sir, the Resolution of the Honourable Dr. Gour places before us issues of very great importance and I do not think the House is prepared to-day to face that Resolution, or to discuss it or to dismiss it in the manner in which it ought to be discussed or dismissed or treated. I do think that that Resolution should not be taken up on this occasion.

Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas (Sind: Non-Muhamadan): I join with the last speaker that the matter is such that, although it has been debated on previous occasions, still those debates are far removed from to-day, and the subject requires fresh preparation.

A good deal of opinion, official and non-official, has been expressed on this subject which will have to be carefully gone into. Even if anybody has any preconceived notions of his own on the subject, he would very much like to be guided by that opinion. For all these considerations I think the sense of the House will be that you, Sir, should exercise your discretion by not taking up the Resolution to-day.

Dr. H. S. Gour (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhamadan): May I very briefly state to the House that the subject of my Resolution has not only been frequently before the last Assembly

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: Not this.

Dr. H. S. Gour: This Resolution; the identical one. Not only has it been before the last Assembly but it is one of the Resolutions upon which I sought to introduce a Bill in the last Assembly which you, Sir, ruled out as incompetent for the Indian Legislature to enact. I quite realise the importance of the subject and I further realise that the House would like to have more time to go into this question; but I can assure them that, if after hearing me, they find that they would like to have more time, I shall readily accede to the wish of this House and consent to an adjournment. If the Resolution, on the other hand, does not come on to-day, I cannot forecast as to when it is likely to come on at all. I have been singularly unfortunate in the recent drawings of the ballot-box. My Resolution stands to-day at the bottom of the list and in future ballot boxes, of which drawings have been made, I have secured an equally low place. I therefore ask the House to support me by allowing me at least to move this Resolution. If after hearing me the House finds that it is one of those Resolutions upon which it would like to bestow further consideration, I shall accede to a motion for the adjournment of the debate. I hope therefore the House will support me to the extent of allowing me to move this Resolution to-day.

Sir Campbell Rhodes (Bengal: European): Sir, may I respectfully submit to you that in coming to your decision as to what is the sense of the House you might bear in mind that the Finance Committee have very important work before them and are looking forward to an opportunity of settling down to it this afternoon.

Dr. H. S. Gour: The Finance Committee have nothing to do with this Resolution.

Mr. President: I take the last point first. The Finance Committee was not entitled to expect liberty to sit this afternoon. The points put to me by the Honourable Member from the United Provinces and the Honourable Member from Sind seem to me to justify the expectation which I had entertained in my own mind that there would be an objection to taking this business to-day. I quoted the fact that a Resolution of this character had appeared in the list of business in the first Legislative Assembly not to justify its being taken now but to show that one might reasonably expect the Government to be prepared to reply. The sense of the House appears to me, however, to support what Mr. Vishindas and Mr. Ranga Iyer have already said, namely, that the non-official Members are taken by surprise by this proposal and are not prepared adequately to debate the Resolution this afternoon. On that ground I will not exercise my discretion in favour of Dr. Gour's Resolution.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, the 13th February, 1924.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Wednesday, 13th February, 1924.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber at Eleven of the Clock, Ms. President in the Chair.

MEMBERS SWORN:

Mr. Robert Duncan Bell, C.I.E., M.L.A. (Bombay: Nominated Official), and Lieutenant-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney (Nominated: Anglo-Indian).

MESSAGE FROM THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

Secretary of the Assembly: Sir, a Message has been received from the Secretary of the Council of State which runs as follows:

"I am directed to inform you that the Council of State have at their meeting of the 12th February, 1924, agreed without any amendments to the Bill to amend the Indian Cotton Cess Act, 1923, for certain purposes, which was passed by the Legislative Assembly on the 4th February, 1924."

THE CENTRAL BOARD OF REVENUE BILL.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett (Finance Member): Sir, I beg to move that the Bill to provide for the constitution of a Central Board of Revenue and to amend certain enactments for the purpose of conferring powers and imposing duties on the said Board, be referred to a Select Committee consisting of Mr. E. G. Fleming, Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas, Mr. N. M. Joshi, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley, Mr. K. C. Neogy, Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum, Mr. A. R. L. Tottenham, Diwan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao, and myself, with instructions to report on or before the 29th February, 1924.

The motion was adopted.

THE INDIAN COINAGE (AMENDMENT) BILL.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas (Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau: Indian Commerce): Sir, I beg to move that the Select Committee, to which the Bill further to amend the Indian Coinage Act, 1906, for certain purposes, has been referred, do consist of the following members, namely: Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Baba Ujagar Singh Bedi, Mr. H. Calvert, Dr. H. S. Gour, Dr. L. K. Hyder, Sir Gordon Fraser, Seth Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Sardar V. N. Mutalik, and myself, with instructions to report on or before the 29th February, 1924.

The motion was adopted.

STANDING COMMITTEE FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, HEALTH AND LANDS.

Mr. President: The Assembly will now proceed to elect Members of the Standing Committee to advise on subjects in the Department of Education, Health and Lands. The following gentlemen have been proposed for election to the said Committee. There are 14 names on the ballot list, namely:

Haji Wajihuddin,
Kumar Ganganand Sinha,
Mr. Sadasiva Bhat,
Sardar Bahadur Captain Hira Singh,
Raja Raghunandar Prasad Singh,
Maung Kun,
Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum,
Mr. Abdul Haye,
Maulvi Muhammad Yakub,
Dr. L. K. Hyder,
Sardar Gulab Singh,
Khan Sahib Ghulam Bari,
Mr. Venkatapatiraju, and
Captain Ajab Khan.

The said Committee is to be of 9 Members and these nine will be elected from the 14 names I have just read out. Members will now receive their ballot papers.

(Ballot papers were then distributed and Members proceeded to record their votes).

Mr. President: The ballot is closed and the result will be announced at a later date.

RESOLUTION RE THE GRANT OF FULL SELF-GOVERNING DOMINION STATUS TO INDIA.

Mr. President: Before we resume debate on Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar's Resolution I suggest to the Assembly that at a comparatively early moment in to-day's proceedings we should take a decision between the amendment standing in the name of Pandit Motilal Nehru and that standing in the name of Dr. H. S. Gour. After that the debate will still be open upon the main proposition, but in order to give the two amendments standing in the names of Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal and Mr. K. C. Roy a reasonable opportunity of debate I must take a comparatively early decision on Dr. Gour's amendment.

The original question was:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that he be pleased to take at a very early date the necessary steps (including if necessary procuring the appointment of a Royal Commission) for revising the Government of India Act so as to secure for India full self-governing Dominion status within the British Empire and provincial autonomy in the Provinces."

Since which an amendment has been moved:

"That the following be substituted for the original Resolution:

This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take steps to have the Government of India Act revised with a view to establish full responsible Government in India and for the said purpose:

- (a) to summon at an early date a representative Round Table Conference to recommend, with due regard to the protection of the rights and interests of important minorities, the scheme of a constitution for India; and
- (b) after dissolving the Central Legislature, to place the said scheme for approval before a newly elected Indian Legislature for its approval and submit the same to the British Parliament to be embodied in a Statute."

Since which a further amendment has been moved:

"That for Pandit Motilal Nehru's amendment the following be substituted:

This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take steps to establish full responsible Government in India and for the said purpose to summon at an early date a representative convention to prepare, with due regard to the protection of the rights and interests of important minorities, a scheme of a constitution for India, and submit the same to the British Parliament to be embodied in a Statute."

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas (Indian Merchants Chamber and Bureau; Indian Commerce); I rise to support the amendment moved by my Honourable friend, Pandit Motilal Nehru. So great is the importance attached to this discussion that I crave the indulgence of this House when I read out my speech which I think should be heard and put on record in the accurate terms in which I propose to put my views before this House.

Sir, the Resolution before the House is not of the usual character. It does not refer to any detail of administration. It refers to the basis of the constitution and is thus of supreme importance. There is no wonder that unusual interest attaches to this and, therefore, all eyes are turned towards Delhi to-day. No one is more conscious than I am of the many deficiencies in several directions that India has still to make up, before she can attain the stature of a full fledged nation. But all the same I trust the singular unanimity of Indian opinion on the subject of constitutional advance will not be lost on Government or on those for whom the Honourable the Home Member spoke. Whatever hairsplitting may be done by those that revel in nice points of constitutionalism, to me, as a businessman speaking for the Indian commercial community, there is no mystery about the issues involved in the amendment of the Honourable Pandit Motilal Nehru. And the clear issue is that the whole of India is dissatisfied with the existing constitution; and the assurance for improvement of that constitution, and the rate of progress promised in the existing Act, no longer suffice either for the practical exigencies of the situation or, for meeting the legitimate aspirations and claims of the people of this country.

The machinery now wanted is for the expansion of the constitution; for increasing the financial and other powers of the Legislatures; for enforcing the responsibility of the executive to the will of the representatives of the people; and, for securing ultimately sovereign powers for this Assembly to be exercised, without let or hindrance in the same manner as they are exercised by the various Dominions in the Empire. So far as it is provided in the Government of India Act of 1919, it is most inadequate and the amendment before this House asks for a substitution of that

[Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas.]

machinery, which would secure the end in less time and with more satisfaction all round.

The experience of India in connection with Commissions which have come out hitherto has not been particularly happy and it would be impossible to blame anyone who is not prepared to pin his faith to them for the future. Nor is there any sanctity in the ten-year period, even if it happens to have been specified in the Act of Parliament. When things are moving so rapidly as the experience of the past few years has shown, it would be an act of statesmanship to readjust the speed of political progress to the situation which confronts Government to-day in India.

The constitution hitherto prevalent has failed because it was conceived as a compromise between the various contending parties, and, even in the period of transition it bore all the impress of the hybrid, pleasing neither those who understood a benevolent, but undiluted autocracy, nor those who were fired with the enthusiasm of nationalism, and anxious for political freedom, disdaining all restraints. It was imposed from the top and was not the natural growth of any institutions then existing in the country. From the universal condemnation, which has been heard from all sides of the reforms including the system of dyarchy in the Provinces the fact emerges not only that the reforms have failed, but that the Government, who were entrusted with the task of working them in India, failed to accommodate themselves to the new order of things. In view of this, I am surprised that my Honourable friend Sir Campbell Rhodes should at once fix the responsibility for the failure of the reforms on the people of India. He has stated that Members of Council did not support their Ministers. Apart from the fact that the Ministers were nominees of the Governor, they were also fettered with an unreal idea of collective responsibility by which their freedom of speech and criticism in respect of items of reserved departments did not exist, and they were allowed no power to influence those departments directly or indirectly. Nor have I heard of the growth of the convention of Ministers and Executive Council Members meeting together in a conference and conducting the Government as a whole. It appears to me that under the reforms all the support and co-operation that the people of India could give were requisitioned from them without transfer of corresponding power to their representatives. Such a scheme was doomed to failure and was bound to be found wanting. Even those who honestly believed in the possibility of securing genuine political liberty through that machinery and who were working it for the future good of their country, and who stoutly withstood all ideas of non-co-operation, have been disillusioned by the reforms. The disappointment arising from this state of affairs became so acute that those who were actuated even at great sacrifice to accept office under Government soon found themselves being looked upon with considerable suspicion by the best part of the public. This was the fate of everyone who accepted office, including men who were held in great esteem and who were popular. What is the explanation? Was it the spread of non-co-operation? Was it the mere blind hatred of the Government? I strongly feel that it was neither the one nor the other, because such distrust was not confined to that section of the public from which recruits to popular political movements are drawn. But it spread amongst the ranks of the strictest co-operators, and of those who had hailed the reforms without reservation. The origin of such feeling is to be sought in the conviction borne upon every thoughtful Indian, that in the existing system no Indian, however determined he may be for

securing the good of his country, could achieve much under the unnatural and artificial limitations under which he had to work. A continuance of the present state of affairs deprives the state in India of the services of the best men in the country, who under present conditions prefer to remain outside the machinery of Government, which would only stultify them and render them at once useless and unpopular.

My Honourable friend the Mover of the Resolution has referred to the reluctance of public men in India, to give evidence before the Public Services Commission. And yet there has been an overwhelming amount of evidence before that Commission pointing out the impossibility of working the reforms until there are some fundamental changes made in the character of the Indian services and in their powers.

In particular the evidence of Ministers and of members of the Services working under them has brought out clearly that the real cause of the difficulties between them has been neither racial nor merely economic, but must be sought in the different outlook of each. Ministers wish to control the services as their instruments for carrying out their policy. The services on the other hand wish to deny the Ministers that control as being derogatory to their prestige and detrimental to their tradition and interests. The net result has been an *impasse* from which the amendment before the House is an attempt to find a solution.

The Honourable the Home Member instead of meeting the clear issues involved in the Resolution has shown some of the difficulties which would confront those that are out to frame a new constitution.

I have every confidence that the representative conference which is suggested in the amendment of the Honourable Pandit Motilal Nehru will not neglect any of the difficulties mentioned by the Honourable the Home Member, but I feel called upon to deal with one aspect of the question that he has definitely raised. The Home Member spoke of vested interests of European Commerce in India. No one who deals with political matters in India can possibly forget them in so far as British rule in India finds its origin historically in them.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey (Home Member): I am very loath to interrupt the Honourable Member. Could he refer me to the passage in my speech in which I spoke of the vested interests of European commerce.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: The Honourable Member mentioned, among the matters that require particular attention, before the Government move on to a further stage in the reforms,—European Commerce, Indian States and minorities.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: If I may correct the Honourable Member, I was particularly careful in what I said on the subject: I merely said that those who had invested capital and were investing capital in India would be interested to know our decision. That was not one of the four problems which I stated as needing solution.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I am very glad of this explanation. I dictated my speech from what was my impression about it and I hope the Honourable Member will hear the rest of my speech subject to the correction which he has made and which I accept.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I merely noticed that impression before, and I merely wish to correct it. The Honourable Member will, I hope, acquit me of any discourtesy in interrupting. I merely did it in order to make the point clear.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I have, Sir, a copy of the "Pioneer" of the 13th February, which quotes the Honourable Member as having said that, "European commerce will desire to know." These are the words which you will find reflected in my remarks. It is a peculiar irony of fate that even at this time, when the future political constitution of India is being discussed, the existence of these very vested interests should be advanced as an argument to induce the Government of the day to reject reasonable proposals for finding a natural line of advance. What I fail to understand is the ground for entertaining any apprehensions that under a self-governing India, interests of English merchants and others in this country would be unsafe. Nothing that has till now been done or suggested in any Indian Legislature could have given grounds for uncertainties or danger to the interests in India, not only of British merchants but of the nationals of every country in the world, through the establishment of responsible government. Their interests would be scrupulously safeguarded and adequate machinery will be provided by the Indian Legislatures to secure this end. I am quite sure the Japanese merchants, who are engaged in a very large commerce in India each way, could not be interfered with, because we fully understand that any interference with them would lead to international complications. The possibility of any talk of English commerce or industry or vested interests suffering by granting responsible government to India is altogether imaginary, except under one condition, and that is, that there are no special privileges, no exclusive rights, and no monopolies enjoyed by the British merchants here at present. I presume that the representatives of British commerce in India are prepared to-day to declare that none of the privileges that they enjoy are unfair or exceptional. If that were so, the distrust of the Indian Legislature indicated in such comments is altogether unworthy of the attitude which one great country should have towards another. I am not averse to suitable guarantees being given to representatives of these interests all of whose rights would, I am sure, be scrupulously respected. No one will try to do our friends of British commerce out of the just rewards of their labour or the legitimate expectations of their activities, in the same way that their countrymen are trying to deprive the Indians in Kenya of their bare rights and claims in the development of a colony, to whose prosperity they have made valuable contributions. The white population in Kenya have invented the plea that they are the trustees of the black natives of Kenya. Whatever else India may do in future, I am sure I voice the general feeling of every Indian in this House, when I say that we shall not invent any such excuse to pounce upon the property or the liberty or the rights of nationals of any country, who may choose to come and settle inside the borders of India as peaceful workers or as merchants.

Sir, If I have expressed myself with a certain amount of freedom with regard to commercial interests other than Indian, it is because the occasion demands a frank statement. What I have said represents what I know to be the views of my constituency. As for the maintenance of law and order and of security in every direction, these are as necessary to Indian trade and industry, which I represent, as they are to British trade and industry in this country. If there are any in India or outside who have any doubts as to our real attitude towards these requirements, let me assure them

that we yield to none in appreciating the benefits of stable Government and a settled order of things for the promotion of trade and the well-being of industry and of all engaged therein. It is because many of us feel that the danger to these very ideas will be greater, if the feeling of nationality and political discontent amongst the people were not adequately met before it is too late, that the proposals contained in the amendment should be carried through.

The next item that loomed very large in the discourse to which the Honourable the Home Member has treated this Assembly is that which refers to the services. Ever since the question of a liberal constitution for India has come up for discussion, the question of the services has been brought up and discussed with such seriousness that the impression was often conveyed, that the services did not exist for India, but India existed for the services. Such an inference would be certainly justified after hearing the "steel frame speech" of Mr. Lloyd George, and after reading some of the evidence which has been laid by the zealous members of the services before the Lee Commission. The Government of India Act of 1919 provided for a Royal Commission to examine the workings of the reforms and the method of expanding them as well as the condition of the services. If it has been considered desirable to have the Lee Commission sent out in the teeth of universal opposition from India, may I ask why so much resistance was offered by Lord Peel to the Indian demand for a Royal Commission to examine the question of reforms simultaneously? The popular reply, as I said before, is that India exists for the services and not the services for India. Perhaps the greatest obstacle to political reform in India has been the desire of the services to retain in their hands the powers that they have enjoyed in the past, but which is altogether inconsistent with a popularly elected Legislature and with Ministers in charge of departments responsible to such Legislature. Members of the services would be always welcome in India to serve this country, but the seat of power in the future must be in this Assembly consisting of representatives of the people. No one will deny that the services have done magnificent work in the past. No one desires that there should be any breach of contract with any member of the services who has come to this country. It has been even provided that, if there is any sentimental distaste on the part of any member of the services to accommodate himself to the new ideas which must in future prevail, such officers could resign and leave the country on the scheme of proportionate pension. Notwithstanding all this, the existence of the services is being made by inference the ground for opposing our legitimate and just demands. Whilst the finances both in the Provinces and in the Central Government are showing deficits, the Secretary of State continues recruitment to the services in England as usual and that in the name of efficiency and of the necessity of maintaining the British character of the administration.

The Honourable the Home Member in the course of his speech made pointed reference to the existence of minority communities in India. There was no reason to suppose that the existence of these minorities had escaped the notice of those who had moved the amendment or who were supporting it. On the contrary, the proposal for a representative conference in itself indicates that opinion had to be elicited from numerous directions and in particular a constitution had to be evolved in consultation with the representatives of these minorities, who may have anxieties for the future. I would go further and say that the mention of these minorities as an argument against the political advance of India appears to me to be

[Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas.]

an attempt to create unnecessarily an atmosphere of uncertainty and doubt. I say this because I have not come across any protest from responsible representatives of these minorities against the character of the Indian Legislature being altered and against their being made sovereign Legislature with full power of control over the Executive. In this connection my Honourable friend Sir Campbell Rhodes read out an extract from a speech by Mr. Montagu regarding the British Government being trustees of such minorities. The Honourable gentleman from Madras, Mr. Moir, also spoke with considerable feeling with regard to the undesirability of handing over the trust which they had shouldered all these years. I must say that all this indefinite talk about self-imposed burdens of one nation concerning the interests of another nation or community can only impede rather than hasten the solution of the very difficult problem before us. We heard lately another mention of trusteeship, and this time it was the trusteeship of the white man in Kenya on behalf of the black natives of Kenya, and directed against the intruders in the shape of Indians. This desire to take advantage of any apparent conflict of interest between the various sections of the population ought not to form the basis for the maintenance of the Empire. Nor should it interfere with the purpose of British administration, which, as the Honourable the Home Member assured this House, was high, and the aim of which he assured us was noble. We have often heard it said that the British Government in India are responsible to the British Parliament as trustees of the masses of India. Have these trustees been able to save such of the masses as have chosen to emigrate, because they found no suitable means of livelihood in their own country, from humiliations and deprivations of a most obnoxious character in places like Kenya and South Africa? If it is a trust, by whom was it given? If it is a guardianship, is it never expected that the ward will grow up and ask for what is his own? Sir, universal opinion so far as this trust is concerned with regard to such people as have chosen to seek an honest livelihood outside their own country, is that the trust has miserably failed. As the Right Honourable Sastri declared at Bangalore, the British Government in the United Kingdom are unwilling to coerce the white settlers of Kenya under any conditions and will therefore tolerate not only the injustice which has been already done, but any further series of injustices which may be done hereafter. This trust has been grossly betrayed so far as the position of Indians in other parts of the Empire is concerned. If it is a trust, I maintain, Sir, that it has been handed over mercilessly to South Africa, which has assumed the position of dictator to the Empire to-day, and before whom not only India is helpless, but Britain herself seems to have no power to secure the right end. The less therefore said of the trusteeship of the masses against the educated classes, of depressed classes against the higher classes, of minorities against the races of India, of Indians as a whole against the rest of the Empire, the better is it for the reputation of British statesmanship. There is however one kind of trust which England holds for the people of this country and which it would be difficult for anyone to dispute, and that is in the matter of defence. It is possible that for many years to come the defence machinery of India will not be altogether indigenous and adequate to deal with any invasion either on the land frontiers or on the sea frontiers of India. India will cheerfully bear the burden of the expenditure, but would expect Britain to stand by her while her own army and navy, manned by her own people are in course of creation.

Sir I wish to draw the pointed attention of this House to another stock argument which my Honourable friend Sir Campbell Rhodes has brought out rather inadvisedly, and has disturbed, by doing so, the atmosphere of mutual tolerance, which has been established by the exchange of assurances between the Honourable the Home Member and Pandit Motilal Nehru, that no threat of any kind was either involved or understood and the assurances were accepted.

Sir Campbell Rhodes: On a point of order, Sir. I never used the word "threat."

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Let the Honourable Member hear me out please.

In this atmosphere comes the Honourable gentleman from Calcutta and throws a bombshell. He asks naively whether those, who are supporting the amendment of Pandit Motilal Nehru, want a military dictatorship? I hope the implication of this question will not be lost on the Members of this Assembly. Is it a threat to us that by seeking legitimate expansion of political rights and of the growth of the powers which this Assembly has over the executive, in accordance with the will of the people, we shall bring India into such confusion that the British Government will be obliged, to establish martial law in this country and to put in the Honourable the Commander-in-Chief as the supreme authority? A mild and perhaps more insidious echo of the same notion was attempted to be conveyed by Mr. Moir from Madras, when he said in a manner that left no doubts on the minds of anybody, drawing a parallel from conditions in China, that there would be anarchy if the demands contained in the amendment were granted. Why are such words of caution delivered to us by these friends of India? A reference fell from someone about conditions in Russia. Sir, I will not dilate on that subject which is painful to me, but it shows the distrust of the people of this country and of their capacity to look after themselves. Sir, it shows the distrust of this Assembly and of its capacity to adjust itself to improved conditions, which could be brought about in due course by the method which the amendment advocates. I have every confidence that the constitution which would be evolved by the wise men of this country, including officials if you like, sitting together in a conference, will be one which will be well balanced, which will be laid on a solid foundation, which will have guarantees and checks sufficient to meet emergencies. And, if it is suggested that there is a certain margin of risk after all this has been done, I would cheerfully accept that risk, because I do not know of any nation, or any confederation that has come into existence without going through a period during which this risk existed. Is it suggested that there will not be found men to help the country, wise men who will watch out for the least little sign of disruption, and who will mobilise all the forces of the nation to set matters right? Sir, the greatest school for responsibility is responsibility itself, and I must say that the negative arguments, the insinuations, the bogeys, which are being raised in this debate are out of place and are likely to be seriously misunderstood. If instead my English friends took up an attitude of sympathy, of encouragement, of promise to stand by India during this period of transition, would they have any cause at all for those very vested interests for which they appear to be, as I have said before, unnecessarily anxious?

Sir, I must confess that I am disappointed at the statements which the Honourable the Home Member made in the earlier stages of this

[Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas.]

debate on behalf of the Government. It took this House a certain amount of effort to elicit the nature of the concession which he was making to what has been acknowledged to be the universal sentiments of the country. And after that, when you come to examine what he proposes to do on behalf of the Government, it amounts to nothing more than a mere interchange of opinion between the several groups of officials. And, if the executive Government, then find that there are any recommendations to make to the Secretary of State, these recommendations would be made and they would be available for this Assembly and others outside to criticise. Did he seriously expect this to satisfy anyone in this House? Knowing him as I do, I am inclined to think that this halting and imperfect concession, leading nowhere, is the result of limitations from which the Government of India themselves suffer to-day through the control of the Secretary of State. The British Parliament and their Executive, the Cabinet, never know,—have perhaps not the time nor the patience to know, the large mass of facts or the overwhelming evidence of opinion in this country from which alone a more statesmanlike solution of this intricate problem could be evolved. It is in order to secure a machinery for placing before Parliament, with reasons wherever necessary, a complete scheme to get over the *impasse*, to replace a system which has been pronounced a failure from so many quarters, that a representative Committee suggested by the Honourable Pandit becomes absolutely necessary.

Mr. President: I must remind the Honourable Member of his time-limit and must ask him to bring his remarks to a close.

Mr. Purshotamdas Thakurdas: It remains for me only to deal with the hackneyed complaint of communal differences in India. I am not one of those who believe that this deplorable feature of national life in India has disappeared or will disappear in the near future.

Mr. President: I cannot allow the Honourable Member to embark on a large subject like that after he has already exceeded his time-limit.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I will only deal with the last two paragraphs.

Sir, if there are any Honourable Members on the Government Benches who are surprised that everyone to-day is trooping into the political lobby, if there are any of them that cannot understand why I, representing the commercial community, not only take this part in politics, but am also willing to stand by the demand which has been formulated in the amendment of the Honourable Pandit, for their benefit, may I explain the situation as I understand it? There was a time in my first youth when I heard serious discussions as to whether social reform should not precede political reform. I recollect earnest men pointing out to their fellowcountrymen in India, that the caste system had to be ended before we could think of any constitutional improvement politically. I also remember in those days, during the earlier sessions of the Indian National Congress, parallel propaganda on many a noble object of national improvement, such as social reform, temperance, and industrial advancement, for each of which there was an organised institution and an annual conference. So far as the commercial community was concerned, in my youth I was instructed by elder businessmen in Bombay that it was not for the businessman to bother about politics, and we had the example of an eminent man,—whose efforts have materialised in wonderful industrial achievements

for this country in so many directions,—the late Mr. Jamsetjee Tata, who till the last day of his life, abstained from political activities and political gatherings of any kind. From this ideal which involved leaving alone the political field, how is it that to-day everyone is bent on asking for improvement in the constitutional machinery governing this country and for a very large chunk of improvement without any considerable delay? Sir, the explanation is not very far to seek. All those who desired achievements for their country in the various fields mentioned before, made their best efforts and found after a little time that they could not go further, that after they had gone some distance they were faced with a big wall which they were unable to scale, that the co-ordination of national efforts in different directions, which could only proceed from a co-ordination imposed from the centre, was lacking. Many men honestly believed in utilising every method that was available to secure a little more elbow room for those lines of national activities which they considered good for their country, and they could not secure very much. Representations were made, efforts were made in the Council after the Morley-Minto reforms. In the subsequent constitution, I have personally known a good many earnest minds exert themselves very much to secure this, that, and the other national end, but they have all come back and reported that, until there was a more radical change at the centre, nothing could be secured. Sir, every one who wishes to see this country great and self-sufficient in one direction or other, has come back with the general slogan that Swaraj is the only solution, and those of us who were brought into the political field, with which we did not start, can only wish that the changes which are necessary in the constitution should be secured in the best atmosphere and with the largest amount of give and take and with general satisfaction all round.

Sir, I wish to conclude the remarks that I have offered on this occasion by reading before this House the memorable words which were uttered by Lord Macaulay as early as 1833, and which in their application to the present situation are, in my opinion, very apt and thought-provoking not only for Indians but for the countrymen of Lord Macaulay also. These words are:—

“We are told that the time can never come when the natives of India can be admitted to high civil and military office. We are told that this is the condition on which we hold our power. We are told that we are bound to confer on our subjects every benefit which they are capable of enjoying—no—which it is in our power to confer on them—no—but which we can confer on them without hazard to our own domination. Against that proposition I solemnly protest as inconsistent alike with sound policy and sound morality.”

“It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system; that by good government, we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to overt or to retard it. Whenever it comes it will be the proudest day in English history.”

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I rise to offer my cordial support to the amendment moved by my Honourable friend, Pandit Motilal Nehru. The Resolution which has been proposed by my friend, Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar, asks the House that it should recommend to the Governor General in Council to take steps to secure full Dominion status to India at an early date by a revision of the Statute of 1919. The amendment

[Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.]

supports that view, but desires to add that, in order that that purpose may be achieved, Government should be pleased to invite a conference, a representative conference, and the object of the conference should be to prepare the ground for a revision of the Statute. Sir, that the country has been demanding an advance towards Dominion status is a fact which is known to us all Indians, but the Honourable the Home Member did not think it was so, at least he tried to make us believe, to make the House believe, that this demand for Dominion status was a rather later thought. He scanned the speeches of the Mover, referred to those speeches made on earlier occasions, he referred to the evidence given by various gentlemen before the Joint Parliamentary Committee, and to the Resolutions passed by the National Congress from year to year, and he showed that full responsible government, was not what Indians had asked for, much less the Dominion form of self-government. (*The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey*: "Asked for at once.") Asked for at once. Now, Sir, the

13 Noon. Honourable the Home Member is mistaken. He seemed to think from the manner in which he spoke of the question and of the difficulties which surrounded it, that India was a primitive country which had never known any civilisation, which had for the first time under the tutorship of England learnt about civilised administration, and that Indians therefore required to be taken from stage to stage in the art of self-government. The Honourable the Home Member referred to the Preamble of the Statute which lays down that progress towards responsible government has to be made stage by stage. I wish, Sir, at the outset to say that the question of giving a constitution to a country is a question of statesmanship and the Honourable the Home Member suffered—I say it with great respect to him—from the fact that he had all his life been associated in the day to day administration of the country and that naturally—not unnaturally—his views have been largely affected by that association as a permanent official in this country. In order that he should be able to appreciate the point of view which we urge, in order that he should be able to advise the Government, to be the mouthpiece of the Government, on an important question of constitutional advance like this, he would need to refer to the ancient civilisation which has been handed down in India; and I would, in order that this memory might be refreshed, draw attention to only a few facts which show what the condition of India was before the English Government assumed the administration in this country. Mr. Elphinstone says:

"All the descriptions of the parts of India visited by the Greeks give the idea of a country teeming with population, and enjoying the highest degree of prosperity . . . The numerous commercial cities and ports for foreign trade, which are mentioned at a later period, attest the progress of the Indians in a department which more than any other shows the advanced state of a nation . . . Arrian mentions with admiration that every Indian is free . . . The army was in constant pay during war and peace . . . The police is spoken of as excellent . . . Magasthenes relates that in the camp of Sandracottus, consisting of 400,000 men, the sums stolen daily did not amount to more than about £3 . . . The fields were all measured, and the water carefully distributed for irrigation; taxes were imposed upon trade, and an income-tax levied from merchants and traders. Royal roads are spoken of by Strabo and mile-stones . . ."

Then:

"Their internal institutions were less rude; their conduct to their enemies more humane; their general learning much more considerable; and, in the knowledge of the being and nature of God, they were already in possession of a light which was but faintly perceived, even by the loftiest intellects in the best days of Athens."

Now, Sir, coming down to the Mughal period, Bernier, who visited India during the reign of Shah Jehan, gives a glowing description. He speaks of his "immense treasures, gold and silver and jewellery, a prodigious quantity of pearls and precious stones of all sorts" and describes how the administration was being conducted.

This was before the British took over the administration of this country. What do we find a British officer writing after many years of British administration? Sir John Malcolm in a letter to Lord William Bentinck, dated 20th February, 1830, says:

"I am sickened with that mawkish morality that argues upon the sin and inhumanity of our tolerating abuses and misrule, which we have the power to correct, and in which from possessing that power and not exercising it we are said to become in a degree implicated; I neither admit the facts nor the deductions. I could mention provinces in every part of our territories in which over-assessment, the forms of the *Adawat* and insufficient police have produced more discontent, degradation and suffering to the inhabitants than I ever knew under native Governments."

That would remind the learned Home Member that India has inherited a civilisation and it is merely by a stroke of misfortune that she lost the right of governing herself when the British came into this country. The Muhammadans and the Hindus had settled down to government and administration and, if it were not for the advent of the British to-day, Hindu and Muhammadan rule would have been going on in India. Even now, one-third of India is under Indian rule and I do not think that even the Home Member would say that that portion of India is being worse governed than British India is. In some respects it may be that British India has some advantages. In other respects Indian India has advantages which are unknown to residents of British India. (*The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey*: "No Reforms.") No Reforms. I will come to that. I will at once answer that. The British Government who have been responsible for the training of our Indian Princes have not done their duty faithfully by them. If they had trained them in the right way, there would have been more Princes of the type of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda and His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore and there would have been representative institutions in every Indian State by this time.

Now, Sir, the Honourable the Home Member referred to the Preamble of the Statute of 1919, and he pointed out that what is now asked for is opposed to the Statute. Now, I submit that this is a very poor argument to advance. We know that it is opposed to the Statute. We do not like to go on under the Statute. We never accepted the Statute as it was, many of us did not. He said the Mover was among those who did accept, but the Mover did not constitute the whole of India. There was a large body of public opinion which regarded the Reforms as inadequate and unsatisfactory. The Honourable the Home Member did the honour of quoting me also among those who said that they would be content, if even a period of 20 years would be fixed for the establishment of full responsible government. Now, Sir, it is a very unfair thing to quote one sentence from a paragraph and base an argument upon it. What I said on that subject was this:

"As regards the Government of India, they are not prepared, without experience of the results of their proposals relating to the provinces, to effect changes in it. I cannot reconcile myself to these views."

[Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.]

This was in 1918 upon the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report:

"I think the needs of the country demand that provincial Governments should be made autonomous at once and that a period of time should be fixed within which complete responsible government is to be established in the Central Government of India. Even if twenty years were fixed as the outside limit, we shall know where we stand. Among Indians many will regard it as too long a period; among Europeans, many will consider it too short. But twenty years is in all conscience a long enough time within which to prepare this country, with all the progress that stands behind it; and with all the advantages of a well-organised and well-established administration, to bear the full burden of the new responsibility. The history of other countries supports the view that in this period education can be made universal, industries can be developed, so as to make India self-sufficient both in respect of the ordinary needs of the people and also in respect of military requirements, and Indians can be trained in sufficient numbers, to officer the Indian Army and to take their proper places alongside of their British fellow-subjects in the service of the country and the King, Emperor."

That was what I said and still think that from the day the British Government declare full responsible government established in India it will take us 20 years to train all the officers we want to officer the Indian Army. That means, Sir, that the cardinal step, the important step, should be taken, namely, the declaration that full responsible government is established in India, subject to the period which must elapse in order to prepare the military service to carry on the burden which the declaration will enforce upon the country. This is not the first time that we ask for this since the Reforms were published. Ever since 1885, the Indian National Congress has been asking for the establishment of self-government in this country. When this Act was passed many of us were not satisfied. Many of us urged that there should be responsibility introduced in the Central Government in India; but it was not so introduced. Many of us did put all the arguments that we could before Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford and many of our friends gave evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee, but the House of Commons and the British Government, upon the advice of the Government of India, were so obstinate that we could not get them to accede to our request. I therefore pointed out in the pamphlet which I published on the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford report, where they said that they would limit the Reforms to the Provincial Governments:

"This means that for 15 years the Government of India should continue to exercise all its powers as at present and that the representatives of the people should have absolutely no share in it. Owing to the war the next 10 to 15 years will be most fatal years in the history of India. It oppresses my soul to think that during this period the Government of India, which, as I have shown above, has failed to build up the strength and prosperity of the people to the extent it should have done, should continue practically unchanged, and that the representatives of the people, anxious to promote the good of their fellowmen, should still have to bear the pain and humiliation of having no determining voice in the government of their country. In the highest interests of humanity, as it is represented by the 320 millions of this land, and for the good name of England, I earnestly hope that this will not be so, and that the statesmen of England will see that the Government of India is brought to a reasonable extent under the control of the people whose affairs it administers."

Now, Sir, there were many others who expressed the same view. We were not satisfied with the non-introduction of an element of responsibility in the Government of India. At the Congress at Amritsar in 1919 it was with great difficulty that Mahatma Gandhi and I and some others could induce our friends, Mr. Tilak, Mr. Das and Lala Lajpat Rai and others to accept the Reforms for the time being. Even then we said that, while we

should accept the Reforms so far as they went we should endeavour from that day onward to try to have responsibility introduced in the Government of India. Sir, the three years that have passed have added much to our experience and wisdom. Even if no demand had been made for the establishment of full Dominion status at that time, there is abundant reason in the history of the last three years for the said Reform being introduced. And what is that history? In the first instance, law and order were reserved to the Government of India and to the Provincial Governments. How has law and order been administered? I have got heaps of files with me here which give the list of persons who were imprisoned under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, or imprisoned or prosecuted under section 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, and they were persons who were as Honourable as any Members sitting in this House and they were imprisoned for no other reason than that they held opinions which were not acceptable to the Government. Law and order was never mismanaged during any time of British administration as it was during the last two years. That is one experience which we have gained. I am afraid time will not permit me to read even the general summary of the reports of these prosecutions, which are a disgrace upon the British administration of this country. The facts are very well known to the Members of this House and the country also knows them full well. The experience that we have gained in respect to law and order is that it should not be left to be administered by an irresponsible Government.

The second thing that we have learnt from experience is the utter unwillingness of the Government of India to act in the spirit in which the Act was passed. The Government of India have made no progress in the many directions in which progress should have been made, if they meant only to give effect to the policy which was embodied in the Statute of 1919. In England, finance has been well administered after the war. Taxation has been reduced. The national debt has been reduced. Industries have been fostered. What is the picture that we have to look at here? Forty-one crores of new taxation have been added since the Reforms were introduced. Since 1913-14 53 crores of new taxation have been added to our debt which is heavier to-day than it was at that time. No endeavours have been made to reduce this taxation. Education has been starved. Sanitation has received no sustaining support. General progress has been arrested—Ministers have been appointed to portfolios, but they have been wasting their time in sorrow because they have not the wherewithal to promote the Reforms with. The country has gone back; it has not progressed. The Government were expected to show that they would adopt the policy of responsible government, but they have taken no step worth the name to Indianise the services. A certain number of persons have begun to be examined in this country. Not a single college has been created where members for the Civil Service might be trained. In regard to the military, even the needs of the situation have not been recognised. The military expenditure was 27 crores in the year 1913-14. In 1922-23 it stood at 64 crores and 47 lakhs. We have urged for a long time past that expenditure, both civil and military, should be reduced. We have found that these three years have gone, and they have added enormously to the burdens which the poor people of this country have to bear. This is in regard to finance. Banking has not been developed. In a country like Japan in the course of 20 years they have built up a system of banking by which their national trade has been promoted to an enormous extent. Here the banking facilities are still poor. Our Gold

[Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.]

Currency Reserves are still held in London. Not a single step has been taken which would indicate to us the decision of the Government of India to look at the day when Indians would be administering the affairs of their country. I do not however overlook that small college which has been established at Dehra Dun to give training to Indians, but that is a paltry measure when you consider the needs of the country.

In the matter of industries, Government have taken no steps in order to promote indigenous industries on a large-scale. That is the experience which we have gained during the last three years. Every Indian asks himself the question: How long have we to wait if we proceed at the pace at which we are going? His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief told the predecessors of this Assembly as to what progress was being made in the matter of training Indians as officers for the Army. A calculation was made which showed that a very long time would elapse—perhaps a hundred years—before the Indian army could be Indianised at the pace which was adopted by the Government. Now, Sir, this is the experience which has led many of us to revise our opinion regarding the pace at which progress should be achieved. We believe that it is a conviction which has gone like steel into our hearts that the British bureaucracy in this country will not even take the measures that are necessary to enable the Indians to get actual responsible government in this country so long as they are in power; and we ask that they should cease to be in power. If that arrangement is to continue during the period of transition, necessary safeguards should be provided for the satisfaction of all parties concerned. We feel that that very decision has now to be arrived at. We will be satisfied if the decision is arrived at that responsible government must be established now in India which may take 10 years or probably 20 years to complete the arrangements when we will be in a position to say good-bye to our English officers and administrators so far as the responsibility for the administration of the country is concerned. We do not wish to part with them, we are not in a hurry to part with them. We want that they should still be with us as public servants and as commercial men with experience to help and advise us in many national pursuits. But we do want that it should be decided now that the power of administering the affairs of this country shall be passed on to the Indians.

Now, Sir, there are two ways of acquiring freedom. One is by the process of negotiation and understanding, the other is by arms. The process by arms has not been countenanced by Indians because, in the first place, the Government have deprived us of arms, and in the second place we have not had the military training. It is wholly discountenanced by us because we feel as human, humane, men that we are disposed to achieve our object without shedding the blood of a fellow-man. We should endeavour to the utmost of our power to achieve that by non-violent means. But, Sir, we have shed blood. England will remember it: many Englishmen will remember it. We have shed a great deal of our blood in the late war, in effect so ruinous, and we had hoped that the shedding of that blood would secure to us the liberty that we have a right to enjoy to administer our own affairs. Speaking at the Imperial Conference of 1921, Mr. Lloyd George, the Prime Minister, said:

“India's achievements were also very great. Her soldiers lie with ours in all the theatres of war, and no Britisher can ever forget the gallantry and promptitude with which she sprang forward to the King-Emperor's service when war was declared. That is no small tribute both to India and to the Empire of which India is a part. The

causes of the War were unknown to India; its theatre in Europe was remote. Yet India stood by her allegiance heart and soul, from the first call to arms, and some of her soldiers are still serving far from their homes and families in the common cause. India's loyalty in that great crisis is eloquent to me of the Empire's success in bridging the civilizations of East and West, in reconciling wide differences of history, of tradition and of race, and in bringing the spirit and the genius of a great Asiatic people into willing co-operation with our own."

Mr. H. Calvert (Punjab: Nominated Official): What about passive loyalty?

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: What is passive loyalty?—loyalty must be active. There is no such thing as passive loyalty.

Mr. H. Calvert: That is what the Honourable Member preached during the war: passive loyalty.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Passive loyalty? The Honourable Member is speaking in ignorance, Sir. He does not know that we advised our own children to join the army. My own son was in the Indian Territorial Force. I do not know what he is talking about. I can tell the Honourable gentleman that, if we, educated Indians, had not advised our young men to join the army, recruitment would not have been one-fourth of what it was.

Now, Sir, another English Statesman, Lord Curzon, in his introduction to Colonel Merewither's book relating to the history of the work done by the Indian Army in France, said that the Indian Army had reached there just in the nick of time to save civilisation. Now, Sir, that was our contribution to the war and I thought that, when our soldiers had shed their blood, when I find that a million Indians left these shores to serve abroad, of whom more than 60,000 gave their lives in the Empire's cause, I thought that the shedding of blood in the cause of liberty would purchase for us our own liberty. That is one of the things that have happened, but we are still far from that position, and we are told that we must wait and proceed stage by stage. I submit, Sir, that is unjust, that is cruel.

Now, the next point to which I will invite attention is some of the objections raised by the Honourable the Home Member to the proposal. He said: "What will the Princes say?" The Princes have said. When the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were introduced, the Princes were consulted. They gave their assent to the introduction of the reforms and recently not one but several Princes have spoken. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, who attended the first Imperial Conference, His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, who attended the second, and His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, have all spoken in favour of granting the desire of Indians. Recently, to quote only from the last, the Maharaja of Alwar, speaking at the Conference of 1923, said:

"It is injustice to them, speaking not as their representative but as one of them that I therefore do not wish to say anything behind their backs 7,000 miles away, which I would not gladly say to their face . . ."

Is everything going to be done to accelerate our progress, or is our progress under various pretexts to be restricted and delayed? Have we a long number of years before us of the great furnace to pass through from which Ireland has only just emerged? . . .

If India had some more definite proposition before it than having to wait every ten years for its destiny to be enhanced, if it had a reasonable assurance of rapid but progressive advancement, I believe that self-government, which is the goal of us all for two-thirds of India, would be achieved early and smoothly."

I venture to say, Sir, that, if the Princes are consulted, they will not only not object, but support the demand for the establishment of full Dominion

[Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.]

status in India at an early date. I venture also to say that, if that status is established, our treatment of Indian Princes will be not less satisfactory but more satisfactory than it is at present. They will be more consulted. Their dignity will be better consulted, their interest will be better considered, and altogether our relations with them will be better than they are at present.

The next point made by the Honourable the Home Member was with regard to European commerce. European commerce need have no fear if Dominion status is established in India. The reforms do provide for the protection of Europeans engaged in commerce in this country. The suggested conference will go into this matter as well as other matters and I am sure that we will be able to arrive at an arrangement which will create more confidence than exists at present in the minds of European commercial men. Similarly with regard to the Services. The Act itself has provided safeguards to protect the interests of the Services, and we shall certainly when we meet in conference provide safeguards.

Lastly, he mentioned the minorities, and I was surprised that the Honourable the Home Member, being an experienced officer who has spent nearly all his life in this country, should raise such a question. It seemed to me that his memory had not served him correctly or rather that his judgment had left him for the time being when discussing this question in his anxiety to oppose this Resolution. Will the Honourable Member tell me who it was that settled the differences between the Hindus and the Muhammadans before the reforms were introduced? Was it the Government or was it the Hindu and Muhammadan Conference which met at Lucknow and came to a settlement among themselves which formed the basis upon which the reforms were passed? Will the Honourable the Home Member tell me if he has heard of any differences between Hindu and Muhammadan Ministers in the different provinces, except unfortunately in the province from which he comes?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Will the Honourable Member tell me what he said about the settlement himself? Or shall I read it to the House?

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: I am going to say what I said and I wish you to read it to the House. If you read it, I shall comment upon it. Does the Honourable Member want to read it?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The Honourable Member is in possession of the House. Let him read it himself.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Now, Sir, this is what I said about the religious differences in the pamphlet which I had published on the publication of the reforms. I will not read the whole of it—it will tire the House—but I will read some small portions. I said:

"Here again it ought not to be forgotten that India is not the only country which has known the trouble of religious differences among her sons. England herself has not been a stranger to it. Her history contains a sad record of the evils which she experienced owing to bitter differences between Protestants and Catholics. The long-lasting persecution to which the latter were subjected by the former, particularly in Ireland, is a matter of not very remote history. 'When the House of Lords, the House of Commons, the Magistracy, all corporate offices in towns, all ranks in the army, the bench, the bar, the whole administration of government or justice, were closed against Catholics; when the very right of voting for their representatives in Parliament was denied them; when in all social and political matters, the Catholics, in other words the immense majority of the people of Ireland, were simply hewers of wood and drawers of water to their Protestant masters'."

Then, Sir, in another passage, I said:

"Before I leave this subject, I should like to say further, that the difficulty arising out of our religious differences, such as they are, is much less serious than was that which arose out of the enmity which prevailed between the French and the English in the two provinces of Canada in 1837, when Sir James Craigh wrote that 'the line of distinction between us is completely drawn; friendship, cordiality are not to be found; even common intercourse scarcely exists.'—and when Lord Durham said, in his memorable report in which he recommended the establishment of responsible Government in Canada,—'I found two nations warring in the bosom of a single state. I found a struggle not of principles but of races.' It is encouraging to note that the existence of this deep-seated and widespread animosity between the two large sections of the people was not held to be a bar to the introduction of responsible government there, but rather a strong reason for and an effective remedy against it."

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: That is not the passage I was thinking of.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Then I do not know which it is.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: May I read it to you—this is the one. This is what the Honourable Pandit said, since he has challenged me to read it, as to the solution which he said the two communities had arrived at:

"Our brethren of the Moslem League have, by their sectarian agitation at a critical period of our history, thrown back the national progress which we have been endeavouring for years to achieve. It is painful and humiliating to think that this has been so."

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Will you give me the date of it?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: 1909, Indian National Congress, Lahore.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Sir, I am thankful to the Honourable the Home Member for having unearthed that passage and placed it before the House. I also have told the House that encouragement was given by one of his predecessors in office to some of my Muhammadan countrymen to wait in deputation upon the Government of India and to ask for those very concessions, the granting of which was the subject of my complaint and the granting of which by the Government of India the Home Member now reminds me of. It was the Government of India's encouragement to some Muhammadan Members that created the trouble for us. But, notwithstanding that, we were able in 1916 to settle our differences among ourselves and I guarantee—I speak with confidence—that we shall yet again settle our differences among ourselves, Hindus, Muhammadans, Christians and Parsis.

Now, Sir, the next point to which reference was made by my friend was the question of the Army. He says "After all that you have said and done, what about the Army? So long as you are not able to defend your country, how can you have full responsible government?" I myself said in the passage to which I referred that full responsible government will be established in India when we are able to take charge of the entire administration of the army, and in order that we should be able to do so, those who wield the power just now must allow us the opportunity to train ourselves for the work. How have the Government treated us in the matter? Since 1885, when the first Indian National Congress met, we have been agitating, urging, petitioning that the Government should admit Indians to the ranks of the army. How far have the ranks been opened to us? I hear that about 12 young men are receiving training in Sandhurst—I speak subject to correction—and I hear that 70 young men are receiving training at Dehra

[Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.]

Dun. Is that the way to train an Indian army? A previous speaker on this debate referred to what Mr. Montagu said that it was unfair to twit us with not being able to defend our own country when you have not let us have the opportunity of preparing ourselves for its defence. That we are capable of doing it, that we can defend our own country, is undeniable. One Englishman, a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, writing in 1906, said on this subject that there was no question of Indians being able to defend their own country. This is what Mr. Thorburn, I.C.S., retired, in an article on "An Indian Militia for India's Defence" says:

"On this preliminary point of quality, I think the preponderance of expert opinion favours the belief that Sikhs, Pathans, Coorkhas, and after them the best classes of Hindu Jats, Rajputs, and Punjabi Musalmans, are as good fighting men as any in the world. Only a few months ago, Sir Ian Hamilton, in the scrapbook on the first part of the Russo-Japanese War, recorded: 'Every thinking soldier who has served on our recent Indian campaigns is aware that for the recruitments of such operations a good Sikh, Pathan, or Gurkha battalion is more generally serviceable than a British battalion'. In the next page he wrote: 'Why, there is material in the north of India and in Nepal sufficient and fit, under good leadership, to shake the artificial society of Europe to its foundations'".

This is about the quality of the Indian soldiers. I ask every honest Englishman to put himself the question "Have Indians been trained for the defence of their country? Have the pledges given by the Parliament and the English Sovereign to India that her sons would be admitted to all offices and all ranks irrespective of any distinction of race or creed been carried out in practice?" Would it not have been possible for us to see the spectacle of the entire Indian Army officered by Indians and able to take charge of the defence of the country? You have kept us out most unfairly from the ranks of the Army. You have jealously guarded the doors of the Army against us. You have not admitted us to several branches of the Army. You have not admitted us even as officers in the Army in the ordinary ranks. And now you turn round and say, "You want responsible government; you are not prepared for it." I ask Englishmen to be fair and to be true to themselves in answering the question and to acknowledge that they have not treated us fairly. And yet what are we prepared to do? Give India full Dominion status to-morrow and leave us to take charge of all the affairs. We shall not argue the matter with you. You fix a time and say that you want to remove all your officers and all your soldiers in the course of such time as you may think fair, and I guarantee that we shall arrange to keep up the defence of India even as it is kept up to-day at much less cost.

Mr. President: I must ask the Honourable Member to bring his remarks to a close now.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Very well, Sir.

The next point to which I will refer is why we prefer a conference to a Commission. The Commission will consist of some gentlemen who will come out from England and some who will be appointed in India. We want that we Indians should be given the opportunity of framing our own constitution to deal with the problems that you suggest are difficulties in the way of granting her self-government and to help you with our recommendations. You cannot be aware of all the difficulties of the question as we are. There is also precedent for this course. The Belgium constitution was framed by 200 delegates called to a National Congress in 1831. The South African constitution was framed by South Africans after a convention which sat for several months. The Australian constitution was

framed at a conference which sat for a long time. So also, give us the chance of framing our own constitution so that we shall be able to give you all the necessary help and really facilitate the task of Parliament. How will gentlemen coming from England for a few weeks be able to do so? What can be the objection to our offering you all the help we can? You say you will consider the proposal in a Committee. That is really trifling with the matter which is before the House. An executive inquiry is not asked for at all. Nobody has asked for it, and nobody wants it. This is a matter where policies will be considered, where the future policy of the administration of this country will be considered. That can only be decided by the British Parliament as matters stand at present and we want that a conference of representative Indians should be called for in order to place before Parliament the materials upon which such a decision should be arrived at. Lastly, I will conclude by reminding the House and the Honourable the Home Member of what was done in the case of Canada. In Canada there was a rebellion in 1837. The British Parliament sent out Lord Durham, a liberal statesman of great ability to act as Governor General and High Commissioner for determining certain important questions. The instructions given to Lord Durham were, in the first place, to assert the supremacy of Her Majesty's Government, next to vindicate the honour and dignity of law and above all to know nothing of a British, a French or a Canadian party, and to look on them all alike as Her Majesty's subjects. I ask that the Government of India should recommend to His Majesty's Government that they should send out a Lord Durham again, a broad-minded statesman, who would not think of the Hindu or the Muhammadan or the English or the Sikh in this country but who would look on them all alike as His Majesty's subjects and endeavour to do his duty by all of them—endeavour to do justice between man and man.

Mr. K. Ahmed (Rajshahi Division: Muhammadan Rural): Example is better than precept.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: I request, Sir, that the Government should reconsider its opinion and adopt the Resolution which has been put in the amended form. If this Resolution is adopted, there will be peace and goodwill in all parts of the country. If the Resolution is treated in the manner in which the Honourable the Home Member has sought to treat it, it will embitter feelings further and it will lead to no good result. A new Government has come into power; Ireland has received her freedom; Egypt has received her freedom; other nations of the world are enjoying freedom and prosperity. How long shall India be kept out of her freedom? India longs for it; India will not be content, India will not be happy, until she receives it. It is due to Englishmen, it is up to Englishmen, to help India to obtain it by friendly goodwill as fellow-subjects of one King, to whom we all owe allegiance. If this struggle is continued, if resistance is continued, it will only embitter relations between Englishmen and Indians, and, instead of Englishmen having earned the gratitude and goodwill of Indians, they will have created a feeling that, so long as it was possible for certain Englishmen in this country to do so, they obstructed the road to freedom, they stood in the way of Indians enjoying domestic self-government in their own country. What is the good of Englishmen talking of the love of liberty in every other matter and in every other concern and land when they are opposing the Resolution for the establishment of full Dominion status in this country? All the Colonies enjoy it. India

[Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.]

must enjoy it. India will enjoy it. The only question is whether Englishmen will help India to receive it early or whether they will stand in the path of her receiving it and thereby embitter relations. I hope they will take the wiser, gentler, the more humane and the more honourable course and co-operate with us wholeheartedly as honest men to establish full Dominion status in this country and to win the gratitude and goodwill of us all, their fellow-subjects.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett (Finance Member): Sir, I do not propose to follow the last speaker in the history of Alexander, of Chandragupta, of Hercules and such great names as these. I do not think that it is for the good of this debate that we should be side-tracked into an argument as to the condition, the historical condition, of India a thousand or two thousand or even a hundred years ago. What we are concerned with is a question of to-day. It is necessary, however, to make one or two remarks in regard to some of the statements that were made by the last speaker. He said that it was a very unfair thing to fix on a particular sentence and base an argument on it. He quoted figures for the increase in taxation that has been imposed in this country since the end of the war and since 1913, respectively. I think the figure was 53 crores since 1913 (*Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya*: "41 crores since the Reforms"). That is correct. He compared the position of India with the position in England. The increase—I have not got the exact figure, but it does not matter if you are £50,000,000 out—the increase in England since 1913 is something over £600 millions, or something approaching one thousand crores of rupees as compared with our position here.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: And the increase in national income?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The increase in national income in England during the war is certainly not greater in proportion than the increase in India. On the whole, during the war England suffered and her net income in terms of what that income will buy has been largely reduced, not increased. The opposite is true of India. I only quote that as an illustration. I do not want to follow the Honourable Member, but I cannot resist making one quotation from his friend, Monsieur Bernier, who, according to him, found such a happy state of affairs in India in the time of the Mughals. Bernier says:

"But of what advantage are good laws when not observed, and when there is no possibility of enforcing their observance? Have not the provincial tyrants been nominated by the same grand vizier and by the same king who alone have power to redress the people's wrongs and is it not a fact that they have no means of appointing any but tyrants to rule over the provinces? Either the vizier or the king has sold the place to the governor. And even admitting that there existed a disposition to listen to a complaint, how is a poor peasant or a ruined artisan to defray the expenses of a journey to the capital, and to seek justice at one hundred and fifty or two hundred leagues from home? He would be waylaid and murdered, as frequently happens, or sooner or later fall into the governor's hands, and be at his mercy. Should he chance to reach the royal residence, he would find the friends of his oppressor busy in distorting the truth, and misrepresenting the whole affairs to the King . . . He is in his own person the intendant of justice, the parliament, the presidial court and the assessor and receiver of the king's taxes . . . the weak and the injured are without any refuge whatever; and the only law that decides all controversies is the cane and the caprice of a governor."

(*A Voice*: "That applies to-day I suppose?") That would apply possibly if you had Swaraj to-morrow. (*A Voice*: "That is untrue.") I will not enter into an argument on that point which will be an entire waste of time and will not at all be useful for the purpose of arriving at a decision. I think that, if we try to get the debate on to a different plane and consider

even the change between five weeks or so ago and to-day, we shall see that our differences are not so enormous and are not such as we should quarrel about. Five weeks ago there was an unbridgeable gap, there was an ocean, we were not in the same world as it were. To-day, Sir, we are all Swarajists. We are all agreed as to the goal, full responsible government for India within the British Empire. We are agreed that it should be brought in as soon as possible. We are agreed, if I may judge by what was said on Friday by the Honourable Pandit Motilal Nehru and it has been repeated to-day, that it cannot be brought in at once, that Swaraj cannot be handed over tied up in a bundle to-day. We are agreed that it must be by progressive stages. We differ as to the stages. The last speaker made a very interesting suggestion. He suggested that it should be announced here and now that full responsible government is going to be introduced within 20 years.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Not 20 years from now.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Fifteen years?

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Well, it is no good arguing that. I want a declaration now.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: That a declaration should be made now that full responsible government shall be given within 10 years. Well, Sir, I am not at all sure that in fixing the number of 10 years we may not be so cautious that you would get the thing quicker by other means. He also suggested that an Englishman should be sent out as a Commissioner in the way that Lord Durham was sent out to Canada. I think we have already had Lord Durham's Commission. The Montagu-Chelmsford Commission has been here and we have His Excellency the Viceroy who has been sent out to carry through the report of the Commission. (*A Voice*: "Not to introduce new Reforms.") The introduction of self-government, which Lord Durham's appointment led to, has begun. So, we are all Swarajists to-day, but we differ as to the pace at which Swaraj is to come into force, and we differ as to the method by which it is to be considered at the present time, as to the practicability and desirability and the extent of the advances which are possible at an early date. The Government, as stated by the Honourable the Home Member on Friday, have been considering and are prepared to consider in consultation with the Local Governments the defects in the working of the Act as it stands. The difference between us is mainly as to whether we should tear up that Act, reconsider the whole structure and lose the base from which we are at present advancing. As a speaker who spoke this morning said, there has been a tremendous advance in the last three years, things have moved very quickly. If those who gave evidence before the various Committees and Commissions of 1917, 1918 and 1919 will throw their minds back, they will see the vast change that has occurred between that time and to-day. Our differences cannot be minimised, they are there, but they are not, I think, so great as to make us despair. We could almost visualise our differences by studying the difference in our costumes. We all want to cut our coat according to our cloth. Those who appear here in sober morning garb, the conventional morning dress, want to proceed safely and steadily along well marked tracks, along well built railroads and good macadam roads. They want to be protected during their journey against attacks from the hills on the Northern side of the track. They want to be protected against highway-men and bandits in the wilder regions through which they pass and they want to see that the bridges and culverts and

[Sir Basil Blackett.]

embankments along which their road lies are secure against thunderstorms during the journey. On arrival at their destination they want to have sufficient supplies and a well trained staff in order that they may settle down comfortably. And what is perhaps even more important, they want to have time during the journey to conduct properly the every day business of life. If I may vary the metaphor, they do not want to move the Government of India bodily to Raisina before the New Capital is ready for occupation. That is the attitude of most of those who are dressed in sombre morning coats. But, Sir, there are some of us here whose loins are girt and whose feet are shod for a speedier progress, and they are impatient at the slow march that is necessary for the moving of a multitude. I think they forget that there is a multitude to move. The whole army has to go along. They themselves may be fit for the advance in which they believe, but are they fit to carry the whole army with them and have they got the fleet of aerial transport that is required? I am afraid that nothing short of the fabled witch's broomstick will take them there so quickly as they desire. Their imagination takes them there. They themselves may be fit to make the journey. But have they got the means to get the rest of the army there? Sir, for the Government it is the steady and the safe course that appeals, and it appeals not because we believe any less than the most ardent Swarajists in this House in the ultimate goal. We have faith in the ultimate goal and are determined to get there, but we believe that the only possible means of getting there is by steady and regular progress. It is not unnatural that there should be many who are impatient at the slowness of the progress. Some of them, I believe, hold the view that it is necessary continually to remind the driver of their desire to go at a greater speed in order to make the car go at all. It is a natural and a human instinct. It is quite understandable, but it should be remembered that the driver also is human and that he is doing his best and that he cannot be expected to go on doing his best if all the time he is upbraided for his slowness and suspected, and indeed roundly accused to his face, of malingering. That is not the way in which to get the best out of any man. For the purpose of the Swaraj for which we are all working it is not only necessary that there should be unity between Hindu and Muslim. Understanding and mutual confidence are necessary between the Indian and the Briton.

Mr. Moir on Friday made a very relevant speech in regard to the attitude of British public opinion. I am going to venture on a subject on which Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas warned us not to tread, the subject of the trusteeship of Britain for India. Although it is very easy to talk cant on that subject, it is none the less a subject which has an immense importance and touches the Englishman in a sentimental spot. The phrase about the brightest jewel in the British Crown was quoted. Sir, it is not easy for Englishmen to give expression to their deeper emotions. But that phrase invariably for countless Englishmen and Englishwomen does arouse deep emotions. The chances of history have made them responsible or given them power of a very real kind to affect the lives of hundreds of millions of the peoples of India and with that power there came a tremendous responsibility. They have felt that responsibility and I think they are rightly proud that they have brought to India peace and order and justice and a unity which would otherwise have been hard of attainment. They feel that strongly. India has become something more than part of the British Empire to countless Englishmen and Englishwomen. It has become an inspiration and an aspiration. The aspirations

of a nation are seldom fully realised in practice. The instinct of self-preservation, even the duty of self-preservation, sometimes intervenes. It is easy enough to say that in this direction and in that England has belied her professions. It is easy enough to scoff at any claim to altruism and point to the undoubted fact that England has not been the loser by her connection with India. But I do not think that India has been the loser by her connection with England. Is England's stewardship to be condemned because it has been advantageous to both countries? It is from that point of view that Englishmen and Englishwomen are watching what is happening in India to-day. They have found themselves by the chances of history involved in a responsibility. They have become enmeshed in that responsibility and cannot get rid of it whether they wish it or not, and for more than a century, as the quotation from Lord Macaulay which Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas gave us showed, the conviction has been fully fixed in the conscience of England that her presence in India required her to govern India for the benefit of the people of India. From her experiences in India England has learned to see a vision of a world order in which the conflicting problems and antagonisms of colour and race and creed could be resolved without armed struggle under a reign of law freely accepted by all. India has become the symbol and the test of that vision: and because of that England has realised that it is not enough to govern a country for the good of the people of that country even with the consent of the governed, and she has set before herself and India the goal of full responsible self-government for the Indian peoples as a full and free partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations. The desire to reach

1 P.M. that goal has become for many people in England almost a passion—something more than a mere desire; it has become the absolute test of the position of the British Empire in the world.

But the English are a practical people none the less in spite of the sentiment to which I have been giving expression. They are a practical people and they see that there are enormous difficulties in the way. They are very conscious of those difficulties and they are all the more conscious of them because for a century they have felt this responsibility for good government within India. That responsibility makes it impossible for them to blink the difficulties, and that is why, when the Honourable the Home Member speaks on this subject, he finds it necessary to draw attention to the difficulties. I am sure that the discussions that have been going on for the last three weeks in Delhi must have brought home to many Members here the reality of those difficulties. If, as the Honourable Pandit Malaviya says, Sir Malcolm Hailey has suffered from the fact that he has been associated from day to day with the machinery of administration and if he is sobered in his vision by that fact, it must not be forgotten that those who have not been associated with the machinery of the day to day administration of a country are apt to overlook the mere weight of the problem. They do not see that to effect a big change it takes something more than good will or good words. It is a problem of administration and for that reason I rather regret that we did not have the discussion yesterday on the particular side of this question which relates to finance. I quite recognize that there were real difficulties in bringing such a piecemeal discussion on when we had the general debate in progress, but I think that debate might have been useful in elucidating some of the particular difficulties which have to be faced and in drawing attention to the fact that within the area of the ground that has been conquered by the Government of India Act of 1919 there is a large tract still to be made good before we can really

[Sir Basil Blackett.]

go on and advance to attack the next line of trenches. There is, I believe, a possibility of very considerable advance within the Act; indeed that is what the Act itself contemplates: whether by the use of particular sections such as 19A, or, as I believe is possible, by the natural growth of administrative conventions and the natural re-orientation of the Government of India towards its responsibility to a Parliament.

I was glad to note that on the whole none of the speeches that have been made hitherto have really questioned the *bona fides* of the British people in this matter. The countless Englishmen and Englishwomen of whom I have spoken are conscious of their sincerity, and while they regard it as quite natural that there should be impatience at the rate of progress—indeed they realise that impatience itself shows that the self-government in which they themselves believe is fully appreciated in India,—they are pained and surprised when they hear their country vilified, when their motives are called in question, when they find malice and hostility and obstruction from the very people with whom they were hoping to work in securing the goal in view. I welcome also the complete disclaimer of any desire to threaten. Threats may sadden but they never convince, and, I say it in all earnestness, obstruction cannot move us from our course. It is a common accusation against the Englishman that he fails completely to understand the Indian character. There is no doubt some truth in the charge. But is it not possible that the Indian sometimes fails to understand the English character? That is a difficulty, the difficulty of mutual understanding, which is at the root of many of our troubles. It is a difficulty which we have to recognize and a difficulty which we have to fight against by a plentiful spirit of good will firmly founded in that faith and hope, of which the poet speaks:

“ That faith which, in all distant parts,
Has always fired English hearts,
That colour, race and creed conceal
One universal weal.
That hope, which England dared profess,
That open-hearted trustfulness
Would knit the corners of the earth
And bring new life to birth.”

Pandit Motilal Nehru (Cities of the United Provinces: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I thank you for allowing me this opportunity to speak, as I understand that you are going to put the proposition of Dr. Gour at an early stage of the debate. I would beg your permission to deal with it after I have made a few general remarks.

Sir, when I rose to make my opening speech, I congratulated my friend, the Honourable Mr. Rangachariar, for having unconsciously admitted that he was a Swarajist. I am to-day in the happy position of being assured in unmistakable language by my friend, Sir Basil Blackett, that we are all Swarajists here. Well, that is a sign of encouragement and of hope. We find that there has been a considerable change in the view point of the Government Benches during the last five weeks and I hope and trust that, before we come to the end of this debate, there may be a still greater change in that view point and differences may be minimised. I shall not enter, Sir, into an unprofitable comparison between past administrations and the present administration. I shall content myself with uttering what is a truism, namely, that India is thoroughly discontented at this moment.

It will serve no useful purpose to lay the blame in any particular quarter and to protest innocence for some other quarter. The fact remains that discontent is there, and that this discontent is political in its nature. It may have for its foundation, for its origin, economic and other causes also, but mainly it is of a political nature. Now that being so, and it being admitted that we are all for establishing responsible government in this country, the only difference being that of degree and method, the question resolves itself into whether the stages which the Government of India Act provides and upon which the Government Benches rely are the proper stages, or those which I have submitted to this House in the shape of an amendment to the Resolution of my friend, Mr. Rangachariar. Sir, it appears that in this matter the ordinary course of things is being reversed. We find that the sober morning coat is for delay (*A Voice*: "Unreasonable delay") while the more sober if somewhat curabrous *dhoti* is all for expedition. (*A Voice*: "Unreasonable expedition.") I hope that we shall soon come to an understanding upon that point too. Now, Sir, the great point which has been made by the previous speakers and which has been referred to by Sir Basil Blackett in his speech arises out of the theory of "trust" and "trustee." I have often wondered as a lawyer as to what that may mean. Who is the author of this trust? Where is the appointment of the trustees, and who are the trustees? We find that the English people came to this country as tradesmen; they thought it would be a good thing to remain here; the climate did not then so disagree with their constitution as it seems to do now. Well, then they thought they might as well try their hand at governing the country; they did so and they succeeded. Now, Sir, I do not know by what process this can be said to have brought into existence a trust. Is it a legal trust? Is it a moral trust? What trust is it? If they say it is a trust reposed in the hands of the English people by Providence (*A Voice*: "Does Providence speak in whispers?"), if they say that the ways of Providence are inscrutable, I do not claim to pry into the secrets of Providence. I, as a human being and an ordinary mortal, can only look at the ordinary ways in which trusts are created, and I find that this extraordinary trust is foreign to all those ways. But let us for a moment take it that it is a trust. The whole question is, what is the best and the most honest manner of discharging the trust at this particular moment? The manner that I have suggested in my amendment is that the trustees should hand over the trust property to the *cestui que* trust, and that is the most honest thing in the world to do. That is the only way of terminating the trust honourable to both parties, and in a manner which cannot be taken exception to. The other methods are of course those which have been followed in other countries, and which, as my friend Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has just said, do not commend themselves to us.

Now, Sir, the next thing to consider is, what are these stages? It has been variously estimated that those stages would cover 15 to 20 years. Well, Sir, whatever may have been the estimates made previous to the war, whatever may have been the conditions then prevailing, we have it now declared by the highest authority that the whole world—and I imagine India is a part of the world—that the whole world has progressed, has made the progress of centuries within as many weeks. However that may be, we know that there has been a great change in the aspirations of India. There is, I admit, a certain amount of impatience also, but the proposition I have laid before the House is a compromise, I submit, between the two extreme views. You say that we are in the first stage, and that

[Pandit Motilal Nehru.]

the first stage has been granted to us by Parliament. I ask in all seriousness and in all earnestness, what does this first stage mean? What can we do to-day under the constitution as it stands that cannot be undone to-morrow under some act, some Executive act under the Statute itself? Is there the least little thing that can be done by this House and by the authority of this House which this House has the right to enforce if the Government is not disposed to agree to it? I submit that my study of the Act has revealed no such power in us. There is no element of real responsibility in this first stage that has been so much talked about. Autocracy, Sir, will not cease to be autocracy if it is merely clothed in the garb of parliamentary forms, and yet my study of the Act and my study of the rules and what I know of the working of the reformed constitution during the last three years convinces me that all that has been done is to invest autocracy with parliamentary forms. That, Sir, is not the thing we want. It may be that you may find some little power here and there in the rules or in the Statute with the aid of a microscope; but, Sir, that is far removed from what I take it is admitted now to be our just claim and what it is now admitted we are fully entitled to. At any rate it is very far from what my amendment asks for. That, I submit, is after the maturest consideration put forward before this House as the minimum demand that we, as the representatives of the people, can put before the Government on their behalf. Now, Sir, some time ago, I made a note which by a happy accident I happened to turn up only yesterday. That was a note taken from Baring's "Russia." It says:

"On the 30th October 1904 the Czar promised, first, the creation of a deliberative and legislative Assembly without whose consent no new laws could be passed. Secondly, full rights of citizenship, the inviolability of the person, freedom of conscience, freedom of the press, the right of organising public meetings and founding associations."

That is at page 14 of Baring's "Russia." I have not got the book but my note shows that the passage occurs in the introduction. Then we find at page 123:

"Coupled with this free grant of the right, there was a retention, a reservation, of unlimited autocratic powers in the Czar and his Government."

We all know—it is a matter of history,—what happened after this. There were indiscriminate arrests and terrorism in the land. On a representation being made, what was the reply of the Czar? He said:

"The Emperor has not withdrawn anything he has given. He has merely not done what he never said he would do, namely, voluntarily abdicating his autocratic power."

Now, Sir, I do not for a moment mean to suggest that it was the intention or that there was the remotest idea of giving us a reply like this in the minds of those who framed the present Act or of anyone who was concerned with it in any degree. But, looking at it as a business man, as a lawyer, as one accustomed to interpret language according to the meaning it can bear and not according to the pious purposes and objects which may have been in the minds of the person who used the language, I say that there is nothing to prevent the British Government or anyone on its behalf from saying that the power—the autocratic power—being there, you withdraw nothing that you have given. This power—if you do not like to call it autocratic, we will say the power of veto, the power to override, the power to undo all that we do—being there, you withdraw nothing and thus during the first stage both autocracy and reform go on working merrily together. That is the first stage of responsible Government. Even at

the last stage, I submit, if we follow this procedure, we shall, unless real responsibility is transferred to the hands of Indians, still be in the position in which we now are, and at any moment something may be done by His Excellency the Governor General or by other executive authority which will have the effect of doing away with our most valued privileges and rights, just as was the case in the matter of the application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. However, I will not go further into that question. All I need say is that the stages which are laid down in the Government of India Act or which have been contemplated by the rules are not the stages which are acceptable to the country at all. Sir Basil Blackett has referred to tracks, bridges and roads well used and well understood. May I ask Sir Basil Blackett if he can tell me whether any two nations have ever travelled along the same road for arriving at their freedom, and attaining full responsible Government? Each nation, Sir, has gone its own way and, as my friend Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya put it, we, under the compelling necessity of the case, have chalked out a way for ourselves.

Then, there is the old question of the British Parliament being the sole Judge. I dealt with it in my opening remarks, and I shall not detain the House by repetition. But in regard to the Royal Commission which is contemplated by the Act, I will only say that a Royal Commission will not be acceptable. What we want is either a round table conference or a convention or something of that sort. As I said before, there is nothing in a name. You can give it any name you like. But a Royal Commission, we know what it is. There have been Royal Commissions before, and there is one in our midst at the present moment. What are the materials which the Royal Commission would put before the sole judge, the British Parliament? It will take evidence. What will be that evidence? It will be official evidence and non-official evidence. One will cancel the other, and we shall remain where we are. We do not want it, Sir. We do not think any case has been made out, after the admission that there must be an advance, that the Royal Commission should come at a huge expenditure to explore the avenues of further advance. In fact, Sir, I think, so far as the British public and the British Parliament are concerned, my Honourable friend the Home Member and his Colleagues with a few important personages out here and in England, if they so desire, can bring about a change in the view point of Parliament, and they can, if they so desire, make Parliament see very differently to what it has been seeing so long. It is the persons who advise the Crown that count, and Commissions and Committees and conventions do not count with a House of Parliament, 7,000 miles away, but they will count with us who are personally concerned.

Now, Sir, I am afraid I cannot deal with all that has been said about my amendment by the gentlemen who have preceded me, but I will say this that the offer my amendment makes is an offer made on the square without any mental reservation. It is for the Government to say whether they would accept it or not. It affords an opportunity, I submit, to the Government to right itself with the people, and to the people to right themselves with the Government. We know that in December 1922 the very thing I am asking for the Government was willing to grant—at least His Excellency the Viceroy was willing to give it to us if certain conditions had existed or rather if certain conditions had not existed. Well, those conditions do not exist now and I ask the Government whether the demand that is now put forward on behalf of the people is less opportune

[Pandit Motilal Nehru.]

than it was in the year 1921 minus certain conditions which then existed. Now, Sir, this is an opportunity which I would beg the Government Benches to bear in mind ought not to be thrown away. Opportunities like this do not occur every day. So far as we are concerned, Sir, we can but do what we have been doing. There is nothing else in our power. We cannot make you see things as we see them except by inviting you to give us a chance of explaining things to you and of having things explained to us. As I sat down to-day in my seat, my Honourable friend Mr. Calvert reminded me of the inevitable result of Swaraj. He said it would bring anarchy, and he cited the instances of Russia, China, Italy and other countries where there has been anarchy. (A Voice: "The same was the case with Australia and Bulgaria.") There may be a dozen other countries. But what I ask in all seriousness is: Are we pursuing the same methods for our Swaraj as those other countries did, which resulted in anarchy? Are we merely asking you for a convention or a round table conference? Are we doing anything which is going to lead to anarchy or disorder of any kind? Is it not, Sir, the fact that, if there is anything in the world which is likely to restore old relations and to obliterate the sad memory of past events, it is the sort of conference which I suggest?

