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THE
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

(Official Report)

Volume IV, Part V

(3rd September to 16th September 1924)

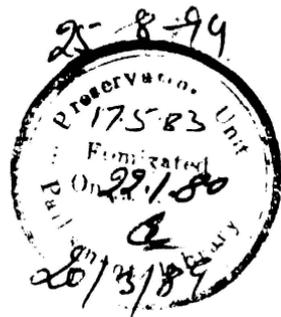
FIRST SESSION

OF THE

SECOND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 1924



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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Friday, 12th September, 1924.

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

EXERCISE OF THE DISCRETION OF THE CHAIR TO DISPENSE WITH QUESTIONS.

Mr. President : On a previous occasion, when there was a matter of great importance before the House, I used the discretion of the Chair to dispense with questions. This is a case in which we might reasonably follow that precedent, and I think I shall be consulting the interests of the House as a whole if I suggest that we proceed to resume debate on the Lee Commission's Report at once. Members will not thereby lose any opportunity otherwise available to them for asking questions of the Government.

RIOT AT KOHAT.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar (Madras City : Non-Muhammadan, Urban) : May I, with your permission, ask a question of the Foreign Secretary of which I have given private notice—regarding the riot that happened at Kohat ? Is the Foreign Secretary in a position to make a statement regarding the riot at Kohat ?

Mr. Denys Bray (Foreign Secretary) : A riot broke out between the Hindus and Muhammadans of Kohat about midday on Tuesday. Fire arms were used by the rioters causing several casualties, and parts of the city were fired. The situation quickly grew beyond the power of the police to control, and no time was lost in calling on the military for assistance. A squadron of cavalry and a company of infantry were at once sent to the city. As firing continued, the infantry entered, and, at the request of the Deputy Commissioner, opened fire on men who were firing from the upper windows of the houses. In all nine single shots were fired by the troops. It is not known whether these took effect or not ; but the firing from the houses ceased. Meanwhile fires arose in different areas and gained considerable hold. Extra troops were sent into the city to fight the fire and stop looting which had started. All fires but one were under control at night fall and the city was outwardly quiet.

Magistrates and police remained within the city and troops were employed in picketing and patrolling. The night passed quietly. Troops re-entered the city on the morning of the 10th and extinguished the fire. But there was fresh firing and fresh incendiarism in the morning, due in part apparently to outsiders who had managed to elude the patrols and enter the city in the dark. Shots were fired at the fire extinguishing parties, and police and frontier constabulary swept the city. Much assistance was given by the troops to the civil authorities in the difficult task of rescuing the Hindus in the city. By

[Mr. Denys Bray.]

the evening most of them had been extricated and desultory firing had ceased. The roll of killed and wounded is still unknown, but the reports I have received estimate the killed at about 12 and the wounded at about double.

My reports, as is often the case where the men who have to report are in the thick of anxious happenings and urgent action, are still incomplete and lacking in detail. In particular I have yet to receive an authoritative account of the causes—or rather the immediate cause—of this most deplorable tragedy.

Pandit Shamlal Nehru (Meerut Division : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : May I know, Sir, if any steps were taken to deprive the rioters of their fire-arms ?

Mr. Denys Bray : I fear I must have given the Honourable Member a very poor account of this most deplorable business, for it to be possible for him to put to me such a question.

PROCEDURE IN REGARD TO THE AMENDMENTS TO THE GOVERNMENT RESOLUTION RELATING TO THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE LEE COMMISSION.

Dr. H. S. Gour (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, may I ask your ruling on a question of procedure ? There are nineteen amendments on the agenda paper ? If the amendment of Pandit Motilal Nehru is carried, what will be its effect upon the other amendments which stand on the paper ?

Mr. President : If the amendment now under discussion standing in the name of Pandit Motilal Nehru is carried, then all the other amendments fall to the ground.

Khan Bahadur W. M. Hussanally (Sind Muhammadan : Rural) : May I inquire one thing, Sir ? Is the amendment of Pandit Motilal Nehru to be put forward as a whole or in parts, as it is just possible that some Members may not be in a position to agree to or oppose the whole amendment ?

Mr. President : I am prepared to put the amendment in parts when we come to the point when, after discussion, the question will be put from the Chair.

RESOLUTION *RE* RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE LEE COMMISSION—*concl'd.*

Mr. H. Calvert (Punjab : Nominated Official) : Sir, I feel that I am in a somewhat difficult position in addressing the House to-day for, Sir, I am a member of the Services and am personally affected by the decisions to be taken on the Report. But, Sir, I would ask the indulgence of this House to accept what I have to say, not as a special personal plea on my own part, but as representing the other members of the Services, as I have been authorised to speak as the President of the All-India Association of European Government Servants. I am not, Sir, going to ask for any generosity from this House—I appeal solely to their sense of justice and fairplay. I wish to put a few salient points of

the case of the Services and shall trust to the judicial fair-mindedness of Honourable Members for a fair consideration of our case. I should like, Sir, to thank the Honourable the Leader of the House for repudiating the suggestion that the financial recommendations of the Lee Commission were in any sense whatever designed to make the Services loyal to the reforms. It may have been, Sir, an accident, or it may have been designed that that charge should have been sent round to some of us in the form of an advertisement, but it has been said outside the House, not inside. Further, Sir, there is one more matter I should like to mention. There have been strong attacks outside the **House on the Indian members of the Commission. I should like, Sir, on behalf of the Services to say that if ever Indians are again placed in similar positions of difficulty and responsibility, they can rely upon the confidence of the Services in their integrity, impartiality and sense of justice.** Now, Sir, I am going to assume that all Honourable Members have read that little blue-book of extracts from Service representations, and I do not intend to cover the ground dealt with in that little blue-book. This Report of the Lee Commission has been received throughout the Services of India with a feeling of keen disappointment. The Report itself admits a rise of prices, within a short period, of 60 per cent. and recommends relief to the extent of 6 to 10 per cent. We must remember, Sir, that the Services received no relief and no war bonus and no special consideration for the rise in prices. I should like just once again to refer to the statement made by Mr. Montagu in a letter to the *Times* in January 1923. He said :

“ It is undoubtedly true that the Services in India have not received increases of pay comparable to those received by the Services at Home ; that the increases of pay which they have received were in the main regarded, after authoritative inquiry as due before the worldwide rise in the cost of living which resulted from the war ; and that these increases were fixed when the rate of exchange was, and was expected to remain, more favourable than it is to-day or is likely to be for some time.”

In the House of Lords, Sir, Lord Lee said practically the same thing when he said :

“ No account has been taken of the change in prices brought about by the war. The result was that the position of the Indian Civil Services was immeasurably worse than that of Civil Servants at Home.”

The result is, Sir, that the position of the Services in India was really much worse than the Royal Commission recognised. The fact is that there has been no increase of pay worth noting in superior posts for the last 55 years. The pensions of the uncovenanted services, as stated in the little book which has been circulated, have remained without increase for nearly 70 years.

What actually happened, Sir, was this. We prepared, with the greatest care, budgets for submission to the Royal Commission. We discussed in various places, in various ways, how we should present our case. We had conferences at Simla, conferences down at Nagpur, and we finally saw that the schemes practically in the net result worked out to very much the same, and we were able to bring all the Services together to agree on one single case to be put before the Royal Commission. Now, what happened ? We prepared the case with great care and we took trouble to put forth nothing that would not stand the test of strict cross-examination on its details. We spent a lot of time and took a lot of care over it. Yet the Commission stated in paragraph 46 that they had not time to examine the case put forward, but, Sir,

[Mr. H. Calvert.]

curiously enough, they had the time to examine the finances of the Government of India in such detail as to be able to say that they could not bear a heavier burden. The result is, Sir, that the Commission has left untouched a large number of grievances which were brought to its notice. It has left unsolved the question of the provident and family pension fund for the un-covenanted services, such as the revenue establishments of railways and specialist officers. The Women's Educational Service, a service composed of devoted, patient and honourable women, whose labour has surely earned credit from everybody, who are trying to remove the curse of illiteracy amongst women, they, Sir, were nearly recognised as worthy of consideration and no recommendation was made to relieve that position. I trust that Honourable Members who take any interest in the education of Indian women will press the Indian Government to relieve the grievances of the members of the Women's Educational Service. Now, Sir, we value this Report of the Commission not for the recommendations which are annexed to it, but for its very clear admission of the fairness and justice of the case we put before them. It admits, and fully admits, that we have very serious grievances; and we gather that although, in the interests of unanimity, the members could not put their signatures to it, they actually asked Sir Reginald Craddock to record a statement of what he thought was fair and just. Now, Sir, I am not going into a detailed consideration of the case of the Services. I wish to speak chiefly on two points, both of which are mentioned in the amendment of Pandit Motilal Nehru and they also find a place in the amendment of Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar. In both cases, the idea is that the Services are a burden on the tax-payer and that it will be necessary to increase taxation. There is also a complaint that the evidence was not placed before this House. Sir, in so far as the evidence relates to Service grievances, there is nothing confidential and nothing secret about it. The materials on which we based our case are available to everybody. I may say, Sir, that I am going to refer particularly to the Civil List of 1875. The Civil List of 1875 has been in the Secretariat Library ever since 1875, and there is nothing secret, nothing confidential about it. Then, Sir, Datta's "Rise of Prices," which is a monumental work, is open to the public; it is open to anybody to read who has patience, and it is, in part, the basis of our plea. Now, Sir, let us take this charge that we are a burden on the finances of the country. That charge, Sir, is so ridiculous that it is almost a waste of time to contest it. I will begin with the Finance Department of the Government of India. Can anyone pretend that the Finance Department of the Government of India is a burden to the tax-payer? That department exists to save the tax-payers' money, and those who are in the Services can testify from experience, both varied and extensive, how much money they do save. Now, Sir, in the course of this debate, there has been some discussion as to what the position of the Service is now and what it was, as the Leader of the House referred to, in 1912, and in 1914, which was mentioned by Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar. I have taken the trouble to examine in detail the Civil Lists for 1875 and the Civil Lists for 1898. I took 1875 as that happened to be the oldest Civil List available in the Punjab Secretariat. I have worked out the pay drawn by officers in the regular line in the Provinces for 25 years. It may interest Honourable Members to know in comparing that pay drawn for 25 years' service in 1875 with the present pay, it was

higher than than it is now. What really happened was this. In the early days when the cost of living in this country was fairly low, officers were able to save and the pension they got was sufficiently liberal. As the cost of living has risen the pension has become relatively smaller and officers have been unable to save. The result is that they retire at a later age and so we have a progressively increasing block in promotion. The result is, if you take an officer of 25 years' service in the regular line, he is progressively getting less and less. If to our scale of 1875 pay we add exchange compensation allowance, about 6 per cent., and if to the pay now drawn you add overseas pay, then the result is an increase by 8 per cent. as compared to what it was 50 years ago. I am not, Sir, going into the figures which Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar gave the House yesterday about the rise in the cost of living since 1914. I do not think it is necessary to discuss the rise in the cost of living since 1875. I think all Members of this House will agree that the cost of living now as compared with 1875 has risen by more than a hundred per cent. (*Pandit Shamlal Nehru* : "What about the increment in 1920?") The increment, compared to the rise in cost of living in the last 50 years is inadequate. I may also say that Indians entering the Civil Service at the present scale will continue to draw less pay than what officers drew in 1875. Now, Sir, one result is that throughout the Provinces of India in all the regular line posts, there are senior officers of 22 years' service and over drawing less pay than officers of the same seniority 50 years ago ; they are actually drawing less rupees per month. Since the 1919 scale of pay, senior officers in many Provinces have been actually drawing less than before. Commissioners, Financial Commissioners, Chief Secretaries, all had their pay reduced by the 1919 scale. Now, Sir, one of the biggest difficulties which faces the Government in trying to deal fairly with its Services is this problem of the block in promotion, and it was owing to this block in promotion that there was a very serious decline in prospects, which led to the appointment of the Islington Commission. That Commission, Sir, set itself, not to increase the pay of our Services, but to remove the effects of the blocking of promotion. There has been a great deal said about the year 1898 and I will say something more now. The year 1898 was referred to in the Montford Report. If you compare the 1919 scale with the pay drawn in 1898, it will be seen that beyond the first few years there is not a single year which received more pay than that drawn in 1898. In fact, the 1919 scale gave less than the average of 1898. This difference, Sir, was made up by the overseas pay, and thus the 1919 scale became practically the 1898 scale. Now, the 1919 scale dealt with the blocking of promotion. The result was that it gave a rise of pay of about 25 per cent. to officers from the 7th to the 16th year of service. Above 16 years it gave less and above 21 years it actually gave a scale which was less than that drawn in 1875. I am mentioning these facts because there is the impression in the House that the 1919 scale has given much to the Services. It has also been mentioned in this House that this scale led to increased expenditure. That increase of expenditure, Sir, did not represent any fresh burden. It simply represented the sum which had been saved to the State by the accumulated blocking of promotion. Even the Report of the Lee Commission will pay the members of the Indian Civil Service less than 25 per cent. over the 1875 scale. Now, Sir, Honourable Members have not fully appreciated this important matter, because when the Secretary of State has to advertise for recruits, he actually has to advertise the best and most favourable terms.

[Mr. H. Calvert.]

In the Communiqué of 1919 it was mentioned that "the new time-scale represents a substantial increase on the rates at present in force. The initial emoluments have been raised by 50 per cent." Well, Sir, people might think that this 1919 time-scale represented a considerable rise in pay. I must admit that it did raise the initial emoluments by 50 per cent. for the first six months. But officers in the second year of their service drew less. In fact they would have preferred to draw the old scale because in 1919 we were feeling the effects of the stoppage of recruitment during the war. The result was that the lowest grade of Assistant Commissioners was practically empty. Any young man who entered into the Service would act in the 700 grade after the first year of his service.

Mr. President : I will ask the Honourable Member to draw his remarks to a close.

Mr. H. Calvert : I have to deal with various Services and I hope you will just give me a few minutes. The main point is that these Services are a source of profit to the State. The forests of India in 1875 were going to destruction. We got trained men about that time and they are now a source of profit to the State and are earning a large income. The Irrigation Services have added to the revenues of India something like 83 crores. The Engineering Service has also done a lot for the country. The Railways of India have latterly been giving an annual net surplus. They have not been a burden on the tax-payer. If we consider the question of proportion I may say, Sir, that the recommendations of the Lee Commission will have practically no effect on the tax-payer. In the Irrigation Department the pay of the Imperial Service officers is only 1.9 per cent. of the gross receipts from the Irrigation works. It is about less than 3 per cent. on construction. Thus the cost of the Imperial Service is practically negligible, and the small rise of 6 or 7 per cent. is nothing. I know, Sir, that some Honourable Members do not give us the credit for adding to the material prosperity of India. I may just mention, Sir, that the Irrigation Works now bring in a gross produce of about 170 crores of rupees every year. Yet Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar and Pandit Motilal Nehru say that the tax-payers cannot afford to pay the enormous amount. There is no time to go into the details, but the population which depends upon this irrigation is something like 45 millions, which is larger than the whole population of France. The area under irrigation is at present something like 28 million acres and, if works under construction are brought to completion, the area will be increased to 40 million acres.

Mr. President : The Honourable Member has exceeded his time-limit and is now becoming irrelevant.

Mr. H. Calvert : They are not a burden on the State. The European Services in this country bring large sums of revenue every year which relieves the tax-payer. They bring large sums of money from Irrigation ; large sums of money from Railways and large sums of money from "Civil Justice." So far from being a burden on the tax-payer they relieve the tax-payer of these large sums of money, which would have to be raised otherwise.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas (Indian Merchants' Chamber : Indian Commerce) : Sir, I rise to support the Honourable Pandit Motilal

Nehru's amendment. My electorate, the Indian Merchants' Chamber of Bombay, gave evidence before the Lee Commission and that evidence was not given under the seal of secrecy, but was available to the press at that time. My views, therefore, to-day before this House will be in conformity with that evidence and will be in disapproval of the Report submitted by the Lee Commissioners.

The Honourable the Commerce Member reminded this House at the very start of his speech that they were dealing with the Report of a Commission which was a Royal Commission, a Commission appointed by His Majesty the King Emperor. I have no doubt that the Honourable Member referred to this in order to remind the Honourable Members that their sense of loyalty to the Crown required them to consider the Report with all the respect due to the appointment by the Crown, and perhaps partly asking for the endorsement of the Report on the same ground. I wish the Honourable the Commerce Member had also reminded this House that His Majesty the King Emperor, George V, was a constitutional Monarch of a most high and ideal order and that it would be best for this Assembly ever hereafter, whenever any question comes before them, to bear in mind that the King can do no wrong.

If any wrong is done to the subjects of His Majesty the King Emperor, it is owing to the advice to His Majesty, which he, as the ideal constitutional Monarch, is bound to follow. I therefore submit, Sir, that there is nothing wanting in loyalty to the Crown if this House considers even the Royal Commission's Report, not on sentiment of deep loyalty to the Crown, which I know is embedded in the minds of every one in this House, but on merits of the Report.

I would, Sir, before I pass on, refer to the last portion of the speech of the Honourable the Leader of the House. I do not know if my Honourable friend from Madras, Mr. Shanmukham Chetty, had it from the Leader of the House that he (the latter) referred in his criticism of the Services to them as "mercenary hordes" in order to fit in his excellent quotation at the end, but I should like, Sir, to pay my tribute of admiration to the great and good work that has been done by the Services till now. I am sure, however, that the Honourable the Leader of the House will admit that, if the Services have done well by India, India also till now has treated the Services very well indeed....

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman : I should like to assure my Honourable friend that I did not make remarks of that kind in order to adorn my speech ; I said that because I felt it and felt it deeply.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas : I have no doubt of that because I felt the Honourable the Leader of the House spoke with genuine feeling and hence my reference. But, Sir, that admiration on our part of the work done by the Services till now should not prevent us from looking at the proposition put before us in a fair-minded way, in a spirit of justice both to the Services, and I claim in a spirit of justice and fair-mindedness, also to the tax-payer.

Grave warnings have been uttered in responsible quarters before now regarding the apprehensions of some in case the Royal Commission's recommendations are not put in force. Viscount Lee, speaking

[Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas.]

in the House of Lords, said :

“ The present position is, as it seems to me, deplorable and must be alleviated, unless we are prepared to say that we are going...to step out of our responsibility in India and haul down the flag.”

Later on he said :

“ I go further and state my belief that, unless the morale and contentment of the Services be restored, it will be the first step on the road to our losing India altogether.”

Viscount Inchcape said :

“ If the authority of the Viceroy and the Civil Services,” (*I would like the House to mark the bracketting*) “ should be undermined, then woe betide the country.”

The Marquess Curzon after deploring that a fatal inertia had settled down on everybody, and nobody could make up their minds what they were going to do, except the Swarajists, wound up his speech by asking what the Government were going to do. He said :

“ Are they going to embark once again, as it is such a temptation to Governments to do, upon a course of vacillation here and compromise there, and surrender somewhere else,—a policy of drift all round ? ”

He said :

“ That, as every member allows, means disaster and damnation, not only to us, but to India itself.”

These are grave warnings by persons distinguished for great services to the Empire, but one cannot help observing that these Noble Lords look at the problems facing the Government of India and this Assembly at present only from one narrow point of view, namely, how to maintain the supremacy of England in India on the same basis as existed perhaps at the period when the Crown took over India. That, I submit, is a serious omission and must prejudice their conclusions. The result is that the British Parliament and people are unable to get at the real state of things here in India. Even the Government of India are not good enough at times to command the confidence of some of these gentry.

And now, Sir, what is the nature of the Report which we are told must be accepted by this House, and which, if this House does not accept, very grave and dismal things will happen ? Viscount Lee again in the House of Lords admitted that it was a “ compromise, balanced and honourable ” as he put it. It therefore follows that the conclusions of the Royal Commission are not logical and just conclusions of the Commissioners on the evidence recorded by them. As My Honourable friend Mr. Chetty said yesterday, there are two parties to this compromise, the first the Indian Commissioners and the other the British Commissioners. How much did each compromise is what this country wants to know ? Who sacrificed fundamental principles and who sacrificed minor details ? The Indian Commissioners have been criticised, not in their personal capacity, Sir, but as Commissioners on that Royal Commission, for the reason that India suspects that they gave way on substance and that the British Commissioners gave way on shadow and on small details. May I ask the Honourable the Commerce Member, Sir, whether a Commission, and a Royal Commission at that, was appointed for the purpose of a compromise ? Was that a part of the reference to the Royal Commission ? Should it not have been left to the Government and to this Assembly, if necessary, to compromise ?

Were they not bound to submit to His Majesty a report based on their just and fair conclusions, arrived at on the evidence and the material submitted to them? I therefore am surprised at Honourable Members getting up one after another and saying that the Report is a document which merits our acceptance, in spite of the absence of any evidence on which they went. I am awaiting from the Honourable the Leader of the House a few of the instances, which he said yesterday at question time he knew of many, where the Government of India had accepted reports of Commissions and Committees without the relative evidence being submitted. I hope the Honourable the Leader of the House, when he gets up to reply to this debate, may be able to give me a few instances, barring the one instance which was hurled at me from the benches opposite, namely, the instance of the Incheape Committee's Report, an instance which, I submit, does not stand on all fours and is not of the same nature as the instances which the Honourable the Leader of the House promised, and which this House expects.

Sir, the Royal Commission seem to have followed a most extraordinary procedure. In paragraphs 106 and 107 they say that 411 witnesses were examined by them. 152 of these only could stand the light of public criticism and of public information of their views. This by the way amounts to only 35 per cent. of the total number of witnesses. 65 per cent. of these witnesses elected, or if there is anything, in what my Honourable friend the Pandit mentioned, were asked to give evidence in camera. I am not expressing an opinion; I expect the Honourable the Leader of the House to give a reply later to what was said by Pandit Motilal Nehru regarding what happened to some witnesses in Madras. But, Sir, it does not stop there. We should like to know who it is that elected to give evidence only in camera. Even the names of the witnesses who appeared before the Commission are not given in the body of the Report. Certainly it is in fairness due to the Honourable Member Mr. Calvert, the President of the Services Association in India, that we should know the names of members of the Services who insisted on absolute secrecy of their views, for did not my friend say that all the members of the Services gave their evidence in public. Why then are their views not submitted to this House?

I will wind up, Sir, by naming only eight items on which I think the Commission should have attached statements showing the facts and figures into which they must have gone or they ought to have gone before they could make up their minds. There are no statements attached to the Report regarding examination of figures by the Royal Commission of the following:

1. Increases in cost of living in India as compared with increases in the cost of living in England.

2. Comparisons with other countries such as important countries of Europe, America, Japan, and the Colonies, including the Crown Colonies, of increased cost of living and increases given in these various countries to their Services.

3. Increases given to the Provincial Services in India with grades of their pays. I mention grades of pays because I think it very necessary to know what grades of pays were being dealt with, for it is evident that a peon has to be given an increase every time the cost of living goes up even by a rupee or two because his margin of savings is so small.

[Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas.]

4. Increase and percentage of the increases to Provincial Services.
5. Increases given, if any, to the Medical Services.
6. Increases given to the Military Services.
7. Increases given by commercial firms during the war, which was a "boom" period for trade and which was apparently a prosperous time for all commercial firms.
8. Decreases and cuts made by commercial firms since 1920-21 which has been a period of depression and therefore of adversity for these commercial firms.

Sir, I feel that if these statements were attached to the Report, even without the evidence being submitted to us, it would have enabled us to make sure that the Royal Commission had examined all these various aspects which are indicated by these various tables that I have asked for and we could ourselves judge the question better than to-day.

In Chapter 6 of the Report the Commission consider the question of pay and allowances and in paragraph 47 they come to the conclusion that the present rates of pay are below the level which proved attractive 20 years ago. The question however is what about the allowances and increases introduced during the last 20 years, and have there not been other concessions given, directly or indirectly, during the last 20 years? I see the Honourable the Finance Member says "None". I will only mention the omission of the 4 per cent. contribution to annuity which was calculated in the year 1914 to have cost the State 9 lakhs of rupees. That is at least one instance; but I have in my mind, Sir, the time-scale, better leave rules and—I speak subject to correction—changes in the pension rules. The Commissioners go on in paragraph 48 to state how, in their opinion, employes of commercial firms have done better since 1914 than the All-India Services. It is surprising that the Commission should have overlooked here the obvious difference between service in a commercial firm and services such as the All-India Services. In the former—that is, a commercial firm—the prospects of a recruit are absolutely dependent on the progress of the firm. It is true that in prosperous concerns the few men at the top do very well, but these are invariably men of proved ability and of acknowledged popularity with the community in the midst of which the firm's business may lie. The others not only never get anywhere near the top but get no concessions like proportionate pensions—which by the way is going to cost India a good deal—should they conceive a dislike for their selected firms or for their selected lines. Further, promotions in Government service are more or less assured and safe, whereas in commercial firms they depend on absolute merit and capacity. I have got, Sir, here a statement again of one of the largest employers of commercial labour in India, Viscount Inchcape, who, speaking in the House of Lords in response to Viscount Lee's invitation on the 31st July last, said:

"At the end of the third year the emoluments increase according to ability displayed."

Not according to a time-scale nor according to grade but according to ability. He further went on to say:

"Beyond that they rise gradually to Rs. 3,000"—according to merit again—
"and those who have shown exceptional ability are admitted as partners, though, of course, this is not possible in every case, just as it is impossible for every midshipman to become an admiral."

But in Government service it is possible, it is feasible, it is claimed as a right, that the junior entering the service on Rs. 600 or 700 must get to Rs. 3,000 or Rs. 3,500.

The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee (Industries Member) : Oh no ; that is not so.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas : And yet we are told that service in the superior grade of the Government of India and service in commercial firms has much in common. In short, Sir, careers in the All-India Services are assured except in cases of proved fraud. One wonders if the commercial firms of whom the Commission made inquiries told them really that the average careers there were anything like as safe and as secure for promotion to the highest offices as they are known to be in the All-India Services. But the most interesting difference in this respect is narrated in paragraph 82 of the Report. The Commissioners say :

“ The Services claim that whatever may be the legal interpretation of the words ‘ existing or accruing rights ’ their intention was to secure to them the prospects of promotion to all higher posts existing at the time the Act was passed or alternatively to secure for them compensation for the loss of such prospect through the abolition of these appointments.”

The Commission’s recommendation requires to be narrated in their own words :

“ We recommend therefore that the Secretary of State should refer such claims for compensation, as they rise for consideration and report by the Public Services Commission, which being the expert authority in India on all service questions, will be well qualified to form a just opinion.”

The Indian Members—for once they differ somewhere in the Report from their colleagues—the Indian Members would limit this reference to the Public Services Commission to cases other than those necessitated by retrenchment or curtailment of work. One wonders what commercial firms were known to the Commission to even consider such claims. If a firm made up their mind to restrict the scope of their business, would their staff have any claim against them, Sir ? I really wonder if things having something common were being considered by the Commission.

The question of security of pension in the All-India Services is another point in the same category. Cases have been known of pensions and provident funds of staffs of commercial firms, and I will add, in order that I may not be interrupted, even of big banking institutions, disappearing with the solvency of the concerns where the men were serving. It is therefore difficult to feel that the Commission were trying to compare two things that were at all alike. It is difficult even to conjecture, Sir, the species of commercial business to which the Commission refer in paragraph 48 of their Report. As stated above the security of posts and practical guarantee of promotion is, beyond comparison, more assured in Government service in India than in any other service, commercial or industrial. In fact, amongst us Indians, it is notorious that, despite serious handicaps to Indians in Government service, there is always a craving for a post in Government service based on what, Sir ? Based on the securities named above, namely, the security of promotion and the security of service. No reference is made to these facts which proves that the Commission either had not these points of view put before them, or if they were put before them, they were not given the consideration which they very strongly carry with them.

Mr. President : I will ask the Honourable Member to bring his remarks to a close.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas : The only question that remains to be considered is, whether the pay, allowances and pensions of the All-India Services are adequate or not. In paragraph 46 the Commission say that the Services placed before them carefully compiled statements of current income and expenditure. Even these, Sir, are not attached to the Report, and one wonders whether they were handed in under the seal of secrecy. I know that subsequently some of these have been circulated to the House, but the Commission did not print those that they mention. Now, what is the basis which the Commission go upon ? They go upon the basis or rather the criterion adopted by the Islington Commission, namely, not merely to give the Services an adequate return according to the market value of such hands, but to give them the rate which proved attractive twenty years back. And, Sir, what was the rate which was attractive twenty years ago ? What was the saving then made by the Services ? What is it that we are asked to provide in order that the Services may be contented ?

