

THE  
COUNCIL OF STATE DEBATES

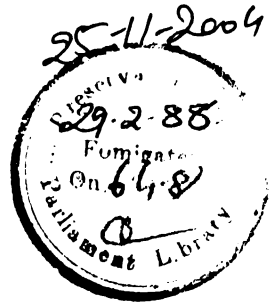
(Official Report)

Volume IV, Part I

*(From the 30th January to the 25th March 1924)*

---

FOURTH SESSION  
OF THE  
COUNCIL OF STATE, 1924



DELHI  
GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS  
1924

	PAGES.
<b>TUESDAY, 12TH FEBRUARY 1924—</b>	
Questions and Answers ... ..	149—151
Message from His Excellency the Governor General ... ..	151
Indian Cotton Cess (Amendment) Bill (Passed) ... ..	151
Resolution <i>re</i> reconstitution of the New Capital Committee, Delhi, with a non-official majority (Adopted as amended) ... ..	152—167
Official Business for Thursday, the 14th February 1924 ... ..	167—168
<b>WEDNESDAY, 13TH FEBRUARY 1924—</b>	
Questions and Answers ... ..	169—171
Visit of Members to the Legislative Buildings in Raisina ... ..	171
Immigration into India Bill (Passed) ... ..	171—206
Death of Khan Bahadur Sir Ahmedthamby Maricair ... ..	206—207
<b>THURSDAY, 14TH FEBRUARY 1924—</b>	
Members sworn ... ..	209
Cantonments Bill (Passed) ... ..	209—231
Election of the panel for the Standing Committee, Department of Education, Health and Lands ... ..	231—232
Advisory Publicity Committee ... ..	232—233
Election of Members to Standing Advisory Committees ... ..	233
<b>MONDAY, 18TH FEBRUARY 1924—</b>	
Member sworn ... ..	235
Questions and Answers ... ..	235—241
Election of panels for Standing Committees ... ..	242
Election of Members for the Emigration Committee ... ..	243
Advisory Publicity Committee ... ..	243
Visit of Members to the Legislative Buildings at Raisina ... ..	243
Unveiling of the War Memorial at Raisina ... ..	243
Resolution <i>re</i> amalgamation of the Imperial and Provincial Branches of the Forest Service. (Not moved) ... ..	244
Resolution <i>re</i> substitution of a provident fund for the existing pension system (Adopted as amended) ... ..	244—258
Resolution <i>re</i> unemployment in India (Postponed till 20th February 1924) ... ..	— 259—266
Statement of Official Business for 21st February 1924 ... ..	267
<b>WEDNESDAY, 20TH FEBRUARY 1924—</b>	
Questions and Answers ... ..	269—273
Resolution <i>re</i> unemployment in India (continued)—(Negatived)	273—291
Resolution <i>re</i> Child Welfare movement (Negatived)	291—303
<b>THURSDAY, 21ST FEBRUARY 1924—</b>	
Election of the Emigration Committee ... ..	305
Group photograph of the Council ... ..	305—306
Proposed gift to the Council of a painting of His Excellency Lord Reading ... ..	306—307
Criminal Tribes Bill (Passed) ... ..	307—316
Indian Tolls Bill (Passed) ... ..	316—323
<b>MONDAY, 25TH FEBRUARY 1924—</b>	
Questions and Answers ... ..	325—326
Resolution <i>re</i> expansion of reforms (Not moved) ... ..	326—327
Statement of Government Business ... ..	327
Presentation of financial statement on Friday, the 29th February 1924	328—328

# COUNCIL OF STATE.

*Wednesday, the 20th February, 1924.*

The Council met in the Council Chamber at Eleven of the Clock, the Honourable the President in the Chair.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

### FORESTRY EDUCATION.

100. THE HONOURABLE MR. PHIROZE C. SETHNA: Will Government be pleased to state what action they have taken or intend to take on the Resolution on Forestry education passed by the Council of State on 19th September 1922?

THE HONOURABLE SIR NARASIMHA SARMA: The Government of India have prepared a scheme for the joint training of Indian Forest Service recruits at Dehra Dun which will be submitted to the Secretary of State for orders as soon as the Standing Finance Committee have approved the financial expenditure involved. I may say in continuation of the answer I have just given that the Standing Finance Committee has agreed to it, and a despatch is being sent.

### TRAINING OF FOREST OFFICERS.

101. THE HONOURABLE MR. PHIROZE C. SETHNA: Will Government be pleased to state—

- (a) if it is a fact that they complained to the Secretary of State in 1920 of the " inadequacy of training " of their Forest Officers, as stated by Professor Stebbing of Edinburgh in the " Nature " of December 2nd, 1920;
- (b) what steps they and the Secretary of State have taken to ensure that the training of Forest Officers in future is adequate and efficient;
- (c) if it is a fact that there is no organised training of new Forest recruits on their arrival in India;
- (d) if they are aware that Mr. Perreé, the Director of the Dehra Dun Institute, says, " Practically nothing is done to train the newly arrived Forest Officer to help him in the study of Indian conditions and problems " and further that " this is a far more important question than the higher course of training contemplated at the Oxford Central Institution ";
- (e) if they have considered the question of the desirability of instituting a special advanced course in Indian Forestry at Dehra Dun as suggested by Mr. Perreé; and
- (f) if it is a fact that Mr. Perreé thinks that such a course can be successfully instituted at Dehra Dun?

**THE HONOURABLE SIR NARASIMHA SARMA:** In view of the answer given to question No. 100 it is presumed that the Honourable Member will not want an answer in detail to this question. It may be stated that the Government of India are now advised that the opening of the economic workshops, etc., at Dehra Dun has introduced a new factor into the problem and that facilities now exist there for the highest form of training.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. PHIROZE C. SETHNA:** May I ask a supplementary question, Sir? Within what time does the Honourable Member expect a reply from the Secretary of State?

**THE HONOURABLE SIR NARASIMHA SARMA:** The despatch has not yet gone, and therefore I cannot say how long it will take to get an answer from the Secretary of State.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. PHIROZE C. SETHNA:** May we know, Sir, when it is likely to go, and under ordinary circumstances within what time a reply might be expected?

**THE HONOURABLE SIR NARASIMHA SARMA:** The despatch is likely to be sent Home to-morrow or next week. We hope to do so. We have asked for early instructions, and it rests with the Secretary of State to digest the whole subject and pass orders.

**COST OF TELEGRAMS SENT BY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL AND THE GOVERNOR GENERAL'S COUNCIL TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.**

102. **THE HONOURABLE MR. PHIROZE C. SETHNA:** Will Government be pleased to state under what heading or headings in the general budget are included the costs incurred for telegrams—

(a) from the Governor General personally, and also

(b) from the Governor General's Council to the Secretary of State?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. A. C. MCWATTERS:** The cost of personal telegrams from the Governor General to the Secretary of State and of official cypher telegrams from the Governor General in Council is met from the provision for 'Contingencies—Postage and Telegram Charges' in the budget estimates of the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy under the head '22—General Administration.' Expenditure on other telegrams from the Governor General in Council to the Secretary of State is included in the provision for "Contingencies—Postage and Telegram Charges" in the budget of the respective departments of the Government of India Secretariat under the same major head.

**IMPERIAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE AT DELHI.**

103. **THE HONOURABLE DR. SIR DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY:**

(i) Would the Government please state what progress has been made regarding the work of the Imperial Research Institute at Delhi? If any scheme has been prepared, would the Government please lay it on the table?

(ii) In what particular branches of medicine is research work proposed to be carried on at Delhi? If it is to be chiefly in Tropical Medicines what clinical materials would be available at Delhi?