Then, as to the special interests. Every interest, as I have already submitted, will be fully represented. A conference is not a Parliament. It is not going to enact a law straight away which will affect British capital, or the Muhammadan interests or the interests of other minorities. Every minority will have the fullest opportunity of putting forward its case, and the Government itself will be the most important party to this conference. Those who say that they are safe in the hands of the Government and accept the guardianship of the Government for all time will have the guardians to look after their wards.

Then, as regards anarchy. There may be anarchy, if the present system of administration is continued and if our voice is not heard, or if the remedies—supposed remedies—which are now being adopted are continued to be adopted. You may talk of revolutionary crime. But what is that, Sir, except an outward symptom of the real disease. Treat the disease and not the symptom. And the only treatment, by far the best treatment, for the disease, is suggested, I submit, by my amendment. If this offer is spurned, then, as I have said, we can only depend upon ourselves. We have tried to obtain justice by means of so-called constitutional and proper ways but we have miserably failed. The one lesson that we have learnt is that we have to depend upon ourselves. Sir, we find ourselves in a position in which there is nothing for us but to follow the teachings of our faith and offer ourselves for a sacrifice to appease the wrath of the gods who have laid us low. But anarchy is not the thing for us.

Now, Sir, with your permission, I will say one word on the amendment of Dr. Gour. I find that he has now come here. The sole argument advanced by Dr. Gour against a re-election, against the new Legislature, is that you have got so many uncertain elements in the case. First of all, he asks what is there to show that a round table conference would be a success, that we would come to a unanimous conclusion or decision in that conference. Then, he says, if we do come to a unanimous conclusion, what is there to show that the electorate will accept it and, if the electorate accepts it, what is there to show that this House will accept it.

Then, finally my friend said: What is there to show that the Parliament will accept it and pass the Statute in terms of the draft.

Dr. H. S. Gour (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhamadan): Sir, I am very sorry to have to interrupt my learned friend. I never said that the Parliament will refuse it. What I did say was that if the re-elected Legislature passed the scheme and the Parliament placed it on the Statute-book, it will again involve a fresh election for the third time.

Pandit Motilal Nehru: Then the whole thing resolves itself into a personal equation. It is the trouble which my friend will have of standing for two more elections. (Laughter.) Now, I do appeal to the patriotism of Honourable Members and request them to discard the personal element altogether. We know from our personal experience that it is most troublesome to contest a general election and, if it were only possible to maintain the principle of my amendment, I would have been glad indeed, Sir, to delete clause (b) to satisfy my friend Dr. Gour and others who do not like to risk a general election again, or perhaps two general elections. But, without clause (b) of my amendment, the very reason for it disappears; the very principle upon which it is based is entirely eliminated. I say that no Swarajist can agree to delete that clause without committing a serious breach of faith with his constituency. He has been elected and offered himself to his constituency as a Swarajist, as one who was going to secure Swaraj according to the wishes of the people. My friend, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, yesterday said that the Swaraj he was looking for was the Swaraj of the poor man, the poorest man. I am in entire agreement with my friend. But are not the persons whose Swaraj we are striving for entitled to have a say in the matter? So far as we, Congressmen, are concerned, I repeat again that it will be nothing but a breach of faith on our part to arrogate to ourselves the privilege of framing a constitution for all our countrymen outside this House. Then my friends say that we are representatives of the people who have sent us here. I say, so we are. But we have come here for a definite purpose. And we must not in all honour do a thing which really amounts to trespassing upon the rights and privileges of the people. I do not think there is any public man either in this House or outside it who has ever said that the Swaraj that he wanted was any other than the Swaraj of the people. You will remember, Sir, most Honourable Members will remember, that, when asked by the Anglo-Indian press, and by other critics, times out of number, to define what he meant by Swaraj, Mr. Gandhi refused to do so. He said:

“It is not for me, it is not for anyone to say that. It is for the people to say what is the form of Government they are going to have.”

And, if I am not mistaken—I am sorry I have not got the extract here—in his Cambridge speech, I think Mr. Montagu said that all these transitional stages are meant as experiments and that the real form of Government no one can determine except the Indian people themselves, according to their genius and according to their traditions. Now, Sir, it is that form of Government which my amendment asks to be established in this country and I submit that no one is a better judge of that form than the people themselves. We cannot, therefore, arrogate to ourselves an authority which we do not possess.

[Pandit Motilal Nehru.]

And now one word, Sir, in regard to the doubts of some of my Muhammadan friends about the communal proportions there will be in the representation at the round table conference to begin with and then in the Legislature which is to be elected, and afterwards in the administration of the country. Well, I can only say that these are the very questions for which I have asked for a round table conference or a convention. Honourable Members who have such doubts will do well to read the Report of the Irish Convention. I was looking into it yesterday. I have a copy with me and I can lend it to them. They will find that in Ireland, although the nature of the differences was not the same as here, the number or the intensity of the differences was not less than we see prevailing here at this hour. And yet, while those differences existed, while there were the Ulster Unionists, the Southern Unionists, the Nationalists, and Labourites, all separated, as far apart as the poles, they all came together in the Convention. It was not once but more than a dozen times that they came to the breaking point, and it was only by the statesmanship of the British Cabinet and of the Irish patriots who were engaged in the Convention that all crises were passed over. They ended at last by arriving at certain conclusions which were afterwards adopted in a Statute of Parliament. I simply invite them to do the same,—no one will commit himself in the least to anything by agreeing to this. I invite all interests, all minorities and all individuals to come and join us in a Convention and think out our own salvation for ourselves.

Mr. K. C. Roy (Bengal: Nominated Non-Official): I move, Sir, that Dr. Gour's amendment be now put.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: The original question was:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that he be pleased to take at a very early date the necessary steps (including if necessary procuring the appointment of a Royal Commission) for revising the Government of India Act so as to secure for India full self-governing Dominion status within the British Empire and Provincial autonomy in the Provinces."

To which an amendment has been moved:

"That the following be substituted for the original Resolution:

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take steps to have the Government of India Act revised with a view to establish full responsible Government in India and for the said purpose:

- (a) to summon at an early date a representative round table conference to recommend, with due regard to the protection of the rights and interests of important minorities, the scheme of a constitution for India; and
- (b) after dissolving the Central Legislature, to place the said scheme for approval before a newly elected Indian Legislature for its approval and submit the same to the British Parliament to be embodied in a Statute.'

Further amendment moved:

"That for that amendment the following be substituted:

'That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take steps to establish full responsible Government in India and for the said purpose to summon at an early date a representative convention to prepare, with due regard to the protection of the rights and interests of important minorities, a scheme of a constitution for India, and submit the same to the British Parliament to be embodied in a Statute.'

The question I have to put is that the Amendment No. 2 (Pandit Motilal Nehrū's amendment) be amended in the sense proposed by Dr. Gour.

The motion was negatived.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Ten Minutes to Three of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Ten Minutes to Three of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao (Godavari *cum* Kistna: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, the Honourable Sir Basil Blackett in answering some of the points raised in this debate warned us not to go to the centuries behind us but to deal with the problem from the point of view of the present day. Sir, in referring to some of the points which have been raised both by the Honourable the Finance Member and the Honourable the Home Member, I shall be as brief as possible. The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett himself violated his own warning to us by referring to Bernier's Travels. Sir, it is rather dangerous to refer to some of our ancient books. I am reminded of an incident that occurred in one of our recent debates in the Madras Legislative Council. The Finance Member relied upon *Kautalya's Artha Sastra* for his financial canons. Sir, that debate really became a *Kautalya* debate, as everybody began to make references to it. I myself referred to other portions of the same book where I came across a particular paragraph which stated that any Finance Member who raised more revenues than are needed for the country should be punished by his head being cut off. (Laughter.) Well, Sir, I brought to the notice of the Finance Member in the Madras Legislative Council this particular paragraph because in Madras it was our complaint that more revenues than were needed for our requirements were raised within the last two or three years. I will therefore give this advice to my Honourable friend, never to refer to our ancient books, for, there may be much in support of his propositions, but he would find also much against his own contentions.

Sir, the Honourable Sir Basil Blackett went on to remind those of us who took part in the negotiations which culminated in the reform scheme to turn to ourselves and to examine the defects that have been revealed by the working of this Act during the last three years. Sir, both the Honourable the Home Member and the Honourable the Finance Member said that a good deal of ground has been covered during the last three years. I venture to challenge that proposition. I think that the fundamental conditions of reform with which the Reform Act was put into operation have been entirely forgotten, and, if the reforms have become a failure to-day, I would lay the blame entirely at the door of those authorities which are constitutionally known as the Home Government. Perhaps Honourable Members who are familiar with the constitutional aspect of this question and with the discussions that took place for nearly three years before this Act came into operation would remember that the first condition of reform is the devolution of power from the Home Government. Mr. Montagu was anxious to promote the conditions of reform as much as he could, took care to appoint a Committee, known as Lord Crewe's Committee, for the purpose of advising him on the steps necessary to secure

[Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao.]

this devolution from these Home authorities. Sir, the constitution and functions of the Home Government under the Government of India Act of 1858 is practically the same at the present day. The Home authorities, namely, the Secretary of State in Council, are seized of all funds and, if any authority in India, whether it is the Central Government or whether it is the Local Government or Heads of Departments or any other authorities, exercise their powers and functions under the present system, it is by way of delegation from the Home Government. The present position has been stated so recently as 1913 before the Royal Commission on Indian Finance in these words by the Permanent Under Secretary of State:

“The extent of this control is unlimited except in so far as by general or special orders it has delegated powers of sanction to Indian authorities. Large powers have been so delegated. They are collected together in various Codes, such as the Civil Service Regulations, the Indian Army Regulations, the State Railway Code and what is known as the Audit Resolution of the Government of India. Expenditure proposals that are not covered by those delegated powers have to be submitted by the Government of India to the Secretary of State in Council for his sanction and questions inevitably arise from time to time as to the exact extent and limits of those delegated powers. Every important administrative project, it may be said, involves expenditure beyond the sanctioning authority of the Government of India and has to be considered by the Secretary of State in Council in its financial as well as in its administrative bearings. Proposals in the Military, Public Works and Railway Departments in particular affect large sums of money. The Budget estimates of the Government of India and the ways and means provision of the year also raise large questions of financial policy. Thus, in one way or another, a large amount of intricate and important financial work necessarily comes from the Indian Government to the Secretary of State in Council.”

That was the position in 1913, and since the reforms I have been wondering whether this dominant position of the Home Government has in any way been reduced. I have done my best to acquaint myself with the further devolution that I thought did take place from the Home Government to the Central Government and to the Provincial Governments, and I

3 P.M. have in my hand, Sir, papers which have been kindly furnished to me by the Finance Department—papers which show the position to-day of the Central Government and the Provincial Governments in this respect. I may say at once that on a perusal of these papers I am convinced that there is absolutely no progress in this respect. I have already referred to Lord Crewe's Committee. I may perhaps draw the attention of the House to the statements made by that Committee. They have stated that the fundamental position is that a new era should be initiated in India by an understanding between the Secretary of State and the Government of India, and that the basis of devolution should be one of consultation in the place of sanction. As I have already stated, one of the financial restrictions placed on the Central Government is that appointments in all the all-India services carrying pay over and above Rs. 1,200 a month should be submitted to the Home Government for their sanction, be it an addition or an abolition. I am mentioning this as only one aspect of the case. Therefore, Sir, the Crewe Committee recommended that the first condition of success of the reforms was that these sanctioning powers, financial and administrative, of the Home Government should be considerably cut down, that they should be replaced by an understanding, that the Home Government should only be consulted by the Government of India in important matters, that the class of subjects in which such consultation should take place should be revised from time to time and that in this manner the process of devolution should be

expedited so that we may reach the final stage of full responsible government. I maintain, Sir, we are profoundly disappointed in the working of the reforms. The Secretary of State has practically done nothing in the direction in which Lord Crewe's Committee have asked him to proceed and I maintain that there has been no disposition on the part of the Secretary of State or the Secretary of State's Council to divest themselves of the powers which they now possess. I should like to ask the Honourable the Home Member whether under these conditions there is in the present Act any power of developing the Indian constitution.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Power?

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: There is the power but no disposition. The Honourable the Home Member referred in his speech to the proposals that he has made on behalf of the Government, namely, to proceed under sections 19A, 45A and 96B for the development of the constitution. I am rather surprised and amazed that he should have put forward such a proposition in this House. In a previous debate in this House, some time in July 1923, the Honourable the Home Member spoke as follows:

"Secondly, there is the process which can be achieved by the making of rules under 19A and the like. But mark the constitutional implications of these two processes. While under a convention of non-interference, the statutory control of the Secretary of State, and therefore of Parliament still remains (though it may be in abeyance); the effect of making rules under 19A differs in this, that it is a statutory divestment of control. What is the theory of our constitution, or indeed of any constitution? The theory of every constitution which is not explicitly autocratic, is that whatever some of our critics may say about us and about the character of our administration, however autocratic it may be in intention and in spirit, in point of constitutional form it has not that character, for the reason that our Executive is under the control of the British Parliament. In other words, it is under the control of a Legislature. Under what circumstances then can Parliament divest itself of that control? Obviously only in circumstances under which the Executive would come under the control of some other Legislature. Therefore, if Parliament is to be asked to divest itself of control over any particular subject, it seems to me that it can only do so when we have responsible government within the Central Government, that is, when certain subjects are transferred to the control of the Indian Legislature. We should then have a process exactly parallel to that which has been followed in Provincial Governments. There you have certain subjects transferred; that is, they are under the control of the Legislature, in so far that their administration is in the hands of Ministers who are responsible to the Legislature . . . if I may continue my point, the proper time for the Secretary of State to divest himself of statutory control over any particular subject in the Central Administration is when that subject is itself transferred to the control of the Indian Legislature. I maintain, therefore, that if we are to be correct in the maintenance of constitutional form, the Secretary of State should not divest himself of authority under section 19A until we have made that change in our constitution as a consequence of which certain subjects can be handed over to the control of the Indian Legislature; in other words until they are administered by Ministers."

Now, Sir, my Honourable friend has ransacked all the previous proceedings in which the opinions of my Honourable friends, Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Tilak and various other gentlemen, have been recorded. He even referred to some statement of my Honourable friend, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, made in 1909. I now ask my Honourable friend whether in view of the statement which he has made so late as July 1923 he still regards a process of devolution under section 19A as a process which is compatible with our wishes. Does he mean to suggest that under section 19A the Home authorities should divest themselves of their present administrative and financial functions, not to a responsible legislature, because I do not understand the Honourable Member's speech in that way, but to the Government as it is now constituted and thus make it more autocratic

[Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao.]

than before? Therefore, Sir, I am unable to understand the line which the Honourable Member has taken in this debate in view of his own previous statement.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Does the Honourable Member himself maintain that there cannot be any devolution under section 19A?

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: I am quoting the Honourable Member against himself. The Honourable the Home Member is not prepared for the process of devolution under section 19A until responsible government is established in this Legislature. I am trying my best to understand the line of action which has been proposed, that is, to institute an inquiry to explore the ground for further devolution under section 19A, or 45A or 96B. I should like to have an unequivocal statement as to what it is that this departmental Committee, which my Honourable friend proposes, should do. Is it to exploit the ground which he himself has declared in July 1923 as absolutely barren and not leading at all to responsible government but only to a more autocratic form of government in this country? I am, therefore, absolutely unable to accept the suggestions made in the concluding portion of my Honourable friend's speech.

There are two other aspects of the problem to which I should like to invite the attention of the House. During the last three years attempts have been made to induce the Government of India to undertake a policy of training Indians for Commissions in the Army. Sir, in some of the previous debates, the then Home Member said that, if he had been a non-official Member, the one consideration that he would have persistently pressed upon the Government would be an Indian army officered by Indians themselves. This was some time in March 1921. Since then, my Honourable friend, Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, tabled a number of Resolutions and with the weight of his authority, influence and experience he tried to persuade Government to undertake the Indianisation of the army on a much wider scale than had been thereto done. What was the result? My Honourable friend himself was greatly disappointed in the matter and came back to the Assembly some time in July 1923 expressing his dissatisfaction. During a recent visit to England some time in 1921 in connection with the Indian Students Committee the one request that we heard from a large number of Indian students was for training in departments dealing with national reconstruction, relating to military efficiency, the Air forces and the Navy, and one of the matters that was specifically referred to us was whether any facilities could be provided for training in any one of these subjects. Sir, we went into this matter and we found that more than 35 lakhs of rupees is being contributed from the Indian exchequer to various military institutions, naval colleges, military colleges, colleges of gunnery, artillery and various other institutions from which Indians, as Indians, have been specifically excluded under the orders of the Secretary of State or the Cabinet or the Military Authorities, whichever it is does not matter. How can you now say, if, notwithstanding the request of Indians both in England and in India, no steps have been taken for our military efficiency being promoted, that any satisfactory steps have been taken? I am quite aware that some steps have been taken, but I ask, is it right that, owing to this policy of suspicion, Indians should be excluded from the air force, from the navy, the military establishments, training and educational establishments both in England and in India?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey's suggestion that we should wait till our military efficiency is fairly established to shoulder the responsibilities of Dominion status is certainly an argument that will not appeal to anybody in this House. There seems to be a lack of understanding of the fundamental conditions of Indian advance. This has also arisen in regard to the civil services. We have heard statements made to the Royal Commission on the Indian services that the European services require guarantees from Parliament and that they are not satisfied with the word of the Indian authorities. It seems to me, Sir, that under these circumstances we must go back to the fundamentals of Indian constitutional advance which are still in doubt. Doubts have been raised by the speech made by Mr. Lloyd George, a speech with which every one in the House is familiar, and the phrase used then about the "steel frame" has become classical. After the Irish Convention what did Ireland do? I saw a statement in the papers quite recently that they confined the recruitment to their civil service to the native-born Irish. Is it wrong on our part to look forward to the day when the civil and military services of this country should be manned by our countrymen? Therefore, Sir, I think that the purpose of this debate is to secure an examination of the fundamental propositions. We think that Dominion status should be first conceded and that further steps in the direction of national training in all the departments should be undertaken, and that every aspect of this problem should be looked at from the national standpoint. In regard to the army there are many questions in which we are at present entangled and, if once the Government accept that our aim and objective is Dominion status, various questions relating to the organisation of the army would have to be settled. The army would be on the Dominion model. The commissions and the expenditure would also be on the Dominion model.

This Resolution is one which ought to be accepted in this House unanimously. I only wish to say one word in conclusion. The Honourable the Home Member said that the best of India should co-operate with the Government in regard to our work of national reconstruction leading up to Dominion status. I am sure that that appeal will not be in vain, but I submit that, on the part of those who are associated with the government of this country, there should be an equal disposition to identify themselves with the national movement in this country and to get into our skins and to feel as we feel and to take such steps as are necessary in promoting the object which we have in passing this Resolution. Until there is that disposition, we shall certainly be at cross purposes and nothing will be gained by the passing of Resolutions or the rejection of Resolutions. Finally, I should like to say a word about the political situation in England. I think this is about the best time in which this question of Indian advancement should be considered by His Majesty's Government. There are now, I feel, in the councils of the government men who have been in India, who understand the Indian national movement, who have given some thought to this subject, and I feel this is just about the most suitable time when this whole question should be tackled. I heartily associate myself with the mover of this Resolution and I hope the amendment moved by my Honourable friend Pandit Motilal Nehru will be passed without a dissentient voice.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum (North-West Frontier Province: Nominated Non-Official); I cannot make a long speech after the eloquent speeches that I have heard on the subject in this House to-day and the other day, and I will therefore confine myself to one or two points: that

[Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum.]

confront me as a Mussalman and as a resident of the North-West Frontier Province. It is in that capacity only that I want to draw the attention of the House to one or two things. This Government of India Act has now been in operation for the last three or four years but I do not think it has been given a fair trial. I see that we have got quite a good representative Assembly this time but that was not the case last time. There are, however, some people in this country who would not come to the Assembly even now. I do not know by what nomenclature they are called, non-changers or what, but there are some who would not come to this Assembly even now. From the very beginning there has been an idea in the country that the reforms given by this Act are not adequate. Unfortunately, I have not gone into the Act myself as I ought to have done; but why? Simply because the Act has not been extended to my unfortunate province. We are still out of it, Sir. As regards India, I am not an authority to say much on this subject. But I hope I will not be misunderstood when I say that it is only the extent of the reforms and the stages of the reforms that there is some difference of opinion about. As regards the goal (Swaraj) itself there is no difference of opinion that that is the goal of the country and that it has to be achieved. That goal has been recognized by the British nation and the British Parliament in one of its Statutes, and no Member of the Government in this House has denied or can dare to deny that that is the goal. It now only remains to decide how to achieve that goal, by what process, in what time and in what manner. As I have said just now, there is the Government of India Act to which, in my humble opinion, no fair trial has yet been given. It is said that it is not adequate, that it does not provide sufficiently for the attainment of that goal. But it may be tried I think just a little longer with the new Assembly and the very representative Assembly that we have got now and perhaps, later on, there will be more unity in putting forward the demand for its revision. The Honourable the Home Member pointed out certain difficulties in the way of its immediate revision. I cannot deal with many of those difficulties, but I will refer to only one and that, Sir, the one which concerns my community and myself as an individual Mussalman representing the views of the Mussalmans of the Frontier Province. That difficulty, Sir, is about communal differences. They are there; nobody can deny it, and anybody who has the pluck to deny it has only to go to the Punjab and see how they are fighting amongst themselves over those communal differences. One of the speakers this morning, one of the foremost leaders in this House, said that "it is we who make up those differences; it is we who ought to remove them". But I will only humbly ask him, what is there to prevent him from making up those differences? Why is there any delay about it? Have we not tried a thousand and one time—not myself, as I do not call myself a leader, I am referring to the speaker—has he not tried more than once to remove those differences and has he not failed or has he not himself objected to some of those pacts that have been arrived at in provinces other than his own? Has there not been an attempt to undo what has been done in some quarters? I am sorry to say that those are very clear and distinct facts. And, if the majority are in such a hurry to revise the Government of India Act simply because they do not believe in the *bona fides*, as it is called, or the honesty of the present Government, the minority may have the same doubts about their own interests and rights. If those differences can be removed before any further action is taken, I think it will satisfy the

Mussalmans and there may then possibly be a united demand for the revision of the Act. And possibly when those differences are removed, you may see, Sir, the whole of the House dressed in one simple dress and one simple cap and there will be no distinction of races or dresses, at least to any great extent. I hope no other motive will be attributed to my remarks than a wish that those differences might be removed before the revision of the Act. If such important matters can be settled within a few hours at a private meeting of the two very important parties of the majority in this House, as the modification of their propositions and their Resolutions by talking together privately, there is no reason why a meeting or two should not be held to remove those differences which are really troubling the minds of the majority of my co-religionists. I need not refer to the instances which have occurred. They are too obvious and too recent.

That is one point, Sir. The second point to which I would draw the attention of the House is particularly about my own province. I do not know, Sir, why the provisions of this Government of India Act, or some of them, have not yet been extended to my poor province. Are we not part and parcel of British India? Are we going to be left out as untouchables? Are we going to be used as a catspaw or as watchmen? They are utilising the services of my countrymen on watch and ward duties in Bombay and Calcutta. We are paid for, that but we are not paid for the watch and ward duty that we are rendering the rest of India in that corner, the north-west corner, of India. And that corner, Sir, is a very important corner. Its importance has come down from ages and ages. All the land invasions of India have been effected through that corner and it has played a very important part in the evolution or devolution or whatever you like to call it, of India. (Laughter.) It is a very important province, Sir. We have our commonsense, "our commonsense" I must call it because the Mover of this Resolution was so kind, after taking my evidence on an Inquiry Committee with which he was associated, and I was the first witness examined before that Committee, to observe that I had a very robust commonsense. I do not know what 'robust' means; I say that I have got every sense that anybody else in his country possesses. We have got a very good education of our own, not the speech-making education of the down countries, but we have got practical education in practical affairs, Sir, and when the Inquiry Committee came, we hoped that our voice was going to be heard; and will you not be surprised, Sir, to know that so far as I know, the very Mover of this Resolution who wants further reforms for himself refused the existing reforms to us? Is he not contradicting himself now by asking more of what he will not allow us under the old Act.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar (Madras City: Non-Muhammadan, Urban): I am sorry, Sir, my Honourable friend is quoting from a confidential Report, which he ought not to do.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: From what I understand of his reasons, I do not know what his reasons were, I am only guessing the thing, the report is not published, but I can refer to his own conversations with me on this subject long after he had written his report, and may I say that I am justified in quoting himself. I do not know what his reasons could be. I hope they were not communal, religious or anything of the sort; at least I will not distrust him in that respect. But what his reasons were, they could only be either some defective educational standard over there or some physical, political or other defects connected with the

[Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum.]

frontier. If his objection to reforms was about education, I will not admit that we are behind hand of many other parts of India in that respect, especially when we look to our neighbours in the Punjab, on the southern side of the Indus. There is a large portion of the Punjab as big as the Frontier Province or at least the settled districts of the Province, which is not higher at all in education. If we take education, we are much superior to them. If there were other reasons of policy, such as economy, then I do not know if he expects every corner of the Indian Empire to be self-supporting. Sir, even this House is not in all its corners self-supporting. They will themselves find the south-western part of it more expensive than the northern or the eastern part of it, and, similarly, many of the districts of the Punjab are very poor in the way of producing revenue; so I do not know where the question of economy comes in, Sir. I may point out with respect to that economy that most of the expenses are incurred for Imperial purposes, that is for all-India purposes, not for our provincial purposes, Sir, they are Imperial concerns, and I do not know why that should fall under the budget head of my poor province. If the House will compare the education allotment or some other medical or sanitary allotments in our province with similar allotments in similar districts of other provinces, it will at once understand that these are not more expensive as compared with other parts of India. I cannot understand, Sir, why there should be any hitch about the extension of those reforms; and, as long as those reforms are not extended to that corner of India or to any other corner of India out of the bounds of the reforms, such as Baluchistan or, God knows how many other corners there may be, I can not support the proposition that the present Act should be revised. There is an Urdu or Hindi proverb about it:—“*Agé dour, piche chaur*”. Are we going to be left behind while the rest of India simply gets into a fast train and runs away to Bombay or Delhi and never asks what is going to happen to its poor comrades who are left behind at the station? This is my observation, Sir, and, if we really want the speed with which to get the Act revised, we had better first attempt these two things: the removal of our communal difficulties, which as I have said before can be managed in no time if the angle of vision of the majority is changed, and the extension of that Act to my province. Before finishing, I may just point out one little thing to you, Sir, and it ought to appeal to the hearts of this House. The Afghans, our kinsmen, have started reforms. They are going very very fast in the direction of the improvement of their government and their administration in that neighbouring country. We thought that we were the better of them because we were under a benign, world-wide Government and were already in the exercise of a good many privileges appertaining to that Empire. But suppose, if within the next five or ten years they improve things so fast as to tempt us to be aggrieved and to approach the benign Government with grievances and blame and make accusations of all sorts, we will not be—what shall I say?—I hope we will not be blamed for it. We will be justified if we go to the world and say, “Here we are who have been under a Government and a world-wide Moslem Government for nearly a century and we are unable to go forward and compete with the advancement which has been achieved in a neighbouring country in a very short period.” And it is to that very point that I would draw the attention of the House. I need not prolong my remarks, but I hope that my views will find support.

Mr. V. J. Patel (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Mr. President, the last speaker made two points. His first complaint is that the Government of India Act has not been applied to his province and that the people of his province are treated as untouchables, and he wants to know the reason why. Perhaps the Honourable the Home Member will explain why his province has been treated as untouchable. So far as I am concerned, I would advise my friend to join the great non-cooperation movement and there will be an end of it. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) If he joins the national movement, I promise him that there will be no difficulty in seeing not only that the Government of India Act is applied to his province but full responsible government is conceded to his province. (Laughter.) Let him therefore join us.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: I never said anything about the Home Member. I only had a little friendly complaint against one of the leading members of the Inquiry Committee who has dissented from the rest of the members of the Committee in allowing us those reforms.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: My Honourable friend has been referring to a report which he has not read carefully. I do not know if he has got a copy of it, and if he has, I do not know how he got it, for it has not been published as yet. In any case I will advise him to read it very carefully. On the other hand I have advocated most warmly that the Pathan nation should come and join the rest of Indians and they will make us more fit for self-government than we are now. (Hear, hear.)

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: After losing our identity.

Mr. V. J. Patel: The second point that my Honourable friend made was regarding communal differences in which he deferentially followed the Home Member and he pointedly drew attention to the speech of my leader, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, if I understood him aright. He asked the Panditjee why are these communal differences not being settled although Pandit Malaviya has been trying to do for ever so long. Well, I also ask why these communal differences are not being settled. We find no very serious differences between the Hindus and the Muhammadans in the territory administered by Indian rulers. Why, I ask, do these differences arise and are not settled in British India? The question answers itself. Have responsible government, and the differences between the Hindus and the Muhammadans will be settled in no time. Let us settle these things for ourselves. It is because there are others who say 'We will settle these things for you' that the differences grow. It is our business to settle these differences. We want the right to settle these differences. We do not want the interference of other people to settle these differences, and I beg of my friend to join with us in having responsible government and he will have no difficulty whatsoever.

Now, Sir, before I come to the amendment, I would like to know from my Honourable friend the Mover of this Resolution whether he adopts the amendment or whether he sticks to his Resolution, so that I may proceed accordingly. It would facilitate discussion if we know exactly what the position of the Mover of the Resolution is. If he says that he adopts the amendment, then we might confine our criticism to the amendment itself. If my friend Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar has no objection, he will kindly tell the House whether he has any objection to adopt the amendment of my friend the Honourable Pandit.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: I may say that I am waiting to hear my Honourable friend to make up my mind. (Laughter.)

Mr. V. J. Patel: That means my friend Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar has an open mind. He has not made up his mind yet. Perhaps he has heard my friend the Pandit say that he does not want any Commission, while the Resolution asks for a Commission, if necessary. So, there is that difference, main difference, between the proposition and the amendment. Now, as regards the amendment, the main point that this House has got to determine is regarding the method proposed. We want a conference, a round table conference, and why? My Honourable friend, Sir Basil Blackett, told us that he was glad that no one questioned the *bona fides* of Government. Well, here I am to question the *bona fides* of Government. He does not know that there is a certain institution called the Indian National Congress that has been questioning the *bona fides* and the intentions of the Government for the last three years.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: May I explain that I said that no one hitherto in this House had questioned the *bona fides* of the Government.

Mr. V. J. Patel: No one in this House. Here I am to question it and it is because the people of India question the *bona fides* of the Government of India and the British Government, if I may be allowed to add, and it is because the authorities do not put themselves right with the people, that all this trouble has arisen. Why, why all this trouble? Why all these difficulties? I cannot understand. The position is absolutely clear. The intention of the British Government—the professed intention of the British Government—is expressed in the Announcement of 1917. It is to establish responsible government in India. The Indian National Congress wants the establishment of Swaraj in India. All that the British Government says is that it should be by stages. We say “No, immediate.” Why can we not sit together, discuss the matter and come to some understanding? I fail to see why all these years we have been wasting our time and energy, both Government and the people. It is because they do not trust us, it is because we do not trust them, that the difficulty arises. If we mutually trust each other, sit down together, discuss things in the right spirit, there would not be the slightest difficulty. My friend the Mover of the Resolution very rightly pointed out that the whole of the Government of India Act, particularly the Chapter relating to the division of subjects into transferred and reserved subjects, is based on mistrust. Why you regard us as fit to administer education, public works, medical department? Why could you not trust us to administer land revenue? Why could you not trust us here in the Central Government to administer the very subjects which are now being administered by my friends on the other side, the Honourable Sir Mian Muhammad Shafi, the Honourable Sir Narasimha Sarma and the Honourable Mr. Chatterjee? If they can administer these subjects, remaining responsible to an electorate 6,000 miles away, do you believe that they cannot administer these subjects remaining responsible to the electorate in India on the spot?

Mr. N. C. Kelkar (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): The electorate is the same.

Mr. V. J. Patel: I did not quite catch Mr. Kelkar. The electorate in England could not be the same as the electorate in India.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar: I mean that the electorate for the provinces and the Assembly is the same for the purposes of the Assembly.

Mr. V. J. Patel: That is true. But the point that I was making was this. When these Indian gentlemen who are now on the Executive Council could administer and be entrusted with the administration of such subjects as the Posts and Telegraphs, Excise and other departments, remaining responsible to an electorate 6,000 miles away, I fail to understand why these very gentlemen could not be trusted to administer these very subjects remaining responsible to the electorate in India? (Hear, hear.) That is distrust, nothing else but distrust. They do not trust us; Government do not trust us; and we do not trust the Government. (Hear, hear.) That is the whole thing.

Sir, four years ago, I was in England as General Secretary of the Indian National Congress and as a member of the Congress Deputation. I gave evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee, which my friend the Home Member quoted. I am afraid he has misread or misrepresented my evidence—I do not know which it is. But, before I come to that part of the evidence to which my Honourable friend has referred, allow me to read a paragraph from the speech of my friend Colonel Wedgewood which he delivered in a debate in the House of Commons. When the Government of India Bill was under discussion the Labour Party strongly opposed, strenuously opposed, the clause relating to an examination by a Commission at the end of ten years. They said we do not want this clause. We do not want to be bound or we do not want to bind any future Parliaments. Why should the Commission go at the end of 10 years? It may be that we might require to review the whole situation and grant further reforms at the end of two years. And Mr. Spoor, another Labour Member, moved an amendment to that clause. While speaking on that amendment, this is what Colonel Wedgewood said:

“This amendment itself requires only two words. The whole necessity of the amendment arises from the fact that the Labour Party may be in power in this country in four years' time.”

That was in December 1919. We are now in January 1924. He goes on:

“We wish to make our position quite clear. If that should be so, we hope we shall not regard ourselves as bound by this first sub-section. We wish to protest now that when and if we propose to send out a Commission to inquire into the working of the Act some 5 years from now that it will not be a sufficient reply to say that we have said we have already agreed to an Act which says that the Commission shall not be sent for ten years.”

My friend, Colonel Wedgewood, was silenced by the then Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montagu, by saying that all that the clause provides is that there shall be a Commission at the end of ten years. It does not mean that there cannot be a Commission before then. Well, Sir, the prophecy of Colonel Wedgewood has come to be true. The Labour Government is now in power. (Mr. N. M. Dumasia: “They are in office, not in power.”) My friend, Mr. Dumasia, corrects me by saying that they are not in power but in office. He is quite right. They have now ample opportunity to put their professions into practice if they want to. If they want to show their *bona fides*, here is the time. And, if the Government of India want to show their *bona fides* to the people of India, if they at all mean well by the people of India,

[Mr. V. J. Patel.]

I believe this is the most opportune time for doing so. Let them stand by the people of India. The non-co-operators have come into this Assembly. The atmosphere has changed. The Labour Party has come into office and, if the Government do not at this most opportune juncture come to the help of the people and stand by the people of India, then there can be no other inference but this that they do not mean well by the people of India. My suspicion about their *bona fides* will be confirmed. Well, Sir, as I said, I was in England four years ago. The Parliamentary Labour Party, which was not in power or office at that time but which was in a minority took up the attitude which the Indian National Congress had taken up. In the Joint Parliamentary Committee their representative, Mr. Spoor, moved several amendments on the lines of the Resolution of the Indian National Congress passed at Delhi. All those amendments were based on the demands made by the Indian National Congress. What did the Indian National Congress want in 1918? They wanted full provincial autonomy. They wanted full control in the Central Government except in respect of the army, navy and foreign affairs. They wanted the abolition of the Council of State. (A Voice: "Council of the Secretary of State and not the Council of State.") Yes, the Council of the Secretary of State. But there was also an amendment moved by Colonel Wedgewood that the Council of State should be abolished. (Laughter.) Full provincial autonomy, full control of the Central Government, except in respect of the army, navy and foreign affairs, the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State, and fiscal autonomy, and last but not least the inclusion in the Statute of the Declaration of Rights. These in short were the demands made by the Indian National Congress, which was held at Delhi, and on those demands, as embodied in the Congress Resolutions, the amendments were drafted and moved, not only before the Joint Parliamentary Committee by Mr. Spoor, but in the open House by both Mr. Spoor and Colonel Wedgewood on behalf of the Labour Party—not in their individual capacity—I want to make that perfectly clear because Mr. Ben Spoor was a representative selected by the Labour Party to be on the Joint Parliamentary Committee. There is another matter which I should like to make clear, and it is this. Although the Congress at Delhi resolved that the two subjects may not be included in the list of subjects in which responsibility is transferred in the Central Government, namely, the Army, Navy and foreign affairs, still the position the Congress had taken up was this. It was in the application of the principle of self determination that the Congress resolved that the people wanted that much then and that at the end of a certain period automatically the other two subjects should be transferred to their representatives. That was the stand we took up. Not that we had ever accepted the cautious and qualifying phrases of the announcement of August 1917. No. All that the Congress had accepted at Calcutta, at Bombay and at Delhi in December 1917 and September and December 1918 respectively, all that the Congress had accepted was the policy underlying that announcement, namely the establishment of responsible government in India. We have protested and protested very strongly against the imposition of any stages and we have protested and protested very strongly against the suggestion that the measure and time of each advance was to be determined by the Parliament or the British Government. The announcement was made in 1917 and two or three months after, the Congress met in Calcutta and we there considered the announcement and we said: "Well, it was all right, let us accept the policy of it, namely the establishment of responsible government

in India." But, so far as those cautious and qualifying phrases were concerned, we always thought that they were merely a commentary on the main portion of the announcement, because the Secretary of State said:

"I may add that the advance in this direction shall be gradual and that the measure and the time of each advance shall be decided by the British Parliament."

We regarded this addition as the commentary of the Secretary of State, and at the time that we met at the Calcutta Congress, we passed a Resolution. In this Resolution we clearly set out what the substantial steps towards the realisation of responsible government should be, and we made it clear that we were not prepared to accept any defined stages and that the time limit should be laid down in the Statute itself for the realisation of responsible government.

That Resolution reads:

"This Congress strongly urges the necessity for the immediate enactment of a Parliamentary Statute providing for the establishment of responsible government, etc., and this Congress expresses its grateful satisfaction, for the pronouncement made by His Majesty's Secretary of State for India on behalf of the Imperial Government that its object is the establishment of responsible government in India."

And who moved that Resolution? The Honourable Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea. And it was supported by my friend on the left, Mr. Jinnah. And what did Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea say in moving it? He said:

"I have no hesitation in saying that this proclamation is a memorable triumph of the Congress and it adds one to the series of such triumphs and you have rightly embodied it in the Resolution. But there is a rift in the lute. It is said that the measure of self-government and the time for its introduction are to be determined by the Government of India and the British democracy. We, the people who are most vitally concerned in the matter, concerned far more closely than either the British Government or the Government of India, we claim the right to have a voice in the matter. And here we take our stand on the dictum of the Prime Minister himself. He said in the course of one of his recent speeches that, when after the war, the question of resettlement was to be considered—mark the words—the wishes of the people are to be the supreme consideration. I am grateful to him for this admission and the Congress should be grateful for it. But he also added that the formula is not to be fettered by considerations of latitude and longitude and that it is equally applicable to the tropical climates. We therefore take our stand upon this dictum and press for the recognition of this formula in the coming readjustment of the Government of India."

This conclusively proves that, so far as the Indian National Congress is concerned, it has never accepted the position that the British Government and the Government of India were to be the judges of the time and measure of each advance and, when we met at Delhi, we adopted a Resolution demanding self-determination for India. The Resolution reads:

"In view of the pronouncement of President Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George and other British statesmen that to ensure the future peace of the world the principle of self-determination should be applied to all progressive nations, be it resolved that this Congress claims the recognition of India by the British Parliament and by the Peace Congress as one of the progressive nations to whom the principle of self-determination should be applied."

Such was the position of the Congress after the announcement by His Majesty's Government, and yet we are told that we have accepted the stages. Nothing of the kind. Before the Joint Committee, I gave evidence and I brought these Resolutions to the notice of Lord Selbourne and his colleagues and, if I may be allowed to refer to the relevant part of my

[Mr. V. J. Patel.]

evidence, I will invite the attention of the House to what exactly I stated before the Joint Committee:

"The Congress holds that the people of India are ripe and fit for responsible government now. That is the position of the Congress. But the question naturally arises, if the people are fit, why do not we ask for it? Why do we not ask for full responsible government at once? It is true we have not asked for full responsible government, and my reasons are these. The announcement regarding His Majesty's policy in British India was made on the 29th August 1917. After that announcement was made we met in the Indian National Congress which was held at Calcutta and we considered the announcement in all its aspects. We considered it very carefully. The announcement, as Your Lordship knows very well, pledges His Majesty's Government to a policy of responsible government and it pledges His Majesty's Government to take substantial steps in that direction without delay. In this connection I may state that, in making that announcement, the Secretary of State explained that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages and that the British Government and the Government of India should be the judges of the time and measure of each advance. We considered the announcement in the cautious explanatory phrase from the Secretary of State in making that announcement. The Indian National Congress does not regard those phrases as a part of His Majesty's announcement."

That was, Sir, the position of the Indian National Congress before the Joint Committee and that is its position now.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: For 15 years?

Mr. V. J. Patel: Yes. The Indian National Congress at Delhi did pass a Resolution asking for the transfer of all subjects excepting the two mentioned by me and further stating that these two subjects should also automatically go to the representatives of the people without any examination, without any Commission at the end of a definite period and in pursuance of that Resolution I stated clearly and emphatically before the Joint Committee that in the exercise of our right of self-determination we say, "We want this. It is not for you to say 'You shall take this and be satisfied'. We say 'We want this' and yours is to give." That is the position we took up. In 1917 also we pressed for a time limit to be included in the Statute, but all that with a view to save time, as I said before the Joint Committee, which might otherwise be lost in controversy. We wanted to save time and come to some understanding as we always have been willing to come to some understanding, and therefore we pointed out to the Joint Committee that we were willing, if the following things were granted to us immediately, namely, full provincial autonomy, full fiscal autonomy, abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State, declaration of rights, and responsibility in all subjects in the Central Government excepting in the army, the navy, and foreign affairs,—we were perfectly willing to leave the two subjects to the Executive Government controlled by Parliament for a definite period at the end of which I said they should automatically come to the representatives of the people. That was our position. It is not that we recognised the stages. It is not that we recognised that the British Government and the Government of India were to be the judges of the time and measure of each advance. Nothing of the kind. It was in the exercise of our right of self-determination that we said "All right, we shall be satisfied with this. Let us have so much". Great stress has been laid by my friend the Honourable the Home Member on the question of defence. Yes, there is that question. Some of my friends do feel nervous about it. Speaking for myself and speaking as representing the Congress, I say here that we have fully considered the question and we find no difficulty whatsoever. Let us have immediate self-government. Let us have immediate responsible government. What is there in the army? Who controls the army at present? Does my friend who sits opposite to me . . .

Mr. D. V. Belvi: And who pays for it?

Mr. V. J. Patel: Does my friend the Honourable Sir Narasimha Sarma take no part in the deliberation of the Cabinet which controls the Indian army at present? Does not the Honourable Sir Muhammad Shafi take any part? Does not my friend the Honourable Mr. Chatterjee take any part? It is the civilians forming the Cabinet that control the Indian army. No one else. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is one of the Members of that Cabinet. But after all, the general policy is being dictated by the whole Cabinet and that Cabinet, instead of being responsible to the Parliament, we say, should be responsible to the people of India. That is the only difference. Where is the difficulty in having popular control over the army in India? I do not see any. There is no doubt that you require some time to have your own personnel in the army—for the army to be manned and officered by Indians themselves. There is no doubt about it. But in the transitional stage, we might take the control and instead of one Military College, we shall have half a dozen Colleges. We shall immediately send out a large number of our young and eligible men to all parts of the world to different Military Colleges. We shall invite foreign military experts from any part of the world to teach our young men in our colleges. I am absolutely certain that, if the control is left to us, then it will only be a question of two or three years to have the whole army to be manned and officered by Indians. There is not the slightest difficulty about it. It is only a question of control and nothing else. And I do not anticipate, as my friend the Honourable the Home Member anticipates, some trouble from the Afghans as soon as self-government is given to us. These are bogeys—Afghan invasion, Russian invasion and things of that kind. Supposing, however, that in the transition period some such thing does happen, supposing that while we are engaged as we are bound to be engaged—in fact that will be our first act in the new Parliament as soon as we get responsibility—in looking after the Indianisation of the Army, some such thing does happen; then the existing army is there. It is under our control. What is the difficulty?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Are the British troops there also?

Mr. V. J. Patel: I do not for the moment believe that the British officers and the British troops are going to leave India as soon as we assume the control of the army.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: You want them to stay?

Mr. V. J. Patel: Certainly. But those who are opposed to the legitimate aspirations of the people of India and to their political freedom are not wanted. Let them go away. They are quite welcome to leave us and join the army of unemployed in England. There is no difficulty about that. But I do not think my friend the Honourable the Home Member has any idea of the military honour of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and those gallant British officers who are leading the Indian army today if he believes that as soon as we control them, as soon as the people who pay control the army, they would leave the shores of India. But, I say it is a question of time. Mind you, don't forget this. We in the Indian National Congress have not yet passed a Resolution for complete independence. Rightly or wrongly, our leaders have successfully opposed the idea. If India is going to remain a part of the British Empire, is it suggested that during this transitional period of two or three years, other parts of the

[Mr. V. J. Patel.]

Empire will not come to our assistance if such a mishap does occur? What is it that is contended? I cannot understand it. Why, during the war, when England was in trouble, did not India shed her blood? Did not India come out handsomely with her men, money and materials and every other possible thing? And is she not entitled to expect that, if she is in trouble, Britain and other parts of the Empire would come to her assistance during the transition period? We have got the army. We have got the fighting races in India. We have got the material. Everything is ready. What is the difficulty? I do not know why some of my friends are still talking a little nervously when they come to the question of defence. Let it not be understood that we are fighting for Swaraj by stages. Nothing of the kind. I am perfectly clear in my own mind of what I want and what the Indian National Congress wants. We want complete responsible government all at once. There is no doubt about it. Let us not mince matters.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: And you want the army here?

Mr. V. J. Patel: Certainly, we want the army.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I know it is wrong to interrupt you, but it will help us in a subsequent discussion if we get the point clear. May I ask you if you still stand by the statement you made in Bombay:

“Within a year, happen what may, we are going to uproot the British administration and substitute for it government of India by Indians themselves for Indians.”

Mr. V. J. Patel: That is not my statement. I do not know whence the Honourable the Home Member gets hold of these things. I deny that I have ever made such a statement. I have always maintained that we want full responsible government as an integral part of the British Empire. We want to uproot the present system of government and substitute instead our own. If the British Empire does not want us, well, it is their concern. If you do not want us, say so plainly “We do not want you.” Let us understand each other.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Did I invent that statement, Sir? Or did the “Bombay Chronicle” . . .

Mr. President: I must ask the Honourable Member to bring his speech to a close.

Mr. V. J. Patel: You have got a Department that invents such statements. I will conclude my speech in five minutes if you will permit me. Let us understand the position clearly. The Government of India, as I understand from the speech of the Honourable the Home Member, is not in a mood to take up a wholesale revision of the Government of India Act. All that they say is, “Well, we promise to examine into the defects of the working of the existing Act, and if we find any defects we shall try to take remedial measures either administrative, or if necessary, legislative.” That is the position of the Government of India. They are clearly of opinion, rightly or wrongly, that the time has not come for a second stage in the development of India. (*Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar:* “Are they?”) They have stated so in so many words that the time has not come for a second stage yet. They want to examine into the working of the existing Act to see if there are any defects in that Act. In order to prepare us for the second stage, they want to touch up the Government of India Act if necessary here and there. If there are any difficulties in the working of the

first stage, they are perfectly prepared to meet you, but they are clearly of opinion, if I understand them aright, that the time has not come for the introduction of the second stage as the Honourable the Home Member has very clearly put it. Our position is equally clear and emphatic. We do not want a second stage. We do not want stages. We want a complete overhauling of the Government of India Act so as to establish responsible government all at once. That is our position and we want a conference. A conference for what purpose? My friend who preceded me just now said that this was a representative Council. At the same time he said that some people have not yet come into this Council. How could this Assembly be representative if some people have chosen to keep themselves aloof? A large number of people—let me tell you for the information of this Assembly,—a large number of people have refused to take part in this Assembly. They still hold that the Reforms are a sham, that these Councils are a sham, as I do hold that they are. And if they have not yet chosen to reconcile themselves with these Councils, how could you call them to be really representative? It is for that reason that we want a conference. I cannot think of a conference without Mahatma Gandhi, without the Ali Brothers, without Lala Lajpat Rai, without Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, without Hakim Ajmal Khan, and Dr. Ansari and other friends of mine. There can be no representative conference without the presence of these gentlemen, and they are not here. According to your rules and regulations, they cannot stand for the Councils even if they wish. That is the position. Therefore, it is in order to give an opportunity to Government to take counsel with these real representatives of the people and reconcile the Indian National Congress that my Honourable friend, Pandit Motilal Nehru has moved this amendment for a conference. That is why we want a conference. We are not giving any threat to Government, nor are we afraid of any threat from Government. We know what we are going to do. We are absolutely clear. We are out here to tell you, "Here are our terms. Do you accept our co-operation on these terms? We are perfectly willing to co-operate with you. If you are not—I believe you are not going to—if you are not going to co-operate with us on those terms, then our course is clear. The whole world knows what our attitude is going to be". Let it be construed as a threat—some people might say, that we are giving a threat to Government, if we talk of offering obstruction and thereby wrecking the Reforms. Are the Reforms worth anything, I ask? Take them away by all means if you choose to. As I told you, it is only after three years working of the so-called Reforms that my Honourable friends, Diwan Bahadurs Rangachariar and Ramachandra Rao on my right have found out that they are defective, unsatisfactory and inadequate and that they have failed. The Indian National Congress three years ago decided so and here we are after three years to join hands with my Honourable friend, Mr. Rangachariar and his friends to see that these Reforms are either mended, or if they are not mended, that they are ended. We do not want these Reforms. What is the use of these Reforms when you can, under them and in spite of them, imprison forty thousand of our countrymen?

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney (Nominated: Anglo-Indians): Sir, I have listened very attentively to the various speeches that have been made to-day. It struck me that in this demand for immediate dominion or responsible government and its resulting disagreement we occupy a position somewhat similar to that between a doctor and a refractory and self-willed convalescing patient, the patient being the opposition party and the doctor being the Government Benches. The doctor is as anxious for the patient

[Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney.]

to get well as the patient is himself, the difference between the two being the care and the line of treatment necessary and to be pursued. The patient says, "I want to get up at once and run and so I want and must have solid food now and at once". The doctor chides him and says, "You must start with milk diet first before you will be allowed solids. You must first of all learn to crawl, then walk before you can run. If you do not listen to me you will endanger your health and possibly kill yourself, so be patient". The patient says, "I am not satisfied with and I don't agree with this dietary and treatment, I therefore want to consult another doctor". Under the terms of my Honourable friend, Mr. Rangachariar's Resolution the consultant he wants is a Royal Commission whilst my Honourable friend, Pandit Motilal Nehru, whose amendment seems the most favoured one, says, "We do not want as our consultant a Royal Commission because as a physician he knows nothing about our disease, its symptoms and treatment. We have no trust or confidence in such a consultant. What we want and will have is a committee or a round table conference of our own wise and experienced countrymen each member a specialist in our disease *Swaraj* who will examine our symptoms and prescribe for us as 'we' want him to do. Otherwise we shall treat ourselves unmindful of all your advice, help or the dangers to our lives". I would call my Honourable friend, Mr. Rangachariar's Resolution, for want of a better term, the "*ek-dum*" i.e., "at-once" or "one-breath" *Swaraj* Resolution, and I would call Pandit Motilal Nehru's amendment the *dum-dum* or "many-breaths" *Swaraj* Resolution. In entering this discussion I do so with the desire to represent before this House as also the British Parliament the views and interests of the minority communities in India in general and of my own community the domiciled community in particular. The Honourable the Home Member, when he so ably replied to the original Resolution, stated in very clear and unequivocal terms that one of the four most important questions which the opposition party in this Assembly had to answer before asking the British Parliament to scrap or alter the provisions of the 1919 Government of India Act or to give them Dominion Government was the adequate protection and the safeguarding of the rights and interests of the minority communities. Let me now speak for my own community, the domiciled community, which forms a very important minority community in India. Quantitatively, it numbers but a quarter of a million, possibly a mere speck in the teeming millions of this country, but qualitatively it is one of the most important communities in India. It works the wheels, many of the delicate wheels of the machinery of the Government clock. It occupies positions, though mainly subordinate, in the various Government offices, of great importance. It still makes the various Railways to a large and important extent. And what is more? It constitutes two-thirds of the Auxiliary Force of to-day. It is, therefore, obvious that my community's interests must be adequately and for "*all time*" permanently protected and which I regret to say does not obtain to-day. I stand here in this House to-day as a *Swarajist*. (Hear hear.) I am afraid your "hear, hears" are a little premature and I must qualify my admission or call it conversion. I stand here—as my Honourable friend, Sir Basil Blackett, said, as a *Swarajist* in the generic sense of the term. I yield to no one in this Honourable House in my desire to see India march onward on well considered lines and in a constitutional manner step by step on a well laid road and all together to that *Swaraj* to which we are

all looking forward and by "we" I mean all well-wishers of India including the Government of India and the British Parliament.

Swaraj is a term that has never been accurately defined and to do so Non-co-operators have taken refuge in cloudy metaphysics and have interpreted it to suit the multanimous views and interests of the various sects who constitute this party in India. Some consider the term Swaraj to imply a *Nirvana*, where all communities Hindus, Muhammadans, Anglo-Indians, etc., will live peacefully together like the proverbial lion and the lamb in absolute peace and together without any conflict. That Swaraj neither you nor I nor our great-great grand-children will ever see except in our dreams because India with its heterogenous masses, its multanimity of castes and creeds which split it up into classes and communities divergent one from the other as are the two Poles cannot possibly get that Swaraj which my friend, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya wants and promises to give India if it is given Dominion Government. He says: 'give us Dominion Self-Government and we will at once settle all our differences including the Hindu Mussalman feuds which exist to-day and which are only due to Self-Government being denied to India.' It reads well, Sir, but that *Nirvana* will not come to India in your life time, our life time, in fact it is absolutely impossible. (*A Voice*: "You are mistaken.") Although mine is a Government nomination I stand before this Honourable House and on this momentous occasion to speak as the elected representative of my community which views its future with the very gravest apprehension from a minority communal point of view, were the Government of India to accede to this Resolution. Notwithstanding the position that we now occupy and the not too generous treatment that we have received at the hands of Government after the working of the Reforms Scheme for the past 3 years—I say in spite of this and not on account of this that we do feel and appreciate this security of our position in this country with the British Government, still in control—the devolution of powers to India not entirely complete and the steel framework of the I. C. S. still upright. It is for this reason I urge that the Reforms should not be accelerated by any term of years other than that laid down in the Government of India Act of 1919. What is the position of my community as well as other minority communities in India to-day as a result of the Reforms and what has been one of the chief results of the Reforms? Such an Indianisation of the services as to be detrimental to (*A Voice*: "Has it?") thousands of my community who before the introduction of the Reforms occupied secured positions in India and who to-day are left destitute on the streets of all the big cities actually begging for food and who though ready and willing to be employed even at Indian wages are denied employment, and are not only swelling the ranks of the unemployed but filling the Jails and many of these are men and women who gave their services to the army at their King and country's call. (*A Voice*: "Whose fault is it?") I would like to know whose fault it is. If this is the position my community occupies under the British Government, who is responsible, according to the Reforms Scheme, for our protection? Is it any small wonder that I am apprehensive of the position we shall occupy under a government which refuses to recognise minorities? We, with you, want Swaraj in India, but we want it with our future permanently adequately safeguarded. Give me the assurance that the interests and the future of the domiciled community will be adequately and permanently safeguarded and I am with you, as far as your demand for Self-Government goes, even though I must differ in

[Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney.]

the length of the transitional period for I have already suffered enough owing to this too rapid progress of Indianisation and which has placed my community in a most extraordinarily disadvantageous position. Let me explain it to you, and how and why I am so singularly apprehensive of this too rapid Indianisation and what it means and will ultimately mean to my community. I am of this country, which is my motherland and, so long as I wear the clothes of an Englishman, and claim England as my fatherland, so long as his language is my language, his customs, manners and mode of living, mine, so long, will the Indian regard me as a European for occupational purposes and desire me rid of this country as he does the Englishman. This is our disadvantageous position in the daily changing India, and it is for this reason I appeal to the minority communities to take the advice of our doctor,—the Home Member, and oppose this Resolution and amendment. I see my friend, Dr. Gour sitting there and in his usual way sneering in disagreement, but he is a Swarajist now. I admit that in the Government of India Act of 1919 there are many defects which you justly claim should be remedied. Undoubtedly, its financial provisions were badly thought out and were based on calculations which have been grossly falsified. Another—that the Secretary of State for India has in the past interfered too frequently with the Government of India in matters where the man on the spot is the better judge. Further the authors of the Reforms Scheme thought that under the mellowing influence of democracy Hindus and Muhammadans would like the proverbial lion and lamb lie down together and settle their differences easily and amicably. This has proved not to be so; but with all these defects the Act has certainly given India the opportunity to prepare for the next step. A few years ago when the British Parliament assented with unexampled unanimity to the Reforms Scheme who would have thought that within three years there would appear in this House a majority party who would treat with derision the opportunity which has been given them to prepare for ultimate Self-Government, a party the leaders of which who, though men of intellectual attainment, have up till now eschewed the Council Chambers to wreck the Reforms at its very inception. These very men have now decided to enter this House and openly threaten the Government and the British Parliament that unless their demands are acceded to in their entirety and at once—here and now, their policy will be one of open and hostile obstruction to paralyse the Government by refusing the demands for grants and kill the "evil thing" as Pandit Motilal Nehru calls the Reformed constitution. This is what we are witnessing in this House to-day and these are the very men who, while vilifying Government, and desiring that all Europeans should be turned out of the Services, and not only expect but demand that the army of that same Government should protect them whilst they complete their programme. They ask for complete Dominion status to be given at once. How can they have complete Dominion status without an army of their own? They don't want the Army or the Navy just now, because they realise and admit their inability and inefficiency to control it. How can they think that the British bayonets and machine guns will prop them up during the interval, and while preparing to turn every Britisher out of the country. Do they really believe that the British soldier or the British Parliament would or could consent to any such scheme of employment? It would not be worth the bones of even a single cockney soldier. Is it compatible with commonsense? My friend, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in his speech just said that there were two methods

in which to attain Swaraj. One is the method by peaceful negotiation and the other is by recourse to arms. I shall deal with this subtle threat later on. There are Members in this House who say that the present Government of India Act does not please them. It is not enough, the pace is much too slow. It must be scrapped and a new Act substituted. While making these demands they offer no suggestions other than that they have got a mandate from the country. I fail to see what legitimate claim they can have to such a mandate, for their electorates number but a few thousands out of a population of over 300 millions, mainly the Indian agriculturist. Go into the country and the villages and ask the Indian cultivator what he thinks and wants. He is the man who forms the masses and whom you think you are representing. He is quite happy and contented with the British Raj and to him Swaraj conveys nothing. The question we have to decide to-day is a very momentous one. We have the present Government of India Act which has been accepted by four successive Prime Ministers. The present British Government is one, which, I think, I am correct in saying, is more pro-Indian than has been any other. It is watching India to-day with a vigilant eye. So is the entire British public and if we are to obtain any concessions, it will be from that Government and that people. Do you think that by calling the Government of India Act an "evil thing" and by threatening a policy of obstruction saying "If you do not grant my demands I will obstruct you and oppose every grant you ask for and so paralyse the Government"—I ask you, as sensible and reasonable people, do you think that the British Government are going to listen to such puerile nonsense. Does this show the political mentality required of those who want to govern this country? Rather it savours of the political mentality of the nursery. This is not the political mentality one expects from men who say they are ready for and demand Dominion Status at once. Remember the British Government is anxiously awaiting the result of to-day's debate and by your decisions you will either make or break their faith in you. In my opinion you are running at a break-neck pace and are riding for a fall. It would be interesting to speculate what the fate of this country would be if Government to-day acquiesced in giving you complete provincial autonomy in the provinces and Dominion Status. What would happen? (*Dr. H. S. Gour*: "We would take it".) Yes, I have no doubt *Dr. Gour* would occupy one of the Benches there. But what "would" happen, I ask you? There would not be that much talked of harmony between Hindus and Muhammadans, which my friend, *Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya*, promises there would be the moment Dominion Status is given to India. I am afraid a fortnight would see the end of that "happy" regime, and the next fortnight would be spent in funeral obsequies. The members of that Government would end their short lived careers by taking very long leave on urgent private affairs. We are not ready for complete Dominion self-government. There is too much dissension in India. There are too many conflicting problems to face in our own country. Remedy these; remedy that very important problem of the depressed classes which faces you as one of your most serious social problems. Obtain and rectify a "pucca" Hindu-Muslim Pact and so show the British Government that you have effectually settled your own internecine conflicts and then demand a further step on the road to Swaraj. But meanwhile here are people who have in the past not taken any part in the Government, who have remained outside wrecking it, but who now come into this House, and capture those sane Members who were our co-operators before, and turning round and

Pandit Shamlal Nehru (Meerut Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Colonel Gidney says that we have taken the place of the old sane Members. Does he mean that we are insane?

Lient-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Political insanity is a different thing. To come into this House and now declare that they are fit for complete self-government is to me an astounding proposition. We are certainly not fit for complete self-government, and the sooner we realize that the quickest way of getting it is by actively co-operating and working with goodwill with the Government, the sooner will we attain what you and I want, Swaraj. I ask this Honourable House to consider its decision in this matter very carefully. Sir, I oppose the Resolution. I oppose the amendment and I readily accept the offer of Government to look into the defects of the Government of India Act of 1919; to consult all the Provincial Governments who will in turn consult their best men, to consult public opinion and, before presenting it to the British Parliament, to give this House, as also all Provincial Councils, an opportunity of a free discussion. What difference is there between this offer, and a round table conference? To accommodate a round table conference representative of all the communities in this country you would have to build a special room for that table. For these reasons, Sir, I oppose this Resolution as a citizen of this country; I oppose it on behalf of minority communities, and I oppose it particularly on behalf of my own community, the domiciled community.

An Honourable Member: I have been standing up about six times but have not

Mr. President: Order, order. Each Honourable Member has only to look round when he himself rises to see the reason why he is not called to speak at once. **Mr. Chaman Lal.**

Mr. Chaman Lal (West Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): I am very thankful to you, Sir, for allowing me this opportunity of stating my views before the House upon the Resolution moved by Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar and the amendment to it moved by the Honourable Pandit Motilal Nehru. I must confess at the outset that neither the Home Member nor the Honourable the Finance Member have met the case as it has been put by us, the Swarajists in this Chamber. The case is a simple one and it is this. We, in India, representing as we do the people, we do represent the millions of India, the workers and peasants and the middle classes, claim that the time has come when the British Government should give complete Dominion status to India. It is said that we people have no mandate behind us. May I ask the Honourable the Home Member whether he or his Government have got a mandate behind them? They have the mandate, I dare say, Sir, of machine guns and howitzers and Lewis guns and aeroplanes. But we—we have the mandate of the people, the suffering people, behind us, and it is because of them and it is because it has been repeatedly expressed, not in one Congress, but during the last seven Congresses that the people of India are fit for Dominion status, that we demand that status for our country. Sir, there is no doubt that India to-day is in a state of revolution. My Honourable friend over there talks about anarchy being the result of the grant of Dominion status, but I assure him that anarchy is in existence in India to-day, and the anarchists are those who are responsible for the gradual, the continuing and unceasing impoverishment of this country. Sir, you have heard speeches which have

depicted before you the political condition of India. The Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has stated in very clear and strident tones that India, the real India has no part or lot in the administration of this country. He has told you that a great portion of our revenue is consumed in military expenditure. He has told you that we have no hand in the military machine of this country. But, Sir, I want to direct the attention of this House to the millions in the villages about whom Colonel Gidney spoke a little while ago. Their lot it has been said is a trust of the British Government in this country. But, Sir, the facts are that if British rule is a mere administration, I think it is a failure: if it is, a Government, it has no sanction behind it: if it is a trust—I say it deliberately and sincerely—it is a fraudulent trust. Sir, allow me to draw the Honourable the Finance Member's attention to the actual facts of the situation. What is the average annual income of an Indian to-day? It has been computed by Lord Curzon that the average annual income of an Indian is barely three annas a day. It has been computed recently by Mr. Findlay Shirras that the average annual income of an Indian is somewhere nearer five annas a day. But, Sir, there are other competent authorities who have computed this annual income to be no more than one anna a day. Consider a country living on that income.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Which income?

Mr. Chaman Lal: The average annual *per capita* income.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Which, one anna or five?

Mr. Chaman Lal: One anna. I would refer him to a book which I think ought to be in the Library, a book called "Prosperous British India" by Mr. William Digby. In that book—it is a classic—in that book he states that gradually, during the course of the last century, India has been impoverished

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: How does she manage to feed more than double the population on the same production?

Mr. Chaman Lal: I have put down a question; the Honourable Member will have an opportunity of replying to it as to what the average annual agricultural and non-agricultural income of India is; if he gives me the correct figures and divides those figures by 247 million, he will find that the *per capita* rate is no more than one anna per day.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Does the Honourable Member really think that that is a correct figure?

Mr. Chaman Lal: That is a correct figure, and I shall not be prepared to withdraw my statement,—a statement which is corroborated by facts which I can place before him whenever he chooses. But, Sir, apart from that, what do we find in India? Is it not a fact that the gradual impoverishment of India is leading to constant and unceasing famines? (*Voices:* "No, no.") It is stated—if he will examine the point, he will also find—that from the 11th to the 18th century there were 15 famines in India, all local, 3 famines which were all general, and that in the hundred years which were covered by the 19th century there were 31 famines in India, all general, and it has been computed that nearly 30 million lives were lost through

[Mr. Chaman Lal.]

starvation during the last half of the 19th century. Is not that a fact worth considering? Is not this fact clear from what the Honourable Member who has just left the Chamber was saying concerning the peasants being swayed by Swarajists,—that what they need is bread but that what they get is speeches of the nature that we have been hearing in this House? Sir, I can assure you, if you will look into the industrial facts of the situation, you will find in Bombay it has been reckoned by competent authorities, not non-official but official authorities, that the average wage of a working class family is barely Rs. 52 per month. Imagine, any working class family being brought up in Bombay on Rs. 52 per month. Imagine, Sir, their lot, imagine the lot of their wives, their mothers, their children. Is there any country in the world where such horrible conditions prevail under which millions of our countrymen are living to-day? I challenge the Honourable Member to point out a single example of a single country in the world where the conditions are so horrible as they are in India. What is the result, Sir? It is said that 35,000 human beings sleep on the pavements in the city of Bombay. It is said by other competent authorities that 97 per cent. of the working class families in Bombay are living in one-room tenements in that city. If you look at the facts of other countries, Belgium, Germany, America, the average is four to five. Does that connote prosperity? Does that connote that British rule in India has been a rule under which people are living happy, heavenly, lives? Or does not that connote an utter bankruptcy both in statesmanship and in finance? Personally, I think, Sir, there can be no doubt about it, that the time has come when you should listen not merely to arguments but see the facts of the situation,—see the poverty, see the misery, see the starvation which you see all around you. Three Generals, Poverty, Hunger and Disease,—are taking their toll year in and year out. They are more dreadful, more powerful, Generals than any General Dyer that came to this country, and it is because we want to put an end to this state of affairs that I appeal to Honourable Members opposite to yield to the modest, the very moderate demand that has been put forward by Pandit Motilal Nehru. Sir, it is said that upon the walls of ancient Egyptian tombs of Egyptian kings there is inscribed the fable of a Monarch who, grown very feeble and weak, wanted to rejuvenate himself, and his elixir of life, it is described, was the blood of his slaughtered people, and it is stated that their crime was their disloyalty. Many were slaughtered to restore the failing powers of the king, and, when the people had been slaughtered, their blood had been shed, the king presently was bored with too prolonged an existence upon earth and he therefore mounted the Celestial Cow and rose to heaven and eternity. Sir, the blood of the Indian people has been shed, they have been slaughtered in their millions by hunger and disease, and it is time, Sir, that we offered you, in the shape of the round table conference, the Celestial Cow for you to mount to heaven and eternity. Sir, I appeal to Honourable Members opposite to remember that there are seven graves in the city of Delhi—they are the graves of vanished Empires. There is another grave, ready made, gaping wide, the eighth grave. Let that grave be the grave of this system. And across its ruins let us stretch out our hands—we, the common people of India and the common people of Great Britain, in friendship and fellowship bearing our message of the brotherhood of man and peace among the nations.

Maulvi Abul Kasem (Bengal: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, it is with some diffidence that I rise to take part in this debate at this late hour. I feel diffident because I was unfortunately not present at the earlier stages of this debate, and I feel diffident because I am afraid what I have to say will not be palatable to the Members of this House. From what I have heard, Sir, I find that my distinguished and esteemed friend, Mr. Rangachariar, in his Resolution suggests the appointment of a Royal Commission to examine the Government of India Act and its working, and that the amendment of the *de facto* leader of the House, Pandit Motilal Nehru, suggests a round-table conference. But from the speech of another veteran leader, Mr. Patel, I understand that he wants immediate responsible government, and granted without a moment's delay. I cannot understand what a Royal Commission or a round-table conference is expected to do, if that is the absolute demand and it has to make no other suggestions or if no other considerations are to be accepted. But that is beside of the mark. The Resolution is of very great importance, and it covers a vast variety of questions which I neither have the ability nor the time to discuss. I will confine myself to only one aspect of the question which appeals to me, I mean to say the position of the minorities. I know it, Sir, that the minority to which I belong has expressed its opinion, so far as opinions are expressed, in favour of the majority. I do not claim, Sir, that here in this House or elsewhere I represent the opinion of anybody else but my own. I do not claim it. I feel that it ought to have been wiser and safer for me to be a silent listener than a speaker, but at the same time I feel that I will be shirking a responsibility if I do not undertake the present duty as I have now done. Sir, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in the great eloquent speech of his has said that communal differences have to be settled and were settled by ourselves sitting at a round table conference. I admit that, Sir, and I say that we and we alone can settle our differences—nobody else can. But I would take the Pandit back eight years and remind him of the anxious hours which he and I had to pass at Lucknow to bring about a settlement. Is it not a fact that there were moments when everything was going to break up, and is it not a fact, Sir, that he and I had to get out of the pandal in order that a settlement could be arrived at? But that is another question. It was, Sir, on the motion of Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea (*A Voice*: "Two extremes".) But, Sir, I find here to-day only seven of those old men who sat at Lucknow at the round table—Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Jinnah, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Chowdhry Alimuzzaman, Mr. Muhammad Yakub and myself. But I submit, Sir, that there can be no possible settlement unless there is a change in the point of view. We have talked of a change in the angle of vision of the bureaucracy, and we ought to have some change in the angle of vision of our countrymen.

We have heard a good deal about Hindu-Mussalman unity. It was placarded all over the country, it was shouted from the house
 5 P.M. tops that there was unanimity. I admit that there was unanimity on certain points brought about for certain reasons. But there has been no change of heart, not the feeling of trust and confidence between the one and the other. I will give you some facts which are better than arguments. There was a riot at Saharanpur, a Hindu-Muhammadan riot. Unfortunately for my community, the Collector of Saharanpur during the period of riot happened to be a Mussalman and some people, Hindus and Muhammadans, from various

[Maulvi Abul Kasem.]

parts of the country went over to Saharanpur; and one of the men who went there was no less a personage than Swami Shraddhanand, the great apostle of non-co-operation, one of the foremost leaders in the country, a gentleman whom the Muhammadans, at any rate of Delhi, did the honour of putting in the pulpit of the Juma Masjid of Delhi; what does he do? He wires to the Government of the United Provinces, and I believe to the Government of India, to send a European Magistrate to try the cases between the Hindus and Muhammadans. He will have no confidence in the Muhammadan Collector of Saharanpur, and this at a time when the Lee Commission was about to sit for the examination of witnesses. A gentleman of the position of Swami Shraddhanand must have known that his telegram would be used by the European bureaucracy as a trump card against the Indianisation of the services. The reason for the step was that he could not tolerate a Muhammadan to sit in judgment between Hindus and Muhammadans when there was a feud between them. That is exactly what happened at Saharanpur. I will give you the other side of the picture. A gentleman, a Hindu gentleman, is Collector of Barisal. There was a small dispute about a mosque in Barisal. The Muhammadans sent a telegram to the Government of Bengal to send a European Magistrate to replace Mr. Roy. I can assure the House that Mr. Roy, so far as his impartiality and fairness is concerned, so far as his prejudices are concerned, is as much a Hindu as I am, but the fact is that the Muhammadans of Barisal said that they had no faith in him. If this state of things continues, can you say and expect that any minority, however strong or important it may be, however intelligent it may be, will not hesitate to trust its fate and its destiny to a majority? Sir, I want to remind the House that the position of a community in a country depends upon its population, upon its education, upon its wealth and upon the share it has in the administration of the country. I say, Sir, numerically we are very weak and we are proverbially poor. I admit—and I admit with shame—that educationally we are very inferior, and, if I may say so, we have very little share in the administration of the country. Therefore, Sir, as long as we cannot come forward and share equally, at least according to the proportion of our population, if we are not able to stand by ourselves and hold our own, I for myself would feel nervous to take part in any measure which will place me in the hands of the majority. Sir, unequal combinations are always disastrous for the weaker party and, as long as I am the weaker party, I will not venture to place myself at the mercy of the stronger. I am one of those, Sir, who have suffered the tyranny of the majority over the minority. I am speaking here not of the religious minority, but of the political minority. We have told the people that bureaucracy does not grant freedom of speech and liberty of action and we found it to our cost that our own countrymen, if they are in power and in majority, will deny liberty of speech and liberty of action. If the bureaucracy has time and often charged us with bad motives, our countrymen have done the same. I can remind my Honourable friend Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya that a man with a brilliant record and unblemished record of patriotism, even he was not allowed to address his own countrymen without sufferance. Mr. Jinnah also was not allowed to do so; he was shouted down.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Where was I not allowed?

Maulvi Abul Kasem: At Nagpur.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: My Honourable friend is mistaken. I was lying ill with fever there. I could not attend the Congress. When I attended the Subjects Committee, they listened to me with as much kindness as they heard anybody else.

Maulvi Abul Kasem: I am glad. But I was told this by Lala Harkishan Lal. At any rate Mr. Jinnah was not allowed. These are things which I say cannot be cured. But these are facts and these are circumstances which raise a doubt and suspicion in my mind and I feel nervous, and this nervousness has to be removed. Reference was made, Sir, by the Honourable the Home Member to the much-talked-of Bengal Pact. I do not know who authorised either the Muhammadans or Hindus to sign the compact, but a compact was signed at the house of Mr. C. R. Das between certain Muhammadan Members and Hindu Members of the Bengal Legislative Council. My view of the situation is that Mr. Das, in his anxiety to secure Muhammadan adherence to his party in the Bengal Legislative Council, offered terms which were favourable and if I may say so, I speak without any pretension to my judgment being sound—but I believe those terms were generous and favourable and alluring and tempting for the Muhammadans to come and join hands with him. That was the reason, but whatever it was this Pact was there. It had no sanction behind it. There was nobody to enforce it, and it was only a scrap of paper, if I may be allowed to call it so, but still it so much upset my Hindu countrymen of Bengal and elsewhere that a man who is as much a Hindu, as I am, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, had to address a meeting and say that it was a preposterous thing. He denounced it as also did every Hindu gentleman in Bengal. Meetings were held all over the country and even meetings called to support the Pact were not allowed to proceed peacefully.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt (Burdwan Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Not in your own district of Burdwan.

Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal (Calcutta: Non-Muhammadan Urban): On a point of order, Sir, I opposed it openly, and it is on record, not as a Hindu, but as a nationalist, and I shall oppose every such Pact as a nationalist till I am on the other side of the grave.

Maulvi Abul Kasem: I am glad of this interruption, because Babu Bipin Chandra Pal says he opposed it not as a Hindu but as a nationalist. It has been my painful experience, Sir, to find that, whenever any justice is attempted to be done to Muhammadans, or whenever any appointment is to be given to a Muhammadan, or whenever any place is to be secured for him, opposition is raised by the members of the Hindu community and they always say that they oppose it not because a particular man is a Muhammadan or that they are Hindus, but they do it on national grounds and as nationalists. That is their stock argument, and reason, Sir.