I shall pass on to a further aspect of the question. Mr. Calvert said that the increase of pay to the Services since 1875 has been 8 per cent. I understood the Honourable the Leader of the House to say that it was something between 10 and 11 per cent. But I have here the reply given by Earl Winterton on 27th February 1923 to a question by Mr. Hancock, asking for the number of officers in the Indian Civil Service during the years 1913-14 to 1922-23 and their pay and allowances, taking the rupee at 16*d*. In 1913-14 the average worked out to £1,580 per head ; in 1918-19 it worked out to £1,658 per head, in 1920-21 to £1,928 per head, and in 1922-23 to £2,024 per head. By simple division I have worked out the percentage of increase to be about 20 per cent. Now, Sir, may I ask if, in view of the increase in prices of 100 per cent, the various other Services in India have been given increases commensurate with it, and if not, will the Government tolerate any demand by them if they put forward their budgets and show that even with the increases which they have been given they cannot make both ends meet.

I now pass on hurriedly to my main conclusion.

Mr. President : The Honourable Member cannot develop his main conclusion now.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas : May I speak for five minutes more ?

Mr. President : No.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett : (Finance Member) : Sir, I rise to oppose the amendment which has been moved by the Honourable Pandit. I shall endeavour in doing so to fulfil the promise which was made on my behalf by the Honourable the Leader of the House that I would deal with more general questions in regard to the financial effect of the Lee Commission's proposals. I shall also endeavour to answer to the best of my ability some of the questions—not as numerous I confess as I expected—which have been addressed to me by Honourable Members in the course of the debate on financial details ; and although we have been reminded that comparisons are odious, I shall do my best to put a little material before the House in regard to the comparative emoluments of civil servants in other parts of the British Empire.

I will begin with the cost of the proposals. I circulated on the 3rd September an answer to an unstarred question by the Honourable Diwan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao. I am not sure that that answer has received any publicity ; so it may be useful for me to read it :

“ If the recommendations of the Lee Commission are accepted in the form in which they were made, the estimated cost distributed between the Government of India and the Provinces is as follows :

	Lakhs.
Government of India	26
Madras	9.7
Bombay	9.7
Bengal	9.3
United Provinces	10.8
Punjab	9.1
Burma	10
Bihar and Orissa	4.9
Central Provinces	5.7
Assam	2.9

The calculation has been made on the basis of a 16 pence rupee, and as exchange has been higher the actual expenditure in the current year would be less. But, on the other hand, it is possible, as the Commission recognised, that the number of officers taking advantage of the passage concession in the first few years might be above normal. Secondly, the above calculation does not take into account the cost of the recommendations regarding house rent and medical attendance, which it is not possible to estimate accurately. In addition there will be a sum of approximately Rs. 14 lakhs for the first year, increasing by roughly the same figure every year for about 14 or 15 years, representing the cost of the pension concessions of which it is not possible to show the distribution among the different Governments. The above represents the figures of cost as calculated by the Commission itself. To this may have to be added a sum of approximately 18 lakhs per annum, if it is decided to extend the Commission's proposals to officers of the Great Indian Peninsula and East Indian Railways which will shortly become State-managed lines and to officers of Company-managed lines.”

I lay stress on the point about exchange. Having regard to the present rate of exchange the figures as they stand in the case of the Provinces may, I think, be taken as the maxima. I have made a rough calculation of the amount of overseas pay, present and proposed, which under our suggestions would be payable in sterling. At 16 pence to the rupee this would amount to Rs. 142½ lakhs ; at 17 pence to Rs. 134 lakhs ; at 18 pence to Rs. 127 lakhs ; at to-day's rate of exchange, say 1s. 5½d. it is approximately 130 lakhs, a saving that is to say of Rs. 12 lakhs over the figures I have read out in the answer. As against this we have to set the figure of about Rs. 7 lakhs which will be the maximum cost if we are to extend relief to all posts above the time-scale not drawing more than Rs. 3,000 a month. It would be less than 7 lakhs if the relief were extended only to selected posts. I would further lay stress on the fact that Indianisation, even if the existing basic rates of pay of Indians are left untouched, involves a progressive saving as stated by the Honourable the Leader of the House. So far as I can see, therefore, the figures which I have given in the case of the Provincial Governments may be taken as representing approximately the maximum cost of these proposals. It will be observed that only in one case does the additional cost exceed Rs. 10 lakhs. It is 10.8 lakhs in the case of the United Provinces.

In the case of the Government of India unfortunately the position is not quite so simple. In the answer that I have read out the direct cost of the Government of India is given as 26 lakhs. 18 lakhs which arise under the head of Railways belong properly to the Railways and ought to be met

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out of the railway earnings. If the proposals now under consideration in regard to the separation of railway finances from the general finances are given effect to in something like the form in which they now stand, this charge will fall not on the tax-payer but on the railway reserve.

Dr. Gour and Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas and others have asked me questions as to the indirect effect on the Army and on Provincial Services. Dr. Gour used the word "uncovenanted services"; but I think that must have been a slip of the tongue. All the Services, except the Indian Civil Service, are uncovenanted services. The proposals of the Lee Commission apply to all the Superior Services. There is no doubt some little difficulty in deciding exactly which are the superior posts in some of the Central Services to which relief should be extended. But in the case of the Provincial Services about which Dr. Gour is anxious, I see no reason why there should be any additional cost. On the contrary, I should hope that the question of the reduction of basic pay might eventually lead to some economy. The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar made great play with the additional cost of the Services generally since some years ago. I think he must have failed to realise that far the greater part of that additional cost—something approaching Rs. 10 crores—is due to the revision of the scales of pay of the Provincial Services in 1920.

They were revised at a time when the cost of living was at its highest and, if he will follow up his own argument about reduction in the cost of living since then, he will see that, so far from a proportionate increase in the cost of the Provincial Services being threatened, there are reasons for considering the reverse.

12 NOON.

So far as the civil charges of the Government of India are concerned, therefore, I am prepared to take a figure of very little over 26 lakhs as a probable maximum. The indirect effect in the case of the military budget is more difficult to deal with. It is not possible to give a direct answer in figures to the question what is the additional expenditure that will be incurred under the head of the military expenditure in consequence of the Lee Commission's Report. It is impossible to say, as we can say on the civil side, that the extra cost will be so many lakhs. The decision in regard to the Medical Services on the civil side, when taken, may possibly involve some quite minor increase in the cost on the Army side of the Medical and Veterinary Services, but there is also the more important question of the pay of the Army officer. Now, the Report of the Lee Commission does not directly affect the Army Officer, but it does affect the atmosphere in which consideration is being given to the revision of the pay of the Army officer which in any case was due in July 1924. In that month the five years for which Army pay was fixed in 1919 came to an end. Almost simultaneously with the receipt of the Lee Commission's Report by the Government of India, the Government of India had before them proposals prepared without reference to that Report for a revision of the pay of the Army officer. It has been impossible to obtain a decision as yet on those proposals, mainly because the Government at Home has not yet succeeded in arriving at a decision as to the revised rate of pay to be brought in in July 1924 for British Army officers in England, and that is the basic figure from which any calculation of the pay of the Army officer in India has to start. But the fact that this is the starting point shows that the basis for Army pay is something quite different from anything in the Lee Commission's Report. The Report, therefore, has no direct bearing on the question

of the Army. In one respect it is probable there may be a direct effect. That is the question of passages. If, as is likely, something corresponding to the passage concession is given to Army officers, it is estimated that the extra cost of such a concession will be from 12 to 15 lakhs. This is the only figure I can give in regard to military expenditure. But I can add this. The extra cost of the passage concession and the other extra cost that I have mentioned, and the extra cost of the revision of pay now under consideration, whatever the final decision may be, is not likely to be so great as to prevent the established charges for the Army for 1925-6 from being brought down well below the corresponding figure for 1924-5, assuming, as one must for the purposes of such a comparison, that the rate of exchange is the same.

The House will see from these figures that the additional expenditure to be faced in the Budget for 1924-5 and succeeding years is at any rate a matter of lakhs and not a matter of crores, and it ought not to prove in any way unmanageable. No Finance Member likes additional expenditure for its own sake, and I can assure the House that, both during the time when the Lee Commission was sitting and since, the problems arising out of the necessity of meeting this additional expenditure have never been absent from my attention.

But, in considering this additional expenditure, there is another side to the picture. The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar questioned the statement made by my Honourable Colleague, the Home Member, and by the Royal Commission, in regard to the rate of exchange which was taken as the basis for fixing the revision of the rates of pay in 1919-20. The Royal Commission stated it and my Honourable Colleague, the Home Member, has stated it as a fact, but still the Honourable Diwan Bahadur seems to be unconvinced. Let me give him further authority.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar (Madras City : Non-Mahommadan Urban) : Contemporaneous.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett : Lord Chelmsford was Viceroy at the time when the revision was made. He ought to know. Speaking in the House on the 31st of July of this year.....

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar : I want contemporaneous authority.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett : Wait and you will get it. Speaking in the House of Lords on the 31st of July of this year, he said :

“ Secondly, as the Secretary of State mentioned in his speech the other day, when we at headquarters were examining the problem, the rupee at that moment stood at something like 2s. 8d. to the £. The Committee which had been appointed to deal with the rupee had fixed the rupee at 2 sh. and promised us in their Report that that was what the value of the rupee was likely to stand at in the future. Your Lordships can well see that recommendations with regard to salaries with the rupee at 2s. 8d. or certainly at 2s. were recommendations which must be dealt with in a very different manner from when the rupee was standing at 1s. 4d. The whole problem of the cost of journeys would be almost halved for the civil servant. The cost of remission Home to England, similarly, would be greatly lessened. We frankly thought at that time that the question of the salaries really did not arise, that the Indian Civil Service, with the rupee standing at that figure, would be in a very admirable position. Then, as we all know, the rupee fell again to 1s. 4d. subsequent to our recommendations ; hence all the trouble in which we find ourselves.”

Mr. Montagu, who was Secretary of State at the time, has also stated that the revision was based on a two shilling rupee.

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As the Honourable Diwan Bahadur is still unconvinced, I should like to inform him that I have examined the files myself very carefully, and there it is definitely stated that the rise of the rupee to two shillings was sufficient to justify refusing further increase in the pay and also to justify the abolition of the Exchange Compensation Allowance without any corresponding addition to pay, contrary to the proposal of the Islington Commission. There is, further, a statement that, if the rupee should at any time fall, the whole matter would have to be reopened. If the Honourable Diwan Bahadur wishes still to question the statement, I am afraid he can only do so by saying that I tell untruths.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar : No wrong impressions, that is all.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett : Others have urged that the present increase should be made temporary and not permanent, should be based on some index number. Had the system of a war bonus been adopted in India as it was in England towards the end of the war and had it been based on some index number, we should have been spending in addition to what we have spent not lakhs but crores on the pay of the Superior Services in the years after the war. The relief now proposed is in other words overdue, and more than overdue. It has been postponed solely owing to the financial exigencies of the Indian Budget, and I suggest that the Indian tax-payer, if he examines the important but still comparatively small increase in the expenditure which is now proposed, should remember that, out of consideration for him, a considerably larger annual expenditure has been put off from year to year, at least since 1920, at the expense of the Services. The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar—I hope quite unintentionally—made a very misleading use of the Bombay index number. Throughout he made comparisons with 1920. But the revision of pay of the Services which was made at the end of 1919 on the basis of the recommendations put forward by the Government of India during the summer and the early autumn of 1919.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar : Some of them were also made in 1920.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett : They were consequential, based not on new comparisons but on a comparison of what had already been given in other parts of the services, that is to say, on comparisons of figures which were arrived at on the basis of 1919 and not 1920 figures of cost of living. The Bombay index number for the cost of living for Europeans was 147 in October, 1919 (as compared with 100 in 1914), 158 in October, 1920, 168 in July, 1923, and 165 in March, 1924, which was the date when the Lee Commission reported. It has since fallen, I think, to 162. During the same period the rupee has fallen from just about 2s. in October, 1919,—it rose to 2s. 8d. for a short period in 1920—to a level of something below 1s. 3d., and it is now about 1s. 5½d. Take the figures given by the Honourable Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar himself. The cost of the pay and allowances of the Civil Service which he gave showed a rise from a figure of Rs. 572 lakhs before the war to 667 lakhs before this increase, an increase of 17 per cent. As I have shown, the increase in prices according to the Bombay index number is not 17 per cent. but 65 per cent. Can it be maintained for a moment that an increase is not long overdue? I cannot believe that the Honourable Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar or Sir

Purshotamdas Thakurdas who spoke just now really desire to dissociate themselves from the view that has been expressed by nearly every other Honourable Member who has spoken that in principle at any rate the grant of relief on the lines proposed by the Lee Commission is just and the Services ought to be given the increases proposed if a case is made out.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas : I may add, if the Honourable Member does not mind, "if a case is made out to the satisfaction of this House", not only of the Government of India. I certainly agree to that principle.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett : This House has been trying to do its proper work when it has asked some of these questions, and I am about to do my best to give it some further material on which it can make up its mind. I have a great deal of material available, but time will, I fear, prevent me from giving more than a small portion of it. In the United Kingdom, since 1917, there has been a system of war bonus increase in force, depending on the cost of living index. It has varied from time to time, but at the present time, taking the figure of 75 per cent, as the increase in the cost of living since 1914, bonuses are given as follows:—

If the basic salary does not exceed £200 a year ..	Bonus increase of 53 per cent.
If it does not exceed £400 a year	Bonus increase of 39 per cent.
If it does not exceed £500 a year	Bonus increase of 37 per cent.
If it does not exceed £700 a year	Bonus increase of 28 per cent.
If it does not exceed £900 a year	Bonus increase of 24 per cent.
If it does not exceed £1,200 a year	Bonus increase of 18 per cent.
If it does not exceed £1,500 a year	Bonus increase of 13 per cent.

No increase is given which has the effect of bringing the total salary above £2,000 a year, but I would add that since the war, a revision of the pay of the posts at the top, which was under contemplation before the war, has been put into effect, with the result that something like 25 posts of Heads of Departments have been raised from £2,000 to £3,000 a year with corresponding increases in the posts on the next scale, which are now fixed at £2,200. Corresponding war bonuses or bonus increases have been given in other countries. As I have said, I am not sure that it would not have been more logical if a war bonus system had actually been adopted in 1918-19.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar : Why not now ?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett : I am coming to that. It would have been more advantageous to the Superior Services though it might have saved something in the cost of the Provincial Services. I will come later to the objections to giving it now. As regards passages, I find in Ceylon return passages are granted by the Ceylon Government after a period of 4 years' residence to all officers domiciled outside Ceylon, their wives and children including unmarried dependent daughters, but not sons over the age of 18, in each case not exceeding five passages in all. In special cases, the concession is granted to officers who have not put in the qualifying four years' residence. In the Straits Settlements and Hongkong passages are granted to officers domiciled in Europe or the Dominions, whose maximum salary is £490 per annum or over after four years of service. Similar concessions are granted to their wives and children up to a total of five persons in all,—sons under 16 and unmarried daughters.

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In the case of Egypt and Sudan, a passage allowance is granted in one direction every year, and, if no passage allowance has been drawn in the previous year, in both directions. This allowance is extended to the wife and children.

Mr. D. V. Belvi (Bombay Southern Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): What is the scale of pay in all these countries?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: As regards pensions, in Ceylon and Hong Kong the maximum pension is £1,300 a year. It is obtained at the age of 55. The same is true in the case of the Straits Settlements. In all the three cases temporary increase has been given with reference to the cost of living in England. As regards medical attendance, in Malaya officers are entitled to such free treatment as the Government has available but not free hospital treatment. The same is true in Hong Kong. In other cases, they are given more favourable treatment because they are given both hospital attendance and free medical attendance.

I am asked a question as regards the scales of pay. It is always difficult to make comparisons because you have to know—which you do not generally know—the exact nature of the work done by the different officers in the different countries. I have elaborate comparisons available, but they are not illuminating without going very deeply into the character of the work done in both cases. I think it is true to say that, generally speaking, the basic rates of pay in the I. C. S. are higher than in most other Services. The same is not true of any of the other Services and in the case of the I. C. S. it has to be remembered that it has been the Service which has hitherto been sought after above all others by the Europeans desiring to enter Government service abroad, and that the people who have gone to the other places are those who have failed to come to India. Conditions also vary very greatly in various countries. The cost of living differs, and the whole basis of living is different in different countries.

The comparisons I have given are, I am afraid, a little haphazard, but I have given them first of all in order to show that the Lee Commission and the Government of India have examined the question of the pay of the Civil Service with reference to the statistics available as to the position in very many other countries. They have examined them thoroughly and have arrived at their conclusions in the light of such examination. Of course, in the case of the Indian Civil Service, the fact stares us in the face that the index number has gone up by something like 60 to 65 per cent. I do not want to attach too much importance to index numbers. This is the index number for Bombay only. I think, however, that it is a useful criterion on which we can found a general case. There is no doubt that the cost of living for the European as well as for the Indian varies very greatly in different parts of India, so much so that an index number for the whole of India is meaningless. At the same time, the proportionate increase in the cost of living both to the European and to the Indian is probably not very different in different parts of the country. Although the starting figure may be different, the average increase is very much the same. The average increase of the pay of the Services since 1914 in no case is anything like 65 or 60 per cent. I believe in the case of the Police, it may exceed 30 per cent.; in the other cases, it is not so much,—an average increase of about 20 per cent. I do not think that these figures suggest that

the Government of India have been inconsiderate to the tax-payer in postponing for four years an overdue increase and in giving something very much less than would be claimed if the cost of living were the sole criterion, which of course it is not.

A question has been asked why we do not make the present increases temporary. As I have said, this matter was considered carefully in 1918 and the proposal was eventually not adopted, chiefly because of the enormous difficulty of getting an adequate index number. It will be remembered that even in the United Kingdom there have been furious protests against the inadequacy of the index number on such occasions as it happened to show a fall. It is extremely difficult to frame an index number for India, but I would say further that it is also less necessary now than it may have been in 1918 or 1919. We are not likely to see catastrophic changes in prices of the kind that have been taking place in the last ten years. It is possible that there may be considerable variations, but not catastrophic variations of the kind that have taken place. The other countries which have adopted the bonus system are now in most cases engaged in converting the bonus increase into a basic pay. They are leaving the bonus system because it is seen to have outlived its usefulness. I do not think that the introduction of a bonus system here would be valuable having regard to the difficulties of an index number, nor important having regard to the comparatively small fluctuations which are likely to occur in the next decade. Moreover, under the proposals of the Lee Commission as modified by the Government, there is one automatic variable, namely, the overseas pay in sterling. This will vary up and down so long as we have a fluctuating exchange value of rupee in terms of sterling. If my Honourable friend Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas's Bills were passed and the exchange fixed in terms of gold, there would still be just as much fluctuation in terms of sterling until sterling arrives at par with gold. I should like now to turn for a moment to the amendment which we have now under consideration.

Khan Bahadur W. M. Hussanally (Sind: Muhammadan Rural): May I, Sir, inquire whether these figures and statistics which are now being placed before us were supplied to the Lee Commission, and, if so, why they were not embodied in the Report so as to allow us to consider them in dealing with its recommendations?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The Lee Commission certainly had figures before them. They were the judges of what was necessary to be embodied in their Report, and I do not think that I can be called upon to answer a question as to why they chose not to do something. There are many other questions of that sort which we might spend our time on.

The amendment which we have before us, like some of the other amendments on the paper, is a lengthy one. The original Resolution is brevity itself in comparison with the amendment, and I think that the discussions that we have been having on this subject have not erred on the side of terseness. I shall make that my excuse to ask you, Sir, and the House to bear with me if I exceed by a little my time-limit, but I will endeavour to keep my excess within the narrowest possible bounds. Like Colonel Crawford, whom I congratulate on his maiden speech,—and if I may add it, I congratulate him in particular on having been audible to every Member of the House—like Colonel Crawford I am rather startled

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by the facts in the preamble to the amendment. How many of them are really facts? Let me take them in order. Fact (a) says that the Royal Commission "was appointed and allowed to enter upon its functions in utter disregard of the Resolutions passed by the first Assembly." I demur to the adjective "utter" but I will take the rest as a statement of fact. I am even willing to concede for the purposes of argument that at one time the Government of India may have thought that it would be preferable to make the inquiry by some other method than by means of a Royal Commission. But the only point that was in question was what should be the method of inquiry. That was the only point that was in question with the House when it discussed this subject. There was no question but that the problem....

Dr. H. S. Gour (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan): Not merely the method, but what should be the scope.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: There was no question but that the problem of what should be paid to the Services must be taken up at an early date and could not be postponed much longer—there was no question at all. Obviously, it does not follow that the proposals which have been made by the Royal Commission should be turned down just because the first Assembly did not like the form which the inquiry took. I think I am right in saying that the Honourable Pandit Motilal Nehru himself did not like the form which this Assembly itself took under the Government of India Act. Nevertheless he has entered it and he is taking part in our deliberations. He spoke of the reforms as a wooden horse—I think he said, a hollow wooden horse. My thoughts flew at once to the most famous wooden horse of history. That also was a hollow wooden horse which was fashioned by the divine wisdom of Pallas Athenae for the storming of the citadel of Troy.

Pandit Motilal Nehru (Cities of the U. P.: Non-Muhammadan Urban): I only meant the common rocking horse sold in the shops.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I am speaking of another hollow wooden horse which was fashioned by divine wisdom. Steel-framed men climbed into its bowels. The Steel-framed army of Troy dragged the wooden horse through a breach in the walls into the inner heart of sacred Ilium. May I suggest to the Honourable Member that the wooden horse of which he speaks is also one fashioned by divine wisdom that it may carry him and Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar and Mr. Jinnah into the inner heart of the citadel, not to storm, not to sack, but that they with the help of the British officials who have dragged the horse into the citadel may realise that responsible government for India which all of us aim at? I pass on....

Pandit Motilal Nehru: I hope the Honourable Member remembers that he is mixing up the metaphor very much.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: That I understand is the privilege of the modern politician.

Let me pass to fact (c):

"That the terms of reference to the said Royal Commission and the recommendations made by it involve the perpetuation of an antiquated and anachronistic system."

I think "anachronic" must be a mistake for "anachronistic", though I am rather tempted to read it as "chronic." Perpetuation—what does perpetuation mean? Maintenance in perpetuity. Is there any justification for saying that the terms of reference and the recommendations mean the maintenance in perpetuity of the existing system? I will pass by the adjectives. I remember that some one complained about 1910 to Mr. Asquith that his brilliant lieutenant Mr. Lloyd George was intolerably inaccurate. Mr. Asquith replied that though his adjectives might be picturesque, his facts, he thought, were usually correct. In this case I think neither the facts nor the adjectives are correct. Indeed there is rather an exuberantly adjectival flavour about the whole of this preamble. Obviously the terms of reference did not involve the perpetuation, nor do the recommendations involve the perpetuation of the present system. Then fact (c) goes on to say "without any attempt to reconstruct the administrative machinery". Is there not a very large attempt to reconstruct the administrative machinery? Is it not proposed to provincialise many of the Services and to give an amount of Indianisation which none of the opponents of this Royal Commission at the time when it was under discussion in the House dreamed could possibly be recommended by such a body? Let me go on to the next fact, fact (d):

"That the terms of reference are based on the unwarranted assumption that the existing system would continue indefinitely."

I admit that the assumption is unwarranted. It is not even in the terms of the Warrant. Moreover the recommendations again and again speak of the further examination that will have to be made by the second Statutory Commission, and it is perfectly obvious that the recommendations are not intended to continue indefinitely but are intended to be, like the rest of the present constitution of India, transitional, and that revision must obviously come about at a comparatively early period. I agree with the Honourable Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer that there is a close connection between the question of constitutional and administrative reform, but I assert with him that the Lee Report proposals do not and cannot interfere with the consideration of constitutional advance. I state categorically that the Lee proposals in the opinion of the Government of India do not in any way interfere with that question. Let me go on to (e), that some of the recommendations are intended to deprive the Legislature even of existing powers by suggesting devices to make some items of expenditure non-votable items. For the sake of brevity I will admit that possibly it is a fact, though I think it would be argued that it is not. But I will only suggest that in the interests both of the Legislature and of the Services devices of this kind may be both desirable and necessary. Precisely similar devices have been adopted by the British Parliament to deal with what may be called equivalent conditions. The only conclusion then that I would draw from this fact is that we should consider whether some other method of arriving at the same desirable result might not be adopted. I pass on to fact (f). It is quite clearly not a fact that the recommendations have introduced racial discriminations. The discriminations which they have extended existed before. They have not been "introduced" and they are not racial. They are based on domicile. It is a defect rather than a merit of the previously existing system that the same pay and conditions of service were given to Indians as to Europeans, and that it is in the interests both of Government and the Indian tax-payer that such discriminations should be increased and not diminished.

Mr. D. V. Belvi : Has the Honourable Member read a leaflet published by Mr. Latifi, a member of the Indian Civil Service in the Punjab ?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett : I pass on to fact (g), that the said recommendations make the extraordinary provision that officers appointed to the All-India Services after 1919 should be given guarantees. This amounts, I think, simply to an objection to certain of the proposals made by the Commission. The very purpose of the Government in bringing forward this Resolution is to fulfil both in the letter and in the spirit their promise to give an opportunity to the Assembly to discuss the proposals of the Lee Commission before making their recommendations. If the Assembly has particular objections to these proposals, by all means let it develop them. And here, I am afraid, I must fall foul of two doughty adversaries. Both Colonel Crawford and the Honourable the Pandit object to the peccant phrases "in principle" and "approximately". Both these phrases were introduced intentionally and purposely because the Government of India, while they hold that the Lee Commission proposals taken in the broad are such that they should be adopted, do repudiate, and the Secretary of State repudiates, the doctrine that every detail of this document is sacrosanct. We are here before the Assembly to hear the Assembly's views on particular questions as well as on the general subject, though the debate has been mainly confined to the general subject and to make our recommendations to the Secretary of State in the light of what is here said. Fact (h) is also very much like fact (g). It is an objection to a particular proposal on which the Government have already said that they have not arrived at even provisional conclusions on many of the points raised. It also uses the word "perpetuate" and therefore ceases to be a fact. Fact (i) refers to the absence of the evidence. We have already heard a good deal about that and I will only, at the risk of rousing the ire of Sir Purshotandas Thakurdas, remind him that, though the Government of India may have supplied most of the evidence that was before the Incheape Committee, none of it was published and none of it was made available to the Assembly, and in spite of that fact, although I make no complaint of it, the Assembly continues to press that we should adopt every detail of the Incheape Report. (*A Voice* : "They had good reasons.") The reasons were no doubt very good ones as they may be in this case. I submit therefore that in the interests of its own reputation the House should not carry this preamble. Even this Assembly cannot make things which are not facts into facts. I hope the Assembly will be wise enough to reject the amendment as a whole, but at any rate let it not state certain adjectival arguments as if they were facts.

Mr. Devaki Prasad Sinha (Chota Nagpur Division : Non-Muhamadan) : Then leave the preamble and pass the rest.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett : I am asking that the House should not pass the preamble and I am glad to have the Honourable Member's support. I now come to the recommendations.