(iii) Is there to be any co-relation between the work at Delhi and Calcutta? If so, in what manner, and to what extent?

(iv) How are Research workers proposed to be recruited?

(v) Are Research students proposed to be trained by the Research workers? If so, to what extent and from what fields?

(vi) If such work cannot be conveniently carried out without contact with post graduate teaching work, how is such teaching work proposed to be provided at Delhi?

(vii) What are the available resources for Research work at Delhi and what are the actual requirements?

(viii) If the available resources are insufficient, how is it proposed to supplement them?

(ix) What arrangements are proposed to be made for carrying on the work throughout the year in a climate like that of Delhi?

(x) Does the Government propose to supplement the resources of the other centres of medical researches in India, such as the Tropical Medical School at Calcutta?

THE HONOURABLE SIR NARASIMHA SARMA: (i)—(ix). The proposal to establish a Central Research Institute at Delhi has had to be held in abeyance owing to financial stringency. In the circumstances parts (ii)—(ix) of the question do not arise.

(x) The Government of India are precluded from spending central revenues on a provincial institution such as that mentioned by the Honourable Member.

THE HONOURABLE DR. SIR DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY: May I ask a supplementary question, Sir? As the scheme is held in abeyance, will Government consider the desirability of placing the institution in a more suitable centre?

THE HONOURABLE SIR NARASIMHA SARMA: The question will be considered in due course. I may add that I cannot hold out much hope.

#### ROYAL INDIAN MILITARY COLLEGE, DEHRA DUN.

104. THE HONOURABLE DR. SIR DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY: Would the Government please state what steps have been taken—

(a) for expansion of Prince of Wales' Royal Indian Military College at Dehra Dun;

(b) for making its objects better known throughout India;

(c) for reducing the cost of students' residences in the College;

(d) for taking steps for training students who do not qualify for Military career but might qualify for other careers in India?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: (a) This question is under consideration.

(b) Information regarding the College is widely distributed by all Local Governments twice a year when they are invited to select candidates for admission to the College. As the result of a question asked by the Honourable Member in the Legislative Assembly, the Government of India some little time ago consulted Local Governments as to the need of further publicity and the general sense of the replies received was that the existence and purposes of the College are well known and that further

advertisement is not required. From their own experience, the Government of India are satisfied that this is the case. No difficulty is found in obtaining candidates for all the vacancies available from time to time. I can, however, assure my Honourable friend that the desirability of keeping the Dehra Dun College and its advantages before the Indian public is constantly in our minds.

(c) Government do not at present contemplate making any reduction in the present fee, which is Rs. 1,500 per annum, and represents only a fraction of the actual cost of the education given.

(d) As I stated on the 11th February in reply to question No. 55, the training given at the Prince of Wales' Royal Indian Military College, Dehra Dun, is intended primarily to enable the boys to qualify for a King's Commission in the Indian Army. At the same time the course of study is such that, should a boy fail in the entrance examination for the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, he will be in as good a position to pass the University entrance examinations as if he had been educated at any ordinary school.

THE HONOURABLE DR. SIR DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY: Have any steps been taken, or are likely to be taken, for enabling poorer students, who cannot pay these comparatively high fees, to join the College?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: Steps have already been taken and are under consideration with that object in view, and we hope that at no very distant future we shall be able to institute scholarships, which I suppose is what the Honourable Member refers to. One of the objects of the Pertab Singh Memorial is to establish scholarships at the Dehra Dun College, and I may say that we have had a very good response to our request for subscriptions to that Memorial.

#### ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS.

105. THE HONOURABLE DR. SIR DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY:

(a) Would Government please state what, if any, steps have been taken for placing on the table answers to questions in the Council according to a suggestion made in the Council in that behalf?

(b) If no steps have been taken, does the Council propose to take any steps?

THE HONOURABLE DR. MIAN SIR MUHAMMAD SHAFI: (a) The direction given by the Honourable the President on the 15th September 1921 has been followed.

(b) Does not arise.

#### ACCIDENT ON THE B. B. AND C. I. RAILWAY BEYOND IDGAH.

106. THE HONOURABLE DR. SIR DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY:

(i) Was there an accident on the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway beyond Idgah at the end of December last? If so, on what day was the accident and what was its cause?

(ii) How soon after the accident was the news communicated to the relieving station and what steps for relief were taken and when?

(iii) How many hours after the accident did any relief and the relieving train arrive and from what station?

(iv) How soon after the accident did any responsible officer appear on the scene and what police and lighting arrangements were made for transhipment?

(v) How long were passengers by the mail train from Agra detained at the place of accident before the arrival of the train from the opposite side to take them on their onward journey and what was the reason of delay? What arrangements were made for the first and second Class passengers by this train? Is it not a fact that the relief train and the passenger train came combined and, if so, what was the reason for such arrangement?

(vi) Is it not a fact that the arrangements about the porters and about transhipment in general were altogether insufficient, and is it not a fact that till the arrival of the relieving train the arrangements were wholly in the hands of the station master of Idgah and a junior ticket collector from Agra?

(vii) Would Government please state if better arrangements would be made in future for the comforts and convenience of the passengers in the case of accidents?

THE HONOURABLE MR. D. T. CHADWICK: (i) The Honourable Member apparently refers to the case of a buffalo being run over by a goods train between Bichpuri and Idgah on the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway on the 30th December 1923, between which stations the railway line is fenced.

The accident derailed 18 wagons of the goods train and the line was blocked for 18 hours necessitating the transhipment of passenger trains. There was no loss of human life and the damage caused to rolling stock by the accident is estimated at 800 rupees.

(ii) to (vi) Government have no information but are inquiring.

(vii) When accidents on railways unfortunately occur Government are satisfied that, as a rule, everything that it is possible to do for the comfort and convenience of passengers is done in the special circumstances of each case.

#### RESOLUTION RE UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA—(contd.)

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: The Council will now resume the adjourned debate on the \*Resolution of the Honourable Mr. Rangaswami Ayyangar, on the subject of unemployment.

THE HONOURABLE DR. SIR DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY (West Bengal: Non-Muhammadian): Sir, so far we had two classes of criticism regarding this proposal, which appear to me somewhat antagonistic to one another and therefore destructive of one another. One Honourable Member suggested that this is a matter for the Local Governments, and another was inclined to look upon it, not as practical politics, but more as academic and theoretical. It is impossible to deny, Sir, that there are important Provincial aspects appertaining to this question, as there must be with regard to all questions of this kind. That by itself does not

---

\* "This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that the problem of unemployment in India be seriously considered and satisfactory remedial measures be adopted."

[Dr. Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary.]

bar out consideration by the Central Government if there is cause to the contrary. But if the contention is really well grounded that the Resolution has only local aspects and no Central Government aspects, I should have thought, Sir, that it would not have been admitted because I do not understand that you have set up an unemployment bureau and would allow inadmissible propositions to come before this House by way of creating work for it . . . .

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: If the Honourable Member will read the rule, he will find that the power to disallow Resolutions on the ground that they deal with provincial subjects lies with His Excellency the Governor General and not with the Chair.