While I oppose the Resolution as it stands and the amendment of our distinguished friend Pandit Motilal Nehru, I must say that I feel equally and as strongly as Pandit Malaviya over the situation under which we exist. The sufferings we have undergone and the miseries my countrymen have to undergo have been very considerable and I think that there is no justification at the present moment for the bureaucracy to carry on as they have been doing. Our unpopularity in the country is to a large extent due to the fact that our advice to the Government has been neglected on many occasions, and I believe repeatedly neglected. They have done it

[Maulvi Abul Kasem.]

because they found it expedient and thought that we were wrong. But whatever may be the case, the situation is grave and the only way to mend it is that the Government should take steps to remove this unrest, not by political concessions but by removing those grievances, indignities and injuries from which the people are suffering. In conclusion, I have to show to my friends who hold an opposite view that Swaraj or liberty or responsible government, by whatever name you may call it, can never be given. It is to be secured and the only way to secure it is not by going up to the British House of Parliament and asking for an amendment of the Act or by a Royal Commission or a round table conference, but by bringing about unanimity of feeling, tolerance for other people's opinions and for the minorities and for that preparation that is necessary for our people and our public men to take up the responsibility, and for the people of this country to realise that responsibility and to discharge it to the best advantage of the country. I feel, therefore, Sir, although I oppose the Resolution and the amendment, that I agree with every item of the grievances that have been mentioned. The only difference between Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and myself is that I do not believe that the methods he has proposed for the removal of these grievances are the real methods. If there is a change in the angle of vision of the members of the community to which he belongs, and if your countrymen—I will not say your co-religionists in this country—lend a helping hand to the Muhammadans, if they educate them and make them fit, give them the encouragement and stand shoulder to shoulder with them and then march on, there will be no difficulty. I may remind you, Sir, of a memorable speech of a memorable orator which was delivered at Lucknow. She said that neither God will, nor man can, give you self-government unless you are fit for it, and God will not, and man cannot, withhold from you self-government when you are prepared and fit for it.

Mr. T. C. Goswami (Calcutta Suburbs: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Mr. President, may I most respectfully submit a remark to the Honourable Member who has just spoken. I shall submit it to him most respectfully, because he is a neighbour of mine in the Burdwan Division, and because I have grown up in the belief—a belief which I still cherish—that Mr. Abul Kasem is a great nationalist. I will submit most respectfully that he should coolly and at leisure think over and consider whether the speech which he has just delivered is likely to make the problem which I take it we are honestly striving to solve, any easier. I will not say anything more about it.

A reference has been made to the Bengal Pact. I noticed, when I was in Calcutta, that most of the people who opposed the Pact from public platforms were men who were notoriously actuated by personal jealousy of the great position of Mr. C. R. Das or were defeated candidates at the Bengal elections. That is a fact. I say, most of them and not, of course, all of them. But a very large number of these persons are personal or political enemies of Mr. C. R. Das or defeated candidates at the Bengal elections. I challenge anyone to dispute that statement. I myself was not a signatory to that Pact. (*A Voice*: "But how do you explain the Punjab attitude about it?") I am thinking of Bengal. I am not a signatory to the Bengal Pact. But I was present at the discussions, and I was present at the time when the Pact was signed. I say I am not a signatory to the Pact. But now I am prepared to stand by the Pact, because

it was concluded at the instance of a man, Mr. C. R. Das, who honestly tried to bring about a settlement of Hindu-Mussalman differences in Bengal. There is another thing I wish to tell you. I have travelled in the interior and rural parts of Bengal. There we do not hear of Hindu-Mussalman differences. And even if they do exist, they are very little. (A Voice: "They are a great deal.") It must be admitted that these differences, which exist mainly in the towns, are the creation of unscrupulous politicians, both Hindu or Muhammadan, aided by the Government of this country. That is however a matter which I should like to leave at that.

If we are to take Colonel Gidney at his word, I must say that his "Swaraj" is a joke or a bluff or a hoax or a fraud. According to the Honourable and Gallant Member, "Swaraj" is that remote Nirvana, which it is the privilege of all—officials and non-officials; Europeans, Indians and Anglo-Indians; Hindus, Moslems and Christians—to meditate upon. According to him, it is a *name* that is calculated to suit the fancies of all classes. That is the Swaraj to which he invites us. I say that is a hoax and a bluff. He tried to interpret the Honourable Finance Member's statement that he too was a "Swarajist" in the same light. I do not know if Sir Basil Blackett accepts that interpretation; but if he is a Swarajist of the same kind as Colonel Gidney, I am afraid his Swaraj is also a hoax and a bluff. I am sorry Sir Basil Blackett is not here, but I am tempted to refer to his poetic speech just for a minute. But I will not refer to his mixed metaphors. I wonder if it did not strike him as somewhat anomalous that, while he would have nothing to do with what ancient Megasthenes said about India, he would swear by the mediæval Bernier. He referred to his sane "morning coat" and all it stands for. I will just tell him that we have tried the morning coat in India and given it up. I feel some embarrassment in continuing on the lines of his metaphor. But I will just tell him this, that we have now taken refuge in our own Oriental gabardine.

I wish to refer also to the speech of Mr. Moir from Madras,—the speech with which the debate was temporarily closed on Friday. I am sure, we have derived great comfort from the assurance that the British people are interested in India. I say we are greatly comforted to hear of the sudden awakening of this unnatural interest of the British people in Indian affairs. We have been told very emphatically that not merely the British Parliament (which is not in the last resort the master of our destiny), but the British people (who are our masters) were anxiously watching events in India. This must be subsequent to the time when I knew England and the English people,—and that was not long ago. He spoke as if he was a representative of the British people. I would have accepted his statement if he had contested an election in England, if he had been returned to Parliament and then lectured to us in the manner in which he did. As it is, he represents neither the English people nor the Indian people, whereas, when anyone of us speaks, we can at least claim that we represent the Indian people.

There was a time, Sir, when, owing to my utter inexperience, I used to describe this august Assembly as a Parliament of Delhi. That was before I could look forward to coming here at an early date. But now that I find myself here and I find the Swarajists here, the idea seems to me so utterly absurd that I wonder how I ever cherished it at all. And now, Sir, I have become so respectful to the traditions of this House, that,

[Mr. T. C. Goswami.]

the other day, before sending in notice of a question, I went to one of the veteran Parliamentarians—one of those who had the benefit of training under you, Sir—and asked him if that question was admissible. He answered me in this way—"So far as asking the Government was concerned, there was no objection to asking the moon to be brought down". I expect Government have taken up the attitude that in proposing this amendment—we are not exactly asking Government to bring down the moon—but we expect the Government to go a great deal beyond what they are able to do under the Government of India Act. After the two speeches of Pandit Motilal Nehru, I need hardly say that the amendment was drafted with great care and as the result of anxious deliberation. "There comes a time in the history of nations"—I will not quote, but I will merely refer to the Preamble of the Declaration of American Independence. There has come the time when the people of India, or at any rate the representatives of the people of India, mean to meet the representatives of the people of England and to come to an agreement; and we demand that the Government of India should help us to bring about this agreement. We make this demand of the Government of India, in the belief, firstly, that the secret of the great success of the British people in Imperial and foreign politics has been their inborn instinct of compromise, and, secondly, that it is to the interest of those who run the administration not to allow their Imperialism to be reckless, not to invite the forces of disorder and destruction by being heedless to those who seek a peaceful adjustment of interests. And, knowing its past, I have a suspicion, that, in this matter, Government will stoop to conquer. I do not know if in his wide and long experience the Honourable the Home Member has found that, if he scratched a moderate, he found an extremist. I hope in his long and wide experience he has not found that, if he scratched a Swarajist, he found a moderate.

Surely the Government of India Act is no bar—it ought certainly not to be a bar—to the settlement of differences between two great peoples. The issue and the interests at stake are, I venture to submit, more vital than even an Act of the British Parliament. If history has any lessons to teach, one of the lessons it does teach is that law, or a law, must know its limitations. Law, representing political and social phenomena which are constantly changing, cannot be absolute, and it has been claimed by our leaders that there is no finality in the case of the Government of India Act either. The social and political conditions being infinitely and continually variable, law is a vague and fugitive notion lying in the zone of the uncertain facts of life. "Everything", says Pascal, "changes in time; just as fashion creates grace, it creates justice".

Sir Malcolm Hailey, this morning, said that he had not pleaded for vested interests. But he referred to the Ruling Princes, and quite rightly. And that, I submit, is one of the most formidable vested interests that we have to contend against. But even more formidable than the Ruling Princes is the system itself, under which the present Government of India is constituted. That is the largest and most formidable vested interest, and I submit that the solution of our problem must necessarily mean the dissolution of that system. As for the Ruling Princes, I do not desire to minimise the fact that the question of the Indian States is a very difficult and delicate one. It is difficult and delicate from every point of view. International lawyers have given up the task of defining the posi-

tion of the Indian Princes. Fact and fiction, reality and theory, in regard to them, are hopelessly in contradiction. I am not here to cry down the Indian States. I will not even attempt to solve the problem. I am prepared to regard them as picturesque mediæval relics. As Pandit Motilal Nehru has said, if they wish to come into our federation, they are thrice welcome; if not, they are free, at least for the present, to maintain their present relations with the Imperial Power. And that statement, coming as it does from Pandit Motilal Nehru, is conclusive, so far as the Swaraj party is concerned. The question of the Ruling Princes leads us to think that in many of the India States educational facilities, the percentage of literacy, material conditions, put to shame the corresponding things in British India. That is a fact. Another fact is that the Indian States have sometimes been administered by Indians as capable as the greatest statesmen of the world. It is for the Ruling Princes themselves to choose. It is up to them to assume a leading rôle in the national movements, and not to hide behind the screen of false prestige. By their willing surrender in favour of a united India and their active championship of the Indian cause, they will justify their high place—by serving the common Motherland with all their resources and power and by making a final settlement easier of attainment. History will enshrine the memory of all the good their ancestors have done. It will recall the pomp and pageant of their seclusion, the feudal castle and the feudal court. Ungrateful posterity cannot be so ungrateful as to forget either the heroic deeds of past ages or the present sacrifices of the existing generation of Ruling Princes. But the highest tribute which history could pay to the memories of the present Rulers would be to record that not through fear but for duty they made the great sacrifice.

Then, a question has been raised as to whether India, considering her present conditions, is fit for those methods of government which have been tried in Europe,—whether India does not require to go through a long period of probation in Western institutions. We must very carefully note one fact in studying the so-called democratic system of government in the West and in the Dominions with a view to Indian adaptation;—and that is, that all these constitutions came into existence within a period of rather less than 150 years, beginning with the American constitution, which is the model of modern democate governments and, in many ways, a martyr to democracy. England alone furnishes an exception, but only an *apparent* exception. For, the changes which were wrought in the working of the English institutions during the 18th and 19th centuries were so tremendous and so much in obedience to an almost new theory of government, that old names remain more as relics of a past, of which Englishmen may naturally be proud, than as evidence of *gradual* evolution. I think it is a safe assertion that there is nothing inherently “Western” in this experiment of representative government, which has been on its trial for the last one hundred years or so. It has often been claimed that the Western civilisations derive their distinctive, inimitable character from their Greco-Roman origins. I shall not deal with that now. It is a very doubtful historical proposition, which overlooks certain very big and very obvious historical facts. So far as the machinery of representative government is concerned, I daresay we shall have to borrow from Western institutions even in the new constitution which we contemplate. But I shall submit again that there is nothing inherently Western in the experiment in representative institutions, an experiment which, as I have just pointed out, has been on its trial only for the last 100 years or so.

[Mr. T. C. Goswami.]

Reference has been made to the diversities and communal strifes. I have already said something about them. But I cannot help referring to them again to say that, in my opinion, these diversities which we have in India offer splendid opportunities for a new democratic experiment. In framing the new constitution, we must strive to give an Indian interpretation of democracy, and I feel that, if we put our heads together, and frame a constitution, we will find that the diversities that there exist in India are not such great obstacles and that, in fact, they offer splendid opportunities for a new kind of democratic experiment.

We have had a declaration of the policy of the Swaraj party from its leader, Pandit Motilal Nehru. We have been accused of a desire to wreck and obstruct. We Swarajists have not come here for mere heckling obstruction. When Burke said in 1771: "Posterity will bless the pertinacity of that day," he was referring to heckling obstruction which this great champion of constitutional methods and embodiment of English conservatism had indulged in in calling for 23 divisions in the course of one sitting of the House of Commons. When we say: "Posterity will bless the obstinacy of the Swarajists" we mean that a grim determination alone will enable accredited representatives of the people to do anything in and through this Assembly. I am sure Government have gauged the situation—a Government against which the most untenable charge would be inefficiency. If we Swarajists fail, we are prepared to leave Imperial Delhi, to shake the dust off our feet and go back divesting ourselves of the amenities of office and the adornment of M.L.A.

There is an advantage, I think, in going beyond the Government of India Act—to the British people, our external earthly providence according to the Act. Sir, may I, in this connection, address you a few personal remarks? If I have understood the report of the Joint Committee aright, you were charged with the duty not merely of presiding in this House, but of teaching representative government to the people of India. Now, Sir, when your task is done, when your term of office expires, I would ask you, if I may, to be the bearer of a message from the people of India to your people. I would ask you to persuade your countrymen to believe that Indians and Englishmen must necessarily view Indian problems from different standpoints—in fact, from opposite poles; that our points of view—mind you, not our conclusions—can never coincide. It is only when we realise that our points of view can never coincide, that there is any chance, in the field of objective experience and practical politics, for us to walk hand in hand. There is another thing which I would like to tell the people of Great Britain. Before the War and during the War it was Germany's rôle (and monopoly) to talk about "bigness"—"*Deutschland über alles*", etc. After the War, I noticed, and noticed with pain and regret, in England well-known statesmen, both on the floor of the House of Commons and outside, paraphrasing in English *Deutschland über alles*. And that was done notably—well, I shall not mention names—when some of the most responsible statesmen of Great Britain were gloating over reprisals in Ireland, in the House of Commons. I hope this was a temporary phase. As a loyal and devoted, if not a very successful, student of your literature and of the history of your race, I am reminded of a passage which is the most patriotic in your literature,—of which Coleridge once said, that, if that passage was recited to an audience, no one in that audience, however mean, would go back without his

heart being filled with patriotism. I refer to the famous passage in Richard II:—

" This royal throne of Kings,
This sceptred isle
This earth of majesty, this demi-Paradise.....", etc.

I would like you to note the climax of that passage—

" This precious stone set in the silver sea,
This little England."

I should like you, Sir, to remind your countrymen at the time when we meet in friendly consultation to settle our differences, that the greatest Englishman did not mistake bigness for greatness.

Sir, I have just one thing more to say. I have not made quotations from speeches of "responsible statesmen." Other speakers who preceded me have done so. It does not affect our position whether Mr. Montagu—our friend as he is, and one to whom we certainly owe thanks,—did or did not say something. As for testimonials for India, many have been quoted, and I daresay our moderate friends have made a complete collection of such testimonials. But I submit again that they do not affect our position. Our determination is firm; our purpose, God willing, shall know no defeat. And we look forward to a new birth of freedom, with confidence in ourselves and with faith in the destiny of our people.

(Several Honourable Members then rose and moved that the question be now put.)

Mr. President: I am quite prepared to leave the decision to the House, but in order to protect the interests of one important amendment the debate will have to proceed a little further.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: If it is the desire of the House, I will endeavour to find a date for the continuation of this debate. I notice that a very considerable number of Members still rise when opportunity occurs. I should of course like to reserve my own right of reply if it is decided to take the vote this afternoon.

Mr. President: In view of what has fallen from the Honourable the Home Member, I think we had better adjourn now because, as Members are aware, the moving of Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal's amendment and the reply to it, and the final replies at the end of the debate must necessarily occupy a considerable time. Therefore I propose to adjourn now.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: May we not sit for another two hours and finish the debate?

(Cries of "No, no" and "Yes, yes.")

Mr. President: I cannot say on what future date it will be set down.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I think there will be time either on Monday or Wednesday next.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Do I understand the Leader of the House undertakes to give us either Monday or Wednesday next?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I think I can undertake to give you Monday; failing that, Wednesday. But certainly I will endeavour to give one or the other of the two days. I hope to be able to give Monday.

Pandit Motilal Nehru: Is there any difficulty in continuing it to-morrow?

Mr. President: It cannot be taken to-morrow as that is a day allotted for non-official Resolutions for which a ballot has already been held, and we cannot override the results of the ballot.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, the 14th February, 1924.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Thursday, 14th February, 1924.

CORRIGENDA.

In Legislative Assembly Debates, Volume IV, No. 11, page 539, lines and 21, from the top, for the figures "10" read "x".

Mr. Arthur Herbert Ley, C.I.E., M.L.A. (Secretary, Department of Industries and Labour).

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

THE SHORANUR NILAMBUR AND THE TELECHERRY NANJANGUD RAILWAYS.

306. *Mr. Mahmood Schamnad Sahib Bahadur: (a) Will the Government be pleased to state whether the proposed Shoranur Nilambur Railway Line and the Tellichery Nanjangud line have been sanctioned?

(b) If so, when their construction will be taken in hand?

(c) If not, whether the Government propose to sanction them at an early date?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) The reply is in the negative.

(b) and (c). Sanction to the construction of the Shoranur Nilambur Railway is awaiting receipt of detailed estimates of construction and settlement of terms on which the line is to be worked by the South Indian Railway Company. It cannot be said definitely when construction will be started. The Nanjangud Tellicherry Railway is in the survey stage. It is not yet possible to say whether and, if so, when its construction will be taken in hand.

THE SHIMOGA BHETKAL RAILWAY.

307. *Mr. Mahmood Schamnad Sahib Bahadur: Will the Government be pleased to state what progress has been made in connection with the proposed Shimoga Bhetkal Railway line?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The prospects of the scheme are not hopeful.

ALIENATION OF LAND AT BARRACKPORE TO THE ROYAL CALCUTTA TURF CLUB.

308. *Mr. T. C. Goswami: (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether some lands have recently been alienated by the Government of India in the Barrackpore Cantonment to the Royal Calcutta Turf Club?

- (b) If so, will Government further state:
- (i) the total area of the lands so alienated;
 - (ii) whether the land was sold by private arrangement, and if so, why;
 - (iii) whether the lands were at all offered to the public for sale;
 - (iv) the amount of consideration money actually received by Government for the lands alienated;
 - (v) whether any steps had been taken to ascertain what the value of land, if offered for public sale, would probably be in that locality;
 - (vi) whether the conditions of the sale authorised the Turf Club to demolish a temple, standing on the land at the time of the sale, having been erected, with the permission of the Cantonment authorities, in memory of a gallant regiment;
 - (vii) whether the Cantonment Magistrate and the police helped the Club to demolish a portion of the temple;
 - (viii) whether Government are aware of the deep resentment felt by the Hindus against the demolition of the temple;
 - (ix) whether Government have taken, or propose to take, any steps in the matter?

Mr. A. H. Ley: (a) Yes.

- (b) (i) Approximately 305 acres:
- (ii) The land was sold by private arrangement because the Royal Calcutta Turf Club were prepared to pay the full market value and were at the same time prepared to agree to conditions reserving certain privileges to the military authorities. Moreover it had been ascertained that the Government of Bengal and certain other possible purchasers did not desire to make an offer.
 - (iii) No.
 - (iv) The land was sold for Rs. 8,10,570 payable in instalments with interest on balances outstanding.
 - (v) Yes. A valuation was obtained from the Local Government.
 - (vi) No.
 - (vii) No.
 - (viii) The Government of India have ascertained that no temple was demolished and that no intention of demolishing a temple was ever formed. The facts of the incident which the Honourable Member evidently has in mind were stated in reply to a question recently asked in the Bengal Legislative Council. I can furnish the Honourable Member with the full text of the question and answer if he has not already seen it.
 - (ix) No. On the information which Government have received, no action is required.

ALLOWANCES OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL, ETC.

309. ***Mr. T. C. Goswami:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) What allowances, in addition to his salary, the Governor General received (i) during the past year, (ii) in the year 1913-14?

- (b) What is the total amount spent by the State (i) during the past year, (ii) in the year 1913-14, on the personal and household staff, including personal Secretaries, Aides-de-Camp, servants, their allowances and outfit, in Delhi and Simla?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: With the Honourable Member's permission, I will circulate the figures.

EXPENDITURE ON GOVERNOR GENERAL'S TOURS, ETC.

310. ***Mr. T. C. Goswami:** (a) What is the total amount spent by the State on the Governor General's tours (i) during the past year, (ii) in the year 1913-14?

(b) What amounts were spent by the State in repairing, fitting-out and furnishing various houses for the residence of the Governor General (i) in 1910-11, (ii) in 1919-20, (iii) in the past year?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: (a) The tour expenses of the Governor General during 1913-14 amounted to Rs. 3,49,028 and in 1922-23, Rs. 4,06,948.

(b) A statement showing the information asked for is laid on the table.

Statement showing actual expenditure incurred on the various residences of His Excellency the Viceroy including the auxiliary buildings on the Viceregal Estates under the heads "Repairs to buildings including furniture" and "Fitting out and furnishing residences".

	Repairs to buildings including furniture.	Fitting out and furnishing residences.
	Rs.	Rs.
1910-11 Simla, Mashobra, Calcutta and Barrackpore	1,63,762	29,765
1919-20 Simla, Mashobra, Delhi, Dehra Dun and Calcutta.	2,58,308	25,498
1922-23 Ditto ditto	3,00,474	40,594

SIKHS IN CERTAIN GOVERNMENT OFFICES.

311. ***Sardar Kartar Singh:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state the number of Sikhs in each of the following offices:

- (1) Director General of Observatories,
- (2) Director General of Posts and Telegraphs,
- (3) Deputy Accountant General, Posts and Telegraphs, at Delhi,
- (4) Deputy Accountant General, Central Revenues,
- (5) Auditor General, and
- (6) Director General of Archæology in India.

(b) Is it a fact that in some of the above offices no Sikh Assistant or Clerk has ever been entertained?

(c) Having consideration of the inadequacy of Sikh representatives in the above Departments, are the Government prepared to issue necessary instructions to give an adequate representation to the Sikhs?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a) Two Sikhs are employed in the office of the Deputy Accountant General, Central Revenues, and one in the office of the Director General of Observatories. No Sikhs are at present employed in any of the other offices mentioned in the question.

(b) The reply is in the affirmative only in the case of the office of the Director General, Posts and Telegraphs, the main portion of which is still located in Calcutta and in which no Sikhs have yet applied for appointment, and of the office of the Auditor General, which was located in Calcutta up to 1912.

(c) The Government do not consider it necessary to issue special instructions. When vacancies occur, the claims of the Sikh community for appointments in the various offices will be considered along with those of other applicants.

SIKH HOLIDAYS.

812. ***Sardar Kartar Singh:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state whether it is a fact that in the recent orders issued by the Home Department regarding the general holidays to be observed in all the Departments of the Government of India, there is no holiday for any of the Sikh religious days?

(b) If the reply is in the affirmative, will the Government kindly consider the question of granting at least two general holidays, *viz.*, Guru Nanak Dev's birthday and Guru Gobind Singh's birthday?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: (a) and (b). Under the orders referred to by the Honourable Member 10 closed holidays in the year are granted equally to all members of the establishments in the Government of India Secretariat and in addition each member is allowed six holidays for the observance of festivals of the community to which he belongs. Before these orders were issued members of the clerical establishments, representing different communities including the Sikh community, were consulted. The representative of the Sikh community expressed no desire for a Sikh holiday to be added to the number of general holidays. It is understood that the view held by the Sikh members of the Secretariat establishments was that the additional six holidays for each community would meet their requirements. In the circumstances Government do not consider that the action suggested by the Honourable Member is necessary.

THE STAFF SELECTION BOARD.

813. ***Sardar Kartar Singh:** Will the Government be pleased to state:

(a) the reasons which led to the creation of the Staff Selection Board?

(b) the number of departmental lower division clerks passed for the higher grade who have not yet been provided for?

(c) the number of those who were working as Assistants and did not appear at the Board's test, or failed to qualify, but are still being retained in the Secretariat?

(d) the steps they propose to take to ensure that the various departments of the Government of India give preference to the

passed men in the matter of officiating promotion or permanent appointments over those who have either not appeared at the Board's test or failed to pass it?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: (a) The Honourable Member is referred to paragraphs 37 and 38 of the report of the Government of India Secretariat Procedure Committee, of which a copy will be found in the Library.

(b) 31 departmental candidates passed the Upper Division examination in 1920 and 96 in 1922. Their promotion or confirmation must depend upon the occurrence of vacancies in the Departments in which they are employed.

(c) The information has been called for and will be supplied to the Honourable Member when it is ready.

(d) The attention of Departments has on several occasions been drawn to the orders contained in Home Department Resolution No. 2366, dated the 15th September 1920, and every effort is being made to see that the orders are observed.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Is there any Muhammadan on the staff of the Committee at present?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I think the Honourable Member is perhaps referring to my answer to the previous question as to the members of the establishment being consulted. If so, my recollection is that the deputation which came to meet us on the subject did include a Muhammadan gentleman.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Sir, there is a Committee and on that Committee last year there was one Muhammadan who is no longer a Member of this House. Does he take part in that Committee still or is the Government considering the appointment of another member?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I see that I was mistaken and that the Honourable Member is referring to the Staff Selection Board. If the Honourable Member desires further information on that subject I think I had better supply it to him separately, because the whole question of the Staff Selection Board is at present under consideration.

SURPLUS POSTAL REVENUE.

314. ***Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** Will Government be pleased to state what would be the approximate amount of surplus, if any, in revenue over expenditure in the Post Office due to the increased rates of postage, etc., and the retrenchments effected during the year 1923-24, and how Government propose to utilise it?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blakett: At present the accounts are maintained for the combined Posts and Telegraphs Department but a separate account for the Post Office based upon commercial principles is in course of preparation. Until this is complete it is not possible to say with accuracy what is the relation of expenditure and revenue in the Post Office proper. As regards the combined account, I would ask the Honourable Member to await the revised estimates for the current year which will be placed before the Assembly on the introduction of the Budget for 1924-25.

INTERIM RELIEF TO CERTAIN EMPLOYEES OF THE OFFICE OF THE POST-MASTER GENERAL, BOMBAY.

315. ***Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** Will Government be pleased to state the reasons which led to the issue of orders in November, 1922, for the recovery of the advance of one month's pay sanctioned in Commerce

Department letter No. 2606, dated 21st May 1920, by way of interim relief to the men in the Postmaster General's Office, Bombay, drawing up to Rs. 100, in spite of the recommendation of the Postmaster General, Bombay, to the Director General contained in his letter No. RA1, dated 6th May 1922, to the contrary, pending the revision of their pay.

Mr. G. R. Clarke: The position is as follows. A number of clerks in the office of the Postmaster-General, Bombay, derived no immediate benefit from the revision of pay sanctioned with effect from the 1st December 1919 in Resolution No. 7318, dated the 20th October 1920, of the Department of Commerce. These officials automatically came within the scope of the orders conveyed in Commerce Department letter No. 2506, dated the 18th March 1921, and were at the outset exempt from repaying the advance of one month's pay sanctioned in that Department letter No. 2606, dated the 31st May 1920. Subsequently, however, in Public Works Department letter No. 1187-P.W., dated the 19th December 1921, it was decided that the same officials should with effect from the 1st December 1919 be given a pay exceeding by 10 per cent. the pay *plus* war allowance or pay *plus* acting allowance *plus* war allowance drawn by them on that date. As the result of this decision, arrears of pay became due to the officials and it was considered equitable that the advance of a month's pay should be deducted from these arrears as in the case of other officials who derived immediate benefit from the revision.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

EXPENDITURE ON MAINTENANCE AND RENEWALS ON RAILWAYS.

101. **Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar:** Will the Government be pleased to state, what final decision has been come to, to provide for the expenditure on "maintenance and renewals," referred to in heads 2 and 3 of Statement III of the Assembly Debates, Volume III, page 4085, in the case of (1) paying railways, (2) those that work at a deficit?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: A final decision on this point has not yet been reached; the details of the Depreciation Fund Account which it is proposed to introduce on railways are now being worked out.

REDUCTION OF WORKING EXPENSES OF RAILWAYS.

102. **Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar:** Will the Government be pleased to state if the question of "the working expenses of Railways" noted in head No. I, of page 4085 of the Assembly Debates, Vol. III, has been gone into and, if so, what is the reduction expected to be made in the budget of 1924-25 over that of 1923-24?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The Honourable Member is referred to the answer which I gave to question No. 37, on 1st February last. The question of effecting economies in the working expenses of railways is constantly receiving the attention of the Railway Board and that of the Railway Administrations.

MAINTENANCE OF WAYS, WORKS AND ROLLING STOCK ON RAILWAYS.

103. **Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar:** Have the present regulations relating to the maintenance of "Ways, Works and Rolling Stock" been revised as suggested in the Inchcape Report, page 66, and, if so, with what financial results on "Working expenses?"

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: They are being revised but the work is not yet finished.

CONSUMPTION OF FUEL ON RAILWAYS.

104. **Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar:** Have investigations been made to reduce the consumption of fuel and to ensure its being got in the cheapest market as suggested in page 67 of the Inchcape Committee report? If so, what further reduction in expenditure is anticipated in 1924-25? Will the Government be pleased to state what steps have been taken to control and regulate the consumption of fuel in each railway?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The suggestions made by the Inchcape Committee on page 67 of their report have been brought to the notice of the Railway Administrations and many of them had already been receiving attention. The Railway Board believe that the Railways are making earnest efforts to reduce the consumption of coal where such reduction is possible.

The policy adopted by the Railway Board in such matters is to watch the working of the Railway Administrations by means of regular monthly statistical information. Comparative statements are prepared from these monthly returns and are circulated to all Railways, and, where necessary, outstanding variations are brought to notice. The statistics on the new basis have only been in force for a few months and it is not possible at present to state in any general terms what economies have been effected.

As regards the cost of fuel, most of the Railways are bound by contracts which regulate the price paid. When the time comes for making new contracts, the Railway Administrations will naturally purchase in the cheapest market.

CONTRACTS FOR THE SUPPLY OF COAL TO RAILWAYS.

105. **Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar:** Will the Government be pleased to state if the system of placing long term contracts for the supply of coal has been examined and with what results? What is the present price of coal of the various kinds contracted to be supplied on such contracts compared with the rate contracted for? Do the Government propose to put an end to the contracts if they result in loss? What reduction, if any, of the expenditure under this head is anticipated in 1924-25?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The question whether long term contracts are desirable will be carefully examined before the current 3-year contracts expire. The present contract rates compare with recent market prices as follows:—

	Contract rate per ton. 1923-24.	Current market rate per ton.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs.
Desharghur	11 12 0	12 to 13
Jherria (selected)	10 4 0	Rs. A. P. 10 8 0
Jherria (1st Class)	9 8 0	Rs. 8 to 9

The present contracts cannot be terminated, nor can information be given, prior to the presentation of the budget, of the expenditure on fuel anticipated in 1924-25.

REDUCTION IN EXPENDITURE ON RAILWAY CARRIAGES AND WAGONS.

106. **Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar:** Will the Government be pleased to state what reduction in expenditure is anticipated under the head "Carriages and Wagons" (1) by putting off repairs on unremunerative lines and (2) by cheapness in prices?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: There is no intention of postponing necessary repairs to carriages and wagons as this would be uneconomical, and it is impossible to give any definite figure of the reduction in expenditure anticipated by a fall in prices, since the extent to which this fall may occur cannot be gauged.

SUMMARY BALANCE SHEET SHOWING THE FINANCIAL RESULTS OF RAILWAYS.

107. **Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar:** Will the Government be pleased to state if a complete summary balance sheet showing the financial results of Railways in India has been prepared as noted on page 71 of the Inchcape Committee Report and, if so, will the Government be pleased to lay it on the table?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: No. The complete summary balance sheet to which the Honourable Member refers cannot be prepared until railway and general finances have been separated, and consequential changes have been made in the form of the railway accounts.

MILITARY TRAFFIC ON RAILWAYS.

108. **Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar:** Will the Government be pleased to state if steps have been taken to simplify the method of dealing with military traffic and for the introduction of "Route and Rate books" and, if so, with what financial results?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The question of simplifying the method of dealing with military traffic is under consideration by a Committee of Railway, Police, Army and Audit representatives.

The introduction of Rate and Route books is being considered by the Indian Railway Conference Association and an official of that Association is making inquiries as to what can be done towards giving early effect to the recommendations of the Railway Accounts Committee.

REDUCTION IN THE STAFF OF RAILWAYS.

109. **Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar:** Will the Government be pleased to state what reduction in salaries and wages of the clerical and administrative staff and industrial and technical staff and economies consequent thereon have been effected in 1923-24 and what further reduction is anticipated in 1924-25 by adopting the suggestions made in para. 22, pages 71 and 72, of the Inchcape Committee Report?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The figures of reduction in staff actually effected during 1923-24 are not available. The actual reduction

in staff however between 1st November 1922 and the corresponding date in 1923 was as below:—

Europeans	171
Anglo-Indians	537
Indians	35,680

It is not possible to say what further reduction may be possible in 1924-25.

MAINTENANCE AND RENEWAL OF RAILWAY ROLLING STOCK.

110. **Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar:** Will the Government be pleased to state whether any decision has been arrived at regarding the provision for "maintenance and renewals of Rolling stock, etc." referred to in head No. 16, of page 4086 of Vol. III, Assembly Debates, and, if so, what reduction in the expenditure budgeted for in 1923-24 has been effected and what provision is made for 1924-25?

Mr. A. A. L. Parson: Renewals and replacements are now rigidly restricted to items essential for maintaining working stock at an effective standard. As the position still involves the making good of considerable arrears of stock renewals, it is not yet possible to indicate in terms of money the reduction which the enforcement of this system has produced in the expenditure for 1923-24 and is expected to produce in 1924-25.

REDUCTION IN THE PURCHASE OF RAILWAY STORES.

111. **Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar:** What reduction in the purchase of stores has been effected by limiting indents for stores for 1923-24 and 1924-25? What was the value of the stock on hand on the last date of 1922-23, and what the amount of stock purchased in 1923-24?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The balance of stores in stock at the end of 1922-23 was Rs. 22,98,78,000. It is expected, on the basis of the revised estimates for 1923-24 now under consideration, to reduce this by Rs. 2,59,49,000 by the close of the year. This reduction has been effected partly by limiting indents and purchases to the minimum required for sanctioned works and for ordinary purposes of operation, partly by reducing balances normally held in stock, and partly by revisions of prices and disposal of surplus and obsolete stores. Government are not in a position to state how much each of these factors has contributed to the total reduction expected. The expenditure on purchase of stores during the current year cannot yet be ascertained with any degree of accuracy. The total purchases to the end of December were approximately Rs. 20,50,06,000.

ECONOMIES EFFECTED BY THE FINANCIAL COMMISSIONER, RAILWAYS.

112. **Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar:** What economies have been effected by the appointment of the "Financial Adviser" to the Chief Commissioner of Railways? What are the Railway lines in which he has taken action, and under what heads has he controlled expenditure?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The duties and functions of the Financial Commissioner are to exercise financial control over the operations of the Railway Department and to promote the efficient and economic working of the Railway Administration. It is held that the exercise of these functions from within, and not from without, the Department will

result in more effective control. His functions are not restricted to any one Railway, and it is not possible to indicate in terms of money the value of the economies which have already been effected by his appointment.

RAILWAY STATISTICAL RETURNS.

113. **Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar:** Will the Government be pleased to state if each railway has compiled and forwarded monthly statistical returns showing its working results as suggested by the Committee on Retrenchment on page 79 of its report? Have the summarised results been communicated to the General Managers? If so, will the Government be pleased to lay on the Table the returns submitted and the results communicated to the General Managers during the course of the current year?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The statistical returns to which the Honourable Member refers have been compiled from October 1923 onwards by railways and comparative statements derived from them are sent each month to the Agents. A copy of the statement giving the figures for the months of October, November and December will be placed in the Library. The returns submitted by Agents are not printed.

REDUCTION OF SALARIES OF THE SUBORDINATE SERVICES IN THE PUNJAB.

114. **Chaudhri Bahawal Baksh:** (a) Is it a fact that the Government have advised the Punjab Government to reduce the salaries of the subordinate services?

(b) If so, will the Government kindly let the House know the reasons for this action?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a) No. The suggestion of the Indian Retrenchment Committee that an inquiry should be made into the pay of the subordinate services and that Local Governments should be associated in the inquiry was forwarded to Local Governments for an expression of their opinion.

(b) Does not arise.

OVERBRIDGE AT BAHAWALNAGAR RAILWAY STATION.

115. **Chaudhri Bahawal Baksh:** Are the Government aware that the changing station Bahawalnagar on the Samasata-Bhatinda and Rajpura line is opposite to the town, and that there is no overbridge which causes much inconvenience to the public? If so, when the construction of an overbridge may be expected?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The construction of a foot overbridge at Bahawalnagar has been sanctioned and the work is in hand.

PROPOSED RAILWAY FROM GUJRAT TO SARGODHA KHUSHAH.

116. **Chaudhri Bahawal Baksh:** (a) Is it a fact that a project to run a railway line between Gujrat (Punjab) and Sargodha Khushah railway stations was sanctioned on or about 1914, but was dropped on account of the war?

(b) If the answer is in the affirmative, when will the construction be now taken in hand, as the war is over?

(c) If the answer is in the negative, what other action was taken in connection with the scheme?

(d) Will Government please say what objection they have in giving over the construction of such lines to private companies, in case the Government cannot start this for want of money?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a), (b) and (c). A line from Gujrat to Sargodha Khushah was surveyed in 1914, but its traffic prospects were not sufficiently promising to justify its construction and consequently no further action was taken.

(d) It is presumed that the Honourable Member's suggestion is that the construction of the line should be made over to a private company on Branch Line terms. In this connection the Honourable Member doubtless remembers that the Acworth Committee called in question the whole policy of constructing Branch Lines in this way. The views of the Acworth Committee are being considered.

POSTAL INSPECTORS AND HEAD CLERKS TO SUPERINTENDENTS OF POST OFFICES.

117. **Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** (a) Is it a fact that the Postal Inspectors and Superintendents' head clerks are required to undergo a departmental test before they are confirmed?

(b) Is it a fact that only a single chance is given to such candidates for passing that test?

(c) If so, do the Government propose to increase the number of times a candidate is allowed to appear at such a test?

Mr. G. B. Clarke: (a) Yes.

(b) The number of times an official may appear at the examination is not definitely laid down. The matter is left to the discretion of Postmasters-General under whose orders the examination is held and who make a selection of candidates each time it is held. In the Bombay Circle, where a competitive system is being tried experimentally, the number of times is ordinarily two.

(c) Does not arise in the case of circles other than Bombay. In the latter the Postmaster-General has discretion to allow a candidate for these cadres to appear more than once.

PAY OF POSTAL INSPECTORS AND HEAD CLERKS TO SUPERINTENDENTS OF POST OFFICES.

118. **Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** (a) What was the maximum pay of Postal Inspectors and Superintendents' head clerks before the revision recommended by the Postal Committee in 1920, and what is the present maximum pay fixed for them?

(b) Is it a fact that in the revision of pay granted to the Postal subordinates in February, 1920, the pay of the Postal Inspectors and Superintendents' head clerks has not been revised? If so, will the Government be pleased to state the reasons?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: (a) Inspectors of Post Offices and Head Clerks to Superintendents of Post Offices were in 4 grades, namely, Rs. 60, Rs. 80, Rs. 100 and Rs. 100—10—150, the highest grade containing the smallest number of officials. They are now placed on a single time-scale of Rs. 100—5—175.

(b) The scope of the revision of February 1920 was limited to ameliorating the condition of the lower paid officials of the clerical class who had necessarily been the hardest hit by the increase in the cost of living. The pay therefore of Inspectors of Post Offices and Superintendents' Head Clerks was not revised at that date. As a result, however, of the Postal Inquiry Committee's recommendations, it was revised later in the year with retrospective effect from 1st December, 1919.

INCREMENTS OF POSTAL INSPECTORS AND HEAD CLERKS TO SUPERINTENDENTS OF POST OFFICES.

119. **Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** (a) Is it a fact that on the recommendations of the Postal Committee of 1920 the Inspectors and Superintendents' head clerks serving in India were allowed one increment for every 2 years of their past services?

(b) Is it a fact that the Inspectors and head clerks serving in Burma got one increment for each year of their past services, and

(c) the Postal clerks all over India and Burma got one increment for each year of their past services?

(d) Is it a fact that by such differential treatment accorded to the Inspectors and head clerks they have become junior to the men who were junior to them before the last revision?

(e) Is the Government aware that such differential treatment has given rise to strong feeling amongst the Inspectors and head clerks who are adversely affected? If not, will the Government be pleased to inquire through the Postal Association?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: (a), (b) and (c). Yes.

(d) Government have no information on the point beyond a statement made by the Honorary General Secretary of the All-India (including Burma) Postal and R. M. S. Union which he has been asked by the Director-General, Posts and Telegraphs, to substantiate. It may be mentioned that it has been ruled that an Inspector or a Superintendent's Head Clerk may at any time voluntarily revert to the general line and take the position in that cadre that he would have held if he had remained in it.

(e) The Government of India are aware that Inspectors and Head Clerks of Superintendents have asked for an increment for every one year's service. In the case of these officials in India the smallest increase in any man's pay was from Rs. 60 to Rs. 100. Moreover the increment is Rs. 5 a year compared with Rs. 4 a year of the mofussil time-scales. The minimum pay of these officials in Burma was already Rs. 100 and they would obviously have received no benefit if they had not been allowed to count an increment for every year of service as Inspector or Head Clerk. The rates of pay have now been fixed from 1st December 1919 and Government do not intend to make any further revision involving increased cost.

STATEMENT OF BUSINESS.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey (Home Member): Sir, we propose the following arrangements for business for next week.

On Monday, the 18th February, it is proposed to refer the Indian Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill, protection of minor girls, to a Select Committee. On the same day a motion for the election of the Standing Committee on Emigration will be made. I propose further we should on that day resume the discussion on Mr. Rangachariar's Resolution.

Tuesday will be occupied by Resolutions, non-official.

On Wednesday, the 20th, it is proposed to take up the demands for supplementary grants.

Thursday is a non-official day for Bills.

The Resolutions and Bills to be taken up on those days have already been settled by ballot, the results of which have been communicated to Members of this House. I might perhaps remind the House in connection with this allocation of business that we have at present sitting a number of important Committees and we also have to provide time for a number of Select Committees; the House has asked in the latter case that their reports should be submitted by the 29th of this month. It is therefore necessary that next week we should give what time is possible to the work of those Committees.

MESSAGE FROM THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

Mr. President: The Secretary will read a Message from the Council of State.

Secretary of the Assembly: Sir, the Message which has been received from the Secretary of the Council of State runs as follows:

"I am directed to inform you that the Council of State have at their meeting of the 13th February 1924 agreed, without any amendments, to the Bill to regulate the entry into and residence in British India of persons domiciled in other British possessions, which was passed by the Legislative Assembly on the 27th July 1923."

ELECTION OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, HEALTH AND LANDS.

Mr. President: I have to acquaint the Assembly that the result of the election of Members to the Standing Committee for the Department of Education, Health and Lands is as follows:

1. Raja Raghunandan Prasad Singh,
2. Kumar Ganganand Sinha,
3. Sardar Bahadur Captain Hira Singh,
4. Haji Wajihuddin,
5. Mr. Venkatapatiraju,
6. Maung Kun,
7. Captain Ajab Khan,
8. Sardar Gulab Singh, and
9. Maulvi Muhammad Yakub.

RESOLUTION RE THE APPROVAL BY THE INDIAN LEGISLATURE OF GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao (Godavari *cum* Kistna; Non-Muhammadian Rural): Sir, I beg to move the following Resolution:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that in all contracts extending over a period of years and creating a public charge, actual or prospective, entered into between the Government and Companies with an English or an Indian domicile:

(1) for the working of State Railways,

(2) or for the conveyance of mails by sea or for the purpose of telegraphic or wireless communications,

a condition should be inserted that the contract shall not be binding unless it has been approved by a Resolution of the Indian Legislature."

Sir, the question of the management of railways either by the State or by Companies has already formed the subject of considerable discussion in this House in 1922. I think, Sir, that it is unnecessary now at this stage to refer to that discussion except for the purposes of my Resolution. It was suggested, in the first place, that the recommendations of the Acworth Committee should be accepted in full, and my Honourable friend, Mr. Neogy, moved a Resolution in the House at that time to the effect that the Governor General in Council may be pleased to accept and give effect to the recommendations of those Members of the Railway Committee who recommended that the lines now worked by guaranteed railway companies as and when the contracts fell in, should be entrusted to the direct management of the State. This Resolution was opposed by the Government, and it was a conditional opposition by my Honourable friend, Sir Charles Innes; and by a subsequent amendment to this Resolution by Dr. Gour the operation of those recommendations was limited to the East Indian and the G. I. P. Railways. The effect of that Resolution was that the policy of State management recommended in the Resolution was confined to these two Companies whose leases are terminating very shortly, the former in 1924 and the other in 1925. Sir Charles Innes also attempted to get the House to consent to one of his amendments, which was to the effect that the Government should be at liberty to negotiate with companies established in this country for the management of these lines. That amendment was not accepted by the House, so that the position is that, so far as this Assembly is concerned, there is its opinion that the two railway companies whose leases are about to expire very shortly should be managed by the State. In answer to interpellations by one of my Honourable friends, Sir Charles Innes stated that the Government have decided to take those two lines under State management. That is the position at present. But still there are other portions of the recommendations of the Acworth Committee on which the decision either of the Government or of this House has not yet been taken. I may refer to the Assam Bengal Railway. In paragraph 208 of the Report the position of the Assam-Bengal Railway has been fully explained by the Acworth Committee. They stated that:

"While all the other guaranteed Companies earned, in the shape of their share of surplus profits, a substantial dividend above the guaranteed minimum, and their shares even under the exceptional market conditions of the present moment, stood in the neighbourhood of par, the Assam-Bengal net receipts do not even meet the 3 per cent. guarantee. The shares are consequently quoted at present at about 45. We should hesitate to advise that the Secretary of State should pay off at par in 1931 shares now standing at 45. But the Company is not important, and there is ample time for consideration of this exceptional case between now and 1931. In any case, the amount at issue is not large;"

so that Honourable Members will see that at any rate with reference to one Company the question of future management will have to be considered by the Government, and the Government will now have to come to a decision as to whether that management should be directly by the State, or whether it should be by a Company formed expressly for the management of that line. I should like to say, Sir, in this connection that the constitutional position of this House has also to be borne in mind. We have no power in this House to enforce our decisions, and the Government of India, acting under the control of the Secretary of State, has still in their own hands the whole power of making contracts with any Company they please, if they are so minded. We have as yet no clear indication, except with reference to these two lines, of the future policy of the Government with reference to Railways, and under these circumstances and, in view of the fact that we have no power in this House to compel our decisions being carried out, it seems to me that the only way by which the House can assert its control is the one that I have suggested. If the Government decide in future, such as in the case of the Assam-Bengal Railway, to entrust the future management of the railway to a Company, the terms of the lease should be approved by an affirmative Resolution of this House before they become operative. I may state at once, Sir, that I am as strong an advocate of State control of railways as anybody, and in my evidence before the Acworth Committee I stated in express terms that the future management of railways should be by the State, and that the management of railways by companies should come to an end; and in view of the decision that has also been taken in this House, we are still faced with this difficulty, namely, that we have no means of enforcing the decision of this House with reference to the management of these railways. The only way out of the difficulty to my mind therefore, seems to be that if, notwithstanding this clear expression of our view in regard to the future management of railways, the Government still, in view of the power which they still have, proceed to make contracts with railway companies for the working of State Railways, the terms of those contracts should come before this House and should be approved before they become operative. Sir, the Honourable Sir Charles Innes knows the history of the renewal of the lease of the South Indian Railway in 1910. At that time the Madras Government entered a very strong protest to the Secretary of State that the lease should not be renewed and I am told there are cases where the Secretary of State renewed the leases for the working of State Railways against the express wishes of even the Government of India. Now, under those circumstances, it seems to me, Sir, that there must be some guarantee that the terms of these leases are discussed either by a Committee of this House or by the House and that they should be approved before they become final. The lease of the South Indian Railway was for a period extending to 1945, and when this matter came up before the Acworth Committee, many of the associations in Southern India made representations that great public inconvenience has been caused by the terms of the contract entered into with the South Indian Railway. One of these related to the working of District Board lines. During the past quarter of a century the District Boards in the Madras Presidency developed a policy of constructing feeder lines for the purpose of the development of communications and we had many schemes for the construction of these railways. I believe that schemes aggregating a total mileage of 900 miles was proposed to be constructed in Southern India. The policy of the South Indian Railway was to block all these schemes, to suggest as many

[Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao.]

difficulties as possible, in the construction of these feeder lines, either in the stage of initial construction or in the working, with the result that the whole policy of the District Boards for the construction of these lines came to a standstill; and that formed a subject of complaint to the Acworth Committee. Honourable Members who are interested in this subject will find considerable literature on this matter in the proceedings of the Railway Committee.

Then, Sir, as regards combinations with other companies, I may perhaps mention that the South Indian Railway and the British India Steam Navigation Company entered into a contract that the steamers of the latter Company should not call at the minor ports in the Tanjore district, with the result that all conveyance of food grains to Ceylon and conveyance of goods was diverted from the sea route to the railways. This led to an increase of freight charges up to Tuticorin and Danushkodi by a long railway route, in the place of a direct route by sea to Ceylon. This also formed the subject of considerable agitation in Southern India and at various times, during the last 10 years, matters were brought before the Legislative Council with a view to find out the exact terms of the Contract between the British India Company and the South Indian Railway. We were not successful in that attempt and for 10 years this agitation has been carried on without any appreciable results to the public. Therefore, Sir, that is another instance in which in making these contracts some restrictions should be imposed on the Railway companies that they should not form combinations with other companies with a view either to divert traffic to the great disadvantage of the public or to benefit themselves or to benefit the combined companies to the great detriment of the public. That, Sir, is the second instance in which we in Southern India have been considerably inconvenienced by the fact that these contracts have been concluded before the public has had an opportunity of scrutinising these contracts carefully.

Therefore, on all these broad grounds, it seems to me, Sir, that while our policy should be unhesitatingly one for State management, so long as we have no means of enforcing that policy within the terms of the Government of India Act, this Assembly should have an opportunity of scrutinising carefully the contracts which might be entered into in regard to any future companies whether domiciled in England or here with a view to safeguard the public in all possible ways either by inserting suitable conditions for promoting public convenience or for restricting the liberty of action of these companies.

Finally, Sir, there is also the question of the employment of Indians in the superior services. In regard to this matter also, the Agent and Manager of the Southern Mahratta Railway Company, Colonel Magniac, stated before the Acworth Committee that one of the reasons why he favoured company management was that the companies were not committed to the employment of Indians in the superior grades. That, Sir, illustrates the exact position taken up by those who are in responsible charge of Railway Administration and it is for that identical reason that we have advocated State management; and suitable conditions in the leases will have to be inserted for the employment of Indians in all the superior grades of the railway service.

The last question that I have to deal with is the question of training. Even in regard to this matter, I may perhaps say, Sir, that the future lies

very much in the training of Indians in all the superior grades of railway service,—whether it is traffic or technical in India—and this matter also came up for consideration before us in the Lytton Committee. During the time I was in England the complaint of the engineering students, more than 400 to 500, in Great Britain, was that they could not get suitable opportunities of training in Great Britain; and it was stated to us by many men, men who had considerable experience in the Indian services, that we have in India 85,000 miles of railway with excellent workshops. They said "You have excellent means of training in your own country. Why should your students come to this country for being trained in all these technical services relating to railways?" The mechanical engineers and civil engineers who appeared before us told us that the training in these departments of knowledge should be provided in India itself; I therefore believe conditions will have to be stipulated that all Railway administrations managed by companies should give guarantees that they would undertake training and afford all reasonable facilities in the workshops in their respective jurisdictions. These are the directions, Sir, if there is to be a deviation from the policy of State management, in which suitable conditions may have to be made before these are finally concluded.

I now come to clause (2) of the Resolution, and that is that the contracts relating to the conveyance of mails by sea or for the purpose of telegraphic or wireless communications should not also be binding unless these contracts are approved by a Resolution in the Indian Legislature. Sir, one of the questions that was referred to us by the Secretary of State was whether suitable facilities could be provided in England for training for those Indians who wish to enter the Royal Indian Marine Service. With a view to finding out whether facilities are available we summoned a number of witnesses and examined them with a view to find out the actual position. The Committee gathered the following information:

"The Committee of Management of the Training Ship 'Conway' regard Indians as ineligible for admission to that ship on the ground that they are not 'British born', and even if the number of purely British applicants were not, as it is at present, greater than can be admitted, they would be unwilling to take them because of the difficulties of religion, caste and feeding; also the mixture of races and colour in the confined space on the ship."

Another witness representing the authorities of the Thames Nautical Training College, Worcester, said:

"They would be prepared to admit a limited number of Indians, provided that sufficient notice were given that no special arrangements were needed in the way of diet and that there was some one in England who would stand *in loco parentis* to Indian cadets."

Then the Managers of the Nautical College, Pangbourne, said:

"We are not prepared to entertain the suggestion that Indian cadets should be admitted to our college."

Therefore it was clear to us that if the training of those persons who wish to enter the Royal Indian Marine is to be undertaken, it should not be in England and we have to recommend that steps should be taken in Indian waters for the training of Indians. Here you have the P. and O. and the British India Steam Navigation Companies carrying our mails from England to India and from India to England. Assuming that in the contract between these two Companies and the British Government or the Government of India, whichever it may be, a condition is inserted that those persons who wish entrance into the Royal Indian Marine should be allowed to do so on the Companies' ships, it would be a satisfactory way of obtaining training. That is one reason why, I think, this matter should

[Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao.]

be examined in this House. Sir, I understand that the contracts for the conveyance of mails are entered into by His Majesty's Government under the International Conventions. I am told the country from which the mails are conveyed should settle the terms of the contract. The contract for the conveyance of mails from England to India and also from India to England is now concluded by His Majesty's Government also on behalf of India. India is paying large sums as her portion of the subsidy for a number of years. The terms of this contract have to be varied from the point of view that I have suggested, namely, of providing training in those ships which enjoy the patronage of the Government of India. When the next contract is concluded a condition may have to be inserted that those who wish to enter the Royal Indian Marine should be trained in the ships which enjoy the patronage of the Government of India for the conveyance of mails. I have also said that there are other subsidiary contracts for carrying mails between the various ports in India, the Persian Gulf and Burma and perhaps these contracts are now in the hands of the British India Steam Navigation Company. It is quite possible that even in Indian waters some provision may be made in the contracts for the training of those persons who desire training for the Marine services.

Then, Sir, I come to that portion of the clause that relates to the telegraphic services. Government are also issuing licenses to the various telephone companies. Of course, these cannot be called contracts but still I contend that the question of making suitable arrangements for these public utility services to the best advantage of the country is one which ought to be kept in view. And when the Government issue licenses, though they are not contracts, care will have to be taken that the interests of the public are sufficiently safeguarded. I am mentioning this matter as it may not come within the terms of my Resolution but I should like to know from the Honourable Member in charge as to how many telephone companies are now working in India and whether the licenses issued to them contain conditions from the point of view of the public and whether at present these licenses are examined either by the Standing Finance Committee or by the Advisory Committees attached to the Departments or whether they are scrutinised from the point of view of the public in any other manner.

Then, Sir, there are wireless communications. I have not been able to obtain any definite information in this behalf but I should like to know what the exact position is at present. I should like to know whether these wireless communications form the subject of contract between the Government and any companies or whether any licenses are issued for their working and whether these also form the subject of any contracts entered into between the Secretary of State or the Government of India and also which of these authorities has the final voice in the settlement of these questions. These are the points that I wish to raise in this Resolution and I trust I have said enough to show that there is certainly a great advantage if these contracts are examined in this House before they are finally concluded by the Government of India. The procedure that I have advocated is in entire accord with the Parliamentary procedure. I might perhaps invite the attention of the House to page 308 of the Manual of Procedure in the House of Commons. The Standing Order is as follows:

"In the contracts extending over a period of years and creating a public charge, actual or prospective, entered into by the Government for the conveyance of mails by sea or for the purpose of telegraphic communications beyond sea, there should be inserted a condition that the contract shall not be binding until it has been approved by a decision of the House."

What I am now suggesting in this Resolution is exactly in accordance with the practice in Parliament. I commend this Resolution to the House.

Mr. President: Resolution moved.

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that in all contracts extending over a period of years and creating a public charge, actual or prospective, entered into between the Government and Companies with an English or an Indian domicile:

(1) for the working of State Railways,

(2) or for the conveyance of mails by sea or for the purpose of telegraphic or wireless communications,

a condition should be inserted that the contract shall not be binding unless it has been approved by a Resolution of the Indian Legislature."

Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan (Patna and Chota Nagpur cum Orissa: Muhammadan): Sir, I rise not to oppose the Resolution but to move my own amendment, as, I think, the wording of the Resolution is rather vague. My amendment is this:

"That for the original Resolution the following be substituted:

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that in all contracts which will hereafter be entered into by the Government of India with any company either of European or Indian Domicile or any Indian Companies,

(1) for the management and working of the State Railways;

(2) for the carrying of mails by sea or air or for establishing telegraphic and wireless communications,

a condition should be inserted that the contract shall not come into force until it is approved by the Indian Legislature in the form of a Resolution."

I think that, if the Honourable the Mover goes into the matter very carefully, he will probably accept my amendment. I want the House to delete the words "extending over a period of years and creating a public charge, actual or prospective". This "extending over a period of years" is, I think, rather vague and is capable of different interpretations. "A period of years" may mean two years, three years or four years. And I think, therefore, that all contracts, barring of course minor contracts, should be under the control of this responsible Legislature. In the ordinary sense of the word no doubt "a period of years" means a large number of years. And I think also that if the Government wants to defeat this Resolution, if adopted, they may give contracts for short periods and renew them annually. Here, I may remind the House that during the debate in the last Assembly on the question of the State management of railways, Government wanted to renew the contracts with the E. I. R., and the G. I. P., for a short period. But the House decided that no contract should be so made with any Company for the management of these two railways. So, with a view to place all contracts with regard to those mentioned in my amendment under the control of this responsible Legislature, I move this motion so that, instead of "a period of years," the words should be "all contracts." I have also added "Indian Companies," by which I mean companies formed in India with Indian capital and under Indian management. This House represents the people; that is to say, it is a responsible House. But the Executive is, I am afraid, irresponsible to the people. And as a responsible Assembly is expected to protect the interests of Indian labour and Indian capitalists more than an Executive irresponsible to the people, I add the words "Indian Companies." So far as the Resolution goes, Indian Companies are not included. By the way, I may remark that the neglect of the interests of the masses from the very beginning of British rule in India has been such

[Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan.]

that many important industries have been strangled. Sir, there was a time when the docks of Chittagong, not to speak of other docks, used to build a large number of ships for postal marine. But what is the state of affairs now? They have all disappeared and they look like stories in the Arabian Nights. So, with a view to protect Indian labour against the encroachments of Indian capitalists, I have added the words "Indian Companies."

Now, Sir, another change effected by me is the addition of the word "Air." The time is not far distant when we may expect to see a host of aeroplane companies presenting their tenders for carrying mails by air. In other parts of the world the aeroplane service is more or less an accomplished fact, and we may reasonably expect the same in India in the near future. Hence, I also wish to add the word "Air" which has been left out in the Resolution. Thus the Honourable House will see that the changes I have suggested cover a larger field and give greater control to this Assembly, which I repeat is the only responsible body, as against the Executive, which is not responsible to the country at all. With these words I commend my amendment to the House and expect that the Honourable Member, if he goes into the matter and looks at the additions which I have suggested, will see that they cover a larger field. I beg to move my amendment.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar (Tanjore *cum* Trichinopoly: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I rise to support the motion moved by my friend, Mr. Ramachandra Rao, and desire to add only a few more observations to show the necessity for this Resolution being accepted and acted upon by the Government. With regard to the contracts of the existing Companies, my Honourable friend referred to the contract entered into in 1908 with the South Indian Railway Company, by which the interests of the taxpayers and of the public of South India were sacrificed by the Secretary of State in a manner which has injured not merely the financial interests of the Province, but also the prospects of railway development in South India. My Honourable friend referred to certain clauses in the contract, which were prejudicial to the interests of the people of South India. I wish only to refer to one more clause therein which has absolutely held up all railway schemes in Southern India and put them at the mercy of the South Indian Railway Company, and that was the clause which said that, if any railway projects were made by either the local authorities or by the Government, or by private companies, which were likely to short-circuit the existing South Indian Railway system, that company should obtain full compensation therefor. The result of it was that, although the Railway would be making huge profits, and we know that the South Indian Railway Company of all companies in this country has been making very handsome profits while other companies have been making smaller profits, the effect of this clause was to hold up railway development in South India in a manner which has affected the economic development of the Province. In the next place the South Indian Railway Company, having secured this contract with the Secretary of State, went on to try to take hold of these projects in their own hands, and Mr. Neville Priestley, as he then was, came down to South India and proposed what was known as the Priestley Scheme, by which he tried to tempt the District Boards of South India to surrender their rights to what he called the Federal Railway Scheme, in which the South Indian Company were to be the major and dominant partner. That scheme was sedulously propagated, but eventually the District Boards were able to see their interests were at stake and the scheme

was turned down. Nevertheless this contract with the South Indian Railway Company has had the effect of holding up a number of District Board railway schemes, and although during the war they were unable to proceed with the scheme, subsequent to the war many difficulties have cropped up with the working of not only existing District Board railway lines which the Companies work, but also in connection with the starting of railway enterprises on the new lines which had already been sanctioned. The result is, Sir, that at present District Boards in the Presidency have accumulated by cesses levied on the taxpayer in South India, a sum of 27 lakhs of rupees. That sum has been lying idle and much of that sum has been depreciated by having been invested in Government securities which have now depreciated. The position therefore is, Sir, that until these Railway Companies make contracts with the Government of this country and until the Government realised their responsibilities to the taxpayer in this country and place these schemes before this Assembly and obtain its sanction, there is no guarantee that the protection of the interests of this country will be safe in the hands of the Secretary of State, whose advisers are, many of them, people interested in the financial interests of Lombard Street.

Then, Sir, we have had any amount of trouble in South India with regard to the settlement of what are called the Working Contract Terms between main line companies and branch lines owned by the District Boards. In these the Railway Companies have made repeated demands for further contributions over and above what they had agreed to in earlier contracts, and those demands have often been supported by the advisers of Government in the matter.

Therefore, what we want is that these railway companies should not hereafter, at least in the future, be in a position to dictate to those who are in charge of the public services, local authorities, Local Governments and so on, in regard to the manner in which the railways should be worked to the advantage of the public and to the economic development of the provinces concerned. We know, Sir, that in Madras too in some of the District Board railways which are under working contract with the South Indian Railway Company, many difficulties have cropped up whenever we suggest any improvements. The train services on the District Board lines have always been worked in such a manner that when they short-circuit the main line they are not put in a position to earn additional profits on the short-circuited lines. In the next place, the quality of the services on the District Board lines has to all those who have travelled on those lines been found to be distinctly inferior to that on the main line. Thirdly, Sir, when the District Boards concerned, on account of repeated complaints, have asked the Companies to improve the miserable accommodation provided in many stations, and the miserable facilities given to the travelling public, when these Companies have been asked to increase the number of trains or to alter their timings—nay, even to cover the overbridges over which during the summer season people have to walk barefooted to the great discomfort and trouble of their women and children—in all those cases the main line Companies have raised difficulties of a kind which the District Boards were unable to accept.

Mr. President: I cannot allow the debate to go into the details of railway administration. The issue of this Resolution is the desirability or not of establishing the principle of control by this Legislature over such contracts and the debate must pursue that line and not go into the details of railway administration.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: I accept your ruling, Sir, but I was merely quoting them as instances.

Mr. President: But the Honourable Member was making his instances his main arguments. That is what I objected to.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: Therefore, Sir, I think that it is high time that the contracts which these Companies entered into with the Government for their working should be brought under the scrutiny and control of this Legislature.

There is only one other point which I think is important and which has been only indirectly referred to by my Honourable friend, Mr. Ramachandra Rao. That is, the employment of the staff on these railways. We are all for Indianisation in the railway as in other services; but there is one more question which I think also affects the question of the staff, namely, the provision of a living wage for many of the railway employees on the lines. On that matter I think it is the duty of this House and of the Government, as responsible to this House, to see that railway employees—especially in the menial and subordinate staff—get a living wage. There have been any number of complaints and those complaints will not be answered merely by saying that if wages are increased profits will go down, because means ought to be devised for seeing that the railways are worked efficiently. After all cheap labour is dear labour, and I therefore plead, on account of the necessity of providing a living wage also, that this House should obtain control over the contracts entered into with the railway companies.

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee (Industries Member): So far as I could judge from the speech of my Honourable friend, Mr. Ramachandra Rao, his main object in moving this Resolution was to secure better control by Government over the working of company railways. He also incidentally referred to the question of the provision of suitable training for Indians in the various mail services; but the terms of his Resolution are cast so wide that it seems to me that his main object, although he has succeeded in cloaking it very well, is really an indirect attempt to make the Executive responsible to this Legislature.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: Not at all indirect—it is my direct object.

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: Well, Sir, I am glad to have that assurance. I was frightened when I saw the terms of the Resolution. I would much rather welcome the frontal attacks that have been made by my Honourable friend opposite (Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar) and by my Honourable friend here (Pandit Motilal Nehru) on the present constitutional system. But, Sir, if I may for a moment divest myself of my official character and speak as an Indian, I deprecate these attempts to paralyse the Executive. These attempts will merely recoil on us when the desired goal of Swaraj is achieved. My Honourable friend has, in support of his arguments, merely quoted the precedent of the British House of Commons. I admit that the precedent does exist, but there are as you, Sir, are aware historical reasons for it, and also I think it must be patent to everybody that the existence of this practice in England has been criticised on the ground of economy by many competent observers. I feel certain that the practice does not obtain in any other country. I am not a constitutional lawyer but I am emboldened to make this statement because my Honourable friend has not quoted a similar instance in the constitutional practice of any other country.

The real effect of my Honourable friend's proposal will be that a large number of contracts will have to be placed before the Assembly and the Council of State before effect can be given to them. The Honourable the Mover of the amendment has cast his net even wider. If his amendment is carried, I fear that every broadcasting licence which we may issue in future, when broadcasting comes into fashion in this country, will have to be laid before the two Houses. Incidentally, Sir, I wish to congratulate my Honourable friend Mr. Joshi on the accession to the ranks of Labour members in this Assembly of my Honourable friend the Khan Bahadur, although I confess that I have not quite followed how Indian capitalists are responsible in their methods of aggrandisement against Indian labour for the pitiable condition of the Chittagong dockyards. I should at the same time like to refer to the question raised by my Honourable friend, Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar, with regard to the securing of a living wage. That, Sir, is a very big question, and I do not think my Honourable friend will secure his object by merely enforcing living wages in the case of employees of company worked railways. He will have to tackle the problem in a much bigger manner. Wages are paid to workers not only by company railways, but also by owners of mills and factories in Bombay and elsewhere. I shall welcome any efforts in that direction on the part of my Honourable friend opposite.

Sir, there are many practical difficulties in the proposal which has been put forward before the House by my friend opposite. He has not attempted to discuss them. I should just like to mention them very briefly. Is a contract to remain in abeyance while the House is not in session? Suppose we enter into a contract in the month of April. It is not to be given effect to, I understand, until in the September session the Assembly and the Council of State pass a Resolution on the subject. Then again how are the negotiations to be conducted? The other side will always tell us "Oh, well, we do not know whether these negotiations will ever mature; you may enter into a contract, but your principal, the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, may not agree; we must cover ourselves against the risk and we will have to charge you a very much higher rate than we would otherwise do."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): On a point of order, Sir. The Honourable Member said that there was no precedent; may I point out that that is not so in England and that there is a precedent there.

Mr. President: That is not a point of order.

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: I think, Sir, I admitted that the practice did exist in England in this particular case and in no other. I was going on to say that there were many practical difficulties in carrying out the recommendation embodied in the Resolution. I mentioned that a particular company may object when we tell them that the proposal will have to be finally sanctioned by the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State; they will naturally have to cover themselves against the risk of the proposal falling through. Just imagine an opposite instance. Supposing, when we are conducting negotiations with a company, the management or board of directors of that company tell us that the proposals will have to be submitted to a meeting of shareholders. Is it contended for a moment that Government would agree to any such condition? Then again imagine a case where we have called for tenders and we have received

[Mr. A. C. Chatterjee.]

a very large number of tenders. Are all those tenders to be disclosed and discussed in this Assembly where the proceedings are open to everybody? Then, again, is the consent of both Houses to be obtained? According to the terms of the Resolution, a Resolution of the Indian Legislature is necessary. Supposing there is a difference between the Council of State and the Assembly, what is going to happen then?

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar (Madras City: Non-Muhammudan Urban): How do they manage it in England, please, may I know?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: It is only laid before the House of Commons. Then, Sir, I want to refer to another point. Instances in which very large contracts are entered into are not very many. My Honourable friend has referred to the case of company worked railways. This particular instance will be discussed by my Honourable colleague the Commerce Member. But, coming to the second part of his Resolution, I may mention that the carriage of mails between England and Europe is at present arranged by the British Post Office. As the Honourable gentleman, the Mover of the Resolution, mentioned, it is usually the country of origin which arranges for the carriage of mails. So all mails that come from England to India have to be arranged for by the British Post Office. It is true that we could make separate arrangements for the mails from India to England. Recently, I have had a very careful inquiry made into the matter and I have satisfied myself that the arrangements by which we entrust the carriage of our mails from India to Europe to the British Post Office mean a very considerable saving to the Indian exchequer. In any case the present arrangement will continue till 1927. The only other instance where we make any large or important contracts for the carriage of mails is with regard to the coastal services. That case is now under the consideration of Government and the circumstances are such that Government have decided to place the matter before the Standing Finance Committee of this House for their advice.

Then we come to wireless. As regards wireless the Honourable gentleman asked me a few questions. I think I explained in answer to various interpellations that we have not given any contract to any company. All that we have hitherto done is that we have published terms in accordance with which licenses will be given. We have not yet received any formal applications for such licenses. Those terms have been published. They were in a way communicated to the House more than a year ago. There has been no criticism so far; there has been ample opportunity to the House to criticise the proposals that have been made by Government. Every care has been taken to protect Indian interests when any license will be given for wireless, and I shall welcome any suggestions with regard to this matter from Members of this Assembly.

As regards telephone companies, there are, so far as I can recollect, only three companies to which licenses have been given and those licenses are still to run for another twenty years. The terms of those licenses I gave to the House in answer to an interpellation a few days ago. So that my Honourable friend's proposal will not affect telephone companies, will not affect wireless, will not affect the P. and O. for another two or three years; and, as regards the British India Company's contracts for the coastal services, I have already indicated that the matter is at present under consideration and that we are seeking the advice of the Standing Finance Committee.

I need not go into the numerous contracts which will come under the purview of the Resolution if the Honourable Khan Bahadur's amendment is accepted. I really do not think it is conceivable that Government could possibly lay before this House every possible kind of contract which does not create any charge, but which on the other hand brings profit to Government, for sanction of the Assembly before the contracts are entered into. The position, I submit, Sir, is inconceivable. I have already said that we are placing one of these cases before the Standing Finance Committee for its advice. It will appear, therefore, that, where Government consider that it is in the public interest that they should consult a Committee of the Assembly, they will do so. But I cannot possibly give any undertaking or any guarantee that this will be a regular practice or that this practice will be adopted in every case. Finally, Sir, I wish to appeal to the House again to consider whether it is right in trying to paralyse the Executive in the manner which is suggested or which would be the effect of this Resolution.

Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar (Madras ceded districts and Chittoor: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, after hearing the Honourable Mr. Chatterjee's speech about the observations made by the two Honourable Members who proposed the Resolution and the amendment, I am inclined to say a few words. The Honourable Member said that once you make the Executive of the present day responsible to the Legislature it may recoil on us when we get Swaraj. Sir, I am prepared to say, even at this moment, Swaraj or no Swaraj, that the Executive must always be responsible to the Legislature. Whether it is a brown bureaucracy or a white bureaucracy it is equally unwelcome so long as it does not hold itself responsible to the Legislature. Therefore, Sir, I am not at all afraid of the threat that if this principle is adopted now, it will recoil on us when we get Swaraj.

Now, Sir, with reference to the suggestion that it may often become difficult for us to settle these contracts when the House is not in session, that is a difficulty which I also anticipated when I first read the Resolution of my Honourable friend Diwan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao as well as the amendment. It also seems to me to be a real difficulty, and I think some way must be found out between the Honourable Mr. Chatterjee and the Honourable the Movers of the Resolution and amendment. It seems to me that to submit all such contracts on every occasion to a large Assembly like this may cause necessarily some inconvenience. We feel this even in the management of our contracts in small bodies like the local bodies, the Municipalities and so on. When the chairman enters into contracts and when they are submitted to the municipal council, even then we feel the difficulty of the municipal councillors sitting at a sitting and going into the details of all these contracts. For this purpose, I thought that I might suggest an amendment by which a Joint Committee of the Legislature, three elected Members of this Assembly and two from the Council of State, may be elected every year as a Joint Committee to settle and go through these contracts and also to countersign these contracts when they are entered into between the Government and the various Companies. That I thought would be a feasible procedure, but as I felt that I was too late in proposing an amendment, I did not bring it forward as an amendment.

Then, Sir, the Honourable Mr. Chatterjee referred in one breath to difficulties being frequently experienced in this direction and in another

[Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar.]

breath said that such occasions are very rare. I do not see how there will be a difficulty in referring these questions to a Committee of the Legislature

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: May I explain, Sir? I said that the larger contracts are not many, but there will be quite a large number of small cases if the Honourable Member's proposal embodied in the amendment was given effect to.

Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar: When once, Sir, a principle is accepted that all such contracts, be they large or be they small, should be also under the superintendence or under the advice of the Assembly or its representatives, I think we must adopt one rule and not adopt different rules for different purposes. It may often lead to difficulties as to finding out which is a large contract and which is a small contract.

Now, Sir, so far as the question of the amendment moved to this Resolution is concerned, the Honourable Mr. Chatterjee said that in cases in which no public charge is involved, it is only a question of profit, and no references to the Legislature would be found necessary. I think, Sir, even in such cases it is absolutely necessary that the Legislature or a Committee of the Legislature should be consulted for the reason that even in fixing the persons to be selected for the contracts some amount of discretion and some amount of scrutiny may have to be exercised, so that we may not be open to the charge of personal nepotism in regard to particular companies. In these circumstances, Sir, I wish strongly to urge on the Assembly to accept the amendment which is in larger terms than the proposition, and, if it is open to me to propose an amendment, I would suggest that all contracts be referred to a Committee to be elected of three Members of this Assembly and two of the Council of State to go into this question of contracts.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Sir, the Honourable Member in charge said that this will paralyse the Government and that he was not a constitutional lawyer, but he raised various difficulties which would paralyse the Government. Now, Sir, in the first place, I have not heard a single word from the Honourable Member as to how many contracts are likely to be entered into of the nature which are covered by this Resolution, leave alone the amendment.

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: I mentioned them.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: How many contracts are the Government likely to enter into of the nature mentioned in this Resolution? There is some misconception, it seems, in this House on the part of some Honourable Members that there will be a number of contracts which the Government will be entering into every week or every month. Nothing of the kind. I will read out the purport of this Resolution:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that in all contracts extending over a period of years and creating a public charge, actual or prospective, entered into between the Government and Companies with an English or Indian domicile"—(for what?)—"for the working of State Railways or for the conveyance of mails by sea or for the purpose of telegraphic or wireless communications."

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: Please read the amendment.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: I do not deal with the amendment at all, I am opposed to it. I think it will certainly paralyse the Government. Therefore, let us keep to the Resolution. I submit, Sir, that the Resolution deals with contracts of a peculiar character, namely, of a very serious character, namely further, contracts which will extend over years, and I ask the Honourable Member what is the difficulty in placing these contracts before this House? There is a clear precedent which is followed in the House of Commons and I will read it to him.

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: It has already been read.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: The Honourable Member says it has already been read. But he asked supposing this House is not sitting, what will happen? May I tell him that? This is what happens if the House is not sitting:

"Every such contract when executed shall forthwith, if Parliament be then sitting, or if Parliament be not then sitting, within 14 days after it assembles, be laid upon the table of the House accompanied by a Minute of the Lords of the Treasury."