Mr. President : I have allowed the Honourable Member considerable latitude as he was replying to criticisms. He is now going beyond them, and I think I must ask him to bring his speech to a close.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett : I will therefore leave the recommendations in this first part alone. I will only say that they seem to amount to very little more than this that the control of the Secretary of

State should remain in regard to existing members of the Services, and that recruitment should not be continued. I mention that because it is an important part of my argument in regard to Part II. I have already dealt with the burden on the tax-payer of India. I have submitted evidence to show that though no one likes paying additional charges those additional charges are not impossibly burdensome. I come now to the olive branch. This olive branch is hidden in so many thorns that one scratches one's fingers in trying to reach it. But if the Honourable Member who moved the amendment wanted to offer us an olive branch, why did he not adopt the simple three lines amendment standing in the name of Dr. Gour that the Report should be referred to a Select Committee? The Honourable Pandit makes an offer to consider the matter in a Select Committee provided he can have the evidence before the Royal Commission which was taken in camera and had to be taken in camera to be obtained at all. (*A Voice* : "Or such other evidence.") Or such other—well I am glad to see he drops the demand for the evidence taken in camera. But he makes it a condition that the financial relief should not be given unless the stoppage of all recruitment outside India takes place. That is I suppose because he does not want to burden the tax-payer. Is that it? (*Pandit Motilal Nehru* : I want to find the money before promising to pay it.") His difficulty therefore is that he does not want to find the money for the new European recruit. I have had figures worked out. If there were no European recruitment in the next five years there would be a saving of two-fifths of the following figures—two-fifths because three-fifths of the new men will be Indians :—two-fifths of $3\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs in the first year, two-fifths of 7 lakhs in the second year, two-fifths of $10\frac{1}{2}$ in the third, two-fifths of 14 lakhs in the 4th and two-fifths of $17\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs in the fifth year, a total of two-fifths of $52\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs or 21 lakhs in five years. If the Honourable Pandit therefore could be persuaded of the possibility of the Government of India and the Provincial Governments between them finding an additional 21 lakhs spread over the next five years he would, I understand, be willing to consider these proposals on their merits.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad (Bombay : Nominated Non-Official) : Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity of taking part in this debate. For as one who for a period of two years and a half was a member of the Government of Bombay and as such came in close contact and association with the Services, both European and Indian, as one who has for many years advocated a rapid Indianisation of the Services, and as one who gave his evidence before the Lee Commission, I may say in public and not in camera (*Hear, hear*), I do not desire to give a silent vote. I am afraid, Sir, that the consideration of the question before the House, difficult as it is, is rendered still more difficult by considerable mistrust and misconception on both sides. On the one hand, it is believed that there is hostility against the British element in the Services and that we want to get rid of the British element. On the other hand, the suspicion is that it is through the Services and by the perpetuation of the present system regarding the Services that England wants not only to retain but to tighten its hold on the country. Those are the misconceptions as I conceive them to be on both sides. I may be permitted to assure the Government at once that such hostility as it is believed there exists against the Services is not racial at all. It is against the system under which the Services are maintained (*Hear, hear*). I can assure Government that all right-thinking persons believe that the admixture and association of

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the European element in the public services is not only desirable but necessary. We also believe that even when India attains full self-government such admixture and association would still be welcome indeed. But what is felt I submit and rightly felt is this, that the extent of such association of the European element and the terms and conditions on which a contented and efficient service both of Europeans and Indians can be secured should be matters for determination by the people of India at every stage through the Government of India and its Legislatures, and are not matters to be determined by some authority outside the country placed thousands of miles away. I may assure Government that it is not the desire of the people to have Indianisation of the Services merely in the sense of the substitution of the European element by the Indian. What is felt is that so long as the Services, whether manned by Europeans or Indians, are recruited and maintained under the system at present obtaining, India can be no nearer to self-government in the sense of having its own agency of government. In fact, what is desired is that the Services should be in the real sense Services as they are in other countries and not the masters and arbiters of policy. Taking this to be the real problem, what I ask is, has the Royal Commission succeeded in solving that problem? (*A Voice* : "No, no.") I give them every credit for the good work they have done. I do not blame them as other Members have done for arriving at a compromise. It is the one thing to do in politics, to arrive at compromises. In all human affairs you have every day to compromise and to give and take. I do not blame the Commission for what they have done. I also appreciate the difficulties in which they were placed, which account to a certain extent for the infirmities in their decision. They were hustled, they were pressed for time; the Services were getting impatient and some decisions had to be arrived at as early as possible, and the Commission have done their best. But, taking all that into consideration, I am afraid the verdict to my mind is that they have not succeeded in solving the problem that I have enunciated. I do not propose to go into the details of the recommendations of the Commission, nor into the details that have been brought forward in this House in the debate till now. But I would indicate very shortly the main objections that I have to the conclusions of this Commission.

The first is that they still perpetuate the control of the Secretary of State with regard to the recruitment and control of the Services operating in the reserved subjects. I am quite conscious of the fact that they recommend that as soon as further Departments in the Provinces get transferred and are taken out of the reserved compartment, the Services operating in those Departments will get provincialized. But just consider, Sir, what difficulties in other directions such a proposal involves. It creates and must necessarily create, however unconscious, a bias in the Services against the transfer of reserved subjects into the hands of Ministers. It also creates various complications by reason of vested interests when the time comes from time to time for transferring more subjects to the hands of Ministers. Then, further, the Commission to my mind has failed to deal satisfactorily with one of the main grounds on which Indianisation of the Services has been advocated all these years, namely, the growing needs of public economy. They still keep the basic salaries for the Indians as well as the Europeans the same, while the demand was from every quarter of the country that the new arrangements should be such that

the basic pay so far as the Indians were concerned should be less than the basic pay obtaining now. They failed therefore to solve that part of the problem. As I have said, Sir, there is no disagreement really on the main question. There is no disagreement on the question that we want a certain proportion of the British element in the Services to be maintained for the efficient administration of the country ; and I, Sir, with my experience of the Services venture to say that so far as the British element is concerned—and I am not dissociating from that the Indian members of the Services—I do say that a more loyal, a more devoted, a more hard-working, and a more honest set of public servants it would be difficult to find. We may take it, therefore, that there is no desire on the part of anyone to get rid of the British element in the Services. It may also be taken that everybody is agreed that the Services, however composed, should be efficient and contented. For that purpose every necessary step should be taken and measures adopted to give the members of the Services, both European and Indian, security of tenure and of their salaries and of their pensions. But as I have already indicated, the fear is that, inasmuch as constitutional changes are impending—they may come early or they may come late, they may come after the statutory investigation in 1929, or earlier—the position then will be very much complicated if the present recommendations of the Royal Commission are at once adopted. What I venture therefore to suggest as a solution, if it can be called a solution, is this. Stop the recruitment of the European element for the present. I say advisedly "for the present", for the very short period of even 4 or 5 years, for the statutory investigation at the latest will come in 1929. The advantage of doing so will be that you will have the consideration of the advance of constitutional reforms considered uncomplicated by any new vested interests that might be created in the meantime or by any new complications that might be created as involved in such reforms. Nothing will be lost, to my mind, Sir, by stopping recruitment for that short period ; and when once we arrive at a stable condition as regards constitutional reforms in this country, when we all settle down to work a constitution which will appeal to the good sense of all people in this country, when we arrive at that stage in a few years, as we all hope to arrive at, then begin your recruitment again ; then there will be no difficulty. There will be some difficulty, I quite admit, in restarting recruitment—but the difficulties to my mind will not be insuperable at all. Do that on the one hand ; on the other hand, I quite admit that the grievances of the Services with regard to their salaries and other matters which the Lee Commission have dealt with have great substance in them. They have waited considerably, and no doubt relief is due to them. And here, again, Sir, I may say from my experience of the Services in Bombay and from such inquiries as I have been able to make and did make when I was in office, that I am convinced that they do require relief. Therefore, why not grant the relief that the Lee Commission has recommended to be given to them, as any further investigation by further Committees or any other bodies would mean further and unnecessary delay ? Therefore, I do appeal to all Members of this House, why cannot they find a solution in the way I have indicated ? Why should not Government agree on their part to stop European recruitment for, say, a period of 5 years, till we settle down to the new advance in constitutional reforms, so that all suspicion about the aims of Government, about the effects of the Lee Commission's conclusions, may be dissipated, so that the new reforms, the new changes, may be inaugurated

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uncomplicated by any new vested interests. In the meantime the Services may immediately get the relief, which, I believe, they are entitled to.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar : You do not mean the classification ?

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad : What classification ?

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar : All-India Services or Provincial.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad : All that can wait to be determined after the new advance has been made except the transfer of the control of the Services in the transferred Departments to the Provinces about which there is no difference of opinion. The immediate question is the relief, the pecuniary relief, to be given to the Services. Give that to them by all means at once, but stop putting into execution the other recommendations of the Commission except those on which there is no difference of opinion till the question of constitutional reforms has been considered. I do appeal to Government and to all Members of the House with all the emphasis that I can command and ask them, is it not possible even now to arrive at some such solution as I have ventured to suggest ?

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta (Bombay Northern Division : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : Sir, I think the House will agree that the sharp rebuke which Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas gave to the Honourable Sir Charles Innes was very well deserved, because to drag in the name of the Sovereign to influence the voting in this House is, if I am not mistaken, a serious misdemeanour. Then, Sir, Sir Purshotamdas was unnecessarily exercised over the opinions of those who sit in the House of Lords. I wish he had not wasted his time and that of this House over the opinion of those who do not count in their own country. He ought to know that the House of Lords is never taken seriously in England. Mr. Lloyd George once said that he would like to see the Lords as extinct as the wolves were in England, and if you exclude a few men of letters and of law and a few distinguished public servants, everybody knows that the House of Lords consists of ancient bandits and modern brewers. Therefore, the opinion of that body should not be taken seriously in a matter which concerns the people of this country. More pertinent would be the opinion of a newspaper which is very widely read and very popular and which commands great weight in England, and that is the "Manchester Guardian." What does it say about this Report ? It says in its issue of July 25th last :

"Its Report (meaning the Lee Commission Report) implies that 15 years hence half the Indian Civil Service and 25 years hence half the superior police officers will still be British. The implication is highly distasteful to educated India. India, therefore, must look with jealous eyes at the foreigners who retain the posts which other countries reserve for their own sons. We must remember too that the battle of Swaraj is a battle with a foreign bureaucracy, and that the presence of European civil servants and European police officers is the outward and visible sign of the continuance of foreign rule."

Then, again, the paper goes on to say :

"The work of all police officers and of most Indian civil servants is work for the Provincial Governments. How can there be any genuine provincial autonomy when the provincial servants are British officers who regard the Secretary of State as their chief ? It is delusive to suggest that English administrators may be required even in a self-governing province to act as advisers."

It further goes on to say :

"The Swarajists can, therefore, legitimately argue that the Lee Report postpones provincial autonomy for at least 25 years."

“ That argument combined with the natural aversion to expenditure incurred for the benefit of the foreigner will be sufficient to induce all Indian parties ”—*and I hope this prophecy will prove true*—“ to unite with the Swarajists in making war upon this Report.”

That is the opinion not of an Indian extremist, not of a prejudiced critic, but of a paper which commands respect and admiration even in England to-day.

I F.W.

In giving my support to the very modest amendment of Pandit Motilalji, I can say that I do not want to deal with the composition of the Commission. All that I want to say is that in two or three respects the Commission has not carried out what it was commanded to do by the warrant of the terms of reference. The terms of reference, Sir, do not ask the Commission to differentiate between Indians and the gentlemen of non-Asiatic domicile. Yet, with gross impropriety, the Commission goes out of its way to confine the relief which it proposes to people of what it calls “ non-Asiatic domicile.” Further, in paragraph 50 of the Report it says that the relief is not to be given to everyone and to everybody, but only to European married officers in the middle of their career. The Indian members in their note on page 101 of the Report say that the sole object was to give relief to European married officers in the middle of their career. The beginners had no grievances and those who were in the latest stages in the service had also none. They were quite well off as they were. Therefore, the relief they say ought to be confined to those who were married officers and in the middle of their careers. And yet what is the relief that this Commission proposes? I have taken some trouble to prepare the whole list of the relief measures that this Commission recommends. All officers young and old get numerous concessions. The only unfortunate people are the Judges and the Chaplains. They do not get anything. The rest of the services have got almost everything they asked for. The number of concessions and privileges is 25. I do not want to recount the whole list. The initial pay is revised in certain cases; overseas pay is increased twice. Some other privileges are given such as number of promotions, medical relief, increase in pensions, special pensions, commutation of pensions, passages, house rent, and so on. The list is so thorough that I am surprised that the Commission have stopped at that. The picture would have been complete if they had suggested the opening of free soup kitchens for these Services and the provision of some tailor-mades for their wives. That would have been a complete picture, and one would then have wondered what they would do with their salaries. Every conceivable want is provided for without affecting their salaries; why not then open soup kitchens for these poor waiifs who have come to this foreign land, which is a land of regrets, and why not give their wives a few tailor-mades? Then the salary might be remitted Home at 2 shillings, if necessary. I suppose even the Commission thought that it would be going beyond the bounds of decency to suggest any such thing. Their modesty is just as great as that of Clive who wondered at his moderation although he was in possession of heaps of the Nawab of Bengal’s jewels, he knew that he could dictate terms to the Nawab at the point of the bayonet; that whatever he wanted from the Nawab he could get. Similarly, these Services know fully well that behind the Lee Commission’s Report is the army which can enforce all these recommendations if the people hesitate or refuse to grant them. That is the strength behind this Report, and it is neither argument nor reasoning nor evidence that really matters. Then, Sir, the Commission has tried to draw a most lurid picture of the miseries and the

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privations of these Services owing to the alleged rise in the prices but, I regret to say, in a very unfair manner. The prices it compares are those of 1914. It says that the prices have risen since 1914. It also says that school fees have risen since 1914. Thus for the rise of prices it takes as starting point the year 1914 but for the salaries it takes its starting point after the last revisions were given in 1919. I think this is not a fair basis. If you want to take the year 1914 as the starting point, let the prices as well as the salaries be both counted from 1914, but let not the prices be of 1914 and the salaries of 1919 to bolster up the case of the Services. Yet that is what the Commission has done. The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett thought that the figures which Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar gave yesterday were incorrect, and that they were misleading in the sense that he counted from October 1920 and not from December 1919 which was the time of the last increase of salaries. I also felt that difficulty, but since then I have looked up three sources from which the prices can be compared; one is the Bombay Labour Gazette, the other is the inquiry made by the Bombay Government into wages, and the third is the letter of the Government of India which they wrote to the Currency Committee in 1919 when the question of prices was before that Committee. I have compiled a small comparative statement from all these three sources, and I most respectfully invite the Honourable Sir Basil Blackett and the Government Members and those others who may yet have any doubt in the matter, to go into these three sources of information and then see whether the prices have not definitely come down and whether there is not a tendency for them to come down still further since the last revision of salaries in 1919. If prices in 1919 were Rs. 75 for cost of living, they were in 1923, Rs. 54, and for the period of 1924 which is already passed, they were Rs. 53.

Wheat.—If the price of wheat in 1914 was Rs. 100, in 1919 it was Rs. 187, and in 1924 it was Rs. 111. I know that wheat is not the main food of the Europeans, but I am sure they do eat bread, and sometimes also rice.

The price of rice is :—

				Rs.
In 1914	..	..	..	100
1919	..	..	..	141
1924	..	..	..	142
<i>Salt</i> —				
1914	..	..	..	100
1919	..	..	..	300
1924	..	..	..	158

These are about articles of food and of daily necessity. In regard to imported articles, which include woollen, cotton and silk piecegoods, sugar and other articles which Europeans use, the figures were :—

If in 1914 the figure was Rs. 100, in 1919 it was Rs. 276, and in 1924 it was Rs. 227.

Similar figures both about fuel, clothing, food and non-food articles, if compared for 1919 and 1924 show that there is a steady tendency to fall, and that they have throughout fallen, and it cannot be pretended that there has been any rise since 1919 in the prices of the necessities of life either as regards food or non-food articles.....

Mr. Darcy Lindsay (Bengal : European) : May I ask the Honourable Member whether he includes the wages of servants, a very considerable item ?

Mr. T. O. Goswami (Calcutta Suburbs : Non-Muhammadan Urban) :
And the cost of clothing for Fancy Dress Balls ?

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta : I am glad my friend has raised that point. I was looking up some budgets of expenditure of Europeans ; there have been plenty such published recently. I have also read of an officer of the Bombay Government complaining in the Press that the only saving a European had at the end of his service was barely sufficient for a decent funeral. Well, I do not know whether that is correct, but if that is correct, I do not wonder either because I find in the sample budgets above referred to a provision made for seven servants for husband and wife. Not one, two, three or four servants, but the people, who want seven servants for husband and wife and one child, and when another child is borne a nurse and ayah are added—it is no wonder if they cannot save anything without inconvenience. I for one do not wonder at all. That only shows the immense extravagance of the way of life of these people when husband and wife require 7 servants (*An Honourable Member* : “Eleven”). Yes ; there are Budgets with eleven servants but I am as moderate as my Chief and I have taken the lowest figure.

Thus it will be seen that prices have not risen, and when you take into consideration that the exchange was at 2½d. in 1919 and to-day it is barely above 1¼d., you will find that the prices of 1919 must be regarded as 100 per cent. more than they have been actually quoted to be. So the prices of 5 years ago were more than twice as high as they are to-day ; and yet although revision was made in 1919 we are asked to have a further revision. Not a particle of evidence is furnished in this book. The tendency is to give as little reasoning as possible, to make statements like an oracle and not reason out things, to shut out evidence which may be relevant on the question. It is the Services who want an increase and it is the Commission who recommends it. They ought to produce evidence. They produce none. All the evidence is to the contrary. And I wonder that there should be in this House people with such large hearts who in face of the evidence, in spite of the evidence which I have to-day produced from official sources, should simply say “Relief is overdue.” If at all relief is overdue, it is to the Indian tax-payer and not to the Services. I wish in revising salaries in 1919, Mr. Montagu had not raised them by 30 per cent. but reduced them by 30 per cent.

Mr. President : I must remind the Honourable Member that he has reached his time limit.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta : May I go on for three minutes more, Sir. The last thing I wish to say is this. Apart from the question of prices, apart from the question of Indianisation, the one thing which we resent most is that there should be such immense suspicion of the Indian Legislature and of the Indian nation in the minds of the Services. Every proposal of the Commission is based on a suspicion of this country. If European gentlemen want to be servants of this country and of its people, then the least they can do is to show their confidence and their trust in them. If you want every guarantee against your masters, if you want every security against being disciplined by your masters, then certainly your masters will begin to feel suspicious of you. I do say this—I am prepared to waive all other considerations if the Services are ready and willing to come under the control of the Indian Legislature and the Indian people who are their masters.* Without that control we are

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bound to be suspicious especially when it was seriously suggested to the Commission by some officers that the capitalised value of their pensions should be deposited in England before they came to serve here. Even this Commission felt ashamed to agree to that. Under these circumstances unless the control is transferred to this country, we cannot agree to anything either in the nature of relief or in the nature of future recruitment under the present system. What we want is this. After this front Government row has retired in honour, with honours and privileges, we do not want the next row to come in without our permission to the front row. That is the real meaning of the Panditji's amendment. Let me state the position more concretely. There is an old and experienced leader here to give his permission to the next row to come to the front, and the plain meaning of the amendment before the House is that, unless Pandit Motilal Nehru and his followers permit, the second row should not come over to the first. If it does it shall be with the approval and with the consent of Pandit Motilal Nehru and his friends and not otherwise. If Government are prepared to accept that position, then this Report can be considered on its merits; we cannot agree to any further recruitment under the present system. Every such fresh recruit is a further fetter in the way of India's freedom and you cannot expect the House to agree any more to its own and the country's enchainment, without grossly betraying the people who have sent us here.

Mr. E. F. Sykes (Bombay : European) : Sir, I think it would be desirable for me on the first occasion of addressing this House to follow the example of my gallant friend (Colonel Crawford) by explaining any connection I may have with the Services. I may say quite shortly that although I have been employed under various administrations I have never belonged to any of these Services whose pay and allowances are under discussion to-day. I would like to say on behalf of my constituents that while I consider the Report of this Commission concedes more than is desirable in the direction of Indianisation, yet in view of the fact that it is a unanimous report we consider that the proposals should be accepted as the best practical solution in existing circumstances.

Now, Sir, these remarks have referred to one point only in which they consider that the Report of the Commission is not all that it might be. There are other points too, but my constituents, being on the whole practical men, find that it is much more desirable that there should be some settlement than that any particular settlement should be arrived at and they also consider it improbable that any better settlement than the one proposed by the Commission could be evolved by further discussion.

You will find on the paper two amendments by Colonel Crawford which indicate a desire on our part to have the words of the Honourable Mover of the Resolution amplified. We have already had an assurance from the Honourable Commerce Member which removes most of our doubts on the subject; we, like the Honourable Finance Member, naturally do not expect every word of the Commission to be held sacrosanct; we know very well that in carrying out these recommendations the Secretary of State will be obliged to modify it in details; but we wish it to be clearly understood that our acceptance of the recommendations of the Commission is conditional on there being only absolutely essential modifications made.

One other point that I wish to mention is that we are very glad of the assurance that we received from the Honourable the Home Member with regard to the Public Services Commission. There was a great deal of doubt as to how far this Public Services Commission was meant to deal with provincial services. I understand from what he said the other day that it will apply to all Services whether they are under the Central Government or under the Provinces.

I wish now to say a few words about the amendment which is under discussion, the amendment of the Honourable Pandit. It is very long and has been dealt with in detail by the Honourable Finance Member and I merely wish to take two general points. The first argument that is put forward is that it is no use taking any action on the Report of this Commission because in a very short time the Services will be totally changed, and that it only confuses the servants of Government if we alter the conditions of the service to-day—and then have to alter them to-morrow. I do not think on the whole that the intentions of the Honourable the Home Member and the intentions of the Honourable Mover of the amendment are different. They are both looking forward to constitutional development in this country and incidentally to the Indianisation of the Services, though I agree with my Honourable friend here that the latter is not a matter of first importance. The only difference that I can see between them is one of time. The Honourable Pandit imagines that time is going by with a whizz. I think there are very few of us that will agree with the Honourable Pandit when he assumes that the Committee which is engaged in considering the working of the Government of India Act of 1919 is going to propose constitutional revolutions and that the Government of the United Kingdom is going to accept these propositions. For my part I think that is a very exaggerated assumption. If we look back to see the stages by which we have arrived at the present state of affairs, we shall see that there has always been a very long period of consideration, and further on no previous occasions have we been confined by the provisions of an Act of Parliament. The Act of Parliament provides for a Statutory Committee to revise the present constitutional arrangements at the end of 10 years, and I think we have no grounds for assuming that Parliament is going to accept any other procedure. They may ; they may not. But at the same time from the practical point of view we would be wise in assuming that they are not going to. Now, it has been admitted on all hands that these alterations in pay and allowances proposed by the Commission are four years overdue. We have five years before the Statutory Committee can sit and at least one year before they can act. There we have ten years. Now, one of my Honourable friends remarked yesterday that ten years is as far as practical statesmen can look, and we all agree with him. If we go back by ten years at a time, although we do not see a large increase in the total emoluments of Government servants, we still find very considerable changes in their terms of service. And there is no particular reason why, I submit, these reforms should be postponed to an indefinite date which will make the period over which their action extends perhaps 15 or even 20 years. As to the exact time after which constitutional change is likely to occur, I am afraid I must differ very much from the Honourable Pandit because, if you look back over the history even of England, you will find that the constitutional changes have taken a very long time.

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The other principal point in the Honourable Pandit's speech is the question of Indianisation. Now, it is a very controversial subject and it is a subject that is generally considered to be one requiring tactful handling, and I do not wish to stir up any unpleasantness in discussing this question and therefore I shall have to deal very generally with it. Now, I may say that my own views have been formed in the course of friendship and long intercourse with a very large variety of Indians. I have been up and down the country quite freely and I have met a very large number of them and the opinion I have formed,—not by way of argument and theory, but by forming a subconscious judgment based on hundreds of small occurrences that one can hardly recollect—is that it is an unwarranted assumption that Indians on the whole desire a complete and immediate Indianisation of their Services. The first thing that after all is necessary for the Indianisation of the Services is that Indians should be prepared to come forward to man them. Now I would like to mention two incidents that I remember. His Excellency the Governor of Madras at some time during the last four years—I forget which year, probably 1922—sat as President of a Committee. The Committee, as far as I remember, was to recommend candidates for admission to Sandhurst. These candidates apparently were to be admitted without appearing for the examination. Well, it may be considered that these were rather fortunate people. The next announcement on the subject was that in the absence of candidates the Committee had dissolved.

Perhaps, that is not a good example, because the selection of Indians for King's Commission is a new thing. When we come to a neighbouring province what do we find? A notice was issued that the Bombay Government wished for applicants to join the Forest Department. The qualifications demanded, as far as I remember, were that the applicants should have a science degree and presumably be physically fit. When we consider that these candidates were to be trained at Oxford at the public expense, that they would spend their lives pleasantly in the forest service and in the end would retire with an ample pension, one would have imagined that the place would be filled with candidates. As far as I remember, there may have been two candidates, but certainly not more. It is rather difficult to see how the Services are going to be filled with Indians if they will not come forward to join them.

Since we came up to Simla, a pamphlet has been circulated by an Honourable Member of this House, which I think rather explains the views of Indians towards Indianisation. The proposals for the Indianisation of the Army were, one would think, extremely favourable. The Indian Officer was to be introduced into the regiment and, as he was fitted to take his place, he was to get his promotion in the ordinary course and his place would be filled with other Indians and so Indians would have an opportunity of showing what they can do. But the wording of this pamphlet is extremely significant. It is said here that what the Indians desire is to mix with English officers of the same status and to serve in the same regiment on equal terms. Now, a large number of Indians, I am inclined to think, hold the same view. The reasons are of course very complicated and cannot be dealt with in the time at my disposal. The proposal of my Honourable friend to suspend recruitment from Europe is surprising. This matter has been dealt with by the Commission, and I should have thought, dealt with satisfactorily. The proposal is based on the assumption that there will

be early large constitutional changes and I cannot see any grounds for that assumption. Before we can have any of these changes the Parliament of the United Kingdom has got to be satisfied that they are desirable, and it is very difficult for anybody to say what the Parliament will think in regard to that subject. It seems to me that they will require very considerable proof that good use has been made of the concessions granted in 1919 before they are willing to extend them.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Thirty-Five Minutes Past Two of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Thirty-Five Minutes Past Two of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay City : Muhammadan Urban) : Sir, in the first instance, I wish to express my appreciation of the method, manner and the tone of the Honourable the Home Member who moved this Resolution. He has tried to put his case before the House as fairly as could be expected from him representing the Government of India, although I noticed that in what he has said there underlies a very important principle which he has asserted and which gives us an indication of an iron hand under the velvet glove. Sir, there is one other matter to which I wish to refer before I come to the merits of this Resolution. I am also very glad that he thought it proper to emphasise the question which has been exercising the feelings of the Muhammadans, namely, that their position in the Indianisation of the Services must be fairly recognised. Speaking on behalf of my Colleagues here who would agree with me, the Muhammadans do not desire anything else but their just and fair share and their proper rights, and I feel confident also that there is no Hindu Member in this House who would for a single moment grudge to the Mussulmans their just and fair rights ; and I am glad that the Home Member has also recognised that in his speech.

Having said this much, Sir, I will now deal with this Lee Commission Report. Sir, it is one of the most important and one of the most vital questions affecting India. The gravity or the importance of it cannot be exaggerated. The question that we are discussing to-day involves two very great principles, and they are so interwoven that you cannot separate them. They are first, the further constitutional advance, and secondly, the administrative reform of the Superior Services. Sir, this House and I think everybody must recognize that this therefore is a paramount question, a question of the very first importance. Now I think it was Sir Basil Blackett who aspired to be a modern politician, and although Sir Charles Innes confessed his inability to indulge in dialectics he did so indulge, and they took the preamble of the amendment of Pandit Motilal Nehru and objected to the adjectives. I am quite willing, Sir, that we should cross the ' t's ' and dot the ' i's ' but I want to ask a straight question and I want this House to understand the real meaning of that preamble. First of all I think it must be admitted in all fairness that this House has got a grievance. If it had any self-respect for itself it could not possibly allow this opportunity to pass without expressing its protest at the manner in which this Royal Commission was appointed. This House was sitting

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in session in the cold weather of 1923, when the Secretary of State without consulting it, without giving it an opportunity to discuss the matter, appointed a Royal Commission. Sir Charles Innes says "Oh, but this Commission has been appointed by the King-Emperor". And therefore what? Therefore why discuss it at all? Surely an experienced officer like Sir Charles Innes ought not to have used that argument at all. Sir, this Royal Commission was appointed by the British Government and this Legislature has every right to deal with the recommendations of the Commission.

Now, I ask the next question. After the appointment of the Royal Commission was announced Sir Basil Blackett, who as usual can always find money when he likes, brought in this item and came to this Assembly with a demand for the grant for the expenses of the Royal Commission. The House perfectly rightly, as a protest, rejected the grant. Now, Sir, is that not a grievance and is this House not entitled to say that this ought not to have been done? The next point is, this Royal Commission was appointed and I know and this House knows, having read the recommendations of the Commission, that they felt embarrassed to this extent which I shall point out in a moment, that there was this question of future constitutional advancement under consideration and there was, as we all know, an insistent demand for it in the country for the last three years. But this Royal Commission was appointed to do what? To do this—sub-paragraph 3 of paragraph 1 says:

"The recruitment of Europeans and Indians respectively for which provision should be made under the constitution established by the Government of India Act and the best methods of assuring and maintaining such recruitment."