THE HONOURABLE DR. SIR DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY: That strengthens my case better. With regard to the other objection all well thought out and carefully argued presentiments of facts could be called essays of one kind or another, and therefore, in the sense that the Honourable Member called the speech in support of the motion an essay, his objection is unworthy of serious consideration. I do not think, Sir, either criticism ought to be allowed to prevail. I do not know what the Government attitude with regard to this question will be. I myself am persuaded that Government will not wholly countenance the proposition that the matter is entirely Provincial, and therefore no concern of this Government, because if we consider what has happened in the past, the Government has recognised, and I believe handsomely recognised, its obligations in the matter. The many Commissions and Committees that we had, the Industrial Commission, the Fiscal Commission, the Railway Commission, the Incheape Committee, the Food Price's Inquiry Committee, the Tariff Committee and various other inquiries which the Government have undertaken are largely, if not primarily, directed towards the consideration of this all-important question, which, from the point of view of all Governments, must be of absorbing interest. I was somewhat surprised to hear it stated that this question is one of the least urgent in India. Sir, in the West it is not considered to be one of the least urgent. On the other hand, it is considered one of the most urgent blunders in connection with which have led, not only to change of Government, but sometimes even to the fall of Dynasties. I do not think the sentiments of the amiable Queen who said, that, if the people could not have enough bread, there was no reason why they should not have an abundant supply of cakes, will hold good in these days. I do not want to recall to mind sentiments like these, that paved the way for the tumbril and the guillotine in the near past. Unemployment is not a fine art here, as it is in the West, where they have provided elaborate agencies for combating it, which to some of us in the East appear to be almost grotesque. They have not only their poor laws, they have their old-age pensions; their unemployment pensions, medical panels, and other benefits, all for the purpose of combating poverty, sometimes organised poverty. In India the question, though larger, is not so complex because the peoples' needs here are comparatively small. \* The real trouble, apart from growth in population, appears to be want of organisation with regard to production of wealth and with regard to the distribution of what is produced, and also with regard to appropriation in the best possible way of the resources of the country, which we are at every turn told are boundless under our feet. It is largely a question of



organisation and loss of finance. That organisation involves labour, and, if labour is well organised, it will certainly lead to a great deal of alleviation of the trouble that we are concerned with in this Resolution. There are important inter-Provincial questions, which must be considered from outside the Provinces, questions for example like that of the flow of large bodies of labour from one province to another and of introduction and development of say cotton cultivation and other cultivation on a large scale. Supposing the Provinces were themselves to take up some of these questions and settle them as detached units, I do not think the Jat carpenter and mechanic of the Punjab, and the Sikh motor driver or mechanic from the U. P., and Bihar coolies would have much chance in Bengal.

Take again the Sonthal coolies from Bengal who have now taken the place of our aboriginal agricultural labourer in many places. Whatever reasons may be causing this disturbance in the labour market there, those who know Bengal, and I think I shall have the testimony of two wealthy and influential landlords from Bengal who are with us here, know that agricultural labour for some reason or other is not abundant, and those middle class people who used to depend upon agriculture, not by way of supplementary resources but as a mainstay, find themselves in difficulty in this direction apart from causes like malaria and want of transport. Planters find the same difficulty. The millowner finds the same difficulty, and those who employ domestic labour also find the same difficulty. On the one hand, you have these difficulties—people who want to employ cannot get sufficient labour. On the other hand, assuredly there is a great deal of unemployment and consequent unrest. Now, how to combat this divergent state of affairs and so organise labour that all who want to employ labour can have abundant material and all who want employment can have reasonable facilities must be a matter of statesmanlike co-ordination which the Central Government alone can usefully undertake. It is the case everywhere that all those who want employment cannot have it—at least of the kind and on the terms that they want it. But it ought to be possible for a certain amount of correlation between labour and unemployment and that can be done by organisation to which the Local Governments can certainly contribute. I do not think it can be said that the Local Governments have been entirely idle in the matter. We had only the other day the Bengal Middle Class Employment Committee. I am not quite sure whether that Committee has yet reported. I have been trying to get a copy of the report here if already produced and I think Members on the other side of the House have been making similar endeavours with similar success. No report is at all events available here. I saw some reference as to what the recommendation of that Committee was in the newspapers. We had also what is called the Domiciled Community Unemployment Committee. These Committees are appointed but for want of resources, and for want of adequate methods of organisation, the results are somewhat inconsequential.

Sir, I do not want to travel over the general ground of poverty and economic depression in the country. That was very largely brought out in the debate that my Honourable friend, Mr. Sethna, raised the other day. Whatever difference there may be as to the exact figure of peoples' average income, the fact cannot be challenged that a great deal of avoidable poverty is in the country. My Honourable friend read out on the occasion several extracts from the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. There was one

[Dr. Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary.]

extract which was not read out which I should like to read. The Report said that the immense masses of the people are poor, ignorant and helpless far beyond the standards of Europe. Well, that may appear to be very appalling, but analysed it is not so appalling as it appears to European critics. We are content with a lower standard of life and therefore to try to raise that standard of living without the ability to meet it does not yet appeal to us. Meet us on our lower standard, enable us to have the bare wherewithals for existence and that for the moment will answer. Even with regard to this, in the words of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report we are helpless. This question was carefully considered by a well known authority writing on Indian famines and this is what he said on the subject.—“Poverty in England or America or Germany is a question of the distribution of wealth; for India it is a question of production.” Well that takes us to the larger question of agriculture because the largest portion of Indian labour would naturally be agricultural. I believe the following figures, not taken from the last census report but from the previous one, are generally correct as to proportion. We have in India labour divided as follows:

71 per cent.	Agriculture.
12 „ „ . . .	Industries.
5 „ „ . . .	Trade.
2 „ „ . . .	Domestic service.
1½ „ „ . . .	Professions.
1½ „ „ . . .	Government service or the Army.

Those therefore who would lead the world to believe that the whole of our people are anxiously looking forward to Government employment have no reasons or figures to make good what they are so fond of urging. Another figure we have is that there are more than 40,000 educated people in Bengal wanting employment. And in this state of things what did the Bengal District Administration Committee's report say? Their dictum is very significant from many points of view. I shall read a short extract from that report:

“It became clear that those who had failed to get adequate employment had almost invariably joined the terrorist movement as students to the ruin of their studies. Evidence was not wanting to show that the lot of such men was very hard indeed.”

Years later a responsible Government document, the last Quinquennial Progress Report on Education in India, practically endorsed that view on the strength of the Assam report—“Employment proves hard or impossible to get.” We had several quotations from “India in 1922-23” in the course of the debate on Mr. Sethna's Resolution the other day. A pertinent quotation on this subject may be made here. “The undeniable poverty of India is not due to her administrative system but to the fact that she is not at present organised for the production of wealth.” We need not now and here go into the question of our administrative system for this purpose. We have it on the authority of this document that it is the lack of organisation regarding production that really is at the root of the question so far.

All these considerations would make one believe that although Government has been doing a great deal it is time that, in the language of the Resolution itself, arrangements should be made by the Government for

satisfactory remedial measures. One would have thought, Sir, that following the inquiry that would come after the Taxation Inquiry Committee that was announced the other day, it should not be difficult to take this matter not as a mere side issue but as an important issue connected with the whole question, and if Government is so inclined, without duplicating the machinery for inquiry, this portion of the inquiry may also be well taken up. For all these considerations, Sir, I should be inclined to support this proposal, and, if Government is helpful in this matter, as it certainly has been largely in the past, this inquiry can be taken up and satisfactorily taken up. I think one Honourable Member asked as to what individual Members have been doing in this connection, whether as mill-owners or as landlords or in other capacities. I think it will be found that in many cases—certainly in the case of the Mover of this Resolution who was challenged—much has been done. I would therefore urge on the Government to accept the Resolution. Probably a few words added would meet the points that have been raised and I suggest the addition of the words “in conjunction and consultation with the Local Governments concerned.” That, I think, would meet the requirements of the case better and will probably be also acceptable to the Government. If, therefore, Sir, I have your leave, I should like to add to this Resolution words to the following effect: “in conjunction and consultation with the Local Governments concerned.”