This is what will happen. If this Assembly is not in session, the Honourable Member will place it on the table within fourteen days after it assembles. Then he said he would be paralysed. Why will he be paralysed? This Assembly at least sits during the months of January, February and March. We have got three months, and this Assembly also normally meets in September. Sir, if the Government is going to enter into such serious engagements as these contracts, what difficulty is there to time-themselves in such a way as to place these contracts before this House? What is the difficulty? It is only an excuse, it is the same old story; the Executive does not wish to stand the searchlight of this House in entering into engagements of a serious character—I say there is absolutely no justification. The Honourable Member has made out no case whatsoever, and, therefore, Sir, I support this Resolution.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes (Commerce Member): Sir, I should like first to refer to a remark by Mr. Duraiswami Aiyangar. Mr. Duraiswami Aiyangar said that he would not accept the position taken up by my Honourable colleague, Mr. Chatterjee, because it was his view and it was the view of this House that the Executive must be responsible to the Legislature. It seems to me, Sir, that there is a certain amount of confusion of thought in that remark by my Honourable friend. It is perfectly true that an Executive must always be responsible to some Legislature or other. But, Sir, it is equally true that in every properly arranged constitution there are clearly defined spheres for the action of the Executive and the action of the Legislature. It is perfectly true, as Mr. Jinnah and other speakers have pointed out, that in this matter of mail contracts there is a precedent set up in the British Parliament. But Mr. Chatterjee pointed out that that precedent was, as far as we know, a single precedent and we think it is a bad precedent. I take my stand upon one of the leading exponents of Parliamentary practice and Parliamentary law in the world. I refer to Sir Courtney Ilbert. I hope the House will allow me to read a sentence from his book "Parliament":

"It must be repeated that Parliament does not govern and is not intended to govern. A strong Executive Government, tempered and controlled by constant, vigilant and representative criticism, is the ideal at which Parliamentary institutions aim."

That, Sir, seems to me to be an accurate statement of the case and the only difference between the House and ourselves in this matter is that we do not wish to set up bad precedents. I quite see the difficulty in which

[Sir Charles Innes.]

the House is. In particular I see it in regard to my own subject, namely, Railways. I quite see that the House will say: "we have expressed a very strong view in favour of State management and what we are afraid of is that in this transition period you on your own may tie this House down for 30 or 40 years to a contract with a company." I quite see that difficulty and I will deal with it later. In the meantime I should just like to refer briefly to Mr. Ramachandra Rao's speech. He opened up, Sir, a very fascinating subject, the subject of State *versus* Company management. He repeated all the old arguments in favour of State management. But, Sir, I do not propose to follow him. We discussed that question in the fullest possible detail this time last year. He then, Sir, made many complaints against the South Indian Railway. Here again I do not propose to follow the Honourable Member. But the fact is that, as regards the South Indian Railway, we are bound by a contract which does not expire till 1945. It does not seem to me, therefore, Sir, that it would serve any useful purpose if we went into the merits or demerits of that contract.

Then, Sir, let me just make a passing remark in regard to my friend, Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar's speech. Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar stated that because of the contract with the South Indian Railway, railway development in Southern India had been hampered; and he went on to make many complaints of friction between the District Board Railways and the parent line. As regards railway development in Southern India the difficulty always has been not so much one of the contract with the South Indian Railway but the question of finance; and I hope, Sir, that in a very short period of time the Government will be able to make an announcement to show that those difficulties are in a fair way to be overcome and that we hope soon to be able to embark upon a very real programme of railway development in Southern India. Let me add that Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar's statement about the friction between District Board Railways and the parent line did not impress me in any way as criticisms of the actual contract between ourselves and the South Indian Railway. They do impress me in this way, namely, that they bear out most fully what the Acworth Committee said in paragraph 177 and following of their report about branch lines and feeder lines. I am sure that my friend, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas will have listened to Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar with great pleasure and will agree with me that all he said in this respect was a confirmation of the Acworth Committee's remarks about branch lines and feeder lines. It is a condemnation of the whole system of branch and feeder lines more than a condemnation of the South Indian Railway contract.

Now, Sir, let me come back to the subject of railways. What Mr. Ramachandra Rao asks is that, before we enter into any contract with a company for the leasing of a State line, we should insert in that contract a clause which will make that contract inoperative unless and until it has been ratified by this Assembly. It is perfectly true, as Mr. Jinnah said, that there are not many contracts of this kind, for I take it that Mr. Ramachandra Rao is not referring to small contracts relating to extensions which for administrative reasons we have to hand over to the parent line for working. What he is referring to, I take it, are two classes of cases. The first is the case of our existing State lines. The existing contracts will fall in at certain dates and it will then have to be considered whether we should take those railways over under State management or whether we

should hand them over to companies for management. I take it that Mr. Ramachandra Rao in that case wishes the House to lay down a rule that, when we enter into any contracts with companies for these State managed lines, we should insert this clause in the contract. Now, Sir, a list of those lines is given on page 64 of the Acworth Committee's Report. The first contract to fall in is that of the Burma Railway. The existing contract does not terminate till 1928. The Assam Bengal Railway contract does not terminate till 1931, and the contracts of the remaining four Railways terminate at later dates extending right up to 1950. Now, Sir, here is a book from the library, "The History of Indian Railways." Full details of these contracts are given for every one of these Railways, and in this book, it is stated exactly when the existing contracts terminate and exactly what period of notice the Government have to give if we propose to terminate those contracts. Let me take the Burma Railways. As I have said, the contract expires in 1928 and by the terms of the contract we are required to give one year's notice if we are going to terminate the contract. That is to say, this question will become really urgent in 1927 and that fact will be known to Members of this Assembly. Now, I suggest to Mr. Ramachandra Rao that the main point that he has in view would be met if some Member of this House, as Dr. Gour did in regard to the East Indian and Great Indian Peninsula, moves a Resolution some time in 1926 or 1927 to the effect that, when the contract with the Burma Railways expires, the railway be taken over under State management. In that way the whole question will be brought up before this House and, Sir, I do not know, nobody knows, what the verdict of the House will be in 1927. All I know about the Government Member of that day is that it will not be myself, but I am perfectly sure that whoever the Government Member may be in charge of Railways, he will attach the greatest possible weight to any Resolution which may be adopted by this House in regard to the future management of the Burma Railways. And that reply is also with reference to all the other railways mentioned on this page 64 of the Acworth Committee's Report. I submit, Sir, that the House in that way will have the fullest opportunity of bringing to bear upon Government its views in regard to the future management of those railways, whatever those views may be, and in those circumstances it would be wrong for this House to insist or to pass a Resolution saying that we should insert this clause in whatever contract we may enter into. Mr. Jinnah says that it would not paralyse the Government to insert that clause. Sir, I join issue at once with Mr. Jinnah. It would paralyse the Government. It will not paralyse us in all the branches of our administration, but I think it would make it perfectly impossible for us to enter into any negotiations of any kind with any private company if such a clause were inserted. Mr. Jinnah must know, being a business man, that negotiations of that kind are very lengthy, and a very difficult business; you have got to work out exactly on what terms you can take over a railway from Government; you have got to approach financial groups, financial houses, and they will not undertake that work if they think, that, at the end, all their work would go for nothing because their proposals are liable to be turned down by this House, possibly not for business reasons. Then, Sir, let me come to the last case, and this, I admit, is a difficult case. Mr. Ramachandra Rao pointed out that we had a debate on State *versus* Company management this time last year. I moved an amendment which I may say was not accepted by the House in regard to these two railways. The whole object of that amendment, as I explained most carefully in my speech, was to ensure that

[Sir Charles Innes.]

Government might have the door open for negotiations with a real genuine private company for one or other of these railways. That amendment was not accepted. The House passed the Resolution that the two Railways should be taken over under State management. We have been busy making arrangements with the present companies for taking those two railways under our own management, and the House will no doubt want to know what I have done, in regard to my amendment. Well, I have done nothing as regards these negotiations; I say quite frankly I have done nothing; being very busy with other matters, we have not opened any formal negotiations of any sort. But I want to say this; if I do enter into any negotiations of that sort, this House may take it from me that I will not do anything to commit the people of India to a contract with the East Indian Railway or the G. I. P. Railway without taking the Central Advisory Council most fully into our confidence; and I hope they will accept that as a reasonable solution of what I admit to be a difficult problem. I have explained, I have tried to explain, the reasons why we do not want to accept a Resolution that this particular clause should be entered in the contract, but in this particular case I have said that I will try to meet the House as far as I can by giving them a promise that, if we do go on with these negotiations, I will not commit the House to a contract of this kind without taking the Central Advisory Council most fully into our confidence.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I offer my strong support to the Resolution which has been moved by my friend, Mr. Ramachandra Rao. I have listened to the two speeches of the Honourable Members for Commerce and for Industries, but I feel a little more perplexed as to why there should be such a difference of attitude between the non-official and official Members in this Assembly. Both the Honourable Members have endeavoured to persuade us of the unwisdom of the course recommended in the Resolution. On the other hand, we, sitting on the non-official side, do not see that any such difficulty as they have pointed out is likely to arise if this proposal is accepted. The Honourable Mr. Chatterjee told us that there would be great difficulties in having the details of such contracts laid before this House, and that business firms would not be willing to come forward often to enter into a contract with the Government if they knew that the matter would have to be confirmed by this House. The Honourable Sir Charles Innes repeats the same arguments and says that there may be Companies unwilling to enter into negotiations if this proposed rule is laid down. Now, Sir, we have been told that in the House of Commons, which is considered to be the wisest of Parliaments existing at present there is such a rule, that in the House of Commons this rule has existed for a long time, and every Member is by this time aware that provision is made with regard to contracts relating to the carrying of mails, that the contract shall not be binding unless it has been approved of by a Resolution of the House. The language of the Resolution seems to me to have been taken from this rule of the House. The rule runs:

“In all contracts extending over a period of years and creating a public charge, actual or prospective, entered into by the Government for the conveyance of mails by sea or for the purpose of telegraphic communications beyond the sea, there should be inserted a condition that the contract shall not be binding until it has been approved of by a Resolution of the House.”

I cannot imagine any possible circumstances which can differentiate a contract entered into by the Government of India with a company for

the carrying of mails by sea from a contract entered into by the British Government with any such company. The Honourable Sir Charles Innes referred to an admirable writer on the question of the spheres of the Legislature and of the Executive Government under the Parliamentary system. I think we all recognize those spheres. We do not want to enter into a discussion regarding the details of every act of the Executive Government before it is carried out, but cannot my friend see the principle which underlies this Resolution? Can he not make a distinction between contracts other than those mentioned in the Resolution and those mentioned there? What does the Resolution deal with? What are the classes of contracts it deals with?—"the working of State railways and the conveyance of mails by sea or for the purpose of telegraphic or wireless communications." Do not contracts of this nature stand on a footing which is entirely different from other contracts? In the matter of the working of State railways the public is deeply interested; every detail which may be entered in an agreement with a company for the management of railways, for the working of railways, is a matter in which the public is deeply interested. As the public is interested in it, and as it is essential that a contract should be entered into after the greatest care has been exercised, this clause of the contracts has been picked out from the rest of the contracts and is sought to be brought under the rule, under the wise rule which has been proposed in this Resolution. A contract which the Government may enter into with a railway company affects the interests, affects the comfort and discomfort of a vast number of people in this country; that is inevitable. It is therefore that a contract like that requires to be entered into after the greatest care and deliberation; and I am sure the Honourable Members on the Government Benches will agree that, if a clause like what is proposed is inserted in an agreement, the Honourable Members will devote extra care to see that the contract is such as will commend itself to the general public, and the Companies will devote extra care to propose such terms as are likely to be acceptable to the general public. Both the parties to the contract, entering into the contract directly, one on behalf of the people and the other on behalf of the private Companies, will be much more careful in proposing terms and in settling details than they are likely to be if the matter is to be settled by the Honourable Member for Commerce, may be with approval of the Executive Council, as regards the broad principles of the details, or may be without it. But when they know that the matter has to be placed before the Assembly, I am sure every party concerned will exercise much greater care. Now, Sir, it was objected that a Company might not wish to place the details of the proposed contract before a House like this. I should say to the Company, "go away, we do not want your offer; we do not want to enter into a contract with you." There will be other Companies coming forward to do the same.

So also with regard to the carrying of mails by sea and by air, as the amendment proposes. Those are matters in which the public are deeply interested. Those are matters which do not take place every day. As my Honourable friend Mr. Jinnah has pointed out, contracts of the nature contemplated in the Resolution have to be entered into only occasionally and the Honourable Sir Charles Innes himself has told us that they should be given time. If this Resolution is accepted by this House to-day, Government will have sufficient notice. They will know that, whenever they have to enter into negotiations for the renewal of a contract for the

[Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.]

working of any State railway, they will have to prepare themselves for submitting the proposals to this House or to the successors of this House. They will have ample time to do so and every company which wishes to enter into any negotiation for such contracts will have ample time to do so.

I do not see that there can be any practical difficulty in giving effect to this Resolution. On the other hand, we know the past history of the working of Indian State Railways in this country, of the construction of the many railways and of the working of many railways. Enormous sums have been lost in the construction and in the working of the railways which should not have been lost and they would not have been lost if contracts had been entered into after having been laid before an Assembly of the elected representatives of the people. I do not want to go into the details. It will serve no profitable purpose. But now that there is a representative Assembly in existence and now that the Government have declared that their object is to introduce responsible government and to make the Executive willy-nilly, to-day or to-morrow, responsible to the Legislature, Government ought willingly to accept the Resolution. They ought to welcome the Resolution and show that they are alive to the new situation. By doing so they will enhance their reputation for wisdom in the eyes of the Members of this Assembly and in the eyes of the general public. On the other hand, if they tenaciously fight against a Resolution for which there is a precedent in existence in the House of Commons and which commends itself to the common sense of the ordinary man in the street, they will be placing themselves more than ever in opposition to the popular wishes; and they will in one sense no doubt be doing us a help in showing that an irresponsible executive and a House containing an elected majority cannot long exist together.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas (Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau: Indian Commerce): Sir, I rise to support the main Resolution before the House and I hope that the Honourable the Mover of the amendment will withdraw his amendment. I do not think that the amendment will stand much examination in the light of what has been said by the Honourable Members on the benches opposite, but at the same time, Sir, I very strongly feel that the Resolution is one which stands absolutely unscathed in spite of all that we have heard from the benches opposite. At this stage I do not propose to go into the question of whether the postal subsidy as fixed at present by my Honourable friend opposite with His Majesty's Government is in order or not; nor would, I am sure, the House like me to discuss the question of the various railway contracts in spite of the invitation extended to me by my Honourable friend opposite. I wish, therefore, Sir, to restrict myself to the main principle underlying the Resolution moved by the Honourable Diwan Bahadur, and I hope that before I conclude I may be able to show to the House that the Resolution is one to which no exception should have been taken; but which deserves the fullest approval of this House. The Honourable Member from Madras mentioned the question of how the renewal of the contract for the South Indian Railway was done by the Secretary of State in London over the heads not only of the Government of Madras but also, I understand, over the heads of the Government of India. I wish to add an example of another nature which I hope we have avoided in good time. I am referring,

Sir, to the Indian Retrenchment Committee's Report under the heading Indo-European Telegraph Department, where the Committee say:

"Considerable difficulty must inevitably be experienced in the administration and control of this undertaking by a Government Department either in England or India, and, if it can be disposed of on favourable terms, we are of the opinion that the proceeds could be more usefully employed in meeting the many urgent needs for productive capital expenditure in India."

With that opinion of the Committee I had the misfortune to dissent and my dissenting note begins with:

"The capital sunk in this Department is shown to be Rs. 1,78 lakhs in 1920-21."

and I conclude my minute with this:

"My colleagues recommend an examination of the possibility of selling this concern to a British Company. I cannot agree with them. I am not aware if the circumstances, under which the telegraph lines under this Department were laid at the expense of the Government of India, have changed so as to warrant the idea of selling same or of leasing them to a British Company. The Standing Finance Committee of the Legislature in India would be the proper party to examine the circumstances and find out whether it is advisable or necessary to sell or lease a Department, which is remunerative to the Government of India."

Having said that, Sir, as a minute of dissent, on the Retrenchment Committee's Report, none will be surprised by the very strong support that I propose to give to my Honourable friend's Resolution. I do not wish to dilate upon the Indo-European Telegraph Department and my views on it, because I do not think the House at this stage wishes to have any further instances as to some acts of omission and commission in the past which prove the necessity of this Resolution. But I wish, Sir, to refer to one or two points that have come out in the course of the debate. The Honourable Sir Charles Innes said that that very good and very useful rule in the British Parliament was not approved by some greater authority that he mentioned. That the rule was there in England and was good enough for the British Parliament is undisputed. There may be some who think that it is not necessary now or it is not in keeping with the dignity of the British House of Commons. I contend, Sir, that in the half-hearted privileges, half-hearted rights, that we have got here, for us, the representatives of the tax-payers as against the Executive, this rule is certainly very desirable, is certainly very necessary. But the executive themselves would do very well and inspire greater confidence in the public and in this side of the House if they looked upon this Resolution, if passed by this House, as a convention. For, Sir, there is no parallel between the powers enjoyed by the non-officials in the British Parliament and those enjoyed by us in this House. There is no doubt that there, if the opposition to the Government pass a Resolution, the Executive have got to clear out and the Government comes to an end and somebody else comes into power. Here, we may talk, but the criticised contract stands, and the personnel of the Executive stands. In the light of this I was surprised at my Honourable friend Mr. Chatterjee saying that a Resolution like this would paralyse the Executive. I should have thought that he would have looked upon this Resolution as exactly the right thing to prevent paralysis of the Executive, to prevent any sort of future difficulty, any sort of heart-burning amongst anybody—the criticisms which we non-officials must level against disapproved contracts. I should have thought that this would be looked upon as a right step suggested for the purpose of inviting criticism, if any, when a contract

[Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas.]

of such a nature is put before the House; somebody on the non-official side can then get up and point out if some special point is overlooked. Instead of aiming at paralysing the Executive, I think it is the one thing which will bring about not only no paralysis of the Executive, but a great help to the Executive and avoid that bitter criticism which is being so much resented by the benches opposite. I, therefore, Sir, would have liked the opposite benches to dwell a little more on that point raised by my Honourable friend Mr. Chatterjee and to explain how it could paralyse the Executive. It was very correctly pointed out by my friend Mr. Jinnah that the Resolution does not apply to the daily contracts for say the purchase of stores or things of that sort, but it applies to contracts, as he said, which create a public charge, and the Resolution mentions the various principal things to which it should apply, such as, the working of State railways and telegraph and other lines. Sir, I am sure my Honourable friend Mr. Chatterjee does not mean to say that contracts for working of State railways are things which, even though they may be negotiated in a private room, should be kept back and that any sort of public information that may be given about them to this House should make it necessary for the parties thus negotiating with the Government of India to withdraw. I am afraid I must say clearly that the Resolution is intended for the purpose of stopping these hole-and-corner negotiations and for giving the widest publicity to such contracts which entail a charge on the public revenues, so that the public and this House especially may make such suggestions and bring in such parties as they think fit in order to see that the State gets the best possible before such contracts are made. I could understand what my Honourable friend said if it was a question of interference with the Stores Department. A man may say I hold this fairly cheap. If you close with me now, I will give it to you at a certain rate. But, if you want me to wait for two or three weeks, I will go to somebody else as it is possible that the market may go down and I will not stand, what they call, 'firm' during this period. Surely those conditions will never apply to railway contracts or to contracts for the conveyance of mails by sea or for the purpose of telegraph or wireless concessions. I certainly think, Sir, that in all these matters the parties who seek these contracts are as anxious as, if not more anxious than, the Government of India, to secure contracts. And I think I can say that one of the reasons for suggesting this Resolution is to do away with any sort of preference. I will not contend that any preference has been shown till now. But it is to do away with any sort of preference about which there may be a suspicion or an allegation, not now but, say, ten, fifteen or twenty years hence. I think, Sir, that this is a very healthy convention if my Honourable friends on the Treasury Benches will accept it.

A question was raised as to whether this should be placed before this House or before both the Houses. I think in England the general rule is that all such contracts are placed before the House which controls the purse. I do not think that that question should have been raised from the benches opposite. The Honourable Sir Charles Innes gave an undertaking which was hardly necessary that as long as he was here he would not do anything which he knew would be against the wishes and against the expressed opinions of this House. There is not the least doubt that the Honourable Sir Charles Innes always tried to do things which he believes to be in keeping with the views of the House. But the views of

the House may change all of a sudden for certain reasons of which the Honourable Sir Charles Innes may not be aware. There will then be a misunderstanding and a sort of *impasse*. What is most important to my mind is that a rule like this, though it may not be necessary in view of the personnel of the Government of India to-day, is a healthy rule and should not be disapproved by the present personnel of the Executive. But if you like to put it another way and if that will please you, it will be very useful when Swaraj comes in and when we have our own Executive Councillors. The point is: Will you accept it to-day? I have, Sir, great pleasure in supporting this Resolution and I hope the Honourable Mover of the amendment will withdraw his amendment.

Mr. N. M. Joshi (Nominated: Labour Interests): Sir, I rise to support the Resolution moved by my Honourable friend from Madras.

Sir, the previous speakers have pointed out how the present methods of entering into contracts with the Railway and other public utility companies have failed to protect the various kinds of interests. And I wish to add one word as to how the present measure of entering into contracts has failed to protect the interests of the employees of the public utility companies, especially of the Railways. Sir, I do not wish to go into the details of this matter, but I will mention only one thing in which the Government of India under the present method of contracts have failed to protect the rights of the employees of the Railway Companies. Sir, in all civilised countries the employees of industrial concerns and in many countries even of Government departments have the right of association and have also the right of their Associations being recognised by their employers. Many of the railway companies in India do not recognise this right of their employees. They do not acknowledge the letters sent by the Associations of their employees and the Government of India have shown themselves impotent to compel the Railway Companies to recognise the Associations of the employees. I therefore feel, Sir, that it is necessary that, when contracts are made with any public utility companies, this House should have an opportunity of discussing the terms under which a contract has been made. This will give the House an opportunity of discussing the conditions of life given to the employees of these companies. Sir, I am not merely speaking from the point of view of the workers. I am speaking from the point of view of the public interests. If an Association is not recognised by a Company, it gives rise many a time to a serious loss to the public. I remember only a few days ago there was a strike on the G. I. P. Railway in Bombay and I am sure that strike would have been averted if the G. I. P. Railway Employees' Association had been recognised. That strike, Sir, has caused a great loss to the public which would have been averted if the Association had been recognised by the Company. I therefore feel that great public interests are involved when the terms of contracts of public utility are settled. Moreover, if the conditions of a contract are discussed in this House from time to time, the interests of the consumers of these public utility companies will be safeguarded. I know the instance of the Telephone Company of Bombay. They have got a long term licence. Sir, every one who uses the telephones in Bombay will be very glad if he could get an opportunity of discussing the affairs of that Telephone Company in this Assembly at an early date. (A Voice: "The same applies to Calcutta.") I do not think there will be any difficulty to Government if this method of entering into contracts is adopted. The Government will not be paralysed. I am not in favour of paralysing the Government, as everybody knows. I know there will be no difficulty if the Government, if not responsible, is at least responsive to the wishes of this House.

Sir Campbell Rhodes (Bengal: European): Sir, I did not intend to intervene in this debate but I should just like to put a few considerations before the House. I think this debate has shown that the personnel of this House is seriously lacking in practical business men. (Hear, hear). I have been head of a large firm in Calcutta for some 13 years. But we have never worked on the principle that I was not to enter into any contract without provisos and that I had to refer the final draft to my fellow-partners in Calcutta or London. It is impossible, Sir, to enter into negotiations under such circumstances. The Assembly can lay down—and rightly lay down—the general policy which the Government should adopt. But when it comes to the actual negotiations, then, I submit, Sir, it is a matter for a plenipotentiary to deal with the other side. What is the alternative? It has not, I think, been brought out in the discussion. The preliminary effect will be that the particular contract is laid by the Honourable Member in charge before this House for consideration. It means that the other party to the contract has got to approach every single Member of this House and canvass him for the contract and endeavour to influence him in some way or another (*Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas*: "Not necessarily.") Do we want to be worried in that way? I have sat on a Corporation in India and I know the amount of canvassing and worry that goes on. It is much better for our own sakes that we should trust Government with the management of the actual negotiations, even if we lay down, as I say rightly lay down, the general policy for the Executive to adopt. These contracts contain an extraordinary amount of detail and it is impossible for a general Assembly like this to go into the details of the contracts and fight out the whole negotiations in a popular Assembly which is competent to deal with matters of general policy, but is not competent to act as individual business men can act.

Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar (Madura and Ramnad *cum* Tinnevely: Non-Muhammadian Rural): Sir, I have only to add a few words to what has been already said. I really do not understand the objection the Honourable Member has in accepting this Resolution. As regards the time when it is to be set out for the approval of this Assembly, there is no mention of it in the Resolution. The contracts that are covered by it are pretty big contracts, whose operation is well known to the Government and the Assembly. If only the Government would get the terms of the contract on paper a little earlier than the contract would come into force and place it before this Assembly, it will be a question only of the Assembly suggesting improvements, if any. I really do not see that the Assembly would stultify itself or would cause loss to the taxpayer. *Sir Campbell Rhodes* talked of the firms he has been connected with. Nobody will deny that the firms managed by our friends of the community he belongs to are taken care of particularly well by business men who know all about them and who would be immediately questioned by the other partners if they were to go astray, but the case of the State contracts are not of that kind. They deserve to be carefully watched; they deserve to be also publicly announced so that questions that might be left out, that might not have been, in the hurry of business, noted by the officers in charge, might be given the chance of being commented on by a representative Assembly of this kind. The reason I would place before the Government for this would be this. We have seen that the Retrenchment Committee's Report has shown fully well how the railways have for some years been very badly managed. Nobody is going to charge any particular officer with neglect of duty or want of control, but the fact is there, that it has been possible to lower the expenses by at least four and odd crores in

the course of a year. That has been accepted so far and it is proposed to further retrench the expenditure. Similarly, other questions that we have come across in connection with the District Board railways in Madras will amply show that the care necessary is not bestowed by a highly centralised board like the Railway Board, or the Member in charge of the Government of India. Details which are really known to the persons in contact with the contracts are not known at all here. In fact the District Board system has not been adopted in other Provinces, and I know Madras suffered considerably because, the strong feeling of the people of Madras could not be immediately communicated to the Railway Board, which took its own time to consider these questions

Mr. President: That does not come under the Resolution. The Resolution, as I have pointed out before, is an attempt to establish the principle of Parliamentary control over the terms of the contract, not over the administration of the railways themselves.

Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar: I can see it, Sir, but I only mentioned it in connection with these contracts of the lease of the railways being first placed before the Assembly for the terms to be considered. Of course that is one of the matters that will have to be considered when the State railways are leased out, and the terms of letting to branch railways that may start from them will also have to be considered. I think if only these particular clauses are added to these conditions the working will be much better in the State railways. Similarly, the other questions are such as should be placed before the public, and also when the contract period commences it should have the approval of this Assembly so that there may be no difficulty in bringing out any defects in the contract.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum (North-West Frontier Province: Nominated Non-Official): I move that the question be now put.

Mr. President: The question is that the question be now put.

Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan: Before the question is put I wish to withdraw my amendment.

The motion that the question be put was adopted.

Mr. President: The original question was:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that in all contracts extending over a period of years and creating a public charge, actual or prospective, entered into between the Government and Companies with an English or an Indian domicile:

- (1) for the working of State Railways;
- (2) or for the conveyance of mails by sea or for the purpose of telegraphic or wireless communications,

a condition should be inserted that the contract shall not be binding unless it has been approved by a Resolution of the Indian Legislature."

Since which an amendment has been moved:

"That for the original Resolution the following be substituted:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that in all contracts which will hereafter be entered into by the Government of India with any company either of European or Indian Domicile or any Indian Companies,

- (1) for the management and working of the State Railways;
- (2) for the carrying of mails by sea or air or for establishing telegraphic and wireless communications,

a condition should be inserted that the contract shall not come into force until it is approved by the Indian Legislature in the form of a Resolution."

The question is that that amendment be made:

The motion was negatived.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: The Honourable Member withdrew the amendment.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member was too late. The question is that the Resolution be adopted.

The motion was adopted.

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

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Ten Minutes Past Two of the Clock, Mr. Deputy President (Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar) in the Chair.

RESOLUTION RE TRANSFERRED SUBJECTS IN THE PROVINCES.

Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal (Calcutta: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I move the Resolution standing in my name:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take early steps to amend Rule 6 and Schedule II of the Devolution Rules so as to include in the list of Transferred Subjects in the Provinces all Provincial subjects other than European and Anglo-Indian Education and Local Fund Audit."

Mr. K. C. Neogy (Dacca Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, in view of the fact that we have a Resolution of a much wider scope under consideration, I beg to move that the consideration of this Resolution be adjourned *sine die*.

Mr. Deputy President: The original Resolution was:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take early steps to amend Rule 6 and Schedule II of the Devolution Rules so as to include in the list of Transferred Subjects in the Provinces all Provincial subjects other than European and Anglo-Indian Education and Local Fund Audit."

Since when an amendment has been moved:

"That the consideration of the question be adjourned *sine die*."

The question is that the consideration of the Resolution be adjourned *sine die*.

The motion was adopted.

RESOLUTION RE TENDERS FOR GOVERNMENT STORES.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Sir, the Resolution that I wish to place before this House is of the utmost importance to India. It runs as follows:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that in future tenders for any article required for any department of the Central Government should be called for in India and in rupees, and that the Stores Department at the India Office only should be maintained in such strength as would enable old contracts to be worked out."

We have recently been discussing the very great question of constitutional reforms, and although this Resolution of mine may not interest every Member of the House, it being a very dry subject, I have no doubt that when Honourable Members understand this question and take the trouble of going into it, they will realise that it affects India most vitally. The question has been discussed and debated for almost the last 75 years. The question is this. The Government of India have to purchase what is called stores, and under that name stores, enormous quantities of articles

of various descriptions are required by various departments in this country; and, Sir, the total amount which is spent in the purchase of these stores comes to almost 20 or 21 crores of rupees. Therefore, I want the House to understand that the revenue of this country, used for the purpose of purchasing these stores, is something like 20 or 21 crores of rupees. I do not wish to go into ancient history, but this question was brought to a head when the Industries Commission was sitting, of which this House is aware, and out of the recommendations of the Industries Commission a Committee was appointed by a Resolution of the Government of India on the 5th December 1919. The terms of reference to that Committee are of very great importance, and, although the Resolution appointing that Committee is very lengthy, I will try to put before the House the important point of reference to that Stores Committee, which was in the following terms:

"The Government of India have decided to constitute a Committee to inquire into the matters indicated in this Resolution and to frame a definite and so far as possible a detailed scheme for the purchase and inspection of stores in India. Certain general principles have been, it will be observed, accepted by the Government of India and the Secretary of State. It will not be necessary for the Committee to discuss these further and they should concentrate their attention on the difficult and complicated task of devising a scheme which will as far as possible meet the needs of the different interests concerned while keeping fully in view the fundamental principles of efficiency and economy."

Now, Sir, the object of the reference to this Committee was that, so far as stores are concerned which are required by the Central Government and the various Departments, they should as far as possible be purchased in such a manner as would be in the best interests of India. The first question that we have to consider is this—what is the present constitution of the system which is conducting these operations, namely, purchasing stores? We had, at the time this report was made, what we called the Stores Department at the India Office and we had some sort of department in India. The bulk of, in fact almost all, the stores were purchased by the Stores Department of the India Office in London. The tenders were invited there and all the tenders that were invited were in sterling. So far as India is concerned, during the War, when we had what is called the Munitions Board, it gave some sort of impetus to indigenous manufactures and articles which could be had in India. The attempt, I believe, was made successfully, because during the War the necessary stores could not possibly be had in this country, and I believe Sir Thomas Holland, who was then the head of that Department, over and over again said that he was surprised at the quotations offered in India for the purpose of getting indigenous articles which the Government of India required. Soon after the war was over these efforts were relaxed and almost disappeared. Again, when this Committee was sitting, the position was that practically the whole of the stores which were required for India were purchased in London by what is known as the Stores Department of the India Office. This Committee, when it went into the question, said:

"In view of the necessity of encouraging Indian industries, while at the same time securing economy and efficiency, in the purchase of Government requirements, the Committee should inquire and report what measures are required to enable the departments of the Government of India and the Local Governments to obtain their requirements as far as possible in India and what central and local agencies for purchase and inspection should be constituted; and what should be the relation of such agencies with one another and with the Stores Department of the India Office or such other purchasing organization in England as may hereafter take the place of that department; and what modifications of the Stores Rules will the scheme recommended by the Committee necessitate."

[Mr. M. A. Jinnah.]

This Committee went into the history of the whole question and it reviewed the various steps attempted which I do not call steps at all, because ever since 1862, although certain proposals were made by the Government of India and successive Secretaries of State one after the other, yet unfortunately the case of India remained where it was. I shall read a passage from the report of this Commission which will enlighten this House as to how our Government, represented as it is by a very able Executive, have not been able to do anything at all. I shall read to you only a small passage. It says:

“In 1908 Lord Morley was unable to accept the draft rules proposed by the Government of India on the recommendation of the Stores Committee; similarly in 1918, a proposal for local purchase of plant and machinery, which had been discussed with Sir Lionel Abraham and accepted in principle by Lord Crewe, was returned by the Secretary of State for further consideration. In all these cases the correspondence shows the advice of the India Stores Department to have been the dominating factor and we cannot but observe that the attitude of that department has been in the main one of opposition to any measure which would lead to either purchase or manufacture in India and thus result in the gradual transfer of the supply of stores from the British to the Indian field.”

You will thus see, Sir, that the question has been going on since 1862; and right up to the time of Lord Crewe as the Secretary of State for India the position was that the attitude of the department which is called the India Stores Department was to put every difficulty in doing anything which would lead either to the purchase or manufacture in India and thus result in the gradual transfer of the supply of stores from the British to the Indian field. Well, Sir, that has been our fate for the last 75 years. Now, to-day, as far as I have been able to understand the position, it is this. We have now got a High Commissioner instead of the India Stores Department. It is a high sounding name and the High Commissioner is supposed to be the agent of the Government of India. But let me tell this House that, although, instead of calling it the Stores Department of the India Office, it is called the High Commissioner, the rules and regulations by which he is governed are practically the same, and the position for all practical purposes remains the same in fact. He (the High Commissioner) is guided by certain rules and regulations and he is therefore only entitled to invite tenders there in sterling. The Intelligence Department is there; the Inspection Department is there and (I do not wish unduly to criticise the High Commissioner because it is not so much his fault as the system under which he is working)—the result is really that no fair or proper competition is allowed by the European markets; the result is that owing to the manner in which these tenders are invited, the advertisements which are inserted only in the English language do not reach other countries like France, Germany, Belgium, and so on. The result is that in effect really it gives a tremendous advantage to the British manufacturers who are on the spot, who get the information first; and invariably it is really for all practical purposes confined to the tenders coming from the British firms in England. That is one part.

Then you have some sort of department in India, which is supposed to purchase by annual contracts. I speak subject to correction; I frankly admit that this is a very complicated subject and I shall be very glad if the Honourable Member in charge will throw some further light and I shall certainly stand corrected. You have got a department here which enters into what are called annual contracts, and the purchasing department in

India is again controlled by rules and regulations; and the rules and regulations are such that they can best be described in the words of the representation of the Indian Merchants Chamber and Bureau, which I shall read now: They say this:

"The principal features of the new rules that have struck my Committee are:

- (1) hedging in by purchasing officers in this country with such possible restrictions as the furnishing of proofs that it was not bought at rates more unfavourable than in England;
- (2) the need of satisfying himself that the greater part of the articles purchased was manufactured in this country;
- (3) the worst example of the restrictions on the powers of the purchasing officer is the new rule 5 to which we beg to refer.

My Committee think that the only result of such a rule will be that concessions apparently given under other rules for the encouragement of Indian trade and industry will become nugatory, because very few officers will take upon themselves the responsibility of buying in this country and having to furnish the proofs required and will naturally take the easier course of indenting from England to save themselves from future trouble. As the underlying principle of the new rule seems to be have as great a part of the stores as possible purchased in England"

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee (Industries Member): I am sorry to interrupt the Honourable Member. May I ask him the date of that letter?

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Yes, with pleasure. The date of that letter is 29th September 1921. And may I ask the Honourable Member whether those rules have been altered since? As far as I am aware, those rules have not been altered

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: They are being altered.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: They are being altered. But have they been altered? Therefore, these observations are perfectly relevant, if I may say so, to the subject matter of this Resolution. Those rules exist to-day, and it is under those rules that you are carrying on your purchasing operations

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: I think, Sir, to avoid misapprehension, I may explain that, so far as I can gather, the Honourable Member is reading the criticisms of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau of certain draft rules which were published by the Government of India in March 1921. Since then new rules have been framed by the Railway Industries Committee and those are now under consideration.

Pandit Shamlal Nehru: Do the Government propose to put those new rules before this House?

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: I am fully alive to the fact that there are many things which are under the consideration of Government at the present moment. The whole administration is under the consideration of Government. I am fully alive to that. But I think the Honourable Member will concede this, that the purchasing officer to-day is guided by those rules. What is the rule, what is the principle, that is laid down as a guide for the purchasing officer to-day in India? Is it or is it not in spirit, if not exactly in letter, what I am reading now? If that is so, I say that rule No. 5 is one which undoubtedly makes it very difficult for any officer to take the risk of producing those proofs. There are so many conditions laid down and his powers are so hedged in that a man will naturally say

[Mr. M. A. Jinnah.]

to himself 'Why am I to take this risk of producing the proofs and satisfying my superior? The best thing is to indent for the goods from England and be done with it.' That is not the way to achieve the object which has been asserted over and over again but never has been carried out. Now let us proceed further. The position really is this. We have been considering this question for the last 75 years, we have been purchasing almost the bulk of our stores in London and those goods are purchased in London, and tenders are invited and those tenders are invited in sterling. Now the question really before the House is this. I will try and reduce it to propositions in order to get a definite answer from the Honourable Member in charge. The first question before the House is this, and I would like the Honourable Member to satisfy us on that. What is being done or what has been done in order to bring about a gradual transfer of supply of stores from the British to Indian fields? Secondly, what has been done, so far as we can, to obtain stores in India manufactured in India, I mean stores in which the Government have a free hand in their purchase? Thirdly, I would like to know what has been done with regard to this question, that those articles which have to be purchased from foreign countries should be purchased (no doubt at the lowest tender, quality alone being the test), at rupee rates? Fourthly, I should like to know the exact system under which we are now working.

(At this stage Mr. President resumed the Chair.)

Fifthly, what steps have been taken, if any, in regard to the question whether London is going to be a branch or the head, whether London is going to be reduced to a mere agency or is it to be the centre? Remember, Sir, the present position is this. As I told the House before, the bulk of the stores are purchased in London, that everything is there, there is hardly anything here which is done for the purpose of purchasing stores. What is it that the Government propose to do with regard to that? The Commission have made their recommendations, and in their recommendations they distinctly say this: They have realised the whole position, and they have recommended a particular policy. I will give the House just a brief summary of what they have said in the various paragraphs as far as I can. In the first instance, they recommend, that London should merely be a subordinate branch and that the centre or the headquarters should be in India. They recognise all the arguments which were advanced, and the arguments that were advanced against it were that there will be the middlemen, that there will be difficulties in the Intelligence Department, that there will be difficulties in attending to the inspection. They have considered all those arguments and they have deliberately come to the conclusion that all those defects can be very easily removed in a very short time, and they fix roughly five years. And they say in their conclusion which I shall read to the House:

"The Stores Department of the India Office",

which at present is the High Commissioner, but practically the same:

"The Stores Department of the India Office shall eventually become a branch of the Stores Department in India. We predict no date by which this change will be effected, the circumstances forbidding any certainty on this point. Assuming, however, that the response of the people of India to the whole-hearted encouragement by Government of their industries is equal to that of the people of Japan in similar circumstances,"

an assumption that need not be doubted:

"we see no reason why the change should not take place within five years."

Sir, then the bulk of the stores required are required by the railways, I believe about 14 crores roughly. We have the State worked railways and we have the company worked railways; and then we have various other Departments, such as the Army, and then there are medical stores and so on and so forth; I do not wish to trouble the House in regard to those details. I, therefore, in my Resolution recommend to the Governor General in Council that in the first instance we should invite tenders in rupees in this country and that all the outstanding contracts may be left to be carried out by such agency as at present exists. But it is quite possible that I shall be asked, what is going to be the future system under which this will be worked? I admit that I have not suggested a system. I do not suggest a system in my Resolution. I think it will be very difficult for any non-official Member to lay down a definite scheme for a system which ought to be established. But I think I have shown sufficiently to this House that the present system is undoubtedly not in the best interests of India. It is entirely for Government after further consultation, if they require further consultation—though I should have thought that sufficient light has already been thrown on the subject having regard to the Industries Commission, having regard to the Stores Department Committee and having regard to the correspondence which has been going on between the Government of India and successive Secretaries of State for India for the last 75 years—to devise some system. But the question really is this. Any system which you may devise must be a system which will reduce London to a subordinate agency while the centre or head should be here and tenders should be invited in rupees. I tell you, Sir, why that system is the only system which will be for the benefit and welfare of this country. If you have the headquarters here, they will be subject to criticism, subject to examination, not only by the public and the press, but by this House. At present it is almost impossible to get any definite information within a reasonable time as to what is happening in London. That is the first reason why I say that the headquarters should be here. Secondly, if the headquarters are here, and if our industrialists and business men know and get accurate information as to what the requirements of Government are, every effort will be made to meet those requirements. Remember that demand produces supply, and there are many articles which can be manufactured in India to-day by firms who at present have no incentive to manufacture them because they do not know of the intensity of the demand, because the demand is placed in London and not in Delhi or even in Simla. I mentioned to you the Munitions Board which was conducted by a very able officer, Sir Thomas Holland. I had the privilege of knowing him and he assured me times out of number “we have been working wonders during the war. It is astonishing the number of articles which we can get here and the materials which are available here.” And why, because during the stress of war it was a necessity. We could not get stores from foreign countries or from England, and we therefore had to make herculean efforts and the result was that those quarters where possibilities existed were encouraged, were helped and were given information with the result that a number of indigenous articles were forthcoming for the supply of Government.

My third reason for supporting it is that if you have tenders invited in India in rupees, it is the best; but without anticipating more than I can help—I think I shall be told that the manufacturers may not take the risk of exchange. But, Sir, what is the basis of this argument, if that argument is going to be advanced? I shall wait until I know the reasons, but I think it is obvious and I think the House will agree with me that if

[Mr. M. A. Jinnah.]

you are going to invite tenders in rupees, see the advantage to India. The advantage to India is this, that instead of your having to keep the Sterling money in London for the purpose of paying six months or eight months hence without interest or very little when deliveries are due in London: we are being handicapped to that extent by the locking up of that money against the payment on delivery. If, on the other hand, the rupee tender was invited and accepted, the Government have plenty of notes I think, and they can print a few more if they want (Laughter), and can hand over the currency of the country to the man who gives delivery in this country, I really see no reason against it; I see no difficulty in the matter. We are not the only country in the world which will be following that practice. All other countries invite tenders in their own currency. What country is there which invites tenders in foreign currency? I should like to know that. Then why should we not invite tenders here in rupees? Therefore, Sir, my submission is that the time has come, and indeed it came a long time ago, when the Government of India should take immediate steps to invite future tenders for all stores that are required by the Government in rupees. I understand that the Local Governments, when they want to purchase stores which they cannot obtain locally, also go to the High Commissioner. Similarly, the Central Government, and I believe, the State-worked railways have got to do the same. For the railways which are company-worked railways a similar procedure is laid down, but I understand from the Report of the Commission that they do not utilise it. Therefore, at present the position really is this, that the more you look into it, the more you examine it, it comes to this really, that the very purpose that we have at heart, the very object that we have in view, namely, that we must try and get our stores in this country in the first instance if we can, that we must try and help the industries of this country, and the indigenous goods that this country can and does produce, is frustrated. Of course I am not advocating that we should pay for Indian goods because they are made in India. But the object that we have at heart is really destroyed, is lost, so long as we continue this present system. And therefore I put it before this House, and I am sure that this House will agree with me, and really it requires no argument now, because even this last Committee that was appointed make these very recommendations which I have pointed out to the Honourable Member. This Report was made in July 1920, and since then, as far as I understand, and as the Honourable Member said, the rules are being considered, but hardly anything is done to give effect to the recommendations of the Stores Committee. Instead of the Stores Department of the India Office, we have now got the High Commissioner and practically we are in the same position as we were before. The High Commissioner may lose perhaps his present very pleasant or unpleasant occupation if the proposal which I have put before the House is carried out by Government, but I will point out again from the representation of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, where they also contemplate that the High Commissioner may be deprived of his present occupation. This is what they say:

“What will then be the position of the High Commissioner?”—

and I cannot help quoting it because it seems to me so true:

—“The High Commissioner for India may be continued in London and allowed to act as a sort of post office for purchase, as an official to represent India at ceremonials, which is practically the kind of work done by the High Commissioners for the self-governing colonies and Dominions in London.”

Well, Sir, if we are aspiring to Dominion status, we might follow at least in giving that status to our High Commissioner. I hope that this House will accept the Resolution I have placed before it.

Mr. President: Resolution moved:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that in future tenders for any article required for any department of the Central Government should be called for in India and in rupees and that the Stores Department at the India Office only should be maintained in such strength as would enable old contracts to be worked out."

Mr. W. S. J. Willson (Associated Chambers of Commerce: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I rise not in any sense to oppose the Resolution moved by my friend, Mr. Jinnah, but to support it in the strongest terms I can, but I have to move an amendment in the following words:

"That for all the words after the words 'Governor General in Council' the following be substituted:

'That the present system of stores purchase for Government requirements is not in the best interests of India and should be done away with at the earliest possible moment.

That in its place should be instituted a system of Rupee tender for delivery in India with publication of results in every case.

That this new system should be administered under the supervision of the Government of India by a cadre of qualified officers and that arrangements should be made in India for the requisite test and inspection of the goods purchased.' "

Sir, my amendment differs very little in principle from that of Mr. Jinnah, and I noticed that in a great deal of his speech he really talked more to my amendment than towards his own Resolution, if I may say so. His Resolution reads: "any department of the Central Government". Mine goes further than that and says, "Government requirements". by which I mean throughout the whole of India. He also proposed to abolish the Stores Department of the India Office except for such old contracts as have to be carried out; but in the course of his very excellent speech he advocated the reduction of the London Office to a mere branch of the Indian Stores Department. That is exactly what I propose to do, only of course I worded my amendment before I heard his speech. I trust therefore, Sir, that when he has heard me to the end, he will be prepared to accept my amendment, and I hope that the House will follow me also. Mr. Jinnah asked what is the present system of stores purchase. I will tell him, as I understand it. He referred to the formation of this Committee in 1919 when there was a minority report, which was inimical to the interests of India. It was one—I will not say, I do not like to put it so—briefed from the London point of view, but it was the London point of view that they entirely adopted and which I oppose. As a result of that Committee, the majority Report made radical suggestions that the Stores Department at home was to become a branch of the Indian Stores Department, and encouragement was to be given to Indian industries by guarantees of orders and by the favouring of rupee rates; the restrictions hitherto existing on the purchase of imported stores were to be abolished, and the cheapest markets and those which could supply in quick time were to be favoured; an inspection staff was to be organized and set up, and the then existing Stores Purchase Rules were to be substantially revised. The existing stores purchase organization arose from that. But now, when

[Mr. W. S. J. Willson.]

Mr. Jinnah asks what is the present system, I will define it thus. In March 1921, the Government issued a Circular No. S. 183, when it set up a Controller of Stores, with local purchasing staff at Calcutta, Bombay and Cawnpore. But, Sir, immediately afterwards a Circular No. S. 217 of March 1921, was issued which consisted of a practical turning down of the majority Report. Its ruling is that purchases from agents and importers are still prohibited, hampering purchase rules are still maintained, and we are informed that purchase at home is to be the rule rather than the exception. That, Sir, is in reply to Mr. Jinnah's question as to what is the present position, that is the answer, and I say that it is a scandal. The remedy lies within the scope of my amendment,—that in place of this stores purchase system there should be instituted "a system of Rupee tender for delivery in India with the publication of results in every case" That will ensure fairness to everyone.

I might have said that in 1921, when the Government—the Indian Government—were in favour of developing industries in India
 3 P.M. under the rules, it took only a month or less than a month for those rules to be changed. Now, as the result of the Stores Purchase Committee, to which Mr. Jinnah referred we are told that it will take the best part of 5 years to bring in such a system as is proposed. The history of the case from 1862 onwards has shown time and again that the authorities at home have been only too anxious to plead for "the encouragement of industries in India" whenever they have been able to use that argument in favour of London. For example, as a result of the 1913 Stores Purchase Rules, when it was asked that they should be altered to the extent of allowing purchases from the local branches of recognised English firms, the idea was turned down in 1914 as "wasteful and positively deterrent to manufacturing enterprise in India." That is when it suits London! It was in 1905, Sir, that the Indian Engineering Association on the Committee of which body I shortly afterwards found myself, first started agitating this question. They pointed out that the policy of the Government inflicted great hardship on manufacturing and importing engineering firms. They pointed out that the latter held large stocks of stores and tools and that if Government orders were closed against them, they would have to limit the sphere of their activities, with the result that their stocks in this country would be depleted and the extension and development of industries would be retarded. That is the position to-day. It is all very well for the people in London to argue, and argue and argue again the question of the cheapness with which they are able to purchase in London. But so long as manufacturers in India have the gates barred against them for the largest offtake, which is Government supplies, so long must their prices remain up, so long will they be debarred from manufacturing in large quantities, so long will their over-head charges be high, and so long will they fail to get at any thing approaching mass production. It is then unfair to throw in the teeth of India that we are unable to produce things at prices which will compare with London. On the other hand, Sir, you have numerous manufacturers here and gentlemen in the engineering trades who are able to assert and to prove to the satisfaction of any reasonable person, that higher prices do not even now, under the existing wholly unfavourable state of affairs, obtain, and they are able to tender and to prove that their prices are in many cases no higher than the prices paid in London. As a result of the existing system large orders are sent home from India, and in the Inchcape Committee's report, it is mentioned

that in March 1922, there were no less than Rs. 59,00,00,000 of Government money locked up in stores, a figure which represented about 45 per cent. of the total revenues of the Central Government at that time. Sir Edgar Holberton made a calculation on the little subject of interest, and he came to the conclusion that if interest on that figure were calculated, it would amount to another sum of about Rs. 3,50,00,000. Now, Mr. Jinnah dealt lightly with the point of exchange and he very rightly said that the system of the Government of India is to pay cash at home for their purchases. That money is then locked up for a great many months until the goods come into use. Now, there are—and I do not forget their interests either—representatives in India of firms who manufacture at home and the firm whose business it is to manufacture for stock, does not mind if it holds part of that stock in India. It may just as well hold it in India for the Government's requirements, as hold it in Middlesborough or anywhere else. But the point is that India need only have to pay as it takes it out of their godown in one of the chief sea ports, Bombay, Karachi, Calcutta or Madras. Further, the Indian Government are not noted for being very fine payers and they have a very nasty habit of—shall I say—"pinching" some 3 or 4 months interest on the value of goods which are supplied to them. The remedy, I submit again, Sir, is to develop the present Stores Department which we have in India. The organisation, I believe, is under the control of a gentleman named Mr. Pitkeathly. I have never met him, but from anybody—official or non-official—I have never heard the expression of anything but the highest appreciation of his knowledge, ability and organising powers. (Hear, hear.)

I am afraid my Honourable friend Mr. Chatterjee may, in dealing with this matter, attempt to take refuge in the fact that the present Stores Department is somewhat small and might be unable to deal with so large a purchasing scheme as this change of system must necessarily introduce. But if, as I believe, it is under the head of such a man as Mr. Pitkeathly, I have no hesitation in saying that he will be able to develop that department as and when occasion demands, and it cannot be said that men are not available or that employment is so great that you cannot get them.

The system of Rupee tenders in India will not preclude tenders from abroad, from Germany, Italy or elsewhere. We see in this morning's "Pioneer" that a large order for locomotives—has been placed in Hamburg, and Italy. But I shall be quite satisfied if the London office is reduced to a branch of the Indian office. I shall be quite satisfied that this head office in India will take such steps as may be necessary to secure that those tenders are put in where India dictates, which, I presume, would be Bombay or Calcutta. All the conditions are known; the rates, the charges, everything that has to be paid here is readily available, and merchants, no matter where they reside, can, if so desiring, easily find out and include it in their quotations.

There is another aspect of the question with which Mr. Jinnah did not deal, and that is this. Supposing for the sake of argument—and for the sake of argument only—the prices that we might have to pay under the system which I propose are a trifle more than the prices at which they could be bought at home, you will all the time be developing those industries and so lessening the cost. You will be using to a large extent your own raw material—let us say you will be using Tata's steel. Very well, then you will be saving what you may have to find in another way—

[Mr. W. S. J. Willson.]

I do not know, perhaps, in the shape of bounty or something else of that kind,—if you use your own material as far as you can. The Government will also derive additional benefit from the downward railway traffic on the raw steel. It will have to go by rail to the place where the factories are. Profits will be made in the production of materials and those profits will pay income-tax and in many cases I expect super-tax, which will come back into the coffers of India. Many of the employers' staff will also pay income-tax and the whole of these wages earned in the production will be spent in the country.

I refuse to believe or to accept the statement that foreign manufacturers will not tender in rupees. They will and they will have to. There is no impossibility about it. If they go to the banks, they can cover their Exchange.

A great deal has been said about the superiority of test and quality at home. I should be one of the last to belittle the value of quality and efficiency, which I believe are almost synonymous terms for economy. We have already at Alipore a Government Test House. If that is efficiently administered now, it can be developed as occasion demands and could and must be brought up to meet the demands of India and to ensure that all our public works get the best possible quality and workmanship. Mr. Chatterjee may, I am afraid, want to make the point that what I suggest is a question of money, that it may require capital which will require a great deal of getting out of Sir Basil Blackett. My suggestion to that, Sir, is that the money is spent now; that we do not get services in London for nothing. We pay for them, either directly or indirectly, and if the money is spent, our desire is that it should be spent in India. In conclusion, Sir, I hope that I have made out a good case in support of my amendment.

To sum up: I have argued for the encouragement of Indian industries, for the saving of interest on Government funds, for the ability of India to manage this department, for the increase of the wealth of India, for the use of Indian steel and raw materials and for the development of this system on a larger scale and for the abolition of a system which, I respectfully submit, "is not in the best interests of India and should be done away with at the earliest possible moment." (Applause.)

Mr. President: Amendment moved:

"That for all the words after the words 'Governor General in Council' the following be substituted:

'That the present system of stores purchase for Government requirements is not in the best interests of India and should be done away with at the earliest possible moment.

That in its place should be instituted a system of Rupee tender for delivery in India with publication of results in every case.

That this new system should be administered under the supervision of the Government of India by a cadre of qualified officers and that arrangements should be made in India for the requisite test and inspection of the goods purchased."

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: Sir, if I may venture to do so, I should like to congratulate the Honourable the Mover of this Resolution on the very interesting speech to which he has treated us on what we called a very dry subject. I cannot claim his eloquence and I am afraid that I may tire the House in trying to throw a little bit of light here and there on this dry subject. But I hope that the House will listen to me with patience. I

make this appeal especially because I find that both Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Willson labour under certain misapprehensions regarding the system. I say so with respect and with great diffidence. But it seemed to me that neither of them realised there is nothing at present in the rules to prevent our purchasing in India articles which are manufactured in this country. Mr. Willson, I noticed, said that one of the special advantages of the change in system which he has advocated would be that we shall buy Indian manufactures. I repeat again, Sir, that even under the present rules Indian manufactures do receive a preference. I shall read out the rule:

"All articles which are produced in India in the form of raw material or are manufactured in India from materials produced in India should, by preference, be purchased locally, provided that the quality is sufficiently good for the purpose and the price not unfavourable."

And there is also a rule that:

"All articles manufactured in India from imported materials should, by preference, be purchased in India subject to certain conditions."

I have no desire, like Mr. Jinnah, to go into the old history of this subject. But as Mr. Jinnah has asked me to tell him what the present system is, I should like to do so as briefly as possible.

The Indian Industrial Commission, of which my Honourable friend the Pandit was one of the distinguished Members, went into this subject and made recommendations that Government should develop the system of purchase locally and should liberalise the existing rules in order to give further encouragement to Indian industries. In pursuance of this recommendation the Government of India appointed a Committee, as Mr. Jinnah has stated, towards the end of 1919. That Committee deliberated in 1920 and its recommendations were examined in the Government of India in the early part of 1921. It was then that the circulars to which Mr. Willson has referred were issued. Those circulars did not promulgate any new rules at all. They merely stated the provisional views of the Government of India on the subject of the revision of Stores rules and on the subject of the establishment of a Central purchasing department in England. Public opinion was canvassed on the point and we received the views of Local Governments. The question was again discussed in this House in the winter Session of 1922 and, on the recommendation of my late lamented friend, Sir Vithaldas Thackersey, my Honourable Colleague, Sir Charles Innes, agreed to the appointment of a Committee which would go into the question of the revision of the Rules. That Committee took considerable time to make their report. As soon as their report was received, the Government of India again went into the subject and submitted their recommendations to the Secretary of State. I admit there has been a certain amount of delay but I claim that the delay has all been to the good, because we have been thereby able to come to a more satisfactory decision with regard to the revision of the rules than would otherwise have been possible. I claim that the Committee, of which my Honourable friend over there, Sir Cumpbell Rhodes, and Sir Vithaldas Thackersey were members, very considerably liberalised the rules which had originally been drafted by the Government of India. Although we have not received the final orders of the Secretary of State on those rules, I may inform the House that in one particular regard we have been informed that he has accepted the recommendations of the Committee and that is with regard to the main proposal which the Committee placed before Government, namely, purchases in India from agencies and branch houses.

[Mr. A. C. Chatterjee.]

For the information of the House I may be permitted to read out the revised rule and I think my friends on the other side will admit that this is a very large departure. The new rule runs thus :

" Articles which are not manufactured in India should be obtained by indent upon the Store Department, London, except in the following cases :

- (a) When the articles are already in India at the time of order or are already on their way out and their price and quality are not unfavourable as compared with those at which similar articles could be obtained through the Store Department, London, and the cost of supply does not exceed certain limits."

The limits also have been very considerably enhanced.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas (Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau : Indian Commerce) : Would you mind reading out the limits?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee : That is a very long list. I will give the Honourable Member this paper after I have done with it.

That rule runs on :

" (b) In the case of important construction works let out on contract articles not manufactured in India required for the construction of such works may be supplied by the contracting firm subject to the following conditions :

- (i) that the firm is approved by the Chief Controller of Stores, Indian Stores Department,
 (ii) that the materials are subject to the current specifications and tests prescribed by the Government of India."

(c) *(This is the portion to which I wish to draw the attention of the House)* Plant and machinery and component parts thereof may be purchased from branches established in India of manufacturing firms borne on the list of the Chief Controller, Indian Stores Department, provided that the following conditions are observed :

- (i) The purchase is made by the Chief Controller of Stores or by a highly qualified engineer directly responsible to the Government of India for the order so placed;
 (ii) That the plant and machinery are of standard patterns such as are ordinarily manufactured by the firm and have actually been so manufactured;
 (iii) That the branch firm entertains a staff of expert mechanics capable, if so required, of erecting and repairing the plant and machinery which it so supplies;
 (iv) That the actual prices of the articles (exclusive of any expenditure representing cost of erection) is as low as that at which articles of the same make can be supplied by the Store Department, London;
 (v) That when test or inspection of the plant or machinery during manufacture or before shipment is necessary or desirable, arrangements should be made for such test and inspection to be carried out by the Store Department, London."

I may mention that branches have been defined to cover approved technical agents of manufacturers who do not merely act as selling agents, but are also in a position to render the same kind of technical assistance in India as actual branches of the firms. It will thus be seen, Sir, that practically all the recommendations of the Stores Purchase Committee have been accepted, with two notable exceptions. One is with regard to purchase from importers, and the other is with respect to the authority to which the High Commissioner, or rather his Department dealing with

purchases in London, should be subordinate. The Stores Purchase Committee did make what I may call a somewhat lukewarm recommendation with regard to purchases in India from importers. This recommendation was not in very emphatic terms. All they said was:

"We incline to the opinion that, though certain rules should be continued to be laid down for the guidance of departmental purchasing officers, no hard and fast rules should be laid down to regulate the operations of the Indian Stores Department."

I wish to point out, Sir, that the Government of India have throughout been anxious to safeguard the interests of Indian industries, as distinguished from the interests of people who import materials and goods from other countries and do not start actual manufacture in India. It was really with that view that they did not wish to include in their recommendations the proposal made by the Stores Purchase Committee for purchase in India of articles which have not been manufactured in India, but which have merely been imported from abroad. They were afraid that Indian enterprise instead of going into the channel of manufacture and fabrication in India would merely be diverted towards commerce, or rather to the importation of manufactured articles. However the view was merely provisional, and, as I have said, now we have got authority to purchase from branches or agencies. The advantages will be that these branches and agencies will have workshops in India and will train Indian workmen in these branches and workshops. From this stage the stage of fabrication and the stage of manufacture are merely steps. We do hope that manufacturers in other countries, when they start branches in this country, will find that there is a sufficient market in this country which will induce them to go on to the further stages I have mentioned, of fabrication and manufacture. We want the manufacture to be established in India; we do not merely want to import articles manufactured elsewhere.

I think, Sir, I have answered Mr. Jinnah's questions with regard to the present system. I now wish to explain the position of the Indian Stores Department, which has received praise from Mr. Willson, and about which Mr. Jinnah has displayed considerable inquisitiveness. In pursuance of the recommendation of the Stores Purchase Committee, the Government of India decided to start a central organisation in India for purchase on behalf of the different Departments of the Central Government. We cannot force Local Governments to purchase through us, but we hoped that they would also join and utilize the expert agency that we intended to provide. In March 1922, two years ago, we proposed a certain sum in our Demands for Grants for the creation and the development of this Department. This House, Sir, cut down the amount which we asked for by 50 per cent. Even the amount that was granted by the House could not be spent on account of the fact that, in pursuance of the recommendations of this House, a Retrenchment Committee was being assembled, and Government decided that all new expenditure was to be stopped. Then came the Retrenchment Committee, of which my friend opposite (Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas) was a distinguished member; that Committee said, this Department was to mark time and Government should not allot any money for this Department. Well, Sir, the Government did not accept the recommendations of that Committee. The Government accepted what they considered was the general view of this House and also of the Council of State and they proceeded with the formation of the Department and its development. And I think the Department that has been newly organised, that is only in its infancy, and to which I am glad Mr. Willson has paid a compliment, has already achieved very substantial results. I need only mention, Sir, that

[Mr. A. C. Chatterjee.]

during the past financial year, the Department made purchases to the extent of more than a crore and a half of textiles, and of these purchases, 92 per cent. was manufactured in India.

Dr. H. S. Gour: What about the other stores?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: As regards the other stores, I have already explained that you did not give us money last year. We got a little money this year and we have just begun purchasing engineering stores, and I hope to be able to render as good an account with regard to these engineering stores as I have done with regard to textile fabrics.

Therefore, Sir, it will be evident that the Government of India are doing all they can to go in the direction that my Honourable friend the Mover and my friend Mr. Willson want them to go. I should like here, Sir, to correct some misapprehensions on the part of Mr. Jinnah as disclosed in his speech. He said that although the India Stores Department in England is now under the High Commissioner it is practically still under the India Office. I have repudiated that statement elsewhere and I wish most strongly again to repudiate any such allegations. The High Commissioner, so far as stores purchases are concerned, is under the Government of India and not under the Secretary of State. Mr. Jinnah also stated that according to the present practice the High Commissioner only advertises in England, that his advertisements do not reach foreign manufacturers and that he does not purchase in foreign countries. I do not think, Sir, that that was a fair statement of the case at all. As Mr. Willson has pointed out, even this morning's newspapers contradict any such allegation. Sir Dadiba Dalal is most anxious to carry out the instructions which the Government of India issued to the High Commissioner two or three years ago to purchase in the cheapest market and to accept only the most satisfactory tenders. He has been devoting a great deal of personal attention to this subject of the purchase of stores in London and from foreign countries and I think it is only fair to him to state that he has given particular attention to this point regarding his advertisements reaching foreign manufacturers. Why, Sir, only the other day I laid before the House a statement in which the High Commissioner explained the various items in regard to which he was compelled by force of material reasons to accept tenders higher than the lowest. If the Honourable gentleman will peruse that statement he will find that tenders were received from practically every country in Europe.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: I may say, Sir, that I never attributed any kind of moral turpitude to the High Commissioner who is personally known to me.

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: I am glad, Sir, the Honourable the Mover has made that statement. Of course I did not understand him to ascribe any moral turpitude to the High Commissioner, but so far as I can remember, Sir, he did say that no proper competition was allowed and that the advertisements did not reach other countries.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: I said it was not possible under the system that prevails.

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: Well, Sir, I think I have demonstrated that it is possible and that it is done.

Now, Sir, it remains for me to deal with the question of Rupee tenders. My Honourable friend opposite did not specify in any very great detail the advantages that he thought would accrue to India from Rupee tenders. What he said was "Buy Indian goods provided that the quality was good and the price compared favourably." Well, I have explained, Sir, that we are buying goods manufactured in India when the quality is good and the price does not compare unfavourably. I admit, Sir, as I have done before, that there are certain obvious advantages in Rupee tenders. We shall be able to get foreign manufacturers to establish agencies and thereby stimulate competition, but, as I have already said, we have revised the rules which will enable us to buy from agencies in India and I hope that this alteration in the rules will in itself bring about the establishment of agencies and branch houses in this country.

Then, Sir, I remember a very notable minute of dissent by my Honourable friend, Sir Campbell Rhodes, to the report of the Railway Industries Committee in which he emphasised the value of encouraging importing firms to settle in India. His view was, if I recollect aright, that, if importing firms were encouraged, they would gradually go on from imports to fabrication and from fabrication to manufacture. Well, we have met him half way. We have altered the rules so that we may be able to purchase from agencies. Those agencies will fabricate and from fabrication they will go on to manufacture. My Honourable friend, Mr. Willson, has also pointed out a very important argument, namely, that if we were able to purchase from importers here we should not have to carry the very big stocks that we have to do at present. I fully admit the value of this argument. But then, Sir, there are a great many disadvantages also which accrue from a system of Rupee tenders. I do not say they are insurmountable but the disadvantages are there. First of all, when we buy in England through our own agents there, namely, the High Commissioner, we effect a very considerable saving in freight charges. The High Commissioner bulks his purchases and sends them out to India in steamers in which he gets special concessions of freight on account of the large bulk of his shipments.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I am sorry to interrupt the Honourable Member, but I hope he will not mind if I ask him what concessions he has got during the last five years in the matter of freight?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: I should like notice of that question. I can only make a general statement. It is very difficult for me, Sir, to bring along with me all these details with regard to the actual concessions the High Commissioner has received during the last five years, but I shall be quite pleased to show the papers to my Honourable friend. As a matter of fact this point is admitted in the Stores Purchase Committee's report. A similar argument applies to the case of insurance. The High Commissioner does not insure the articles that he ships to us now, whereas private importers would have to pay higher freights, as I said before, and would have to pay insurance rates also. Then, Sir, there is the question of inspection. I am glad that my Honourable friend the Mover has so far modified his views as not to have suggested that we should entirely do away with all organisation in England. For a long time to come we shall have to purchase a great many articles in foreign countries. They cannot be produced in India and they will not be produced for a considerable number of years even though Indian enterprise were much more vigilant than it is at present, and we will have to maintain a staff in England or on the Continent for purposes of inspection. We

[Mr. A. C. Chatterjee.]

could not, for instance, buy railway material without constant inspection during the process of manufacture. We dare not risk the lives of millions of people who travel on Indian Railways. Similarly we must have an agency there for purposes of intelligence. We do not want to buy in India without knowing actually what are the world prices for the articles that we buy at any particular time. We must have an agency in England. At present we utilise the agency of the High Commissioner. My friend, the Honourable Mr. Jinnah, said, quoting from a letter from the Indian Merchants Chamber, that the High Commissioner should be left in London only for ceremonial occasions. No doubt my friend, Sir Dadiba Dalal, would like that. I am sure he would look very handsome and extremely dignified in flowing Indian robes appearing at all kinds of functions; but, Sir, we owe a duty to the Indian tax-payer; we want to make as much out of the High Commissioner as we can; and in this respect we are only following the custom of the Dominions. So far as my knowledge goes practically every Dominion uses its High Commissioner for this purpose in England and we are only following the same custom. Then, Sir, the Honourable Mr. Jinnah, with his light and deft touch, brushed away the question of exchange. It is not so easy as all that. It is certainly an advantage to be able to pay in rupees and not to have to keep a balance in London for the purpose. But we should have to pay for it some time or other. We must pay for our goods. At present we can buy sterling when exchange is strong and keep out of the market when exchange is weak. The European or American manufacturer tendering in rupees would have to protect himself against exchange, as my friend Mr. Willson pointed out. That cover will eventually have to be paid for from Indian revenues. So the question of exchange is important and, as a matter of fact, it is not right to say that no other country ever calls for tenders in a foreign currency. When England was purchasing very large quantities of material in America during the war, I believe she always called for tenders and made her purchases in dollars and not in sterling. (*An Honourable Member*: "It was war time.") Yes, it was war time, I admit; but war time has been quoted by my Honourable friend against the Government of India. He said that during the war the Munitions Board made enormous purchases in India and, as soon as the war was over, we went to foreign countries. That was simply because during the war we had to purchase almost anything we could get and at any price. Does my Honourable friend want me now to go and buy in the market at the prices that we paid during the war? Similarly, in those days we purchased articles of whatever quality we could possibly get. Now we want articles of good quality and at reasonable prices. We do not want, therefore, to confine ourselves to purchases in India.

I have taken up a great deal of time, Sir, and I wish now to sum up. I have pointed out that we have already taken a very big step forward in liberalising the rules and in authorising purchase from branch houses in this country. We hope to get very notable results from this departure. Let us watch the effects of this new rule on the development of Indian industries. I yield to none in my admiration for the qualities of Mr. Pitkeathly who has been an acquisition to the new Indian Stores Department. But, in spite of what Mr. Willson said, I do not expect impossible things from Mr. Pitkeathly. It will not be fair to him. Give us time to develop our department and I hope that the Indian Stores Department will come up to the expectations of even my friend, Dr. Gour. As I have said, we

have not lost sight of the policy of Rupee tenders. We have got it in mind and in whatever we may do with regard to stores purchase in the near future we shall keep this question of the feasibility of Rupee tenders in mind. But, Sir, at the present moment I am unable to accept either the Resolution or the amendment. I should like to have more time to develop the department. I should like to look round and see how purchase in India from branch houses gets on; I should like to have more money from my Honourable Colleague (Sir Basil Blackett) for the Indian Stores Department and I should like you not to cut down the grant which I shall ask for. Then, when you have given me a little more time, I shall be glad to discuss the question of the desirability or the feasibility of Rupee tenders in India.

Mr. H. G. Cocke (Bombay: European): Sir, I am not an expert in the procedure of this House; but the other day I believe a Bill was withdrawn to be re-introduced. It occurs to me that it may be possible for the proposer to withdraw his proposal and for the Mover of the amendment to do the same, and to re-introduce them later, because I am afraid I do not like either the proposal or the amendment. The proposal of Mr. Jinnah demands that in future tenders for *any* article required for Government purposes are to be called for by Rupee tenders. Accordingly, if the Government wish to go to Jaffa for oranges or to Italy for a particular type of aeroplane, they are prohibited from doing so unless they get a Rupee tender. By insisting on a Rupee tender in the case of the aeroplane they might possibly be paying a considerably larger sum.

With reference to the amendment, Sir, it seems to me that the last paragraph rather condemns the whole thing, because, if you are going to demand that arrangements should be made in India for the requisite test and inspection of the goods, it may in certain cases require an expert from a foreign country to conduct that test. You cannot lay down hard and fast rules in a matter of this sort. It is quite true, we have the Stores Purchase Rules to which we are bound to some extent, but I must say that I do not think that either proposal put forward is entirely practicable.

Mr. Bhubanananda Das (Orissa Division: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I rise to support the Resolution moved by my Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah. I also congratulate Mr. Willson for the very sympathetic way in which he has spoken this afternoon. This, Sir, is a striking illustration, of which the Honourable the Home Member may make note, that in case we get Sawraj, British commerce and Indian commerce, the Indian people and Englishmen, can work together harmoniously, as shewn in this Resolution moved to-day, which has received at least full support and sympathy from the Honourable Mr. Willson. I do not see any difference between the original Resolution and the amendment of the Honourable Mr. Willson, but I would rather support the Resolution of the Honourable Mr. Jinnah, because it is more specific; it requires that in future all tenders should be called for in India and in rupees. We want that all Rupee tenders should be received in India. The Honourable Mr. Willson has said that tests and inspections should be made in India, while we want that tenders should also be received in India for all articles and they should not be purchased through London.

In the course of the replies which the Honourable Mr. Chatterjee gave to some of the points raised this morning over another Resolution, he said that he speaks like an Indian and feels like an Indian. We are

[Mr. Bhubanananda Das.]

also Indians; we represent the Indian people here; the only difference being that our hearts and sentiments move with the desires of the people of India at a very rapid pace, but we find the same are not in unison with that of the Honourable Mr. Chatterjee. It is perhaps because he has been too long in that "steel frame" body and that he has been too much absorbed with the spirit of the steel frame and that he is not able to feel in the same way as we all feel. The Honourable Mr. Chatterjee said that the rules of the Stores Purchase Committee in India have been amended in such a way that they give a chance for the purchase of stores in India. "Sir, it is not the rules that we want to be amended, but it is the system, it is the principle that we want to see changed. For too long a time promises have been given, pledges have been given, but they have never been fulfilled nor kept. The rules might be framed, but they are never adhered to, and I will refer to this matter later on to show that the principles laid down in the Report of the Indian Stores Purchase Committee have not been given effect to:

Sir, as regards the Rupee tender, I, as an Indian, wish that any tender that we may call for should be called for in our coin, and the rupee being the coin in India, I urge that all tenders should be called for in rupees. When it affects any political question, it may be said that such things cannot be allowed. Well, may I ask in matters pertaining to commerce why should sterling quotations be introduced? Are we always to be thought inferior in every matter that concerns India? The late Mr. Gokhale once said in one of his budget speeches that an Indian, however tall and however intellectual he might be, was always thought inferior in any sphere of life in the eye of the Government. Let the Government think so of an Indian in the political sphere, with which, of course, I do not want to deal at present as there are abler and greater stalwarts in this House who will deal with that aspect of the question; but in industrial and commercial matters, in a department over which an Indian is presiding, we feel that no Indian is inferior to any Englishman. In industrial and commercial matters we feel that we can manage, administer and look into them as efficiently as any Englishman or other foreigner can do. In those matters I think we are equal to anybody in any part of the world. If we look to the industrial magnates of Bombay we see that they are doing as well if not better than any other industrial magnates or industrialists in any other part of the world. Why should we Indians be thought always inferior in those departments in which we can hold our own? The Stores Purchase Department is left in charge of an Indian. Why should not the administration there be completely Indianised? That is a question which ought to be answered. The Honourable Mr. Chatterjee says that the Government are trying to give Indian industries a chance. There have been Departments of Industries in every province, but nowhere do we see an Indian appointed as Director of Industries, nowhere do we see an Indian industrialist appointed as Director of Industries. Everywhere we find a member of the steel frame presiding

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: May I rise to a point of order, Sir? Is the question of the appointment of Director of Industries germane to the discussion we are now having? I may add, Sir, that those appointments are made by the Provincial Governments.

Mr. President: I am afraid I did not catch what the Honourable Member has been saying.

Mr. Bhubanananda Das: Sir, I was suggesting that in the Departments of Industries there are no Indian industrialists appointed as Directors of Industries. The Provincial Governments cannot give effect to the pious wishes of the Honourable Member for Industries in this matter. That is all that I have said.

Then, Sir, the Honourable Mr. Chatterjee referred to the question of exchange. It may be, but we do not care, if we lose a few annas and pies here or there, if the tenders are called for in rupees and in India. What we want is that all tenders should be called for in India. Why should not all tenders that are received in India be in rupees?

I now come to the question of the Indianization of the Stores Purchase Department. Here I have got a Report which was issued very recently, by the Stores Department, and although I admit that its activities had been limited by the recommendations of the Indian Retrenchment Committee and although the Indian Stores Purchase Committee recommended that the members of the Department should as far as possible be Indians, effect has not been given to their recommendation in this matter. Only the other day, Sir, in reply to a question of mine the Honourable Sir Charles Innes said that there was no Indian Member in the Railway Board. Why? Because there are no Indians as Traffic Managers, no Indians as Chief Engineers. Well, why is it so? Because they are not given any chance to rise to those positions. While the Stores Purchase Committee strongly recommended Indianization and while the Department is under an able Indian like the Honourable Mr. Chatterjee, I find in the appointed list of officers there is only one Indian who occupies a very minor position. But there are many experienced purchasing officers and salesmen who could very well be appointed to high positions in the Stores Department with great advantage to Government. I think there are very many business houses in Bombay and Calcutta who employ Indian officers and who make far larger purchases than the officers now employed by the Stores Department. The Stores Department have only purchased stores of one crore and half during their period of activity while Indian purchasing officers in Bombay deal with far larger sums. What then prevents Indianisation of this department? I do not mean that the

4 P.M. European element should not be maintained, but that so far as the Indian Stores Department is concerned it should be so recruited from the Indian element that it may become completely Indianized, or at least the greater portion of it. And here I may remark that pending the appointment of the Indian element to this Department, of those officers who have been appointed, only those already in a permanent grade should be allowed to remain in the permanent cadre and future recruits shall be only temporary till Indians are taken in for the permanent staff. We do not want to see fresh armour added to the steel frame. We wish to see it reduced. We are trying to reduce the steel frame so that there is only a steel case to the Government of India. With these remarks, Sir, I support the Resolution moved by the Honourable Mr. Jinnah.