So the Royal Commission had to assume that any recommendations that they might make could only be on the assumption that the Government of India Act of 1919 could not be touched except in the manner provided therein. But it seems there was a great deal of discussion amongst the members of the Commission. There was a difference of opinion, and this is what they say at page 7:

"We are agreed that in the present conditions, the appointment and control over those Services must continue to vest in the Secretary of State. Some of our members think that the conclusion follows inevitably from the principles implicit in the Government of India Act. Others of our members are not prepared to accept this view and hold that such a transfer is contemplated by the provisions of the Act. In spite, however, of our inability to agree on the constitutional position, we are agreed that the Secretary of State should for the present retain his powers of appointment and control of the All-India Services."

Sir, the House will therefore see that the Lee Commission take it for granted that the question of control and recruitment must vest in the Secretary of State for India. In one place they say:

"It is possible that some difficulties may arise in the future development of self-government for India if some provision was not made in view of our recommendations."

And what provision do they make? The provision they make is this, that if any member of the Superior Services is transferred to service under the transferred subjects, he would be entitled to retire on a proportionate pension. Well, therefore, I think it is quite clear that the Lee Commission was tied down to make this recommendation on the assumption that the Government of India Act cannot be altered. Now I ask this House, and I ask you on the opposite side fairly to tell us if you are going to

carry out this recommendation of the Lee Commission with regard to the control and the recruitment, will that or will that not be an enormous obstacle to any serious changes in the Government of India Act or in the advance of the constitution? Can it be said that it will not be an obstacle? Now I am right to that extent that it is essential for you to reform the Services, their organization and their composition, and that is at the root of any further constitutional advance. Only last February we passed a Resolution by a great majority in this House that we want further constitutional advance; you yourself have thought it fit to appoint a Reforms Inquiry Committee, and the Reforms Inquiry Committee is going on with its work; and you come to us now at this moment and ask us to accept the recommendations of the Lee Commission? What are the implications of the recommendations of the Lee Commission? They are these: the control and recruitment of the Services are to vest in the Secretary of State for India. I am taking it roughly, and I am dealing particularly, mainly, with the two pivotal services, the Civil Service and the Police; and in those two Services in the course of 15 years and 25 years we reach the percentage of 50 and 50. That means that at the end of 15 or 25 years we shall have 50 per cent. Indians and 50 per cent. Englishmen. Now, Sir, when we have that, supposing we have to make constitutional changes, do you expect us to give our consent to that? But, says Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, that is not the only ground. His ground is that if you want really to Indianise these Services, you must stop the recruitment altogether, and he says that you have already got a sufficient element of the English in these two Services, and even if you stop further recruitment, you will take a considerable time before you get that percentage of 50 and 50. I entirely agree with him. Out of the total number of roughly 1,400 members of the Civil Service, how many Indians have we got to-day? The number is 164. Well, even if we have got to get that 50 per cent. of that 1,400, how long will it take, how many years will it take, even if you stop recruitment completely? Now, Sir, I ask the House, if you think and if you really honestly wish to consider this question fairly and if you agree to this proposition that this system of service is out of date, that this system of service cannot continue in view of the fact that you are assimilating India more and more towards democratic and responsible government, then this system of service must be reformed without further delay; otherwise it is going to be a formidable obstacle both in your way and in our way. If you are convinced of that, are you not convinced of this that to-day the British element in the Civil Service, as I pointed out, is something like 1,200 and odd against 164 Indians? Are you afraid that there will be a revolution if you stop further recruitment? Are you afraid that law and order will suffer if you stop further recruitment? What are you afraid of? I can only come to one conclusion, Sir, and that is that you want to delay it, you want to put off the evil day, and you want us to give our consent to the recommendations of the Lee Commission, which will make our position impossible when we come to discuss the greater and far more important question of constitutional reforms. Sir, on that ground I cannot give my consent and I do urge that further recruitment under the present system should be stopped, that the control of the Secretary of State for India must be taken away and it should be vested in the Government, and that we should have a Public Services Commission for the purpose of future recruitment. Then, I shall be told—I cannot understand why—that the Civil Service and the other Services seem to think that if the Government of India have the control, they will be in a mortal

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grip and that they will be in danger. But surely that is not really a very nice reflection on the Government. But I can understand my friends there will say "it is not the Government of India that we are afraid of, but it is you fellows here in this Assembly that we are afraid of." But I say, Sir,—and I can say it with implicit confidence—that there is no man on our side who would make the slightest attempt to break any promise that has already been made to the existing or the present incumbents; and I venture to say, Sir, that whatever may be our faults, if we had to decide and if the responsibility was placed on us, I feel confident that we should decide in the fairest and justest manner towards our own Services. Sir, I entirely subscribe to the proposition that no Government can possibly be unfair or unjust to its Services. On the contrary, I maintain that it is the obligation, legal and moral, of every Government to see that the just grievances of the Services are redressed. Therefore, as far as this question of recruitment is concerned, I submit to this House—and I do not merely wish to make a statement but I want to reason with this House—what is the objection which has been urged up to the present moment by the Government to stopping this recruitment? There is only one objection. As far as I have been able to gather from the debate, that objection came from the Honourable the Home Member and that, Sir, I call the iron hand under a velvet glove. He said—and I think I am quoting him rightly, if I am wrong he will correct me—that so long as the Empire is in charge of the defence of this country, so long must we have a definite element of British in the Civil Services. What does that mean? May I know how long the Empire is going to be in charge of the defence of this country and when will the Empire be able to say to India—"Now you can take over the defence"? Till then, this bureaucratic system of Government is to continue. Till then, there can be no advance towards self-government. Sir, if that is the intention of the Government on the other side, then I say that the whole thing is a camouflage. Things come to an end there and we can never agree. If your intentions are that you want an administrative reform and that you want to maintain the traditional characteristics of the service—not British, not white and dark—so that you may soon get the traditional characteristics of the service and on that footing you go on freely to recruit from amongst the people of India, then I can understand it. I ask, Sir, what have we got in Mysore? How many British are there in the Mysore Civil Service? How many British are there in the Mysore Police Service? And are those districts not well managed? I can tell the Honourable the Home Member that there is not one Englishman in the Mysore Civil Service. Perhaps there may be one in the Police. Is not the State of Mysore well-managed? Are not the people there happy?

The next point which I want to deal with is this. As was pointed out the other day, the position of this Assembly really is this. If the Secretary of State is really all-powerful and we are asked merely to have this debate, then I would be inclined to agree with the feeling of those Members who do not see the use of having this debate. But, Sir, I am very glad to note that the Secretary of State for India, speaking, I believe, with the authority of His Majesty's Government, in the House of Lords said this:

"The Secretary of State for India in Council, who is, as the noble Lord has pointed out, the final arbiter responsible to Parliament in regard to practically the

whole field covered by the Report, must necessarily subject the Report to a thorough examination on points both of principle and detail. The mere fact that he stated that he accepts the view that the Report must be treated as a whole cannot of course in any way absolve him from the duty of examining the Report in all its bearings or commit him in advance to the acceptance of each and every recommendation just as it stands. He must also use the occasion to determine which of the recommendations and their relation to the Report as a whole will from their nature require priority of treatment."

Therefore the Secretary of State for India has reserved to himself
 3 P.M. the right to examine in principle and details the Lee
 Commission recommendations. That is the one bright
 feature which enables me to stand up here still full of hope, that there is
 a chance, although the Government of India have burned their boats by
 bringing this Resolution forward. Now, Sir, if the Secretary of State for
 India says, he is not going to commit himself to these recommendations
 in principle or details, what are we to do? Are we to examine this in
 principle or details or not? Are we to give our intelligent opinion or
 not? There is the Honourable the Home Member, who says there is such
 a thing as *factum valet*; the Commission was appointed; it was composed
 of.....

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman (Home Member): The
 Honourable Member will excuse me: I never suggested *factum valet* in
 regard to the recommendations of the Commission.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: No, the Honourable Member said this: there was
 a Commission composed of eminent Indians and eminent Englishmen; they
 have looked into everything; they have given every consideration, and now
 surely you must really depend on their judgment, and so on....

Mr. President: I must ask the Honourable Member to bring his
 remarks to a close.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Sir, I am not going to be very long; I will only
 say this. The Honourable the Home Member really does us a very great
 injustice when he asks us to dispose of this Report in this way. No evidence
 is placed before us, no materials even on which the Government of India
 came to their decision in support of this Resolution are placed before us,
 and further, when we press the Government, what do we get? We get Sir
 Basil Blackett getting up at the fag end of the debate and bombarding us
 with his usual figures (Laughter). Well, Sir, I do not aspire to be a modern
 financier and I do not think I shall ever be a financier, and for myself I
 should like to have a little more time before I understand them. Therefore
 it is impossible for this House to accept the recommendations of the Lee
 Commission on these grounds. What have we got? We have got a number
 of recommendations as to the increase of emoluments, and I have only this
 much to say: we are prepared—do not treat this last paragraph of our
 amendment lightly,—we are prepared honestly, earnestly, sincerely to red-
 dress the just and urgent grievances of the Services; we are prepared to do
 that. What do we ask you to do? We ask you to do only this: let us have
 a Committee straight away, only with regard to this, namely, to determine
 what should be paid for relief to the Services. We are asking you to give
 us a Committee straight away. We are willing to sit; place such materials
 as you can before us; do not take shelter under the excuse that the evidence
 before the Lee Commission was given in camera and is confidential. Place
 such materials as you can before us; give us a Committee of both officials
 and non-officials and let us sit together. We are willing to go to the Com-
 mittee straight away and I assure you, and I speak not only for myself but
 for my Colleagues and for my party, that we have every desire to meet the
 just and urgent grievances of the Services. *That is the olive branch,—you

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say it is the olive branch—that we offer you, and it was rejected *ex cathedra* by Sir Charles Innes, speaking on behalf of the Government, with thanks, of course I know that ! Sir, if this is how you are going to treat the opinion of this House, of this side of the House, we say stop recruitment. We say we are willing to meet the just grievances of the Services.

There is only one word I would like to say, Sir, with regard to the Medical Service. I say, Sir, that the Honourable Member in charge of that Department spoke at great length and I really am surprised how he has come to give his consent—not only given his consent but that he should have shown so much enthusiasm at the great advancement that was made in that recommendation. What is the advancement ? The Honourable Member should have been the last, having had the experience he has had—and I know when he used to sit on this side of the House it was very difficult to convince him on these subjects,—to accept it. What has he done ? He has done this. He has accepted a principle which to my mind, with the utmost respect to my English friends, is a most vicious principle, namely, that Europeans should have a European medical officer to attend to them. It is a vicious principle ; it is an intolerable principle. You yourselves tell us “ Let there be no racial distinctions ; ” (*Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar* : “ No caste distinctions.”) “ Let there be no racial hatreds ” ; and you solemnly and seriously as the Government of India come here and say “ Europeans must have European medical attendants ”. No matter how qualified an Indian may be, you will not have him. Yesterday Colonel Crawford said he was treated by Indians and I see that he is looking quite healthy. I ask the Honourable Sir Narasimha Sarma how he came to be a party to that principle. And what is more, he said “ But you see there is no real racial distinction at all ; you are mistaken ! ” If this is not racial distinction, I do not know what is.

One more thing about the Civil Medical Service. The Honourable Member says there is a great advantage in this. It is perfectly true we have to absorb the Army Reserve into the Civil Medical Service ; but you must not forget that the Civil Medical Service will then be under the control of the Provincial Government. Is that correct ? Did I understand him correctly ? But does the Honourable Member know the implications of that—that you have at least one portion of your Civil Medical Service, namely, the reserves that you will absorb, not under your control but under the control of the Secretary of State for India. Does he want this hybrid system to be perpetuated ? Is that reform a desirable thing ? On the contrary, Sir, I should have thought the view of the Honourable Member when he used to sit on this side, if I remember rightly, was that there should be a Civil Medical Service liable to be called up at any time of emergency or war.

I can only say this in conclusion, you have no choice ; the Government say “ Accept all the recommendations ”. We say “ No ; recruitment must stop at once ; and further we are willing to meet the just grievances of the Services ; give us a proper opportunity and we will do it. If you do not, we cannot exercise our intelligent judgment, and therefore we will not accept the recommendations of the Lee Commission.”

One more word. I think I understood Colonel Crawford to say that this House would earn the reputation of being an uncivilised House if it did not accept the recommendations of the Lee Commission. On the contrary I say not only will this House earn the reputation of being uncivilised if it

blindly, without proper material, accepts the recommendation; of the Lee Commission, but it will certainly be worse than an uncivilised House. One more thing I say to Colonel Crawford and that is this. He talked a great deal of acumen and I think the Honourable Member in charge of Education talked of the larger point. I do not know what implication the word "acumen" has or the words "the larger point" have; but, Sir, does it mean this that we are expected to vote blindly for some favours to come hereafter? And what are those favours? Neither has Colonel Crawford nor has the Honourable Member in charge of Education favoured us with any indication of the favours that will follow if we vote blindly now.

Mr. W. S. J. Willson (Associated Chambers of Commerce : Nominated Non-Official) : Sir, I shall not attempt to follow my friend, Mr. Jinnah, into the legal arguments which he has raised; because in the first place I have no interest in legal matters whatever and in the second place I would not be competent to deal with them, even if I had. I prefer first to press my own claims and demands on the Home Member and I will join issue sooner or later—perhaps sooner, I think—with Mr. Jinnah and those who think with him that we cannot consider the Lee Report in regard to the pay of the Services until there has been settled the questions of constitutional advance and pay of the subordinate services. To my mind—non-legal mind, I am glad to say—those matters seem entirely outside the scope of the matter we are dealing with here, which is the "Report of the Royal Commission on the Superior Services in India." I think that my learned friend Mr. Shanmukham Chetty and others are entirely wrong in dragging across the trail the question of the subordinate services. Were it not so, I should like to make some remarks upon the question of the old uncovenanted services not dealt with in this Report. But as I consider that I should be out of order in so doing, I merely record the point that we are not satisfied, that nothing has been done for them and we hope their case will be considered at another proper time upon its own merits.

Sir, no one expected that the Lee Commission Report could be swallowed wholesale like a prairie oyster. A report of this magnitude must of course provoke a good deal of discussion and a good deal of differences of opinion and I for my part—non-legal mind, again,—am devoutly thankful that we are not having the evidence of the 411 witnesses before us. Were it so, we should require thirty days for debate instead of three. For my part I am content to accept—not that I agree with it all—but to accept as a fair finding on that evidence, the Report which has been put up by the Lee Commission. I am sorry, I am very sorry, that it has been said in this House and implied as well as said outside that Indians have not trusted the Indian representatives on that Commission. Now, with that I directly join issue. One, a member of this House, Mr. Samarth, is a man for whom I personally have the very highest respect (Hear, hear) and who has influenced my own point of view and my decisions on previous occasions; I refuse for one minute to believe that that man was ever unfairly talked out of any view that was his except upon conviction. I think Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas was wrong in attempting to make a point that the British conceded minor points and the Indians conceded the maximum. I think also it is a pity that amateur statisticians have produced a lot of figures to further cloud the issue, whereas Sir Basil Blackett, our figure authority,

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has capably handled those statistics in reply. I shall make no reference to figures at all. It is a pity that a great many leaders refuse to recognise that there are conditions of hardship at all, but I say that no amount of argument can override the fact outstanding in that Report, that there are conditions of real hardship and trouble. There are two reasons for this refusal, partly because Indian politicians are very averse to any increase of expenditure and partly because their political creed is against it. But, Sir, parsimony does not pay. It pays to have efficiency : efficiency is economy. The Report shows, as I have said, that debts undoubtedly exist. It shows further that insurance policies, originally, generally taken out as provisions for widows, have been pledged and that is a very sad state of affairs. The Report further brings out—juggle with figures how you like—that the increased cost of living is 60 per cent. and surely we might accept the finding of the Lee Commission on those figures. They at least had before them, I presume, all the evidence which is open to Members such as myself. I say, Sir, that the relief recommended by this Report is the minimum compatible with the increased cost of living. It is a compromise. The whole Report is a compromise, which has been well recognised in this House. The recommendations of the Report are so interdependent, that we cannot and ought not to attempt to separate them and on behalf of my constituents I say we are prepared to recommend them as a whole. I shall return to that matter a little later on. Now, Sir, I go further and I say—I am just as much entitled to criticise the Report as anybody else—I say the Report goes too far in some ways. It goes farther in the matter of Indianisation than a great many of us believe to be safe or desirable in such a hurry. On the other hand, I say that it is an injustice and a great hardship upon many members of the Services, the Police, Post Office, etc., who get no increase of pay whatever if they have reached the stage of Rs. 2,150. I am told—and I believe it—that these recommendations will not encourage recruitment. Sir, why should they ? Why should these recommendations encourage recruitment ? How do they compare with what commercial firms pay their staff ? Sir Purnshotamdas Thakurdas gave some figures this morning, but he might have told you that he himself or rather the Company of which he is a Director, was very glad to take out of the Indian Civil Service two distinguished members of it and pay them a very considerably increased pay to join the Tata Steel Works. Even passages have been somewhat resented by Members. Well, what are the passages ? I believe the maximum is 4. In my 25 years' service in commerce—thank goodness it was not under the Government of India—I have had no less than 8 passages. These passages were not given to me out of love or because I was a relation of the firm or because they wished to be generous to me—they gave them to me because it paid them, because my energies were refreshed by a holiday, which was much overdue usually, and it kept me in health. I jotted down the other day, just so that Members of the House may have some means of comparing what mercantile firms give as compared with Government, a few little details as regards concessions such as passages, etc., and I find my late firm pay a passage to join the service, a passage if one broke down in health, a passage at the end of one's service, or funeral expenses if you died and could not go home. During the service they pay doctors' bills, tiffin is provided in office, and on transfer costs of removal, and including sometimes loss due

to the selling of furniture is paid, and subscription to the Clubs, which are necessary. I was also paid the fare of my horse. Members of commercial firms are not put to the expense of Government servants in respect of uniforms, books and subscriptions because the firms pay the latter handsomely to save their youngmen from having to contribute also. Occasional bonuses are given and advances are allowed free when people are hard up, as they usually are. What happens in Government service ? Why even before the Lee Report is put in force or debated at all the Finance Department introduce a new rule charging 5 per cent. on the advances. In fact there is a new debit before you get the benefit of the advances contemplated under the new reforms ! The firm also gives a motor allowance in many cases and in others many assistants get taken to or from office in office cars. The firm pays for all our postage stamps, our stationery, and there are no departmental restrictions on any investments you may choose to make. Up-country we frequently give house-allowances or provide houses which include as often as not electric fans, lights, fuel, etc., and we often paid for or supplied ice.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah : Do commercial firms give any pension ?

Mr. W. S. J. Willson : Some do, Sir. Mine did not.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah : Yours do not. No wonder you are liberal.

Mr. W. S. J. Willson : Now, Sir, I think I have made the point that there is no attraction towards recruitments.

Turning to the Lee Report I find this remark with which I entirely agree :

“ We are confident that India still needs the services of broad-minded Englishmen and will long continue to need them.”

Now, Sir, high tributes have been paid to the Indian Civil Service but time will not permit me to do more than associate myself with them without further repetition.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas : I am sorry to interrupt the Honourable Member. Before he leaves the point altogether he might tell us if his firm grants proportionate pensions in case their staff wish to leave the firm because of their not agreeing with the seniors ? He might complete the whole question.

Mr. W. S. J. Willson : If the maximum pay of appointment that a man had been able to rise to were only the Rs. 3,000 or 3,500 as contemplated by some Members of the House he might perhaps have expected either pension or . . .

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas : Proportionate pension in case of leaving.

Mr. W. S. J. Willson : He might perhaps have expected a gratuity or pension, but when he is paid a figure running into six figures per annum he could scarcely expect to be paid any pension, proportionate or otherwise.

Sir, the attitude of this Assembly over this vitally important question might, I agree with Col. Crawford, be regarded at home as some contribution, some test, of what views India takes about its servants, and as a test, some sort of test, of its capability to advance in self-government. Points which have not been made I think are, why do we want Europeans

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in Government service in India? Well, I want them for at least two reasons, one of which has been dealt with by Colonel Crawford, and I have no time to repeat it. But the point I wish to make is this, that you have here now a system of Western Government. It has not arisen out of any Indian traditions, it has not been evolved out of any of your customs or anything else. It has been imported *en bloc* from England, from the mother of Parliaments, and it is so popular with you, so popular with this Assembly, that you desire now to grab the whole system and you are not content with the piece you have. I do not say that you should not have more, you will get a great deal more by and by, but as it is not inherent in your blood as it is in ours, I say that you require a stiffening of Europeans for that very purpose and for the development of this Assembly.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah : On what terms ?

Mr. W. S. J. Willson : Sir, under these new conditions, in the Parliament of which I speak you will have to recruit more men. They will come out not under the traditions of the old Indian Civil Service,—they will come out not as bureaucrats—a word I hate, a system I dislike,—but they will come out under entirely altered conditions. In the transitional stages of this Parliament and Government their work will be increasingly difficult and different from what it was, but the difficulties of the transitional stage will disappear to a very large extent if you make them happy and contented in their work. It is important, it is necessary for India to develop. I see in this Assembly possibly Members who may some day occupy Government benches, and it is to their interests that they should themselves have a highly qualified British strengthening in their staff. (*A Voice :* “ Why British ? ”) I must also remind the House that a great deal of the success which the reforms have so far met with has been due very largely to the Indian Civil Service, and secondly, to the non-official European community a portion of which I represent. But in that development India must build up a sense of that loyalty to its permanent staff which is such a characteristic of British public life. Progress in this country is only possible by the development of commerce and industries. It is from commerce and industries that the bulk of your revenues come. **It is out of larger revenues that you can further develop the country.** Your trade cannot be maintained unless the foreign nations with which you deal and to whom you send your surplus goods have confidence in a stable form of government here under which the contracts that they make with India are sure to be fulfilled. Sir, on behalf of my constituents, they who pay, say collect if you prefer it, the highest proportion of the taxes in this country, we claim that we have a right to a stable and efficient Government. We are convinced that we shall not have that, nor the service that we have a right to demand, if the Government in any way deviate and attempt to concede less than is outlined in this Lee Report. We hold the British Government to its pledges under the Government of India Act. (*A Voice :* “ What are the pledges ? ”) I want to warn Government further that that Report, which though I have criticised it I say we accept as a whole, must be accepted as a whole, and as Colonel Crawford said, the least signs of weakening will cause Government the loss of some non-official European support. I wish to warn the Home Member further that we demand that the Report be accepted as a whole. I give that warning with all the weight behind me,

which is that of the whole of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India, who occupy in this House but one single seat, and whose humble representative I am. But the weight behind me is very great. I represent in my own humble person, if not all, certainly the bulk—a very great portion—of the British capital invested in India. I represent, further, crores and crores of Indian capital invested in commerce and industry. I say we have a right to that stable and efficient Government. Now, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas also represents to a large extent commerce but the difference between him and me is this, that he is a politician which I am not and has represented the case from a political point of view, whereas I have confined myself entirely to the commercial point of view.....

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas : You take something for granted which you never heard.

Mr. W. S. J. Willson : I would like to refer to what Sir Narasimha Sarma said with reference to the Medical Service. I have never been heard in this House, or outside in the Lobbies, to mention a single racial question and if this were a racial question I should not be doing it but I am going to put it to you that it is not. I am going to put myself in the same position as a very distinguished "England-returned" Member of this House who said that he would like to be treated by a Brahmin doctor....

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar : I was not in earnest when I said that.

Mr. W. S. J. Willson : I do not care whether I am treated by an English Protestant, Catholic, Muhammadan or Jew, but when I am ill I do wish to be attended by a Briton. I do not wish to be attended medically by an excitable Frenchman, a cold-blooded German nor a dilettante Italian. I claim to be treated by an Englishman and that that is not a racial feeling. I put it on the same ground as Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar put it yesterday, even if it is a question of race it is certainly not of colour, for I admit myself that I have a strong predilection for massage by a Japanese. We want to claim from Government an assurance that our European hospitals shall remain under European control and supervision. We want correlation in the I. M. S. to the Europeans in the Services. We think the Indian medical staff should be on an All-India basis, and anyhow that the control and initiative of medical training should continue to be in the hands of a European trained staff, with a strong element of British personnel. The offices of public health in the larger cities and in the more highly industrial areas ought to be held by men who have been trained in Europe and who preferably have held appointments as Health Officers in the United Kingdom. I claim, Sir, that all these are reasonable matters, non-racial but perfectly natural prejudices.

With these remarks, Sir, I have only to add that we also press for the immediate establishment of the Public Services Commission and we hope that the same Commission may deal with the Provincial Services.

I am afraid, Sir, I have rather exceeded my time.

Sardar Bahadur Captain Hira Singh (Punjab : Nominated Non-Official) : Sir, I have heard from Mr. Jinnah that the dignity of this House will suffer if it accepts the recommendations of the Lee Commission

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Report. This opposition seems to me rather unreasonable and unfair. We have had a mixed Royal Commission which, while recognizing our national aspirations for rapid Indianisation and making recommendations for that, have nevertheless come to the conclusion that at this critical juncture in our national life the necessity for a sound and solid leaven of British talent is more insistent and essential than at any time in the past. I have often heard it said both inside and outside this House by my political friends that they do recognize that. (*Voices* : "No, no one.") All of you. It is only here you simply pride yourselves like certain other persons upon opposing anything which comes before you. And you proudly tell your friends and relatives outside that you have been opposing the Lee Commission in the Assembly. That is what is done at every place and in every street. (*Cries of dissent and Laughter.*) Well you can disturb me as much as you like. I am sure you cannot shoot me and you cannot kill me. Even if I gave you a revolver, and you do require one to play with, I am sure you will be killing not only yourselves but many of your Swarajist friends as well. (*Laughter.*) Would you like to try that one day ? I will ask His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to let you have a machine gun and let Pandit Shandal Nehru here, who knows nothing about it, play with it.

Pandit Shamlal Nehru (Meerut Division : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : On a point of order, Sir, I protest.....

Mr. President : Order, order. The Honourable Member will kindly sit down. Has the Honourable Member a point of order ?

Pandit Shamlal Nehru : I protest against the remarks made by the Honourable Member (Captain Hira Singh) and seek the protection of the Chair.

Mr. President : That is not a point of order. Captain Hira Singh.

Pandit Motilal Nehru : May I accept Captain Hira Singh's offer ? If he will give me a gun he will see how straight I shall shoot.

Sardar Bahadur Captain Hira Singh : They are taking advantage of my being a soldier, Sir, as I belong to the soldier class, and if most of my friends had belonged to that class, they would have welcomed me. Well, Sir, that is the spirit now-a-days. They want to play with a thing about which they do not know anything ! Well, to-day it seems that the spirit which is actuating the advanced political class is wrong. I must say, Sir, that we do require a proper element of Englishmen, as Colonel Crawford told us the other day, because they are just, they are impartial and honest. Now what would be the state of affairs of any district, say Montgomery, in my country in the new colonies where Jats, Mussalmans, Pathans, North-West Frontier men, Sikhs, Dogras are all engaged in cultivating millions of acres of land and in utilizing the waters of the canal ? Well, you have got some people, some men, here who would have administered the colonies in the same way, but how many of them ? (*A Voice* : "Only one") What would have been the effect on our usual course, on our daily life, where the land and the water is distributed, if there were no impartial administrator ? Bloodshed and great disputes on which we would have to spend lakhs and lakhs of rupees. And look at the vast country of the Punjab where we have large cotton and wheat fields under cultivation to-day. Now if my province can boast of anything, it can boast of the good work done by the Englishman in that part of the country. The

people are rich, they are prosperous, more so than in any other province in India. And what was it before, 40 years ago ? We used to eat barley and gram, and millions of acres were left waste, which have now been converted into fertile fields. The second thing is, Sir, that if the British element is withdrawn, the minority communities will surely suffer. What happened at Kohat to-day ? How many Hindus have been shot ? What happened at Delhi the other day ? What happened, and what will happen, God knows, if the British element is not in India. That sort of thing will happen everywhere. In that case, I wish the Commander-in-Chief will withdraw his British element from the Army too. And then let us see who goes there and who stops all this loot and murder and things of that kind. Has anyone of my Honourable friends got their officers to stop them ? (*An Honourable Member* : " Stop them by using the revolver. ") I have done it and surely I am ready to do it now if something happens here but if I am given a gun. (Laughter). You may try that now. I have heard yesterday one so-called eminent leader declare to this House with no little bitterness that he would compel the English officer to educate his children in this country by refusing him facilities for passages, etc. Here is a very good proverb which applies to this case. "*Guru to rah gai Gur, aur chela ho gai Shakar.*" That means one sows but another reaps. That is the meaning of it. Let those people who have done everything for this country be deprived even of their children's education, they are not only deprived of what has been recommended by the Lee Report for themselves, but their children will also be deprived of the facility and concession and I am very glad to hear that the sons of Englishmen will get advantage from our sons in the matter of education.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar : I do not know if my Honourable friend followed me clearly on that. I never suggested that our children should educate the children of Englishmen.