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Amendment moved:

“That at the end of the Resolution the following words be added: ‘in conjunction and consultation with the Local Governments concerned.’”

THE HONOURABLE DR. MIAN SIR MUHAMMAD SHAFI (Law Member): I rise, Sir, for the sole purpose of indicating the position of Government with regard to the amendment moved by my Honourable friend, Dr. Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary. We do not in so far as Members of the Executive Council are concerned, propose to take part in the division on this amendment. Other official Members will be at liberty to vote as they like.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. A. NATESAN (Madras: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I quite admit—and it does not require others to tell us—that this problem of unemployment is one which bristles with many difficulties. The problem of unemployment is by no means confined to this country. In the West it is a very serious problem, and in India I think we are beginning to see the trouble of it. I was told by a distinguished friend here the other day that this problem was not so serious that the Council of State should engage itself in considering it. I cannot conceive of a more erroneous view of the situation. It is wise statesmanship, not to say ordinary prudence, to realise that if there is any trouble at all, it is much better to tackle it at the beginning rather than allow it to take a shape which afterwards might result in serious consequences. When this question of unemployment was referred to by my Honourable friend, Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar, it was somewhat unfortunate that certain remarks which he made about the Retrenchment Committee and other things should have been availed of by other speakers to oppose the proposition itself. I think it is but fair in the interests of the question itself and in the larger interests of the country that the question should be considered *apart and distinct* from the reasons that have been urged by the Honourable Mover in support of his proposition. I was talking only recently to a high European official in the Madras Presidency who is engaged in the

[Mr. G. A. Natesan.]

work of education, a very sincere and true friend of the people, and asked him to give me his views upon the subject of the problem of the educated classes. He told me at once that in his experience of over fifteen years the problem, which had seriously confronted him and which had seriously been pressed upon his attention, was the problem of the educated unemployed not only in the Presidency of Madras, with which he and I am particularly acquainted, but in other Presidencies also. I know a number of young men in the Madras Presidency in various capacities myself and I am also acquainted with the educational work and institutions there. There is a considerable amount of difficulty for educated young men to find employment. I may state at once—and I think any one who knows my own career will not for a moment suspect that I am urging that large numbers of educated men should go to Government for service. I have discountenanced the idea from the very beginning and I am doing it even now with regard to those with whom I am intimately connected. But the question which I am anxious to press upon the attention of the House is this, that much of the difficulty of unemployment with regard to the educated youths of the country is due to the fact that our education has been mostly literary. Government might have had some reason in the early years of its administration for giving a purely literary education; but it has absolutely no excuse now for not providing scope for a very large measure of technical instruction and for not establishing technological institutes which will give ample opportunities for young men in this country to utilise their energies, their abilities, their talents and also, if I may venture to say so, the wealth which some of them do have and which they do not know how to use but which their parents would very willingly give them leave to use if they only had the proper education and equipment in a technological institute.

It has been said that it does not concern the Central Government. That may be right in one sense. But any one who realises his responsibility to this country cannot shut his eyes to this problem on the plea that this is a matter entirely for Local Governments. I quite admit that in regard to details the local conditions of each province will have to be taken into consideration. But I think the Imperial Government has a responsibility in this direction and I feel that it should, if it has not already done so, give a direction to the various Local Governments to give increased attention to the question of vocational training and also endeavour to find means and measures which will ensure the establishment of more than one technological institute in this country. If I take part in the discussion upon this question, it is because I feel that the consideration of this question has afforded me an opportunity of drawing public attention to what I consider to be a great evil in our present educational system, a system of chiefly literary education, which, whatever justification it might have had in the past, is certainly not needed to the same extent now. It is a very significant commentary upon the progress of education in this country and upon the opportunities which the authorities give to our young men that most of them, who are anxious to turn from a purely literary to a technological career, have to leave their own motherland and go to other countries, like England, America and Japan. It is a somewhat sad commentary, that after so many years of education, so many of our young men should be forced to tear themselves away from their homes at considerable risk to themselves and their parents and go abroad to study these subjects. I wish this House, Sir, fully to realise its responsibility in this direction.

I feel—and I am stating the bare truth when I say this—that men of all sections and parties and creeds feel that perhaps a good deal of the discontent in this country is due to the fact that there are large numbers of unemployed educated young men. For my own Province, I may say that I think that year after year there are at least some thousand youths who do not pass the school final examination; you have a smaller number than that who come up to the University and fail at the entrance examination and a good number who pass the B.A. examination. Most of the graduates turn to the law as a career, because they have nothing else provided; while in other countries there are other institutions to fit in with their aptitudes. This country seriously lacks such opportunities and, while great efforts are being made in other directions for uplifting this country, I feel—though I am alive to some small measures which have been adopted now and then—that we must make an attempt to have more than one big technological institute, where young men could find opportunities for their talents and for diverting themselves from a purely literary to a practical career. If the consideration of this question will at least open the eyes of the authorities to what I consider is a very sore need, I feel that this debate would not have been in vain.

Sir, with regard to the second part, the problem, if I may say so, of unemployment among the people, I admit, it is a very serious one and should be considered very carefully. But I feel at the same time that it cannot be solved by the State alone. In no country is that problem tried to be solved exclusively by the State, and I do not believe any responsible man will say that it is the duty of the State and the State alone to solve that problem. I think the responsibility for it lies also on the shoulders of large capitalists and rich men who ought to form themselves into associations and companies, for promoting industries which will improve the material wealth of the country and also afford employment to a large number of people who are otherwise thrown out of employment. Now, one of the saddest features of our present situation is,— and those who have anything to do with labour or those who are compelled for one reason or another to come in contact with village labour know it,—that, except during the harvesting season, the bulk of the people who are engaged in the cultivation of their lands are thrown out of employment. I do not in the least suggest that Government is responsible for such a miserable condition. There are a number of causes which have contributed to it, but, if Government and non-officials, capitalists and large landholders, and those who have any inclination to help their poorer countrymen could be brought together to consider this question, I think the trouble taken in that direction will not have been in vain. I admit, Sir, that the proposition, as drafted, perhaps imposes too large an order upon the Central Government. I had myself intended to move an amendment that the matter should be referred to Local Governments for consideration with a view to remedial measures being adopted, but, after the amendment which has been moved by my Honourable friend Dr. Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary, it seemed to me to be quite unnecessary.

May I, Sir, add a word to what has fallen from the lips of the Honourable the Leader of this House? This is a very difficult question and also a very vital question. It will certainly not be considered satisfactory by Members on this side of the House to be told that the Honourable Members of the Executive Council do not propose to take part in the discussion or to vote either way. I do expect, Sir, in the consideration of such a vital

[Mr. G. A. Natesan.]

problem like this, all Honourable Members, both on this side as well as the other side, to put their minds together, because it is a problem which affects the interests of the country, and it cannot be said that we alone on this side of the House have an interest in this question and that the Members of the Executive Council are not interested in it or do not want to take part in the discussion. I would rather like that the whole question should be fully discussed by every Member of the House. I daresay that there are many gentlemen on the other side who are interested in this matter. Therefore, Sir, I would certainly consider it a great pity if, in the consideration of such a vital problem, which affects the welfare of millions of this country, the Honourable the Leader of the House should say that he and his Colleagues would neither vote nor take part in the discussion and that we on this side can vote as we please and that other officials should be left to themselves. It is certainly not a very pleasant spectacle to contemplate . . . . .