Sir Campbell Rhodes (Bengal: European): Sir, this is not one of those cases where we are accusing the Government of hectic and indecent haste. Again, as I said this morning in another connection, I must deplore the absence of what I regard as a sufficient number of business and industrial men in this House. In fact we are so deficient that this Resolution has had to be moved, and moved in very eloquent and convincing terms, by one who is not a business man, though he grasps business questions so thoroughly.

[Sir Campbell Rhodes.]

that even the Honourable Member for Commerce this morning was under the impression that he belonged to that humbler but more useful set of people to whom Mr. Willson and myself belong. I have not heard from Mr. Jinnah yet that he has accepted the amendment of Mr. Willson as put before the House. I sincerely hope that he will find his way to do so, because, in spite of what has fallen from Mr. Cocke, I can assure the House that in this matter Mr. Willson has the whole European commercial opinion in India behind him. Now, Sir, I have, as the Honourable Member for Commerce knows, when he was in charge of this Department, criticised the Central Stores Department, at least the project before it originated two years ago, owing to an optimism which I much regret now. I said that I feared that it would grow into an octopus. To-day, Sir, it remains merely a shrimp. The Honourable Mr. Chatterjee has quoted from rule 3 of the proposed rules where he says he has met me half way in regard to the purchase of imported stores. In that minute of dissent to which he referred and which he thinks so valuable that he has seen his way to ignore it, I said:

“My chief objection, however, to the Stores Purchase Rules is centred in rule 3 which appears to arrogate to the Stores Department in London an authority inconsistent with India's freedom of action in the matter of purchases for her own requirements.”

Why, Sir, I ask, should India bind herself not to purchase imported stores unless they are actually in the country? Why should she not have complete freedom of action? There are valid reasons why she should. Mr. Willson has mentioned a question of interest. I will mention another very important question. When I was President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, I had an inquiry from Government as to the quantity of stores usually held in Calcutta by importers of certain articles. If those stores were held in any considerable quantity it would be a wise thing for Government not to hold such a heavy stock for emergencies. Now, Sir, if the largest buyer in the country is not going to buy from the importers, how are they to hold stocks which in times of sudden national emergency will be on the spot and can be commandeered? Mr. Chatterjee's objection is that once an importer always an importer, and that we shall not get down to manufacture in India if Government buys from the importer. May I tell him that my countrymen came to India to trade and have remained to manufacture. (*The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee*: “In certain directions.”) May I instance a case of mine, where, finding I could not get the kind of barges I wanted in India, I had to buy them in London, bring them out and erect them in Calcutta. Very quickly my engineer told me that he would rather have the sheets unpunched if I would get him a punching machine. Then he told me that his workmen were now trained, he could make his local plates cheaper and might he make the whole barge from start to finish in India. I think that is the way, Sir, in which many industries in India will slowly start without any of that financial loss such as we had in the recent boom. I may instance something else. I came out to India solely for the purpose of selling Lancashire goods. I can tell my friends here that if they want any cloth of Bombay manufacture I can supply it from my office in Calcutta. Mr. Chatterjee has mentioned several objections to Rupee tenders. There is that enormous saving in insurance. I would like to know what that saving was during the war. There are those special freight concessions.

We are not told what they amount to but I suppose the country generally had to pay for those special concessions. There is the problem of exchange. Certainly our exchange difficulties would be much less if we knew exactly when we were going to receive payment from Government. It is very difficult as Mr. Willson said, to get money out of Government and that is why it is impossible very often to get cover from the banks. But that does not deter me in the ordinary course of my business from making contracts months ahead, even when I do not know when the money will be forthcoming to remit, and I am able to cover that exchange so that I run no risk whatever. If gentlemen want to know how I do it, I will say that they must go into the business for themselves and buy their own experience. Mr. Jinnah in his remarks has admitted that the branch office in London must continue, and that is another reason why I hope he will consent to accept the amendment so that the whole House on this side can be absolutely unanimous on the subject. I think my friend, Mr. Cocke, is wrong when he suggests that manufacturers will not always go to the purchaser. There will be no difficulty about buying Italian aeroplanes or English aeroplanes if the Stores Department here set about it the right way. India is not a small village. It is worth while for manufacturers now to come out here, to have their agents out here, to have their representatives out here, and to keep a watch, a constant watch, on the requirements of India; and I have not the slightest doubt that, if Mr. Chatterjee is given a freer hand, he will be able to build the Stores Department up into something which will help both the importer and eventually the Indian manufacturer.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes (Commerce Member): Sir, I had not the slightest intention of speaking on this debate when I came this afternoon, but, Sir, I have been so surprised at the remarks of two of my friends opposite that I feel bound to say just a few words. We know that there is more joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth than over the 99 already saved. Sir, I congratulate myself to-day on having made two converts, and two of my European friends. I congratulate Sir Campbell Rhodes on being a convert to the Indian Stores Department. Two or three years ago, at a meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta, Sir Campbell Rhodes and I had a very fierce discussion about the Indian Stores Department. Sir Campbell Rhodes even then was all in favour of Rupee tenders and buying through the importer. He told me what he has told the House to-day that it is only your English importer that you want and you will get all your manufactures and all your industries in India and nowhere else. I pointed out to him that the whole object and aim of the Indian Stores Department was to encourage manufacture in India. It left Sir Campbell Rhodes entirely cold. But, Sir, wiser counsels have now prevailed, and the House will now see that in Sir Campbell Rhodes we have a convert to our new Department. He accused the Government of India of hectic and break-neck speed in the formation of this Department. I should like to ask whether we had any assistance from Sir Campbell Rhodes in forming that Department. When two years ago we asked for the creation of that Department, it was Sir Campbell Rhodes who was one of our chief opponents; and, Sir, I may say that we got very little encouragement from this House when we put up a demand for grant; in fact it seems to me that this House is apt to look at the questions that come up from different angles of vision according to the particular circumstances of the moment. When they are discussing the Indian Stores Department in the abstract, they are all for it, but when we come to ask for money, they say there is none and

[Sir Charles Innes.]

let us down. I am quite sure that Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, if he will have a chance of speaking to-day, will support this Resolution with all his eloquence, but, Sir, another difficulty we have had in dealing with this Department is that we have to get past the hindrances put in the way of this Department in the shape of the recommendations which the Retrenchment Committee thought it necessary to make in regard to the Department in the interests of retrenchment. I have again, Sir, to congratulate Mr. Willson on being a convert in another direction. Mr. Willson, as everybody knows, is the representative in this House of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, and, Sir, we have heard a strong protectionist speech in favour of the Indian Stores Department. He has implored us to buy from manufacturers in India. "It will cost you only a little," he said, and he pointed to the compensating advantage we should get. But, Sir, that is not the line of argument I have been accustomed to hear when I attended the meetings of the Associated Chambers of Commerce. Nor, Sir, is Mr. Willson entirely correct in his facts? He said "it will cost you only a little." Let me give the House one fact:

Mr. W. S. J. Willson: May I correct the Honourable Member. I think I said "supposing for the sake of argument."

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: He said, Sir, that it will cost us only a little. I listened to that part of his speech, and it is very familiar. Practically the same arguments were put to me when I had representations from certain manufacturers of certain classes of railway stores. That very case is fresh in my memory. The little that it would have cost the Railway Department was 21 lakhs of rupees. It would have cost us 21 lakhs of rupees if we had placed that order with those manufacturers; and, as I have had occasion to explain, the Government of India in deciding on the action they took were guided by the advice not only of the Standing Finance Committee but also of the Central Advisory Council. Sir, we have been working, in spite of the difficulties placed in our way,—we have been working at this problem. Mr. Chatterjee has told us of the progress we have made, and, Sir, that progress will continue. It will continue, and I am perfectly sure that the time will eventually come when we shall be able to transfer the axis from London to India. But you have got to give us time. I may say we are going to take another step very shortly. I hope before long to be able to introduce to this House a Bill to eliminate the proviso to section 20 of the Sea Customs Act. I hope to introduce a Bill to the House which, if it is accepted by the House, will mean that all Government Departments, when buying their stores in India, will have to pay customs duties upon those stores. That, Sir, shows the spirit in which we are working at this problem. But it is not an easy problem. We are trying something in the direction indicated by the Resolution already in the Railway Department; we do not call for Rupee tenders when we want railway wagons and locomotives; we call for simultaneous tenders; and let me assure Mr. Jinnah, with reference to what he said about the London Stores Department, that he need have no fear about manufacturers in foreign countries not seeing the advertisements published in the technical journals at home for our requirements. Let me remind Mr. Jinnah, if he does not know it already, that last year when we called for tenders for wagons, we had tenders not only from England but from America, from Canada, from Belgium, from France, from Italy, from Germany, and this year we have had tenders also from Czecho-Slovakia and from Austria. That shows he need have no fear

about that. That shows that our tenderers are now widely distributed all the world over, and we are getting replies to those calls from all these countries. But, Sir, when we get these tenders from firms in Czecho-Slovakia, Austria and other places, we know nothing about them, we have no intelligence officer here, and we must have people who know all these firms and who can let us know whether these firms are reliable and whether they can be depended upon to give us the delivery. You have got the London Stores Department, you have got a Department which has been working at this matter, as Mr. Jinnah has said, for 60 years. They have accumulated information on all these matters which, let me assure the House, is most valuable to India. I am as keen as anyone in this House on the extension of purchases in India and on the industrial development of India, but, Sir, we have always got to look to considerations of economy; and our experience in the Railway Department is that in many cases we do secure economy by purchasing through the Director General of Stores. That, Sir, is I think all I need say. I pointed out that at first we have not had very much encouragement from the gentlemen opposite, but in spite of what they said, we have not only carried on but made a very considerable advance; and, Sir, I hope that that advance will go on and be accelerated.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Sir, I deem it a great pleasure to take this opportunity of supporting the amendment of my Honourable friend Mr. Willson. My pleasure on this occasion is doublefold. The first is that I find that on this particular subject at least we have the support of everybody on this side of the House, whether he be European or Indian. I certainly hope that my friend Mr. Cocke will not mind following the advice of Sir Campbell Rhodes and will withdraw his opposition. But the second reason for my pleasure in supporting the amendment is based on the fact that I am afraid I am attacked here in connection with something I did on the Indian Retrenchment Committee and which certain Honourable Members of this House cannot reconcile with the support that I am giving to this proposition. At a later stage I hope to be able to justify every word of what is said in the Retrenchment Committee's Report and at the same time to prove that I am quite consistent, when I rise to support the Resolution, with all the cordiality with which I do. But before I come to it, I would like to touch upon one or two points raised by my Honourable friend Mr. Chatterjee. He has told us that there is nothing in the rules to prevent Indian manufactures being bought in India. I wish he had given us either in quantities or in values the amounts bought here since those rules were framed and the amounts that were spent outside India, compared to amount before those rules were put in practice.

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: I gave certain information in answer to some questions quite recently.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I expected that answer from my friend. My point is different. The High Commissioner's office buy stores for the whole of India. It does not buy stores only for the Central Government. Do I understand that the answer included figures for the total purchases by the High Commissioner's office in London? He gave figures only about the Central Government. The amendment of my friend Mr. Willson includes all Government purchases in London. The other point that I would like to make before I proceed further is this. What does my Honourable friend expect of a busy officer, in whose control it is to make up his mind as to whether he will import from London or whether he will buy locally, what

[Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas.]

Does he expect such a busy officer to do? Generally, he is a very senior officer, a responsible head of a department, and I am quite sure that my Honourable friend opposite will not contend that he has much spare time. He is as a rule busy. Does my Honourable friend expect such a busy officer to wade through all the rules of the Stores Department and to make sure of the various restrictions and exceptions named therein, or would he excuse him, being busy as that officer must be with his own job, if he says "Here I am, let me fire off an indent to London and be done with it. I will not then be called upon to explain at all"? I am sure, Sir, it will not take much stretch of imagination to come to the conclusion that the longer and the more bulky your rules are the more temptation there is to the indenting officer or to the purchasing officer to send an indent to London, in which case nobody calls upon him to explain why he did not buy locally. I was very pleased, Sir, to hear from my Honourable friend Sir Charles Innes that some great handicap in connection with the purchase of stores in India is likely to be removed very shortly and that he proposes to amend the Act, so that all imports of stores will be liable to the usual import duty. In all probability this will mean more or less a sort of book entry for the various departments of Government, but it will ensure fair competition to, firstly, the indigenous industries and, secondly, to the firms which may have imported stocks here on the chance that the Government will require them. I hope that this Bill that my Honourable friend referred to will be brought in at the earliest possible date and that no time will be lost in putting that Bill through this House. I understood my Honourable friend to say that he is now prepared to buy from local branches and agencies from outside and I also understood him to say that they will train Indians in various small factories here. I hope that he has made this a condition of the patronage of his department to local branches and agencies of non-Indian firms and I would like to hear from him that my impression is correct.

He further went on to mention that the Indian Stores Department so far has not had much encouragement either from this House or from the Retrenchment Committee. Now, before I say anything in connection with the attitude of the Retrenchment Committee to the Indian Stores Department, I need hardly mention to this House that the Retrenchment Committee would never have been excused either by this House or by the Executive of the Government of India, least of all by the public, if they had not been as severe as they possibly could have been in curtailing expenditure at a time when the finances of the Government of India were in a most precarious state. But luckily in the case of the Indian Stores Department, I think they were treading on very very sound ground. I will read out, with the permission of the House, a few lines from the one paragraph in which the Retrenchment Committee justified why they thought that a certain reduction should be made. The grant to the Department was Rs. 4 lakhs. The Retrenchment Committee made a saving of Rs. 83,000 in the Rs. 4 lakhs. The information laid before the Retrenchment Committee said:

"That this Department has been recently constituted in order to encourage the development of the industrial resources of India and to effect economies by co-ordinating purchases for the Central, and Provincial Governments, thus eliminating competition between Governments and Departments. At present its activities are confined to the purchase of textiles for the Army Department and to the control of the Metallurgical Inspectorate and of the Superintendent, Local Manufacturers, and Government Test House, Alipore."

I may point out to my Honourable friend Sir Charles Innes that even Railways had not then begun to patronise that Department. The Retrenchment Committee said:

"We understand, however, that it is contemplated gradually to extend the organization to enable it to undertake the purchase and inspection of various important classes of stores including cement, oils, paints, chemicals, textiles, leather goods, hardware and engineering and other stores, and estimates have been placed before us for an establishment costing Rs. 24 lakhs annually. It is proposed to cover the cost by a charge of 2 per cent. for purchase and inspection and 1 per cent. for inspection only, it being assumed that the value of the annual purchases by the department will amount to about Rs. 7½ crores and of the goods inspected to about Rs. 15 crores."

This is the point now.

"It is extremely doubtful whether Local Governments will use this organization."

I would like the Honourable Member to say how many Local Governments have begun to use this Department.

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: I will.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas:

"It is extremely doubtful whether Local Governments will use this organization and the United Provinces have in fact already set up a separate stores department."

I understand that the Government of Bombay are setting up a separate department.

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: No.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas:

"In view of the large turnover assumed the proposed charges appear to be excessive. A system of central purchase may have theoretical advantages, but we recommend that no provision be made for further expansion of the department until it has been ascertained that the provinces collectively are prepared to utilize it for their transactions and that such expansion will be financially justified."

I still claim to-day that until the Honourable Member opposite can point out that he has got the support of many of the Provincial Governments, on whose patronage of this department an estimate of a turnover of 7½ crores purchases and inspection of goods worth Rs. 15 crores, was based, the Retrenchment Committee were fully justified in what they did, and perhaps, I am afraid, the Assembly of that day were also justified in reducing the grant. The main point about this Indian Stores Department is that even the various departments of the Government of India, including the Department of my Honourable friend, Sir Charles Innes, have not yet begun to use that Department. Why did not the Honourable Sir Charles Innes tell us when the Railway Department, which is under him by the way, will begin to use this very Department for the purpose of economy and co-ordination in the purchase of stores? But, Sir, I am not trying to make out by any chance a case for no help or as little help as possible to this Stores Department. I contend that, if this Resolution or this amendment of my Honourable friend is passed by this House and is acted up to by the Government of India, we will indirectly be giving a very great push to the Stores Department in the work for which my Honourable friends, Mr. Chatterjee and Sir Charles Innes, are so justifiably anxious.

Just one word about the advantages that the Honourable Member said would accrue or do accrue by having the purchases concentrated in London. He mentioned the freight charges. Now, I am sure if the

[Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas.]

Honourable Member expected this House to attach any value to this plea of his, he was bound to put before the House the figures as to the concession or the rebate that the Government of India got for the stores which they imported here in bulk either through the India Office or through the High Commissioner. I am sure I am not asking anything unreasonable from the Honourable Member if I ask him to tell us if the Government of India at all know what the rebates available to them are. Can he tell us what they were in 1913-14 or 1917-18? What they were in those years of the war when freight rates had gone up to an exorbitant height? The general impression is that the Government of India got jolly little.

Now, as to insurance. I am sorry that the Honourable Member thought fit to mention this topic of insurance at all. As my Honourable friend, Sir Campbell Rhodes, said, they must have paid dearly because they took the risk of not insuring. If the Government did lose, will they kindly tell us to how much they lost during the war by not being insured? All that I can say is that they are very lucky if they did not lose more than they saved in previous years by not insuring. I know that Government and big concerns like them do not insure. But when they do not insure they—at least commercial concerns—keep a sinking fund for emergencies. I am sure the Government of India have no such sinking fund.

Now, as to inspection. No one doubts that inspection is always necessary and I did not know before I came in that the Honourable Mr. Jinnah had said that inspection should be avoided. I am sure he could not have said that. (*Mr. M. A. Jinnah*: "I never said that".)

Now, Sir, as regards exchange. I do not wish to go into the subject as to how exchange can be manipulated in a certain situation. But I certainly think that in this case it is a plain, simple proposition. We merchants who handle both exports and imports know how to adjust our exchanges. After all, why should the Government of India take it for granted that it is they alone who are anxious to get what they want? Why should they understand for ever that it is only a buyer who is a needy buyer and that sellers are always indifferent? I am sure in the ordinary course and in normal times a seller is more keen than a buyer. And, if the Government of India lay down a policy and say: "We will buy in Rupee tenders and on certain terms, the sellers, whether big or small, in order to get the custom will adapt themselves to the terms which they, the buyers, lay down, taking of course for granted that the terms of the Government of India will be normal, businesslike and sensible. I expected my Honourable friend to say that when you buy in bulk and when you buy direct from the manufacturers you buy cheaper. In case he should advance that argument in his final reply I should like to say that the method suggested does not prevent the Government of India from buying in bulk. (*The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee*: "I never said that".) You can buy any quantity you like from any manufacturer, nor will it prevent you from buying direct. You can put your order direct with the manufacturers, be they in Germany, Switzerland, Italy or Czecho-Slovakia. So that this method which is suggested by the amendment or by the Resolution does not prevent you from taking full advantage of buying direct from the manufacturer. All that we say is that you must buy in rupee currency and you must call for the tender in India. Delhi should be the place from which the tender should be given out. Delhi should be the place where the tender should be opened.

It has been mentioned by the Honourable Member that the House may rest assured that Sir M. Dalal looks after India's interest thoroughly. I am sure nobody doubts that. But the point is: Is the system a correct one? Can we not improve upon it? I will now conclude, Sir, by pointing out how in my opinion the local Stores Department of the Government of India can be substantially encouraged by the acceptance of this amendment.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member has already exceeded his time limit.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I shall conclude my remarks, Sir, in a minute. At present indents from all over India go to London. If the Government of India accept this amendment they will all have to come to Delhi and in Delhi my Honourable friend, with the assistance of his Stores Department, would be able to say to the indenting officers that this thing need not be imported, and that thing you can buy at such and such a place which you cannot buy in India. Here is more business for your Stores Department. For the rest you call for tenders from branches and agencies of oversea firms and from abroad. I think this is the most natural method of encouraging your Indian Stores Department and I hope that my Honourable friend will be able to accept it. Sir, I also hope that my Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah, will be able to accept the amendment and that the House will pass it unanimously.

(Several Honourable Members: "The question be now put.")

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: Sir, I do not wish to detain the House at this late hour. There are only one or two points arising from the speech of my Honourable friend opposite, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, which I should like to touch upon. In defending the Indian Retrenchment Committee,—I yield to none in my admiration for the very splendid work which that Committee did for India and for the Government of India,—my Honourable friend quoted a passage from that Committee's report relating to the Stores Department. I am sorry to say, Sir, that the Retrenchment Committee went entirely astray over the objects and functions of the Indian Stores Department. They laid stress on the co-operation of the provinces. I think my Honourable friend is as well aware as I am that the provinces are of no great importance with regard to their purchases as compared to the Central Government. What does it matter whether the provinces co-operate or not? The purchases of the Central Government are big enough, as the Honourable Member has himself admitted just now, for the maintenance of a department. What was the use of bringing in the provinces? When we gave our estimate regarding the probable purchases we did not think of the provinces. And then he asked me whether the provinces are co-operating. They are. We have got large orders from the Punjab and from his own province. (*Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: "Amounts please."*) I could not give you the amounts offhand. They extend to several lakhs. I do not carry all my statistics in my pocket, as evidently my friend does. (Laughter.) Similarly he asked me what was the amount we paid for freight. I could not give him the statistics. I did promise him during my own speech that I would give him the statistics to-morrow and he twitted me again over the fact that I did not bring those statistics with me. The fact is mentioned in the Stores Purchase Committee Report, if the Honourable Member has ever cared to peruse it. Then he suggested that we should utilise the Stores

[Mr. A. C. Chatterjee.]

Department in order to scrutinise indents and to stop indents from going to England. I can assure my Honourable friend that is already being done. Sir, I have nothing more to add.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Sir, I want to say one word of personal explanation. All that I said is that whatever is said in the report is based on the evidence given before the Inchcape Committee. If the Government of India had left the papers with me I would have been able to prove to the Honourable Member the justification of what I said. The papers were taken away from members of the Inchcape Committee.

Mr. President: The original question was:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that in future tenders for any article required for any department of the Central Government should be called for in India and in rupees and that the Stores Department at the India Office only should be maintained in such strength as would enable old contracts to be worked out."

Since which an amendment has been moved:

"That for all the words after the words 'Governor General in Council' the following be substituted:

"That the present system of stores purchase for Government requirements is not in the best interests of India and should be done away with at the earliest possible moment.

That in its place should be instituted a system of Rupee tender for delivery in India with publication of results in every case.

That this new system should be administered under the supervision of the Government of India by a cadre of qualified officers and that arrangements should be made in India for the requisite test and inspection of the goods purchased."

The question that I have to put is that that amendment be adopted.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Sir, I have objection really to the amendment, if the House desires it.

Mr. President: The question that I have to put is that that amendment be adopted.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: The question is that the Resolution, as amended, be adopted.

The motion was adopted.

RESOLUTION *RE* GREETINGS OF THE ASSEMBLY TO THE LABOUR PARTY.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub (Rohilkhand and Kumaon Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I rise to move the following Resolution:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to convey the greetings of this House to the Right Honourable Ramsay MacDonald, and other members of the new Cabinet on their advent into power."

Sir, unique as the occasion undoubtedly is, it does not, for obvious reasons, call for a long speech. For the first time in the constitutional history of England the Labour Party takes up the reins of an Empire built on essentially conservative traditions. For the first time in the history of modern Europe the bulwark of an uncompromising Capitalism and class

domination in England has been shaken. To the Indian subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor, the historic event is full of possibilities. The so called "Dependency" has suffered, generation after generation, under the yoke of a bureaucracy which holds a monopoly of prestige and political power. The great war in Europe brought to the forefront the labouring classes in various stages of revolution and evolution. But it looked as if the privileged classes in England would still resist successfully the advancing Labour forces. Yet circumstances have combined to make the long expected and much desired event an actuality, in spite of all the powers of English Conservatism and Liberalism. So far as India is concerned, the changes of Governments and parties have never meant much to us, as was observed by His Excellency the Viceroy in this very House the other day. Out of our long experience of political shuffling to which we have been invariably subjected, comes the feeling that the parties may go and the parties may come but the bureaucracy goes on for ever. To this feeling of hopelessness and helplessness is due the present political situation in India.

Lest I may be misunderstood, I hasten to submit that I do not expect miracles from the new Government, neither do I believe that a Labour Government would solve the present complications of the Indian problem, so to say, with a touch of the magician's wand. I know, as probably most of us in this House do, the limitations of a Government which depends for its very existence on the support of the Liberal party. But we know that during the last few years of an acute political unrest in our country, Labour was the only party in England which had the courage and honesty to extend to a suffering people their sympathies. Not that we underestimate the friendship of other public men in England who have been working for us, but it is a fact that had it not been for the Labourites, the British nation would have known little or nothing of what India suffered. It was Labour Conference at which India's claim to the right of self-determination was first supported in no uncertain terms. In a Resolution moved by Mr. Ben Spoor at the 1920 Sessions of the Labour Conference at Scarborough the party demanded "the full and frank application of this principle in the re-organisation of the Government of India". It emphatically protested "against the militant and repressive methods adopted by the present British Government" and expressed "its sympathy with the people now held in subjugation". It condemned in the strongest possible terms "the cruel and barbarous action of the British officers in the Punjab", extended its "sympathy to sufferers of these unpardonable atrocities" and urged "that all officials concerned should be formally brought to trial". No wonder then, Sir, that our hearts go out to the Labour Party in the great responsibility they have accepted. As an Indian journalist of the Liberal school of thought remarked in well chosen words,

"the Labour party is itself an organised protest against privilege and prescription, it is an embodied rebellion against vested interests and class privileges and must instinctively feel a natural sympathy for the weaker of the two parties anywhere in the world."

Therein lies our hope. We may not expect much from a Labour Government in England, but are we not justified in looking forward to a better result than we ever had from other parties? They may not bring us our heart's desire all at once but they are, with the breadth of their vision and their recognition of the rights of subject peoples, likely to understand and appreciate the intense craving of the Indian people, after more

- [Maulvi Muhammad Yakub.]

than 150 years of abject subjugation, to rise to the higher and more respectable and honourable level of a self-governing member of the British Commonwealth and thus to save themselves from the insults and indignities offered to them by other British Colonies and by a British oligarchy in their own land. The best we expect is a change in the angle of vision and in the spirit in which India has been hitherto administered from behind the closed doors of 10, Downing Street and White Hall. By their encouragement and sympathy the Labourites would give the breeze the power of a gale to wash away the old and obstinate rock of class and colour prejudice which has hindered progress.

At the Scarborough Labour Conference, Mr. Ben Spoor, M.P., one of the leading men of the Labour Party who is now also a leading member of the Labour Party, remarked, with reference to the Reforms Act, that "they felt that no real measure of justice has been done to India" and that they felt "that the Indian people at a very early date must secure a larger measure of self-control than they had had offered to them in the Government of India Act". Only recently Mr. George Lansbury, while speaking at Wakefield, declared:

"I believe in my heart that it is a God-given opportunity that the Labour movement of this country has to-day to stave off the upheaval in India. I believe that the people, if they get the opportunity, can do such things as will make Indians believe that we mean what we say when we tell them that we want India to be the brightest jewel in the great British federation of free peoples."

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's speech at the Queen Hall's meeting in June last, Colonel Wedgewood's speech in the House of Commons and the Party's manifesto issued just before the last General Election, which appealed to all citizens to take a generous and courageous stand for Right and Justice and to hold out their hands of friendship and good-will to the struggling people everywhere who want freedom, security and a happier life, are but a few indications of the fundamental principles which are to guide the Labour Government's policy. We hope, therefore, that they will steer clear of the antiquated shibboleths of the "white man's civilising mission", "the prestige of the ruling class", and "the Divine right to govern the black and brown". Although the determined onslaughts of the British Die-hard may hamper the noble work of the Labour party, we trust that it will return to power again and again with a clear and stronger majority and that ultimately it would be in its power to accord us the right to call ourselves a nation, to live our own life, to develop our own civilisation on national lines and to be able to look other peoples in the face. Secure in our indomitable faith in the righteousness of our cause, we welcome the dawn of a new hope.

With these few words, Sir, I submit my proposition for the favourable consideration of this House.

Pandit Motilal Nehru (Cities of the United Provinces: Non-Muhamadan Urban): Sir, after a long and bravely sustained struggle, the Labour Party has come into power for the first time in the Parliamentary history of England. It has lived through good and evil report, always standing for greater freedom, greater justice to humanity at large and perfect equality between man and man. The success of the Labour Party in England is the success of these noble principles and carries with it hope and encouragement to all who love their own freedom and are striving to attain it at any cost. The members of the Swaraj Party are therefore

glad to join the Honourable Mover of this Resolution in his desire to convey the greetings of the House to the Labour Party on its advent to power.

There can be little in common between a party of free Englishmen and the Swaraj Party formed by a people held in subjection by free England. The former started under a constitution which has made it possible for an engine cleaner to be a Minister of the Crown and a cabin boy to rise to the exalted position of the Viceroy of India. The latter has yet to secure for the people of India the most elementary rights of citizenship. But the Labour Party and specially some of the "wild men" in it have in the past stood forth as staunch friends of India, and India, ever ready to grasp the hand of fellowship extended to it, has loved and honoured them in return. Many of us in this House enjoy the personal friendship of some of the wild as well as the sober men of the Party, and it is but natural for us to offer them our sincere congratulations on their success. We note with regret that the leader of this great Party which is committed to the principle of the right of self-determination for all nations, great and small, should immediately before taking charge of his high office have thought it necessary to sound a note of warning to us for claiming that very right. But we have not forgotten what he said in April 1918. In a private letter intended for publication and recently published in the press he said :

"In my opinion Home Rule for India has now become inevitable. The British administration of your country has its logical and necessary outcome in your own self-government. In ordinary times that would have been long postponed, but the circumstances of your country have so changed as to make it wise and politic. The War has hastened this evolution and has suddenly brought the country face to face with its ultimate duties. We must trust India just as we must trust Ireland. We must allow India to develop a culture of its own. We must lay on the Indian people both the burdens and responsibilities and make them the custodians of their own welfare. I would therefore give them not merely a minimum measure but a generous one. Whatever form the governing machinery may take, two things must be granted. In the first place, the Viceroy's Council must be of the nature of a Cabinet and must be responsible to the representative authorities. In the second place, India must have control of her own finances. I hope that broad-minded wisdom is to assist both of us to arrive at a happy conclusion."

We can only hope that this broadminded wisdom will be brought to bear upon the demand that we have put forward. Meanwhile, Sir, in the words of Abraham Lincoln :

"with malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, we strive on to finish the work we are in."

Sir, I beg to support the motion on behalf of the Swaraj Party.

Maulvi Abul Kasem (Bengal: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I beg to associate myself with the Resolution as it stands. We offer our congratulations to the Right Honourable Ramsay MacDonald on his accession to office and to his colleagues; but I do it, Sir, from no selfish motive. I am not a believer in the fact that self-government can be obtained for this country as the gift of one party or the other in England. I for one, Sir, will not allow India to be made a football to be kicked about by one party or the other. But, Sir, I hope and trust that when this Resolution is communicated to the Head of the British Government and the Head of the British Empire, he will remember what he said some years ago when he was not in office. Sir, it has been my experience and I believe it has been the experience of Pandit Motilal Nehru and others; that

[Maulvi Abul Kasem.]

Britishers or Indians hold one opinion when they are out of office and another when they are filling responsible positions; and we in this House, whether in this Session or the previous one, have seen Honourable Members on the other side—I mean my countrymen like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Muhammad Shafi and Sir Narasimha-Sarma—confronted with reports of speeches they had made previous to their accepting office in the Government of India. I hope and trust, Sir, that the Right Honourable Ramsay MacDonald and some of his colleagues will stick to the opinion which they expressed and clearly expressed years back when they had neither charge of office nor any expectation of getting into it at an early date.

Sir Gordon Fraser (Madras: European): Sir, I heartily support the Resolution before the Council and I am sure I am speaking on behalf of all my European fellow members when I say that we congratulate Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and his Cabinet on their advent to power.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey (Home Member): I do not think it is fitting that the Government Benches should be silent on this occasion. It is not because we desire to express or indeed are entitled to express any opinion as to the influence which the advent of a Labour Government may have on the course of politics either in England or in India; nor because we desire to express either pleasure or regret at the departure of one Government and the advent of another, or have any feelings as to the extent to which one Government rather than another is likely to agree with the views which we ourselves hold as to the manner in which the administration of India should be carried on. We regard the Cabinet simply as the executive of His Majesty's Government; that is the view which we are bound to take as servants of the Crown. Nevertheless, Sir, we also are members of this House, and there is certainly one aspect of the good wishes which this House desires to send to the Cabinet with which we desire to associate ourselves. They are faced with great difficulties, difficulties which are not confined to the United Kingdom only, but of world-wide origin and extent; there must be no one here who does not wish them success in finding a solution of the problems which lie before them, problems which demand the highest statesmanship and the greatest qualities both of mind and heart. We, no less than the House, wish them Godspeed in the difficult journey which lies before them. Let me add, Sir,—though it is unnecessary, yet it is not impertinent for me to do so—that whatever instructions His Majesty's Government may give us and whatever action they may desire to take in regard to India, they are entitled to claim and they will assuredly receive from us that loyalty which we always have rendered and always shall render to the Government of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar (Madras City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, as my Honourable friend, Pandit Motilal Nehru, confined his remarks to what he calls the Swarajist party, I am tempted to make a few remarks on behalf of the Independents here. He might have whole-heartedly associated us also in the hearty welcome he extended to the Labour Party on its coming into power now. I wish to associate myself, I wish to associate the whole of the Indian element in this Assembly, in the welcome which has been extended to the Labour Party. Sir, I was reading only this morning one of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's books—I have got four of them now and I am slowly reading them one by one. He wrote a book in 1920 called "A Policy for the Labour Party"; and, Sir, he has

given a very soft corner to India in one of the paragraphs in that book. I hope he will remember that as the head of the new Government and will give effect to all that he has said. That is the prayer, Sir, of the nation and I hope that prayer will not go in vain. May this Government live long, so that India and England may continue to do common work not only for the good of India but for the good of the Empire.

Mr. N. M. Dumasia (Bombay City; Non-Muhammadan Urban): Mr. President, as a member of the community which has in the past returned no less than three members to the House of Commons,—two of whom had more or less identified themselves with the Labour Party—I beg to extend my cordial greetings to the Premier and his Cabinet. We hope that the advent of the Labour Party to office will usher in a new era of happiness and contentment in India and that it will be marked by the blessings of peace and prosperity throughout the British Empire and particularly in India. Sir, the Labour Party's advent to power shows what industry, assiduity and perseverance and fidelity to their cause can achieve. The Members of the Labour Government were not impatient idealists but practical men of business. They worked for one end. They showed that they deserved to come into power and they have come into power by sheer merit. Indian politicians may take a leaf out of the book which has been so splendidly written by the Premier, the Right Honourable Ramsay MacDonald, the most cultured man of his party. It is the duty of India now not to do anything to embarrass or to drive out the Labour Government from office. They are in office but not power inasmuch as they are depending upon the indulgence of either the Conservatives or the Liberals for their continuance in office and it is our duty to strengthen their hands and, if India works on the same lines as the Labourites have worked, there is no doubt that we will come into our own and that in the fulness of time we shall attain Swaraj. But the road is long and tortuous and we must work patiently and hard for many a long year before we can attain our end. But if we become impatient idealists, if we do anything wrong, perhaps we may come to grief. I hope we will take a lesson from the Labour Government and persist in our just and rightful course.

Mr. N. M. Joshi (Nominated: Labour Interests): Sir, as one who sympathises with the aspirations of labour not only in this country but all over the world, you will allow me to add one word of congratulations and greetings to the Labour Party in England which has come into office very recently. Sir, these greetings that we are sending to-day are more than formal. The event is significant in several ways. In the first place, Sir, I think that by the coming into office of the Labour Party England herself has got her real self-government. England was ruled all along by classes who were not representatives of her masses. Either by the manipulation of constituencies or by the power of wealth, the real representatives of the masses of England were kept out of power. Therefore, Sir, we must congratulate England herself to-day that she has got a Government which is really representative of the masses of the country. From the view of our own country there is also a great significance in the coming into power of the Labour Party. The Members of the Labour Party were the only people who used to sympathise with our political aspirations for a very long time. Even our veteran leader and statesman, Dadabhoj Naoroji, got unstinted sympathy only from the Labour Party. Sir, it is quite natural that the members of the Labour Party should have sympathised with our political aspirations. The labouring classes in England were themselves denied freedom for a very long time. They had undergone in

[Mr. N. M. Joshi.]

their battle for freedom the same difficulties which this country is undergoing. They were not given the franchise for a long time as we had none. Not only that; but their path towards progress was as difficult as ours is. Those of us, Sir, who have undergone the hardships of repressive laws will also find that similar repressive laws, perhaps more repressive laws, were imposed upon the working classes of England. Not only that, but there are many here who have undergone the severities of jail life in the battle for freedom, and I can assure Members of this Assembly that there may be at least some in the present Cabinet who have also undergone the same hardships of jail life. It is but natural, therefore, that the members of the Labour Party should sympathise with our aspirations towards our progress for freedom. Moreover, it is but natural that we should look to the Labour Party for help in our social and political progress. The Labour Party has very little vested interests in India. Most of our services, who generally stand in the way of our political progress, do not belong to the working classes. So their enthusiasm is not damped by the considerations of self-interest. I therefore feel, Sir, that there is great hope for our political progress as long as the Labour Party is in office. Sir, there was some complaint made about the statement of the Prime Minister. Sir, I know that the Labour Party in England consists of practical people. They are idealists, but they are idealists who have put their ideals into practice, and therefore they are naturally practical. They have reached their goal step by step and they may expect us to do the same. Moreover, the Labour Party in England also believes in constitutional agitation. They have reached their goal by Parliamentary agitation, and they expect others also to reach their goal by that agitation. They believe that, as they have reached their goal by Parliamentary agitation, it is quite possible for others also to reach their goal by similar methods.

From the point of view of Indian labour, there is still, Sir, greater reason for congratulation. If there is any one class in any society which is more international in its sympathies, it is the labouring class. They believe in the brotherhood of man, and as such the Labour Party in England will naturally sympathise with the Labour Party in India. They will show greater enthusiasm for bettering the conditions of the working classes in this country than any other party would have done. Naturally those who are interested in the uplift of the working classes in this country will take great delight in the accession to power of the Labour Party. More than that, the Labour Party will do good by way of legislation for the labouring classes in this country; their very accession to power is a message of hope to the working classes in this country. Sir, those of us who have been working inside this House and outside it for the uplift of labour many times feel tempted to give way to despair. The work before us is so difficult. I have myself seen in this House during the last three years how difficult that work is. Problems which seemed so easy to me, demands which seemed so reasonable to me, were not accepted even by a small fraction of the House and on these occasions I had sometimes felt somewhat despondent. But, Sir, if we study the history of the rise of the Labour Party in England, it gives us a ray of hope. I remember the days when there used to be only a few members in the House of Commons who represented labour in England, and even then they were not the real representatives of the labouring classes in England. They were elected as members of the Liberal Party or sometimes of the

Conservative Party. Sir, then came a time, and that time came very soon, when the working classes in England thought it necessary to have their own political party. That party was established by Mr. Keir Hardie in 1892, and within such a short time that party had gradually risen to a position of strength that to-day they are in office and in power. Sir, this message of hope is of greater importance to the working classes in India than any other thing. With these few words, Sir, I associate myself with the greetings which have been proposed by the Honourable Mover of this Resolution.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar (Tanjore *cum* Trichinopoly: Non-Muham-
madan Rural): I move, Sir, that the question be put.

Mr. President: The question is:

“That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to convey the greetings of this House to the Right Honourable Ramsay MacDonald, and other Members of the new Cabinet on their advent into power.”

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: As Honourable Members are aware, Resolutions are merely recommendations to the Governor General in Council; but I imagine that in this case, whatever may happen to other Resolutions, the Governor General in Council will act upon it! At all events it will be recorded that this Resolution was passed with cordiality and acclamation, and in that cordiality I, as President, very willingly join. (Applause.)

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, the 18th February, 1924.

ERRATUM.

In L. A. Debates, Vol. IV, No. 7, page 283, under the reply (d) given by the Honourable Sir Charles Innes to Question No. 68, for the words "(d) What are the charges paid by each porter to the contractor per ¢ " read "(d) As to fees these are arranged mutually between the contractors and "".

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Monday, 18th February, 1924.

ERRATUM.

In L. A. Debates, Vol. IV. No. 7, page 283, under the reply (d) given by the Honourable Sir Charles Innes to Question No. 68, for the words "(d) What are the charges paid by each porter to the contractor per head" read "(d) As to fees these are arranged mutually between the contractors and".

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

TAXATION COMMITTEE.

316. *Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: With reference to the statement of the Honourable the Finance Member in the Council of State last week regarding the proposed appointment of the Committee on Indian taxation, will the Government be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the terms of reference of the said Committee include an examination of the incidence of taxation in the provinces and, if so, whether they involve an examination of the system of provincial finance established by the Meston Award;
- (b) whether the proposed Committee will deal with the means and methods of establishing a scheme of federal finance in India over and above the question of separating Central from Provincial Finance;
- (c) whether the basis and incidence of land revenue comes within the scope of inquiry of the Committee in question. If so, what is the exact extent to which the levy and collection of land revenue in the provinces are intended to be brought within the purview of inquiry of the Committee;
- (d) whether it is proposed to set up subsidiary Committees, provincial or otherwise, in connection with the inquiry?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The terms of reference of the proposed Committee are:

- (1) To examine the manner in which the burden of taxation is distributed at present between the different classes of the population.
- (2) To consider whether the whole scheme of taxation—Central, Provincial and Local—is equitable and in accordance with economic principles and, if not, in what respects it is defective.

- (3) To report on the suitability of alternative sources of taxation.
- (4) To advise as to the machinery required for the imposition, assessment and collection of taxes, old and new.
- (5) To prepare rough estimates of the financial effects of the proposals.
- (6) To include in the inquiry consideration of the land revenue only so far as is necessary for a comprehensive survey of existing conditions.

With reference to (a) of the Honourable Member's question, the Local Governments have agreed to an inquiry on the lines indicated in the above terms of reference without prejudice to the claims of their respective Governments in regard to the distribution of the total revenue.

With reference to (b), it is expected that the Committee, in the course of their inquiries, will find it necessary to examine systems of federal finance as existing in other countries and to consider their applicability to Indian conditions.

(c) Has already been answered in the terms of reference.

(d) The method of procedure which the Committee will adopt will be a matter for their consideration on appointment. It is not unlikely that they will desire to make arrangements for special assistance whether by way of the appointment of assessors or by some other means for considering the particular conditions in the several Provinces.

Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju: Sir, I would like to know under (b) whether this Committee will be allowed to consider the question of taxation in connection with the possible formation of new provinces such as Orissa and the Andhra province?

Mr. President: That does not arise out of the question.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: It certainly was not intended, Sir.

CONFERENCE OF PROVINCIAL FINANCE MEMBERS.

317. ***Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar:** Will the Government be pleased to state or lay on the table a statement showing the subjects discussed and the decisions taken by the Conference of Finance Members of Provincial Governments in November last?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: In addition to the inquiry into taxation, the more important matters discussed at the Conference of Finance Members of the Provinces were:

- (a) The question of improving the arrangements for Provincial borrowing and establishing a Provincial Loans Fund.
- (b) The adoption of general principles in regard to excise, so as to avoid conflicts of Provincial interests.
- (c) The method of determining the Provincial Governments' share in revenue from unified stamps and the assignments which will be made to Provincial Governments in respect of recent increases in stamp duty.

The decisions of the Conference, which were unanimous, will require, and have been referred to for, confirmation by the respective Governments.

SEASON POST OFFICE AT MILAM.

318. *Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: (a) Is the Government aware that the Superintendent of Post Office, Kumaon Division, on the report of inspection of the Inspector of Post Office, Almora, did not open a season post office at Milam, where the postman has to carry heavy parcels, money orders, and insured articles in large numbers from Mansiari Post Office—on the plea that neither the Deputy Commissioner of that district made any definite promise nor the people held themselves responsible about the maintenance of traffic on the road leading to Milam?

(b) Do the Government propose to open a season Post Office at Milam village Pathi Mala Johar (District Almora) which has a population of 8,000 for four months every year?

Mr. G. R. Clarke: I have no information on the point raised in the first part of the question, but am making inquiries and will consider the request contained in the second part. I may add, Sir, that, if a season post office is found to be required, it will certainly be opened.

POSTAL LETTER BOXES IN THE VILLAGES OF PATHI MALLA JOHAR.

319. *Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Is the Government aware that in spite of the requests of the people no letter box is kept in any villages of Pathi Malla Johar by postal authorities?

Mr. G. R. Clarke: I have no information on the point but am making inquiries.

ASSEMBLY DEBATES.

320. *Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Are the Government prepared to fix at cost price (inclusive of postage) the annual subscription of the reports of the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly so that it may be within the reach of the people of ordinary means?

Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith: The price of the official reports of the Debates of the Legislative Assembly is fixed on the basis of the cost. At the present price, namely, five annas for a day's proceedings, no profit is made and for that reason no reduction is possible. It is not possible to fix an annual subscription as the number of meetings varies from year to year.

INDIAN CADETS AT SANDHURST.

321. *Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Will the Government be pleased to state how many Indian Cadets were turned out from Sandhurst without completing their course of studies, during the last three years; and were such vacancies filled by taking fresh Indian Cadets in their place?

Mr. E. Burdon: The answer to the first part of the question is six. As regards the second part of the question, the vacancies in question have been filled by the nomination of fresh cadets when suitable candidates have been obtainable.

Mr. V. J. Patel: Will the Government be pleased to say why these Indian cadets were turned out?

Mr. E. Burdon: Because they failed to pass their examinations.

POSTING OF INDIAN COMMISSIONED OFFICERS FROM SANDHURST TO INDIAN UNITS.

322. ***Manvi Muhammad Yakub:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that all the Indian Commissioned Officers, who come out of Sandhurst, after receiving a short training with some English regiment, are invariably attached to the Indian units?

(b) What are the Army orders or regulations in this connection?

Mr. E. Burdon: (a) Yes.

(b) The rules in Army Regulations, India, lay down that officers on the Unattached List will only be appointed to a unit of the Indian Army after they have completed a year's actual duty with a British unit.

INDIAN LAW REPORTS.

323. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** (a) Was any action taken by the Government to improve the publication of the Indian Law Reports and prohibiting the citation of unauthorised law publications in the Courts?

(b) If the answer to the first part of the question be in the affirmative, will the Government be pleased to state the action taken, and if the answer be in the negative, will the Government be pleased to state if they propose to take any action in this direction in the near future?

Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith: (a) The answer to the first portion of part (a) is in the affirmative. As regards the second portion, I would invite the Honourable Member's attention to section 3 of the Indian Law Reports Act, 1875 (XVIII of 1875), under which the Courts have full discretion to refuse to hear cited any Law Reports other than authorised Reports.

(b) Provincial Law Reports is a provincial subject under the Devolution Rules, and the question of improving the Indian Law Reports is a matter which rests entirely with the Local Governments. Nevertheless, in 1922, the Government of India, with the approval and consent of the Local Governments of the provinces concerned, appointed a Committee consisting of representatives from those provinces, including 3 members of the Indian Legislature, to discuss the possibility of improving the Indian Law Reports and putting them on a more satisfactory basis. The Committee made certain recommendations which were generally accepted by the Government of India and were forwarded to the Local Governments concerned for their consideration. Many of the recommendations have been accepted by the Local Governments.

Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar: Is the Honourable Member aware that the High Court Judges themselves freely use those unauthorised Reports in their judgments?

Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith: I think the Honourable Member will realise that the real remedy lies in the courts themselves, particularly in the High Courts.

Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar: Will the Honourable Member be pleased to take steps so that High Court Judges may exercise some supervision over the publication of these unauthorised Reports?

Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith: I think the Honourable Member will realise also that it is quite impossible for the Government of India to take any step of the nature suggested by him.

Dr. H. S. Gour: Is the Honourable Member aware that the improvement effected in the publication of the Indian Law Reports has resulted in the cost of the publication being trebled?

Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith: I am not aware that the cost has been trebled, Sir. Possibly the Honourable Member is right. But improvements generally result in an increase of cost.

Dr. H. S. Gour: Is not the Honourable Member aware that the subscription, which was originally Rs. 20 per annum, is now about Rs. 65 per annum?

INTERCEPTION OF POSTAL LETTERS.

†324. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a list of the persons whose letters are intercepted, stating in each case the reasons for taking such action?

INTERCEPTION OF POSTAL LETTERS.

325. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state according to what law and under what circumstances district authorities are empowered to intercept and open letters of persons at the Post Office?

(b) Do the Government of India or the Local Governments issue orders to intercept letters of certain persons at the Post Office or is it left to the discretion of the district authorities?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I will answer Questions Nos. 324 and 325 together.

No. 324.—The answer is in the negative.

No. 325.—(a) The Indian Post Office Act, 1898 (Act VI of 1898).

(b) The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the provisions of this Act which are invariably followed.

Mr. V. J. Patel: Is it in the public interests that the Government refuse to lay on the table the names of the persons? What is it?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Undoubtedly it is in the public interests. Let us assume that a man is importing cocaine and we are searching his correspondence to find out where it is coming from and where it is going to. Is it to the public interest to advise him of the fact?

Mr. V. J. Patel: We merely want to know the names—a list of the persons. We have nothing to do with cocaine or anything of the kind.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: And make him aware that we are searching his correspondence? Is that to the public interest?

OLD MOSQUES AT RAISINA.

326. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to prepare and lay on the table of the House a list of old mosques still existing at Raisina and the neighbouring area?

(b) Are the Government prepared to issue orders that no old mosques and other religious buildings at Raisina and the neighbouring area should be demolished for the purpose of new buildings or the railway line?

† For answer to this question—see the answer below Question No. 325.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: (a) The Honourable Member is referred to the answers† given to similar questions put by Mr. W. M. Hussanally on 24th February, 1923, and by Haji Wajihuddin on 5th March, 1923. It was then explained that the number of mosques in use and of ruins which may possibly at one time or another have been mosques, was very large; and I may add that the use to which many of the ruins now in this area was put is so uncertain, that it would not be possible to undertake to prepare an authoritative list.

(b) The Honourable Member is referred to the statement‡ I made on the subject in answer to a question put by Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Ayyar on 6th February, 1923. The assurance was then given that the local authorities were exercising scrupulous care to preserve all mosques and other religious buildings in and around Raisina from demolition. In the circumstances Government do not think it necessary to issue fresh orders on the subject.

PROSCRIPTION OF MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD'S BOOK, "THE AWAKENING OF INDIA".

327. ***Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer:** Will the Government be pleased to state:

(a) if the book entitled "The Awakening of India" by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald was proscribed in India? If so, when?

(b) if the said book is still under proscription?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I refer the Honourable Member to the answer I gave to Mr. K. C. Roy on the 4th instant.

PROSCRIPTION OF LALA LAJPAT RAI'S BOOK, "YOUNG INDIA".

328. ***Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer:** Will the Government be pleased to state:

(a) if the book entitled "Young India" by Lala Lajpat Rai containing a foreword by Colonel Wedgwood was proscribed in India?

(b) if the ban on the said book "Young India" still continues?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Yes.

ARRESTS UNDER REGULATION III OF 1818.

329. ***Mr. T. C. Goswami:** Did the arrests, recently made under Regulation III of 1818, in Bengal, actually take place after two judges had carefully sifted the material placed before them and recommended the arrests, or did the sifting of material take place after the arrests?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The arrests took place before the papers were submitted to the two judges; but after the fullest scrutiny by the Local Government and the Government of India.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: Will Government be pleased to give the names of the two Judges before whom the papers were placed?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I think we have another question on the subject later.

† Vide pages 2743 and 2960 of L. A. Debates, Vol. III.

‡ Vide pages 1956-1957 of L. A. Debates, Vol. III.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: Is this not a supplementary question arising out of the original question?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I thought it would be more to the convenience of the House to give the whole information together.

HIGH COURT JUDGESHIPS.

330. ***Mr. T. C. Goswami:** Do the Government of India propose to recommend, or to take steps to ensure, a larger number of appointments to the post of High Court Judges from the Provincial Judicial Services in the future?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The Government of India are not primarily concerned with these appointments except in so far as the appointments to the Calcutta High Court and the appointments of Additional Judges in other Courts are concerned. Subject to the provisions of sub-section (4) of the section the claims of persons belonging to each of the classes mentioned in sub-section (3) of section 101 of the Government of India Act are taken into consideration before such appointments are made. I also invite the Honourable Member's attention to the answer given by me to Dr. Gour's question No. 169 on the 5th February 1924. The criterion applied when making these appointments is efficiency.

TRAVELLING ALLOWANCES OF MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AND SECRETARIES.

331. ***Mr. T. C. Goswami:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) what travelling allowances or facilities are given to (i) Members of the Governor General's Executive Council, (ii) Secretaries, and
- (b) what is the total amount spent by Government on the travelling of each of the Members of the Executive Council (i) in 1913-14, (ii) in the past year?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: (a) (i) Under the Supplementary Rules a Member of the Governor General's Executive Council is entitled to one standard gauge saloon. Further, when travelling by railway on duty, he is entitled, without payment, to:

- (i) accommodation for personal servants up to a maximum number of ten, and
- (ii) free carriage of all luggage for which he vouches as his personal luggage, including stores required for consumption on tour, whether carried in the luggage van of the train to which his reserved carriage is attached or sent by any other train.

When travelling by road or steamer he may recover his actual travelling expenses by appending to his bill a certificate to the effect that he has actually paid the amount of the bill, which does not include any charge for the freight of any stores or goods other than his personal luggage, or any charge for refreshments, hotels or staging bungalows.

(a) (ii) When travelling by rail, a Secretary is entitled to a reserved first class compartment *plus* actual travelling expenses up to a maximum of $\frac{3}{5}$ ths first class fare.

When travelling by sea or steamer, he is entitled to 1 3/5ths of the fare of the highest class; and to eight annas a mile when travelling by road.

(b) Information regarding the amount spent by Government on the travelling of *each* Member of the Executive Council is not readily available; but the total amount incurred in connection with the tour expenses of all Members of the Executive Council in 1913-14 and in the past year is Rs. 63,219 in the former case and Rs. 69,501 in the latter.

DISBURSEMENTS MADE ON BEHALF OF THE WAR OFFICE DURING THE WAR.

332. ***Mr. Jamnadas Mehta:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state in rupees the total disbursements they made on behalf of the War Office during the world war?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state whether the whole amount of the said disbursements has been repaid to them; and if not, how much remains still due?

(c) Will Government be pleased to state whether the said repayment was made in rupees or in sterling; what were the charges for exchange and who paid them?

(d) Will Government be pleased to state whether any interest was charged to the War Office on the amounts outstanding from them with respect to the said disbursements? If so, will Government be pleased to state the rate of interest charged?

(e) Will Government be pleased to state whether the rate of interest charged to the War Office was the same as that paid by Government on their loans? If not, was it higher or lower? If lower, will Government be pleased to state why a lower rate was charged?

Mr. E. Burdon: (a) The total disbursements made by the Government of India, on behalf of the War Office, during the great war, to the end of 1920-21, amounted to £342,684,173. The figure cannot appropriately be given in rupees as the expenditure consisted partly of rupee outlay in India and partly of sterling outlay outside India.

(b) The whole of the amount mentioned was repaid by the War Office by the end of 1920-21, with the exception of a sum of £493,273 which was paid back in 1921-22 on receipt of the Government of India's claim.

(c) The repayment was made in sterling, the rupee expenditure being converted into sterling at Rs. 15 to the pound up to October 1917 and thereafter at the rate of exchange current from time to time. The charges for exchange were thus paid by the War Office. I am not in a position to state the amount of these charges.

(d) No interest was charged to the War Office as there was no delay between the acceptance by them of the Government of India's claim and the date of payment. The arrangement was for the War Office to make monthly advances in regard to these claims on the basis of estimates furnished by the Government of India.

(e) This question does not arise.

PAY OF THE INDIAN ARMY SERVICE CORPS CLERKS.

333. ***Sardar Bahadur Captain Hira Singh:** 1. Are the Government aware that the revision of pay of the Indian Army Service Corps clerks, published in Army Instruction (India) No. 863 of 1923, has caused great disappointment to the men concerned, as the increments have been so

arranged that the higher rates of pay, between Rs. 265 and Rs. 375, are likely to prove unattainable by any of the clerks now serving who have less than 20 years' service, and that the prospects even of the senior men, now within 10 years of retirement, have been made less favourable than they were before the revision?

2. Are the Government aware that the number of clerks who 10 or 12 years hence will be drawing as much as Rs. 250 per mensem is almost certain to be smaller than is at present the case?

3. Are the Government prepared to give this matter further consideration, with a view to such amendments being made in the scheme as will ensure that the senior clerks' rates of pay are not less favourable than those granted to them in 1916, reasonable allowance being made for the increase in the cost of living since then?

Mr. E. Burdon: The Government have already received from various Indian Army Service Corps Clerks' Associations representations on the points raised by the Honourable Member. The matter is now receiving careful consideration.

GOVERNMENT PENSIONERS IN BOMBAY.

334. ***Mr. Jamnadas Mehta:** 1. Will Government be pleased to state whether it is true (a) that in the city of Bombay, Government pensioners are required to go down and assemble in an underground cellar for the purpose of receiving their pension; (b) that among these pensioners there are ladies and men who are Justices of the Peace, Honorary Presidency Magistrates, Fellows of the University of Bombay and other distinguished people?

2. Is it a fact that the cellar is insufficiently lighted and badly ventilated and that the staircase is partially dark making it very difficult for persons who are advanced in age to reach the basement?

3. Do Government propose to direct the Auditor General, Government of India, to provide better ventilated and sufficiently lighted accommodation for the Government pensioners on the ground floor or first floor of the aforesaid building?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I will answer this and Question No. 335 together. Inquiries are being made from the Auditor General and the information will be furnished to the Honourable Member in due course.

ACCOMMODATION OF THE PENSION DEPARTMENT, BOMBAY.

†335. ***Mr. Jamnadas Mehta:** (a) Are Government aware that the Gulistan Building in whose basement the clerk of the Pension Department in Bombay is accommodated is hired from its owner at the high rental of Rs. 10,000 (Ten thousand only) per month?

(b) Do Government contemplate removing the said offices to some other more convenient and less costly building?

PAY OF THE CLERKS OF THE DEAD LETTER OFFICE, BOMBAY.

336. ***Mr. Jamnadas Mehta:** Will Government be pleased to furnish the result of the re-examination into the scales of pay of the clerks of the D. L. O., Bombay, as promised in the reply† to the question by the Honourable Mr. V. G. Kale in the Council of State on the 23rd September 1922?

† For answer to this question—see the answer below question No. 334.

‡ Vide page 402, Council of State Debates, Vol. III.

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: It has been decided to revise the scales of pay for the selection grade appointments in the various Dead Letter Offices with effect from the 1st March 1924 so as to bring them on to a level with those provided for such appointments in post offices. As regards the ordinary time-scales in the Dead Letter Offices, it has been decided that, in view of improved price conditions, no further revision should be sanctioned.

PAY OF THE CLERKS OF THE DEAD LETTER OFFICE, BOMBAY.

337. ***Mr. Jamnadas Mehta:** 1. Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the representation and the telegram from the Honorary Secretary, Bombay Presidency Postal and R. M. S. Association, representing the clerks of the D. L. O., Bombay, on the prevailing discontent among the clerks and praying for equalisation of their scale of pay with that of Bombay G. P. O.?

2. Will Government be pleased to say what extra cost would be incurred to equalise the scale of pay of the clerical staff in the D. L. O., Bombay, with that of the G. P. O.?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: 1. Yes.

2. The revision of the scales of pay for the selection grade appointments has already been sanctioned. The additional expenditure involved in assimilating the ordinary time-scale of pay for clerks in the Bombay Dead Letter Office to that in force in the Bombay General Post Office would be about Rs. 6,500 a year on the average. The Bombay Dead Letter Office could not, however, be treated exceptionally in this matter, and it is estimated that the revision of the ordinary clerical time-scales in all the Dead Letter Offices so as to bring them up to the level of those provided for the local post offices would cost about Rs. 27,000 a year on an average.

EXPORT OF CATTLE.

338. ***Mr. Jamnadas Mehta:** Will Government be pleased to furnish information as to the number of cattle (particularly young cows) exported to foreign countries during the last five years?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The information regarding the number of cattle exported to foreign countries can be obtained from the Annual Statement of the Sea-borne Trade of British India, to which the Honourable Member is invited to refer. Copies of the publications are available in the Library.

No separate figures for the export of young cows are available.

APPOINTMENT OF INDIANS TO THE TRAFFIC INSPECTOR CADRE.

339. ***Sardar Kartar Singh:** Will the Government please state what action has so far been taken to carry into effect the Resolution of the Honourable Rai Bahadur Ramsaran Dass *re* appointment of Indians to the Traffic Inspector cadre duly accepted and reported in Council of State Debates, 23rd February 1923, Vol. III, No. 29?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Resolution was brought to the special notice of Railway Administrations.

TRAFFIC INSPECTORS ON THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

340. *Sardar Kartar Singh: 1. (a) Will the Government please state as to what is the present grade of Traffic Inspectors and how many posts are provided in the budget and name persons with their educational qualification and duration of service?

(b) How many Indians are working on the N.-W. Railway as Traffic Inspectors at present?

2. (a) Is it a fact that only one Indian is working as a temporary Traffic Inspector and retires in December 1924 and no other Indian is holding that post?

(b) Is it a fact that three European Traffic Inspectors died recently and no Indian was tried in their places?

3. (a) Is it a fact that Traffic Inspectors are given bungalows free of rent; if so, what is the average cost of a bungalow and what rent is chargeable on it? (b) Are any other facilities provided for European Traffic Inspectors?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Government have no information, but will make inquiries.

COMMERCIAL SUPERINTENDENTS ON THE NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY.

341. *Sardar Kartar Singh: (a) How many posts of Commercial Superintendents are provided on the N.-W. Ry. and by whom are they held? Please name with their educational qualifications and duration of service.

(b) Has any Indian been tried as Commercial Superintendent? If so, with what result? Please name them with their educational qualifications and duration of service, and since when are they holding these posts?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) There are seven posts held by 6 Europeans and 1 Indian, all of whom have considerable service. Their educational qualifications are not on record.

(b) Yes. Indians have been employed as Commercial Superintendents with satisfactory results. For example, Khan Sahib Sh. Rahim Baksh, Rai Sahib Bhag Chand, Mr. Mool Chand and the late Pundit Balkishen. All had long service, but their educational qualifications are not known.

COMMERCIAL DEPARTMENT, NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY.

342. *Sardar Kartar Singh: Is it a fact that the N.-W. Ry. announced that the Commercial Department was separated from Transportation? If so, how many transportation men were brought in to fill higher vacancies?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Government are not aware of any such announcement, in fact no such separation has yet been made. The latter portion of the question does not, therefore, arise.

CLAIMS INSPECTORS ON THE NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY.

343. *Sardar Kartar Singh: (a) Are there any Claims Inspectors on the N.-W. Ry.? If so, how many are graduates and undergraduates? Have they ever been tried for these Commercial Superintendents' posts; if not why not; and if so, with what result? (b) Does the Railway contemplate making arrangements for qualified men for these posts?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Government have no information but will inquire.

GOODS AND COACHING CLERKS ON THE NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY.

344. *Sardar Kartar Singh: Is it a fact that Goods and Coaching clerks are part of the Commercial branch; if so, is the work inspected quarterly by Inspectors of the Commercial or Transportation branch? And, if it is inspected by the latter, state reasons?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Honourable Member is referred to the reply just given to his question in connection with the separation of the Commercial Department from the Transportation Department. For the reasons there given this question does not arise.

PROVISION OF FREE QUARTERS FOR COMMERCIAL INSPECTORS.

345. *Sardar Kartar Singh: Is it a fact that free quarters are not supplied to Commercial Inspectors? If so, why is there differential treatment between Traffic Inspectors and Claims Inspectors?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Only those classes of the staff, who are liable to be called upon at any time of the day or night to attend to railway business, are given rent-free quarters. Claims Inspectors do not come under this category and therefore the privilege of free quarters is not extended to them.

SCALES OF PAY FOR CLAIMS INSPECTORS ON STATE RAILWAYS.

346. *Sardar Kartar Singh: Is the Government aware of the vast difference of scales of pay existing in the N.-W. Ry. and other State Railways, and will the Government peruse page 58 of the classified list of State Railways Establishment 1923 and note that in the E. B. Ry. there is a cadre of Claims Inspectors drawing Rs. 300—20—400 and Rs. 200—10—280 and in the O. & R. Ry. Rs. 260—10—290? Do the Government propose to remove these differences?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The scales of pay on the different Railways differ as they are determined with due regard to local circumstances and conditions, affecting the cost of living, the nature of duties, etc. Government do not propose to take action in the direction suggested.

TRAFFIC INSPECTORS (COMMERCIAL) ON THE NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY.

347. *Sardar Kartar Singh: Is it a fact that there are no Traffic Inspectors (Commercial) at present working on the N.-W. Railway; if so, why not? Will the Government please consider the advisability of appointing tried Claims Inspectors in these posts in the districts?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: There are no officials designated as Traffic Inspectors (Commercial) working on the North-Western Railway. It is not considered necessary to create such additional posts because the required commercial work comes within the duties of the Traffic Inspectors.

For the reasons given above it is not proposed to appoint Claims Inspectors as Traffic Inspectors (Commercial).

I. C. GS., STOCK VERIFIERS, ETC.

348. *Sardar Kartar Singh: Is it a fact that I. C. Gs. drawing Rs. 40 and Stock Verifiers drawing Rs. 60 are allowed 2nd class travelling whereas Traffic Canvassers drawing Rs. 125 and less are only allowed Inter class. Do the Government propose to remove this distinction?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Inquiry is being made and the result will be communicated to the Honourable Member in due course.

EUROPEAN STATION MASTERS AT CERTAIN STATIONS ON THE N.-W. RAILWAY.

349. **Sardar Kartar Singh:** (a) Will the Government please lay on table the names of stations on N.-W. Ry. which have been reduced from European to Special class, Special to C, C to B and B to A class stations, stating reasons for doing so? (b) Will the Government please state the necessity of having a European Station Master at Kundian, Jhelum, Malakwal, Rohri and Khanewal and Ludhiana when Indians have been successfully working at these stations?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) There is no such class of stations. A list of the stations that have been reduced in classification is laid on the table. The classification of the posts has been reduced to suit the work and the importance of the stations.

(b). The stations in question are not reserved for Europeans, but are held by Station Masters of the required stamp and seniority, whatever their nationality.

NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY.

List of stations the sanction of which has been reduced from General to Special.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Samasata | F-II to Special. |
| 2. Montgomery | E-II to Special. |
| 3. Hump Yard, Karachi | E-I to Special. |

List of stations the sanction of which has been reduced from Special to "C".

- | | |
|-----------------|------------------|
| 1. Multan City. | 4. Kolepur. |
| 2. Sher Shah. | 5. Ahmedwal. |
| 3. Shikarpur. | 6. Jammu (Tawi). |

List of stations the sanction of which has been reduced from "C" to "B".

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Dera Nawab. | 11. Laki Marwat. |
| 2. Kot Radha Kishen. | 12. Ghazi Ghat. |
| 3. Rahim Yar Khan. | 13. Chichoki Malian. |
| 4. Beria Road. | 14. Faridkote. |
| 5. Sharigh. | 15. Hoshiarpur. |
| 6. Khanai. | 16. Kapurthala. |
| 7. Pabbi. | 17. Tarn Taran. |
| 8. Taxila. | 18. Patti. |
| 9. Thall. | 19. Jaitu. |
| 10. Durgai. | 20. Khatsuli. |
| | 21. Rampura Phul. |

List of stations the sanction of which has been reduced from "B" to "A".

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Tapa. | 17. Mona. |
| 2. Chahiana. | 18. Hundewali. |
| 3. Gonia. | 19. Buchiana. |
| 4. Gobindgarh. | 20. Shah Jewana. |
| 5. Nur Mahal. | 21. Kanjwani. |
| 6. Attock. | 22. Tamewali. |
| 7. Furhan. | 23. Uchana. |
| 8. Golra. | 24. Rahon. |
| 9. Mankiala. | 25. Kasowal. |
| 10. Kharian. | 26. Udero Lal. |
| 11. Fateh Jang. | 27. Metli. |
| 12. Hangu. | 28. Talhar. |
| 13. Injra. | 29. Manjhand. |
| 14. Dhaban Singh. | 30. Amri. |
| 15. Sukheke. | 31. Bhai Sayyadabad. |
| 16. Janiwala. | 32. Hirok. |

INDIAN GAZETTED OFFICERS IN ORDNANCE FACTORIES.

350. ***Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty:** (a) To state how many Indian officers there are in the rank of the gazetted officers in the Indian Ordnance Factories.

(b) If there are no Indian officers in the rank, whether Government will be pleased to state why it is so, and whether they would consider the question of appointing Indians at the earliest opportunity.

Mr. E. Burdon: (a) None.

(b) As stated on the 16th March 1923, in reply† to question No. 567, there is nothing to prevent an Indian from being appointed to a post carrying gazetted rank, provided he possesses the requisite qualifications.

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty: Has Government ever tried either by way of advertisement or by any other means to recruit Indians for these appointments?

Mr. E. Burdon: If the Honourable Member says "Has Government ever tried", I think that is rather a large question and I should like to have notice of it.

Mr. V. J. Patel: Are Government prepared to say that no Indian with the requisite qualifications has so far been available for any such post?

Mr. E. Burdon: That is the answer which I gave.

Mr. Chaman Lal: What facilities do Government offer for the training of Indians for these particular posts?

Mr. E. Burdon: I should like to have notice of that question too.

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty: Is the Government aware of any instance in which an Indian with the requisite qualifications applied for any of these posts and was not entertained?

Mr. E. Burdon: No.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: What is the minimum qualification required for an officer to be appointed to a post like that?

Mr. E. Burdon: I cannot say that there is any *minimum* qualification. Certain mechanical engineering qualifications are required for appointments in Ordnance Factories.

CLERKS IN ORDNANCE FACTORIES.

351. ***Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty:** (a) Whether it is a fact that no clerk in any of the Ordnance Factories holds gazetted rank although there are grades rising up to Rs. 750 per mensem.

(b) Whether Government will be pleased to consider the question of giving gazetted rank to such of the clerks who draw Rs. 300 and above.

† *Vide* p. 3520 of L. A. Debates, Vol. III.

Mr. E. Burdon: (a) Yes.

(b) Government do not consider that the duties of the clerks in question warrant the grant to them of gazetted rank.

Mr. V. J. Patel: How many Europeans are there in the rank of clerks?

Mr. E. Burdon: If the Honourable Member will be good enough to put that down on the paper I shall give him the necessary answer, but I am afraid I cannot give an answer offhand.

Mr. A. Rangaswamy Iyengar: Will Government be pleased to state whether clerks who were getting Rs. 300 and below were promoted to the rank of clerks up to a pay of Rs. 750?

Mr. President: I do not think that arises out of the question.

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty: Is the Honourable Member aware that persons holding similar rank in the civil Departments of the Government of India and doing similar work to these clerks are holding gazetted rank?

Mr. E. Burdon: No, they are not doing similar work.

RE-ORGANIZATION OF THE SUPERIOR SERVICES OF THE ORDNANCE FACTORIES.

352. ***Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty:** (a) Whether Government have submitted to the Secretary of State any definite proposals for the re-organisation of the superior services of the Ordnance factories; if so, whether as a part of the proposed re-organisation a new post of Personal Assistant is proposed to be created in each factory, and the scale of pay proposed.

(b) If the answer to the previous question is in the affirmative, to state whether the requirements of the new post necessitate the appointment of a person with technical qualification; if not whether as a measure of economy Government will consider the question of reserving these appointments for deserving clerks in the Ordnance Factories.

Mr. E. Burdon: (a) The answer to the first two parts of this question is in the affirmative. As regards the third part, the scale of pay that has been proposed is Rs. 800—50—1,000 per mensem.

(b) The duties of the new appointments necessitate the appointment of men with technical (i.e., engineering) qualifications. The second part of the question does not arise.

CHIEF CLERKS IN ORDNANCE FACTORIES.

353. ***Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty:** What action do Government propose to take with reference to the recommendation of the Kenyon Committee for the creation of a chief clerk in each Ordnance Factory?

Mr. E. Burdon: The recommendation has not been accepted by Government.

PAY AND ALLOWANCES OF ALL RANKS IN A BRITISH REGIMENT.

354. ***Mr. E. K. Shanmukham Chetty:** (a) Will Government be pleased to furnish a statement showing the amount drawn by each of the ranks from Private to General in a British regimental unit as:

- (1) pay;
- (2) staff pay;
- (3) messing allowance;
- (4) ration allowance;
- (5) furniture allowance;
- (6) marriage allowance and children's allowance;
- (7) separation allowance;
- (8) clothing allowance;
- (9) charge allowance;
- (10) any departmental allowance.
- (11) And the money value of any other allowance given in kind.

(b) To furnish a corresponding statement for each of the corresponding Indian ranks.

Mr. E. Burdon: (a) (1--10) and (b). The Honourable Member is referred to the publication entitled "Pay and Allowance Regulations of the Army in India", Parts I and II, which can be obtained from the Superintendent, Government Printing India, Calcutta. He will there find all the details he requires in regard to the pay and allowances (with the exception of clothing allowances) admissible to British and Indian officers and British and Indian other ranks regimentally employed. I may explain that "separation allowance" and "children's allowance," formerly admissible to British troops, are no longer in existence, having been merged in the "marriage allowance" which was sanctioned after the war. "Charge allowance" and "departmental allowance" are not admissible to officers or other ranks regimentally employed.

The average annual cost of the "clothing allowance," which is admissible only to British and Indian other ranks, is estimated at Rs. 110 in the case of a British soldier and Rs. 44 in the case of an Indian soldier.

(a) (11) A statement is laid on the table.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: Is the publication referred to by the Honourable Member available in the Library of this Assembly?

Mr. E. Burdon: I do not know.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: Will Government be pleased to make an inquiry and ascertain whether it is available here?

Mr. E. Burdon: Yes, and I shall arrange to have a copy placed in the Library if there is not one already there.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Is there any proportion between the pay and allowances? Is there any maximum limit fixed, that the allowances should not exceed a particular limit?

Mr. E. Burdon: No.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Is it a fact that in some cases these allowances come to 80 or 90 per cent. of the salaries themselves?

Mr. E. Burdon: I do not think so.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: If there is no maximum limit fixed, will Government be pleased to fix a limit that these allowances should not exceed a particular proportion of the pay?

Mr. E. Burdon: Is that a request for information?

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty: Can the Honourable Member assure this House that the amount drawn by a certain officer by way of all these various allowances in no case exceeds the sum that he draws by way of pay?

Mr. E. Burdon: I should be very surprised indeed if it exceeded it.

Statement showing the money value of certain concessions granted in kind to
 (1) *British and Indian other ranks and Indian officers (Viceroy's Commission) and*
 (2) *King's Commissioned officers (British and Indian).*

(1)	Nature of concession.	APPROXIMATE COST.	
		British soldiers—per annum.	Indian soldiers—per annum.
		Rs.	Rs.
(1)	Free rations	194	118
(2)	Fuel and light	23	23
(3)	Value of free issues of clothing	27	34
(4)	Maintenance of equipment	72	56

British and Indian soldiers and Indian officers (Viceroy's Commission) are given free accommodation, the cost of which is estimated at Rs. 38 per annum for a British soldier and Rs. 28 per annum and Rs. 13 per annum for an Indian Officer and other rank, respectively.

(2) Value of forage for King's Commissioned officers' chargers—Rs. 300 per annum.

NOBEL PEACE PRIZE.

355. ***Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty:** (a) Whether there was any correspondence either directly or through the Secretary of State for India, between Government and the Nobel Prize Committee in Sweden regarding the award of the Nobel Peace Prize.

(b) If so, whether Government will be pleased to lay the correspondence on the table.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: A copy of the Resolution carried in the Council of State on February the 5th, was cabled to the Secretary of State with a request that if there was no objection the Resolution might be conveyed to the Norwegian authorities through the British Legation. There has been no further correspondence.