Sardar Bahadur Captain Hira Singh : I am not so able as to answer my Honourable friend's question ; he is a Member who is of a professional literary class. We have heard a great deal about the necessity for a change in the angle of vision, change in the hearts of the English people and the British official in India. But surely, Sir, that desire must be accompanied by a corresponding feeling in our own hearts. And what you hear now is the result. And if this is the spirit in which Indian politicians will approach this great and important question, have we any right to expect much generosity and sympathy from them ? (*A Voice* : " No. ") The day will come sooner or later when you will say " Yes ". The day will not be very far ; as we are walking very fast, we must stumble down sooner or later ; then you will say ' Yes. ' There was a time, Sir, when competition amongst Englishmen for the Indian Service was very keen. In many families members used to come out to India for the Civil Service generation after generation as a matter of course. They are moved by real love and sympathy for the people and the welfare of India ; they did not come for the sake of money. And what is more ? They were received and cherished by the Indian people with equal love. That was the tradition of the old days between the two nations. And what is the position to-day ? There is no need to mention it here as one can imagine it and one can even see it. Well, Sir, the real reason is the existence of the politician in India, of the spirit of which I have spoken. The existence of this politician has killed the old spirit of the Englishman of that high class and also his love and sympathy for this country. I have often met Indians belonging to the high services, such as Civil, Police and Army, and also the young Indians of junior

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services. I have learnt from them that they get financial support from their parents which amounts to two or three hundred rupees a month. It is a fact, Sir, that for several years we have got to support them. Well, if we have got to support them and if they put forward their grievances and ask us to increase their emoluments, it is but natural. We are told that the country cannot bear the expense of the recommendations of the Commission, an expense which works out, I believe, to something like half an anna per head of the population. It is an expenditure of about one crore. I would request this House not to look at this sum in its isolated form but to look at it in connection with the huge machinery of Government in India generally. Seeing the immense works that are being carried on all over India and seeing the great military expenditure which is six times as great as the Civil expenditure, can the House honestly say that this sum of one crore is too great a sum to pay for the return that we are getting? If the House does not accept this expenditure because it thinks it is great, then we will have to sacrifice the best interests of the country and I will say that the people who are not giving their hearty support to the recommendations of the Lee Commission are doing a grave harm to their country. What is the alternative, Sir? The alternative is to save one crore of rupees. This saving of expenditure will, I have no doubt, cause our politicians to shed tears of mortification and regret in the year of grace 1924, which will never come again.

Mr. President : I ask the Honourable Member to bring his remarks to a close.

(The Honourable Member resumed his seat).

Dr. S. K. Datta (Nominated : Indian Christians) : Sir, there have been Members who have spoken on behalf of Government during this debate and who have expressed their surprise that the proposals which have been made by the Lee Commission were not accepted with the joy with which they ought to have been received, but India has had the sad experience of the past in accepting any proposals which were made or supposed to be made for her benefit. There will be some Members in this House who will recollect the Charter Act of 1833 whereby all disqualifications on the ground of race were abolished. Immediately after the passing of that Act, that great Indian, the founder of modern India, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, visited England and he took with him his son, a son who had been brought up by his father to look upon India in a new and modern way. His British friends in the Court of Directors promised their support in the matter of obtaining for him a cadetship under the East India Company. The moment those proposals were put before the Court of Directors in spite, shall I say in spite of the enactment passed the year previously, this young man's candidature was disallowed. Yes, not infrequently the reality has been far below that which was promised, and thus we go through the years of British Indian history, and it is one record—and I am not talking in political language, but I have had the opportunity of studying the diaries and records of many Indian lives,—a record of blasted hopes throughout this 19th century. And can you wonder that we are justified in our suspicions when we look upon proposals that are brought forward here to-day? As I said previously, I am not much interested in political considerations: my whole life has been given more or less to education. In education and its problems I have been chiefly interested. Now for the past 22 years I have been more or less familiar with the conditions of Indian students

in the United Kingdom, beginning with my own career in college, and later by visits and contracts with these students of ours in the United Kingdom. You know one of the great concerns of the Government of India, especially about the year 1906, was the propaganda that was being carried on amongst Indian students in England (what is termed anarchical propaganda). Now I have examined the phenomena of what you may call Indian agitation, unrest shall I say, among Indian students in the United Kingdom. Three years ago, with my Colleague in this House, Mr. Ramachandra Rao, I was a member of the Committee presided over by the Earl of Lytton, to report on the condition of Indian students. I discovered that there was unrest. Government talked about agitation and agitators as being the cause, but that was not the reason at all. The reason was that these young men, on the promise of Government that if they went to England and qualified themselves, certain positions would be thrown open to them in India, acted on that assurance. Many Indian students in England have had the experience of racial considerations entering in when they applied for admission to the Services; some of the most brilliant of them, for instance, have sat on the same benches with others who, just because they were British, were chosen for service in India, when these young men themselves were denied that opportunity. Can we wonder that there was unrest? It was not the agitator at all, it was simply blasted hopes, and this has continued for the last 25 or 30 years in the United Kingdom, and I have been a witness of it. Well, Sir, what are we striving for? We are striving for control here in India itself because, unless and until that control comes, many of our young men with the tremendous promise of their lives, will never receive their opportunity. We have been told time and again that there is not enough talent in India. I have been a teacher for many years. There is talent in India, but that talent is allowed to waste for lack of opportunity,—opportunity of education and opportunity of expression. That is what is wrong with India.

Well, Sir, I have expressed myself on this matter. There is another matter to which I feel I must refer and it is the question of the education and the training of the Services.

Here are the problems of India. Who could be more familiar with those problems—we who sit in this House or the Secretary of State who is thousands of miles away? After all we are more familiar with them and it is for us to set down the standard that will be required. Early in 1922 there was an agitation in the British Press in England with regard to the attrition—if you like to use that phrase—from which British recruitment for the Indian Civil Service is suffering. A letter appeared in the *Times* signed by that very remarkable man,—Warden of New College, Oxford. The whole argument (as far as I was able to interpret it) of this man who retired a short time later was that India existed for the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Civil Service existed for the University of Oxford. Yes. A First Class in Greats was a qualification for the Indian Civil Service—I do not say it was a bad qualification: but I do say that our Services have to be treated in the light of the needs of India, and we shall never get that until we have the control of the Services and are responsible for their recruitment. Until then we can never do it.

Now let me turn to another matter with regard to the profession to which I have the honour to belong. There is another Member of this House besides myself—my friend Dr. Kishen Lal Nehru—we the two

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Indian Members of this House who have their names, and are honoured by having their names, on the British Medical Register. Now when our names were placed on the British Medical Register, we took the vows (whether by word or implied) as far as we were concerned, the distinctions of race, the distinctions between poor or rich did not exist—all suffering mankind was one to us. That was the idea placed before us ; and to-day in our own country we are told there are certain types of people to whom we may not minister. In spite of what has been said to-day I feel sure that my Colleague and myself—at least as far as we are concerned—will never allow ourselves to be fettered by any such considerations. May I say one word ? If, shall I say, India does not suit certain people, if our arrangements do not suit certain people, do not come to India. If I do not like a country why should I go there ? If our susceptibilities are outraged anywhere, why should we go there ? These then are some of the matters with regard to the medical profession. I do not wish to labour that particular point, but there is another and that is with regard to the question of medical education in this country, and I have had experience of it both in India and in the United Kingdom. Mr. President, there is a name not wholly unfamiliar to you—that of the great medical teacher at the University of Edinburgh—Dr. Hugh Freeland Barbour, who during all the thirty years that he has worked in that University has given his attention to the needs of Indian students. He visited India last year and his progress through the country was a triumphal progress, because of his devotion to the highest interests of Indian students at the University of Edinburgh. Probably there is no man living to-day who knows more about the medical education of Indians in the United Kingdom than Dr. Hugh Freeland Barbour. Three years ago giving evidence before the Lytton Committee he told us in words to this effect :

“ When I began my work in the University we had a very large number of Canadians but as the years went on these Canadians disappeared ; they did not come any longer.”

May I inquire why ? Because they had established a Medical Faculty at the University of Toronto—a Medical Faculty which to-day ranks among the first Medical Faculties in the world. He said that

4 P. M. Canada had created her own race of medical teachers and he went on to add that as long as Indian medical education was tied up to a service so long would it be defective ; and that was the evidence that we received in the University of Edinburgh and throughout the Midland Universities and in the colleges in London ; and I quite believe it. I have had experience of some medical teaching in one of our Indian Universities and I know how very inferior it can be ; it is not the outcome of specialised knowledge ; it is not the result of investigation and research, and that is where the grave defect of Indian medical education lies.

Well, Sir, my friend, Pandit Motilal Nehru, has moved an amendment. I am not enamoured of that amendment. I quite agree with Sir Basil Blackett that the opening paragraphs take things for granted, that there is possibly too much assumption there. As a matter of fact I never like long preambles ; I do not understand what they mean ; and therefore I find myself in this difficulty. In the first place the Government on the one hand propose a Resolution which I cannot accept. On the other hand, Pandit Motilal Nehru presents us with an amendment

which, just because he accepts the fundamental principle of control in India, I feel I must accept.

Well, Sir, what about the Services? I do feel that the cry for increased salaries, increased allowances is well-founded. I am not speaking without authority; I have had a great deal to do with Europeans of one kind and another in India and I know from personal experience that the amount paid to some Indian Service officers who live with their families is inadequate; I have studied their family budgets and I have looked at certain other family budgets; and in comparing them I feel that the Services have a real grievance with regard to salary and allowances and justice ought to be done to them; but I am not a financier and authority on the subject. I am concerned mainly with the question of control. That is fundamental to my mind, and I feel that control ought to be here. My friend, Colonel Crawford, whom I shall take the liberty of congratulating on his speech, made an honest speech; it was a speech straight from the shoulder; it was a soldier's speech. He exulted in the superiority of his race. He told us about the great qualities of Englishmen and I believe him absolutely; but it seemed to me that he never got over the idea that the Indian at his best was a magnificent locomotive and that he was the driver and he was right. As a matter of fact it is a magnificent machine that he has controlled; he puts in the oil, there is water and the furnace is well fed; he pulls the lever and it is set going. It is a magnificent machine he has in his possession. Yes, British leadership of Indians is a very large asset and a good thing too, but I do say that he forgets that there is something else, that after all no man is purely a brute or purely a machine. There is some thing of the divine and the eternal which is greater than that machine and so often it is forgotten that in the meanest cooly in this country there is that spark of the divine.

Well, Sir, I shall bring my remarks to a close but, after I heard Colonel Crawford's speech yesterday afternoon I went and took down a book of English verse and I saw this in it and I wondered whether he had read it. Here the poet's fancy depicts—shall I say an Indian Civil Servant arriving in Florence:

“ Say who be these light-bearded, sunburnt faces
In negligent and travel-stained array,
That in the city of Dante come to-day
Haughtily visiting her holy places?
O! these be noble men that hide their graces,
True England's blood, her ancient glory's stay,
By tales diverted on their way
Home from the rule of Oriental races.
Life-trifling lions these, of gentle eyes
And motion delicate, but swift to die
For honour, passionate where duty lies,
Most loved and loving.”

Yes, Sir, I look round this House too and I wonder to whom the reference could apply—“ these light-bearded, sunburnt faces ”.

Sir, in the course of the history of the development of the Christian dogma, there are two words that have figured prominently; one is “ faith ” and the other is “ works ”. My Honourable friend, Sir Basil Blackett looks interested. Yes, it is of fascinating interest, this controversy around these two conceptions of faith and works, and, as I looked

[Dr. S. K. Datta.]

round this House I wondered who had found salvation, whether those there, where immense files stand to their credit, who have worked for 150 years creating irrigation schemes, famine schemes, educational schemes—immense things done for India, but with no faith in India, even as a schoolmaster says to his pupil “ I will teach you this, I will give you the other things, but after all I do not believe that when you grow up you will be any good ”. On the other hand, I turn to my Honourable friend the Pandit and I ask vainly of the Swaraj Party “ works ”, I find they have a great faith ; and it is the faith that every Indian can accomplish great things. They have very little to show, very little actually accomplished, but immense faith. And I do ask this House whether we cannot combine the two ; whether works and faith cannot come together. We in this House I say are not prepared, because of the inadequacy of the Resolution put forward by Government, to accept it. We are compelled to vote for a Resolution which with all its defects is based on faith in India and in her future. Here is the opportunity for the Government to come forward and say : “ After all when you come to judge the actual issues there is not much between us, the Government and yourselves ”. Each side has seized on a great cardinal principle. Hold these principles as strongly as you like, but there is always some principle higher than either. To use the Hegelian terminology, “ thesis ” “ antithesis ” “ synthesis.” Surely there is an opportunity for a great synthesis among the Members of this House who honestly hold opinions that the divergent.

Mr. V. J. Patel (Bombay City : Non-Muhammadan Urban) : Mr. President, I had no intention whatever to take part in this debate because I had already expressed my views on the Lee Commission's Report at the May meeting of this Assembly. I see nothing before me to-day to make me change my view. I then stated emphatically and clearly that the Report of the Lee Commission should be consigned to the wastepaper basket and I maintain that view to-day. If I rise to take part in the discussion it is because I hear from all sides of this House the high appreciation of the great work and the good work that the Services have done in this country all these years. That is one side of the picture. I am afraid I feel it my duty to my country to present the other side of the picture and should not allow the case to go by default. I have heard nothing but praise for the I. C. S. I ask this House to judge the Services by the result. The Services are holding the reins of this country for the last one hundred years or more and I want every Honourable Member of this House to examine and realise for himself the condition of the country at the present moment after these 150 years of British rule. The Britisher came here to trade and he managed to stay here to rule. He would not have come here if the country was poor. It is a historical fact that the country was one of the richest countries in the world and to-day what do we find ? It is the poorest country that exists on the surface of this earth. The average annual income of an individual—Sir Basil Blackett is not here I am sorry—is not more than £2—Mr. Chaman Lall would like to put it lower. (*The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee* : “ How do you know ? ”) Will you tell us exactly what the income is ? We have been repeatedly challenging you, we have been making these statements for the last so many years, and you have never cared to investigate what is really the annual income of an individual in India. You would

not face that inquiry, you would not care to make that inquiry, and we know the reasons why you do not want to make that inquiry. Your conscience is guilty. Mr. President, after 150 years of the Services rule you find that millions of people of this country live on one meal a day. The average life of an individual is 23 years and what is the extent of the literacy? 5 or 6 per cent. of the total population of India, —6 per cent. taken as a whole. After 150 years we are told that we are not yet fit to govern ourselves. Our industries are destroyed beyond redemption and the whole population is disarmed and emasculated. That is the condition to put it briefly, and I want the House to judge the Services by this result. They were in full possession of this country, they were in full charge, they were the masters and arbiters of the destinies of 300 millions committed to their charge, and let them lay their hands on their hearts and answer whether they have governed this country in the interests of the millions of this country or whether they have governed the country in the interests of their masters 600 miles away?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman : Hordes of mercenaries!

Mr. V. J. Patel : (*A Voice* : "6000 miles") 6000 miles away, and yet we are told to-day that the Services are most efficient, the Services are most honest, are most sincere, they are truly devoted Services, and all sorts of appreciative epithets are used. I do not understand why all this was necessary except to prove a case in favour of the increases that are proposed by the Lee Commission. I now come to the Report itself. My position is this. I really do not care to look at this Report and to examine it on its merits even if you supply me with the evidence which has been taken in camera. I shall have nothing to do with this Report unless and until the constitutional question is settled. What I want is the power to give the increases to the Services. I do not want the power to recommend. That is nothing, because I know what recommendation means. We have been making recommendations. I have been in this Assembly for the last one year. I have been in the January session, the May session and this is the third session in which I am taking part and we have passed a number of Resolutions recommending to Government to do this thing and that thing and they have thrown all those Resolutions into the waste-paper basket. Every one of them. I can prove it. Every important Resolution has been treated as a scrap of paper by the Government.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett : Even the one letting you off income-tax.

Mr. V. J. Patel : Letting me off income-tax? I do not know whether there was any Resolution on that. There was a Resolution carried by a majority regarding self-government. That was treated with contempt. I know the Resolution of my friend Mr. Neogy about the protection of the coal trade. That has been treated as a scrap of paper. There is my friend Mr. Ramachandra Rao. His Resolution that certain contracts of the Railway Companies be previously examined by this Assembly has also been treated similarly, so also has the Resolution regarding Mr. Horniman, and that regarding the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the Sikh troubles, and so on. I can quote instances after instances to show that the Government have discarded all the recommendations of this Assembly.

Pandit Shamlal Nehru : Can you cite any Resolution which they have accepted ?

Mr. V. J. Patel : I am sorry I cannot. My friend Sir Charles Innes observed that if this House were going to treat these recommendations of the Lee Commission in accordance with their ideas of what ought to be the constitution of this Government then better not waste our time and that is exactly the stand which the amendment of my friend Pandit Motilal Nehru asks the Assembly to take. By the first part of his amendment my friend Pandit Motilal Nehru clearly maintains that all the recommendations of the Lee Commission should be rejected. These are the exact words : This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services be not accepted." What is the second part ? The second part of the amendment is in my opinion the reiteration of the demand for self-government. If you really read between the lines, that is the only meaning that can be put upon it. The amendment demands the stoppage of all recruits from England, the control of all the Services by the Assembly through the Government of India and the Local Governments concerned. It demands the Public Services Commission to be instituted with functions to be determined in accordance with the recommendations of this Assembly and it further demands the control of services, their pay, their pensions and other concessions to be regulated by the Government of India and the Local Governments according to laws to be passed by this Assembly and the Local Legislatures, respectively. The Governments in so far as the Services are concerned are to be subordinate to the Legislatures. This is the main part of my friend Pandit Motilal's amendment.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah : Where is that ?

Mr. V. J. Patel : I will read it to you. It is on page 6 of the agenda paper :

"That His Majesty's Government be requested to take the necessary steps for the purpose of transferring the powers of appointment and control of the Services now vested in the Secretary of State to the Government of India and the Local Governments, such powers to be exercised under laws to be passed by the Indian and local Legislatures regulating the Public Services, including the classification of the Civil Services in India, the methods of their recruitment, their conditions of service, pay and allowances and discipline and conduct."

So all these matters are to be regulated by laws to be passed by the Indian Legislature and the local Legislatures respectively, and such laws are to guide the Executive. So ultimate power is vested in this Legislature and the Provincial Legislatures. You have got to regulate the Services in accordance with the laws passed by this Legislature and this is possible only if you are subordinate to us. This therefore is a clear demand for self-government and nothing less than that. If it were otherwise I should be last man to support it. I want to make it perfectly clear once again that this amendment, if it means anything at all, means that we want the Services to be controlled by the Government responsible to the Legislature. This is possible only in a self-governing country and therefore the demand in the second part of the amendment is in my opinion nothing short of a demand for full responsible Government where the Services are controlled by the Legislature through the Executive responsible to it.

And the third part of the Resolution is this. We are perfectly willing and I am willing on my part to examine the grievances of the

Services. I am perfectly willing to do so. (*The Honourable Mr. A. C. Chatterjee* : "Thank you.") If you only give us the opportunity. (*A Voice* : "Why should you do it?") Why should I do it! Well, if they do not want it to be done we have no objection. If they are willing to leave us I shall not be at all sorry. I tell you frankly and I am quite clear in my mind that India can afford to relieve these gentlemen if they desire to be relieved. I have not the slightest doubt in my mind on that point. I am not at all in agreement with those who say that we must have the assistance, the help, the guidance, of the Englishman : that we must have an admixture of Englishmen side by side with our Indian friends in the Services. I do not believe in all that. That is all camouflage. If they are prepared to stay as servants, by all means let them stay. We are perfectly prepared to treat them as such. But if they want anything more than that and they wish to go away because they can no longer dictate, I shall not be sorry on that account. I think India can do without them, and it is no use saying that for a long time to come we must have the assistance of Englishmen in India. We have had enough of their dictation. We now want to stand on our own legs. So, Sir, the third part of the Resolution makes it clear that so far as the existing incumbents are concerned we on our part are perfectly prepared to examine their grievances, if any. I do not believe there is any grievance. I think the Services are amply paid, but if there are yet any grievances let us be satisfied about them after we get power to pass final orders, not merely make recommendations. That is my position. The third part is conditional on the acceptance of the second part. It does not stand by itself. We want powers to pass orders before we examine the alleged grievances. I wish to make it clear to this House that the third part hangs on the second part. If His Majesty's Government is prepared to stop all recruits from England from to-day, and if the Secretary of State is prepared to transfer the power of control and appointment of the All-India Services to the Government of India and the Provincial Governments who in their turn are prepared to exercise such powers under laws to be passed by the Indian and local Legislatures regulating the public Services, including the classification of Civil Services in India, the methods of their recruitment, their conditions of service, pay and allowances and discipline and conduct, if that position is acceptable to His Majesty's Government, we are perfectly prepared through a Committee of this House to examine the grievances of the Services if there are any, and pass orders. I wish to make this perfectly clear. (*Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar* : "You are speaking for your part.") That is how I understand the amendment. There can be no other meaning. I do not think the third part can be separated from the second. I do not think there is any other alternative possible for any self-respecting body of men, after the manner in which they have been treated in the matter of the self-government Resolution passed at Delhi and after the manner in which they have been treated in respect of last Budget and the Finance Bill, as also in the matter of a number of Resolutions of this assembly since it met at Delhi. We know the consequences of our action, I know what is going to happen. Sir Basil Blackett—I am sorry he is not here now—told us the other day that if you are going to take the stand which was described as 'the manly stand' that you took at the March session in regard to the Budget, then Government will take the step that they took in that connection. That is, "if you are going to be men, we are going to be brutes." I will read his very words in order that I may not be misunderstood. Speaking on

[Mr. V. J. Patel.]

the amendment of my friend Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in regard to the Lee Commission's Report, Sir Basil Blackett stated :

" I would seriously ask the House to consider whether the result of passing the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's amendment would be useful. It would be a direct statement to the Secretary of State, to the Government of India and to everyone concerned that this House is not prepared to consider the Lee Report on its merits. It would be a statement to that effect before the Report has even been read. It would be a direct negative, and is it not obvious that the Secretary of State, in saying that he is willing to hold over the consideration of the Lee Report until it has been discussed in September, must ask that he shall not be made to reply that in no circumstances will they consider the Report on its merits. If the House says that, obviously there is nothing for the Government of India and the Secretary of State to do but to treat this manly action in the same way as they had to treat the manly action to which Mr. Patel was referring in the last session."

So Sir Basil Blackett has given a clear notice to the mover of this amendment as well as those who are supporting him, including myself, what was going to be the outcome of this debate. We know, as well as you do, that this amendment is going to be carried, that the Government are going to be defeated, and Government know that that is the only manly stand that gentlemen on this side can take consistently with their self-respect. And we also know, we have been told in no uncertain language, that, " if you do that, if you become men, then we shall become brutes. We shall throw out your recommendations, and we shall do what we like, as we did in connection with the Budget." You restored all the Demands for Grants which this Assembly threw out ; you certified the Finance Bill which this House threw out ; and you are also saying the same thing to-day that, " if you reject the recommendations of the Lee Commission's Report, here we are with power in our hands, we shall restore all the recommendations of the Lee Commission's Report. We fully understand that all this is a mere farce. Whatever Resolution we may pass, you would do what you like. That is our quarrel with you. We want to make it impossible for you to over-rule us. We want to make you responsible to us. We have been told lots of things about the Services and their character, their efficiency, their integrity and all sorts of qualities of head and heart. Supposing my friend Pandit Motilal Nehru were to take the seat which is occupied by my friend, the Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman, and my friend, Mr. Rama Aiyangar were to take the seat occupied by my friend Sir Charles Innes, and my friend, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta were to take the place of Sir Basil Blackett, would the administration of this country suffer ? Would efficiency suffer ? How would India suffer, I fail to see. Here is my friend Sir Narasimha Sarma, who has been getting along all right. He was working with me in 1917 and 1918 on this side of this House and he was most irreconcilable, more irreconcilable than some of my friends whom I knew. (*Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar* : What about you ?) I say I have been consistent and also conciliatory, because I have been saying frankly what I feel and I ask the Members who are sitting on the Treasury Benches what is the difference between them and us. I ask them what are we quarrelling for ? Here we are. We want self-government. You say you want to give us self-government. It is only a question of time. Let us sit down together and decide what should be done and how we should proceed. Why should we quarrel over this affair, if you are sincere, if you are honest, if you mean what you say, if you do really wish to give self-government to India. We want it ; you say you want to give it to us. We are perfectly prepared to come to terms

with you. You will not have all these sleepless nights (Laughter). There will be no difficulty about it. We can come together. That was the motion of Pandit Motilal Nehru at Delhi. It was for a Round Table Conference. It was for bringing us together and talking the matter over and finding a solution. If you do that, there is an end to the whole matter. There will be no more trouble to you and no more anxiety to us. But when you come forward with arguments, such as, "what about the depressed classes; what about Hindu-Mussalman question; we are required to stand between you Hindus and the Muhammadans; we are required to stand between the depressed classes and the higher classes of Hindus" we question your sincerity and *bona fides*. So long as you assume that attitude, these questions will also not be solved. So long as you stand between us, it is difficult to solve them. In fact, you divide us. I want to make it perfectly clear that the dividing line is there and it is because we want to unite the Hindus and the Muhammadans, the depressed classes and the higher classes, we want to remove the obstacles from our way. (Laughter). That obstacle must go. So long as that obstacle is there, these questions cannot be satisfactorily solved. I know it is our weak point and in our weakness lies your strength. *Ad nauseam*, times without number, in season and out of season, I hear from the Treasury Benches these two arguments, what about the depressed classes, what about Hindu-Mussalman dissensions. Well, there they are, and I do not wish to conceal my view that to a great degree you are responsible for it. I know it is our duty to see that we are not divided, that we settle our differences; and if I have any voice in the affairs of the Indian National Congress, I am going to advise the Indian National Congress which will shortly meet at Belgaum that there should be no more of these boycott of Councils, boycott of schools and boycott of Courts, but that we should meet together and concentrate on the settlement of the differences between the two great communities of India and the uplift of the depressed classes and the removal of untouchability. The day when the Hindus and the Muhammadans of India unite, that day will see the death knell of the bureaucracy, but I also feel that these differences will continue to exist in some form or other so long as you are here and therefore the sooner you go the better for the country. (Laughter).

Maulvi Abul Kasem (Bengal : Nominated Non-Official) : Sir, it is with very great diffidence that I rise to take part in this academic discussion. I cannot claim even in a very small measure the gracefulness of speech or the dignity of Pandit Motilal Nehru, the eloquence or the fervour of Mr. Jinnah, or the vehemence of Mr. Patel, but none the less I hope, Sir, that this House will give me a kind and a patient hearing. The learned Mover of the amendment under discussion, Pandit Motilal Nehru, spoke with the consciousness of addressing a House of whose support by an overwhelming majority he was assured; and, on the other hand, I speak with the nervousness of a man who is addressing, if I may say so, an unsympathetic audience, or, shall I put it, Sir, a prejudiced jury. Sir, Pandit Motilal Nehru in his amendment says that the recommendations of the Royal Commission should be rejected because the Commission was not wanted by us. I agree with him, Sir, that this Royal Commission was not wanted, at any rate, by the people of India. It was, I believe, also not wanted either by the Services or by the Government of India. I am personally not enamoured of Royal or Ministerial Commissions. They are luxuries which India can hardly afford to pay for or

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to indulge in. If I rise to speak on this Resolution it is not to speak about the various points raised either in the motion of the Honourable the Home Member or in the amendment of Pandit Motilal Nehru. I have been commissioned by a few men—I cannot say a very large number—who unfortunately happen to be my co-religionists, to raise a note of warning and of alarm. I have given notice of an amendment which I wanted to be tagged on to any Resolution that was adopted by this House. It was rather an elastic amendment. But you, Sir, have held that after this amendment is carried, and it is bound to be carried, other amendments will fall to the ground. Therefore, I take this opportunity of expressing my opinion with reference to that amendment alone. I want to do so because I want my opinion to be recorded. I know, Sir, that, even among my co-religionists, there are certain people who will not agree with me now, still I want my opinion to be recorded because I believe that, when the enthusiasm and zeal of new converts has subsided, they will realise that I was right and they were wrong. I want my opinion to be recorded for posterity to judge and for the verdict of history. Sir, I have been glad to note that the President of the Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah, in the admirable speech with which he entertained us, enunciated the Muhammadan demands and I was glad to find a chorus of approval from my countrymen in this House. But, Sir, I, in my long experience of public life, have listened to many professions of sympathy and of appreciation of our rights and of our legitimate claims both on the part of the Government and on the part of my countrymen. But, unfortunately, Sir, I have found it to my misfortune and to my regret that these professions and expressions of sympathy towards Muhammadan claims have been uniformly neglected both by the Government, Indian and Provincial, and have never been sincerely supported by my countrymen not belonging to my faith. Sir, I am as eager—whether you believe me or not—to have self-government for this country as our venerable leader Pandit Motilal Nehru. I believe, Sir, that, if the people of this country were imbued with that cosmopolitan feeling and that unbiased sentiment which guide Pandit Motilal Nehru, self-government will come of itself and will not have to be given to us by a foreign power. But, as politicians and as practical men, you ought to look the facts in the face and you ought not to shut your eyes. If you want to achieve your aim and if you want India to progress, you ought to face the situation and realise the facts and remove those obstacles which stand in the way. It has been said that the British element in the Services is an obstacle in the way of Indian progress. I say, Sir, that the British element in our Services as our rulers is an evil. But I must say that it is a necessary evil. We have been told, Sir, for the last 30 years that there is a brotherhood of Indian nationalism and that Hindus and Muhammadans have practically no differences. And it is only the British bureaucracy that creates the differences simply to follow the policy of divide and rule, simply to strengthen their position. I wish it was so because then the path of progress would be easy. Let us face the facts. Reference has been made here to the incident at Kohat, and the gallant Captain there (Captain Hira Singh) referred to the incidents at Delhi and elsewhere. These mob riots I can brush aside; they have no meaning; they are the doings of an infuriated mob with fanaticism on one side or the other. I will take you and draw your attention to a separate matter altogether.