THE HONOURABLE DR. MIAN SIR MUHAMMAD SHAFI: I am afraid, Sir, my Honourable friend Mr. Natesan has entirely misunderstood what I said. I did not say anything about taking part in the discussion. My statement related merely to voting, that, in the matter of voting on the amendment moved by the Honourable Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary, Members of the Executive Council will not take part and other official members will be free to vote as they like. With regard to taking part in the discussion, I did not make any statement.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I should like to be informed in the first place who is the Member in charge of this Resolution on behalf of Government?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. H. LEY: I am, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. A. NATESAN: I stand corrected with regard to the first part of the observations of the Honourable the Leader of the House, but my remarks on the second portion still stand.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. H. LEY (Secretary, Industries and Labour): Sir, I feel it very difficult to approach the subject-matter of a Resolution of this kind mainly owing to its very wide and general terms. There are a thousand aspects of the question, and it is very difficult to talk on a general subject of this nature without either being unnecessarily diffuse or straying into aspects of the problem which, from the point of view of the power of the Central Government to find a remedy, will not repay discussion. I do not once wish to say that Government, and I think, everybody, are aware of the seriousness and importance of the problem. After all, it is a question which is exercising the minds of almost every Government in the world at the present time. At the same time, I think that we must not lose altogether our sense of proportion in this matter. I understood from the Honourable Mover of this Resolution that he attacked the position in the first place from the point of view of the Incheape Committee. I did not quite gather what his intention was, whether Government was expected to put back all their servants who were retrenched on account of the Incheape Committee's Report. I imagine that is not his intention. He did say that the Government should, in filling up appointments hereafter, give preference, as far as they could, to servants of the Government who had been retrenched. That of course is being done and will be done, but that does not really touch the problem at all. To suggest that there is really a serious question of destitution raised by the retrenchment of

Government servants is, I venture to think, to use language without meaning. After all, if you add up all the officers of Government who have been retrenched all round including the State Railways and Telegraphs and every department of Government, you would not get a sum which would be anything like equal to the number of people who are destitute in a single one of the numerous industrial centres in England.

Now let us try and survey the problem from a rather broader point of view. When we begin to talk about unemployment in the Western sense of the word, we are thinking, primarily of industrial unemployment, unemployment among men who are accustomed to work in factories, mines and in other forms of industrial occupations. That, Sir, is a problem of exceedingly great seriousness in other countries, but not so in India. The problem of industrial unemployment is not so much to the front in this country, partly for the very simple reason, I think, that, as remarked by my Honourable friend, Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary, generally speaking, the demand for labour exceeds the supply. That is a general remark. I quite admit that there may be local and temporary exceptions. But, generally speaking, the demand for labour exceeds the supply, and consequently the result is that, as a general question, industrial unemployment in this country is not a subject of very serious importance. I do not want to go into the causes of that. The causes are, I suppose, ultimately what I might describe as the fluidity, the want of stability, of Indian industrial labour at the present time. As we all know, the industrial worker in this country is primarily a cultivator only, secondarily an industrial worker. He goes back to his fields at his will after working in an industrial centre for some time, and this want of organization or want of stability in Indian labour, I think, has two results. The first result is that generally speaking, as I have said, the demand for labour exceeds the supply, and in the second place it has this result that, if you attempted to solve the problem of unemployment, if it did arise, it would be very difficult, almost impossible, to apply the kind of remedies which are applied in countries where industrial labour is more fully organized. I shall probably mention that point again a little later on. That is one form of unemployment, the most serious form of unemployment in Western countries. Then there is agricultural unemployment, a question which is, of course, very acute in England too, and acute in local areas possibly in this country, in certain seasons. It is a problem which only becomes serious in India owing to a failure of the monsoon. I do not think we need discuss this at any length. After all we have in this country an organisation and machinery for dealing with agricultural unemployment in famine times, which I make bold to say is not equalled in any other country in the world. It is an organisation and a machinery, the general principles of which, if I read the signs of the times rightly, are being groped after, half unconsciously, in the England of the present day.

I pass from industrial unemployment and agricultural unemployment, which, as I say, are not very serious in this country, and I come to that form of unemployment which I think was the burden of my Honourable friend, Mr. Ayyangar's remarks, and the remarks made by various other Honourable Members in this House. I mean, unemployment among the educated middle class. That is, I admit, a really serious problem, and becoming a more and more serious problem as the days go on. We have not really any statistics of the extent of this unemployment, but I agree that it is serious. My Honourable friend, Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary, referred to the Bengal Administration Committee's Report. That is the

[Mr. A. H. Ley.]

last report I have seen which made a statistical survey of this particular subject of unemployment in one particular Province, Bengal; which, I think myself is the Province where the question is most serious. There are two very interesting and instructive Chapters at the end of that Report. Of course it was written ten years ago. I would like to quote what they said as to the extent of the evil. They did not find it was so bad then as was generally made out.

"The conclusion" *they said*, "which commends itself to the Committee after full consideration of the evidence is that the educational product, be its quality what it may, has not so far outrun its market."

But they sounded a note of warning:

"The increase in the number of literates in English has hitherto been mainly due to the larger proportion of the higher castes who have taken an English education. If the other castes follow their example, the base of the pyramid will now begin to expand as rapidly as its height has increased in the past, and its volume will be far in excess of anything that merely clerical employment can accommodate; for in no country in the world can there be found so entire an absence of truly industrial employment with so elaborate a system of education."

That was the opinion of the Committee ten years ago. Of course ten years have elapsed since then, and I think their forecasts are being realised now. That is the principal form of unemployment that we have got to consider.

Then, also, I do not wish to pass over one other form of unemployment, equally distressing and equally acute, though probably not so extensive. I refer to the very sad problem of the unemployment in the Anglo-Indian community.

This, Sir, is a general survey of the position as I see it. Now what are the remedies? But, before I get on to the remedies, let me try and explain what seems to me to be the constitutional position of the Central Government and the Central Legislature, to which various Honourable Members have referred, in this matter. My Honourable friend, Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary, stated that this kind of question has been considered by various Commissions appointed by the Government of India in the past, the Industrial Commission, the Fiscal Commission, and so on . . . .

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Would the Honourable Member mind raising his voice? He must remember the Honourable Mover is in some difficulty in that matter.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. H. LEY: I would remind him that the Industrial Commission reported before the advent of the constitutional reforms, and under those reforms, the welfare of labour, the welfare of the masses, is a Provincial subject, subject however to Central legislation. That is to say, as far as I read it, if it is possible to devise Central legislation to find a practical remedy for this state of affairs, it would be for the Central Government to take action; otherwise the question is a Provincial question. Now I listened very carefully to the speech, as far as I could hear it, of the Honourable the Mover of the Resolution, and of other Members who have spoken on the subject, to discover whether they had any definite suggestions to make as to what the Central Government could do in the matter of legislation. Was any suggestion made? I did