Mr. Devaki Prasad Sinha: Have Government any official information of the fact that the name of Mr. Gandhi was suggested for the award of the Nobel Prize?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: By whom?

Mr. Devaki Prasad Sinha: By some members of the Committee.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Of which Committee?

Mr. Devaki Prasad Sinha: Of the Nobel Prize Committee.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I think that we have no information about the Nobel Prize Committee's deliberations.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Will Government say what is the object of this communication being made to the Norwegian Government?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: If I am correct, the rules provide that the claims put forward must be backed up by some branch of the Legislature of the country to which the person in whose favour the claim is made belongs.

Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas: Will not the Legislative Assembly be more appropriate for this purpose than the Council of State?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: That is a matter of opinion: the Resolution was non-official, and the point is one on which, I understand, gentlemen interested in the proposal themselves differed.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Does the Committee recognise a Legislature which has not got full responsible government?

Mr. President: The Honourable Member is trying to make the Honourable the Home Member responsible for something for which he is not responsible.

PROVINCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

356. ***Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty:** Whether Government propose to remit any portion of the contributions payable by Provincial Governments for the year 1924-25.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The Government are not at present in a position to make any declaration on the subject.

RATE OF INTEREST ON INSTALMENTS DRAWN BY THE IMPERIAL BANK.

357. ***Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas:** (a) With reference to the Bill passed in July last year amending the Indian Paper Currency Act, will Government be pleased to state at what rate interest is charged on the 1st instalment of Rs. 4 crores, which may have been drawn by the Imperial Bank at 6 per cent., when the Bank rate is raised to 7 per cent.?

(b) And similarly, will Government be pleased to state what interest is charged on the first two instalments of Rs. 4 crores each which were taken at 6 per cent. and 7 per cent. respectively, when the Bank rate is raised above 7 per cent.?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a) 7 per cent.

(b) At the current Bank rate.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Are the Government satisfied that the arrangement ensures to the public the advantages that Government contemplated when they amended the Paper Currency Act?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: At present the Government have no reason to feel dissatisfied but they are watching the matter very carefully with a view to examining after a year's experience how the new Act is working.

COST OF FIRING TIME GUNS.

358. ***Dr. H. S. Gour:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state the cost of firing time guns in the military stations in India?

(b) Is it a fact that the firing of time guns has been stopped in all military stations in the Punjab?

(c) If so, what would be the saving in cost so effected?

Mr. E. Burdon: (a) The cost of the firing of time-guns at all the military stations in India is estimated at Rs. 70,000 a year.

(b) It has been agreed that time-guns should no longer be fired in the Punjab at the cost of central revenues.

(c) The saving to the Army estimates is calculated at about Rs. 9,000.

COST OF SALUTES TO HIGH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS.

359. ***Dr. H. S. Gour:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state who pays for the cost of salutes to high Government officials,—and what is its cost per annum?

(b) Will the Government be pleased to consider the question of effecting economy under this head?

Mr. E. Burdon: (a) The Army estimates bear the cost which is estimated at approximately Rs. 10,000 per annum.

(b) Government have considered the question, but it was decided not to discontinue the existing arrangements.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: Will Government give the reasons for deciding not to discontinue the existing arrangements?

Mr. E. Burdon: Government do not consider it desirable to do so.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: In whose interest, in the public interest?

Mr. E. Burdon: Yes, in the public interest.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE, OUDH AND ROHILKHAND RAILWAY.

360. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** (a) Do the Government propose to appoint an Advisory Committee with the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway?

(b) If the reply to the above be in the affirmative, will the Government be pleased to state when they think such Advisory Committee will be appointed?

(c) If the reply be in the negative, will the Government be pleased to state the reasons for the same?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) A local Advisory Committee has already been formed at the headquarters of the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway.

(b) and (c). The questions do not arise.

TRAVELLING TICKET CHECKERS ON THE O. AND R. RAILWAY.

361. *Maulvi Muhammad Yukub: (a) Will the Government be pleased to state how many Travelling Ticket Checkers and Inspectors of the Travelling Ticket Checkers are appointed on the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway?

(b) What is the pay and the ordinary travelling allowance of the Ticket Checkers and the Inspectors mentioned above?

(c) What is the need and justification for the appointment of such a large number of the officials mentioned above?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) There are 30 permanent and 20 temporary Travelling Ticket Examiners and two Inspectors.

(b) The permanent men are on the following time-scale of pay:
Travelling Ticket Examiners from Rs. 55 to Rs. 125.

The temporary Travelling Ticket Examiners draw a fixed pay of Rs. 55.

Inspectors draw Rs. 170 to 250.

The Travelling Ticket Examiners draw mileage allowance at the following rates:

On Rs. 100 and above—Rs. 2 per 100 miles.

Below Rs. 100—Rs. 1/4 per 100 miles.

The Inspectors draw a daily allowance of Rs. 2/8 when travelling.

(c) Owing to the large number of classes travelling without tickets, travelling in higher classes, travelling with unbooked luggage, it has been found necessary to maintain this staff. The amounts recovered by them represent several times their pay.

SUPERINTENDENT OF PRINTING AND STATIONERY, O. AND R. RAILWAY.

362. *Maulvi Muhammad Yukub: Is any stationery officer appointed on the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway? What are his duties, and what is his pay and ordinary travelling allowance?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: There is a Superintendent of Printing and Stationery who is in charge of the Railway Press at Lucknow and the supply of stationery to all offices and stations on the line. The pay of the post is Rs. 500—20—700 and the incumbent draws daily allowance at Rs. 5 in addition to a free pass if required to travel on duty.

GRIEVANCES OF POSTAL CLERKS.

363. *Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Roy: (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the resolution passed by the All-India Postal and Railway Mail Service Union on the 22nd January as published in the "A. B. Patrika", dated the 29th January, 1924?

(b) Do Government propose to consider the grievances of the Postal clerks?

(c) If not, will the Government be pleased to state the reasons?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: (a) Yes.

(b) and (c). Government are of opinion that there is no justification for increasing the existing rates of pay for Postal clerks, which were sanctioned at a time when the cost of living was higher than it is at present.

REFRESHMENT ROOMS AT THE DELHI RAILWAY STATION.

364. *Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan: (a) Is it a fact that there are two refreshment rooms at Delhi Railway Station, one owned by Messrs. Kellner and Company and the other by an Indian?

(b) Is it a fact that Messrs. Kellner and Company's furniture is supplied by the Railway Company and in the case of the Indian refreshment room no furniture is supplied?

(c) If so, will the Government be pleased to state the reasons for the differential treatment?

(d) Will the Government be pleased to state whether any rent is charged from Messrs. Kellner and Company, and the Indian restaurant keepers for the respective rooms they occupy at the Delhi Railway Station? If so, what are the amounts paid by each?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) There are European and Indian refreshment rooms at Delhi station but these are not owned by Messrs. Kellner and Company and an Indian respectively. These parties are merely lessees of the premises from the Railway Company.

(b) and (c). Both parties supply their own furniture.

(d) Rent is charged from both for the respective rooms they occupy, the amounts paid being matters which they arrange direct with the Railway Company.

PROHIBITION OF THE EXPORT OF GOOD BREEDS OF CATTLE.

365. *Mr. S. C. Ghose: Will the Government be pleased to enlighten the Assembly as to what action (if any) has been taken on the Resolution moved by Dr. Nand Lal in March, 1921, regarding the prohibition of the export of good breeds of cattle from British India to foreign countries, which was accepted by Government with certain modifications?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: The Government of India have prohibited the export of cattle of the Ongole breed from the Madras Presidency.

INDUSTRIAL SCHOLARSHIPS.

366. *Mr. S. C. Ghose: Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the action taken on the Resolution regarding "Industrial Scholarships" moved in this House and adopted without a division?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the reply given by me on the 11th instant to the starred question No. 274 asked by Mr. Ganganand Sinha.

INDIANS AND EUROPEANS ON STATE AND COMPANY-MANAGED RAILWAYS.

367. *Mr. S. C. Ghose: Will the Government lay a comparative detailed statement as to the number of Indians and Europeans holding permanent posts in State and Company-managed Railways with their status and salary?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Honourable Member is referred to the Classified List of State Railway Establishment and the Distribution Return of Establishment of all Railways, a copy of which is in the Library.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE INCOME-TAX DEPARTMENT.

368. *Mr. S. C. Ghose: Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a detailed statement as to the charges involved in the administration of the Income-tax department as re-organized, with the actual receipts, from each Province as compared with those of the old scheme, furnishing also the number of Indians and Europeans with their status and salaries?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blckett: The work of assessment and collection of Income-tax is still in most provinces largely in the hands of the Revenue Department. It is gradually being transferred to the Special Income-tax Department as officers are trained for the latter and its scope is extended. The Special Income-tax Department has taken over the entire work in the United Provinces, the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Bihar and Orissa, and the Central Provinces. Elsewhere the process of transfer has reached various stages. Under the old scheme, no payment was made to Local Governments for the services rendered by their Revenue Establishments in connection with Income-tax work. It is therefore impossible to make comparisons with the cost under the old scheme owing to the change in the system and the introduction of the reforms and consequent separation of Provincial from Central finance. A statement is laid on the table giving the receipts and expenditure of the Income-tax Department for 1922-23.

The information which the Honourable Member requires regarding the number of Indians and Europeans employed in the Department and their status and salaries has been called for and will be furnished to him in due course.

Statement showing the receipts and expenditure of the Income-tax Department for 1922-23.

	1922-23.	
	Collections.	Charges.
	Rs.	Rs.
Madras	1,32,22,021	4,77,082
Bombay	7,85,53,144	8,46,593
Bengal	3,25,25,747	5,21,739
United Provinces	88,32,271	5,61,572
Punjab	75,54,302	4,77,579
Burma	1,55,08,033	2,19,494
Bihar and Orissa	58,82,328	2,20,719
Central Provinces	59,92,833	3,00,938
Assam	9,16,178	13,510
North-West Frontier Province	9,98,036	53,004
Baluchistan	84,532	6,202
India—General	1,00,24,120	1,11,941
Establishment charges payable to Local Governments for income-tax work done by their staff.	...	5,84,405
Expenditure in England . . . . .	...	61,358
Total	18,13,94,455	44,56,136

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF THE POST OFFICE SINCE THE INTRODUCTION OF THE ENHANCED RATES OF POSTAGE.

369. ***Mr. S. C. Ghose:** Will the Government be pleased to enlighten the Assembly as to the amount of increase of income and expenditure since the introduction of the increased rates for postage stamps and post cards?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: The increased rates took effect from 24th April 1922.

Comparing therefore the actuals of the previous year, *i.e.*, 1921-22, with the Revised Estimates for the current year, receipts show an increase of 68½ lakhs and expenditure a decrease of 105½ lakhs.

THE MAHABUDHA TEMPLE AT BUDDHA GAYA.

370. ***Maung Tok Kyi:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state if they have received any memorials from the Buddhists of India, Burma and Ceylon for the restoration of the Mahabudha Temple at Buddha Gaya to the Buddhists of the world?

(b) If the answer is in the affirmative, may I beg to inquire if any action has been taken on these memorials?

(c) Will the Government be pleased to state if they have received any representation on the same subject from the Buddhists of other countries than India, Burma and Ceylon?

(d) If they have, will the Government be pleased to lay these representations on the table?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: (a) Yes the memorials have been received.

(b) They are under examination,

(c) No.

(d) No such memorials have been received.

Mr. Devaki Prasad Sinha: Have the Government of India during the last one year received any communication from the Government of Bihar and Orissa on the subject of the restoration of the temple to the Buddhists?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I will, inquire, but I think not.

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS THE EXPENSES OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

371. ***Haji S. A. K. Jeelani:** Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the total expenditure to the Government of India in connection with India's participation in the League of Nations?

(b) Will the Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that in the matter of financial contribution to the League of Nations Fund India pays slightly less than all the five Empire States put together? If so, will the Government be pleased to state the respective amount of contributions made by each individual State of the Empire and also the reasons that prompted the Government of India (so far as her share is concerned) to accept this arrangement?

(c) Will the Government be pleased to state whether any protest has been made either by the Government of India or by the Legislatures against this disproportionate contribution? If so, with what results?

Sir Henry Moncreiff Smith: (a) A statement is laid on the table.

(b) India's contribution to the League amounts in fact to less than two-fifths of the total contributions of the five remaining Empire States. The second part of the question does not therefore arise.

(c) The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to pages 10—12 and 20—21 respectively of the Reports of the Delegates of India to the third and fourth sessions of the Assembly of the League of Nations which were published in the Gazette of India Extraordinary, dated the 13th March, 1923, and 1st February, 1924. His attention is also invited to Part XV of the Summary of the Proceedings of the Imperial Conference, 1923 (a copy of which is laid on the table) and to the debates held in the Assembly on the 11th March, 1922, and 12th July, 1923.

Statement showing India's contribution towards the expenses of the League of Nations.

1920 Gold Francs.	1921 Gold Francs.	1922 Gold Francs.	1923 Gold Francs.	Total Gold Francs.
817,949	1,041,666	1,011,335	1,767,773	4,638,722

The question of the contribution of India to the expenses of the League of Nations was raised by the representatives of India at the Conference and was referred to a Committee under the Chairmanship of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. It was there explained by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru that India was assessed far higher than any other part of the Empire, except Great Britain. In 1922, Lord Balfour had stated publicly at a meeting of the Assembly that the various parts of the Empire represented on the League would settle among themselves the exact amount which each would find. India desired to ascertain whether, in view of this statement, some relief could be afforded by the other parts of the Empire.

The members of the Committee representing Great Britain and the Dominions, while expressing sympathy with the difficulties of India, explained that their Governments were not able to agree to any variation from the standard of contributions already laid down by the Assembly for 1923 and 1924.

In the circumstances it was, of course, impossible for the Committee as a whole to make any recommendation. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru intimated that India must necessarily reserve the right to raise the question of its contribution at the League Assembly of 1924, and the Secretary of State for India, as Head of the Indian Delegation, affirmed this attitude when the matter came up before the Conference.

The Conference took note of the position.

EXPENDITURE ON THE HAULAGE OF MOTOR CARS BELONGING TO MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN LEGISLATURE.

372. *Haji S. A. K. Jeelani: (a) Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the expenditure to the Government for the past three years on account of allowing to the Honourable Members of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State a full haulage of their vehicles from their respective stations to Delhi and connected expenditure?

(b) The amount disbursed to the Honourable Members, other than the owners of vehicles, as conveyance allowance during their stay at Delhi?

Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith: A statement containing the information asked for by the Honourable Member is laid on the table.

Council of State.

	1921.	1922.	1923.
(a) Expenditure on account of haulage of motor car or other vehicle, and connected expenditure, e.g., chauffeur's fare and petrol allowance	13,155	15,983	11,644
(b) Expenditure on account of conveyance allowance paid to Members who did not draw haulage	1,885	1,740	1,055

Legislative Assembly.

	1921.	1922.	1923.
(a) Expenditure on account of haulage of motor car or other vehicle, and connected expenditure, e.g., chauffeur's fare and petrol allowance	19,942	30,215	40,875
(b) Expenditure on account of conveyance allowance paid to Members who did not draw haulage	18,180	18,675	15,436

TRAINING REGULATIONS OF THE AUXILIARY FORCE.

373. ***Mr. E. G. Fleming:** (a) Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the article which appeared in 'The Statesman' of the 3rd February, of this year, relative to the unsatisfactory state of affairs, in regard to the training returns of the Auxiliary Force, which at present exist in Calcutta?

(b) Is the Government aware that similar conditions exist in other large towns in the Provinces?

(c) Will the Government not consider the advisability of amending the training regulations, with a view to making service with the Force more attractive and practicable to Europeans and Anglo-Indians who were on active service during the war, and make it possible for them to continue keeping themselves efficient without the risk of neglecting their civil occupations?

Mr. E. Burdon: (a) Government have seen the article in question.

(b) and (c). Two representations have been received at Army Headquarters drawing attention to difficulties experienced by members of the Force in completing their period of training. The provisions of the Auxiliary Force Act, 1920, and the regulations made under the Act, are however already of an elastic character, designed to provide for such difficulties, and on the information at present before them the Government of India are not satisfied that any further modification of the training system is necessary.

EXCLUSION OF BHAGUR FROM THE DEOLALI CANTONMENT.

374. ***Mr. Jamnadas Mehta:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether the decision announced nearly eight months ago to exclude the village of Bhagur from the limits of the Deolali Cantonment has been carried out fully?

(b) If not, will Government be pleased to state the reasons for the delay and the additional time that will be necessary for carrying out the said decision?

Mr. E. Burdon: (a) and (b). A notification excluding Bhagur village from the operation of the Cantonment Act was published in the Gazette of India, dated the 25th January 1924. Cantonment taxes had ceased to be levied in the village from July 1923.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta: Are Government aware that the notification only refers to the part south of the railway line? Bhagur village extends to the North of the railway line also.

Mr. E. Burdon: No, Sir, I was not aware of that.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta: The notification is not complete to that extent. Will the Honourable Member inquire and correct it?

Mr. E. Burdon: I will certainly inquire into the matter. The notification was received in draft from the Government of Bombay.

CRIMINAL JURISDICTION IN BHAGUR.

375. ***Mr. Jamnadas Mehta:** (a) Are Government aware that the inhabitants of the Bhagur village are still subject in criminal matters to the jurisdiction of the military authorities?

(b) Do Government propose to take early steps to restore the village to the jurisdiction of the ordinary criminal courts in the Nasik District?

Mr. E. Burdon: (a) The Government of India, in December 1923, were informed by the Government of Bombay that this would cease when the notification to which I have referred in my reply to the Honourable Member's previous question, had been made.

(b) The Local Government will now do this, if it has not been done already.

TAXATION IN BHAGUR.

376. ***Mr. Jamnadas Mehta:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state the total amount of money levied on the people of Bhagur by way of taxes under the Cantonment Act?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state the amount spent on sanitary measures in Bhagur out of the sum referred to in (a)?

(c) Will Government be pleased to state what they propose to do with the balance in their hands if any?

Mr. E. Burdon: (a) and (b). The total approximate receipts for six years amount to Rs. 31,585-7-3. I am unable to say precisely what proportion of this sum was spent on the sanitation of the village since the receipts from and expenditure on Bhagur (including expenditure on sanitation) have not been accounted for separately.

(c) A proposal is under consideration to place the unexpended balance as estimated at the disposal of the local authority that may eventually be established in the area in question.

REDISTRIBUTION OF THE VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

377. ***Mr. Kumar Sankar Ray:** Will the Government be pleased to state what effect, if any, has been given to the recommendation of the Incheape Committee about the redistribution of the various departments of the Government of India?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I would refer the Honourable Member to the statement which I laid on the table in reply to Question No. 53 by Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao in the Legislative Assembly on the 1st February 1924.

RE-ORGANIZATION OF THE DIFFERENT DEPARTMENTS OF THE ADMINISTRATION.

378. ***Mr. Kumar Sankar Ray:** Is it a fact that the Incheape Committee was precluded from going into the question of re-organizing the different departments of the administration so as to effect a co-ordination of activities of a similar nature, as for example construction of railway lines, roads and canals and preservation of the natural drainage of the country?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: No, but the examination of questions of this kind was naturally outside the scope of the terms of reference to the Committee, except in so far as such a re-organisation might be expected to secure a reduction of expenditure.

ADMINISTRATION OF MINOR PROVINCES.

379. ***Mr. Kumar Sankar Ray:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state the reasons for keeping the administration of the minor provinces under its direct control and thereby maintaining departments for supervising matters essentially of a provincial nature in respect of a few minor provinces?

(b) Will the Government be pleased to state the cost incurred in maintaining the above departments?

Mr. E. B. Howell: (a) As regards the North-West Frontier Province, the reasons for and against keeping the administration of that province under the Government of India's direct control are discussed in the North-West Frontier Province Inquiry Committee's report, the publication of which has been promised at an early date.

As regards Ajmer-Merwara, the Honourable Member is referred to the answer given by me to Dr. Gour's question on the 5th February 1924, in this House.

As regards Coorg, the Chief Commissioner in Legislative Council has been constituted a local Legislature for the province with effect from the 28th January 1924. The arrangements made in that connection include *inter alia* the separation of the revenues accruing in that province into central and provincial revenues in the same way as in the major provinces of India.

As regards the other minor provinces no proposals for their being placed under any other control have been put forward and existing arrangements are understood to be in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants themselves.

No departments are specially maintained for supervising matters essentially of a provincial nature in respect of the minor provinces.

(b) Does not arise.

HYDRO-ELECTRIC SURVEY OF INDIA.

380. ***Mr. Kumar Sankar Ray:** Will the Government be pleased to state whether the officials in charge of the hydro-electric survey of India considered the feasibility of utilising the ordinary current of the big rivers of India by harnessing them otherwise than by constructing dams, as, for instance, by the suspension of a chain of conical channels against the current at suitable places?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: So far as the Government of India are aware the method suggested by the Honourable Member was not investigated by the officials in charge of the hydro-electric survey at the time when that survey was conducted by the Central Government. The survey is now a provincial subject and the Government of India have no information as to what is being done.

INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE.

381. ***Mr. Kumar Sankar Ray:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state what branches, if any, of industry and agriculture have been declared to be Imperial subjects?

(b) Did the Industrial Commission recommend the establishment of an Imperial Department for agricultural and industrial researches? If so, what effect has been given to such recommendation?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: (a) None. I presume that the Honourable Member is referring to the terms of item 20 of Schedule I, Part I, of the Devolution Rules.

(b) The Commission recommended the establishment of an Imperial Department of Industries and this was constituted in 1921. The Commission did not recommend the establishment of an Imperial Department for Agricultural Research, since an adequate institution already existed.

MANUFACTURE OF PAPER PULP.

382. ***Mr. Kumar Sankar Ray:** Will the Government be pleased to state whether the Industrial Commission considered the feasibility of making paper pulp from jute and sugar cane plants after the extraction of jute and sugar therefrom?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: Not so far as Government are aware.

CONTRIBUTION TO THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE, LONDON.

383. ***Mr. Kumar Sankar Ray:** What effect, if any, has been given to the recommendation of the Industrial Commission about the stopping of expenditure of Indian revenues on the Scientific and Technical Department of the Imperial Institute in London?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: The contribution made by the Government of India to the Imperial Institute was stopped, but proposals have just been received for an entire re-organization of the Institute and have not as yet been fully considered.

TRAINING OF INDIAN FOREMEN.

384. ***Mr. Kumar Sankar Ray:** What effect, if any, has been given to the recommendation of the Industrial Commission about the training of Indian foremen in railway workshops?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I would refer the Honourable Member to paragraph 34, Volume I of the Indian Railway Administration Report for 1921-22 and to the latter portion of the reply given on the 5th February 1924 to a somewhat similar question asked by Sardar V. N. Mutalik.

IMPROVED METHODS OF AGRICULTURE, ETC.

385. ***Mr. Kumar Sankar Ray:** What effect, if any, has been given to the recommendation of the Industrial Commission about the expenditure of money for introducing improved methods of agriculture, cane and oil crushing, etc., with a view to greater creation of wealth?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: The recommendations made in Chapter V of the Indian Industrial Commission's Report deal with provincial subjects and have not called for any action on the part of the Central Government.

ACTIVITIES OF THE INDIAN TRADE COMMISSIONER IN LONDON.

386. ***Mr. Kumar Sankar Ray:** Will the Government be pleased to state how far and in what respects has the Trade Commissioner in London stimulated the development of the Indian export trade by directing attention to fresh markets and promoting the establishment of new commercial relations likely to be beneficial to India as recommended by the Industrial Commission?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: It is not possible to give figures of development of trade due to the efforts of any Commercial Intelligence Office as detailed business transactions rarely pass through such an office. The practical measures taken by the Indian Trade Commissioner to promote the development of the Indian export trade and the establishment of new commercial relations between Indian and foreign firms are, however, described in paragraphs 4 and 8 of the Report of the working of the office of the Indian Trade Commissioner for the period 1st April 1920 to March 31st, 1922. This Report was published in the Supplement to the Gazette of India, dated the 7th October 1922.

EMPLOYMENT OF THE ARMY DURING PEACE.

387. ***Mr. Kumar Sankar Ray:** How are the different sections of the standing army employed during peace times? Have the Government considered any scheme of productive employment for them during such time? If so, what?

Mr. E. Burdon: To the first part of the question the answer is that the Army in India is employed during peace on its legitimate duties, which consist of (a) the protection of the frontiers of India; (b) maintaining internal security; and (c) training for war.

To the second part of the question the answer is in the negative, except that certain technical units are employed from time to time on the construction of roads, railways, etc.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL DISCOVERIES AT RAISINA.

388. ***Sir Campbell Rhodes:** Has Government issued instructions to those engaged in the various excavations now being made throughout the New Capital at Raisina to lay aside for expert examination any objects which may appear to be of archæological or historical value?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: An order to this effect has been in force since September 1913 when excavation work first began in the Raisina area. Any objects discovered, which are found to be of sufficient archæological or historical value, are deposited in the Delhi Museum in the Fort. These consist chiefly of a few old coins. So far nothing of any archæological value has been found in the shape of carving or sculpture. At the Kutab, Hauz Khas and other similar places where the removal of *débris* has revealed ancient work the discoveries are of course left *in situ*.

KENYA IMMIGRATION ORDINANCE.

†389. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** (a) Is it a fact that a Colonies Committee has been appointed by the Government of India to place the Indian views regarding the Kenya Immigration Ordinance before the Colonial Secretary?

(b) If so, will the Government be pleased to state the names of the Members proposed for that Committee?

(c) Will the Government be pleased to state whether Indians of all political parties will be sufficiently represented on the Committee?

QUESTIONS RELATING TO KENYA.

390. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** Will the Government be pleased to state whether the Colonial Secretary has agreed not to take any action on the measures proposed by the Kenya Government until the Colonies Committee can place their views before him?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: With your permission, I will deal with questions 389 and 390 together.

The Government of India expect to be in a position to make a statement with regard to the Colonies Committee in a few days' time. If my Honourable friend will repeat his questions then, I will reply to them.

OFFICE ESTABLISHMENT FOR THE INDIAN LEGISLATURE.

391. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state whether they propose to give a separate Secretariat for the Assembly and the Council of State?

(b) If not, will the Government be pleased to state the reasons?

Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith: The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the reply given to Mr. Neogy's question No. 9 on the 1st February, 1924.

† For answer to this Question—see the Answer below Question No. 390.

EXPENDITURE ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF I, II AND III CLASS RAILWAY CARRIAGES.

392. *Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Roy: Will the Government be pleased to state as to how much money has been spent for the construction of III Class carriages and how much for the 1st and 2nd Class coaches during each of the years 1922, 1923?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The information asked for by the Honourable Member is not available, as the cost of different types of carriages supplied during the year varied and many of the units built were composite carriages. I may, however, add that the Railway Board are taking steps to secure that statistics of this nature, though perhaps not in the exact form suggested by the Honourable Member's question, will be available in future.

OVERCROWDING OF III CLASS RAILWAY CARRIAGES.

393. *Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Roy: (a) Are the Government aware that there is always overcrowding in the III Class carriages? If so, will the Government be pleased to state the reasons?

(b) Do Government propose to take steps for remedying such overcrowding?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Honourable Member is referred to my remarks on the subject during the discussion in this Assembly on the 12th February 1924 on Haji Wajibuddin's Resolution regarding the adoption of certain measures for the convenience of Indian passengers.

NUMBER OF III CLASS CARRIAGES ON THE PRINCIPAL RAILWAYS.

394. *Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Roy: Will the Government be pleased to state the number of trains carrying III Class carriages in each of the following Railways in 1913 and in 1923:

- (a) E. I. Ry.
- (b) G. I. P. Ry.
- (c) E. B. Ry.
- (d) N.-W. Ry.
- (e) B. and N.-W. Ry.
- (f) O. and R. Ry.
- (g) M. S. M. Rys.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The number of trains carrying third class carriages is not recorded separately, but the Honourable Member is referred to Vol. II of the Administration Report for Indian Railways for 1913-14 and 1922-23 which contain the following information:

	1913-14.	1922-23.
Coaching and Mixed Train miles for all Railways	90,553,000	95,420,000

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: With reference to sub-question (c), is Government aware that third-class passengers are also carried in goods trucks on special occasions?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I am afraid, Sir, we are driven to that practice on some railways at times of *melas* and festivals.

Pandit Shamlal Nehru: Is the Honourable gentleman aware that these third class passengers are sometimes carried in coal wagons without their being cleaned?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: No, Sir, I am not aware of that fact.

EXPRESS AND SLOW III CLASS TRAINS.

395. ***Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Roy:** Will the Government be pleased to state whether Government propose to increase the number of express and slow trains carrying III class passengers? If not, will the Government be pleased to state the reasons?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Honourable Member is referred to the discussion in this Assembly on the 12th February 1924, on Haji Wajihuddin's Resolution regarding the adoption of certain measures for the convenience of Indian passengers.

ADDITIONAL TRAINS FOR INCOMING FOREIGN MAILS.

396. ***Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Roy:** (a) Is it a fact that additional trains are going to be run for incoming foreign Mails?

(b) Will the Government be pleased to state the cost of running each of such trains between Bombay to Delhi and Bombay to Calcutta?

(c) Will they be pleased to state the average approximate earning by way of first and second class fares and luggage freights from each of such trains?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) There are two Postal Expresses run in connection with the inward foreign Mails. One runs from Bombay to Calcutta, the other from Bombay to Madras.

(b) and (c). If the former train were not run, it would be necessary to run the Mail train in duplicate and, as Government do not see what useful purpose the information asked for would serve, they do not propose to call for it. The Postal Special from Bombay to Madras does not carry passengers at present. It involves no cost to Indian revenues as it carries the Mail for the Straits Settlements and it is understood that transit fees cover the cost of the train.

III CLASS CARRIAGES ON ENGLISH CONTINENTAL AND INDIAN RAILWAYS.

397. ***Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Roy:** (a) Is it a fact that in English and Continental Railways the difference between the higher class and III class carriages is quite negligible?

(b) If so, will the Government be pleased to state the reasons why the difference between the higher class and III class and Inter class on Indian Railways is so great?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Honourable Member has perhaps overlooked the fact that the fares for 1st class travelling in England are double the 3rd class fares and in India 1st class fares are approximately six times the third class fares.

III CLASS CARRIAGES ON THE PUNJAB MAIL.

398. ***Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Roy:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state the reasons why no III class carriages are attached to Punjab Mails even for carrying passengers travelling above 700 miles or some such limit?

(b) Is the Government aware that absence of III class carriages from such trains causes great hardship to passengers travelling over 700 or 800 miles?

(c) If so, will the Government be pleased to state whether they propose to take steps to ameliorate the hardships of the poor Indian III class passengers travelling long distances?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) The load of the East Indian Railway Punjab Mails, to which trains it is presumed the Honourable Member's question refers, does not permit of the attaching of additional carriages.

(b) No. For the benefit of long distance third class passengers through Express trains are provided.

(c) In the circumstances Government do not propose to take any action in the matter.

CLOSING DOWN OF HRIDAIPUR STATION.

399. ***Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Roy:** (a) Is it a fact that Hridaipur Station on the E. B. Ry. is going to be closed down? If so, will the Government be pleased to state the reasons for such proposals?

(b) Is it a fact that the Station named is a paying one?

(c) Will the Government be pleased to state the gross receipts including goods and luggage freights received during the year 1923 from that station?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) It is not proposed to close Hridaipur Flag Station. A suggestion to stop night booking is under consideration but nothing has yet been decided.

(b) and (c). Gross Receipts for the year 1922-23 were Rs. 11,910.

IMPORTS OF MATCHES.

400. ***Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Roy:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state the total cost of the imported matches into India in 1920, 1922 and 1923, respectively?

(b) The total cost of the imported splints, veneers and dummy match boxes in those years?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) The declared value of matches imported in 1920, 1922 and 1923 was 220 lakhs, 178 lakhs and 169 lakhs, respectively. The quantity of matches imported in 1920 was largely in excess of normal imports.

(b) Separate figures are not available for these years of the imports of splints, veneers and empty boxes.

IMPORTS OF VENEERS, SPLINTS AND DUMMY MATCH BOXES.

401. ***Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Roy:** Is it a fact that foreign manufacturers of matches are reducing the imports of the finished product into India and increasing the imports of veneers, splints and dummy match boxes?

If so, will the Government be pleased to inquire about the reasons?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Imports into India of the articles mentioned became noticeable in quantity towards the close of 1923, but, at the same time, more finished matches were imported in 1923 than in the preceding year.

The Government are watching the variations in this trade.

FOREST COLLEGE AT DEHRA DUN.

402. ***Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Roy:** (a) With reference to Mr. Hullah's speech on the Resolution regarding recruitment to the Indian Forest Service adopted by the Assembly in 1922, will the Government be pleased to state what steps have been taken to establish a first grade forest college at Dehra Dun?

(b) How long will it take to complete the establishment of such a college?

Mr. M. S. D. Butler: (a) and (b). The Honourable Member's attention is invited to the answer given to question No. 245 asked by Mr. V. J. Patel on the 11th February 1924.

PROVINCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

403. ***Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Roy:** Will the Government be pleased to state what action, if any, is being taken to reduce the provincial contribution?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Yes, Sir, but not till the 29th February.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

SEPARATION OF EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIAL FUNCTIONS.

120. **Rai Hari Prasad Lal:** Will the Government be pleased to state:

(a) if any progress has been made,

(b) if so, what,

in the direction of separating the Executive and the Judicial functions?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The Honourable Member is referred to the reply given by me to Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh's unstarred questions Nos. 78 to 80 on the 11th February 1924.

RAILWAY CONNECTION BETWEEN GAYA AND SHERGHATI.

121. **Rai Hari Prasad Lal:** (1) Are not the Government of India aware that:

(a) there is a pressing necessity for railway communication between Gaya and Sherghati, with extension to the important Shellac Centre of Raniganj, in the district of Gaya,

(b) there is an exceptionally heavy traffic between Gaya, Sherghati and Raniganj (Gaya), both passenger and goods?

(c) there was a railway project under consideration some time back?

(d) it was temporarily abandoned during the war?

(2) Do the Government propose to consider the project now?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (1) (a) The answer is in the negative.

(b) From the information in the possession of Government it is not apparent that the prospects of the passenger and goods traffic are likely to be exceptionally promising.

(c) and (d). The answer is in the affirmative.

(2) The data in the possession of Government as to the traffic prospects of this branch are not such as to warrant early consideration of the project.

RAJPUTANA UNIVERSITY.

122. **Rai Sahib M. Harbilas Sarda:** Do Government purpose to take early steps for the establishment of a University in Rajputana? Is it a fact that the Allahabad University to which the Colleges in Rajputana are affiliated is going shortly to cut off its connection with them?

Mr. E. B. Howell: The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the reply given in the Legislative Assembly on the 4th February 1924 to a similar question No. 77, asked by Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju. It is impossible for the Government of India to commit themselves to any expression of intention until the proposals of the Local Administration have been received and considered.

2. In regard to the second part of the Honourable Member's question the Government of India have no definite information. The position is that if the Colleges are to retain their association with the Allahabad University they must, under the terms of the Allahabad University Act, confine themselves after a period of five years from the date of its enactment to the instruction of post-intermediate students.

FINES FUNDS ON STATE RAILWAYS.

123. **Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** (a) Is it a fact that the Fines Fund of the State Railways worked by the State as well as by the Companies is made up of fines recovered from the subordinate staff?

(b) Does the Railway Administration allow the subordinate staff any hand in the working of this fund?

(c) If not, do the Government propose to ask the railway companies to put representatives of the subordinate staff on the management of their funds?

(d) Is it a fact that the sum of Rs. 300 per month each is given to the Manager of the G. I. P. Railway Magazine and the Volunteers Band from the G. I. P. Railway fines fund?

(e) Has any request for help from the Fines Fund been made for the G. I. P. Railway Staff Union Monthly in that paper?

(f) Has the request been complied with?

(g) If the request is not yet granted, will the Government be pleased to ascertain the reasons for such refusal, and lay them on the table for information?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) Yes.

(b) and (c). The management of the fund on each railway rests with the Agent and Government do not propose to disturb this arrangement.

(d) to (f). Government have no information.

(g) Government do not propose to interfere, in the manner suggested and in a detail of this kind, with the discretion vested in the Agent to use the fund as seems best for the benefit and general amenities of the subordinate employees of the railway.

G. I. P. RAILWAY INSTITUTES.

124. **Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** (a) Is it a fact that there are two Institutes for the non-Indian staff of the G. I. P. Railway?

(b) Is it a fact that the Indian staff had requested the Company to allow one such for them?

(c) Will the Government ascertain and let the House know when the Company will do this?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a), (b) and (c). There are institutes, both for non-Indian and Indian staff, at various stations on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. Unless the Honourable Member indicates the particular station to which he refers, Government are not in a position to give the required information.

PRESCRIPTIONS FOR INDIANS AND NON-INDIANS ON THE G. I. P. RAILWAY.

125. **Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** Is it a fact that on the G. I. P. Railway in the Medical Department, white prescription papers are used for Europeans and Anglo-Indian staff, and brown papers for the Indian staff? If so, why is this done? Does this practice exist on any other Railways? If not, why does the G. I. P. Railway find this necessary? Was this grievance brought to the notice of the Agent by Mr. N. M. Joshi? If so, will the Government please state what action has been taken in the matter?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Government have no information.

GRIEVANCES OF THE INDIAN STAFF ON THE G. I. P. RAILWAY.

126. **Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** Will Government be pleased to call for copies of Memorials sent to the G. I. P. Railway Administration by the Indian Staff regarding their grievances, and place these on the table for the information of this House stating which of the grievances have been remedied and which way? If no steps are yet taken by the Company on the matter, will Government ascertain and let the House know the reasons for not attending to the grievances?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The matter is one of internal administration and within the competence of the Agent to deal with and Government do not therefore propose to call for the information asked for by the Honourable Member.

EDUCATION OF THE CHILDREN OF THE INDIAN STAFF OF THE G. I. P. RAILWAY.

127. **Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** In reply to Mr. Joshi's question regarding education of the Indian staff of the G. I. P. Railway, the Government have stated that the G. I. P. Railway spends Rs. 86,982 for the education

of 2,766 non-Indian staff and Rs. 13,476 for the education of 111,966 Indian staff:

- (a) Will the Government be pleased to state whether any request has been made by the Indian staff in the G. I. P. Railway Union Monthly Paper for providing sufficient education facilities for the Indian children?
- (b) If so, what steps are taken to comply with this request?
- (c) Is it a fact that at several stations there are no facilities for the education of the Indian children?
- (d) Is it a fact that as there are no boarding schools the Indian staff are not able to take advantage of the subsidy given by the Railway Company?
- (e) If so, what steps do Government propose to take to remedy this matter?
- (f) Is it a fact that not less than 13 schools have been provided by the G. I. P. Railway for the education of the children of European and Anglo-Indian staff at the cost of Rs. 1,03,316, whereas there is not a single school provided by the G. I. P. Railway for the education of the children of the Indian staff in spite of persistent demand of and promises to the Indian staff? What action do Government propose to take also in connection with Mr. Cole's Report?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Government have not full information but will make inquiries.

TIME-SCALE OF PAY FOR THE G. I. P. RAILWAY STAFF.

128. **Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** Is it a fact that the time-scale of pay has been introduced for the officers of the G. I. P. Railway? Has any application been received for a time-scale from the subordinate staff? If so, has it been introduced for the staff who applied for it? If not, will Government be pleased to ascertain the reasons and lay them on the table?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Yes, the time scale of pay has been introduced for the officers of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. Government have no information as to whether application has been received by the Agent for a time scale for the subordinate staff and they do not propose to take any steps in the matter which is entirely a domestic one. Ordinarily railway subordinates receive incremental rates of pay.

SALARIES OF THE G. I. P. RAILWAY STAFF.

129. **Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** Will Government be pleased to ascertain whether the scales of salaries of the G. I. P. Railway staff fixed under the Mannad Agreement have been reduced, and place the information on the table?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Agent of the Railway is fully competent to deal with the matter and Government do not propose to call for the information asked for by the Honourable Member.

FREE QUARTERS FOR SIGNALLERS ON THE G. I. P. RAILWAY.

190. **Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** (a) Is it a fact that on the G. I. P. Railway signallers are not provided with free quarters nor do they get any allowance in lieu thereof?

(b) Is it a fact that on the other Railways signallers are given this concession?

(c) Will Government please state why the G. I. P. Railway is treating their staff differently?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes:—Government are making inquiry and will let the Honourable Member know the result.

RECRUITMENT OF STAFF FROM ENGLAND FOR THE G. I. P. RAILWAY.

191. **Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** (a) Will Government be pleased to say what staff has been recruited from England for the G. I. P. Railway during the period 1900—1913, 1913—1920 and 1920—1923?

(b) Had Government ascertained beforehand whether any men were available in India to do the work for which such staff was recruited from England? If so, what steps were taken by the Government for this purpose? Will Government please state what class of staff is obtained from outside India and what facilities they propose to provide for training such staff in India?

(c) How long would Government allow this system?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Government have no information.

The G. I. P. Railway is worked by a Company which exercises full powers in regard to the recruitment of its staff.

LEAVE RULES OF WORKSHOP EMPLOYEES ON THE G. I. P. RAILWAY.

192. **Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the Resolution of the Bombay Provincial Trade Union Conference protesting against the reply given by the Government to Mr. Joshi's question in the Assembly meeting that the G. I. P. Railway workshop men get leave on full pay on all public holidays? Are the Government aware that these holidays are given as leave without pay? If so, do Government propose to make the necessary changes in the leave rules so that the workshop men may get holidays on full pay? If not, will the Government be pleased to state the reasons for the Company's inability to do so?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Government have no information but it may be pointed out that the Great Indian Peninsula Railway is worked by a Company which is fully competent to deal with such matters.

EUROPEAN, ANGLO-INDIAN AND INDIAN RAILWAY APPRENTICES.

193. **Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** (a) Will Government please state the number of apprentices, European, Anglo-Indian and Indian, posted to different Railways in the last two years?

(b) Do Government know that there is a difference in the starting pay of European, Anglo-Indian and Indian apprentices having the same qualifications? On what grounds is this difference kept and how long would Government allow such difference without distinction of qualification standard.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) I would refer the Honourable Member to the reply given in the Assembly to a somewhat similar question* asked by Rai Bahadur Pandit J. L. Bhargava on the 2nd July 1923. Complete information for 1923 is not yet available; but the figures for the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway and the Great Indian Peninsula Railway at the end of 1923 were:

Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway:—

Europeans and Anglo-Indians	...	...	79
Indians	...	...	129

Great Indian Peninsula Railway:—

Europeans and Anglo-Indians	...	...	108
Indians	...	...	92

(b) The general question of the scales of pay and allowances to European, Anglo-Indian and Indian apprentices has been very carefully considered; but Government do not interfere in detail in matters of this kind. Such pay and allowances are based on the market values of the different classes of apprentices bearing in mind the cost of living in each case.

APPEALS BY G. I. P. RAILWAY EMPLOYEES.

134. **Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** (a) Is it a fact that on the G. I. P. Railway a Divisional Transportation Superintendent has issued orders that if a man sends an appeal and on inquiry it is found that he is properly dealt with he will further punish the man for causing unnecessary correspondence? If so, do Government propose to take steps to get the order cancelled?

(b) Is it a fact that on the G. I. P. Railway on the recommendations of Mr. Hescline, the right of appeal has been limited to one appeal? Is it a fact that in this connection he has stated that it is necessary to reject the appeal in most cases in order to maintain the prestige of the officers? If so, what steps do Government propose to take to allow freedom to the staff to appeal to the highest authority when necessary?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) The Government have no information but will inquire.

(b) The Government have no information. The matter is essentially one for the Agent. But the Honourable Member should remember that railways are commercial undertakings.

G. I. P. RAILWAY LEAVE RULES.

135. **Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** Is it a fact that the G. I. P. Railway Company several years ago promised to the Indian staff that they will be given the State Railway leave rules from 1st September 1919? Is it a fact that afterwards it was stated that the Indian staff will be given full benefit of the Fundamental Leave Rules? Is it a fact that these have not yet been given? Is it a fact that in the meanwhile rules for Europeans and Anglo-Indians only have been revised? Will Government please state when the new leave rules will be brought into force? Will Government introduce them with retrospective effect from September 1919 when they were promised? If not, will Government pay compensation to those who have lost this advantage? If not, why not?

*Vide page 4182 of L. A. Debates, Vol. III.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the replies given by Mr. G. G. Sim to questions* 8, 11 and 13 at the meeting of the Legislative Assembly on the 2nd July 1923. Leave cannot be claimed as of right and there is no question of introducing new rules with retrospective effect.

The whole question of Railway Leave Rules is still under consideration.

FREE PASSES FOR CHAPLAINS ON THE G. I. P. RAILWAY.

136. **Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** Is it a fact that the G. I. P. Railway grant free passes to chaplains to look after the spiritual needs of the Christian staff? Is it a fact that the request was made to the Agent for a free pass for a Hindu priest to attend to the spiritual needs of the Bhusawal Hindu staff? Is it a fact that this request was refused? If so, what were the reasons which led the Company to refuse it?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Inquiry is being made and the result will be communicated to the Honourable Member in due course.

GRIEVANCES OF THE G. I. P. RAILWAY STAFF.

137. **Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** (a) Is it a fact that several cases of injustice done to the G. I. P. Railway staff by the G. I. P. officers have been brought to the notice of the Agent by the G. I. P. Railway Staff Union either by letters or through their paper?

(b) Are there instances wherein the Agent has given no reply nor even an acknowledgment thereto?

(c) Will the Government be pleased to ask the Railway Company to deal with such cases in a proper way?

(d) Will Government please say why Councils similar to Whitley Councils promised to the staff two years ago by the G. I. P. Ry. Administration are not yet introduced?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a), (b) and (c). Government have no information and do not propose to interfere in matters of internal administration which the Agent is fully competent to deal with.

(d) It is understood that the matter is under the consideration of the Railway Administration.

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMERCIAL DEPARTMENTS, G. I. P. RAILWAY.

138. **Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** Is it a fact that the Dhond Branch of the G. I. P. Railway Staff Union has pointed out to the Agent that on account of the reorganisation of the Transportation and Commercial Departments, the clerical staff is overworked and relievers are necessary? If so, will Government please state what steps are taken by the Agent to remedy this grievance?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Government have no information. The matter is one which the Agent of the Railway is fully competent to deal with.

* Vide pages 4145, 4146 and 4147 of L. A. Debates, Vol. III.

SHORTAGE OF COAL ON THE G. I. P. RAILWAY.

139. **Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** Is it a fact that there was a shortage last year of 13,000 tons of coal on the G. I. P. Railway which could not be accounted for? If so, have Government made inquiries, and with what results?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The answer is in the negative

REPRESENTATIVE OF THE LABOUR UNIONS AT THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE.

140. **Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** (a) Is it a fact that the several Labour Unions of India have protested against the nomination of Mr. Chowdhury, as their representative for the International Labour Conference?

(b) If so, will Government please state what consideration led to his nomination in spite of such protests?

(c) Do Government propose to consult the different Labour Organizations before making nominations in the future to avoid such instances?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: (a) A few Unions have protested.

(b) The Government of India, in accordance with their usual practice, invited suggestions from representative labour associations. A large number of names were put forward, and from these the Government selected Mr. Roy Chowdhury as best fulfilling the requirements laid down for the selection of such delegates in Article 389 of the Treaty of Versailles.

(c) As already stated, the practice followed in the past has been to invite suggestions from representative labour associations before making nominations. No change is contemplated in this procedure.

RAILWAYS AND TRADE UNIONS.

141. **Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** (a) Is it a fact that in spite of the Resolution of the Government of India regarding the formation of Trade Unions, two employees of the B. B. & C. I. Railway, namely, Messrs. Mohanlal and Chotubhai, have been discharged from the Company's service, one for holding a Union meeting of the railway staff on railway premises and the other for having attended such a meeting held on railway premises?

(b) Will Government please state whether they have issued any rules or justified any rules made by the Railway Companies prohibiting any railway servants from holding Union meetings on railway premises?

(c) Is it a fact that Mr. Mohanlal whose services were dispensed with was a member of the B. B. & C. I. Ry. Staff Council?

(d) Are Government aware that he has published a note that the B. B. & C. I.'s Staff Council's work is not honestly carried out?

(e) Do the Government propose to ask the Railway Company to reconsider this decision in this case of the two employees?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a), (c) and (d). Government have no information but will make inquiries.

(b) The reply is in the negative.

INDIANIZATION OF THE HIGHER GRADES OF THE RAILWAY SERVICES.

142. **Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** (a) With regard to the Honourable Mr. Kale's Resolution regarding Indianization of the higher grades of the Railway services, is it a fact that the Government have written to the Railway Administrations to Indianize only superior posts?

(b) Will Government give a statement showing how many posts of subordinate service carrying salaries of Rs. 250 and over there are on all Indian Railways, and how many of them are held by Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indians respectively?

(c) Will Government be pleased to communicate to the Railway management that Mr. Kale's Resolution included Indianization of these posts as well?

(d) Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the fact that on the G. I. P. Railway Indian Station Masters of approved efficiency are given Rs. 80 or 100, whereas the European and Anglo-Indian Station Masters working on the same stations are given Rs. 385?

(e) If so, will Government please explain the reasons for this difference and say how long this distinction without difference in qualifications will continue?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) and (c). Government have impressed on Railway Administrations the need for the employment of Indians in all grades of Railway service.

(b) The information asked for is not available for all Indian Railways. The figures for the 13 most important State and Companies lines are as follows:

	Rs.
Total subordinate staff on 1st November 1923 on Rs. 250 per mensem and over, or on scales of pay rising to Rs. 250 per mensem and over	7,497
Comprising Europeans	2,977
Anglo-Indians	2,818
Indians	1,702

(d) Government have no information, but will inquire.

MEDICAL CERTIFICATES OF RAILWAY EMPLOYEES.

143. **Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** Will Government please say:

(a) Whether medical certificates given to Railway employees by registered practitioners are accepted by State Railways worked by the State or Company?

(b) Whether there are any rules for periodical medical examination of railway employees on these railways? If so, will Government please supply the rules in force on different railways?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) Medical certificates of temporary unfitness given by any medical man possessing a Diploma from a British College or University are accepted by State-managed Railways with certain reservations in regard to limit of pay drawn by an employee. The Company-managed lines have their own rules governing the grant of medical certificates to their staff.

(b) A railway administration can require an employee to be re-examined in regard to physical fitness whenever this may be considered necessary.

GRIEVANCES OF RAILWAY MEN.

144. **Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the Resolutions passed by the 2nd All-India Railwaymen's Conference? If so, will Government please state what steps they have taken in connection with the grievances mentioned therein?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Government have read the Resolutions passed by the Conference, but have not taken any special action upon them.

" SQUANDERMANIA " ON THE G. I. P. RAILWAY.

145. **Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** Has the attention of the Government been drawn to an article on Squandermania published on page 294 of the G. I. P. Railway Union Monthly? Is it a fact, as mentioned therein, that the salaries of the officers have been increased and those of subordinates reduced on the G. I. P. Railway? If so, will Government please give reasons for adopting such a policy?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: No. Government have not seen the article in question and are not aware of any such policy as that suggested.

FREE PASSES FOR MEMBERS OF RAILWAY UNIONS.

146. **Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** Will Government please state whether leave or free passes are granted on any railway in India for members of the Railway Unions to organize the Unions and attend the meetings of the Unions? If so, which Railways grant them and under what conditions? Is it a fact that an application was made by the G. I. P. Railway Staff Union in this connection? If so, what action has been taken by the Agent thereon?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Certain Railways do grant such concessions, it is believed, but it is left to Railways generally to give delegates privilege Ticket Orders to enable them to attend meetings.

As regards any application from the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Staff Union, Government have no information.

INDIAN RAILWAY DRIVERS.

147. **Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** Is it a fact that on some railways Indian drivers are running mail and passenger trains? Is it a fact that in the Loco. Workshops, Indians are not given the same facilities for training which are given to non-Indians? If so, will Government please state what steps they propose to take to train Indians to work as drivers on different Railways?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The reply to the first part of this question is in the affirmative, though it should be added that such drivers are mostly Parsees. The reply to the second part is in the negative, and, as regards the last part, measures already exist for training Indians to work as drivers on all important Railways.

RELIEVING STAFF ON THE G. I. P. RAILWAY.

148. **Mr. K. G. Lohokare:** Will Government please state what facilities are provided for relieving station masters on the State Railways managed by the State or Company? Has the attention of the Government been drawn to complaints published in the G. I. P. Union Monthly regarding the inconvenience to which the relieving staff are put on the G. I. P. Railway, and what steps Government propose to take to remove the grievance?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Government have no information but see no reason to doubt that all necessary facilities are generally provided by the Railway Administrations for relieving their staff.

. PAY OF SUPERINTENDENTS OF POST OFFICES.

149. **Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** (a) Are Government aware that keen discontent prevails amongst the Superintendents of Post Offices on account of the inadequacy of the scale of pay sanctioned for them?

(b) Is it a fact that the Superintendents draw a higher annual increment in the first two years of service, and later on the increment rate is reduced? Do Government propose to revise the rate of increment?

(c) Will Government be pleased to state the grounds on which they consider the pay of Superintendents of Post Offices adequate, when the Director General of Posts and Telegraphs, giving his full reasons, recommended Rs. 300—850 as the minimum scale of pay for them?

(d) Is it a fact that the powers and responsibilities of the Superintendents of Post Offices have greatly increased since?

(e) Is it a fact that the minimum pay of certain postmasters directly subordinate to the Superintendents of Post Offices, is the same as that of the Superintendents? And is it not a fact that in several cases a Superintendent of Post Offices draws less than his subordinate postmaster? Do Government propose to remove this anomaly?

(f) Have Government seen the evidence given by the Postal Officers' Association before the Lee Commission in Calcutta; and do they propose to reconsider the question of revising the existing scale of pay of Superintendents of Post Offices after the report of the Commission is published?

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee: (a) Government have received petitions from Superintendents of Post Offices to the effect that they are not satisfied with their pay.

(b) Yes. The revised scale of pay is Rs. 250—25—300—20—700. The higher rate of increment in the earlier years of service was fixed in order that new entrants might more quickly reach the Rs. 300 stage. Government do not propose to revise the rate of increment.

(c) After considering the demands made by the Superintendents in their various memorials as well as the scales suggested by the Director General, Posts and Telegraphs, and the Postal Officers' Association, the Government of India were satisfied that the above revised scale sanctioned with effect from the 1st December 1919 is suitable.

(d) The reply is in the negative. Their duties and powers have merely been revised consequent on the changes in pay and departmental procedure brought about as the result of the recommendations of the Postal Committee, 1920, but this revision has not added appreciably either to their powers or responsibilities.

(e) Yes. The non-gazetted Postmasters in the selection grade of Rs. 250—20—350 are subordinate to the Divisional Superintendents. The actual pay of any such Postmaster may at times be, but seldom is, more than the actual pay of the Divisional Superintendent who, however, holds the superior status of a first class gazetted officer. Government do not propose to take any action.

(f) Government have seen the evidence given by the Postal Officer's Association. If any recommendation with respect to the pay of Superintendents is actually made in the Report of the Royal Commission, it will be duly considered.

CASE OF BABU HAR BHAGAWAN DAS.

150. **Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state if Babu Har Bhagawan Das, Registration Clerk, Ambala Post Office, was prosecuted in connection with the loss of an insured letter and was he honourably acquitted?

(b) After his acquittal was he departmentally punished with a fine of Rs. 1,500 and directed to pay the whole amount in one instalment?

(c) Has he been dismissed owing to his failure to pay the whole amount in one instalment although he agreed to pay it in instalments?

(d) Do the Government propose to reconsider the case of Babu Har Bhagwan Das?

Mr. G. R. Clarke: (a) Yes.

(b) Yes.

(c) Yes.

(d) He has been re-instated on appeal.

LOSS OF A MAIL BAG AT PESHAWAR.

*151. **Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state if a mail-bag was lost on the 12th January, 1923, when being carried in the mail contractor's carriage between the railway station and the Peshawar Post Office.

(b) Was not Dayal Ram, Clerk, Peshawar Post Office, who was accompanying the mail-bag, fined Rs. 1,015 on account of the loss sustained by Government and the whole amount was ordered to be recovered in one instalment?

THEFT OF MAIL BAGS AT MULTAN.

*152. **Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state whether on the 22nd February 1922, the padlock of the Multan Cantonment R. M. S. room was broken and two mail-bags containing insured letters to the value of Rs. 519-3-0 were stolen from the room?

(b) Was not Lachman Das, sorter of the R. M. S. with the porters attending the train due to arrive at 4-30 hours when the theft took place?

(c) Has Rs. 519-3-0 been recovered as fine from sorter Lachman Das to make good the loss to Government due to the theft?

* For Answer to this question—see answer below Question No. 155.

RECOVERIES FROM R. M. S. OFFICIALS FOR LOSS OF INSURED ARTICLES.

*153. **Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state whether the following recoveries were made from R. M. S. officials to make good the loss arising from the loss of insured articles:

Name of Official.	Amount of Recovery,
	Rs.
1. Labha Mall, head sorter, L. Division	10)
2. Issar Das, sorter, L. Division	100
3. Gunwanth Lall, mail-agent, L. Division	500
4. Peary Lal, sorter, L. Division	50
5. Remal Das, sorter, K. Division	250
6. Har Bhagwan Dass, sorter, K. Division	500
7. Peary Lal, sorter, K. Division	200
8. Mulchand, sorter, K. Division	200
9. Mohammad Fazil, sorter, K. Division	100

FINE IMPOSED ON RAM AMUGRAPA TEWARI, POSTMAN OF CALCUTTA.

*154. **Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal:** (a) Has not Rs. 1,000 been directed to be recovered from Ram Amugrapa Tewari, post-man of Calcutta G. P. O., out of which Rs. 700 has already been paid by him, in connection with the delivery of an insured parcel to Pannalal Maxmull?

(b) Was not the intimation for the insured parcel delivered by the post-man after obtaining the recipient's signature in the book of intimations delivered?

(c) Was not the recipient's signature in the book of intimations delivered, examined by the Marwari hand-writing expert of the Allahabad Bank, and did he not express his opinion that the signature in the intimation book was the signature of the addressee of the insured article?

(d) Was not the signature sent to Bombay for examination by a hand-writing expert of Bombay?

(e) What is the name of the hand-writing expert who examined the said signature?

(f) Was there no Government hand-writing expert in Calcutta who could examine the signature?

(g) Are the Government prepared to consider the question of remitting the fine of Rs. 1,000?

FINES IMPOSED ON POSTAL EMPLOYEES.

155. **Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state why such heavy fines in the shape of recoveries of the amounts payable as compensation by Government for insured articles lost or tampered with, are imposed on clerks, sorters and postmen, and why the same are not paid out of the revenue derived from insurance fees?

* For Answer to this question—see the answer below Question No. 155.

(b) Will the Government be pleased to state if such heavy fines are imposed on the members of the subordinate staff of any Department except the Post Office for occasional mistakes? If not, why the Post Office officials should form an exception?

Mr. G. R. Clarke: The information asked for is not readily available from the records of the Director General's Office and the questions involve references to the Heads of Circles concerned. It will be furnished to the Honourable Member in due course.

GRIEVANCES OF INDIAN SEAMEN.

156. **Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal:** Has the attention of the Government been drawn to a pamphlet on "Indian Seamen and their Principal Grievances" by Shaikh Sameer, President, the Indian Seamen's Association? Do the Government propose to consider what steps they may take either officially or by correspondence with the shipping companies to help to remove the grievances of a very large number of Indian seamen discussed in this pamphlet?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Government have seen the pamphlet referred to. Proposals arising out of the report of the Indian Seamen's Recruitment Committee are now under the consideration of Government.

THE INDIAN COINAGE (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett (Finance Member): Sir, I have the honour to present the report of the Select Committee on the Bill further to amend the Indian Coinage Act.

THE CENTRAL BOARD OF REVENUE BILL.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett (Finance Member): Sir, I have the honour to present the report of the Select Committee on the Bill to provide for the constitution of a Central Board of Revenue and to amend certain enactments for the purpose of conferring powers and imposing duties on the said Board.

MESSAGE FROM THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

Secretary of the Assembly: The following Message has been received from the Secretary, Council of State:

"I am directed to inform you that the Council of State have at their meeting of the 14th February 1924 agreed without any amendments to the Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to the administration of cantonments, which was passed by the Legislative Assembly on the 24th July 1923."

DEATH OF SIR FRANK MCCARTHY.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar (Madras City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, may I, with your permission, give expression to the feelings of regret and sorrow with which we heard the news, after dispersing on Thursday last, of the death of Sir Frank McCarthy, who was once, Sir,

[Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar.]

a distinguished Member of this Assembly. Sir, he was one of those Englishmen who endeared himself to Indians by his frankness, by his amiable character and by his readiness to recognise Indian claims and aspirations and to sympathise with them. Sir, I had the privilege of sitting with him on the Racial Distinctions Committee—a very troublesome Committee,—where his influence was brought to bear upon the more troublesome elements of the European population there and we were able to come to conclusions which were satisfactory in a way. Sir, although he was a silent Member of the Assembly we often met him in Committees and he distinguished himself as one of the members who sat on the Committee to revise the Standing Orders of this House. Sir, early in his career you chose him to serve on the Panel of Chairmen and he presided with grace over the deliberations of this Assembly now and then. Sir, in his loss we miss a very good friend. To Burma he was a great asset. It was my peculiar privilege to meet him only last month—early last month—and we had a heart to heart talk. He made anxious inquiries about the way in which the work of this House was going on. There were signs of the illness to which he succumbed when he came to Simla to attend to his duties as a Member of this Assembly, and I found him in Rangoon looking much better than when I saw him in Simla and he gave me encouraging accounts of himself. Therefore, it was with very great surprise that I heard of his death. Sir, it is but meet that this Assembly should send its sympathy to the bereaved widow.

Mr. E. G. Fleming (Burma: European): As a friend and a successor, in this Assembly, of the late Sir Frank McCarthy, I wish, on behalf of all my European colleagues in this House, to express our desire to associate ourselves with the expressions of sympathy to Lady McCarthy and the Province of Burma, which have fallen from the last speaker. It was only a month ago that Sir Frank wished me all success in my venture into politics and it is hard to think that he has been taken away from us. He was a very lovable man and a true friend of India.

Lieut.-Colonel F. C. Owens (Burma: Nominated Official): Sir, as the official representative of the province in which the late Sir Frank McCarthy passed the greater portion of his life, I desire to associate the Government of Burma and myself with the expressions of sympathy and tributes of respect we have heard this morning.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey (Home Member): It is perhaps unnecessary for me to add—though I know you will allow me
 12 Noon. to do so—an expression of deep regret on our part for the loss which we have suffered in the death of Sir Frank McCarthy. We knew him well in this Assembly, we knew him well as a lovable and as a sympathetic character, and it adds to our sense of his loss that there is reason to believe that his sense of devotion to his public duties prevented him seeking a recuperation of health which could only have been secured by leaving his duties at a time when they claimed his special attention. That is an additional cause for our regret. It is sad indeed to see the death of one of that band of Europeans who have devoted their time and their sympathy to the cause of the people of this country.

Mr. President: I shall make it my duty to convey to Lady McCarthy the unanimous sense of this House in offering her sympathy in her bereavement. Perhaps more than any other Member of this House, I have reason for deep regret that Sir Frank McCarthy is no longer here. He was a

personal friend of my own; he was an invaluable member of that Reforms Committee out of whose work sprang the Legislative Chamber over which Sir Frank McCarthy was eventually called to preside. I have the best reason to know that Mr. Rangachariar, in the statement he has made of the services of Sir Frank McCarthy to his own province of Burma and to India as a whole, was in no way exaggerating. The cause of conciliation between all the races in the Indian Commonwealth has lost a courageous, candid and conciliatory advocate by the death of Sir Frank McCarthy.

THE CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey (Home Member): Sir, I move:

"That the Bill further to amend the Indian Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1893, for the purpose of affording greater protection to persons under the age of eighteen years, be referred to a Select Committee consisting of Colonel Sir Henry Stanyon, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley, Sardar Gulab Singh, Khan Sahib Ghulam Bari, Maulvi Abul Kasem, Mr. B. C. Pal, Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh, Dr. S. K. Datta, Sardar V. N. Mutalik, Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar, Haji S. A. K. Jeelani, and myself, with instructions to report on or before 10th March, 1924."

I need not, I think, commend this motion to the Assembly by any formal speech. The Bill deals with matters which have been the subject of controversy in the past, though I hope they will be less the subject of controversy now. But it contains also many details which require careful examination, and the reference to Select Committee will in addition give the public an opportunity of considering the Bill at greater leisure than would be possible if we proceeded to take up its consideration across the floor of this House.

Dr. H. S. Gour (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, while I welcome this Bill and its committal to Select Committee, I should like the Select Committee to consider one or two questions which I shall raise on this occasion. Honourable Members will see from the Preamble to the Bill that this Bill is drawn to afford greater protection to persons under the age of 18 years. This is a welcome improvement; but there are one or two points in connection with this Bill which call for examination. The first is in connection with *Explanation II* to clause 3. Honourable Members will find that this Explanation runs as follows:

"For the purposes of this section 'illicit intercourse' means sexual intercourse between persons not united by marriage or by any union or tie, which, though not amounting to marriage, is recognised by the personal law or custom of the community or communities, as the case may be, to which they belong as constituting between them a quasi-marital relation."

Now, I beg to submit that the introduction of a new phrase "quasi-marital relation" is not quite intelligible to me. I should like the Honourable Member in charge of the Bill to explain to this House what he means by a quasi-marital relation created by the personal law or custom of any community. As I understand the law, Sir, I only know that there is such a thing as marriage or no marriage; but an intermediate stage which is neither marriage nor no marriage is not known, so far as I am aware, to the civil law of this country, nor as my friend, Mr. Jinnah, rightly ejaculates, to the criminal law of this country. I really do not know what the exact meaning of this phrase is. In the Statement of Objects and Reasons appended to this Bill no explanation is set out as to any personal law or custom of a community which recognises such a relationship, and,

[Dr. H. S. Gour.]

as I have said, and my friend, Mr. Jinnah, concurs with me, such a relationship is not known either to the civil or criminal law. I therefore venture to submit that by the introduction of this term a new jural relationship is created which is likely to endanger the very object and purpose we have in enacting this measure. For section 372 which the present Bill is intended to amend would be rendered in certain cases nugatory if this *Explanation II* is allowed to stand. I would remind Honourable Members what section 372 is intended to provide against. That section, briefly speaking, is intended to provide against the selling of minors for purposes of prostitution. Now, Sir, if this exception in the form of *Explanation II* is enacted into law, the result will be that the accused in many cases will defend himself by setting up a plea that the minor, who is the subject of protection under this clause, was not married by him, nor indeed was she kept as his concubine under *Explanation II* as a quasi-married woman. What right does it confer upon the woman under the civil law? None. What right, I submit, does it confer upon the person who keeps such a woman, the right to retain her without any corresponding right on her part to maintenance or inheritance? For, as Honourable Members here are aware, the right of maintenance provided for in section 488 of the Criminal Procedure Code is a right of maintenance of wives and children. Persons who are allied by this cryptic term quasi-marriage are not entitled to the protection which that law confers upon wives and children. What is, then, likely to be the result? In a very large number of cases the accused will escape through this wide loophole of law by pleading that the relationship he had contracted with the girl was that of a quasi-marital character. It might be said, Sir, that this is a phrase which has been inserted in clause 2, which is a penal clause, and it is not likely that this expression will find place in the civil law of the country. But I venture to submit that once an ambiguous expression finds place in any part of the statutory laws of this country it is apt to find place in other statutory enactments. And, confining for the moment our consideration to section 372, I submit that the purpose we have in enlarging the scope of section 372 is likely to be defeated if *Explanation II* is enacted into law, in the form in which it is drafted. I would, therefore, suggest for the consideration of the Select Committee a change something to the following effect:

“For the purpose of this section illicit intercourse means sexual intercourse between persons not united by marriage or by any union or tie which amounts to a marriage.”

I submit, Sir, that is the only exception which the accused is entitled to plead in his defence, and I would therefore delete the remainder of *Explanation II*.

I have another objection, Sir, to this draft measure, and I shall briefly state it. Honourable Members will find that in the Preamble the intention of the Legislature is stated to be greater protection to persons under the age of 18 years, and yet we find, if we turn to clause 5, that the Legislature intend merely to substitute the age of 16 for 14 in that clause. Honourable Members will remember that section 552 of the Code of Criminal Procedure deals with certain magisterial powers for the protection of minors and restoring them to custody, and so on, when they are below a certain age. That is a salutary supplementary provision which exists in the Code of Criminal Procedure. Now I wish the Honourable the Home Member to consider whether it would not be in consonance with

the declared policy of Government and in consonance with the express terms of the Preamble that the word 'eighteen' should be substituted for the word 'sixteen', which will have the effect of protecting not only minors below the age of sixteen, but also minors below the age of eighteen when they attain the age of expression according to the statutory law. I do not see, Sir, why this halting and hesitating measure which is proposed to be enacted in clause 5 should not go the full length, which it should, and which it is the object of the Legislature that it should, by protecting all minors during their minority before they have completed the age of 18 years. These are the two observations that I wish to make on the subject and I wish to fortify myself by informing this House that in framing this measure we are not going in advance of the times, but are far behind the English statutory law which protects girls in similar circumstances when they are below the age of 21 years. Under the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885, clause 2, procurement of girls below the age of 21 is a punishable offence, and the provisions of the present enactment should be assimilated, as far as possible, to the English Statute enacted as far back as 1885. I submit, Sir, while we all welcome this measure, I would ask the Select Committee to closely and carefully examine these two points which I have submitted for the consideration of this House and which, if not carefully dealt with, are likely to nullify the effect of the proposed legislation.

Mr. Mahmood Schamnad Sahib Bahadur (West Coast and Nilguries: Muhammadan): Sir, I beg to differ from the last speaker when he condemns the phrase 'quasi-marriage' in the Bill. Because in Malabar there is a system of marriage, known as 'Sambandam', among Hindus, by which a man and woman live as husband and wife for as long a time as he or she likes, and afterwards they separate as they like. Now, Sir, that is not a regular marriage, but it is a system recognised as a quasi-marriage. I therefore think, Sir, that the phrase used in the Bill is quite necessary.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Dr. Gour has referred to two points which are less of principle than of detail. The first point is admittedly a difficult one, namely, the definition in *Explanation II*, for it had caused much discussion in the Select Committee of 1914. I have no doubt that the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya will well remember the case as he was a Member of the Select Committee. The definition adopted there provides for the case of persons who had entered into a relation which is not strictly matrimonial relation but nevertheless is recognised by the common custom of the country as one which is neither illicit nor immoral. The definition adopted in 1914 was as follows:

"Intercourse between persons not united in marriage or bound by any union or tie which, though not amounting to marriage, is recognised as lawful by their personal law."

That definition was objected to in the course of circulation by certain Local Governments who said that the term "personal law" in itself was not sufficiently explanatory. Our Legislative Department have done their best to meet the case. No doubt the legal acumen available to us on the Select Committee will duly perpend the possibility of a more satisfactory definition and place it before the House.

As regards the second point, I would remind Dr. Gour that section 552 merely refers to the powers given to a District Magistrate to enable the immediate restoration to her liberty of a woman or to her legal guardians of a female child under 14 years who has been abducted or unlawfully detained.

[Sir Malcolm Hailey.]

The age of 14 years was apparently fixed as that which was reasonable for the restoration to a parent or guardian or other person having legal charge. They only question is whether it is wise in these restricted circumstances to raise the age to 16 or to 18 years. There are many complicated questions arising out of the age at which guardianship ceases, as we learned when we came to discuss the Bill which we placed before the House the other day. I do not myself regard this as matter of principle, to which the House is committed merely because it sends this Bill to Select Committee. It is one which can be well discussed in the Select Committee itself.

Mr. President: The question is :

“That the Bill further to amend the Indian Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, for the purpose of affording greater protection to persons under the age of eighteen years, be referred to a Select Committee consisting of Colonel Sir Henry Stanyon, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley, Sardar Gulab Singh, Khan Sahib Ghulam Bari, Maulvi Abul Kasem, Mr. B. C. Pal, Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh, Dr. S. K. Datta, Sardar V. N. Mutalik, Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar, Haji S. A. K. Jeelani, and the Mover, with instructions to report on or before 10th March, 1924.”

The motion was adopted.

THE INDIAN TARIFF (AMENDMENT) BILL.

Mr. N. M. Dumasia (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir I beg to move:

“That the Select Committee, to which the Bill further to amend the Indian Tariff Act, 1894, for certain purposes has been referred, do consist of the following members, namely:—The Honourable Sir Charles Innes, Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar, Sir Campbell Rhodes, Mr. Shanmukham Chetty, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sardar V. N. Mutalik, Mr. K. C. Roy, Mr. A. R. L. Tottenham, Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju, and myself, with instructions to report on or before 4th March, 1924.”

It is necessary to expedite the Report because last year Government lost 12 lakhs of rupees in revenue only through matches being imported through the Siamese frontier. I have no further remarks to make except that the Select Committee will consider other interests also, namely, the interests and rights of Indian States.

Mr. K. C. Roy (Bengal: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I propose that the name of Mr. Jinnah be added to the Select Committee. He has agreed to serve.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. S. C. Ghose (Bengal: Landholders): Sir, I move that the name of Mr. Bhubanananda Das be added to the Select Committee. I have his authority.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: The question is :

“That the Select Committee, to which the Bill further to amend the Indian Tariff Act, 1894, for certain purposes has been referred, do consist of the following members, namely:—The Honourable Sir Charles Innes, Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar, Sir Campbell Rhodes, Mr. Shanmukham Chetty, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sardar V. N. Mutalik, Mr. K. C. Roy, Mr. A. R. L. Tottenham, Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Mr. Bhubanananda Das, and the Mover, with instructions to report on or before 4th March, 1924.”

The motion was adopted.

ELECTION OF PANEL FOR THE STANDING COMMITTEE FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, HEALTH AND LANDS.

Mr. M. S. D. Butler (Secretary, Department of Education, Health and Lands): Sir, I beg to move:

"That this Assembly do proceed to elect in the manner described in the Department of Education, Health and Lands Notification No. 114, dated the 7th February, 1924, a panel of 16 members from which the members of the Standing Committee to advise on questions relating to Emigration in the Department of Education, Health and Lands, will be nominated."

Previously, Sir, there was an Emigration Committee, but it was entirely nominated by the Government. It is felt that now this Committee should be set up in the same way as the ordinary Standing Committees of this House. We therefore come to the House to ask them to elect a panel from which the actual members will be nominated in the customary manner.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: As the result of the decision just made by the House, I have to announce that nominations for this Committee will be received by the Secretary of the Legislative Assembly up to 3 o'clock on the afternoon of Wednesday, the 20th February, and that the election will be held in this Chamber on Monday, the 25th.

RESOLUTION RE THE GRANT OF FULL SELF-GOVERNING DOMINION STATUS TO INDIA.

Mr. President: The Assembly will now resume the debate on the Resolution moved by Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar in the following terms:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that he be pleased to take at a very early date the necessary steps (including if necessary procuring the appointment of a Royal Commission) for revising the Government of India Act so as to secure for India full self-governing Dominion status within the British Empire and Provincial autonomy in the Provinces."

Since which an amendment has been moved:

"That the following be substituted for the original Resolution:

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take steps to have the Government of India Act revised with a view to establish full responsible Government in India and for the said purpose:

- (a) to summon at an early date a representative Round Table Conference to recommend, with due regard to the protection of the rights and interests of important minorities, the scheme of a constitution for India; and
- (b) after dissolving the Central Legislature, to place the said scheme for approval before a newly elected Indian Legislature for its approval and submit the same to the British Parliament to be embodied in a Statute'."

Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal (Calcutta: Non-Muhammadian Urban): Sir, in rising to move the amendment that stands in my name on the agenda paper, namely:

"That all the words after the words 'he be pleased' be deleted and the following be substituted therefor:

- 'to forthwith appoint a Committee consisting of two-thirds members to be elected by the elected Members of this House, to (i) examine the possibilities of the expansion of responsibility in the provinces to the utmost limits permissible under the present Government of India Act, and advise the Government to take the necessary steps to secure such expansion by Regulations framed under this Act, within the year 1924; and (ii) to

[Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal.]

prepare the outlines of a Bill to amend the present Government of India Act with a view to secure the establishment of full responsible Government in India, under the terms of Parliamentary Announcement of August 20, 1917, within the life time of the present Indian Legislature, by the transference of all departments at present administered by the Governor General in Council, to the control of the Indian Legislature, except Foreign Affairs, pending the constitutional reconstruction of the Empire, including relations with the ruling princes and chiefs of India, and for the next ten years only, the Army, the Navy, and the Air-Force'".