What has been the conduct of responsible Indians, holding responsible positions? I will place it before you, Sir. Here is the profession that you want an Indian administration administered by an Indian Government, by Indians. Do you really mean it, and is it to be tested by your conduct and your conduct alone? I will take you to the Province of the Punjab. There you had the unedifying spectacle of all the non-Muhammadan Indian Members going in a body on a deputation to His Excellency the Governor and asking him to remove the Muhammadan Minister simply because it was alleged that he was giving appointments to Muhammadans. That is an edifying spectacle! This was not done by a mob in Sadar Bazaar in Delhi or the Machua Bazaar of Saharanpur; this was done by the elected representatives of the Punjab who were there as responsible statesmen. Then, Sir, they say: "It does not matter, as soon as the British element is removed, we shall manage our own affairs." I take you to the Punjab again. The Municipalities there were governed by British officials, and they were removed and Indians were asked to manage their own affairs in local bodies, and what happened? In Ludhiana and in other places as soon as a Muhammadan was elected as the head of the Executive, as Chairman of the Municipality, the Hindu municipal commissioners of these Municipalities who are responsible men, who are educated men, who are not a mob, who are not a rabble, walked out of the municipal rooms, and in many cases filed a suit asking for the election to be set aside. That is the spirit.

Mr. Chaman Lall (West Punjab : Non-Muhammadan) : May I ask the Honourable Member whether that was the sole reason why the objection was raised to the Muhammadan Chairman in Lahore?

Mr. Abul Kasem : I am speaking of Ludhiana.

Mr. Chaman Lall : Is that the sole reason?

Maulvi Abul Kasem : The facts are as published in the papers. In Ludhiana the gentleman who was elected as Chairman was one of the foremost Nationalists of his day. (*An Honourable Member* : "Who elected him?") He was elected by Muhammadan votes because they were in the majority. Then, Sir, going a little further. You ask that the British element be removed. I said in the beginning that it was an evil, but I said it was a necessary evil, necessary not on my account, not on account of the Muhammadans, but on account of you. I will remind you again of the incident at Saharanpur. That unfortunate city had a Muhammadan Magistrate during the course of the riots there and there was a responsible Hindu gentleman who sent a wire to the Government to remove him and substitute a European in his place. These spectacles are not edifying, and these facts do not give us faith, hope and confidence.....

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : I should like to know if the observations made by the Honourable speaker are relevant to the point at issue.

Mr. President : I understand the Honourable Member is addressing himself to the necessity of preserving the British element of the service, which is the point at issue.

Maulvi Abul Kasem : Then, Sir, I go to my own province, the province of Bengal, where we form an absolute majority of the population.

There is the apostle of Hindu-Moslem unity—a great national leader (*An Honourable Member* : "Who?" *Mr. T. C. Goswami* : "Have the courage to name the person"). I will give you his name—**Mr. C. R. Das**.

[Maulvi Abul Kasem.]

He and Hemanta Kumar Sarkar went personally to the Honourable the Maharaja of Nuddea who happens to be to-day a Member of the Executive Council ; and it was on the 27th August last that they did so—I give you the very date—and asked him to get the Muhammadan Collector of Nuddea removed from that district because he had Moslem proclivities.

Mr. T. C. Goswami : On a point of order, Sir. I challenge this statement ; I challenge the Honourable Member to repeat the statement outside this House, in public, if it is not a deliberate falsehood.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt (Burdwan Division : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : May I ask one thing ? Is not the Collector of Nuddea a relation of the speaker ?

Mr. President : Order, order. I must ask the Honourable Member not to be quite so provocative in his manner.

Maulvi Abul Kasem : My statement has been challenged, Sir. I have given the name of a gentleman who happens to be not only a territorial magnate but a Member of the Executive Council of Bengal and verification can be made from him.

Mr. T. C. Goswami : This cannot be allowed to go on unless the Honourable Member is prepared to state it in public,—to repeat his statement about a very great man outside this House. I challenge him to do so again, if he has the moral courage to do so.

Mr. President : Order, Order.

Maulvi Abul Kasem : Then, Sir, I will go still further. Pandit Motilal Nehru has said and said with great force and truth that there are two parties, political parties, in this country—the Swarajists who are not enamoured of the present constitution or the reforms under the Government of India Act, and the Liberals, including the Moderates as he phrases them. They say that this party wants to give the reforms a fair trial. These are the two parties. But I may mention that in this country there was another party, a small coterie who were very much enamoured of these reforms and who wanted to give them not only a trial but who were wedded to them, who were fosterfathers of these reforms, if I may call them so. In Bengal, Sir, on the 26th August last there was this edifying spectacle, if I may call it so—the spectacle of the fosterfathers, the promoters, the supporters of the reforms, joining hands with those whose whole object was to wreck the constitution. Now why should people who were absolutely apart in politics about the question of reforms join hands ? There was one party, and they were honest and straightforward, who said they wanted to wreck dyarchy, to kill it. I can understand that. But those people who wanted to run the dyarchy and who had supported it right through—they went and joined hands with the wreckers of the constitution. My reading of the situation is that they did it because the dyarchy was being run by a Government which was Muhammadan in name if not Muhammadan in character.....

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt : I may tell my Honourable friend.....

Mr. President : Order, Order. The Honourable Member will get his chance later.

Maulvi Abul Kasem : When the non-Muhammadan Members or some particular Members of this House cheered and approved of that statement

of Mr. Jinnah about the Muhammadan demands they thought that they had taken the wind out of our sails. (*An Honourable Member* : "Do you represent the Muhammadans?") I represent nobody. I want my own opinion recorded and I want history to judge it.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt : Were you not unsuccessful in two constituencies ?

Maulvi Abul Kasem : I may have been unsuccessful in two constituencies, but see around me people whom I have got elected to several places in older days. Faith, professions, principles have been laid down times without number. I for one will not be satisfied with that; I want positive action shown. Pandit Motilal Nehru in the course of his brilliant speech put a question to the Europeans and said "We want you to let us walk and help us in doing so." I will repeat the same question to him and I will tell him "If you want India to progress, if you want to attain responsible self-government, if you want freedom from the chains under which we suffer and which is as humiliating and as degrading to me as to you, I say the best course would be to raise up the Muhammadans, bring them up to the same standard and place them in the same position which they occupied so that they may walk and march in hand in hand." I have been told that these minor questions can be settled afterwards; "Let us first get rid of the bureaucracy and then we will settle our differences and everything will go on peacefully." With due respect to my distinguished friend, I beg to differ from him on that point....

Pandit Shamlal Nehru : May I ask my Honourable friend if he was not personally responsible for the Lucknow Pact in 1916 ?

Maulvi Abul Kasem : I was and I still hold to it ; but what I want is that that pact and any pact that may follow must be translated into action by you and not by a bureaucracy....

Pandit Shamlal Nehru : As soon as we get self-government.

Maulvi Abul Kasem : What I say is this : I make this a condition precedent because in all matters a combination between a strong and a weak party is always dangerous for the weaker party and therefore I say if you want us to march hand in hand with you, to walk shoulder to shoulder with you, I would ask you "Give me the position, the privilege and the strength in order that I can do so." So far, Sir, with reference to my particular amendment.

I shall not detain the House, Sir, because abler men have discussed the various elements of the question under discussion ; but I will say this much that I do not agree with Colonel Crawford when he says that British prejudices about medical attendance should be respected. I know of no person who would object to be placed under treatment by a foreigner. I do not know what Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar meant when he said that he wanted a Brahmin to be treated by a Brahmin. I for one, if I am sick, prefer to be treated by a doctor who was qualified and not by a merely Mussalman doctor....

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar : If my Honourable friend will forgive me for interrupting him, I find that speaker after speaker is not capable of understanding a joke.

Maulvi Abul Kasem : After all it was a joke. There are of course many things in the recommendations of the Lee Commission which are not

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acceptable to me. But the difficulty lies both with regard to the Resolution brought in by Sir Alexander Muddiman and the amendment of Pandit Motilal Nehru. Dr. Datta said that he would not vote for the one and that he was obliged to vote for the other because he accepted it in principle. My unfortunate position is that I cannot accept Sir Alexander Muddiman's Resolution as it stands, nor can I accept the amendment of Pandit Motilal Nehru.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar (Tanjore *cum* Trichinopoly: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I do not desire at this hour of the day to inflict anything like a speech upon the very large questions that have been discussed; but as my Honourable friend, the Finance Member, said that the discussion did not range over as many items that were comprised in the Lee Commission's Report as he would have wished, I thought that it might be worth while for me to point out certain aspects of those recommendations which in my opinion entirely support the conclusions that are embodied in the amendment of my leader, Pandit Motilal Nehru. Sir, our great complaint is that we have had no materials placed before us to judge whether these recommendations are good or not, whether they are sound or not, whether the particular things that the Government of India have already decided to do have been based upon proper material or not. The Government said that they have not before them the materials which the Lee Commission had, but they said they had other materials and the Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman said that he was going to adduce them in his speech. My leader, the Honourable Pandit Motilal Nehru, very pertinently pointed out that he searched in vain for any substantial material in the course of the speech of the Honourable the Home Member to lead to the conclusions which he laid down. But, Sir, on the evening of that day, we were given a big blue-book in very small type, very difficult to peruse and we were expected to deal with the materials which were placed in that book in the midst of all the troubles of the debate here. I therefore desire, Sir, so far as I can do it, to point out certain things that are found in this blue-book which go entirely to support the conclusions which we have embodied in the amendment. The main point of our amendment is that this recruitment in England should be stopped. On that matter the Honourable the Home Member said that, if recruitment is stopped, it will have a very grave reaction in this country. My Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah, has disposed of that. But what I am unable to understand is this continuous process of arguing in a vicious circle. The Lee Commission said that recruitment in England was affected by the grievances of the Services in this country. We are now told that, in respect of the stoppage of recruitment in England, that will affect the position of the Services here. And so on in a vicious circle. Further, Sir, I am glad to find that in the materials placed before us, from the replies from Local Governments, we have very strong support for the position that if Indianisation is going to be real, is going to be honest and sincere, then recruitment must be stopped at any rate until the 50 and 50 proportion is reached. I find, Sir, that the Government of my own Province, the Government of Madras, last year in its combined form, namely Ministers and Executive Councillors put together, recommended that recruitment should be stopped; they put that proposition before the Lee Commission, although subsequent to the publication, when the new Government of Lord Goschen was set up, the Executive Councillors and Ministers recorded separate minutes in respect

of this matter. I have also to point out, Sir, that one of the most trusted Councillors of the Government of India and of the United Provinces, the Honourable the Raja of Mahmudabad, has strongly pressed upon the Government that recruitment should be stopped. I find, Sir, that the Ministers in Assam have also taken the same view. Going now to the period before this Commission sat, I find that the Government of India themselves were inclined to think that this proposition of stopping recruitment at least until Indianisation is made real should be seriously considered by the Provincial Governments and the O'Donnell Circular embodied the opinions of the Government of India in this matter. Then, Sir, I find also that in the evidence which was placed before the Commission, there was a good deal of evidence which was placed from the European point of view and which pressed that recruitment should be stopped on the ground, which Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer properly put before the House, that it is not fair or proper to get British youths into the country about whose prospects there was so much uncertainty. They would very probably become disappointed subsequently and discontented. There are many other proposals which are contained in this Lee Report which it seems to me make it clear that the conclusions at which the Government of India may have tentatively or hastily arrived with regard to the continuance of recruitment in England ought to be revised. Therefore, we put this proposition of the stoppage of British recruitment as much upon the ground of the interests of the British people as upon the ground of the interests of the people of this country.

Sir, on this question of Indianisation, again, the Government have accepted, as we learn from the Honourable the Home Member, the proposals of the Lee Commission regarding the rate of recruitment. I am unable to follow the calculations on which this is based and I find that the Government of India's letter to the Provincial Governments has by no means accepted these calculations, upon which this simultaneous recruitment in England and in India has been considered feasible for this purpose. The Government of India themselves admit in their letter to Local Governments that these calculations cannot be laid down with any certainty. The Madras Government point out that for their part they are quite prepared to work on the basis of getting within 15 years as far as two-thirds Indianisation in their own Section of the All-India Indian Civil Services. In some other provinces, also, the same proposition has been put forward by some of the Ministers. I therefore do not see any necessity for accepting *en bloc* without further examination this proposal as regards the pace of Indianisation which involves the simultaneous recruitment of British youths to be carried on in England and of Indian youths in India.

Then, Sir, I refer to the proposals which have been accepted by the Government of India in regard to the retirement on proportionate pensions and compensation to civilians who may not agree to political changes made in the Government. I find that this proposition of compensating the Indian Civil Service men who do not agree with the political changes that have been brought about by the Government of India Act—this proposition to allow them the option of voluntarily retiring on proportionate pensions—was never mentioned in the original proposals. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report did not contain it. The Government of India's First Despatch on the Reforms did not contain it. The only proposal that was then made was that if the position of any particular officer was made unendurable, then only could he apply upon substantial grounds for retiring

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on proportionate pension. The proposal of everybody being allowed to voluntarily retire because there have been political changes in India to which he was opposed, was first started before the Joint Committee of Parliament, and that Committee gave the Civil Services in profusion out of the funds of this country. It was that Committee that made the necessary additions to the original Government of India Bill in this respect and Mr. Montagu submitted to these conditions in order to save his Reform Bill.

Then, Sir, there is the question of "existing and accruing rights." The difference of opinion that exists between the Law Officers of the Crown and the Civil Services is quite clear, and I feel, Sir, that although the Lee Commission has not definitely stated that they do not accept the British Law Officers' opinions, it is clear that the proposals that they have made amount to saying that compensation in the extravagant terms demanded by the Civil Services should be given, only that it should be assessed by the Public Service Commission that may be constituted hereafter.

I consider, Sir, that it is a most unwarranted and a most unjustifiable demand to make upon the slender revenues of this country that these Civil Services people should claim not only the existing and accruing rights which they would get in the normal course of their service but that they should get compensation for the loss of prize posts, special posts and other advantages that they might get in this country. That also is a proposition upon which this House cannot decide without going into the materials that must be placed before us.

Then there is this question of the general increase of salaries in the name of passages, in the name of overseas allowances, and what not. The whole mischief of this situation arises, it seems to me, from having allowed the basic pay to be increased in the manner in which it was done in 1919. The pretext of adopting a time scale of salaries for the Services was convenient enough to put up the salaries of these people by as much as 50 per cent. We have had any amount of statistics put before us. We have had aggregates and averages in profusion, but in considering the question whether a particular officer is better off or worse off in consequence of the graded scheme of salaries to which he becomes subject, it is not correct merely to take total figures and arrive at the result as to whether these officers individually or collectively are better off than they were. The whole question is whether the time scale has operated for their benefit. There can be no doubt that it has operated for their benefit. If as a matter of fact when a man starts service, when the Assistant Collector or Assistant Commissioner as the case may be who used to start on Rs. 400 a month in this country, starts on Rs. 600 and gets a time scale, in which promotion is not dependent upon vacancies higher up, if that man starts with an initial advantage of 50 per cent. over his existing salary, the result is he sets up a standard of life far higher than that which his predecessor would have set up and starting on that standard you are going on building up on that golden plate more and more golden ornaments. That is the reason why we are now faced with all these family budgets, budgets which say that they want as many as 11 domestic servants each from the bottom of the Services, which say that for a nurse for one child in a married man's house, they must pay Rs. 70 a month. The figures found

in these budgets really prove too much and try to demonstrate the impossible. We are told that these officers have a monthly deficit of something between 200 to 500 a month throughout their careers. I say, Sir, that this is an impossible state of things to exist and how they manage it is a question which has got to be gone into, as our Resolution has put it, by a frank, fair discussion in a committee which we are quite prepared to set up.

Then, Sir, our whole position is this. We want these Services which have been described in the letter of my Honourable friend Mr. Crerar as an organism, we want this organism not to thrive in the manner in which it throve before. We want this organism replaced by an organism of a different kind. This organism was an organism that governed this country. We want a permanent Civil Service subordinate to a responsible executive in this country. Surely this century-old organism cannot be converted into the new organism, without drastic treatment. We therefore want that if this country is to have self-government, this *corps d'elite*, this ruling class, this great dominating authority over millions of people in this country, should be replaced by a service which is truly a service and which is truly Indian. I say, Sir, there is no question of racial animosity or racial antipathy in this matter. We are quite willing, provided these people are prepared to come into this country and compete with our own fellow-countrymen on equal terms, we are willing that they should join the Services on the same conditions as Indians. We are also quite willing that, whenever expert services may be required, we should obtain these services from British people on such terms as are reasonable and as we can afford. We do not want merely for the pleasure, or I don't know what, of having people out from England, to pay them more salaries, more overseas allowances, more passages and more other things, while we have men with equal ability and equal efficiency in our own country. That is our reason for objecting to British recruitment. We say that this recruitment from the financial point of view imposes a permanent drain upon this country. From the political point of view it increases or strengthens, as my leader put it, the grip of the British nation over this country. On financial grounds it is not right, it is not just or proper, that when you can get the same material in this country we should pay higher and get it from another country. We have no objection to Englishmen coming here and competing. We have no objection to that. But when we can get the same material here cheaper why should we go elsewhere and pay so much more for it out of the poor Indians' resources. These are matters which ought to be discussed and settled with us along with the question of self-government, because this question of self-government also involves the question of the organization of the Services that ought to be modelled on the scheme of self-government.

On the question of the grievances of existing men, there has been so much new material put before us which we should sift and upon which you should get a considered verdict from us. Without such sifting, we are unable to deal with it. On the question of the stoppage of British recruitment, we think this is a condition precedent to any proposal for either dealing with existing grievances or for dealing with the organisation of the Services in the terms of the recommendations of the Royal Commission. After all, what is this great Public Services Commission upon which my friend Sir Narasimha Sarma dwelt at length? It is a mere shadow, just as the Reform Act is a mere shadow, and it has no substance. It is as much a wooden horse as the Reform Act. What

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we want is a real Public Services Commission, a Public Services Commission that is controlled by the Legislature of the country, that is in a position of independence as regards its powers of recruitment and of providing regulations for the control of the Services. Therefore I appeal to the House that they should carry the amendment of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru by an overwhelming majority.

Maung Tok Kyi (Burma : Non-European) : Sir, I thank you very much for the opportunity you give me of speaking on my amendment. Now, Sir, the first part of my amendment is based on the Resolution that has been passed recently in the Legislative Council of Burma, and that Resolution was :

“ That the Burma Government should be empowered to reconstruct the Burma Services on Provincial lines.”

Sir, as my Honourable friend, the learned Pandit, has said the other day, the present system of recruitment and appointment to the Services is an anachronism. The Honourable the Commerce Member feelingly denied that either the system or himself was an anachronism. I have great sympathy with him but I am inclined to believe that the system is an anachronism and people in Burma are trying their best to reconstruct it. While the question was being discussed in the local Council the Leader of the House there said that the discussion could only be an academic one. The question was intimately concerned with the Lee Commission's Report, and the Central Legislature was the only place where the question could be properly discussed. It may be that the question was an academic one in Burma, but it is not so in this House. In fact it is a matter of urgent importance, especially from the point of view of the European members of the Services. Now, Sir, my Honourable friend, the Pandit, is for the wholesale rejection of the recommendations of the Commission. But I, like my friend, the Honourable Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, propose to consider the recommendations on their merits. The Services are now, as everybody is aware, divided into two classes,—the transferred services and the reserved services, and I think that the distinction has already done some harm. It is not conducive to the proper and efficient working of the reforms, and the sooner this distinction is removed, the better. My friend, the Honourable Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, proposes that the Indian Forest Service and the Irrigation Branch of the Service of Engineers should be transferred. I agree with him in this. I think the two services referred to by him should not only be transferred but also provincialized. But when he suggests that the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service should still be reserved, I do not quite agree with him. I think all services should not only be transferred, but also provincialized. Now, Sir, my amendment has been divided into two parts. I have dealt with the first part. With your permission, Sir, I will deal with the second part now. I propose that no increase should be made to the present pay and allowances. We, almost everyone of us, who think in the same way as my learned friend, Pandit Motilal Nehru, believe that the country is bending, nay crushed, under over-taxation, and I think that an increase of expenditure resulting from increase of pay cannot be borne by the people. It has been said, at least from the Government Benches, that the cost of living is still high, and on the other hand, Honourable Members who represent the people have clearly shown that since the year 1920 the cost of living has shown a

downward tendency. Now, Sir, the average European officer in this country has got to serve here on about Rs. 1,500 a month. This salary compared with the salary of a Cabinet Minister in Japan is considerably higher. A Cabinet Minister in Japan is getting only 8,000 Yen a year, that is Rs. 12,000 per annum or Rs. 1,000 per month. So the pay of an average European district officer in this country is considerably higher than the pay of a Cabinet Minister, highest of the officials in Japan. One of the reasons why we are pressing for the Indianisation of the Services is that we will have the Services at a much lower cost. In fact the day will not be far distant when a Cabinet Minister in India will work for the good of the country at a rate of pay on which the Japanese Cabinet Minister is working at present. Sir, let me repeat that Rs. 1,500 a month is a big sum. The people of the country cannot afford to pay more. Those who have studied the economic condition of the country will not be able to deny honestly that the burden which is being borne by the people of the country is already too great. The salary of Rs. 1,500 a month is about the limit which an ordinary average European officer should get. If that officer cannot live on this pay, if he cannot try and live within his own means, then the sooner he leaves this country the better for all concerned. My Honourable friend, Professor Rushbrook-Williams, says somewhere,—not in this House, but in his book called "India in 1922-23"—that the people of India are thriftless because they spend Rs. 214 on marriages and only Rs. 35 on funerals. And, mind you, Sir, such expenditure is not incurred once a month. It is incurred in a life-time and yet my friend has characterised the people of this country as thriftless. Sir, I think I am quite justified in saying that, if the average European officer cannot live on Rs. 1,500 a month, he is not only thriftless but reckless. Sir, as I submitted a little while ago, we cannot bear any more financial burdens. We are already crushed under taxes and the people of Burma are worse off in this respect. We in Burma pay Rs. 12 per head per year. That is to say, we are paying per head more than the people of any other province in the Indian Empire. I think the limit of taxation has been reached in Burma, though the Honourable the Finance Member has denied this in the case of India. But I say that the limit of taxation in Burma has already been reached. That is why I propose that the allowance which is called the Burma allowance and which is peculiar to Burma only should be discontinued. This allowance was sanctioned at a time when the country was not opened up as it is at present, and when the cost of living was admittedly higher in Burma than in India proper. But the condition of the country has materially improved during the last two decades or so and there is no facility or amenity which is obtainable in India which is not obtainable in Burma. and I think the cost of living in Burma is at present not higher than that in India. And in Burma we have got an Act called the Burma Village Act,—I may call it the Slavery Act,—a relic of olden days, and under that Act an officer can order any villager at any time of day or any time of night to supply him with food, fuel, boats, carts, eggs, fowls, milk, or any necessity of life, and he gets the supplies at a nominal price. He gets them at a rate much cheaper than the ordinary market price. On account of this facility also, the Burma allowance should not be continued any longer. It is a pity, Sir, that the Commission did not visit my part of the country. None of them, except Sir Reginald Craddock, knows something about Burma, and

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Sir Reginald Craddock knows the country just as the Honourable Mr. Chatterjee knows unemployment in India, *i.e.*, through District officers. If the Commission had visited Burma I am almost sure they would have been convinced of the fact that the conditions in Burma are not so different from the conditions in India. Sir, I have dealt with the question of Services not in an academical manner as suggested by my Honourable friend, Maulvi Abul Kasem, who, by the way, admittedly represents nobody but himself, but I have dealt with it as a question of practical politics, and I am very glad that this House is competent enough to deal with that question. When the same question was being discussed in the Legislative Council in Burma, another prominent Government official took part in the discussion. He dealt with the question half in witticism and half in seriousness. But, Sir, I for one take politics always seriously. I cannot afford to deal lightly with it, and whatever I say in this House is based on my convictions and nothing else. I believe, as I said a little while ago, that the people of this country cannot bear the burden of any fresh taxation or any more expenditure. One of the main reasons why dyarchy is so unpopular throughout the country is that it has caused an increase in expenditure, and I therefore earnestly appeal to the House that they will do nothing to further increase the expenditure of the country.

Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan (Patna and Chota Nagpur *cum* Orissa : Muhammadan) : Sir, I had no mind to speak. But for the speech just delivered by my friend, Maulvi Abul Kasem, who himself admitted that he represents nobody but himself I had to speak. Let me tell you, with the permission of the House, that I represent the largest Muhammadan electorate in my province of Bihar and Orissa, and I in my representative capacity entirely repudiate the assertions made by my friend. I do not think that the Muhammadans would ever be so undignified as not to shake hands with the Hindus and fight with them shoulder to shoulder in the struggle for self-government simply through fear or dread of the Hindus. Muhammadans cannot be so timid and so cowardly; they are manly men. They are Indians. They know they are Muhammadans but they also know that they are Indians. Although they have sympathy with the great Muhammadan States, yet in all political matters they are with the Hindus; and I give them, in my representative capacity the assurance that we are ready and always will be ready to shed blood with them and for them in their struggle for self-determination and self-government. But, Sir, I do not base my claim, or our claim, for self-government on the vilification of Englishmen or the Civil Service. I have the greatest respect, let me tell you, Sir, for the members of the Civil Service, and I entirely disagree from my friend, Mr. Patel, when he tried to make an attack on the Civil Service. I have been in touch with them for a very long time and I have not only respect for the members of the Civil Service but I have the greatest respect for the English people and the English nation. The English Government has been called a Satanic Government. But I do not base my claim on that fact, I base it on the fact that we Indians have as much right to self-government as any other nation; it is our inherent right. Under the law a man attains majority after the age of twenty-one. We have been under the Court of Wards in the charge of Englishmen for one hundred and

fifty years. Now we have attained the age of majority, and are fit, and now we ask the English people to be just and fair to us and give us what we want at least in a spirit of generosity. That is my claim.

As regards what Maulvi Abul Kasem said, I again say that he was wrong and had no business to stand up and say all that he has said. As no other Muhammadan Member has spoken, I thought it my duty to state that he was wrong and to emphasise that the Muhammadans and Hindus are all for the amendment moved by the Pandit.

It is getting very late and I shall not go into the details of the question. I simply want to remind the House that the amendment moved by Pandit Motilal Nehru is not an amendment of the Swarajist Party merely but of the whole Nationalist Party, nay it is an amendment of the whole Indian nation. This House has to consider whether it has to support this amendment or the Resolution moved by the Honourable the Home Member. If you read the Resolution and the recommendations of the Lee Commission, you will find that they are entirely in conflict with the basic principle which underlay the Resolution that we had adopted in the last session. Would it therefore be consistent for Members of this House, after having adopted that Resolution, now to shirk their responsibility and not whole-heartedly support the amendment moved by Pandit Motilal Nehru? I ask the whole House, at least all the elected Members, to stick to their guns and remain firm and whole-heartedly support the amendment. With these words I support the amendment.