not hear it. Nor do I see myself what can be done at the present time, in the existing state of what I may call the want of organisation of Indian labour. I do not propose to weary the Council by going into the very difficult and intricate question of the poor laws and poor law administration in England, or other countries. I only wish to say this, that it is a problem which, according to modern ideas with regard to this question, has to be attacked from very many different points of view. There are many kinds of unemployment. Unemployment may be due to old age, it may be due to sickness, it may be due to mental or physical incapacity, it may be due to accident, it may be due to vice, and, finally, it may be due to a failure in the supply of work; and this last is what we are really considering. How is this tackled in modern countries? It is tackled, as far as it can be tackled, generally speaking, by some form of national insurance. I think I need not go into that any further now, because it will be obvious that anything of that kind in the existing state of what I have already described as the want of stability of Indian labour is not only premature but quite impracticable at the present moment. What were the remedies which my Honourable friend the Mover of the Resolution suggested in this matter? I could not discover. One point he made was that Government could do a lot by the protection of industries. He did not elaborate that idea at all; he did not say what industries he wanted protected; possibly he was thinking of putting duties on cotton goods, or some other kind of goods, I do not know. How that is going to solve the problem of the want of employment among the educated middle class he did not try to explain, and I am afraid I cannot see how it is going to be done. Then, as far as I recollect, the only other tangible suggestion I could get from his speech was that the State should assist the hand-weaving industry. All I have to say about that is that the question of assistance and training of hand loom weavers is a matter which has been considered by Local Governments. There are various schools of hand weaving, for instance at Serampore and other places. If he wants to go further than that, I suppose he would suggest a bounty on hand woven cloth. I do not know if that was his idea in suggesting State aid for this industry. He did not explain where the money was to come from money which would do something to enrich a particular industry at the expense, probably, of the Bombay mills. He did not explain where the money was coming from. Still less did he explain how that is really going to assist the class, which is really seriously unemployed, the educated middle class.

He made a rather violent attack on Government as to their responsibility in this matter, what he called culpable indifference to this problem. I suggest that there is nothing in it, and I think the hollowness of his attack is exposed by the barrenness of his own suggestions. As one speaker—I think again it was Sir Deva Prasad—said this is a question after all which has been exercising the minds of Governments for many hundreds of years, and it is out of the power of any Government really to effect a solution. If he studies the history of the question in England and in other countries, I think he will see the force of that remark. Let me just read to him an extract from the writings of one of the most clear-sighted and far-seeing authorities on this subject—I refer to Edmund Burke. Writing in 1795 in a pamphlet called "Thoughts on Scarcity" Burke said this:

"To provide for us in our necessities is not in the power of Government: it would be vain presumption in statesmen to think they can do it. It is in the power of Government to prevent much evil: it can do very little positive good."

[Mr. A. H. Ley.]

Those, Sir, were Burke's words, and I venture to think that they are just as true to-day as when they were penned. It is a question which is very serious, on which Government must consider what they can do in the way of remedial measures. There I agree, but you cannot expect them to be able to prevent unemployment.

Now I should like to go back for one moment to the question of Local Governments. The amendment, as far as I understand it, is all very well as it goes. Of course it is a question for consideration by Local Governments. But I think it rather suggests that the Local Governments are not already fully alive to the seriousness of this trouble. If it does suggest that, then I for one entirely disagree.

THE HONOURABLE DR. SIR DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY: I did not.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. H. LEY: I did not say you did so personally, but the amendment does lend itself to the view that the Local Governments are not doing all they can.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. A. NATESAN: It simply says "in conjunction with Local Governments".

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. H. LEY: We do know that the Local Governments are fully alive to the seriousness of this trouble. My own view is that it is a more serious trouble in Bengal than in any other province. I do know however that the Local Government have been considering this question there. I do know they have appointed an Unemployment Inquiry Committee, to which my Honourable friend referred. I have not seen the report of that Committee yet. As far as I know, it has not reported yet. But they are going into the question, to see what remedial measures can possibly be undertaken. It is useless for us to suggest to them that they should do so over again. And there are of course various local organisations attacking this problem. There is a Bengal Unemployment Relief Committee—I think my Honourable friend referred to that too,—which has done a great deal of good, in individual cases, specially among the Anglo-Indian community, though not only the Anglo-Indian community. There are schemes for colonisation,—the Honourable Mover of the Resolution referred to one, which I believe is being sponsored by the Calcutta University,—schemes of colonisation for the educated classes on the land or in other forms of industrial and agricultural pursuits. Those are measures which are being taken and are being considered, and everything that can be done, I maintain, is being done by Local Governments, by local authorities and by private parties. Therefore I think there is no necessity to suggest that it is a question to which Local Governments are not fully alive.

THE HONOURABLE DR. SIR DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY: For the purpose of co-ordination is what we suggest.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. H. LEY: I should like to say one word about that question of co-ordination. I did not quite follow precisely what Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary himself suggested. Did he suggest employment agencies? It is not to my mind a question of employment agencies. The difficulty is not really to get the man who wants work into touch with the employer who wants to give him work. The real difficulty is that

there is not a number of employers sufficient to find work for him. That is the difficulty. Employment agencies do a certain amount of good, but they cannot solve that problem. And really, Sir, when you come to the root of the matter, it does seem to me that, although all these efforts which are being taken in hand locally, whether by private or public agencies, are of obvious value, they are only palliatives of a disease for which it is very difficult to see the ultimate remedy. As I see it, there is only one ultimate remedy, and that is the industrialisation of the country,—the turnover of men of the class whom we have been considering from clerical and professional to industrial and commercial occupations. That involves a change of habits, a change of psychology, which I am afraid can only be a question of years—years possibly of pain, suffering and endeavour. And let me support my remarks on this point by just a small quotation from the views given by a very distinguished Bengali gentleman to the Unemployment Committee in Bengal. He said he thought that if Bengalis could secure for themselves the trade and the commerce of their country to a greater extent, the question with which the Committee was confronted would never have arisen. No country could thrive on clerkships or on the depravity or disease of their fellowmen by providing a few lawyers, public servants and medical men. The Bengali *bhadralog*, he went on to say, lacked the tradition for commercial and industrial pursuits, due to the fact that other ideals had so far held the field. Naturally they were shy to embark on a future so entirely uncharted and foreign to them. And regarding remedial measures, he suggested the gradual absorption in new careers of those who had still mental elasticity and their diversion to trade. There was no single remedy, nor could remedy come from one particular source. The greatest importance was attached to a change in the psychology of the people, an earnest desire to capture the trade and commerce of the province and to rely on a commercial career. My Honourable friend Mr. Natesan very rightly referred to the importance of developing industrial and technical education. I quite agree with his remarks. I do not agree with him, however, if he means to suggest that that is a question which has not been thoroughly and carefully considered by the Local Governments. It is a local subject. Under the Devolution Rules it is entirely a provincial subject, which is in charge of Ministers in the various Local Governments; and I leave it to the Council to decide by their votes whether they think that it is a question which it is necessary to bring definitely before Local Governments, or whether they hold the view that it is a question to which Local Governments are already fully alive.

THE HONOURABLE MR. PHIROZE C. SETHNA (Bombay: Non-Muhammadian): Sir, the Resolution as it reads very clearly indicates that the Honourable Mover is of opinion that very considerable unemployment prevails in the land. I for one hold, and I believe everybody conversant with Indian conditions will hold, that there is general poverty in the country; but I do not think we can endorse with equal readiness the statement that there is general 'unemployment' in the sense that we understand that word. For confirmation of what I say I would refer to the quotation given by my Honourable friend, Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary from "India in 1922-23." His quotation was that Indians are "poor, ignorant and helpless." The same authority does not say anywhere in that volume, so far as I remember, that there is general unemployment in the country.

[Mr. Phiroze C. Sethna.]

The Honourable Mover did not make it very clear whether he laid greater stress on unemployment amongst the literate classes or amongst the labouring classes. I take it from the tenor of his speech that he referred to both in an equal degree. He dwelt at some length on the recommendations of the Inchcape Committee as the result of which several educated men were thrown out of employment. To ask Government to re-instate those men, as I understood him to say, would be stultifying ourselves, inasmuch as only eighteen months back this House and the Assembly both earnestly requested Government to bring about retrenchment in Government establishments. If Government have done so and have thereby reduced expenditure, I say that we will be stultifying ourselves if now we make a demand, such as is asked for by the Honourable Mover.