I find myself in a rather difficult and awkward position. I feel like the man rushing to the ring where two powerful protagonists, armed with iron knuckles, are spoiling to come to close grips with one another, and, for all the pains that I may take to intervene between them and throw a bridge between the two so that they may come to some agreement in regard to the matter in dispute, I quite expect, Sir, that I shall get the hardest knocks from both sides. My friend, Pandit Motilal Nehru, has moved an amendment, a very simple amendment it is. He says it is very simple. We must admit that, on the face of it, it is very simple. But the simplest solutions are not in politics and state-craft always the most effective. On the other hand, the Honourable the Home Member has tried to impress upon us the extreme complexity of the problem with which this Resolution and this amendment deals. While I was listening to his admirable speech, and I hope he will allow me to say it that it has not been my lot to listen to or read a more powerful exposition of the policy of Government than what I had the privilege of hearing from the Leader of this House on the Bench opposite, it seemed to me—I hope he will pardon me for saying it—that, while he was thinking like a capable and experienced administrator, and while he was speaking with all the cunning of the clever advocate, he missed one thing that is wanted for the solution of this problem, and that thing—I hope he will kindly excuse me for saying it—is far-sighted statesmanship. What we want here is not mere administrative ability or experience; what we want here is not merely the special pleading of the clever advocate. What we want here is the vision of the statesman, who will be able to see things that are coming long long before they come and so shape present policy and action that the evil possibilities of the future may be reduced to the utmost minimum and the good possibilities may be augmented to the fullest measure. I must confess that I have missed this far-sightedness, this quality of constructive statesmanship, in the statement of the Honourable Leader of the House. He has reminded us of the complexities of the present situation. He has called our attention to all the things which have been urged upon us for the last 50 years and more, asking us to be cautious in our demand, asking us to slacken our pace, holding up to us the hope that "if we are faithful in a few things, we shall be made ruler over many other things." But have we not been faithful to the few things that have been granted to us from the year 1861, when the first Legislative Council was organised in India, if not from earlier? We have been faithful to the few things that you, Sir, and your predecessors have given us. But what is our reward? "Wait more. The time is not yet." When will that time come? Will the time come when the issue has passed entirely out of our hands, out of the hands of the intellectual classes of the country, out of the hands of those who are out not to destroy but to construct, out of the hands of those who want not to break the British connection but to keep it, if it can be kept honourably, and consistently with the self-respect of the Indian people? When will it come? That is the question that I want to put before this House.

The Honourable the Home Member asks us to remember the Indian Princes. Yes, we remember them. We know how they feel under the present state of things. They may not speak. They cannot speak. Their lips are sealed. They are not free to speak. In their own house they are not masters of themselves. But, we know how they feel. We know that they would welcome—the good Princes,—those who are administering their State according to the most advanced ideals of modern civilisation and modern statecraft—we know that these good Princes would welcome the establishment of full responsibility in India so that the movement of freedom in India may be able to react upon their own administration and improve their own administration and help them to move onward, towards the goal which India, as a whole, has already set before herself. But I will not take my stand upon these things. I take my stand, Sir, upon my own amendment. Sir Malcolm Hailey has asked us to remember the Indian Princes. "Will they agree to deal with an Indian Executive, controlled by an Indian Legislature?" asks Sir Malcolm. So far as my amendment goes, Sir Malcolm Hailey will see that I had anticipated his objection. I say distinctly that, pending the constitutional reconstruction of the Empire, foreign relations at present under the control of the Governor General in Council shall continue to be in his control, including relations with the Indian Princes. There, I think, is our answer. If you accept this amendment, I think Sir Malcolm Hailey's argument drawn from the position of the Indian Princes, will fall automatically to the ground, because we leave the Indian Princes to his tender mercies. The Viceroy may deal with them just as he likes. We are not concerned just now with the Indian Princes. We are not concerned with foreign relations. We shall demand our right of controlling foreign affairs including affairs relating to the Indian Princes, when the Empire is properly reconstituted, just as it wants to be reconstituted. This question of the constitutional reconstitution of the Empire was among the questions that stood on the agenda of the Imperial Conference during the war; but it was put off on the distinct understanding that at some later date it would come up and be settled once for all. Then—when this question is settled—we shall have a Council of the Empire, and in that Council India will have her own place, her rightful place, as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations. India will then control her foreign policy including the relations with the Indian Princes and the foreign policy of the Empire as a whole, through the Council of the Empire on which England and the Colonies will sit. We leave all these things to you for the present.

Reference was made, Sir, to the Army and the Navy and the defensive forces of the Empire. If you look at my amendment, you will see that we are prepared to leave these also to your tender mercies for the next ten years; not perpetually, not till the reconstruction of the Empire, but we want ten years' time to prepare ourselves to take over from your hands the administration of the defensive forces of the Empire. Give us ten years' time. Help us during these ten years to be able to defend ourselves, and then, at the end of ten years, we shall be able to take up the responsibilities which you shoulder now. We shall give you relief, after ten years, of military administration and we shall get relief ourselves after ten years of military expenditure also. That is our position.

Then we are referred to the commercial interests—foreign commercial interests, and foreign capital employed in this country. Now, what is the Nationalist policy with regard to these? You ask us to trust you. We ask you to trust us. We are also sensible men. We have also a sense of responsibility. We accept the obligations which you, as the Government

[Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal.]

of India, have incurred during the last 150 years. You have encouraged foreign capital to come to this country and all the obligations that rest on you owing to the presence of this foreign capital in India shall be taken over by us when we have full responsible government. But you simply tell us of the conflicts, but why not give us a formula, a principle? Why not show us a way to the reconciliation of these conflicts? The mere enumeration of conflicts does not remove them. We want a principle. If the Honourable the Home Member could give us a principle of reconciliation between India's demand for full responsible government and the legitimate rights of the vested interests of British capital in India,—if he could give us a formula, a rule, some principle of compromise, we would have thankfully accepted it. But he has done nothing of the kind. He simply says. “here are the foreign capitalists, the obligations of the British Government to foreign capital which has been encouraged to come to this country by the presence of this British Government. That is no solution. The solution would be this. You may, if you want, have a provision in the new Government of India Act which we want,—you may have a provision that the Indian Legislature responsible for the Government of India to the constituencies in India shall not legislate differentially and prejudicially—mark the two words, “differentially and prejudicially”—concerning any matters affecting existing foreign capital in this country. I use these two words “differentially and prejudicially” advisedly. If it be necessary for purposes of revenue or otherwise, or for purposes for which my Honourable friend, Mr. Joshi, stands in this House for improving the condition of labour, if it be necessary to restrict capitalist exploitation in India, for these necessary and legitimate interests to tax capitalist interests, the Indian Legislature must be free to do it, provided no differential and prejudicial legislation, differential treatment prejudicial only to foreign capital is enacted, if nothing is done to hurt foreign capital as against native capital. If we can do that—have some such provision in the revised Government of India Act establishing full responsible Government in India—I think that will be a solution of the problem. We shall not treat British capital or foreign capital prejudicially to and differentially from Indian capital—that is all that anybody can ask of us.

I come next to the services. Now, we have accepted the obligations of these services. No responsible Indian statesman has ever said that your covenants with the members of the Indian Civil Service shall be disregarded by us when we come to occupy your Benches. We have never said that. We accept your obligations. All that we say is that in the future you shall not enter into those obligations except by our wishes and in accordance with our requirements. That is all we want. We accept every obligation that you have entered into. Now, all these are practical principles of reconciliation. If you want the whole hog, if you will not be satisfied with your legitimate share in the administration of this country, if you will not be satisfied with the terms of your bond, but if you want to perpetuate our bondage, if you want to carry on these obligations in perpetuity from generation to generation till the end of time, then we have our quarrel with you. We accept all obligations that you have entered into, and so on and so forth. Sir, in regard to all the objections which the Leader of the House brought forward against our demand—that demand is a unanimous demand. Mr. Rangachariar's Resolution is in the main accepted by every Member on this side of the House. There is not a single Member on this

side of the House who is not determined to try his best to secure early establishment of responsible government in India. We are every one pledged to it. Our election manifestoes are a proof of the pledge which we gave to our constituencies in regard to this matter. We shall strive for the early establishment of responsible government in India. But we are told by the Honourable the Home Member: "You must work upon the basis of the present Act." What, Sir, is the basis of the present Act? The first basis is this that we must accept the Act. Now, we do accept the Act. My Honourable friend, the great Leader of the Swarajists, nods his head like Jupiter. Now, do we not accept this Act? (*Cries of "No."*) Then we are not working at cross purposes but using this word "accept" at cross purposes. The moment you went to your constituencies you accepted this Act, because it is this Act which created those constituencies. In coming to this Assembly you accept (*Cries of "Not at all."*) this Act because you are obeying the rules and regulations framed under this Act in your deliberations here (*Cries of "No, No."*) I quite agree that this Act is not satisfactory to us. When I say I accept an arrangement I do not say I accept it for good.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt: (Burdwan Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): We are coerced into acceptance.

Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal: We were not coerced three years ago into acceptance. You might keep yourself out, no one would coerce you then. But in coming to the Assembly you are not coerced, but you agreed to accept this law. But that is a matter which I will not labour. Now, here is the Act. This Act is inadequate, this Act is unsatisfactory, this Act is disappointing, but, unless, you are out to attain your Swaraj by physical revolt or revolution, what other means is left open to you except to attain this Swaraj by an amendment of the present Act? And the moment you ask for an amendment of the present Act you accept this Act. You cannot ask for amendment of a Resolution if you absolutely deny the whole Resolution. You accept the principle of the Resolution, but you do not accept the details of it. That is what is meant by amending. Therefore, let us be clear on this point. We do accept this Act. But what is this Act? This Act declares that responsible government is the goal of British policy in India. That is what is said in the Preamble. Now, we accept that. The second point in the Preamble of this Act is progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire and we accepted this also—we all accept it. But the Preamble also says that the time and measure of each advance shall be determined not by the people of India but by the Government of India in Delhi and Simla, and by His Majesty's Government in London. We never accepted this after-thought of the announcement of Mr. Montagu. "I may add", he said "I may add" represents an after-thought. It was not, so far as I could understand it, an integral part of the announcement of 1917, and this interpretation was possible. So the Joint Committee put this in the Preamble of the Act. But I simply treated it with absolute neglect when I considered the Announcement of August 20th and I said it was an after-thought of the Secretary of State for India. But we know some thing of the ways of politicians. We know some thing how they leave loopholes to enable them to get out of an awkward situation if circumstances do not force them to accept that situation. During the War there was a difficult situation. During the War something had to be done to satisfy Indian aspirations. During the War the situation in India was grave. Lord Hardinge said it. Lord Chelmsford cabled it. I speak on the authority of Lord Islington

[Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal.]

who spoke in the House of Lords on the 24th October in the same blessed year of 1917, just a couple of months after the Announcement was made. He said that the gravity of the Indian situation compelled the Government in England and the Government in India to enter into this complex question of constitutional reform in this country. The situation was very grave and something had to be done to meet this gravity. That was the situation. But while doing that something, they left a trap door open. If the situation should cease to be grave, they might press the button and get out of it and that trap door is the after-thought "And I may add. . ."

But we admit even that. In our amendment we have practically accepted even that limitation. We do not say that we are going like so many Indian Cromwells, backed by our Ironsides, to the Houses of Parliament to purge it of undesirable Members. We ask Parliament itself, we ask the Government of India itself, we ask the Government in England itself, to recognise that the time has come when a more definite, a more unmistakable and a very large step in advance should be made towards the goal which they set before them. We are not legislating. We are not deciding as to what is to be done. Are we not perfectly within our rights, Sir? Are we not perfectly within the terms of this law which says that the time and measure of each advance shall be determined by the Government of India and the British Government, in asking these Governments to revise this Act now and immediately? Does the law say that the Government of India and the British Government will determine the time and measure of our advance in the light of their subliminal consciousness? Does it say that we are not to tell the British Government and the Government here how the situation is and what the situation demands? And this is exactly what Mr. Rangachariar's Resolution wants and this is what my amendment proposes.

Then the Honourable the Home Member referred to progressive realisation. Now that is also a very very convenient phrase. But why is it taken for granted that we started upon this progressive realisation from the 20th August 1917? Why is it taken for granted that before Mr. Montagu came to this country and had conferences with the Viceroy and interviewed all and sundry, we had not already started upon the goal which they at long last publicly set before us? What was the Act of 1861? Was it not a step towards the goal which we want to reach to-day? Before 1861 you had no Legislative Council. The Executive did all legislative work. After 1861 we came to 1892. Lord Cross' Act. What was it? Was it not an advance upon the Act of 1861? Before 1861 we had practically no voice in the legislation or administration of the country. In 1892 Lord Cross' Act did not give us an effective voice, it is true. But it gave us a place in the machinery of government, only a place but neither influence nor power. It gave us no power, but it gave us some little influence, not much, but just some little influence, just as much influence as we could exert on the Government by casting our little shadows before the fiery steeds of Lord Dufferin's chariot of the sun on which, he said, we wanted to ride. We had influence, but no power. The Act of 1909 gave us more influence, but still no power. The Act of 1919 has given us power but no responsibility, and power without responsibility is a dangerous thing, whether in statecraft or in a household and it is this which I want the Honourable the Home Member to remember and to seriously ponder over. We have got power. I do not say we will use that power but we have got that power (A Voice: "Have you!") You

have, Sir, and you are making your power felt here and elsewhere very inconveniently to the authorities. So look at yourself. You have got power but not responsibility and I say power without responsibility makes for revolution. Power without responsibility makes for wrecking. Power without responsibility creates deadlocks and, if you are not prepared to drive the legislators not only here but outside in the country also, in the provinces, to adopt this policy of deadlocks and wrecking, for goodness' sake, for your sake, for the sake of the Empire, for our sake, for the peaceful evolution of Swaraj in this country, give us responsibility, full responsibility. That is what we want. Considerable intelligence and learning and rhetoric have been spent upon the word "immediate". We want immediate Swaraj. Well, it is five minutes to one, now. Do we want, just as the clock strikes one, that our friends opposite should pack up bag and baggage and that my friend Pandit Motilal should take their places and control this House? We do not want that. We do not say so. There must be some time. You have a complicated and complex machinery of administration and this machinery will have to be re-adjusted to meet the requirements of responsible government in India. This re-adjustment will take some time. Not at once, Sir. We use the word 'at once' really as rhetoric. When we say immediately, what is the meaning of 'immediate' (A Voice: "Forthwith.") No. It means without anything mediating between now and the future. That is immediate. I want the existing government, the machinery of this government, to gradually adjust itself, to gradually adapt itself, to gradually reconstruct itself, to gradually reform itself, to make room for that full responsibility which is our birthright. Now, the word 'immediate' is not used in the sense of 'at once' here. All that we want is that there shall be no intermediate period either of military autocracy in India or of anarchism among us or any other condition or state before we go from the present government to the full Swaraj government in India. That is what we mean by immediate establishment of responsible government in India.

Now, I will not take up any more of your time. I will just invite your attention to my amendment. What is the difference between my amendment and that of Pandit Motilal? I am not going to fight him. I am too poor to fight, too weak. He has got all his phalanx behind him and I am not going to try to fight him. I will not challenge him, but I will ask him this question. Does he not give to the Government far more than I am prepared to give them? (A Voice: "No".) I know clever lawyers can argue anything. They can make day into night and night into day. But I do contend, Sir, if words have any meaning, Pandit Motilal's amendment asks the Government to summon at an early date a representative round table conference. Who are to be the members of that representative round table conference? The Government will pick and choose our representatives. I attribute no motive, but it is at least within the range of our oriental imagination to figure a round table conference convened by my Honourable friend opposite which may not be sufficiently round for the purposes of my friend Pandit Motilal Nehru. He has already given us a hint on that matter. There are these interests and those interests and he may put in as many representatives of these and those interests into this round table conference as will suit his purpose or advance his policy. And the result of it will be that after we have worked and talked and wrangled round this round table for full three months, we shall never come to a conclusion. There will be people who will, like our friend, Maulvi Abul

[Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal.]

Kasem, want a big slice of the pig, or as big a slice of the animal as possible. I am sorry, Sir, I referred to the slice of the pig, I meant no offence. But I was remembering an anecdote, which I will not quote here, of the late Sir Wilfred Lawson. But that is neither here nor there. He will want to know how he and his co-religionists stand in the Swaraj constitution of India. My friends, the Indian Christians, will ask what is to happen to them. My friend, and one of my electors, Colonel Gidney, will like to have a big slice of whatever animal may be placed on the table. He will want to have a

1 P.M. very big slice for his own community. Then, there is Sir Henry Stanyon and all the representatives of British capital in this country, and British intellect and British prestige and British character; they too will want to have a finger in the pie, and, when all these people have been gathered round Pandit Motilal's round table, I do not know what will happen. I cannot say what will happen. I do not trust the Government; I do not trust the Government with this duty. I do not want them to form the convention. I want the convention to be formed by this House. I want the Committee to be elected by this House; two-thirds of the members to be elected by the elected Members of this House. That is my proposition. For one-third there is the Government. Here there are different interests represented among the elected Members, and I am confident that none of these different interests will have any reason to complain of their position in the Committee when we are asked to appoint this Committee. I daresay Pandit Motilal is so reasonable that he will put in Sir Henry Stanyon on this Committee. He will not vote against him because he is out, not to destroy Sir Henry Stanyon, but to destroy the present British Government, to mend it or end it. So Sir Henry Stanyon will be left with his practice and his purse; and Mr. Willson also, he will have him also, and he will have our Muhammadan friends and others also in this Committee. So we need not fear about the composition of this Committee. Two-thirds to be elected by the elected Members of this Assembly and one-third to be appointed by the Honourable Member opposite. That ought to satisfy both sides. And then, what are the objects, what will be the duties, what is to be the reference to this Committee? I say first of all this Committee is to explore the possibilities of the present Government of India Act so far as Provincial responsibilities are concerned. We are all reasonable men, and we who are not probably considered reasonable outside, I think will be accepted as reasonable here. We, are all reasonable men, we cannot expect the Government to work out an amendment of the Government of India Act in the course of three weeks only, before the Budget comes on. We cannot expect it. They can show us a gesture; they can show us a little bit of their heart, as Pandit Motilal would say. My friend Pandit Malaviya is hankering for the heart of Sir Charles Innes, but, Sir, I frankly say that that would rather embarrass me. I do not want the heart of the gentlemen opposite, I want their heads—not on a charge. I want their heads, I want their intelligence. I know, as Members of the Government, as parts of a machine they have no heart, have no business to have a heart. As individuals, when they stand outside the machine of which they are parts, they have hearts, as soft as ours. But machines have no heart. Those who have the privilege of keeping automobiles, I wonder, if they will find their cars run more quickly if they kiss them once in the morning and once at night when they go to bed. What the car requires is not kisses, but adjustment; what the car requires is a little oiling. And this bureaucratic machine also requires a little oiling,

a good deal of oiling sometimes, and it requires a little care to the moving gear. I do not want their heart. But I take it that Sir Malcolm Hailey may well take care of the minorities and other interests for which he pleaded before us, and he will see that these are represented. Then I want Provincial autonomy to be attained within this year. We cannot expect the Government of India Act to be amended in the course of one year; we are not so unreasonable. I remember, Sir, when the South African constitution was being passed through Parliament. That constitution was framed in South Africa, and it was brought to England by General Smuts, by Stein, by Fischer and others. I had the privilege of meeting this South African deputation in London in the house of my late lamented friend, Mr. W. T. Stead, and I saw what happened there. They were there—these delegates from South Africa—and Mr. Stead said: "You know, gentlemen, how our people fought you and conquered you: and now what has happened? You have come to this country, not as vanquished enemies, but really as our conquerors," and Mr. Stead took up a piece of paper, rolled it up in his hand like this, and said: "You have come with this constitution. There are many things in this constitution with which we do not agree; there are many things in this constitution which outrage our liberal sentiments; but you push it down our throats, and we have to gulp it down." Now if we had the power, as Stein and Fischer, Smuts and others had, if the conditions, precedent to the passing of the South African Constitution were present in India, I would accept Pandit Motilal's amendment. I would say, go on right ahead and have your constitution if you can force it down the throats even of our old friend Mr. MacDonald and his Labour colleagues. You cannot do it. Even the most friendly Labour-Ministers cannot do it. They have to consider the Liberals and their own British constituencies. No Government in the world, least of all any democratic Government, is all-powerful. Autocracies are more powerful than democracies, and the representative of British democracy in England is not all-powerful, and cannot do all that the Members of any Government may want to do. They have to take note of their position. Therefore we must give them time. We must give them time, and my amendment gives them time for the amendment of the bigger Act, the Government of India Act. I shall be satisfied if the Government of India Act is amended during the life time of this House, and I shall be satisfied in the meantime, and I hope my friend Pandit Motilal also will be satisfied with the friendly gesture which the Honourable the Home Member will make, if he accepts my amendment, and assures us that before the end of 1924, something very substantial will be done by regulations to establish Provincial autonomy, introduce Provincial responsibility to the farthest possible limits permissible under the Act, within this year. That is my amendment. I do not know. They say it is useless to preach to the converted. I think it is worse than useless, Sir, to preach to those who are determined not to be converted; but I have had my say, and I leave it to the country outside to judge of the work that we are doing here.

With these words I move my amendment, Sir.

Sardar Bahadur Captain Hira Singh (Punjab: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I am here as a representative of a class which in India of the past played a very considerable part in the making and breaking of Governments in this country. In the advanced times in which we live now another and no doubt more competent class of constitution makers has come into existence. But I think it is admitted by everybody that in the end, whatever the Government may be, it must rest upon the solid foundation of its capa-

[Captain Hira Singh.]

city for defence against foreign invasion and internal disorders. In other words, Sir, a nation's capacity for self-government depends in the ultimate resort on its Army and Navy. I have no doubt that the supporters of this Resolution have duly considered that point. But the speeches of some of my Honourable friends have made me doubt whether they fully realise the composition, organisation and function of the Army. Sir, the Indian Army to-day is a very highly organised and most efficient force for offence and defence, and I think that most of my Honourable friends know well that it is not due only to the labour and valour of the rank and file, but to the genius, devotion and example of the long list of brave and honourable men whose life work it has been to improve and perfect the Indian Army and bring it to its present high standard of efficiency.

I do not wish to enter here, Sir, into the reasons why we have not trained ourselves sufficiently to be able to undertake the organisation of our Army without assistance. I have heard it said that we have not been given the opportunity to do so. But I would reply—Have we in the past been really anxious to take service in the Army and to send our sons to the Army?

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Yes.

Sardar Bahadur Captain Hira Singh: No, Sir. Were we not content for a very long time to send the uneducated classes to the Army and ourselves to aim only at civil careers? However that may be, it is a fact that we have in India to-day nobody ready to take the place of the highly trained British military organisation. In civilian life, Sir, I have no doubt (as I see in this House) India can produce a large number of administrators and a still larger number of learned lawyers, merchants and great zamindars, who would doubtless be quite willing to devote their spare time to the art of civil Government. But in the military sphere we have yet to fashion a higher command and leadership trained in the art of modern warfare. Without that trained high command, Sir, I am afraid the most devoted army which took us two generations (if not more) to build up, would be in war only fodder for the enemy's guns; while in peace time there would be a danger of its being employed in support of internal factions. For, Sir, there is still a saying current in my part of the country—

"Jis ki lathi us ki bhains,"

which means whoever has the stronger party, the Army will follow them.

Therefore, Sir, in all earnestness I must say that before we aspire to political power we must possess an efficient instrument of our own for controlling our military forces. Since 1919 we have got about 70 Indian King's commissioned officers. These include a few from the Indian land forces, others were commissioned through the Indore Cadet College and 34 who have completed their proper military training at Sandhurst. Most of these officers are junior young subalterns commanding platoons but the time will come when they will rise to field officer's rank and they will be trusted to command and lead their troops in the field. And it is sincerely hoped that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will afford them opportunities and facilities for fast training in several branches of the Army so as to make them fit for staff duty in a short time. Sir, I take this opportunity of respectfully requesting His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to note that the number of 10 Indian gentleman cadets sent to Sandhurst annually is too small for our big country, and I have every hope that

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief at no distant date will arrange to double the number at least, and grant more Commissions to those qualified Indian officers who hold Viceroy's Commissions. But, Sir, no modern Army can exist without a highly trained General Staff, and a General Staff cannot be made in a day even from the ranks of a professional soldiery. I may quote, "Sir, Sir Sivaswami Iyer's own words in the "Nineteenth Century Review":

"No sane Indian politician advocates the filling up of 'the higher ranks of the Army with Indians without training or experience."

What would be their fate if the controlling influence of the British officers was removed and replaced by incompetent command over the 138,719 Indian troops composed of 101 different classes, *e.g.*, Pathans, Gurkhas, Dogras, Sikhs, Rajputs, Mahrattas, Madrassis, Muzbis, Punjab Muhammadans and several other classes? The result can better be imagined by the House than described.

Then, Sir, let me turn very briefly to the question of naval defence. I am not an authority on this question but I think full Dominion status, even within the British Empire, implies some kind of ability on our part to protect the 4,000 miles of coast which India possesses. I believe, Sir, that an Indian Navy has been or is about to be framed. I see most eminent personages of high rank and position sitting in this House but the day when we shall have our own Admiral-in-Chief sitting amongst us is still at a distance. In the meantime I suppose the increased cost of naval defence has been considered. We pay at present only a small fraction of what it costs the British Government to patrol Indian waters.

Sir, the class which I have the honour to represent are not fond of debate. They are men who have played a large part in the destinies of their land and will do so in the future if handled properly. They are men who have borne and will bear the burden of defence. They are the men who in the last great war by their devoted sacrifice have shed that lustre on the Indian name, the credit for which is so proudly claimed by all of us to-day in this House and outside. To that class I belong.

Sir, the road of development and progress in India has been long and weary, but we are now within sight of the goal which we are sure to reach. It is only a matter of time and a little patience. But at this critical juncture there are some who would open wide the throttle lever of the car of State, regardless of the danger of its getting out of control and dashing headlong on the road to destruction. Some of us are impatient even of the warning hands of the guardians of the road. That way, Sir, lies danger and disaster. For immediate self-government implies full-fledged power, an army to uphold it and wise and experienced military administrators, and those, as I have said, are not made in a day. Time and patience are needed in the fashioning of them and woe betide the country and the army cursed with an incompetent higher command. I speak on this, Sir, with knowledge and experience, not from a desire to talk, but with a profound sense of responsibility. Therefore, in my humble opinion we must first seek to make that instrument perfect before entering the first stage of Swaraj, otherwise this defect may cause further disappointment and going back and delay in attaining the goal which has been fully promised to us by the British Government; and after all it is not so long that we have to wait; the goal is well in sight; the ultimate boon has already been conceded to us. Our work is the work of preparation and consolidation for the great adventure. Let us bind our energies to that task; for there is yet much to do; show patience rather than hasten

[Captain Hira Singh.]

to grasp the reins of power before our skill is equal to the task of steering the coach of State and the Indian Army.

Sardar B. A. Dalal (Bombay: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I have followed the debate on this Resolution with very keen interest and, though I had come here ready to be convinced by the supporters of the demand for immediate full responsible Government, I regret to say that after hearing them I am still of opinion that the time is not yet when my country could be safely entrusted with these wide powers.

We have been reminded in this House of India's past greatness. No one can deny that fact but may I draw the attention of this Honourable House to the very pertinent observations on this point made by His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar in his Convocation Address to the Benares University. These are His Highness' words:

"While we boast of our glorious past, let us remember that there must have been in it the seeds of our decline to our present inglorious position".

Has any thought been given to these words of wisdom? Then, Sir, my Honourable friend Mr. Chaman Lal drew a very dark picture of the Indian nation under British administration. There was not one white spot in that picture. Sir, I used to believe that one of the biggest virtues an Indian possesses is gratitude. I will say no more.

The Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya during his very interesting speech offered to give numerous guarantees, one such being that my countrymen would settle the Hindu-Muhammadian differences immediately responsible Government was granted. Now Sir, in appraising the true value of a guarantee, is not one to take into account the past record? What does that show? That in the Punjab, in spite of most strenuous efforts, Messrs. Das and Company failed most convincingly to bring about an understanding. What happened last week in Delhi when the Honourable Pandit himself made efforts on behalf of the untouchables? Shall we, who have undertaken to discharge our duties faithfully, attach no importance to that? Has my Honourable friend, Mr. Kasem, not told us about the telegram from one who has been hailed as a staunch Congressman, a telegram which shall remain a disgraceful blot on the pages of Congress history? Has not this House heard the grievance of the North-West Frontier people as echoed by my Honourable friend, Sir Abdul Qaiyum? Will this House not consider the very diplomatic hint the Honourable Member gave at the conclusion of his speech.

Now, Sir, as my Honourable friend, Sir Abdul Qaiyum, has observed, this Act has not had a fair trial. A very important—I refuse to call it a very representative—section had remained aloof in spite of their Resolution passed in the Congress held at Amritsar, where they were pledged to give the Act a fair trial, and I maintain that they cannot now justifiably describe it as a sham without gaining personal experience through it, particularly in view of the fact that it is now acknowledged that most useful and substantial progress was achieved during the last three years through this Act. Let the claimants for immediate Swaraj then work this Act for at least one more term and show their mettle. Three years is by no means a long period in the life of a nation. Let them during this term bring forward the proposals for the regeneration of this country in this House which is the only recognised constitutional method and they will convince much sooner the present Prime Minister of their capacity to assume the full burden of the

Government of this country. When I say this, Sir, I assume that the Swarajists have a programme ready to put into practice almost immediately.

Sir, if my memory serves me right, the Honourable Mr. Patel during the debate on the Rowlatt Bill spoke of, "coming events casting their shadows before." The apprehension I have in my mind is that the happenings at Chauri-Chaura, in Malabar and in the Bombay Presidency may be the shadows of coming events. I ask, is there unity in the country? The two Honourable Members from the Muhammadan community who have spoken before have replied. Is there tolerance? Is there liberty of opinion? Most assuredly not. Are not our most patriotic countrymen, to whose sustained efforts we owe our present advancement, insulted and abused, even ill-treated by men holding contrary views?

Is it any wonder then that I, who come from a community of practical people, a community which gave the country a Dadabhai Naoroji, a Ferozeshah Mehta, a Jamshedji Tata, a Dinshaw Wacha, am compelled to utter a word of caution?

Sir, to my mind the proposal of the Honourable the Leader of this House is most statesmanlike and I give it my unstinted support. While these Governmental inquiries will proceed, it will give time to my friends here to do some constructive work and I earnestly pray that wiser counsels may yet prevail and that they may join us in carrying on the good and great work that lies ahead. I assure this House that, so far as my community is concerned, they will, as in the past, loyally co-operate with Government and their Indian brethren in their endeavours to march this country as expeditiously as possible along the road to Swaraj. With these words I oppose both the Resolution and the amendment.

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

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer (Madras: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, having listened to the speeches which have been made on this occasion, I rise to support the proposition which has been moved by my Honourable friend Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar. Briefly, my reasons are two-fold. In the first place, there is a reference in it to a Royal Commission which I consider a more suitable means of investigating the question. In the second place, it leaves the matter more or less in the hands of Government and allows them to take such steps as they may consider necessary and to adopt such measures as they may consider best for the purpose of advancing the wishes and interests of the country. Now, in supporting this motion, I desire to avoid controversial grounds as far as possible. Admittedly, the goal of all parties is the same; the objective is responsible government. The differences between the parties relate to the methods and to the procedure and perhaps also to the extent of the advance to be made. The Honourable the Home Member dwelt upon the difficulties presented by the Reform Act, and also upon the difficulties created by our internal conditions. I am not in the habit of brushing aside the arguments of our critics, and I shall therefore refer briefly to some of the arguments which have been addressed to the House by the Honourable the Home Member.

[Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer.]

Sir, the Honourable the Home Member somewhat meticulously criticised the terms of the Resolution of my Honourable friend Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar. He pointed out the distinction between responsible Government and full Dominion self-Government. I do not believe that that subtle distinction between full Dominion self-Government and responsible Government is necessary for the present purpose. I consider it unnecessary for various reasons. In the first place, I am not aware that full Dominion self-Government is a term of art. I know that self-Government and responsible Government are terms which are frequently used, and the term which is used in the Act is responsible Government and not full Dominion self-Government. Now, I wonder whether the framers of the Act ever contemplated any distinction between responsible Government—the words used in the Act—and the words full Dominion self-Government. Having regard to the fact that full Dominion self-Government is not, so far as we are aware, a term of art and having regard to the improbability of the framers of the Act having contemplated a distinction between the two, this criticism of the language of the Resolution was hardly called for. But I have another reason also for my view that that criticism was uncalled for. Though the language of the Resolution read by itself may be open to criticism, if it is read in the light of the Honourable Mr. Rangachariar's speech, there can be no doubt that what he aims at is not full Dominion self-Government in the sense defined by the Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey, but something less. In the speech of my Honourable friend Mr. Rangachariar he made several important, though temporary, reservations. He wished to exclude the subjects of defence and foreign and political affairs from the immediate scope of his Resolution. Seeing, therefore, that he did not intend to ask for full responsible government in regard to these matters, and that he intended to make exceptions and reservations in his request for self-Government, it seems to me that his request can hardly be described as a request for immediate full Dominion self-Government.

Now, Sir, I pass on from this criticism of the Honourable the Home Member's first point to the next point which he made, and that was that the principle underlying the scheme of the Reform Act was realisation of responsible government by successive stages. I will assume for the sake of argument that we are bound by that principle as embodied in the Reform Act. But the Reform Act has nowhere stated what is to be the number of the successive stages, whether it should be two, three, four or five. Now, we have already passed one stage and the stage which is now asked for by my Honourable friend and which admittedly according to the Home Member falls short of full Dominion self-Government, may well be regarded and described as an intermediate stage. He does not ask for responsible government in all affairs. He asks for responsible government immediately with certain important reservations. I see no reason, therefore, why the request of my Honourable friend cannot be regarded as an intermediate stage and as a sufficient compliance with the policy of the Reform Act as embodied in the Preamble.

Then, Sir, the Honourable the Home Member finds difficulty in understanding the attitude of those who did not repudiate the assumption that responsible government was to be realised by successive stages. He finds no difficulty in understanding the attitude of those who repudiated the Act from the very beginning, but only as regards those other persons who

were willing to accept the Act as a fair instalment of Reform and were willing to work it. They nowhere committed themselves to the position that responsible government was to be realised in any specific number of stages. What was the attitude of the Liberal Party? We were willing to work the Reforms as a fair instalment of progress and we were anxious to demonstrate our capacity for working them. But I am not aware that we have committed ourselves anywhere to any particular period of time or to any particular number of stages. The Liberal Party from the very beginning asked for a substantial measure of responsibility in the Central Government. More or less their demand has been practically the same as that which is now put forward. The Honourable the Home Member has referred to the demands which have been successively put forward by leading public men from time to time and has endeavoured to show that the demand that is now put forward is very much in excess of what they asked for. Now, if there is one thing which the history of political agitation shows, it is this that, if you do not grant demands at the time they are made, there is a tendency to raise successive demands which are made. Now, it is all very well to say that the demands which were made from time to time are less than those now asked for. But were these demands at any time conceded by the Government? If the demands made at any particular time had been conceded by the Government, I could understand the contention that there was something like a pact and that we were precluded from setting aside that pact or ignoring it and putting forward fresh demands in violation of the agreement which had been entered into. I cannot understand an argument that, while we are debarred from going beyond the demand made at any particular date, the Government, which did not grant the demands so put forward, are entitled to say that we are entitled to go so far only and no further."

Sir, the next point that was made by the Honourable the Leader of the House was that the first stage of the reforms has not been adequately tested yet, and that before it has been adequately tested, it would be unwise to build a superstructure upon it. Now, we have had an experience of three years in working the reforms. I grant that it is experience for a short period but what is the result of that experience? It is not necessary to do more than refer to the pronouncements of His Excellency the Viceroy and of the Honourable the Home Member himself. The Assembly has a record of creditable achievement behind it. I think we have shown a fair amount of capacity for working the reforms, to put it at the lowest. The difficulty that is pointed out by the Honourable the Home Member is that, though the first Assembly did work the reforms, a large section of the population held aloof from the Councils and did not show any disposition to work the Councils or work the reforms in co-operation with the Government. Now, that indicates rather an unwillingness on the part of those sections of the population to work the reforms than a want of capacity. The ground on which they have refused to work the reforms was that they did not go far enough in their opinion. But, if a genuine attempt is now made to make such an advance as is desired by public opinion or may be found to be really necessary, there is reason to hope that those sections of the population which have held aloof from the Councils will also come forward. Their non-co-operation implies not a defect of capacity but rather an inability to understand the extent to which the reforms could be worked as they are, and the extent to which they can be made use of for further advance. But, if their ground of objection is removed by a further advance, the chances are that they will

[Sir P. S. Sivaśwamy Aiyer.]

come forward to co-operate with the Government and take their proper place in the Councils. Now, Sir, my experience of the Government during the last three years has been, unlike what my friend Mr. Rangachariar stated, quite satisfactory. I have found evidence of a genuine desire to advance the cause of the reforms, a genuine desire to rely upon the support of the representatives of the people, a genuine sympathy with us and every solicitude to advance the interests of the country. Our trouble really has been not with the Government of India here but with the authorities of the Home Government, who interfere in season and out of season to turn down the policies which have been accepted by the Government of India themselves. I need only give one instance of the way in which the Home Government have turned down proposals emanating from this Government. Three years ago, we passed a series of Resolutions dealing with the subject of Army organisation. That the proposals were reasonable in themselves is a matter which hardly needs any elaborate argument to convince the House. The best proof of their reasonableness was that the Government of India were themselves willing to accept our Resolutions and they were all carried with the concurrence of the Government of India. And yet, when they went up to the Imperial Government, most of them were turned down, and we have had very unsatisfactory proposals put forward instead, such as the scheme for the Indianisation of 8 units. We have found no inclination on the part of the Home Government to give effect to the policy of Indianisation accepted by the Government of India and to give proof of the sincerity of the intentions of the British Government. If anything has contributed towards the profound distrust of the intentions of Government which prevails in this country, it is, I think, their policy with regard to the organisation of the Army.

Now, Sir, my Honourable friend Sir Malcolm Hailey in referring to Mr. Rangachariar's speech and the observations he made with regard to the working of the reforms said:

"I first thought when he spoke of the work that we had done together, that he was going to explain his demand in a manner entirely flattering to us; that we had progressed so far together in the last three years on the path of reform that we had now proved that immediate Dominion self-status was feasible and could safely be granted. But, as he proceeded, I realized that that assumption was too flattering."

I am going to make that assumption, not merely for the sake of argument. I state it in all sincerity that the co-operation of the Government has been so far quite sincere. We have got on together so well that I make the request which he was expecting on the strength of that assumption.

Now, Sir, I will only refer to one or two other matters which were dealt with by the Honourable the Home Member. He referred to four problems. I am not going to deal with all these four problems for the simple reason that he himself admitted that they were not insoluble or insurmountable. I do not propose to deal with the problem of the Indian States nor do I propose to deal with the problem of the social backwardness of the people here. But with regard to the problem of the Army. I have only to observe this, that so far as my reading of Colonial history goes, none of the Colonies was in a position to assume its defence at the time when a self-governing status was granted to it. For many years, the Colonies were not even able to pay for their defence. It was the Home Government that had to contribute towards the military expenditure of the Colonies. We, on the other hand, have from the beginning paid for

our Army. We have not merely paid for our Army, but we have raised our troops. We have raised and maintained our Indian troops and we have also maintained the British troops and paid for them. We have gone further than the Colonies have done in the matter of undertaking our defence. No doubt, Sir Malcolm Hailey is right in saying that full Dominion self-government implies the capacity to undertake the defence, not merely by paying for it but also by undertaking its officering and administration. But that was not a condition which was insisted upon in the case of any of the Colonies. So far as defence against internal disturbances was concerned, that no doubt was a condition which was pointed out to the Colonies as essential some years after they were granted their self-governing status. But so far as defence against external aggression was concerned, I am not aware that the duty has been laid upon them even now. As regards naval defence, the obligation has not been laid upon them. As a matter of fact, in Australia they have raised a fleet of their own for purposes of defence, and, God willing, if the Government is prepared to pursue a liberal policy towards India, we shall also be quite willing to shoulder our burdens in this matter. I am sure that we shall also be prepared to make a start in our own humble way towards the defence of India by water. We are prepared not merely to shoulder our own defence but we shall also be prepared to go to the help of the Imperial Government in case of necessity in such measure as our humble resources and capacity may permit.

Then, Sir, with regard to the problem of minorities, I must confess that it is by far the most formidable obstacle in our way and that it is a very serious problem. I do not believe that we gain anything by ignoring that problem or by pretending that it does not exist. Let us frankly confess that it does exist and that our efforts must be directed to removing the discords which now divide one community from another and which must considerably interfere with our full national development. It is for that purpose that I consider it necessary that there should be some suitable machinery, not merely for ascertaining the wishes of those who are present here, but for ascertaining the wishes of all sections of the community and of arriving at some solution which may be acceptable to all sections of the community. If we are able to arrive at some understanding between ourselves before the investigating machinery comes into existence here, so much the better. But it is an obstacle and a problem which has to be faced and cannot possibly be ignored.

It is not necessary for me, Sir, to refer to the other points which were taken by the Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey. I should only like to address a few observations on grounds of policy. Representative government has always been recognised as a stepping stone to responsible government—as a transitional stage in constitutional evolution. Whether responsible government is going to be reached to-morrow or a few years hence, it is all the same inevitable. Now, if it is inevitable, why prolong the agony of travail? Why should we not put an end to all the bitterness of spirit that has now been created in the land? Why should we not put an end to the feeling of profound distrust which I say has been created in the minds of the people, no matter by whom, no matter whether it is justified or not? There is the fact. I have no doubt of the existence of this feeling of profound and universal distrust. Wherever you may go, whatever you may say in defence of the actions of Government and the rectitude of their motives and of the genuineness of their desire for the advancement of this country, nobody is willing to

[Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer.]

accept your statements or your arguments. Here, day by day, the moral foundation upon which all Government must rest are being sapped, sapped I think not by the acts of Government but by other causes. Whether those other influences are proper or improper, it is not necessary for us to inquire into now. But what I do say is that it is a most unwholesome state of things that there should be this feeling of distrust abroad, that there should be no desire on the part of the people to support the authority of the Government. That is a state of things which bodes no good, and, if anything could be done to put an end to that state of things, so much the better for all concerned. Let me add one more observation. Now, Sir, the feeling of bitterness of spirit to which I have referred, the animosity against Government has unfortunately a tendency to spread not merely to the Government but also to the English race and to English institutions. I am not sure whether the feeling of hostility even to English hospitals, inculcated by some non-co-operators, is not to a large extent due to political considerations and feelings. If there is one thing which I value more than anything else as an important factor for the regeneration of this country, it is the British connection. I value the co-operation of English people. I value their collaboration with us in the political sphere, in the economic sphere. I value the experience, the skill, the administrative knowledge, and the business knowledge, of Englishmen, and if our country is to be properly developed in the economic sphere it will certainly require the aid of British capital. I value not merely these things, but I value also the English institutions, political, judicial and administrative. I value English culture. There is a great danger of a feeling of antipathy being created by some irrational process of association of ideas not merely to the Government which has been described in terms to which I need not now refer, but which are well known, but to all the other institutions, to the western culture to which we are ourselves so much indebted and to the presence and co-operation of Englishmen. This I regard as the most serious danger arising out of the present situation. I would, therefore, entreat Government to convey the wishes of the Assembly for a further advance to the Imperial Government and take whatever steps may be necessary for the purpose of securing the end we all have in view.

Now, let me turn to my friends on the other side. The question now is, what is the best method of achieving the end in view? Is it a Royal Commission, is it a Committee, or is it a round table conference? I am afraid that a round table conference will not be able to solve all these questions and also that the result of its deliberations is not likely to prove acceptable to the British Parliament. There are only two ways in which we can achieve self-government. One is by persuasion of the British nation and the other is by coercion. We are all agreed that violent revolution is absolutely out of the question. But I have no doubt that many of my friends believe that without going to the verge of a violent revolution there is this process of obstruction, which is no doubt constitutional under particular conditions but with regard to the constitutionality of which I do not wish to say anything at present. Many of you believe that this process of obstruction is likely to achieve our end. Now, I do not believe that this process of obstruction, or paralysis of Government will at all help us towards the object we have in view. Now, let us foreshadow what is to happen. We shall obstruct legislation and administration, and cut off supplies and His Excellency the Governor General

will be obliged to carry on the administration by certification or restoration. Then the agitators will go abroad and sow the wind. If obstruction is lawful and constitutional, certification and restoration are equally lawful and equally constitutional. Under certain conditions, where you have responsible government, obstruction is perfectly proper as a part of the game, but where we have still to get our full responsible government, where we have to recognise the fact that the matter is in the hands of the British nation, any policy of obstruction can only lead to one result and will give a tremendous set-back to our progress. The result of any such policy will be to completely alienate our friends in England. Some of you have no doubt spoken in very pessimistic terms about our friends in England. The British nation has been described as a will o' the wisp. I grant that it is not an easy thing to reach the British nation. But at the same time I have sufficient faith in the British nation and its sturdy sense of justice. It may take a little time to reach the heart of the British nation, but I for one believe that, if you only succeed in appealing to the British nation, you are sure to obtain justice and reach the goal you want. You will find a thrill of sympathy, you will find a responsive echo, in the breasts of all liberty-loving Englishmen. It may be that there are vested interests which may prevent particular Englishmen taking as liberal a view as they ought to. But I do not believe that any such sectional interests, any such vested interests, will influence the British nation in coming to a decision in our favour. Let me just refer to the message which was published in the papers a short time ago from the present Premier. If there is one party in England which is in sympathy with Indian aspirations more than any other, I believe it is the Labour Party. It is far more so than the Liberal Party and yet what is the advice given by the present Premier—to believe in constitutional methods only and not to resort to active force or passive force or anything else, by whatever name you may call it, which will have the effect of bringing the machinery of the Government to a standstill. Now by adopting a policy of obstruction or by adopting a policy of distrust in the English Government, we should be simply alienating our friends in England and I appeal to you all not to alienate our friends and well-wishers, but to put your trust in the Labour Party, to give them the opportunity of showing their good-will to us. Let us not make ourselves the despair and the enigma of our friends. It is only by appealing to the good sense of the British nation, by appealing to the love of justice and to the sympathy of the parties in England, that we shall be able to gain the day. The Labour Party itself has had to undergo a tremendous struggle to attain its present position. Twenty-five years ago the Labour Party was practically non-existent and yet we find that the Labour Party has risen to a position of influence and is in office in England. Now, is it unreasonable to expect of a party which has struggled with the most unfavourable conditions, a party which has been so long in the political wilderness not in the sense in which members here may understand it but in another sense, that it will sympathise with the aspirations of this country? I think it will be the greatest mistake that we can commit that, so soon after the Labour Party has come into power, we should try to hustle them immediately into a declaration. The only possible reply that they can give must be the more or less stereotyped official reply, namely, that they have not had time to make up their minds or adhere to what has been laid down by their predecessors. We must give them plenty of time if the Labour Party have to make up their minds. They have not hitherto had the responsibility of coming to a decision. A few days ago I saw an account in one of the papers of how after Lord

[Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer.]

Morley came into power an attempt was made to undo the partition of Bengal and, though the partition of Bengal was eventually cancelled in an indirect manner, the only result of a premature attempt to hustle the Government into a declaration of its policy was a pronouncement that it was a settled fact. Of course we know that there are no settled facts in politics. People may talk of settled facts but all the same we know that settled facts have soon a way of getting unsettled.

The only other point to which I wish to advert is this. What is the most suitable machinery for achieving the end we have in view? Is it a round table conference or a Committee as proposed by Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal or a Royal Commission? Parliament has committed itself to the position in the Statute which was passed with the concurrence of all parties that it would be the judge of the successive stages by which responsible government was to be reached and of the measure of responsible government which was to be granted, and that the whole decision should be in its hands. We may or may not accept that declaration as binding. I do not say that we should. I think we are justified in putting forward a demand for an advance at the present stage but considering the fact that the Statute has been passed with the concurrence of all parties in Parliament, is it not desirable that you should provide some machinery which would prove acceptable to them, not offensive to their *amour propre*? If you propose a Royal Commission, it is something in the nature of the machinery which they themselves contemplate for the purpose of investigating the facts and as a preliminary to a further advance. You must provide a dignified passage to a graceful concession. If you propose a Royal Commission, it will take evidence on all sides, ascertain the wishes of the people and make its recommendations with regard to the solution of the problems. The recommendations, you may be sure, will be sympathetically examined by the Government. I know the objections which are entertained to the proposal of a Royal Commission. It is said that the proceedings of a Royal Commission will be dilatory, that it may be composed of die-hards in England, reactionaries both in England and in this country, and that the conclusions may not be altogether favourable to us. But if there are reactionaries, if there are interests which consider themselves in danger, there is no use in ignoring the existence of those interests. We can have nothing to hide from the Royal Commission. Whatever agreement we may reach by preliminary understandings, whatever agreement may be regarded as binding upon the different communities, we shall be in a position to put forward before the Royal Commission something like the Lucknow pact which was put forward before the Montagu-Chelmsford deputation and was accepted by them as a reasonable basis for their proposals. If there are these divergent interests which have to be reconciled, it is much better that all these interests should be given an opportunity of representing their case. If we really believe that we have got a strong case, and that we are fairly unanimous and united in our wish for a further advance, there is nothing to be afraid of. If, on the other hand, there are flaws in our case, if there are holes which we cannot patch up or cover, then there may be cause for apprehension; but, if that is so, how can we expect to make any advance? I think that the machinery of a Royal Commission with its power to take evidence from all quarters will be the one which will be most acceptable to Parliament, and, when I make this observation, let me not be understood as saying anything in derogation of that principle of self-determination which we all accept. You may abide by the principle of self-determination and I do not wish to say anything against it. It is a

sacred principle and I grant that every nation has a right to determine for itself the form of government best suited to it. But it does not follow from that that we can dispense with the necessity of proving our case or that we can dispense with the necessity of a resort to such machinery as alone is likely to be acceptable to the British nation and Parliament. "I submit it will be a far easier method of reaching the goal than anything else. You may think that the other course offers prospects of a short cut but my experience has been that the short cuts are often the hardest cuts. Therefore let us not discard the machinery of a Royal Commission, or such other method as the Government, in their superior knowledge of the needs of the situation and of the methods available for solving this question, may prefer. Personally I should express my preference for a Royal Commission, (*A Voice*: "A departmental inquiry?"). I do not believe a departmental inquiry will afford any satisfaction. The Committee suggested by my friend, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, may perhaps offer some solution. But I do not know whether a Committee appointed in the manner suggested will have the opportunity of taking the evidence of all parties and ascertaining what it is that they really want, and whether it would inspire that feeling of mutual trust and confidence which it is essential to secure for national unity and advance. I think, Sir, that of the various courses which have been suggested, the course which was put forward in the Honourable Mr. Rangachariar's proposition is the most expedient. But of course it is for the House to make up its mind, if it has not already made up its mind, in favour of any particular course. Let me only say a word more, I will ask you to believe me when I say that I am as anxious as the youngest of you to reach the promised land in my lifetime and in the narrowing span of my life.

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

Mr. President: Order, order. Mr. Alimuzzaman Chowdhry.

Mr. Alimuzzaman Chowdhry (Dacca Division: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I feel I will be wanting in my duty to my constituents and to myself, if I do not intervene in this debate and express my opinion, which I make bold to say is shared by a large section of my community, on the momentous question that is awaiting decision in this House.

I have not the eloquence of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the elegance and diction of Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the vehemence of Mr. Patel or the shrewd legal subtlety of Pandit Motilal Nehru, and I crave the indulgence of this House to bear with me for a little while, as I place before it a few plain facts in plain language.

At the very outset I might say that I am as anxious and eager to have Swaraj in this country as anybody else in this House. I have been a humble pall-bearer in the Congress organisation of old, and have contributed my humble bit, in our attempt to secure self-government for this country, and am at the present moment prepared to work for the same, on proper lines and practical methods. I am afraid, Sir, that the methods which our friends of the Swarajist and the Nationalist parties have adopted, are neither proper nor practical.

From the speeches that I have heard, I find that those of our friends who support the Resolution in one form or another, want responsible self-government for this country, and that, immediately. I would respectfully ask my Colleagues to put their hands on their hearts and to say if our shoulders are strong enough to bear that responsibility. We may get the

[Mr. Alimuzzaman Chowdhry.]

rights as a gift from the British Cabinet, but are we prepared and in a position to discharge the duties to the best advantage of our country and our countrymen? For an answer to these questions, we will have to consider the state of affairs of this country.

If we want Swaraj, we must face the facts as they stand, and not shut our eyes to them. Sir, there can be no denying the truth that there are strong communal differences in this country, and unless these differences are made up on a sound and permanent basis, we cannot get Swaraj, and, even if we get it, we cannot enjoy it long. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya admits the existence of these differences, but he says we ourselves can settle them; so we can, if we apply ourselves to the task in right earnest. Our differences cannot be settled, by speeches and harangues by shouting Hindu-Muslim unity as a cult, by pacts or written and verbal understandings, but by creating confidence, trust and tolerance amongst the people, and by establishing friendly feelings, between the various communities in the land and by a change of heart; and I want to know, if any attempt has been made in this direction.

True it is that some prominent leaders have made eloquent appeals on public platforms, but I want to know if these appeals have received any response from the public, and if in practical life we find any effect or any evidence of the existence of mutual good feelings and tolerance. On the other hand, the situation is growing worse every day. Whenever there is any Hindu-Muslim dispute, our leaders declare that it is the work of a misguided few and the work of irresponsible people. In the first place I want to impress on this House, that the irresponsible people form the bulk of the population in all countries, and that it is the irresponsible people who count, and it is to these irresponsible people to whom our friends want to entrust the destinies of this country. Let me now examine the conduct of our leaders.

Reference was made in this House to Swami Shraddhanand's request for a European Magistrate at Saharanpur. Our friends will say that he was wrong, and that no responsible Leader of the Hindu community approved of his conduct. I want to know which responsible leader condemned his action in public and if any Hindu newspaper condemned it in its columns. Is it not a fact that the Swamiji received an ovation at Delhi immediately after that? Is he not to-day in the front rank of our Leaders? Was he not present the other day at Delhi at a fracas between Hindus and Mussalmans?

The Muhammadan Minister of the Punjab, a gentleman who became unpopular among his co-religionists for joining the Hindus in the Congress in olden days, and who has worked whole heartedly for the national cause, incurred the displeasure of his Hindu countrymen by making a few Muhammadan appointments. I might mention here that he dared not give them their legitimate share, but only attempted to do them a little left handed justice, and that in a province where the Muhammadans are in an absolute majority. And what was the result? There was a howl and cry of disapprobation and condemnation in the irresponsible Hindu press, not only in the Punjab but all over the country. The irresponsible Hindu Members of the Punjab Legislative Council took the unusual and extraordinary step of approaching His Excellency the Governor with a prayer, or shall I say, a demand, for his removal from the office. Not a word of condemnation was uttered against them. While speaking of the Punjab, I am reminded of the incidents of some local importance in that province.

At Multan, a Muhammadan who, by the by, was a Congressman, was elected chairman of the local municipality, and immediately on his election, the Hindu members of the Corporation walked out and did their level best to upset the election: and I think the same thing happened at Lahore and Jullundur. (*Lala Hans Raj*: "No, not at Jullundur; I come from Jullundur.") How did our Leaders face the situation? Did they condemn the conduct of these men? On the other hand, the Nationalist press, as they call themselves, supported these recalcitrant members of the municipalities.

I would like this House to be enlightened as to what was the attitude of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to the Jehangirabad amendment, to the local self-government Bills of his own province, which gave the Mussalmans some voice in the administration of their local affairs: and what was the attitude of the Nationalist press over all these questions?

In my own province, the Hindu element in the Government and the Legislature wanted to deny the Mussalmans of the capital city proper representation on the municipal corporation, and it was only through the intervention of non-official Europeans that a compromise of a temporary character was brought about. Is it not a fact that an attempt was further made even to stop cow killing in the city by Legislative measures? In Bengal, Sir, the cow question figured prominently in some election manifestoes, issued to non-Muhammadan constituencies. These are facts, Sir, which do not breed and inspire confidence and trust and they do not show much tolerance and good will between Hindus and Muhammadans.

The Mussalmans, Sir, have very little share in the administration of this country, and they have been deliberately denied their due and proper share in the public services, and for this the Government is responsible. They found it convenient to ignore and neglect our claims. The old and often told plea of efficiency is put forward; it does not at all hold water. True it is, that the number of educated Mussalmans is comparatively small, but the number is more than enough to meet the demand, and to supply the necessary quota of the Muhammadan element in the administration, without any loss of efficiency. The fact is, the Government is carried on by a machinery, in the working of which the Hindu element has a preponderating influence. Our Hindu fellow countrymen have the shrewdness to measure the mentality of our rulers, and know how best to play their cards, whereas the Mussalmans are content to live in hopes of fair play and justice.

It was said, Sir, that we get our opinions manufactured for us for an anna or less, but the people who control the factories are not Mussalmans, and their voice is seldom heard. The Muslim press is insignificant and negligible. I admit, Sir, that the fault is our own. The Mussalmans in this country, at the present day, are a disorganised body. The Mussalman organisations that were brought into existence by thoughtful Leaders of the community, to watch the interests and advance the cause of the Mussalmans in this country, have either ceased to exist, or have been merged into other organisations.

While the Muhammadan organisations collapsed or were allowed to die, and the Congress, as it is said, represents all communities and interests, may I know for what use or advantage were the Hindu Mahashaba and the Shangaton brought into existence? Certainly to protect the Hindu community and to advance its cause. To protect the Hindus from whom? If it were from the European bureaucracy, then united action was necessary, and not a separatist movement. Naturally, the aims of the associations

[Mr. Alimuzzaman Chowdhry.]

must be to protect it against other communities in India. I would respectfully remind Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya of his eloquent and vehement speech at the Hindu Mahashaba at Benares in August last. May I ask if these things are likely to inspire confidence and trust?

I mention these facts, not in anger but in sorrow, and to show that at the present moment we are in a weak and helpless position, and naturally we feel a little nervousness and diffidence, when we think of entering into partnership with a strong community without proper safeguards and limitations; and when we think of placing our destinies in the hands of a majority, who have, as a whole, not yet shown any signs of tolerance or respect for the feelings, sentiments and interests of other people. If our Hindu countrymen are in earnest and want self-government for this country, the best way of securing it is to lend a helping hand to the Muhammadans in their attempt to provide education for the people and to secure their proper share in the administration of the country. If this is done, the Muhammadans will very soon be in a position to march hand in hand, and shoulder to shoulder, with their Hindu compatriots without hesitation, fear or apprehension.

Sir, it is proposed by the amendment of Pandit Motilal Nehru to have a round table conference; if Indian opinion has to be ascertained, the best means of doing so is to consult the Legislature itself. In the last Assembly the non-co-operators did not come in, and therefore it could not have been said to represent all shades of opinion; and a round table conference in 1921 was necessary for ascertaining their opinion and for coming to an understanding with them. To-day, happily, all shades of opinions are represented in this House and I submit, Sir, that this House is the best representative round table gathering that the Government can secure.

Sir, Swaraj is now the universal cry in this country; it is sung in chorus throughout the length and breadth of this land. May I know if Swaraj has ever been defined; at least a great Leader in my part of the country has said that Swaraj is Swaraj and it admits of no definition. (*An Honourable Member*: "Who said that?") Mr. C. R. Das. May I ask, do the people understand what is meant by it? Have they been told what form of Government it is proposed to establish? If the masses knew the details, I am afraid their verdict would not have been so favourable as it is. The word Swaraj is very fascinating and captures the imagination of the people. It was first used by the veteran leader of revered memory, the late Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, at the Calcutta Congress of 1906, when the Leaders of to-day did not care to take part in the political agitation, and engaged themselves in more profitable pursuits. Our people have been told that Swaraj will bring in the millennium, hence the chorus of approval.

Mr. Rangachariar, in the magnificent speech with which he moved his Resolution, said that his success at the polls was secured by a statement in his manifesto that he would fight for Swaraj, and he takes it as the verdict of his constituents. I beg to differ from him. He was returned by an overwhelming majority, because he had a brilliant record of services in this Assembly; he was the foremost leader of the Bar in Madras; and by his character and conduct, he commanded the trust and confidence of the people. His is a great personality, and the electorate, the City of Madras, was intelligent and thoughtful, and did not consist of mill hands. Popular elections are new to this country and are fought and won, not

on any issue but by organisations and canvassing machinery; and the party that commands the strongest machinery is bound to succeed. I agree with Pandit Motilal Nehru that there is discontent and unrest rampant in the land, but it is not due to the fact that people are crying for political power.

Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal in an unconscious moment said the other day, that his constituents are not interested in high politics, and what is true of the city of Calcutta, which was once the centre of political agitations, is true in a far greater measure of other constituencies in the land. The discontent and unrest is due to economic conditions and other causes; it is accentuated by the feeling of hatred preached from the housetops.

Mr. Rangachariar regretted that the intelligentsia took no interest in the various matters affecting the details of the administration. We all regret it. The proper course for our Leaders would be to direct their attention to these matters and to remove their grievances. It would be far more profitable than spending our energies in heroics. The Government should, in their turn, do everything in their power to improve the economic condition of the people; and I would appeal to my countrymen to bring about a calm atmosphere, which is necessary for the consideration of vital questions affecting the people and solving the problems which are awaiting solution. Any further advance in the reforms is not likely to bring about that state of affairs. If it is thought that it will silence the die-hards, or that section of the people to whom agitation is the breath of life, it is a mistake. They do not like a peaceful and calm atmosphere, and will not allow it to exist, because then Othello's occupation will be gone.

A word to my co-religionists and I have done. There was a time, when the Muhammadans supported the Government in all their measures and actions, good, bad or indifferent, and opposed everything that the Hindus proposed. Like Cicero they would not have anything to do with a movement started by others. They had blind confidence in the Government, and entire trust in its justice, strength and fairness. They have paid the penalty for their neglect and apathy in public matters. The modification of the partition of Bengal, and the uncompromising and the unfriendly attitude of Mr. Lloyd George's Cabinet on the Turkish question gave them a rude shock and like Rip Van Winkle, they woke up and found themselves in the wilderness. The table was turned upside down and to-day we find that the community is prepared blindly to follow their Hindu compatriots, and oppose everything emanating from the Government. They were wrong in the former policy and they are wrong in the policy they are adopting now, and I am afraid they will have to pay the penalty for the same again; and this time it is likely to be more severe.

The Mussalmans in this country are in a minority, less advanced and poor; their safety lies in cohesion, independent organisation, independent thought and independent action. They have to judge every question on its merits and consider how it affects the interests of the community, and their actions should be guided accordingly. It will be false and foolish generosity to overlook communal interests. We are Mussalmans first and Indians afterwards. We have to organise ourselves and make our position felt in the public life of our country. It would be suicidal on our part to sit in the back benches of the Government, and follow their policy or their dictates or walk about the fringe of one party or another in this House or in the country. It is no use going about astray and allowing ourselves to be flirted with by one side or the other. We have to make the Government, and our Hindu compatriots, understand, that we can think and act

[Mr. Alimuzzaman Chowdhry.]

for ourselves, and that we are a community to be reckoned with. Unless this is done, I am afraid the community is doomed, and its future will be gloomy and disaster is staring it in the face.

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty (Salem and Coimbatore *cum* North Arcot: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I do not know if my Honourable friend, Sir Basil Blackett, whom I am sorry I do not see here, will recognise that I am one of those who are sobered by their morning coats; but I may assure him that whatever sobriety is lacking in me, in spite of the morning coat, has been amply supplied by some of the speeches to which I have listened to-day in this House. It has been recognised on all hands that the beginnings of responsible Government in India were first laid by the famous pronouncement of August 1917, and that for the first time in the history of the British connection with India it was in 1917 that His Majesty's Government declared that the aim of their rule in India was the ultimate realisation of responsible Government in this country. In carrying out this great objective the famous Government of India Act, 1919, was enacted; and, if I am to describe that Act, I cannot do better than borrow the simile which was employed by my Honourable friend, Mr. Moir, the other day, the simile of the children drawing a picture of a dragon and, to make it explicit, their having to write under the picture "this is a dragon." Sir, to realise that there is any responsible Government at all given by the Government of India Act of 1919, it has to be written underneath it "This Act gives responsible Government to India." Unless that is written, from a perusal of the provisions of the Act it would be very difficult for any one to realise what responsibility has been given to this country under that Act. In all discussions about the grant of responsible Government to India, the objections of all those friendly critics have been the time-honoured arguments that the institutions of democracy are unknown to the Eastern races; as if representative institutions were foreign to the genius of the Indian people. But in the line of argument adopted by my Honourable friend, Sir Malcolm Hailey, the other day I was glad to find that he had not chosen to adopt this worn-out argument; he has altogether cut out a new path and given us certain practical objections upon which I am prepared directly to join issues with him.

In the first place, Sir, as he very rightly pointed out the other day, the question of provincial autonomy is a very minor point in our discussion to-day. What we are asking for is not merely a revision of the Government of India Act with a view to transfer some more subjects to the Ministers in the provinces, but the overhauling of the whole machinery of Government which will introduce in the Central Government a substantial element of responsibility. Sir, it is needless for me to remind Honourable Members of this House that even at the time when the Government of India Bill was being discussed by the public in this country and when the Joint Parliamentary Committee took evidence on it, responsible public opinion in India emphatically asserted that it was absolutely no use trying to establish an element of responsibility in the provinces while keeping autocracy in the Central Legislature here. This view was emphatically brought home to those who were responsible for this Government of India Act, but, unfortunately for us, our arguments and contentions were not listened to. In the objection which my Honourable friend, Sir Malcolm Hailey, took to the Resolution, he assumed, Sir, that we were asking for full Dominion status immediately, and it was on that assumption that the whole of his speech and all his objections were based.

Now, I say here that neither the Resolution, as framed by my Honourable friend, Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar, nor the amendment to it, moved by my Honourable friend, Pandit Motilal Nehru, contemplates the establishment of full responsible Government immediately in India. The essence of our demand to-day may be said to be two-fold. In the first place, whatever might be the future of the Indian constitution, we say that the people of India should have a voice in determining what their constitution shall be. It may be, Sir, that the British Parliament may manufacture a very good constitution for us, but it may be necessary for us to Indianise the western democracy before we swallow it; so that, applying the principle of self-determination, what we ask for is that the people of India shall have the predominant voice in saying what shall be the future constitution. Secondly, Sir, what we want is an Act which will establish full responsible Government, if you please, by successive stages, but having those successive stages definitely marked in the Act itself. Let us not be let in the air, and let us not be asked to go on our knees before the British Parliament once in a decade begging for a revision of the constitution that then exists and asking for a further grant of reforms. What we ask for is, give us an Act which, though it may not give full responsible Government immediately, will nevertheless contain within itself all the stages ultimately leading to that goal which we all have in view and which the British Parliament has recognised.

Sir, in talking about this Resolution, my Honourable friend the Home Member drew a nice distinction between Dominion status and responsible self-government. He said that Dominion status might be a corollary to the Government of India Act but it was not implied in the Preamble of that Act. If what my Honourable friend meant was that Dominion status was incompatible with the sovereignty of the British Parliament, then I can only ask him to revise his constitutional law. Dominion status, as understood in the British constitution and in the constitution of the Dominions, does not repudiate the ultimate sovereignty of the British Parliament, and I do not know, Sir, what distinction he was drawing when he said that Dominion-status might be a corollary to, but was not implied in, the Government of India Act. If he has any doubts on that point, I should only ask him to refer to the Proclamation of His Majesty the King-Emperor in which he said "under the guidance of Almighty God India may be led to greater prosperity and contentment and may grow to the fullness of political freedom". Sir, it is that fullness of political freedom that we want, call it Dominion status or call it responsible Government, whatever you will. When once the Resolution has been understood in the restricted sense in which I have tried to interpret it, then I am sure, many of the arguments advanced by the Honourable the Home Member vanish.

He asked us to consider the question of the Ruling Princes and the defence of India. Yes, our relation with the Ruling Princes will be marked and defined in the new Act. It is repeatedly pointed out to us that, until we are prepared to defend our own country, we are not fit for self-government. At the same time, we are told that we have not yet reached a stage when we can take any share in managing the army administration of our country. This attitude of our critics will become explicable only when we realise the real significance of the Army in India. Sir, I maintain, and I would challenge the Honourable the Home Member to deny me if he can, that the Army in India is maintained not primarily for the defence of India but for the defence of the Empire.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: India.

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty: Well, Sir, the Honourable the Home Member has been giving to Members very uncomfortable speeches, and I will also give him something. This is what Mr. Ramsay MacDonald wrote in 1910:

"Nine-tenth of the charge of the Army in India is an Imperial charge. Canada, South Africa, and Australia should bear it as much as India. It is a piece of the most bitter cynicism to find the Imperial doors of our Colonies shut in the face of these poor people who bear such an inordinate share of the cost of Imperial maintenance and at whose expense these Dominions are protected from the fear of war. If £18 million of the army charges were met by the whole Empire, we might look the Indian taxpayer in the face as honest men, but at present we cannot".

This is what Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the gentleman who is now the Premier of Great Britain, wrote in 1910, and I ask the Honourable the Home Member whether, as an honest man, he can look the Indian taxpayer in the face to-day.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I can, Sir.

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty: He then told us, Sir, in any scheme for responsible Government, we must find out what European commerce will have to say and what the Civil services will have to say. I do not in the least deny the force of his contention; but may I ask, Sir, when the European commercial people invested their capital

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The Honourable Member will perhaps excuse me for interrupting him, but I must again point out that I did not say that we should ask them what they would have to say. What I said was that we should let them have clear notice before they invested more. These are two different things.

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty: Of course, they would know what we would have to say. We will not manufacture a constitution behind their backs. What I want to ask, Sir, in this contention about the interests of the European commerce, is, whether when the European commercial people invested their capital in India, anybody gave them an assurance or undertaking that India would ever be kept as a subject country, so that whenever the question of the revision of the constitution of India comes up, then come these people with vested interests and say that they must be allowed to have their say? The same question might be asked of the Civil Services. Is it one of the contracts of their service that they will be asked not to serve but to rule over the Indian people? The whole difficulty with the Indian Civil Service is this, that, as somebody pointed out, they are neither Indian, nor Civil, nor a Service. I for one will be the first to agree to the maxim that whatever form of Government we may have got, it is absolutely essential that we must have a well paid, efficient and contented Civil Service, but what I do contend, Sir, is that it must be a Service. What we object to is not the British Civil servant, but the British masters who are masquerading as servants. There the difficulty comes in. The members of the Civil service want the privileges of the servant and the rights of the master. These two things cannot co-exist, and, if men of the services are prepared to face this problem honestly, I do not see how any difficulty will rise.

The Honourable Member, Sir, also spoke about the interests of minorities which was very eloquently advocated by my Honourable friend Colonel Gidney. But he should pardon me if I say that in what Colonel Gidney said there was too much of sound and fury which signified nothing. He stood

up for his community, which I always thought was a very much favoured community in India.

Lieutenant-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney (Nominated: Anglo-Indians): You thought wrong then.

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty: Well, Sir, if it is not so, shall I tell
 4 P.M. him that the position which his community occupies is due to the fact that they would consider it degrading to call themselves Indians? They try to pose as our rulers and that is the difficulty with that community. And let me tell my Honourable friend, Colonel Gidney, and the members of his community, that, if they persist in this attitude, they are in very great danger of being disowned by the West and unclaimed by the East. Sir, whenever we ask for a new constitution, we are reminded of the interest of minorities. May I ask, when the new constitution was given to South Africa, what guarantee was given to the minorities—not merely to the minorities but even to some of the majorities there in South Africa? And, Sir, advocacy of the cause the minorities comes with a bad grace from people who have given the interests of majorities into the hands of minorities in Kenya. And, above, all, I emphatically repudiate the underlying implication involved in all this that the majority here in India will tyrannise over the minorities when they get power.

The Honourable the Home Member asked, do those social conditions exist which are necessary for political advancement? Allow me to tell him, Sir, that this is a very worn-out argument. Our firm conviction is that politically servile communities will always remain socially stagnant, and, if you want to wait to give us political freedom until the day when we will be socially perfect, you will have to wait till doomsday for that.

He said that the reforms must be tried, and my Honourable friend, Sir Campbell Rhodes, observed that the difficulty in the way of the reforms in Bengal was that the Members would not support the Ministers. My Honourable friend, Mr. Moir, from Madras spoke enthusiastically about the success of the reforms in Madras. Sir, I had the privilege of having been for the last three years a Member of the Madras Legislative Council. And, more than that, I had the rare privilege of being in the inner circles, as I was for some time the Council Secretary to one of the Ministers and I know that dyarchy has been a miserable failure in Madras. If I may be allowed to use a paradox, I might say that dyarchy has been successful in Madras because they have absolutely ignored dyarchy there. The conflict of loyalty which the Ministers have towards the Members on the one hand and the Executive Council of the Government on the other, places them sometimes in such an awkward situation that I have often wondered whether I would care to be a Minister in those circumstances. Sir, if you want further testimony of the fact as to how dyarchy has worked in Madras. I cannot do better than refer you to one of the greatest authorities in Madras, one who spent a whole lifetime in Government service and who now occupies the position of a Member of the Secretary of State's Council—I mean Sir P. Rajagopalachariar. When he laid down his office and when he thought he was free to speak more honestly, he said it was absolutely impossible to work dyarchy. He once remarked in a private conversation that, if you are allowed to practise this dyarchy till 1929, all the Members of the Provincial Council must be sent to the lunatic asylum.

Apart from the opinion of these authorities, Sir, the masses want a change. We who have come into contact with the masses of the people know what the masses want better than those sitting on the Treasury

[Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty.]

Benches. In those days when the intelligentsia of the country agitated for constitutional reforms, Government was in the habit of saying "the intelligentsia want it—only a microscopic minority of the people—but the masses are loyal at heart", and when the masses agitate to-day they say "it is only the rabble that agitate, the intellectual people are all right." Whatever it is, you have got in the country the phenomenon of non-co-operation. I am not here to make any apology for the non-co-operation programme. For good or for evil non-co-operation has come to stay in this country, so long as the originating causes continue to exist. But wise statesmanship, and that true British genius which recognise the inevitable, must find a solution for this problem. And what is the solution which Government has from time to time offered to this challenge of the people? It is the pompous declaration that Government will never be coerced; that they have got in their armoury weapons to meet any situation, violent or non-violent. Well, Sir, I for one am prepared to maintain that no Government worth the name must allow itself to be coerced by threats, but, Sir, if it is the declared policy of this Government never to be coerced by the forces of public opinion, then I might say on behalf of the Indian people as a whole that they are determined not to be coerced by repression.

My Honourable friend, Sir Campbell Rhodes, referred to the outbreak of anarchical crime in Bengal. Certainly, the recrudescence of anarchy in Bengal is portentous of a dangerous spirit. That dangerous spirit has come again because Government in their wisdom removed the one personality that could successfully divert the people from thoughts of crime and violence,—and that is the personality of Mahatma Gandhi. I do not know, Sir, whether my Honourable friend, the Home Member, will challenge this statement. If he does, I will give him something. It is an extract from the deliberate opinion of one of their officers, a gentleman with imagination, whom we have the pleasure to have in our midst to-day—I mean my Honourable friend, Professor Rushbrook-Williams. In his book "India in 1921-22" this passage occurs:

"During the year 1921 anarchical crime had practically ceased. This party had been largely captured by the idealism of Mr. Gandhi's movement."

I wish the Government of India had as much imagination as Professor Rushbrook-Williams. Sir, I am not one of those who, like my Honourable friend, Mr. Patel, question the *bona fides* of Government. I quite recognise their *bona fides*. I heartily reciprocate the noble sentiments contained in the concluding words of my Honourable friend, Sir Malcolm Hailey, that they too like all of us are bent upon the same goal, that, if the route they have chosen to reach that goal is circuitous and long, it is because they fear the morasses and the pits that lie on their path. But here, Sir, are a people filled with hope, filled with enthusiasm. If you tell them their hopes are dupes, I might tell you your fears may be liars. The morasses and pits that you imagine on the roadside may after all be in your imagination. Here are men filled with enthusiasm and hope, enthusiasm and hope not merely for the destiny of India but for the destiny of something greater, that great commonwealth to which you and I belong. The generation of ardent patriots that preceded us, the generation of the Gokhales and the Mehtas, worked in the melancholy hope that they could serve their country only by their failures. Perhaps it is our proud privilege to serve our country by our success. Help us in our endeavours lest it go down in history that in the hour of its greatest trial Britain failed to captivate the enthusiasm of a great people!

Maulvi Muhammad Yukub (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I rise to dissociate myself and my community from what has fallen from the lips of Chowdhry Alimuzzaman and the two nominated Muhammadan Members, Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum and Maulvi Abul Kasem, and I assure this House that we Muhammadans are second to none in the effort to secure the freedom of our motherland. The unwisdom of those who withhold participation in the movement for concerted effort cannot be condemned in too strong language. No doubt, Sir, we are anxious to establish our importance and secure our privileges, but that can only be done by means of a mutual pact, by means of a round table conference, and, having this fact in view, we heartily support the other communities for the furtherance of the common cause.