Mr. W. F. Hudson (Bombay : Nominated Official) : Sir, at this stage in the evening I cannot expect to interest the House, but I can at any rate promise to be brief. There appear to me to be about twenty grounds on which I should like to oppose the Honourable Pandit's amendment, but, as I hope to observe the time-limit rather more successfully than some of my Honourable friends who have spoken before me, it is obvious that I must confine myself to one or two points. My main objection to the amendment is that it is a delaying amendment. That was probably not the intention of the Honourable Pandit, but it will unquestionably have that effect if it is passed and carried into effect. The Services have already waited an intolerably long time for reliefs which were overdue four years ago, and as each month goes by the financial situation of the individual officer grows worse and worse. I do not propose now to weary the House with a long and painful history of the representations that were made to the Government of India from every Service and from every province from the year 1920. It has been well said that the mills of God grind slowly ; but in the eyes of the Services the mills of God are high velocity engines compared with the mills of the Government of India. At long last, however, when hundreds of officers had given up the unequal struggle and taken their proportionate pensions and gone Home in the hope of being able to pick up a decent living there, then the Royal Commission was appointed, and although many months elapsed before they started work, when they did get to work they grasped the fact at once that this was a matter of extreme urgency and they most commendably got out their Report in what for a Royal Commission must have been record time. I would also draw the attention of the House to the fact that in their recommendations they unanimously urge that there should be as little delay as possible in taking action on their proposals. And now, Sir, at this point, after four years of weary waiting and financial stress and just when

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a spark of hope has been lighted, it is proposed by the amendment to scrap this Report and to do the whole work over again. For the work would have to be done over again, since I think it must be obvious to anyone that evidence given under the seal of secrecy could not possibly be divulged to anyone for whom it was not intended. Any Secretary of State who attempted to divulge it would be hounded out of public life in England and deservedly so. (*Pandit Shamlal Nehru* : "Not even to the Government?") No, Sir. Not even to the Government. It was intended for the Royal Commission. Now, it is not explained why there is any reason to suppose that this Committee would do the work any better or more equitably than the body of distinguished public men who were recently appointed by the Crown. In this kind of question there must be finality somewhere, and I submit that the unanimous finding of a Royal Commission on which India was very admirably represented and this House in particular was represented by one of its ablest and most independent Members should be accepted by all reasonable men.

Now, Sir, I propose briefly to explain one or two matters in regard to which relief is so urgently needed. The amendment says that no material evidence is indicated in the Report. I propose therefore to indicate just a few facts and figures—as few figures as possible, as I observe that the Honourable Mr. Jinnah does not like being bombarded with them. Figures are things you cannot get away from altogether in discussing a matter of this nature. The point which I wish to draw your attention to is that relief which we call free passages, one of the most important from our point of view. As regards this, I cannot but note with surprise and regret that, judging from the amendments I see before me and the speeches we have heard, many Honourable Members are opposed to any concessions of this kind. I said "with surprise" because I should have thought that a concession in this form would have obtained a special degree of sympathy in this country. Love of his home is one of the strongest sentiments of every Indian, and, though I do not want in the least to be unduly sentimental on this occasion, I should like Honourable Members just to ask themselves seriously how they would feel if they had been cut off for years and years, as scores of European Civil servants have been by the cost of passages, from a sight of their parents or their children. Now, for the figures. In 1913—I take a typical case—a return passage of an officer, his wife and one child cost about Rs. 3,000. In 1920, when the revised scale of pay was fixed, the cost was Rs. 2,000. To-day it stands at Rs. 5,000. Now, of course, I understand that to the successful professional men whom I see around me—many of whom I feel sure have doubled their fees since the War—Rs. 5,000 is a mere bagatelle. But how is a junior officer with a wife and child on Rs. 1,200 or Rs. 1,500, how is he ever going to save Rs. 5,000 when he can barely pay his bills in this country? It simply cannot be done, and if he takes leave at all, he has to do one of two things—he either has to borrow on his insurance policy or he has to borrow from Government—which latter resort cripples his resources for many years to come, after his return from leave. So the Royal Commission realised that it is essential that an officer should have a free passage to Europe, not only in his own interest but in the interest of his efficiency as a public servant and that, owing to a rise of nearly 200 per cent. in the cost of passages since the last revision

of pay, some relief is absolutely necessary. And it seems to me, Sir, that the Royal Commission have given the relief where it is most needed. In this concession there is no encouragement to any extravagant standard of living such as I understand some Honourable Members consider now prevails—though goodness knows on what grounds. This concession makes it possible for an officer to see his home and his children at long intervals and to fit himself to discharge his duties efficiently in this country. Moreover, there is nothing in the least unusual in this concession, as we heard from the Honourable the Finance Member this morning. The Government of the Malay States and I may add the Governments of the African Colonies give it, and most of the European firms give it. Had the Government of India given it in days gone by, it is highly probable that there would have been no need for a Royal Commission at all. The Civil Service never pressed for it until circumstances absolutely compelled them to do so, but the time has come when they cannot get on without it. Sir, scores of officers, I may say, hundreds of officers, are waiting eagerly for this concession to be sanctioned: men who have borne the burden and the heat of the day through long years without a break. They are longing for a sight of their homes and their children, and this is their only chance. And if it is denied to them, in my belief there will be a wave of discontent throughout the Services such as India has never before experienced.

There are many other points which I should have liked to discuss, but I must leave them as the time is already late. But before I sit down I want in all good faith to make this appeal to the Assembly. It has been said with some degree of truth that no argument and no speech has ever turned a vote in a democratic House, and perhaps we can hardly expect an exception in this, one of the youngest representative Assemblies in the world. The argument which I am going to use is one which was put yesterday in rather a different form and received in parts of the House with, what are called in the House of Commons "ironical cheers"—I venture to hope that there will be no ironical cheers to-day. I put the argument in all good faith and it is not really a humorous matter at all. One of the aspirations, as we have heard several times to-day—one of the aspirations of many Members of this Legislature is that the control of the whole of the All-India Services should be transferred to India and exercised by the Government of India or the Local Governments through a Public Service Commission. With that aspiration as such I have no quarrel whatever. On the contrary I understand and sympathise with it. But it cannot be realised, and I venture to say it never will be realised, until it has been clearly established by something more than words—we have had very kind words to-day, but we want something more than words—that the Services will be treated as fairly by the Indian Government as they are by the Secretary of State. Now, it is no use blinking the fact that the Services at present are convinced that such would not be the case, and if we may judge by the political speeches and writings of the last four years, and even by some of the speeches in this Assembly, they have sound grounds for their apprehension. And now, Sir, there is a unique opportunity,—an opportunity which I think is not likely to recur for years—to show that the apprehensions of the Services are quite ill-founded and that this country is prepared to treat its permanent Civil servants as fairly as any other. If this Assembly to-day generously and unanimously accepts the carefully considered proposals of the Royal Commission in regard to the

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relief of the Services, there is no question that the impression that will be made upon the British Government, the British Parliament, and the British people, will be profound, and that it will be difficult hereafter to maintain the argument that the Services need and must have for years the protection of the Secretary of State. But if this Assembly is so ill-advised—I do not wish to use any unpleasant word—if this Assembly is so unwise as to reject these proposals or postpone them to some remote and obscure future, then the British Government, the British Parliament, and the British people, who still have a robust faith in the impartiality and capacity of Royal Commissions, will realise that the apprehensions of the Services were well-founded, and that much water must flow under the bridges before a change can be made. I repeat, Sir, this is a unique opportunity for doing a highly effective thing at a comparatively small cost, and an opportunity which I make bold to say that any one with sound political sense would gladly and readily grasp.

Whether this House will display that sense can only be known when the division bell rings, but I for one am still full of hope, despite what has been said and despite the amendments on the paper, that wiser counsels may still prevail.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar : Will you permit me to ask the Honourable Member who has just spoken and his fellow officers to advise the Government to accept the offer made by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad ?

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : The debate has been long and has been unique in the history of this Assembly, and at this late hour I shall endeavour to put the few points that I have to as briefly as I can. There are certain points upon which I think opinion should be unanimous. After the appeal which Mr. Hudson has made, I shall ask him and other members of the Civil Services and my other European friends to try to realise the position of us, Indians. I will ask him and other members of the European Services and non-official Europeans to try to get into our skin and to realise the position we are in. I will ask them not to be led away by the impression that we have come determined to vote against the Resolution of the Honourable the Home Member and to carry the amendment of Pandit Motilal Nehru irrespective of any consideration of what is right and just. Let me assure them that we have given the matter the fullest consideration and let me assure them that we have listened with attention and respect to every argument that has been put before the Assembly. Nothing would give us greater pleasure and sincerer satisfaction than that we should agree with our European fellow subjects in the Assembly.

(At this stage Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar, Deputy President, took the Chair.)

I know there would be a thrill of satisfaction throughout the land so far as the members of the Civil Service are concerned if we should accept the proposal of the Honourable the Home Member, and my friends will concede that we are human. We should like to share that thrill of satisfaction, we should be cheered, we should be pleased to know that we had given satisfaction by our action to our European friends. But there is a higher duty that rests upon us. We are not here as masters of the purse that we are asked to vote on. We represent the people, a people admittedly very poor, and every proposition which involves expenditure which is put before us requires that we should give it our earnest and

honest consideration and vote upon it with no other consideration except what is due to the people. I admit that it is due to the people that the public servants of the country should be satisfied on all reasonable grounds that their claims are properly dealt with. But I think my friends opposite will also agree that it is due to the people that the public servants of the country should also realise what the people can bear and what they cannot bear. It has been admitted in the debate that the salaries of the I. C. S. stand higher than those of the Services in other departments, and so far as I know, of the Services in all other countries except perhaps America.

Mr. D. V. Belvi (Bombay Southern Division : Non-Muhammadian Rural) : Not even America. The Civil Service is the highest paid in the whole world.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya : That was my own impression, but I was told by an English friend of the exception.

Mr. Deputy President : If the Honourable Member wants to speak on a point of order, he will have to rise from his seat and then I will ask the Pandit to sit down.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya : Now, Sir, my Honourable friends, my European friends, know that for decades past we Indians have been complaining that the salaries given to the Indian Civil servants and to the higher European Services in this country were extravagantly high. At the end of nearly fifty years the Commission which was appointed in 1912 proposed increases in that salary. The Commission reported in 1914 but the report was dealt with and final orders were passed on it in 1919-20. The salaries were increased, increased we were told at the time to the satisfaction of all the members or most of the members of the Services. My Honourable friend, the Deputy President, who is now presiding over our deliberations, pointed out yesterday that taking into consideration the six years that had elapsed, the Secretary of State and the Government of India made additions to the proposals of the Islington Commission in order that the salaries should be proportionately increased in view of the rise in prices which had taken place between 1914 and 1920. He told us that nearly a crore and 15 lakhs were added to the total of the increases given. Now Sir, he also told us that since 1920 there has been a decline in the prices. That point stands uncontroverted.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett : I rise to a point of explanation, Sir. I pointed out to you, Sir—the Honourable Pandit was perhaps not listening—that the mistake was made by you of taking the year 1920. The year 1919 was the year in which the increased or revised salaries were given and there has been a considerable rise in prices since then.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya : My Honourable friend has not said that there has been no decline since 1920. There may have been some increases in the prices of some articles for a short time after 1919, but taking as a whole all articles that have to be used and paid for I think the position taken up by my friend, the Honourable Mr. Rangachariar, still holds good. (*The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett* : "No.") Then, Sir, we must agree to differ. Having regard to the facts stated by Mr. Rangachariar and Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, I am not satisfied and I do not know that many Members of this House are satisfied, that there has not been a decline in the prices, taking all things together. And certainly the Honourable the Finance Member has not established that there has been any substantial rise in the prices since 1920. Now, Sir, I submit

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the position is that the salaries that were given in 1919 were regarded as adequate. In a book published by Mr. Hughes and named "Careers for our sons", which is an excellent publication setting forth the avenues of employment open to British youth, it is pointed out that the increases that were given would have been satisfactory but for certain facts, and those facts are specifically mentioned. It says :

"Before the war the commencing pay was adequate but during the war the rise in the value of the rupee and general increases in the emoluments of all officials raised it to the high figure of £9.58."

I may say that the book was published in 1923,

"Now however the rupee has dropped to the pre-war level of 1s. 4d., and the emoluments, increased though they are, do not meet the high cost of living in India except by the exercise of strict economy."

That is a phrase which I wish the House to note—"except by the exercise of strict economy". Then the writer goes on to say :

"The advent of self-government in India whereby the administration of Government passes gradually from the European to the Indian has brought other changes in the outlook of the Indian official. He is no longer quite so sure of his future and what appointments will fall to his lot in the days to come."

These were the two grounds mentioned. It was admitted that the salaries had been raised sufficiently high, but it was said that they were such that because of the fall of the rupee one had to practice strict economy in order to get on satisfactorily. Now it is in this position that demands have been put forward by the Services for further increases to the salaries in the shape of various allowances and passages, etc. I ask, Sir, Members of this House, including my friends on the Government Bench, whether in such a state of things the only consideration to be put before the Assembly and the Government in this country and in England is the need, the greater need, of the Civil Services, or is the condition of the people also a factor to be taken into consideration? I ask the House, Sir, to bear in mind that during the last three years, after the close of the war, additional taxation to the extent of 41 crores has been put upon the people of this country. I ask the House to bear in mind that this taxation has pressed very hard upon the people. It has affected the general prosperity of trade and industry in this country. Business has been slack; there is a long and loud complaint throughout the country that the condition of the people has become very much worse than what it was during the days of the war. In such a state of things, Sir, when the Government have found it necessary to add 41 crores of additional taxation to what existed three years ago, is it conceivable that in any other country, in any Parliament which represents the people and is solicitous primarily of the welfare of the people, and after it and subject to it of the welfare of the Services, is it conceivable that proposals for further increasing salaries or giving allowances to the extent to which it is now proposed, would be put forward by any responsible Government? I mean no offence and I hope no offence will be taken, but I ask my Honourable friends on the Government Benches and I ask my European friends to consider the two things together. Undoubtedly the Services may find it hard to meet their requirements without strict economy, some of the members of the Services may be labouring under real hardships; when so many European friends and Members of the Government reiterate that members of the Services are suffering hardships, it is no pleasure to us to contradict their statement. We have got no evidence on which we can come to that conclusion. But we are not in a position at

the same time to definitely contradict what they say. I assume that some members of the Services find it a real hardship to get on because the rupee has fallen. But, Sir, the fall of the rupee is not a new event in the history of British Indian administration. For the last seventy years and more members of the Civil Service as well as the people of India have had painful knowledge of the fact that a fall in the value of the rupee inflicts a great loss upon India, both upon the people, sometimes upon the Services. The Services have on the whole been remunerated for the losses inflicted upon them for a long time past by the payment of exchange compensation allowance. When its abolition was decided upon, they were given substantial additions to their salaries. Now that being the position, I ask the House to consider whether, in view of the increases given in 1919-20, in view of the general poverty of the people of this country, in view of the initial high salaries paid to the Indian Civil Service, and in view of the fact that 41 crores of additional taxation has recently been put upon the people, and that there is no prospect of reducing it for the present : in view also of the fact that the Provincial Governments are being starved in all Departments which most vitally affect the interests of the people, I ask, Sir, is it right of my European friends, my friends, my brethren of the Indian Civil Service, to press their claims for increases to salaries and allowances in the manner in which it is being done ? And if those claims are real and if it is so very necessary to press them, is it wrong of us who come here by the suffrages of the people to ask that evidence should be placed before us to support them. There is such a thing as a small voice within us human beings who are in this Assembly, and that voice has to be satisfied particularly when we are dealing with the interests of other people. That voice demands that the facts upon which the members of the Civil Service have asked for additional advantages being given them, should be placed before us and that we should be trusted to come to a fair and just conclusion upon such evidence. We are asked to take the recommendations of the Commission on trust, because the Commission was composed of honourable men. Of course they were all honourable men ; of course they were appointed by His Majesty the King Emperor, but that is not sufficient to satisfy me that they have come to right conclusions. They are human as much as we are. If we are believed by some of our fellow Members to be going wrong at this moment in spite of the deliberations which we have had among ourselves, with no other desire than to come to the right conclusion, is it very wrong to think that our friends of the Royal Commission might have gone wrong in the conclusions at which they arrived ? I hope not, and, therefore, I hope my European friends will at least give us the credit of not having come with a perverse determination to vote against the Resolution of my esteemed friend, the Honourable the Home Member, for the mere fun of it. If we are unable to support the Resolution it is because we feel that we owe it to our people that before we agree to them, we should be satisfied that the increases which are demanded, which are asked for, are justifiable. That is our position. We do not wish to be unjust to the Services. Several friends have said that there will be wide dissatisfaction among the Services if the recommendations are not accepted. My esteemed friend, Mr. Willson, deviated from the attitude of calm consideration which he generally adopts and almost threatened that the recommendations must be accepted in toto or the Chambers of Commerce backed by all the British capital that is invested in this country would rebel against Government. Another Honourable Member said that if these recommendations are not accepted, it will create a feeling among the people in England and the Services that we are an uncivilised lot. A third

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Honourable Member has just now told us that if these recommendations are disregarded, we shall be regarded as a very unwise people and the question of what further concession in the direction of constitutional reform should be given us in the future will be prejudiced. Now, Sir, I am concerned with the living present. It is not for me to peep into the future and to shape my conduct at this moment by a consideration of what judgment may be passed by my fellow-subjects in England or in this country upon our action. We have a very clear issue before us. Have we got any evidence before this House to support the view that in spite of the additions of salaries given in 1919-1920, there is justification for the further increases which are asked for? Such evidence has not been placed before us. One gentleman said, and I may join with Dr. Datta in congratulating him on his fine speech, though I do not agree with him in many points,—Colonel Crawford told us that Pandit Motilal Nehru would not place his domestic affairs before any Committee and he should not expect European Members of the Service to place evidence relating to their domestic affairs before this House. I am sure if Pandit Motilal Nehru wanted the House to increase the emoluments which he might be getting as the Legal Adviser of the Government of India or in any other capacity, on grounds similar to those which have been urged in the case under consideration, he would certainly have to submit facts to support his case to the Committee which might be appointed to go into the matter. No one would like to peep into

Pandit Motilal Nehru : I would double my fees instead of submitting my accounts.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya : We have no wish to peep into the private affairs of any of our fellow-subjects. But when they ask for increases in salaries, or allowances on the ground of difficulties in making the two ends meet, when they present a budget in which they show the number of servants they employ and the salaries which they have to give to these servants, when they show what amount they have to spend over the education of their children and so on, they must submit evidence in support of their case to those who are required to vote the increases asked for. Of course it is open to the Government as it is constituted to accept the recommendations of the Lee Commission. The Secretary of State has got powers under which he can do almost anything he likes in relation to the finances of India. It is very kind courtesy that he has asked us to express an opinion on the recommendations of the Commission. He can overrule us. But if he will overrule us, he will be acting upon his own responsibility. He may be satisfied upon the evidence that he has looked into or he may look into that the claims of the Services are just and reasonable, and that, even in the present condition of the people of India, the recommendations of the Commission should be accepted. But we are not given the opportunity to be so satisfied. We are not put in a position to know the facts and to base our judgment upon them. In this situation what do we urge? What we urge is not that we should turn a deaf ear to all representations regarding increases in salaries but that we should act as any sensible private individual would. Suppose there is a private individual whose income is limited, even as a Member of the Government of India, to Rs. 6,666 a month. He finds that he has got several servants in his employ and that he cannot, owing to his limited means, keep all these servants satisfied. What will he decide? He will decide that instead of keeping all the servants dissatisfied he should give notice to two of

them and be content with two less, or engage others on cheaper terms in their places. That is the proposal which has been put before this Assembly for the consideration of the Government. What we say is this. If you are so thoroughly satisfied that the Services need some further relief, then act fairly by the Services and by the people, and earn the gratitude of both. Agree to stop further recruitment in England in the future. What is the good of going on adding to the number of discontented men in the Services ? What is the good of adding to the volume of discontent that must prevail in this country if you give these increases over the heads of the people in spite of the opposition of the representatives of the people ? Clearly, you and we ought to agree that justice should be done to the existing members of the Services. I think from all that has been said every Member of this House is satisfied that we are prepared to consider any legitimate grievances which any member of the Services may have. These members are our fellow-subjects and our brethren. I do not wish to speak of them as servants, though we all are servants of the public. I do not wish that there should be the smallest feeling in the mind of any member of the Civil Service that it is a pleasure to us to criticise them or to oppose their claims. We value the work that they have done. We appreciate it. We honour them for their work, though we regret also that there is another side of the picture to which we have to draw their attention. But we agree that if they have a just grievance, that grievance should be considered in the fairest possible manner.

(At this stage Mr. President resumed the Chair.)

What do we suggest ? What does the amendment suggest ? It suggests that the further recruitment of Europeans in England should be stopped. That will enable us to effect some saving. We do not want to appropriate that saving to the general revenues. Being assured of it we wish to consider what we must give to our European friends of the Indian Services in order that they should be reasonably satisfied. We do not want any member of the Indian Services to have a reasonable cause for discontent or dissatisfaction. We do not want any member of the Civil Service to think that, if we Indians have a voice in the settlement of their claims, we are determined to use that voice against them. If they should take that view, let me tell my friends that they will be doing a great injustice to us. We wish to be just to them. We only desire that they too should be just to us and to the people, whom both they and we are bound in honour and in duty to serve.

That, Sir, is the first reason, for the proposal which has been put forward on this occasion to stop the future recruitment of the Services in England. The primary consideration is to find both a justification and the means for the giving of the relief which is asked for. Do not let any Member think that this proposal is put forward as a dodge to delay the giving of relief. My Honourable friend, the last speaker, thought that the amendment was a delaying amendment. It is not so. Speaker after speaker on this side of the House has stated that we are prepared at once to go into a consideration of the claims of the Services. But our proposal has not commended itself to the Honourable the Commerce Member, and the Honourable the Finance Member has joined him in rejecting it instead of helping him to consider it more carefully. I regret it, Sir, I regret that a proposal which has been put forward in all earnestness, in all honesty of purpose, should not have received a more favourable consideration from my esteemed friends on the Government Benches. I do not make light of their difficulties. I know what their difficulties are. But this is an occasion on which

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the difficulties of our position ought to be placed before the Government in England to be considered along with the difficulties of which the Services complain. But there are other reasons, Sir, why this proposal has been put forward. It has been pointed out that English youths are not willing to offer themselves for the Indian Services in large numbers because of the changed circumstances. One of these circumstances, as mentioned in the book from which I quoted, is the altered outlook brought about by the proposal for the Indianisation of the Services. To my mind many of them desire to be assured that certain positions in the Indian Civil Service shall be reserved for them in the future, and that is the reason why in the warrant of appointment of the Commission the language used was entirely different from the language used in that of any previous Commission relating to the Public Services. From the time the Act of 1833 was passed, the English Government had avoided the use of the words Europeans and Indians in the Statutes and Orders they had passed. The Act of 1833 laid down that no distinction would be made between Indians and Europeans, as such that no Indian would be debarred from holding any appointment for which he may be qualified merely by reason of his race. For the first time in the warrant of appointment of the Royal Commission with which we are dealing, it was said that it should inquire into the "recruitment of Europeans and Indians respectively for which provision should be made under the constitution established by the Act of 1919." Now, I submit, Sir, this was a regrettable departure. In 1861 when the Indian Councils Bill and the Services Bills were under consideration in Parliament, a proposal was made that it should be specifically provided that Indians would be represented in the Councils. Sir Charles Wood, the then Secretary of State, refused to do so on the ground which he explicitly stated that "to hold the perfect equality before the law of all Her Majesty's subjects" and that there was no distinction, such as European and Indian, among the subjects of the Queen, whatever might be their differences of birth, or race or religion. This departure, I submit, was regrettable, but there it was, and the Commission has made its recommendations for dividing the posts between Indians and Europeans. Well, if on account of the fear of the diminution of prospects which is felt by the members of the Indian Civil Service, they want to be assured that certain posts in the Civil Service shall in future be reserved for them, that is exactly the constitutional objection which arises so far as we are concerned. We do not want to create a further super. class in the ruling class which has existed so long in this country. We want that members of the Indian Civil Service should come into the service by virtue of their merit and not as Europeans or Indians. That is another reason why we object to these proposals of the Commission.

Lastly, Sir, we want that the recruitment for the Indian Civil Services should stop in England also in order that Indians should have a fair chance of filling up the higher appointments in their country. India has not had a chance during all these many years of building up a public service of its own, nor shall it have it until recruitment in England is stopped. I agree with my Honourable friend, the Member for Commerce, in desiring that we should have an honest, strong and efficient public service. I agree with the proposals of the Commission, that we should have a Public Services Commission and Public Service Acts. We desire that we should pass such Acts as early as we can in this Assembly and take

action upon them. But we want that we should consider the matter on a correct basis and under fair conditions. So long as the recruitment and control of such a large number of important appointments will remain with the Secretary of State, the building up of a really efficient Indian public service will be practically impossible. The presence of what will be regarded as a superior service will act like a Upas tree, and it will not allow any healthy plant to grow under it. We therefore desire that the primary question of the control of the Services should be settled in our favour, and that we should be given a fair chance of building up a real, honest, efficient Indian Civil Service of our own. As my English friends know, the building up of a public service is not a thing which can be effected in a day. Their own Civil Service is not more than a century old. Up to the middle of the last century there was no organised Civil Service in England. Commenting on the Civil Service of the day in 1849, Sir Charles Trevelyan described it as "inactive, incompetent and overstaffed in numbers."

"There is a general tendency,"—*he complained*,—"to look to the public establishments as a means of securing a maintenance for young men who have no chance of success in the open competition of the legal, medical and mercantile professions. There being no limitation in regard to the age of admission in the great offices of State, the dregs of all other professions are attracted to the public service as to a secure asylum, in which although prospects are moderate, failure is impossible, provided the most ordinary attention be paid to the rules of the Department."

This was the state of things in England in 1849. On the recommendation of Sir Charles Trevelyan and Sir Stafford Northcote the Civil Service Commission was organised, and it is only since then that the English people have had the benefit of being served by an excellent Civil Service. The Civil Service of India was constituted a few years later; and we know that unless a Civil Service Commission like that is constituted, and the Service properly organised and controlled, we cannot expect the Service to be honest, efficient, and impartial. We know that in the days of Clive the servants of the Company were not of the type of which Englishmen could be proud, and we know that their emoluments were fixed at high figures in order to fortify them against temptation and to enable them to act with a sense of decorum and to build up honourable traditions of the Service. The present Service is the result of sixty years of regulation. We honour it for its incorruptibility. As the Honourable Sir Charles Innes put it, we want that the Services in India should be as honest, as efficient and as incorruptible as the present Civil Service is, if not even better. (*A Voice* : "But are they incorruptible?") There may be exceptions, but exceptions should not be noticed, when the bulk of the Service is, undoubtedly, honest, efficient and incorruptible. We desire, Sir, to develop such a Service and we feel that if we stop further recruitment in England we shall be able to build up such a Service. If we do not do so, we are also exposed to a new danger. The recommendations of the Lee Commission distinctly provide that if certain subjects, at present reserved, are transferred in future to Ministers, a member of the Civil Service who is serving in the reserved field may retire on a proportionate pension. Now, Sir, this possibility has come into existence in the past;—suppose Parliament should see the wisdom and justice of introducing provincial autonomy within the next twelve months or two years in this country—just think how many retirements may possibly take place. And if at the same time there is responsibility introduced into the Central Government, as we, Indians, earnestly desire it should be introduced and as we hope it will be introduced, then imagine how many retirements there

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might be. And if many members of the Civil Service should in those circumstances suddenly retire from the Service, shall we not be left in the lurch to find men to take their places? It will not be at our initiative that they will retire, but suppose they are allowed the privilege of retiring in those conditions and suppose they do retire, we shall then certainly be left in the lurch. Therefore let us look facts straight in the face. The facts are that the introduction of responsible government, even to the extent to which it has been carried out in India, has altered the aspect of the Services. There are Englishmen who are willing to reconcile themselves to the new state of things. We honour them; we are grateful to them. There are other Englishmen who do not find it compatible with their temperaments or their ideas to continue to work under the new conditions. We do not quarrel with them. They are entitled to hold those opinions. But if they want to retire, we do not want to be exposed to the situation that after we have paid for their services all these years, they should leave us when the country may be most in need of their services. For this reason also is our proposal for stopping recruitment in England put before the Government. I beg the Government to consider it seriously. Let them not be under any misapprehension that by stopping recruitment in England there will be a disaster brought on this country. My Honourable friend, Mr. Willson, asked that there should be a stable Government. Certainly there will be a stable Government. The Honourable Sir Charles Innes said that the one thing which he and his friends wanted really to hand over to India was a strong, efficient, incorruptible Service when the time came to hand over the power to Indians. At least that is how I understood him. Now, Sir, we are at one with these Honourable Members. We also want a stable Government. Will these friends allow me to say, without meaning any disrespect, that our anxiety for a stable Government is certainly not less than that of either my esteemed friend, Mr. Willson, or of the Honourable Sir Charles Innes. We have a deeper stake, if I may say so, in the country, and we are not altogether devoid of commonsense that we should like to disturb a stable Government without having the power to establish stability and carry it on. Let there also be no apprehension that any vested interests will suffer. My friend, Mr. Willson, spoke of British vested interests. I know them, we have no quarrel with them; I assure my friend that no vested interest will suffer if my friends will also be just to us and let us have an opportunity of promoting our own interests at the same time. We know that the Indian Civil Service has done a good deal; I agree with my other friends who have spoken before me about the highly meritorious work done by that Service. I acknowledge with gratitude their work in the field of education—though we wanted more and wider education; I acknowledge the general high standard of justice which they have established; I acknowledge the many other institutions of a beneficial character which they have brought into existence. I acknowledge with gratitude what has been done in the Punjab in the field of irrigation. But at the same time let my friends not misunderstand us if we also point out to them that we have laboured under certain serious disadvantages because of the preponderance of our English fellow-subjects in the Civil Service. While we feel grateful to them for what they have done, we feel that a great deal more would have been done if Indians had been associated in a much larger measure in the Services.