The Honourable Mover was supported to-day by statements of the Honourable Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary and the Honourable Mr. Natesan in regard to unemployment amongst the educated classes in Bengal and in Madras. I believe Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary said that there were as many as forty thousand educated young men without employment; and Mr. Natesan complained that the system of education, as imparted in this country in the absence of many technical schools, was such that it brought about unemployment amongst the educated classes. Is the fault entirely with the Government? Or is there not much force in what the Honourable Mr. Ley said a few minutes back? Is it not because in this country there is a great desire on the part of young men to become quill drivers and to prefer appointments in Government offices and other private offices to undergoing a course of study in technical schools and colleges? So far as I know, that was the feeling until lately and that is mainly responsible for any unemployment that may prevail in some provinces. That feeling, I am glad to say, is now being removed. If it was considered *infra dig* for the son of a merchant or of a large land owner to take to technical education some years ago, I say that conditions have greatly altered and they are taking kindly to technical education with the result, as Mr. Ley pointed out, that, if the country is industrialised, much of this unemployment would be removed.

Then, Sir, my Honourable friend referred to unemployment in the case of the Anglo-Indian community which was pointed out in another place by their representative Colonel Gidney. That to my mind is a special case. Previous to now many members of the domiciled community found employment on a very large scale in particular departments of the railways. Things there have also changed with the result that more Indians are employed in such departments; consequently perhaps the members of that community do not find employment as readily as they used to before. That is a special case and requires to be specially dealt with in the special province in which it occurs and I understand from the Honourable Mr. Ley that the case is being considered in Bengal, where it is felt to a greater degree than anywhere else.

I hold, that to talk of unemployment on a very large scale in this country is not altogether correct, if by such unemployment we mean unemployment as is understood in European countries and, particularly, as at present in the United Kingdom. There is much unemployment there and a fear exists in the minds of many of greater unemployment under

certain conditions. In passing, I may observe that there are critics of the Labour Government who point out to them that, should they accede to any further demands made by Indian politicians, conditions in Great Britain would be more serious than they are to-day in point of unemployment. I will quote from the concluding sentence of a very pertinent letter which appeared in "the Outlook" which has arrived by the last mail in which this critic advises the Labour Government, as I have already said, not to help Indian politicians by any further concessions, because the result would be greater trouble at Home. I give his words:—

"Nor does Labour in the least appreciate what even temporary chaos in India would mean to it and the loss—or partial loss—of the one great market still left to us. Unemployment would increase by leaps and bounds and Britain which is shorn enough now, would be so shorn as no longer to count."

Fortunately, no such unemployment exists among us and I hope it will not be here for ages to come. But, if there is any appreciable unemployment amongst the labouring classes—and I now turn to that part of the Resolution—I should have expected the Honourable Mover to have given us some cases to prove his point. What does my Honourable friend do? He only gives us one instance and he could not have chosen a worse instance. He quoted unemployment amongst the mill-hands of Bombay. My Honourable friend, Sir Arthur Froom, has met that charge. There is no unemployment in the mills of Bombay. All the mills are open to the mill hands if they choose to come, but just at present they do not choose to come and work. The cotton mill industry like other industries has its cycle of good years followed perhaps by cycles of bad years. The cotton mill industry had its years of boom and prosperity, when not only did they give a very considerable increase in wages which was perfectly justified because of the increase in the cost of living, but they also gave one month's pay in the year as bonus. Times have changed. We are now in a cycle of bad years, when the mill industry is by no means doing well. In fact it will be no exaggeration to say that the cotton mill industry at the present moment is passing through times such as it has never known before in its long history. Are the mill owners not justified, therefore, in withdrawing the bonus? Did they not give intimation of their intention as far back as June 1923 that they will not pay the bonus in January 1924? It is because they did not pay the bonus that the mill hands chose to go out. I would even say that the mill agents would be perfectly justified, if they chose to do so, not only in not paying the bonus, but also in decreasing the wages owing to altered conditions. That was the fear in the minds of many of the mill hands. I would like to quote from "Commerce" of 16th February which I have received to-day in which the bonus question is very clearly explained as follows: "The question is one of *profits and goodwill* and no undertaking can be given."

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT:** The Honourable Member should not stray too far from the subject-matter of the Resolution, We are not discussing the Bombay cotton strike now.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. PHIROZE C. SETHNA:** My point is, Sir, that the Honourable Mover has quoted one solitary instance of unemployment amongst the labouring classes and that instance was in regard to the Bombay mill hands. I want to show that the Bombay mill hands could find ready employment if they choose to return. I can only refer my

[Mr. Phiroze C. Sethna.]

Honourable friend to the telegram which has appeared in this morning's papers from Bombay which says that :

"according to the notice given by the mill owners of the mills in the city, all the mills in the city opened this morning (18th instant) and were willing to receive their operatives, but the latter were not in the mood to resume and still insisted on the annual bonus."

I hope that the Honourable Mover is now convinced, after what the Honourable Sir Arthur Froom has said and after the remarks that I have offered to-day, that there is no unemployment amongst the mill hands in Bombay. As my Honourable friend, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, has interjected, there is more looting of shops by the mill hands than unemployment amongst them. They themselves have chosen to go out on strike. There is no unemployment in Bombay. The Honourable Mover has said that there is unemployment in other provinces. I am talking particularly of the Bombay Presidency. I can say of the Bombay Presidency that not only is there no unemployment there, but on the contrary if the Honourable Mover and those who support him, like Sir Deva Prasad Surva-dhikary and Mr. Natesan, are pleased to send over a few thousands from their Presidencies they will find ready employment for them in Bombay. It is also a well known fact that in the monsoon all our mills work short-handed, and we would welcome the presence among us not only of hundreds but of thousands of workers. Therefore, the question of unemployment if it exists, does not affect all provinces alike, and nobody seems to realise that more than my Honourable friend the Mover of the amendment does. For what is his amendment? He says that the Government of India should adopt measures "in conjunction and in consultation with the Local Governments concerned." Consequently, it is clear in his mind that all provinces are not affected but some or he would not have used the words "Local Governments concerned." Therefore if there be unemployment anywhere about which the Mover and his friends are satisfied, then, as the Honourable Mr. Ley has pointed out, it is perfectly open to them to make representations in their own provinces to remedy this state of affairs. I hold, Sir, that there is no unemployment in the land in the sense that we understand the word 'unemployment' elsewhere and, as my Honourable friend the Mover has tried to make out, but I would certainly advise him and those who support him that, if there is unemployment in certain provinces, they should send their unemployed over to Bombay and I am confident there will be room for many to be taken up in its industrial concerns. In Bengal I believe unemployment is only among the educated classes. There as well there are also many industries which would welcome the presence of more labourers from other provinces. I think if any of the provinces are faced with the problem of unemployment, the Members of those provinces should take up the matter with their own Provincial Governments and that this is not a matter for the Central Government, as is contemplated in the Resolution and the amendment.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA SIR RAMPAL SINGH (United Provinces, Central: Non-Muhammadian): Sir, the Resolution before the House naturally leads one to the question—"is there unemployment in the country; and if so, is it of so extensive a nature and to so appreciable an extent as to warrant serious consideration of the Government and the application of prompt remedial measures for relief?" I am not prepared,