Sir, I do not share the fears and suspicions of those who say, that if a sort of democracy is established in India, the Muhammadans or the other minor communities will suffer. I think, Sir, that by accepting the amendment of the Honourable Pandit Motilal Nehru, we are not in any way surrendering our rights. We are not placing ourselves at the mercy of the majority community.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum (North-West Frontier Province: Nominated Non-Official): Remember the Indians in South Africa, please.

Maulvi Muhammad Yukub: Whose doing is it, Sir? Who is not giving them their rights? Is it not the same power that is withholding their rights from the Indians? We, on the other hand, are extracting a solemn pledge from the majority community, we are obtaining a promise from them, which is incorporated in the amendment of the Honourable Pandit Motilal Nehru, that when a constitution for responsible government in India is drawn up, the interests and rights of the minor communities will be safeguarded. Sir, India is bound to get Swaraj sooner or later; Time and tide wait for no community or no individual, and even if the un-Mussalman-like Mussalmans of India try to throw stumbling blocks on the road to Swaraj, they will not succeed in stopping the march of other communities. But, Sir, when Swaraj comes, what will be our position? It would be simply ignoble and insecure.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: Remember the Indians in South Africa, please.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: I will come to it. I do not really understand what the Honourable Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum means by South Africa.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: Just one word, Sir. May I explain my meaning to the Honourable Member? Our position in India as against the majority community will be just like the position of the Indians in South Africa and Kenya against the majority there. That will be the exact position. The majority in India will not then hear your voice.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Well, Sir, I have just told the House that in the principal Resolution we are not entering into details, but are putting forward our demand in principle, we have got that safeguard. We have got that handle in the amendment of Pandit Motilal Nehru, which says, "with due regard to the rights and interests of important minorities"

[Maulvi Muhammad Yakub.]

So, there is no fear of our rights. As I have just explained, when the constitution is being drawn up at the Round Table or anywhere else, we will see that our rights are safeguarded and that adequate and effective representation is secured for the Muhammadans on all the controlling bodies.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: What about the signs of suspicion, please?

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: I would have come to it later. I say that a great deal of suspicion and distrust is prevailing in the minds of certain members of my community as against the other communities. Partially it is correct. But then what is the reason of all this distrust and petty jealousy? This is due to our having been kept in a state of slavery and subjugation for more than 150 years. Suspicion and distrust are created in the minds of the people when nobler and higher aspirations are frustrated. As soon as we in India get responsible government, then you will find that we will have ample room for our aspirations. There will be a time when even an humble Indian can aspire to become the President of the Indian Republic or whatever it may be. Then you will find that there will be no room for petty jealousies and prejudices. There are very few open doors for the Indians to obtain salaried posts or honorary posts and therefore these petty jealousies crop up.

Maulvi Abul Kasem (Bengal: Nominated Non-Official): What was your opinion when you issued the circular against the Lucknow pact?

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: I will come to that, Sir. My friend Maulvi Abul Kasem—I am so glad to find him here—in the beginning of his speech he stated—and it was partially true—that he was representing nobody in this House but that he was expressing his own views. Sir, I feel very diffident in accepting the last portion, namely, that he was giving expression to his own views. If he were giving expression to his own views, to-day he would have been fighting with us for the freedom of our motherland, as some years ago he was fighting on the platform of the All-India Muslim League and the Indian National Congress. But, Sir, we have of course to respect the views of our electors, and here we find Maulvi Abul Kasem in that state. I can very well understand the Indians who say that they never want Swaraj and that they will always like to live in a state of slavery. There are many people in the world who commit suicide. But I am quite unable to understand the reasoning of those gentlemen who say that they want Swaraj, but at a slow pace and after a short time. I will ask them, "How will the minor communities be safeguarded by a delay? Is it possible that by getting Swaraj, say after 50 or 100 years, the population of the Mussalmans will have increased so much by that time that they will become a majority, even if every Mussalman, young and old, were compelled to have the maximum number of wives allowed under the Muhammadan Law? (Laughter.) Well, Sir, what is the good of delay? On the other hand, the more we live in this state of slavery and subjugation, the more we lose that little spirit, that little self-respect, which is still left in us and which will be exhausted in a very short time. The amended Resolution of the Honourable Pandit Motilal Nehru has been worded in such moderate and cautious language that I do not think there can be any room for opposition. We do not make exorbitant demands. We do not want to create an atmosphere of revolution.

We do not want to follow in the footsteps of De Wet and De Valera. But what we do want is the most constitutional and peaceful method of a round table conference. I do not know what more constitutional and peaceful method could have been adopted. The Honourable the Home Member has also very kindly expressed an anxiety on behalf of the minority communities. But, Sir, I would ask him only one question. What have the Government done during the last one hundred and fifty years to remove the differences between the Hindus and the Mussalmans or between the different communities? You have got hundreds of Acts on the Statute-book passed since the Legislative Councils have come into existence. But may I ask, have you ever tried to frame an Act or Regulations with a view to stopping friction between the rival communities? (*A Voice*: "How will you do that?") Can you point to any Act designed for that purpose? (*Cries of "Go on."*) (*An Honourable Member*: "The Indian Penal Code.") That is what I wanted to hear from you. What you have done is this. If there is any conflict, if there is any riot, you have left the whole matter in the hands of unsympathetic and inexperienced Magistrates, and even the most respectable and honourable Indians have been sent to jail like the greatest felon and the cruellest murderer. But this is not the way to put an end to such differences, it is not the way to stop friction. I ask, what law have you passed with a view to minimise these conflicts? What are the causes of friction between the two communities? They can be counted on your fingers. One is the occasion of the Mohurram and Dasehra, another is cow slaughter on the occasion of Id-uz-Zuha, again another is playing music before mosques at the time of prayer. I ask you, what have you done to prevent conflict on such occasions? What law or Act have you passed in any of your Legislative Councils to prevent all these things? On the other hand, you ask, what we will do in respect of this. I say this, once we had an opportunity of forming a pact which is known as the Congress-League pact, and by forming that pact we removed one great difference between the two communities on the occasion of municipal and council elections. In the same way when we get an opportunity, when we draw up a constitution for India, we will form a brotherly pact and make our own rules and regulations to regulate religious processions and deal with other causes of friction between the two great communities. Sir, a question was also asked as to what would be the attitude of Mussalmans if India were invaded by Afghanistan. Of course, this was a very intelligent question on the part of the Honourable the Home Member. He also said that the Mussalmans would be crushed by the majority of the Hindus. He asks the Hindus what will be their fate if India is invaded by the Afghans. In reply to that, I would say this, that in the first place we do not claim an entirely independent kingdom for India. We will still remain an integral part of the British Commonwealth and I would like to ask you, as the paramount power, what will be your duty if India is invaded by any foreign enemy? As regards the attitude of the Mussalmans I would submit that if the Mussalmans could fight against the army of their own Caliph in Palestine, there is no reason why the Muhammadans of India will not defend their own motherland. Sir, we do not want a change of masters. What we do want is our own freedom, and in order to obtain our freedom we will do whatever other communities in India will do whoever may be the invader, whether he be the Afghan, or the Japanese, or any other foreign invader. It is now getting late and I do not want to take up much of your time. I very heartily support the amendment proposed by my Honourable friend, Pandit Motilal Nehru. Before I sit down I wish to express my thanks to you, Sir, for giving me an opportunity of expressing my views on this important question.

Colonel Sir Henry Stanyon (United Provinces: European): Before I address myself to the main question before the House, I am anxious to say a word regarding a remark made by my Honourable friend, Dr. Gour, in the course of this debate on the 8th February. The substance of what he said was this, that Sir Campbell Rhodes and his community opposed the introduction of the Reforms three years ago, and that they are now opposed to any further advance towards responsible government. I take his reference to that community to be a reference to the non-official Europeans in India. Sir, in the course of this debate we have had the *practical* opinion of my esteemed friend, Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar, who, after three years of sincere co-operation and work under the Reform Scheme, has pronounced that scheme to be a failure. We have also heard the *theoretical* opinion of the Honourable Pandit Motilal Nehru, the accredited leader of a party which has watched the working of that scheme without taking any part in it,—a party which claims to include among its ranks the best minds of India—that the Reform Scheme is a thing of evil, fit only to be destroyed. If these opinions are correct,—I do not say that they are, but Dr. Gour evidently subscribes to them,—then they establish the soundness of the estimate which the European community in India formed three years ago, before the Reforms were introduced, with regard to the scheme. But, Sir, what may have been the opinion of the European community at that time is now a matter of purely academical interest. The scheme was embodied in a Statute by the unanimous vote of both Houses of Parliament and has received the assent of His Imperial Majesty, the King Emperor. Thereupon, the European community, with a recognition of the principles of democracy which might well serve as an object lesson in India, not only accepted that decree but set themselves to give effect to it. It is the publicly declared undertaking of the non-official European community in India, by active co-operation with their Indian fellow-subjects, to endeavour to help forward India to the goal of responsible government within the Empire. The difference between Dr. Gour and ourselves relates only to the path to be followed, the pace at which, and the circumspection with which the journey is to be performed. But let me make this clear, that non-official European co-operation towards this goal stands or falls with constitutional procedure under the Government of India Act. I turn now to the main question, and I wish to deal particularly with the amendment of the Honourable Pandit Motilal Nehru. I would remind Honourable Members that, when they vote, they will not vote in support of sentiments expressed in speeches made in this House but on the amendment as it stands worded on the agenda paper. We should not allow our vision of this fact to be clouded by any simplicity of speech, by any fascinating subtlety of argument, or by any forensic or political astucy of suggestion. The amendment is not a mere invitation to Government to co-operate with non-official Members in an exploration of the avenues for the advance of India towards responsible self-government. The language of this amendment is clear and unambiguous, as one might expect to find in an amendment framed by so capable a lawyer as my friend Pandit Motilal Nehru. In its first part it does not ask the House, or the Government, or the country to see whether a stage for further advance has been reached. It assumes that the time for the conferment of full responsible government on this country is passed, and it asks only a recommendation for the legislation necessary to give effect to that state of affairs. This is the main proposal: "The time for introducing responsible government is passed: Let us have an Act which will confer it." Then, appended to this main proposal, is the procedure which is to be followed. Stated briefly that is,

first of all, a conference, helped by Government, to draw up a scheme of a constitution; and, next, a dissolution of this Assembly and the election of a new Assembly to pass the scheme and send it up to the British Parliament for embodiment in a Statute. Now, to represent this amendment as a mere invitation to Government to co-operate with the Swarajists in exploring the avenues for an advance towards responsible government is, in my humble opinion, and I say so with all due respect, to misrepresent it. The suggested conference is to be limited, like a Select Committee on a Bill, to the framing of a constitution for full responsible self-government. As soon as that is done this Assembly is to disappear. The House is asked to vote for its own premature extinction. It is invited to attempt suicide. Why? It has been suggested, as one reason, that the object is to secure a consideration of the responsible government scheme by the best minds in India. That, on the face of it, is a very poor compliment to the present Assembly, and would be a very poor compliment to the electorate responsible for its *personnel* if there was such a thing as a real electorate. Be that as it may, who would be the most competent judges of the contemplated scheme—the men who have worked for three years to learn the fundamental principles and acquire some experience in working the form of administration which the British Parliament and the British public contemplate eventually to confer on India, or the men who have confined themselves to sitting on the fence and jeering at those who have laboured to build the road to responsible government? It has also been said that, when a new constitution has been prepared, "the people" should have an opportunity of pronouncing on it by a fresh election. That statement, no doubt, will read very well in the European press, but it falls flat and dead on the ears of those who know India. It assumes the existence of an intelligent and independent electorate capable of forming an opinion of its own on such a scheme. That electorate, I say without hesitation, has no real existence. According to this amendment this House is to vote itself unfit and incompetent to judge the scheme to be prepared by the very conference which it is asked to recommend. It is to give way to certain super-men, who are to handle the scheme after it has been devised. That is an extraordinary proposition. It is easy to conjecture what is the real purpose underlying this scheme for a fresh Assembly, but it is not necessary to state it. It seems sufficient to urge that there is no assurance that any new Assembly which could be elected would be more capable, or in any better position to judge on the merits of this contemplated constitution than this House.

The main question calling for the sober judgment of this House is whether, at the present time, India is prepared (as is assumed to be the case in the proposal and in most of the amendments) to sustain the burden of full responsible government. My Swarajist friends will say "Yes, certainly:" but such a statement will convince no impartial judge. The Honourable the Home Member has set out four grounds for the view that the country is not yet ready. Beyond a mere assurance in general terms that these objections can be met and overcome, or a reply that they can be postponed to some more convenient date,—general terms and statements which will convince no one,—no real attempt has been made to answer the objections. Those who advocate immediate or very early responsible government ought to have considered some of the main details at all events. Where are they? Why should they not be stated? Why has no constructive scheme, even the very skeleton of a constitution, been prepared

[Colonel Sir Henry Stanyon.]

and put before the country or before this House? We hear of provincial autonomy. Is the contemplated Government going to be a central administration or a mere federation of provinces? It is easy to say, as my friend, Pandit Motilal Nehru said, that if the Independent States wish to come in, they will be welcome: if not, they are not wanted. Such statements do not even tackle the problem, far less do they dispose of it. Is it at all likely that the Chiefs who rule these States will consent to accept control from a Swaraj constitution in substitution for the present Government of India? It is certain that they will not. Then what is to happen? Do the idealists who press for immediate Swaraj suppose that States like Hyderabad, Baroda, Mysore, Gwalior, Bhopal, and that the great Chiefs of Rajputana or the Punjab can be ignored? My friend, Mr. Pal, says, "Oh no, we shall leave them to the tender mercies of the Government of India." Well, I am not enough up in the administration of the Foreign Department to be able to say how far such a scheme would be practicable. It seems to me that the relations between the Independent States and British India are so interwoven that, to have full responsible government (Swaraj), in British India, and a separate Government of India, maintained only to manage the affairs of the Indian States, would be little short of an absurdity. Again, what scheme can Swaraj wit devise which will be acceptable to all the communities, races, castes and creeds of this great continent? We hear of attempts to establish a pact between the two great communities, and we read of the results of those attempts. Is the contemplated constitution to be built up on such foundations? Is it to be a fragile mosaic of communal pacts? I venture to assert with confidence, and also with sympathy, that any scheme which my Swarajist friends may put forward in substitution of the constitution embodied in the Government of India Act will meet with a hydra-headed opposition all over the country, and is fore-doomed to failure. (*Mr. Shamlal Nehru*: "From whom?") You will know in good time. This would be due, not to any want of good feeling or ability on the part of the legislators, but to the state of the country. The very first essential of a popular Government, namely a general trust in the ruling organisation, would be wanting. The party of Pandit Motilal Nehru know this, and that is why no attempt has been made so far to draw up any scheme or suggest any form of constitution. The assistance of the present Government is sought in order that responsibility may be cast on the Government for whatever may prove unpopular with any community or communities in the new scheme. We have it repeatedly asserted that the country wants a government of the people by the people. If so, then why do not "the people" put forward a form of Government? (*An Honourable Member*: "Who are the peoples' representatives?") Yes, who? The very fact that they are unable to do so is a sure indication of the truth that India is not yet ready for Swaraj, even over its domestic concerns. If this House were to vote in favour of a demand for immediate Swaraj, it would achieve nothing beyond the publication of its want of appreciation of the realities of the situation, and of its inability to grapple with the problems which underlie, and to overcome the difficulties which stand in the way of, attainment of the desired end.

Sir, I invite Honourable Members to take a wider outlook of the situation. The greater part of our work for ensuring advance towards responsible government lies, not in this House, but outside it. Success depends, not on what we can do or cannot do under the Government of

India Act, but on what we can achieve in fields beyond the Act,—on our handling of forces which no legislation can reach. Let us educate the people as a whole till we have a real and independent electorate. Let us endeavour to create trust between man and man, between one community and another. Let us disperse that suspicion and jealousy which now honeycomb the whole country and make impossible that sincere mutual co-operation which is indispensable for any measure of government of a people by themselves. In this great work the non-official community, to which I have the honour to belong, stand ready to co-operate with our Indian fellow subjects. I am no pessimist. I know something of India and its people, and I can foresee the heights to which, properly guided, this people can attain. I offer my views in all sincerity as a friend of India.

Pandit Shamlal Nehru: I move that the question be now put.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar (Madras City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, in rising to reply to the various speeches which have been made in the prolonged discussion of a most important subject, I have to confess that, as a pessimist I began, and I am going to end as a hopeful pessimist still. Sir, we are all united; we have no less than a personage occupying a distinguished position on the Treasury Bench, the Honourable the Finance Member, who confessed that he was also a Swarajist. Sir, we have the distinguished representatives of the Muhammadan community and the Anglo-Indian community also saying they are Swarajists. It goes without saying, Sir, that the Hindu community, probably with a solitary exception, are also Swarajists. They are all Swarajists, but some of the people who are Swarajists, they would welcome it as a mere dream, as a mere shadow to look at. They are really not real Swarajists; they are half and half. They would rather keep it at a distance, keep it dangling in the air, raising hopes in the minds of the credulous, trying to do that; but when it comes to close grips with Swaraj, they are afraid to face it. I do not think such gentlemen, if they are re-born, as we believe that we are going to be re-born, will ever believe in real Swaraj for India; such is the frame of mind into which they have worked themselves. Now to such of them it is really difficult to reply. I know the English nation is an obstinate nation, just as I am myself, but obstinacy always yields to reason, otherwise we can never get on in this world. We are trying to convince this obstinate nation by reason. My Honourable friend, Sir Henry Stanyon, who spoke last, referred to my experience of the working of the Act as a sincere co-operator, and my verdict on the Act with some appreciation, but what conclusion he drew from my verdict I was unable to see. My submission, after actual experience of the Act, is that the Act intends to do something really *bona fide*, intends to do something for India, but fails to carry out its intention.

That is my complaint against the Act. It tells us that full responsible government is to be the goal for India but does not mark out the road to it. It merely keeps it as a shadow not a substance to be got at. It speaks of revisions for the purpose of progression or retrogression. It speaks of periodical examinations in cycles of 10 years—it may be never-ending cycles of 10 years. That is my complaint against the Act. If really the British nation believes that India should get responsible government and for that purpose has set itself to the task of giving us responsible

[Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar.]

government, let us have an honest road to it. The Honourable the Home Member is quite right when he says that I am complaining against the Act. It is true. That is why I want the revision of the Act. My complaint against the Act is that it does not lead to anything. It is not an honest road on which we are set to work. That is my verdict on the Act. I am sorry to give that verdict but I have thought about it. You may go on working this Act for every period of three years, the term of this Assembly. My Honourable friend Sir Abdul Qaiyum may have his experience of the Act for three years, and, if at the close of that period he behaves in an orderly way, he will be told by another Viceroy "We have closed one more chapter, we have advanced another step, not only reaching the half-way house but three-fourths-way house" and such like platitudes. But that is no compliment. I really do not take it as a compliment. We wish to be treated as men, not as children—as men who can take care of our own household. Sir, it is not true that we have come here this time—at any rate, I have not come here—to wreck or to obstruct. I have come here to continue to work the Act in the same spirit in which I was doing it for the last three years. But at the same time I shall be failing in my duty to my Sovereign, in my duty to my people, if I do not point out that this is no honest road which you have given us. Revise the Act; take steps to revise the Act in order to secure full responsible government. My Honourable friend Sir Malcolm Hailey, like the clever advocate that he is, has acted the part of an advocate rather than that of a statesman, which he is going to be ere long. He has misread my Resolution. I wanted very early steps to be taken to revise the Act. I wanted those steps to be taken in order to "secure" full self-governing Dominion status. "Secure" is the word, for the present Act does not secure it. It merely holds it up as an object to admire from a distance with an ocean to cross, as my Honourable friend would have it. Yes, Sir, you want us to pass an impassable ocean. These periodical examinations by Commissions which are to come out every ten years—what will they find? Will they find India changed? Will all the Muhammadans have disappeared, or the Hindus have disappeared, or the Christians and Anglo-Indians have disappeared, or the commercial interests have disappeared? What will they find, Sir, at the end of the ninth year? They will find us as we are. Have we changed much from 1919 to 1924? Has India changed very much in that time? What then is the meaning of this periodical examination in order to find out whether we are fit for progress, fit for responsible government or not? I deny that there is any such test which you can apply. Sir, you can go on working this Act till eternity, and I am convinced in my own mind that we shall never attain what is held before us. Are you setting mere shadows before us or are you asking us to be ready to take over the government of India. Is the pursuit which you have taught India to follow anything but an alluring shadow? Is the wealth which you are offering us anything but dust and ashes? Now what is the answer to this? To take my Indian friends who have spoken on this Resolution, and I hope my Honourable friend Colonel Gidney will forgive me if I rank him as an Indian; I wish to rank him as an Indian and to embrace him as an Indian—I hope he will forgive me for that. Sir, what is his fear? What is it that he is afraid of? Does he really think that responsible Indians will really ignore the peculiarities of his community? Do they not know the special aptitudes of that community?

Each community has its own aptitude and its own sphere of work in this great continent of India. Is his plight so bad that he should be afraid that the people of this country should get the power? Let him discard those fears. If real responsible government were to come to-morrow, he is not going to be ignored, nor am I going to be ignored.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Thank you.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Surely we are a civilised people, we are not barbarians who wish to tread under foot other people. Has not this country, Sir, encouraged in the past other communities to come and settle down here? Were the Parsis expelled from this land when they sought refuge in India? Did they come here only when the British were in the ascendancy? Did they not come long before the British came to this country? Have not minor communities sought refuge in this ancient land?

Again, turning to my Muhammadan friends, there were two who spoke for whom I have great respect. My friend, Sir Abdul Quyum, hails from the North-West Frontier. After coming into personal contact with that great community which inhabit the Frontier, I have nothing but admiration for them,—for their sagacity, their wisdom, and although they may not be familiar with the so-called modern civilised ways, I was greatly struck by their capacity to manage affairs. My Honourable friend, Sir Abdul Quyum, is quite wrong in supposing that I am against the advancement of his community. I wish that community to join the rest of India and not to keep to themselves; to give us what they have and to take from us what we can give them. We will mutually benefit by coming into contact with each other. I wish more of them to come into this Assembly, and give us the benefit of their advice. That is my point; there is really no quarrel. If he will see far ahead he will find that that is the

best course for his community. On the other hand, I pity them. What is their present position? They are under a primitive government, although it is a British Government. I pity the inhabitants of those five districts of the North-West Frontier Province. They do not have a proper government at all, and it is time that proper steps were taken to improve their lot. I quite sympathise with him. He himself has told us that he wants responsible government in his province and that he is not afraid of it. He merely therefore argues my position, that at any rate the people of the North-West Frontier Province are fit for responsible government.

So also my friend, Maulvi Abul Kasem. What did he say? I fully agree with all the Panditjee said, he said. He fully agreed with the picture that the Panditjee drew; and what is his quarrel? "Settle my share first, before you get it." That is his quarrel and nothing else. Very well, we will settle it. (Hear, hear.) There will be no difficulty about it. You yourself were a party to settling it in 1916 at Lucknow. You settled it then satisfactorily. The people were then quarrelling because of the proposed grant of reforms; at once the quarrel subsided. By all means, let us settle it before responsible government is established. There are no two words about it.

My Honourable friend, Mr. Kabeerud-Din Ahmed, has not spoken, but he now and then interjects. But I thought he told us the other day that we had come here with a determination—I think those were his words—that we had come here with a determination, that this was not the old

[Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar.]

Assembly, but the new Assembly; and with a physical gesture he emphasised that determination. Sir, that is his position.

Now, Sir, what is the real difficulty of the Muhammadans? When they were in power, did they oppress the Hindus in the land? Are not the Hindu subjects of His Exalted Highness the Nizam happy under his rule? Are there not subjects in Kashmir, most of them Muhammadans, under Hindu rule? It is easy to magnify these things. I do not deny their existence (*Mr. K. Ahmed here interrupted with a remark which was inaudible.*) I am sorry, Sir, that my Honourable friend, Mr. Kabeerud-Din Ahmed, will go on interjecting; but, however, I shall not mind it. Now, there are these difficulties; as the Honourable the Home Member has himself told us they are neither insurmountable nor are they serious. Sir, these difficulties about classes, castes, creeds and communities have always been trotted out; they are time-worn objections; may I say, they are word-worn objections. Were they not raised when that modest reform was inaugurated in 1892 in Lord Cross' Act? Were they not emphasised in 1909 when the Reforms came into existence? Were they not trotted out when the first Indian Member was put on the Executive Council? It was said that the Heavens would fall down if an Indian was taken into the inner counsels of the Indian Government.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Who said that?

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: I suppose Anglo-Indians and Indian officials and the Indian Civil Service. I know it was said in the House of Lords and everywhere. I know it was the cry which used to be raised. All these things will be trotted out; they are time-worn objections and statesmen always ignore them. I do not think, Sir, that my Honourable friend the Home Member has stated them in clearer or more eloquent terms than Chapter VI of the Report on the Constitutional Reforms has done. That Chapter records all these objections, and, Sir, what is the answer which the British Parliament gave them?

"You have great differences of race and religion and great difficulties arising out of harsh customs and precepts of caste. I cannot help believing"—

this is what the then Secretary of State said:

"that there is no better way of getting over these difficulties than by representative institutions."

Sir, there are two great factors which will destroy these difficulties, the railways and your reforms. These are the two great factors which destroy these difficulties which undoubtedly exist. Now, Sir, it is no use pleading that the country is not sufficiently educated, that the masses do not know what the intelligentsia think and therefore it is not safe; and that educational and social conditions are not such that you can have responsible government. But you have done it already. You have done it in the provinces. You have ignored these difficulties and rightly too. What has happened? Have these interests suffered at the hands of responsible Ministers? May I ask my Honourable friend, Sir Campbell Rhodes from Calcutta if his commercial interests and industrial interests have suffered in any way? Have they suffered because of the responsibility in respect of those subjects being placed in the hands of Indians?

Sir Campbell Rhodes: If I may interject, I may say that commerce is a Central subject.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: What about industries? It is all very well to speak of the millions of capital sunk. I am yet to know that they have sunk millions in commerce. I admire these industrial magnates in Calcutta who have sunk lakhs and lakhs of rupees in jute mills and other industries; but they are not commercial men. Commercial men have sunk very little capital here. It is the industrial magnates in the planting areas and jute areas and cotton mills who have sunk capital in commerce. European commerce profits with Indian bank money. I had the good fortune of being taken round these jute mills on the banks of the Hughly for thirty miles above and thirty miles below Howrah. It struck me as a magnificent contribution to the wealth of India by these great Scotsmen who have built up that industry there. Would any responsible Indian really think of mutilating or injuring those industries? Would it not be harming himself when he sees thousands of his countrymen, labourers, living there in comfort and earning a living wage? Would he destroy those industries? What is the fear of the Europeans? It is all a fancied fear. You must put aside that idea, that you must have a white doctor, a white magistrate, a white policeman to protect you here. So long as you entertain that idea you will never be able really to gain the confidence of the people of this country. Trust the people of this country and they will treat you handsomely. They want your assistance. In fact my complaint has been against these shrewd Englishmen and Scotsmen in this country that, while they have attended to their business, they have not attended to the business of the country as much as they ought to have done. It is a complaint which Lord Carmichael also made in the House of Lords when this Government of India Act was passed there. This is the shrewd way in which he puts it:

"I have always found as a Governor that a great deal of help could be given by non-official Europeans. They do not take much interest in politics. Many of them are Scotsmen and I am a Scotsman, and I quite sympathise with them. They were attending to their own business, but I often felt that if only they would help me to attend to mine a little more than they did, it would help matters on."

May I ask Sir Campbell Rhodes and his countrymen in Calcutta to take that view of the question? You have hitherto neglected your duty by the people of this land. You ought to have given a better education, a more practical education. You should have joined with the people of this country in improving the administration of this country, but instead of all that, you have been attending only to your own business interests; you did not attend to the interests of the country. That is the trouble. I do not appeal to the European community in the way that my Honourable friend Sir Malcolm Hailey sought to do the other day while speaking, I believe, at Cawnpore or some other place. Sir, I do not want the European community to organize themselves against Indians. I want them to organize with us

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Sir, have I ever anywhere in my dreams suggested such a thing?

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: I am glad to hear his correction, Sir, but that is how I interpreted his Cawnpore speech. I am glad to be corrected.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: You are not a good interpreter.

1. **Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar:** I am very sorry for it, but I am glad to have the Honourable Member's correction. Sir, I want the European community to join hands with the Indians in all matters affecting the country. Surely, the members of the European community cannot be blind to the state of things prevailing now, to the state of turmoil, to the state of unrest, to the state of distrust, to the state of no confidence which the people show towards the Government of this country. Are they willing to let it go at that? Is it really in their true interests to let these things continue as they are? Have the consent and co-operation of the people. It is true you are now in a position to override the wishes of the people. You may do so. You have got physical force. Probably you can all combine and put down any disorder. I quite admit that. But is that the right course to adopt? Now give up such ideas. I want the co-operation of the European community. I am not one of those who would ignore or discard their co-operation. It is impossible to get on without the co-operation of Europeans in a matter like this. I know that the Muhammadan community as a whole in the land would not tolerate the opinion given expression to in this House by my Honourable friend Maulvi Abul Kasem. If he had to answer an electorate, he would not have said what he has said here. We know he had sought the suffrages of his fellow countrymen, but he could not get their votes, and I do not wonder that he did not get their votes. Therefore, Sir, these difficulties should not be exaggerated. They should not be considered as insurmountable.

Sir, as I said, I was a hopeful pessimist to-day, because the Government of India said only last year that they would not budge an inch, they would not move an inch, but to-day I find that the Honourable the Home Member is willing to institute a departmental inquiry with the help of the Local Governments in order to see if there are any defects in the working of the Act, in order to find them out and place them before Parliament, and then have the opinion taken of the country. May I ask him, Sir, is there really any use in consulting the Local Governments on a matter like this without consulting the people of the country, without a formal inquiry? I do not want to ignore the opinions of the Local Governments, but may I remind my Honourable friend the Home Member what views Madras held in 1919 when these Reforms were sought to be introduced, and what views the Madras Government now hold about the further progress? It all depends upon the personnel of the head of the Province. Then, Sir, Lord Pentland and his Government including Mr. Todhunter—I think he was then Chief Secretary—they wrote despatch after despatch saying 'this is a most objectionable measure, those reforms should not be granted' and so on. But, Sir, if you consult the Madras Government to-day with the same Mr. Todhunter, now Sir Charles Todhunter, as Finance Member there, I should like to know what they have to say. I should like to look into that report which they have made to the Government of India or rather to His Excellency the Viceroy on the working of the Reforms. It is an open secret in Madras that Madras advocates a very much further advance, full responsible Government for the Province. Sir, these opinions come and go, I mean there are always false prophets of evil, and I am glad they always turn out to be false. There have been prophecies of evil whenever reform was put forward here. There have been people who cried down, who discouraged, who threatened, and who warned the Government of India not to take a certain course of action, not to do a certain thing, but the Government of India always turned out to be right. Therefore,

Sir, these prophets of evil should be ignored. Let us have hope, let us have faith in ourselves. There is no problem which you and I cannot solve. Let us sit at it. There is a serious problem now facing the country. The very fact that we recognise difficulties shows that we are able to grapple with those difficulties. Therefore, it is unnecessary for me to pursue the matter further, and I sincerely trust that the Government of India will not ignore this demand of the nation. The demand of the nation, I do not say, is concrete in all the essentials which we have put forward, but the demand of the nation is there, that this Act should be revised,—for what?—for ensuring full responsible government, not-to-morrow, not next year, but to ensure it. Let us have the Act so framed that full responsible government inside the country will be established, and so far as the provinces are concerned, there can be no real difficulty at all, and as regards the Central Government, as I have already said, there should be no real difficulty whatever.

Sir, then the Honourable the Home Member asked what will the Princes say to this? I have already quoted the opinion of one of the eminent Princes, one of the noblest of noble rulers, the Maharaja of Alwar, who only recently in the Imperial Conference said 'Give them responsible government'. May I give the answer of another great ruler who is considered to be a re-actionary ruler, His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad? What does he say, Sir? In that letter recently published asking for the rendition of the Berars to him, what does he say? He says that he will give the people of Berar the full right to determine their own affairs

Dr. H. S. Gour (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan): Why has he not done it in his own State? Let him give it to Hyderabad first.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: That is another question. If you want to ask the opinion of the rulers, I have no objection whatever to their opinions being taken in this matter. Their opinions are valuable, I do not want to ignore them at all. But what is the meaning of merely saying 'What will the Princes say, what will commerce say, and what will minorities say?' Yes, they say that, but we are here to judge on what they say. I ask in my proposition that a Royal Commission should come out in order to judge those questions. Therefore, I am not ignoring these difficulties. I did not want to go into details. My Honourable friend, Sir Henry Stanyon, complained that we have not got a cut and dried scheme before us. If we present such a scheme, I am sure my Honourable friend, Sir Henry Stanyon, will be the first to pick holes in it. This is not the place to have a cut and dried scheme. We want a Committee, we want a Conference in order to chalk out a cut and dried scheme. I do not pretend that a cut and dried scheme is so easy of manufacture. I confess my incapacity to do it myself, and I shall want the assistance of my Honourable friend, Sir Henry Stanyon, and others like him in the matter.

Sir, then coming to the Civil Services in this country, they always labour under a delusion that they alone know the masses and not we, the people of the land. That delusion must disappear. The masses think with us, although they may not be able to express themselves with us. We move with the masses much more than the Treasury Bench have occasion to do. There is no mistake in that matter.

Sir, this advance must be a definite advance which I want. The next step must be a substantial step and that is why I have indicated in the Resolution that there should be full provincial

[Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar.]

autonomy; not autonomy for the bureaucrat, as somebody would have it, but autonomy for the responsible, that is the Executive being responsible to the Legislature there. And my Honourable friend, Sir Malcolm Hailey, also referred to my Resolution and, as I have stated already, he read into it a lot of things which I had not meant to put into it, and on a careful reading he will be satisfied that my Resolution does not ask for the immediate establishment of responsible government to-morrow. I ask that immediate steps should be taken by the Government of India in order to ensure it. Sir, my Honourable friend quoted from the speeches of various gentlemen who appeared before the Joint Committee in England. The Joint Committee itself told Mr. Patel at the outset: "Now we have to proceed on the assumption that the Announcement made in the 1917 Declaration must be taken as the starting point. You should not go beyond it. Now what are your proposals on that basis?" It is on that basis that the inquiry was conducted by the Joint Committee and therefore it is no use quoting Mr. Jinnah or Mr. Patel or other people with reference to that matter. That is why we complain against the Act. The Act has reproduced certain things which were contained in the Announcement and that is why the Act should be revised. Now, if really it is the intention of Government that India should have full responsible government, let them set to work in earnest to give it to us—not merely pretend to give it to us. We consider this Government of India Act a pretext for that purpose. That is why we want the Government of India Act to be revised at an early date. Sir, I will not tire the House.

As regards the amendment of my friend, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, and that of my friend, Pandit Motilal Nehru, they only relate to the procedure to be adopted. I leave in my Resolution the steps to be taken for the Government of India to decide and have suggested in brackets a Royal Commission, if necessary, because I do not care what method is adopted. So long as it is an open method in which the people of the country, the intelligentsia of the country and the representative people of the country, will have a voice, will have a seat on that Committee in an open inquiry—call it a Committee, a Convention or a Royal Commission, it is a matter of indifference to me. But I do want an open inquiry with a set purpose, namely, to ensure responsible government. These are the two cardinal points in my Resolution, and therefore I do not propose to deal with the amendments proposed by my Honourable friend, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, at length. I do not think his amendment has the acceptance of the House. But I find Pandit Motilal Nehru's amendment has the general acceptance of the House, and, if it is the general wish of the House that that amendment should be carried, I will not stand in its way and I shall be glad to accept it myself.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey (Home Member): I remember reading somewhere of a practical philosopher who said that "of all earthly pleasures, even of the pleasure of sitting, there cometh satiety at the last". I suppose there cometh also satiety of speaking, and I see that the House is anxious to proceed with its vote, but, loath as I am to defer it, I must endeavour to guide its decision into some clear issue. For, as I said when I first addressed myself to this motion, it was inevitable that a discussion of this nature should be the focus of many cross currents of thought. That anticipation has been fully justified. We have just listened to Mr. Rangachariar; but even now I doubt if anyone here has formed a clear

impression whether he desires to see the new fundamental law of the constitution of India settled by a Commission of Parliament or by a self-ordained round table conference. There are here those who perhaps would desire to see some advance within the Act; but both the Resolution and the amendment altogether transcend that ambition. There are those who would desire to see some wide advance involving general amendment of the Act itself, whether that amendment is to be determined by a Committee appointed by the Assembly or by a Royal Commission. But again, neither the Resolution nor the amendment is confined to mere advance; each has a definite objective far beyond this. It would have been a great gain if we could have presented India and the United Kingdom with a clear vote on a clear issue, and if we could have made certain that a vote on the Resolution only embraced those who were definitely in favour of that explicit issue. It is this feeling which prompts me once more to remind the House of what it really has before it. For me from the first there never has been any issue but one, namely, whether India can now claim that a state of things has arisen in which immediate self-government is feasible and desirable. I admit that there is something that I might describe as a subsidiary proposition, namely, whether, if, immediate self-government is to be attained, the new fundamental law of the constitution is to be laid down by a Parliamentary Commission, or by a round table conference. It might at first appear that that was a mere matter of procedure or machinery. That is not so. There is a vital difference. The former method retains not only the power of investigation, but the power of decision in the hands of Parliament to which we on our side claim that it belongs and must belong. The latter assumes that it remains entirely with the Indian people themselves, and such representatives as they may approve of, either through our electoral system or outside that system, to establish a national constitution.

Now I pause for a moment here, because I have been told more than once that in claiming that this is the real issue I was wrong, that there was no demand for immediate self-government, that I was fighting a bogey that I had myself created. I have Mr. Jinnah's assurance that I am wrong. It is possible that Mr. Jinnah himself, though for some reason he seems to sympathise with those idealists who do ask for immediate self-government, does not ask for it himself. But, Sir, since when has Mr. Jinnah been the custodian of the conscience of the Swaraj party?

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): I did not say that. I said that the amendment of Pandit Motilal Nehru, worded as it is, does not ask for the establishment of immediate full responsible government—it requires that immediate steps should be taken.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I shall deal with that amendment in detail; indeed, I was about to do so. I acknowledge the moderation with which Pandit Motilal Nehru explained his case. He said, of course, that the Government of India Act was an evil thing; but on the other hand, he did not ask for self-government "delivered immediately in a bundle". That is true. I admit again that, though he said that India must decide her own constitution for herself and that she could not admit that the Imperial Parliament had any right to decide it for her, yet he nevertheless indicated that it might be possible that the body assembled to decide on the form of that constitution might perhaps decide that full self-government should be introduced by gradual stages. I admit all that. But, Sir, that is not enough for us. We want more than this. We ought to be told definitely whether the demand for immediate self-government has been given

[Sir Malcolm Hailey.]

up, and I look not only to the floor of this House but beyond it. I say that if the Swaraj Party has given up the demand which it made in its manifesto of October last, then they should tell us so clearly and now. If we have to face the consequences of refusing its demand, and if we are told that the consequences of that refusal would be grave, both for ourselves and India, then we should at least know clearly and without ambiguity what that demand is.

I go further. I say that, if the Swaraj Party has not given up that demand, then, they should not claim under the cover of this Resolution, the votes of those who have never accepted and never would accept their manifesto of October last. I can quite understand that the Honourable Pandit appreciates the need for moderation in statement; I can understand that a cautious thinker such as he is, does not desire to go back and plough the barren furrows of Bardoli. But, he does not stand alone. What of Mr. Patel? I must plead guilty perhaps to irritating Mr. Patel into the confession that he would prefer after all to retain the presence of British troops in this country. The confession must have been a little humiliating after he had made a speech, which I read out to him, stating that he intended to remove every vestige of British administration within a year.

Mr. V. J. Patel (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): May I ask a question, Sir? Will the Honourable the Home Member kindly say whether he has compared the speech which he has got and which he has just read out with the vernacular report of that speech, and whether it was published in any Anglo-Indian paper or in any other paper? He has not stated in what paper the speech appeared. Perhaps he referred to the "Bombay Chronicle". I do not remember.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I stated at the time to Mr. Patel that the extract came from the "Bombay Chronicle." He suggested to me that it was invented by my Department. My Department may have many faults, but it does not produce the "Bombay Chronicle".

Mr. V. J. Patel: Will the Honourable Member kindly give the date of the issue of the "Bombay Chronicle"?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The 26th January, 1921; the House will see that Mr. Patel is already three years behind date.

Mr. V. J. Patel: That is not an answer to my question. The Honourable Member has not stated whether he has compared it with the vernacular report—the report of the speech in the vernacular language in which it was delivered.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Do you really wish me to proceed beyond the "Bombay Chronicle"? Is that not sufficient authority?

Mr. V. J. Patel: That is no answer.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: If Mr. Patel desires to deny that he ever had any such intention, I will only be too glad to accept it.

Mr. V. J. Patel: Have I not?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Very well, he now denies that he had any intention of getting rid of us. But nevertheless I must invite attention to what he said in this House regarding his aspirations in regard

to Dominion self-government. That, I think, he will not deny, and I ask the House if my description of what he said the other day is not correct. I sum it up thus: Dominion self-government, immediate, complete, uncontrolled, self-ordained. I see that he does not deny that. If that is the case, then, to use the historic expression of Mr. Rangachariar's when he reproves us for not getting to work quickly enough to shoot down the Moplahs, let us have no shilly-shallying or dilly-dallying about the matter. If you have given up the demand for immediate self-government, as I have said before, say so, and we shall know where we stand. If not, we must assume, and the British Government must assume, that the bulk of the Swaraj Party in this House and outside this House still stands for their manifesto of October last.

Pandit Motilal Nehru (Cities of the United Provinces: Non-Muhammadan Urban): May I make a personal explanation? The Swaraj Party still stands and will always stand for what it said in that manifesto. I do not admit that that manifesto is in any way inconsistent with the amendment which I have proposed to the Resolution of my friend Mr. Rangachariar. But whatever the Swaraj Party may say outside, and whatever its future intentions may be, after this Government has given its decision, with regard to its own course of conduct, that is entirely beside the question. The only issue now before the House is whether this Resolution or the amendment which I have put before the House commends itself to it or not, not what the Swaraj Party may do or what it may feel.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Then am I to take it that the Swaraj Party does not stand behind the amendment? Is that the position?

Pandit Motilal Nehru: It does stand certainly.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: If you stand both by the amendment and the manifesto, read what the manifesto says:

"The Party considers it an abuse of the suffrage of an Indian electorate on the part of its representatives to engage in such questions as the re-adjustment of the powers and duties of the Secretary of State, the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, and various other officials."

Pandit Motilal Nehru: I have repeated the same statement in my speech, if the Honourable Member will remember.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Then what becomes of the whole structure of our constitution? Obviously there is nothing but immediate self-government left. I maintain that this is what the Honourable Member and his friends are claiming.

Pandit Motilal Nehru: Call it what you like—responsible government or self-government.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Let me see how his demand is interpreted by his own organ:

"Our aim is to destroy the reform scheme as a whole. We must steer clear of the fatal temptation of accepting a compromise as the prize of victory."

My friends in the Moderate and Independent Benches opposite will now know exactly to what they are giving their votes. Let me take the Madras organ:

"Our programme is one of self-organisation leading to the creation of a situation rendering any semblance of constitutional government by British authorities impossible in this country."

[Sir Malcolm Hailey.]

Again, my Liberal friends opposite, who are sentimentally attached to the proposal of the Honourable Pandit, will know what exactly it means. As I say, I will take a declaration from Mr. Jinnah that he does not mean an immediate demand for self-government. But, I require greater certitude than that, if I am to accept the amendment at its face value.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: I have made no declaration, Sir. I do not wish to be misrepresented. I have made no declaration. All I say is that the words of Pandit Motilal Nehru's amendment are clear. It asks for immediate steps and not the immediate establishment of full responsible government.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: My case remains the same. He told me that I was fighting a bogey. I say, it is not a bogey. I say that we have had it from Mr. Patel himself and we have had it in a concealed form from Pandit Motilal Nehru.

Pandit Motilal Nehru: I did not say that at all. I want to make it clear that the position of the Swaraj Party outside this Assembly has nothing whatever to do with the amendment which is now before the House. The Swaraj Party stands for what it has always stood, and I do hope and trust that it will continue to stand for it. But this, as I pointed out in my speech, is an amendment considerably toned down to meet the wishes of friends who were not prepared to go as far as the Swaraj Party. The amendment is before the House and it is for the House to give its opinion upon the amendment.

Mr. N. M. Dumasia (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Will the Swaraj Party outside the Councils also come to the round table conference?

Pandit Motilal Nehru: That we shall see.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: What it really comes to is this, that the Swaraj Party has inscribed on its banner exactly the same motto as it bore in October last; but for the moment that banner has been conveniently furled, in order that the sight of that motto might not shock the nerves and possibly alienate the votes of their somewhat weaker brethren in this House. If that is the case, it is only right that those I have, with no sense of disrespect, described as their weaker brethren should know exactly what are the intentions of that party. (*Several Honourable Members stood up.*) I do not wish to usurp your thunders, Sir, but might I, with your permission, quote what the Speaker of the House of Commons said recently that listening is as much one of the functions of a member of a representative assembly as speaking.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: I wish to have one point made very clear. Is the Honourable Member replying to the debate on the amendment as it has been put before this House, which amendment is not an amendment put forward by the Swaraj Party but by the Nationalist Party which consists of over 75 Members of this House. If so, is he right in dealing in his reply with speeches which were made outside this House, with ideas which might be entertained by some people outside this House? I want the Honourable Member to reply in his speech on the amendment which is before the House and which asks for only one thing, namely, that steps be taken by way of convening a conference to consider how the Act of 1919 should be revised in order that full self-government should be

established in this country. As to the date when it will be established nothing is stated in the amendment. The conference might recommend its establishment within twelve months; to the satisfaction of us, Indians, or it might recommend its establishment after three years. That is a matter left for consideration by the conference. I ask the Honourable Member to deal with the matter which is before the House and not evade it by quoting speeches which were not delivered in this House.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: If the Honourable Member wishes to circumscribe me in the scope of my arguments, may I ask him a question in reply? Has not Mr. Patel made his speech here in this House?

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: You dealt with it and nobody objected to it.

Mr. V. J. Patel: I shall urge the same view before the round table conference as I urged here. I stand by my statement.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: But according to him, and I understand now, according to Pandit Motilal Nehru also, the Resolution means this that you ought to have immediate self-government. Am I travelling outside? The real meaning of the Resolution is obvious; and some of its most prominent supporters admit that I have correctly interpreted its meaning. We have before us a grave, nay a vital issue. It is essential that every interest in this country, and that the Parliament of Great Britain should know the exact issue which we have before us.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: For that you should look to the amendment.

Pandit Motilal Nehru: And at the speeches here, not outside.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The Honourable Pandit cannot escape from the real implications of this Resolution in that manner. (*Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:* "I do not want to.") I say it has been argued not once, nor twice, but again and again on the floor of this House that there must be no delay in granting immediate self-government; I say that the whole trend of the speeches of those who sit with him and who have spoken for him is that India is ready at once for complete self-government and that it must be granted.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: The Honourable the Home Member is entirely wrong in representing me and my friends like that. We clearly said, that India is prepared for full responsible government if it is introduced to-day, and I repeat it, but we have also urged that a conference should be convened in order to consider what the next step should be. It has been indicated by more than one Member that many of us are prepared to recognise that foreign relations, including war and peace and the administration of the army, should be kept out of the control of the Legislature for the present. I do not see why my Honourable friend should harp upon our claiming the immediate establishment of full self-government. When we said that immediate responsible government should be established, we made all those reservations to which I have referred to be considered by a conference. Why cannot my Honourable friend say whether Government are prepared to meet us at a conference to discuss these points?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I cease my attempt to make the matter clear; I must leave it in that curious state of doubt; one Member of the party says very clearly one thing and the other Members who have subscribed to the amendment say very clearly that it means another thing. (*Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar:* "But the words are there.") I can only warn those who vote on the matter to be clear in their minds what they are voting for.

Now, I will take the amendment more closely, and the kind of arguments on which it has been supported. They are of two classes. I must treat them very hurriedly. There is the class of argument which was intended entirely to detract attention from the main issue. I am not going to answer the invectives—perhaps if I might be allowed to describe them, the somewhat juvenile form of invectives—against the whole course of our administration in India such as we heard from one of the Punjab representatives.

Mr. Chaman Lal (West Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): I rise to a point of order. Is the Honourable Member justified in using that expression?

Mr. President: Which expression is the Honourable Member referring to?

Mr. Chaman Lal: I ask you, Sir, is it not derogatory to the dignity of this Assembly that the Honourable Member should take advantage of his old age?

Mr. President: If the Honourable Member pursues that line much further, I shall have to ask him to withdraw the implication in that phrase which he has used.

Mr. Chaman Lal: If the Honourable the Home Member is prepared to withdraw his, I am prepared to withdraw mine.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: So far from withdrawing it I will justify it; the attack was exactly of the class of invective which one would expect in a college essay. I did not refer to the Honourable Member's age: I am quite unaware of what age he is. I will only say that the attack was juvenile in the sense I have mentioned. Nor will I go at any length into the curious arguments drawn from history of India in the past. It seems to me an insufficient argument that, because there was a great period of Indian history and a great culture in the past, therefore that in itself proves that India is to-day ready for Dominion self-government. I should be the last to depreciate the great past of India, far from it; I should be the last to depreciate the many real virtues of the great masses that make up the Indian population to-day.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Sir, I am surprised that the Honourable the Home Member should interpret my argument in the way he does. I referred to the past of India to show that we were a people who have had a civilisation, that that civilisation continued to the day that we were talking on and that therefore we were not to be treated as a primitive people who should be taken stage by stage in the art of self-government.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I did not suggest nor did I say that the people of India were a primitive people; but I fail to see once more how the existence of a past, great in history, a past which has not been continuous but gravely interrupted on more than one occasion by long

periods of chaos, can itself argue the readiness of India for Dominion self-government to-day. It would have been better history and far more just, nay, far more honest, if the Honourable Member had painted the picture of what India was immediately before we came to this country and confessed to the great improvement of material conditions, the great growth of order and justice, the higher social standards and the sense of nationhood which we, working in co-operation with Indians, have secured for this country. (*A Voice*: "And also the great exploitation which has gone on.") (There were also other interruptions from all sides of the House.)

Mr. President: I must ask the Honourable Members to allow the Honourable the Home Member to proceed. The Honourable the Home Member is perfectly capable of protecting himself from ordinary interruption but not against these organised volleys.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I say that these were arguments simply intended to detract attention from the main issue before us. Nor was there wanting a plentiful supply of suggestions intended to create prejudice against our case. Remember that all that we did was to state that there were problems which needed solution before India was ready for self-government; problems of great gravity, but not in themselves insurmountable, yet such as required time for their solution. I made a reference, but an incidental one, to the Services. It was suggested by Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas that I had laid it down as a condition that the opinion of the Services must be taken on this change. Not so; all I said was that there were many, both Europeans and Indians, who would be entering those Services in the future and it was necessary that they should be in a position to know our decision. It was part of my appeal that we should get a clear decision on a clear issue; no more than that. Once again, I referred to the fact that large numbers of capitalists had placed their interests in this country and they were daily increasing their commitments. I said it was only fair to let them know if we contemplated an early change. That has been misrepresented as a statement that I considered European capital to be in danger in this country. That is not the case.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas (Indian Merchants' Chamber: Indian Commerce): When the Honourable Member interrupted me at the time I was making my speech, I pointed out . . .

Mr. President: The Honourable Member should not interrupt when the Honourable the Home Member did not refer to him by name.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I am very sorry, he did, and that is why I rise to justify myself.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas to whom I explained what I said assured us very handsomely that he understood the position entirely. It was Mr. Duraiswami Aiyangar to whom I was referring.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: May I take it that you withdraw all that you said about me previously?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Not what I said in your direction as regards the Services.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I thought you also referred to European capital in that connection.

Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar (Madras ceded districts and Chittoor: Non-Muhammadian Rural): I accepted your correction and proceeded.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Mr. Duraiswami Aiyangar, when he proceeded, asked whether European capital in India will be in any more danger under a new Indian Government than Indian capital was in India to-day under the present Government. Since he has raised that question, and since reference has been made to it since, I would ask him if he attended the Gaya Congress. If he did, will he recall a Resolution there which called for repudiation of India's debts?

Mr. V. J. Patel: Future debts.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I was also referring to future debts. I thoroughly agree with Pandit Motilal Nehru that this Resolution was an action equal to the worst committed by the Soviet. My astonishment is that after the Congress had passed such a Resolution, any honest man should still belong to it. Now these are only by the way.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Quite out of the way.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Then they should never have been levelled against us. But a more serious imputation was brought in connection with our reference to the question of minority interests; we were once again accused of fostering and fomenting these differences. It has actually been suggested that communal differences between Hindus and Muhammadans would not have taken their present form unless it had been for the suggestion of a previous Member of Government that Muhammadans should claim communal representation. I believe that story to be entirely mythical; just as I believe the general accusation against Government to be entirely without foundation. I should be prepared on a future occasion to justify the whole action of Government in this connection; I have no time now; and would merely refer those who brought that charge against us to the speech of the President of the Cocanada Congress. He elaborately analysed the whole cause of these differences, and, so far from charging Government with having fomented them, he claimed a victory over Government in securing separate communal representation; he said in fact that the Lucknow pact "forced the hands of the bureaucracy". I regret in particular that the charge that we have been concerned in fomenting these disturbances should come from Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. I dislike personalities; I desire to make no personal attack on him, but I would remind him in justice to ourselves that the charge should not have come from him. I reminded the House that in the speech he delivered in 1909 he inveighed very bitterly against the rights which it was proposed to give Muhammadan communities. He repeated that in 1911 in the Imperial Legislative Council, where he was rebuked by Mr. Gokhale for taking an unduly sectional view. He did his best to upset what was known as the Jehangirabad settlement in the United Provinces; and he lately issued from his University of Benares a statement to the Hindu Mahasabha accusing the Muhammadans of violence of an aggravated nature, and suggesting to the Hindus that they should organise a party of physical force to protect themselves. Those facts are published and incontrovertible and I say that it is unfortunate that an accusation against us of this kind should come from Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: It is extremely necessary that I should deal *seriatim* with the points which have been mentioned by the Home Member. The House will remember that he quoted from a speech of mine delivered in 1909 as President of the Indian National Congress at Lahore. I there deplored that my Muhammadan countrymen had raised the question of communal differences. When my friend gave me the date of that speech, I at once told him that it was a predecessor of his in the Government of India, a Home Member of the Government, who invited some Muhammadan gentlemen to wait in deputation upon the Government of India and ask for communal representation. I challenge the Honourable Member to deny that fact. That is a fact which is absolutely undeniable. That is my first reply to him. Again he mentioned that I raised some protest in 1911. As he has not had the fairness to quote exactly what I said, I do not propose to take any notice of it further. He then says that I opposed the Jehangirabad amendment. The Honourable Member has not told the House the history of the Jehangirabad amendment and that it went beyond the terms which had been arrived at Lucknow. He has also not told the House the history of the agitation: Is it fair of him to accuse me in that connection when he has not placed the facts of the case fully before the House? Lastly, he said that I recently issued from the Hindu University two circulars asking Hindus to organise physical force parties to fight Muhammadans. I did not issue them from the Hindu University. It was at the Hindu Mahasabha of which I was the President, that I made a speech, which was published in the papers in which I appealed to the Hindus to organise themselves for Seva Samiti work, for social service and work with their Muhammadan brethren and members of their communities in all matters of a national character, for instance, as Citizen guards. That is the speech I made. I am sorry and surprised that the Home Member should forget the dignity of his position and make accusations against me, which are baseless.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: There is by my side a member of the deputation which attended in regard to the question of separate Muslim representation. He can vouchsafe for the fact that no predecessor of mine ever suggested the formation of that deputation.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: I am prepared to prove it up to the hilt that two leading Muhammadans refused to join the deputation.
6 P.M. I am prepared to prove it up to the hilt. Let anybody deny it.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Then perhaps my friend, Sir Muhammad Shafi, and Pandit Malaviya will settle this matter between them. I myself have never seen any proof of the action said to have been taken by one of my predecessors, and I say moreover that it is ridiculous to suppose that the whole Mussalman world of India could have been agitated to its depths by a single suggestion, not a public, but private and informal, suggestion of a former Home Member. I did not know we had such authority. As for calling upon Hindus to unite in social effort, perhaps the Honourable Member will allow me to read this from a speech of his:

"If Hindus want to protect the honour of their women and temples, they must create a similar force and see that it followed every Hindu wherever he went."

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Will the Honourable Member read what has preceded that? Will he tell this House that I spoke of the

[Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.]

conduct of certain ruffianly elements of the population and that I said that, where they find ruffians coming to attack respectable, harmless citizens, these Hindus should be prepared to defend themselves. I will repeat it now. My friend would be ashamed if an Englishman would not stand up to defend his hearth and home and exercise the right of self-defence. I called upon Hindus to exercise the same right of self-defence, but I told Hindus in the same speech that they should work together with the Muhammadans in all matters relating to the welfare of the people, and should organise themselves as citizen guards. Let him read the speech I gave at Lahore after the Multan tragedy.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The House can form its own judgment from what I have read. Now, Sir, as to the method which this amendment proposes for solving the problems suggested. As I have said before, it is not really merely a question of procedure, it is a question of principle. In other words, the amendment contains the assertion of a principle that India has the right to make its own fundamental laws without reference to the British Parliament. In other words, the British Parliament is only called upon to ratify them

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar (Tanjore *cum* Trichinopoly: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Not without reference.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: It is only called upon to ratify them. If you read the amendment, you will see that that is so, and it has been so stated in debate. That is far indeed from merely a question of machinery. I assume that what my friends really mean is something that was once sketched in the rather picturesque words of Mr. Ranga Iyer. He said "We will present an ultimatum to the British Government through the post office at Simla called the Government of India."

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: When was this?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: That was in November 1923.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: May I ask, is it open to the Honourable Member to refer to speeches made outside this Assembly?

Mr. President: That point of order seems to me to come with peculiarly ill grace from Members who have been attacking the representatives of the Government on their past record. If we are to judge of the *bona fides* of Government by their past record, it is equally legitimate that the Member of Government, in replying, may interpret the terms of the Resolutions and the intentions of their authors in the light of their past record.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): I certainly said that and I take the discussion in this House and the speech of Pandit Motilal Nehru as an ultimatum.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Then I am correct; this is the kind of ultimatum which some of my friends wish to present to the British Parliament. That constitutional demand has been supported on two grounds; the first is the inherent right of India to frame its own constitution; the second is based on what are alleged to be parallels of action taken elsewhere within the Empire. I am not going into philosophical questions.

of inherent right here, because in this troubled world of ours both nations and individuals have to think more of practical politics than philosophical conceptions. My answer, and I think a sufficient answer, is this. As to inherent right to decide your own form of constitution, no one would deny that a constitution should not be framed from outside without due consultation of the peoples affected and consideration for their sentiments. But if it is a question of abstract rights to complete self-determination, I point to the facts. You have to face the fact that at present your shores are defended by the British fleet; your military strength is calculated on the basis that in any emergency, you would receive the definite assistance of troops from Great Britain; and thirdly, it has been agreed on all hands that you have much to gain, both in the material and cultural sense from association with the British Empire. Now in these circumstances an inherent right becomes a matter of abstract philosophy, and not a matter of practical politics. (*Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya*: "Oh!") Then, again, as to the parallels that have been quoted from the Dominions; they afford no true analogy. I am unwilling at this time of the evening to go into a long study of the history of these conventions; a few dates will tell their own tale. Canada received responsible government between 1839 and 1846. The Conference to which my friend made reference was held in 1864.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: I never referred to any Conference in Canada, but I said that Lord Durham made a recommendation that responsible government should be given to Canada. I referred to a Convention in Australia and to a National Congress of 200 delegates in Belgium to frame the constitution in 1831.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Then I may leave Canada; and since the Conference ending in the Quebec Resolutions is sometimes quoted, I say only that that Conference met some 20 years after Canada had enjoyed responsible government, and related entirely to the federation of the Provinces. As for Australia, the beginnings of local self-government dated from about 1850, though in Western Australia full responsible government was not finally conferred till about 1890. Now the Conferences took place between 1893 and 1900. What was their object? Mainly the federation of the various States in Australia. They took place when responsible government in some form had been enjoyed for very many years. I do not know if the Honourable Member still attaches, after that, any importance to the example of South Africa.

Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju (*Ganjam cum Vizagapatam*: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, is it not a fact that a Conference was held when responsible government was given to the New South Wales Government in Australia?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Several Conferences took place, but their main concern in Australia was the form the constitution should take were federation adopted.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: My friend is not right, the Conference I refer to took place at Melbourne between 1850 and 1856. If the Honourable Member will look it up, he will find that I am right and he is wrong.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: That was not a Conference to decide the constitution of the Government. I do not think that is correct.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: I will show the Honourable Member my authority. For South Africa there was a Conference

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Yes; there was a conference which resulted in the Union of South Africa; but responsible government had long before this been enjoyed by South Africa. Then my Honourable friend referred to Belgium. What happened in Belgium? As the result of the Napoleonic war, there was a united Government for Belgium and Holland, but, as the result of the European disturbance of 1830, Belgium decided to part. Representatives of the five great Powers stopped hostilities; they called together a Convention of 200 Belgians which settled the constitution for themselves. Now, is there the slightest parallel between that and the present circumstances?

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: My friend's facts are not correct. It was not the five Powers that called the Conference. Belgium was detached from Holland by force in 1830 and the people of Belgium sent a petition to the Sovereign there and asked for a Conference and 200 of them sat down and framed the constitution which has lasted for nearly 82 years without much change.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: But does the Honourable Pandit still pretend that there is the slightest similarity between those facts and the facts of the present situation?

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Yes, very much, we are in a better position.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I am astonished to learn that India has separated itself from Great Britain by force.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Who says it?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: Then that would be the only case in which the parallel would apply.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: I am sorry you have no better argument than that.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I am sorry the Honourable Member cannot provide me with a better historical illustration than that. I assert that there is nothing whatever either in political equity or in the history of the Dominions which justifies the claims that India should frame her own constitution without other reference to Parliament than the demand that it should at once be ratified.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Let us create one.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: You propose a round table conference. It has been already criticised unmercifully. For myself I could only wish there was still sitting on this Bench Sir Sankaran Nair to give us his experience of the last historical round table conference India has known.

Pandit Shamlal Nehru: What is the Government afraid of in a round table conference?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: I will tell you. There are wanting all the elements of a useful round table conference. It is not an authoritative convention, carrying a definite mandate from organized opinion;

interests are not yet organized in such a manner as to secure success to an undertaking of this kind. It will inevitably involve this—that at the last stage the Government will be brought in to decide between those conflicting interests, and incur once more all the odium and insinuations involved in the attempt to settle the claims of contesting interests. There may be unity against Government, but that unity breaks down when any attempt is made to proceed to constructive decisions. But my real objection goes much further. It is to the objective of the proposed conference. If it is really intended, as I claim it is intended (and again I rely on the assertions of the invaluable Mr. Patel), if it is really intended that this conference should not be one to find a remedy for the problems which beset our future, but should only ratify the demands of himself and his friends for immediate self-government, then I say it is not a conference in which any representative of the British Crown could or would take part.

Now, Sir, at the risk of detaining the House further I must refer to what we are ourselves prepared to do in this connection. I do so because I wish that there shall be no mistake whatever about our position or that of the Home Government. It will be unnecessary for me to read to the House what I said at the opening debate as to the lines which our proposed inquiry should follow. We have reconsidered the position anxiously and carefully since then. I desire to say (and for what I say now I have the full authority of His Majesty's Government), we still hold to the general position I took up on behalf of Government. Before His Majesty's Government are able to consider the question of amending the constitution, as distinct from such amendments of the Act as are necessary to rectify any administrative imperfections, there must be a full investigation of any defects or difficulties which may have arisen in the transitional constitution. Neither they nor we would be justified in considering changes in that constitution until they were in possession of the information which our investigation would place in their hands. In 1919 Parliament, after the fullest consideration, laid down a scheme, transitional in its nature, but nevertheless carefully devised, with a view to effecting the steps necessary for the progressive realisation of the ideal embodied in the prelude to the Act. It is not to be supposed that the British Parliament would be lightly inclined to consider changes in that constitution; it is bound to concentrate attention for the present on such imperfections in its working as may have been disclosed by the experience of the last three years. I said we have carefully considered our position again, and we hold to that position in detail—save in one respect. If our inquiry into the defects of the working of the Act shows the feasibility and the possibility of any advance within the Act,—that is to say, by the use of the rule-making power provided by Parliament under the Statute, we are willing to make recommendations to this effect. But, if our inquiry shows that no advance is possible without amending the constitution, then the question of advance must be left as an entirely open and separate issue on which Government is in no way committed. To that extent the scope of our inquiry goes somewhat beyond that originally assigned to it; but I must again emphasise the fact that it does not extend beyond that scope to the amendment of the constitution itself. We shall no doubt be told that this is entirely insufficient, that it does not and will not remove the mistrust which is felt in this country regarding our intentions to assist India forward on the path of constitutional advance. That the Indian Government should be mistrusted seems to be its fate. We are clear in our own conscience; we must look to history for a justice which our contemporaries deny to us, and have no

[Sir Malcolm Hailey.]

doubt that history will endorse our own conviction of the consistent honesty of our purpose and the reality of our efforts. But it offends even more against my sense of justice that this charge should be brought against the English people who have initiated and fostered liberal institutions throughout the world. That mistrust extends to the British Government. I have no authority to speak for any section of politics in the United Kingdom, and for myself I do not believe that, where Indian policy is concerned, a change of helmsmen can mean a change in the course of the ship and statesmanship. But I again speak with the full authority of His Majesty's present Government when I say that they also have noted with grave concern the distrust shown by the advocates of constitutional reform regarding the good faith of His Majesty's Government and their attitude towards constitutional progress. They are sincerely convinced that the only hope for a satisfactory solution of the problems of the Government of India lies in a pursuance of the policy adopted in the Government of India Act and set forth in the Preamble. They associate themselves with the Indian party of constitutional progress in its aspiration towards responsible government, but they believe that this aim can only be realised if that party co-operate with Government in enabling the Act of 1919 to be administered as efficiently as possible in the interests of good government, Sir, it is because we ourselves also believe in the necessity of that co-operation that we ask responsible opinion to join our side to-day, and because we believe in the necessity of the proper administration of this Act that we have undertaken this investigation. I can only address myself to those who believe, as I believe, that ordered progress is only to be attained through the constitution as we now possess it. I ask them, before they are hurried into voting for a proposition which they themselves have never yet accepted and in which if there is anything in their previous record they do not honestly believe, to pause and consider their position. I ask them not to allow new advisers to tempt them beyond the bounds of prudent policy, or to induce them to follow into unexplored and uncharted seas full of difficulties and danger. They have before them a well marked course, longer perhaps in seeming, but clearly buoyed and lighted by those who have taken a somewhat similar journey themselves before. Every dictate of prudence and statesmanship demands that they shall follow that course and none other. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. President: The original Resolution was:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that he be pleased to take at a very early date the necessary steps (including if necessary procuring the appointment of a Royal Commission) for revising the Government of India Act so as to secure for India full self-governing Dominion status within the British Empire and Provincial autonomy in the Provinces."

Since which an amendment has been moved:

"That the following be substituted for the original Resolution:

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take steps to have the Government of India Act revised with a view to establish full responsible Government in India and for the said purpose:

- (a) to summon at an early date a representative Round Table Conference to recommend, with due regard to the protection of the rights and interests of important minorities, the scheme of a constitution for India; and
- (b) after dissolving the Central Legislature, to place the said scheme for approval before a newly elected Indian Legislature for its approval and submit the same to the British Parliament to be embodied in a Statute".

Further amendment moved :

" That in the amendment all the words after the words ' he be pleased ' be deleted and the following be substituted therefor :

' to forthwith appoint a Committee consisting of two-thirds members to be elected by the elected Members of this House, to (i) examine the possibilities of the expansion of responsibility in the provinces to the utmost limits permissible under the present Government of India Act, and advise the Government to take the necessary steps to secure such expansion by Regulations framed under this Act, within the year 1924; and (ii) to prepare the outlines of a Bill to amend the present Government of India Act with a view to secure the establishment of full responsible Government in India, under the terms of Parliamentary Announcement of August 20, 1917, within the life time of the present Indian Legislature, by the transference of all departments at present administered by the Governor General in Council, to the control of the Indian Legislature, except Foreign Affairs, pending the constitutional reconstruction of the Empire, including relations with the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India, and for the next ten years only, the Army, the Navy, and the Air-Force ' "

The question is that this amendment be made . . .

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: I have a suggestion to make, Sir, as regards the procedure in putting this Resolution; I would suggest that the two parts of the amendment of Pandit Motilal Nehru be put separately to the vote, when that amendment comes to be put.

Mr. President: It will simplify the issue, between Pandit Motilal Nehru's amendment and Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal's amendment, if the latter is disposed of. The question is that the latter be substituted for the former.

The motion was negatived.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: You will see, Sir, now that we have come to Pandit Motilal Nehru's amendment, that the first portion wants to take steps to have the Government of India Act revised with a view to establish full responsible government in India; then, the latter portion says that for the said purpose such and such a procedure should be adopted. Sir, from the discussion you will have noticed that, while there are many who are in favour of the first portion, there are some who differ in the procedure to be adopted; and therefore, Sir, I ask that the first portion be put separately from the second portion.

Pandit Motilal Nehru: I have no objection to it, Sir.

Mr. President: Does the Honourable Member propose that the first six lines of Pandit Motilal Nehru's amendment should be substituted for the whole of his own Resolution?

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: I suggest that the amendment be put in parts.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member will observe that this is an amendment to his Resolution and therefore, if something is proposed to be carried as an amendment to the Resolution, it must take the place of the Resolution or be inserted in the Resolution. Pandit Motilal Nehru's amendment is put in the form of a substitution of an entire Resolution for the other Resolution; but that form is merely a matter of convenience. What I want to know is whether the Honourable Member is prepared to accept the substitution of the first

[Mr. President.]

part of Pandit Motilal Nehru's amendment for the entire Resolution in his name. It is understood that the Assembly will be free to vote on the other amendment as an addition to it.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: My suggestion is, Sir, that the Assembly should have an opportunity of voting on both portions of the amendment.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: And if they carry only one?

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: The rest will be put of course.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: What becomes of the Resolution?

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: It is not my suggestion that the first portion alone should be substituted for my Resolution, but that after this is put to the vote the other may be put to the vote, leaving the question open as to the second part.

Mr. President: I propose to follow the suggestion made by the Deputy President that we take the amendment in three separate sections, the first laying down a principle, and the other two suggesting the procedure to be adopted in furtherance of that principle. The question is:

"That the words 'this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take steps to have the Government of India Act revised with a view to establish full responsible Government in India' be substituted for the original Resolution."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That the words 'and for the said purpose:

(a) to summon at an early date a representative Round Table Conference to recommend, with due regard to the protection of the rights and interests of important minorities, the scheme of a constitution for India' "

be added to the amended Resolution.

The motion was adopted:

Mr. President: The question is:

"That the following be added to the amended Resolution:

'and (b) after dissolving the Central Legislature, to place the said scheme for approval before a newly elected Indian Legislature for its approval and submit the same to the British Parliament to be embodied in a Statute.' "

The motion was adopted:

Mr. President: The question is that the Resolution, as amended*, be adopted.

* "This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take steps to have the Government of India Act revised with a view to establish full responsible Government in India and for the said purpose:

(a) to summon at an early date a representative Round Table Conference to recommend, with due regard to the protection of the rights and interests of important minorities, the scheme of a constitution for India; and

(b) after dissolving the Central Legislature, to place the said scheme for approval before a newly elected Indian Legislature for its approval and submit the same to the British Parliament to be embodied in a Statute."

The Assembly divided :

AYES—76.

Abdul Haye, Mr.
Abdul Karim, Khwaja.
Abhyankar, Mr. M. V.
Ahmad Ali Khan, Mr.
Aiyangar, Mr. C. Duraiswami.
Aiyangar, Mr. K. Rama.
Aney, Mr. M. S.
Belvi, Mr. D. V.
Bhat, Mr. K. Sadasiva.
Chaman Lal, Mr.
Chanda, Mr. Kamini Kumar.
Chetty, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham.
Das, Mr. Bhuvananda.
Das, Mr. Nilakantha.
Datta, Dr. S. K.
Duni Chand, Lala.
Dutt, Mr. Amar Nath.
Ghose, Mr. S. C.
Gour, Dr. H. S.
Govind Das, Seth.
Gulab Singh, Sardar.
Hans Raj, Lala.
Hari Prasad Lal, Rai.
Hyder, Dr. L. K.
Ismail Khan, Nawab.
Iyengar, Mr. A. Rangaswami.
Jeelani, Haji S. A. K.
Jinnah, Mr. M. A.
Joshi, Mr. N. M.
Kartar Singh, Sardar.
Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Seth.
Kasim Ali, Mr. M.
Kelkar, Mr. N. C.
Kun, Maung.
Lohokare, Mr. K. G.
Mahmood Schammad Sahib Bahadur, Mr.
Malaviya, Pandit Krishna Kant.
Malaviya, Pandit Madan Mohan

Mehta, Mr. Jamnadas M.
Misra, Mr. Shambhu Dayal.
Misra, Pandit Harkaran Nath.
Murtuza Sahib Bahadur, Maulvi Sayad.
Mutalik, Sardar V. N.
Nambiyar, Mr. K. K.
Narain Dass, Mr.
Nehru, Dr. Kishenlal.
Nehru, Pandit Motilal.
Nehru, Pandit Shamlal.
Neogy, Mr. K. C.
Pal, Mr. Bipin Chandra.
Patel, Mr. V. J.
Phookun, Mr. Tarun Ram.
Piyare Lal, Lala.
Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sir.
Ramachandra Rao, Diwan Bahadur M.
Rangachariar, Diwan Bahadur T.
Ranga Iyer, Mr. C. S.
Ray, Mr. Kumar Sankar.
Reddi, Mr. K. Venkataramana.
Roy, Mr. Bhabendra Chandra.
Sadiq Hasan, Sheikh.
Samiullah Khan, Mr. M.
Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Khan Bahadur.
Shafee, Maulvi Muhammad.
Singh, Mr. Gaya Prasad.
Sinha, Mr. Ambika Prasad.
Sinha, Mr. Devaki Prasad.
Sinha, Kumar Ganganand.
Syamacharan, Mr.
Tok Kyi, Maung.
Ujagar Singh Bedi, Baba.
Venkapatiraju, Mr. B.
Vishindas, Mr. Harchandrai.
Wajihuddin, Haji.
Yakub, Maulvi Muhammad.
Yusuf Imam, Mr. M.

NOES—48.

Abdul Qaiyum, Nawab Sir Sahibzada.
Abul Kasem, Maulvi.
Aiyer, Sir P. S. Sivaswamy.
Ajab Khan, Captain.
Akram Hussain, Prince A. M. M.
Alimuzzaman Chowdhry, Mr.
Allen, Mr. B. C.
Bahawal Baksh, Chaudhri.
Bell, Mr. R. D.
Blackett, The Honourable Sir Basil.
Burdon, Mr. E.
Butler, Mr. M. S. D.
Calvert, Mr. H.
Chatterjee, The Honourable Mr. A. C.
Clarke, Mr. G. R.
Cocke, Mr. H. G.
Dalal, Sardar B. A.
Dumasia, Mr. N. M.
Dunk, Mr. H. R.
Faridoonji, Mr. R.
Fleming, Mr. E. G.
Fraser, Sir Gordon.
Ghulam Bari, Khan Sahib
Gidney, Lieut.-Col. H. A. J.

Hailey, The Honourable Sir Malcolm.
Hira Singh, Sardar Bahadur Captain.
Holme, Mr. H. E.
Howell, Mr. E. B.
Innes, The Honourable Sir Charles.
Lindsay, Mr. Darcy.
Moir, Mr. T. E.
Moucrieff Smith, Sir Henry.
Nag, Mr. G. C.
O'Malley, Mr. B. S. S.
Owens, Lieut.-Colonel F. C.
Parsons, Mr. A. A. L.
Percival, Mr. P. E.
Pilcher, Mr. G.
Rhodes, Sir Campbell.
Richey, Mr. J. A.
Rushbrook-Williams, Prof. L. F.
Samarth, Mr. N. M.
Shams-uz-Zoha, Khan Bahadur M.
Singh, Rai Bahadur S. N.
Stanyon, Colonel Sir Henry.
Tottenham, Mr. A. R. L.
Turing, Mr. J. M.
Willson, Mr. W. S. J.

The motion was adopted.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, the 19th February, 1924.