My Honourable friend, the Home Member, though he put the whole case for the Government and the Services in an admirable manner, unfortunately referred to the communal differences which divide us. My friend, Sir Charles Innes, emphasised that point. Now, I want to put it to them, without the least intention to offend any member of the Indian Civil Service, if it is not a great condemnation of the work of the Civil Service that after the seventy years that they have been in full power in this country it should be possible to have such unfortunate, regrettable, deplorable differences as arise from time to time between Hindus and Muhammadans. Is it possible that if the education of the masses had been undertaken on the right scale, such strifes and such deplorable riots of which unfortunately we have had too many, recently, would have ceased to happen? Now, Sir, we Indians have been pressing for forty years that the masses should be educated; every sensible man knows that the education of the masses is the one lever which lifts them up in judgment and in restraint of temperament. Even in England when the masses were uneducated, there were most deplorable riots, and to-day riots take place, they are due to want of education among the masses. (*An Honourable Member*: "What about Ulster?") There has been a perversion of human nature owing to certain conditions in Ulster. For forty years we have pleaded, implored the Government to introduce universal primary education. The Government have not listened to our request. In January 1912 when His Majesty the King-Emperor was in India he expressed his desire that there should be a net-work of schools and colleges spread over the whole of the country, and he said that it was by education alone that the condition of his subjects could be lifted. A few months later in the same year, my dear departed brother, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, brought forward a Bill of a permissive character to allow compulsory primary education to be introduced in certain selected areas. Unfortunately the members of the Civil Service along with others opposed it, and the Bill was not passed. Years have gone by; crores upon crores of rupees have been found for the military requirements of the country; crores of rupees have been found for everything which the Government decided to do; but education has not yet been brought home to the people to one-fourth, or one-fifth or even one-sixth of the extent to which it ought to be done. I submit there should be a little searching of heart among my friends of the Indian Civil Service to see if they are not responsible for the present deplorable state of things, when they speak of communal differences. I submit, Sir, that, if the right kind of education had been provided, even my Honourable friend, Mr. Abul Kasem, would have looked at the question before us in a different spirit and would have spoken in a different spirit. It is a matter of severe distress of mind to us Indians—I cannot believe that it can be a matter of satisfaction to any sober-minded member of the Indian Civil Service,—that after so many decades of the existence of such a fine service in this country, an Indian of the education of my friend, Mr. Abul Kasem, should still not be able to take the correct view in regard to national questions. The conditions created are not healthy.

Let me now come, Sir, to the question of the depressed classes. I was more surprised even than by the reference to communal differences, when my esteemed friend, the Honourable the Home Member,—I am sorry to say so, because I have real respect for him—Oh, I beg his pardon,

[Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.]

it was the Honourable Sir Charles Innes, the Member for Commerce—when he reminded us of the depressed classes in Madras and elsewhere. Now, Sir, I make a bet that, if a verdict of any three impartial Englishmen selected by common consent by Sir Charles Innes and those who think with him and my friends on this side will express the opinion that the Indian Civil Service have not failed in their duty to the depressed classes, I will certainly not vote for the amendment of my friend, Pandit Motilal Nehru. Let me say this, Sir, that while there has been a great deal of lip sympathy expressed by many of my friends among the European members of the Civil Service with the depressed classes, they have not used all the opportunity and power they had to lift them up by the strong hand of fellowship, beyond and above their present economic condition, which is at the root of all the degradation they still suffer. If education had been promoted among them, if they had been given the same equality of opportunity which has been available to members of other communities, a great deal of difference would have been made in their condition. I recognise that some schools have been opened in every province for the depressed classes. I recognise that some encouragement has been given to them. I express gratitude for that which has been done. But I say, Sir, with great confidence and deliberation that the problem of the depressed classes would be solved if Government would set apart a few crores of rupees every year in order to promote education among them. A member of the depressed class who has read up to the Entrance examination comes and sits with the sons of the most orthodox Hindu in the Hindu University of Benares and in Hindu assemblies. The question of untouchability is a question to a large extent of education and economic condition, and I say with great regret that my friends of the Civil Service have not done for the depressed class all that it was possible for them to do. We want an opportunity to do so. The Assembly is aware, Sir, that at this moment a very strong effort is being made in all parts of the country, under the inspiration of my esteemed brother, Mahatma Gandhi, to lift up the depressed classes. A great deal has been done and I expect that in twelve months or so we shall have solved the problem of the depressed classes by universal education for all people in India: that will improve the depressed classes also. And I suggest conscription, or military training, for all who wish to take it. I guarantee, Sir, that there will not be a Hindu of the orthodox type who will not sit with a member of the depressed classes as a brother and a fellow-citizen if he has been educated. I submit that at least the responsibility for these shortcomings which exist at this present moment in the administration of this country should not be thrown upon our shoulders only, that it should be recognised that we have not had the opportunity or the power to remove them. We have tried to do so. We have passed Resolutions year after year and we have put them before the Government. Government have not done their part. Now we want that we should have our innings. Our friends have had a very long innings. I ask in fairness that they should play the game, that they should like true sportsmen concede that we should now be put in power and that we should be trusted and tried. If we fail, it will be open to Parliament, while our relations last as they are at present, to withdraw the powers that have been conceded. No one has suggested that India should become separated from

the British Crown on responsible government being established here. We are asking for responsible government under the Crown. We want Dominion status and not the status of a separate Commonwealth, or a separate State. We do not want that any single member of the Indian Civil Service at present working in the Service should retire. We do not contemplate that there should be no Englishmen left in the Services as soon as the recruitment is stopped. If the recruitment is stopped all the present members of the Services will continue in office and we are sincere when we say that we should take in Europeans whose services we may require in the future on shorttime contracts. For a long time, for nearly 150 years, the Englishman and the Indian have lived together in this country. We are not anxious to separate from the Englishmen in this country and part company with them; but we are anxious that Englishmen should treat us Indians as equal fellow-subjects, and let me assure them that if they will do so there will be no occasion for them to complain. This is the position. It is therefore that we urge that the Government should agree to recommend to the Secretary of State, in view of the unanimous feeling in this House, the almost unanimous feeling among Indians, that recruitment in England on the present system should stop. I hope the Government have taken note of the fact that my Honourable friend, Sir, Sivaswamy Aiyer, my Honourable friend, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, and we of the Swaraj and Independent parties, and my Honourable friend, Dr. Datta, who made a very fine speech to-day in the presentation of the Indian case,—that we are all agreed about one thing, namely, that future recruitment in England should be stopped, and I hope that the Honourable the Home Member will be good enough to represent this unanimous feeling to the Secretary of State on this question of further recruitment. The second point of which I hope the Honourable the Home Member has taken note is that we are all willing that if this recruitment is stopped and thereby financial relief is given to the tax-payer of India, we shall go into any legitimate complaints or representations which the members of the Civil Services may make. And if we do not accept the Resolution of the Honourable the Home Member to-day, let it not be said that we have thrown out the proposals altogether. If our position is represented correctly, I hope the members of the Civil Services will not have much reason to grumble and complain. My Honourable friend, Mr. Hudson, said that our amendment will delay the matter. Delay it will, but it should be remembered that the members of the Civil Services are not starved. They have got very handsome salaries, they are enjoying the additional salaries given to them in 1919-1920. Some of them may be inconvenienced for a time, but I am sure that if the matter is looked into by a committee of this House relief can be given at an early date and they will not have to wait long if the matter is agreed upon between Government and this House. I hope that the Honourable the Home Member will be good enough to represent our case fully and strongly to His Majesty's Secretary of State and the British Cabinet. But, of course, Sir, we cannot be sure what the response to it will be and what consideration our representations will receive from His Majesty's Secretary of State. We are at present in this unfortunate position that, though we vote the taxes by which the administration of this country is carried on, we have no power to prevent a large addition being made to the burdens of the people by the powers which the Secretary of State enjoys. This is an anomaly, an injustice.

[Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.]

Whatever may have been the justification for it in the early days of British rule, there is absolutely no justification for it when a representative Assembly has been constituted, and therefore it is desirable in the interests of justice that the Secretary of State should agree to transfer the powers of appointment and control over all the All-India Services to the Government of India acting in consultation with this Assembly. I hope that our proposals will be regarded as reasonable by the Government of India as well as by the Secretary of State. But whether they are or not, I hope we have made our attitude clear, and the whole of India will know it, the whole of the civilised world will know it, and we are content to stand by the verdict of the country and of all impartial critics.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman : It is three days since I last addressed this House and during that period the House has been considering the amendment of my Honourable friend opposite. The hour is now late. I therefore do not propose to detain the House very long, more particularly as the Government have been largely represented in this debate and there is really very little for me to say in winding it up. First of all, however, I should like to say that I have been struck by the tone of most of the speeches. The subject is one that might lead to an embittered debate but I certainly think that on the whole, with one or two exceptions, the debate has been continued in a very good spirit. I am not very familiar with this House but I understand it is sometimes less calm than it has been during this debate. In the first place I have to answer a question which was put to me by Colonel Gidney and Colonel Crawford. It was as to whether we intended to include in the word "Indians" all statutory natives of India. Well, Sir, that is our intention. It was so intended. Now this debate has proceeded so long that I think the House may perhaps almost have forgotten the terms of my Resolution. The weight of the debate appears to me to have been directed to this point. It has been contended that these proposals of the Lee Commission in so far as they relate to the statutory control of the Services constitute not merely no progress but a definite obstacle to progress in the way of constitutional reform. That, I submit, is not right. You cannot fairly say that. They go a long way in the matter of constitutional reform. They transfer to the Provincial Governments and the Provincial Governments on the transferred side, that is to say, the responsible Ministers, a large number of these Services. You cannot say that it is not progress. In the Educational service, and I observe that that is the department of Government to which my Honourable friend, the Pandit, particularly invited my attention since he charged the I. C. S. with not having care for Education, you will be master in your own house. It will be for you to appoint such officials and of such kind as you think fit. Whatever may have been the faults of the I. C. S., and I will not weary the House with instances, to the contrary, I contend the education of India has not suffered from the malignant influence of the I. C. S. Still whatever in my Honourable friend's opinion those faults might have been in the past, that at any rate is remedied. You will have your own officers and such as you desire. Similarly in the other transferred Services. Therefore, it is not really fair to say that this is no progress. Then I ask in what way does the Report block constitutional reform? The objection of the House, as I gather it, is that the control, of the Secretary of State is maintained. What other

position is possible under the laws as they stand now? Moreover that, I submit, clearly has established my point, that these proposals of the Lee Commission with regard to the control of the Services are an advance, not, I admit, as large an advance as the House wants but still a great advance. Nor do they offer any obstacle to further constitutional reform. I shall refer to the question of Indianisation. I gave the House some figures on this and possibly the House has forgotten them. There are roughly 4,000 All-India appointments at present. Of these 1,300 will be provincialised. Now, from the tone of the House and the debate it seems to me quite clear that in the future those 1,300 appointments will be filled by Indians. That seems to be the general view of the House. I gather you would only employ such Europeans in these Services as you could not obtain in the country, presumably experts mainly. However, I am not quite so sure about that. When the Ministers come to formulate their own policy they may possibly take a different view. Still, that is 1,300, on your own showing, that will be Indianised. Then what about the remainder? There will be 50 per cent. at least and generally more. That is a big increase, a great increase. It is no use blinking the facts. It is a great step forward from your point of view.

Then the next point made in the debate as far as I can recall was this question of the stoppage of European recruitment. It was said, and I felt it would be said, that we should stop this to accelerate Indianisation. Well, Sir, if you stop it at all you have to stop it altogether. Now I submit that in the present state of India a certain number of Europeans are essential. I speak as the representative of the Government of India. We are responsible for the efficiency of the Services. We have the lamp to carry on. We have to hand it on to our successors. If they do not want Europeans, and if any new constitution gives them the power of decision, they will not have them; but as far as our responsibility is concerned, as long as we stand here, we cannot take any step which in our opinion would be either dangerous to the Services by proceeding with too rapid Indianisation—we are Indianising rapidly—or which would produce any deleterious or dangerous effect upon the country. That is my position. It is not our wish, and I tried to make it clear at the first,—we do not want Europeans in India in order to find jobs for them. I tried to make that perfectly clear. We want them, because we consider, rightly or wrongly, that they are necessary in the best interests of the country. It was said that you have enough Europeans in the Services and you can carry on with them. Now if you stop European recruitment—and I have not heard a single answer on this one point—you very seriously affect the European still in the service. Some one asked the question of one of my Honourable Colleagues as to how many retirements on proportionate pension there had been, and I think he suggested that there had been 20. The number is actually 324 in the four years 1921—1925. That is a very big proportion indeed. (*A Voice*: “Outside the normal retirements?”) Yes, outside the normal retirements.

Now I wish particularly to mention the speech by my Honourable friend, Sir Chimantlal Setalvad. He has worked with the Services and recognized, if I may say so, in very warm terms the relations that had existed between him and his subordinates. He further made a proposal which is in many ways attractive, at any rate to the Services themselves. But the Government of India cannot consider it for it is not possible to shut down your services. If you stop recruitment you finish with it. You cannot reopen it. It is no use arguing that you can.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah : I am loath to interrupt the Honourable Member, but so far as I am concerned I did not say that. My point...

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman : It was Sir Chimanlal Setalvad I was referring to.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah : I know, but I want to make my position clear so that the Honourable the Home Member may reply to it. My point was, stop further recruitment under the present system and you can employ Europeans if necessary by short period contracts.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman : I am glad the Honourable Member has raised that point. Now short period contracts may be quite excellent for experts. They are quite useless in a service. What is your short-time man going to do employed as a policeman. When he has done his five years here he is valueless except in the job which he holds. The only asset an administrative officer has got is his experience, and his experience in India is of no use elsewhere and indeed that is often a positive disqualification. It is perfectly true you can have these contracts with a railway man or a man in a technical job ; you cannot do that with the ordinary Services.

Now, Sir, the only other point I wish to refer to in this debate is this—the question of the pay, passages and pensions of the Services ; that really has been more discussed than anything else. It has been recognized by many speakers that there is a case for the Services—one or two speakers said that the Services should get what is recommended. But the bulk of the debate has really been on this—whether you are going to do anything at this stage without another inquiry, whether you are going to treat the Report of the Royal Commission as merely *prima facie* ground for holding an inquiry. Well, Sir, I have a great faith in the wisdom of the Indian Legislature, a great faith in the wisdom of the Members who compose it ; but I do not believe that a Committee drawn from that body, is likely to come to more wise conclusions than a Royal Commission which has already sat. That Commission, as we have been told, spent 5½ months in interviewing officers and went all over the place ; and as this House, I am quite sure, would not hold a less rigorous inquiry, a less careful inquiry, and would insist on evidence and would require to take evidence, it would therefore occupy indeed at least as long, and probably longer, for it has been one of the charges against the Royal Commission that its inquiry was held too rapidly and in too summary a manner. The case of the Services has been admirably stated in several quarters. My Honourable friend, the Finance Member, in very eloquent terms has shown that the redress of their grievances has been long delayed. Now Finance Members are rarely to be found in that mood ; and on this occasion it suggests itself to me, it may suggest itself to the House, that the case of the Services is a very strong one. Now I notice my Honourable friend, Pandit Motilal Nehru, recognised that if one goes into Government service, some special attraction is necessary. Did I not hear him say that ? If he took Government service he would claim double fees.

Pandit Motilal Nehru : I had in mind the profession of the law and was referring to professional fees.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman : I wish I was in the profession, Sir. I am not going to enter into the question at this late hour of the night, as to the failure of the British Government to educate my Honourable friend opposite or even to touch on the question of the depressed classes.

I feel a member of a depressed class myself. I would merely ask the House to remember what Mr. Patel said. What are we going to vote now? With his usual bluntness, he explained to me and to the House generally, exactly what this amendment means. Now if you vote for it you are going to vote against provincialization, against such measure of Indianization as the Report recommends, and against the relief of the Services. On that, Sir, I am prepared to take the judgment of this House.

Pandit Motilal Nehru : We are willing that the House should vote on measures of Indianization ; we have formulated our own measures, our own proposals, in clauses (1), (2) and (3) of Part I of the amendment.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman : I agree, Sir. I accept the correction. I should have said such measure of Indianization and provincialization as is recommended in the Report.

Mr. President : The original question was :

“ This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council :

- (1) That the following recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services in India be in principle approved :
 - (a) that while the existing system of appointment and control of the All-India Services should, in present conditions, be maintained in reserved fields, the following services operating in transferred fields, namely, the Indian Educational Service, the Indian Agricultural Service, the Indian Veterinary Service, the Buildings and Roads Branch of the Indian Service of Engineers in those provinces in which the two branches have been separated, and the Indian Forest Service in Bombay and Burma, should so far as future recruits are concerned be appointed and controlled by Local Governments ;
 - (b) that recruitment of Indians for the Services in reserved fields should be increased as recommended ;
 - (c) that, having particular regard to recommendation (a), early steps be taken to constitute the Public Service Commission contemplated by section 96-C. of the Government of India Act, and to enact such legislation as may be necessary ;
- (2) That pay, passage, concessions and pensions be granted to the officers of the Superior Civil Services in India approximately on the scale recommended ; and
- (3) That the recommendation of the Royal Commission regarding the constitution of Provincial Medical Services in Governors' Provinces be accepted in principle subject to :
 - (a) the employment in the provinces of an adequate military reserve ;
 - (b) the provision of adequate medical attendance for British Officers in the Civil Services and their families ; and
 - (c) the further consideration of the conditions necessary to secure an adequate number of British medical recruits for the needs of the Army.”

Since which an amendment has been moved :

“ That for the original Resolution the following be substituted :

‘ PART I.

That having regard to the following among other facts, namely :

- (a) That the Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services in India was appointed and allowed to enter upon its functions in utter disregard of the Resolutions passed by the first Assembly.
- (b) That all questions affecting the Civil Services are inseparably connected with and entirely dependent upon the larger question of the grant of responsible government to India and cannot be entertained and satisfactorily dealt with unless and until the Resolution of this House on responsible government adopted on 18th February 1924, is substantially complied with.
- (c) That the terms of reference to the said Royal Commission and the recommendations made by it involve the perpetuation of an antiquated and

[Mr. President.]

anachronic system of public services without any attempt to reconstruct the administrative machinery to suit the present day conditions of India which are widely different from those prevailing when it was inaugurated.

- (d) That the said terms of reference to the said Royal Commission and the recommendations made by it are based on the unwarranted assumption that the existing system of Government both Central and Provincial and the present position, powers and functions of the Secretary of State, the Governor General and the Governors of Provinces would continue indefinitely.
- (e) That some of the recommendations of the Royal Commission are intended to deprive the Legislatures even of their existing powers by suggesting devices to transfer items of expenditure hitherto subject to the vote of the Assembly and the Provincial Councils to the head of non-votable items.
- (f) That the said recommendations have introduced racial discriminations in the treatment of the All-India Services.
- (g) That the said recommendations make the extraordinary provision that officers appointed to the All-India Services after 1919 as also those to be appointed hereafter shall have guarantees against and compensation for being transferred from the reserved to the transferred field of Service—a contingency which they must be taken to be well aware of when they were appointed.
- (h) That the recommendations of the Commission regarding the Medical Services are entirely unsatisfactory in that (1) they seek to perpetuate the complicated system of interdependence of the Provincial Medical Services upon the irresponsible Military Department; (2) they introduce the objectionable principle and a costly scheme of provision for medical assistance to Europeans on a racial basis; (3) they do not recognise the necessity of the Indian units of the Army being officered by Indian medical officers; and (4) they propose to absorb the present Indian Medical Service into the Royal Army Medical Corps (India)—a step which will practically close the door to Indian medical men in the said corps and thereby also in civil employment.
- (i) That the inquiry held by the Royal Commission has been unsatisfactory in that the bulk of the evidence on which the bald recommendations of the Commission are based was allowed to be tendered and accepted in camera and no material evidence is either indicated or made available to this Assembly.

This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services of India be not accepted.'''

I propose to put that first. The question is that the substitution be
7 P.M. made for the original Resolution.

The Assembly divided :

AYES—68.

Abdul Karim, Khwaja.
Abhyankar, Mr. M. V.
Acharya, Mr. M. K.
Aiyangar, Mr. C. Duraiswami.
Aiyangar, Mr. K. Rama.
Alimuzzaman Chowdhry, Mr.
Aney, Mr. M. S.
Badi-uz-Zaman, Maulvi.
Belvi, Mr. D. V.
Chaman Lall, Mr.
Chanda, Mr. Kamini Kumar.
Chetty, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham.
Das, Mr. Bhubanananda.
Das, Mr. Nilakantha.
Datta, Dr. S. K.
Duni Chand, Lala.
Dutt, Mr. Amar Nath.
Gazzanfar Ali Khan, Raja.

Ghose, Mr. S. C.
Goswami, Mr. T. C.
Gour, Dr. H. S.
Govind Das, Seth.
Gulab Singh, Sardar.
Hans Raj, Lala.
Jamil Khan, Mr.
Jyengar, Mr. A. Rangaswami.
Jeelani, Haji S. A. K.
Jinnah, Mr. M. A.
Joshi, Mr. N. M.
Kartar Singh, Sardar.
Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Mr.
Kazim Ali, Shaikh-e-Chatgam Maulvi
Muhammad.
Kelkar, Mr. N. C.
Lohokare, Mr. K. G.
Malaviya, Pandit Krishna Kant.

AYES—68—contd.

Mulaviya, Pandit Madan Mohan.	Rangachariar, Diwan Bahadur T.
Mehta, Mr. Jumnadas M.	Ranga Iyer, Mr. C. S.
Misra, Pandit Shambhu Dayal.	Ray, Mr. Kumar Sankar.
Misra, Pandit Harkaran Nath.	Reddi, Mr. K. Venkataramana.
Murtuza Sahib Bahadur, Maulvi Sayad.	Saniullah Khan, Mr. M.
Mutalik, Sardar V. N.	Sarfraz Husain Khan, Khan Bahadur.
Nambiyar, Mr. K. K.	Shafee, Maulvi Mohammad.
Narain Dass, Mr.	Shains-uz-Zoha, Khan Bahadur M.
Nehru, Dr. Kishenlal.	Singh, Mr. Guya Prasad.
Nehru, Pandit Motilal.	Sinha, Mr. Ambika Prasad.
Nehru, Pandit Shamlal.	Sinha, Kumar Ganganand.
Neogy, Mr. K. C.	Syamacharan, Mr.
Patel, Mr. V. J.	Tok Kyi, Maung.
Piyare Lal, Lala.	Venkatapatiraju, Mr. B.
Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sir.	Vishindas, Mr. Harchandrai.
Ramachandra Rao, Diwan Bahadur M.	Yusuf Imam, Mr. M.
Rajan Bakhsah Shah, Khan Bahadur	
Makhdum Syed.	

NOES—46.

Abdul Qaiyum, Nawab Sir Sahibzada.	Innes, The Honourable Sir Charles.
Abul Kasem, Maulvi.	Lindsay, Mr. Darcy.
Aiyer, Sir P. S. Sivaswamy.	Lloyd, Mr. A. H.
Ajab Khan, Captain.	Mahmood Sehamnad Sahib Bahadur, Mr.
Akram Hussain, Prince A. M. M.	Moncrieff Smith, Sir Henry.
Bhore, Mr. J. W.	Muddiman, The Honourable Sir
Blackett, The Honourable Sir Basil.	Alexander.
Bray, Mr. Denys.	Muhammad Ismail, Khan Bahadur Saiyid.
Burdon, Mr. E.	Nag, Mr. G. C.
Calvert, Mr. H.	Naidu, Mr. M. C.
Chalmers, Mr. T. A.	Parsons, Mr. A. A. L.
Chatterjee, The Honourable Mr. A. C.	Raj Narain, Rai Bahadur.
Cocke, Mr. H. G.	Rushbrook-Williams, Prof. L. F.
Crawford, Colonel J. D.	Sams, Mr. H. A.
Dunnasia, Mr. N. M.	Sastri, Diwan Bahadur C. V. Viswanatha.
Duval, Mr. H. P.	Setalvad, Sir Chimanlal.
Fleming, Mr. E. G.	Singh, Rai Bahadur S. N.
Gidney, Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J.	Sykes, Mr. E. F.
Hezlett, Mr. J.	Tonkinson, Mr. H.
Hindley, Mr. C. D. M.	Tottenham, Mr. G. R. F.
Hira Singh, Sardar Bahadur Captain.	Webb, Mr. M.
Holme, Mr. H. E.	Wilson, Mr. W. S. J.
Hudson, Mr. W. F.	Wilson, Mr. R. A.
Hyder, Dr. L. K.	

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President : As the Government Resolution has now been defeated, it is not necessary to put the next four lines, and I will take the substantive proposal. Further question moved :

“ This Assembly further recommends that the following steps be taken in respect of future recruitment and control of the Services, namely :

- (i) That all further recruitment in England for the Civil Services in India including the Medical Service under the existing rules be stopped.
- (ii) That a Public Services Commission be established in India and the constitution and functions of that Commission be determined on the recommendations of a committee elected by this Assembly.
- (iii) That His Majesty's Government be requested to take the necessary steps for the purpose of transferring the powers of appointment and control of the Services now vested in the Secretary of State to the Government of India and the Local Governments, such powers to be exercised under laws to be passed by the Indian and Local Legislatures regulating the public services, including the classification of the Civil Services in India, the methods of their recruitment, their conditions of service, pay, and allowances and discipline and conduct.”

The motion was put.

Mr. President : The " Ayes " have it.

Pandit Motilal Nehru : I ask for a division under Rule 53.

Mr. President : The Honourable Member is challenging a division on an issue on which he has had the unanimous vote of the House.

Pandit Motilal Nehru : It was not a unanimous vote. I heard some " Noes ".

Mr. President : But a division has not been challenged.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President : Further question proposed :

PART II.

" This Assembly is unable in view of the present financial condition of India and on the materials before it to satisfy itself as to the propriety and reasonableness of the recommendations of the Royal Commission in respect of the alleged grievances of those at present holding office in the Civil Services, and cannot with due regard to the interests of the tax-payer assent to the imposing of fresh burdens on the already overburdened finances of the country ;

But in view of the financial relief that will result from the stoppage of all recruitment outside India under the existing rules as recommended above in Part I ;

This Assembly is prepared to consider the alleged grievances of the present incumbents as regards pay, passages, concessions and pensions and recommends such measures of redress as may be found necessary and for that purpose it recommends to the Governor General in Council to take steps for the election of a committee by this House to enable them to go into the entire question on all the materials available to the Royal Commission including the evidence taken in camera or such other material as may be available and to make its recommendations to this House as early as possible."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President : The question is that this Resolution be the finding of the House.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas : Sir, I want to ask whether the Honourable the Leader of the House will be prepared to say whether he can make up the time for questions, that was taken up by the debate to-day, on any other day and, if so, when ?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman : I cannot say when, but on a short day.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, the 15th September, 1924.