Sir, to create any nervousness or grave anxiety in the mind of the Government or of this House by depicting in lurid colours the conditions prevailing as far as the question of unemployment is concerned. There is some unemployment, no doubt, but the conditions are not so grave and serious as the Honourable Mover would have us believe. In a vast country like India with an appallingly poverty-stricken population it is beyond expectation, it shall remain beyond expectation from any Government, may it be Swaraj or a foreign Government to provide occupation in every nook and corner of it for every individual—male or female, young or aged. But at the same time, no one for a moment can question or doubt that it is the bounden duty and unshirkable obligation, which no Government worth the name can afford to ignore, to devise measures and to provide means and facilities not only for occupations for the people but also for their material uplift and amelioration. It is a general belief—and I also share it—that the Government have done little, if at all, to raise the material condition of the country. The general population is steeped in penury and indescribable poverty; that that is its lot cannot be too highly exaggerated. It is to the natural resources of the country, it is to some social customs and practices and above all to the instinctive self-contentment of the people and low and humble standard of living to which they still adhere that the question of unemployment has not yet appeared in that acute form in which it is being faced in the countries of the West which are rolling in wealth. With all the statesmanship and talent that the European countries command, with all the wealth that they enjoy, this question has baffled the brains and intellect of those countries and it is still unsolved, and since the end of the great war, has come to the forefront in all its nakedness. Those are small countries and are wealthy enough to feed the population. If once India has to face that question in its acute form which God forbid, the whole fabric of society will be shattered and all tranquillity will be lost and things would become so unmanageable that no measures would prove efficacious in combating it. No doubt, things are drifting towards that direction and, if the Honourable Mover means to forewarn the Government, I am at one with him. It is high time that the Government should direct its attention towards this problem and should nip it in the bud before it assumes an ugly shape. Now, Sir, it is as clear as daylight and nobody can venture to deny it, that India is very poor,—the average income per head of the population is barely enough to eke out one's existence. It is incumbent on the Government to see how that income is to be augmented. It is the foremost duty of the Government to see to the economic betterment of the country. Unless there is material improvement in the country, unless the economic condition improves, it is a sin to set up better standards of living which the people have no means to attain. It is a very legitimate and worthy desire of the Government to raise the standard of living; it is praiseworthy to set up better standards of existence, but, when the people have no means to achieve that standard, when they are so poor that it is impossible for them to adopt that standard, I say, Sir, that when their abject poverty wholly precludes them from reaching even the fringe of that standard, your worthy desire, your setting up higher standards are sure to get not only frustrated but will create discontent and stimulate unemployment in the country.

Now, Sir, we have to see what classes of people are greatly suffering for want of employment. It is the educated classes. It is they whose ambitions for better living, better conditions and better material prosperity have been excited but means are wanting, openings are too few, for the

[Sir Rampal Singh.]

realisation and satisfaction of those ambitions. Our universities, colleges and schools turn out thousands and thousands of young men who have no avocations to adopt but to run from door to door to seek Government service. (*The Honourable Sir Dinshaw Wacha (Bombay: Nominated Non-Official)*: "They become Swarajists.") It is but a truism to say that Government cannot provide them with service. Remember they are the products of your own creation and they have expended thousands and thousands of rupees and their best energies to reach that stage, and, having reached that stage, they are denied the means to recoup even what they had spent on their education. It is the educational system that is the root cause of unemployment at the present time. (*The Honourable Sir Dinshaw Wacha*: "Question?") I am not to be understood as in the least advocating the closing of these colleges and schools. Nothing of the kind. What I am advocating is that the colleges and schools should send forth men who may be able to stand on their own legs and not be seekers of service either under Government or private employers. They do not get education of the proper sort which can stand them in good stead in after life and thus unemployment is on the increase.

My friend the Honourable Mover has criticised the Government on their action in dispensing with the services of certain hands for the sake of economy and retrenchment in expenditure. I do not believe my friend was quite serious in his observations.

THE HONOURABLE MR. K. V. RANGASWAMI AYYANGAR: Quite serious.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA SIR RAMPAL SINGH: No Government have a right to entertain a single hand more in service than what may be needed and I would recommend further retrenchment if possible. The Honourable Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan in his observations on the Resolution the day before yesterday invited the attention of the landlords towards the poverty of the *Kisans* in the United Provinces and East Bengal. Without meaning in any way to controvert him I may be allowed to observe that indebtedness and indifference towards the poverty of the people are now-a-days the fatality of the landlords, and the Government which professes itself to be the chief and the biggest landlord of the country are not free from that fatality.

THE HONOURABLE SIR MANECKJI DADABHOY: Sir, I move that the question be now put.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: The question is that the question be now put.

The motion was adopted.

THE HONOURABLE SIR NARASIMHA SARMA: (Member, Education, Health and Lands): Sir, I did not want to interrupt, but the charge may be made that I have not risen to reply to Mr. Natesan.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I am sure the House will greatly deplore not having heard the Honourable Member but the motion it has just passed has that effect.

THE HONOURABLE MR. K. V. RANGASWAMI AYYANGAR: Have I the right to reply?



THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Not after the closure has been carried.

The question is:

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that the problem of unemployment in India be seriously considered and satisfactory remedial measures be adopted."

to which an amendment has been made:

"That at the end of the Resolution the following words be added:

'in conjunction and consultation with the Local Governments concerned'."

The question is that that amendment be made.

The Council divided:

#### AYES—12.

Abdul Karim, Maulvi.  
Ayyangar, Mr. K. V. R.  
Karandikar, Mr. R. P.  
Khaparde, Mr. G. S.  
Muhammad Hussain, Mr. Ali Baksh.  
Natesan, Mr. G. A. A. A.

Rampal Singh, Raja Sir.  
Raza Ali, Mr.  
Sarvadhikary, Sir D. P.  
Sastri, Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa.  
Sinha, Mr. Sukhbir.  
Vedamurti, Mr. S.

#### NOES—13.

Akbar Khan, Major.  
Barron, Mr. C. A.  
Briscoe, Mr. H. K.  
Dadabhoy, Sir Maneckji.  
Harnam Singh, Raja Sir.  
MacWatt, Major-General R. C.  
McWatters, Mr. A. C.

Rafique, Sir Muhammad.  
Ray, Raja P. N.  
Sethna, Mr. P. C.  
Stow, Mr. A. M.  
Wacha, Sir Dinshaw.  
Zahir-ud-din, Mr.

The motion was negatived.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: The question is that the following Resolution be adopted:

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that the problem of unemployment in India be seriously considered and satisfactory remedial measures be adopted."

The motion was negatived.

#### RESOLUTION *RE* CHILD WELFARE MOVEMENT.

THE HONOURABLE LALA SUKHBIR SINHA (United Provinces Northern: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I beg to move that:

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that, in view of the great public utility and beneficence of the Child Welfare movement started by Her Excellency the Countess of Reading, he may be pleased to take steps to secure for it generous financial help from Imperial Funds."

Some Members might say or might think that this Resolution is not of much importance and there is no reason why financial help from Imperial Funds should be sought for; but if they will consider the question a little deeply, they will find its importance. Child welfare in this country is or has been quite neglected. We find the death rate of infants in this country is not less than about 200 per thousand of infants up to the age of one

[Lala Sukhbir Sinha.]

year. In many of our big cities the death rate goes up to "800. I will just give some figures quoted by Sir Frederick Whyte at the time of the Baby prize distribution, from which Honourable Members will come to know the high death rate among infants. But what I want to say is this—that when infant mortality in this country is so high and when child welfare is so much neglected, how can we expect strong and healthy men or women for work in this country? Our nation depends upon the welfare of our children. If we have strong, well fed, well clad, well trained and well educated children, we shall rise in all respects, as regards political, social and religious movements and developments; but if our children are weak, miserable, how can you expect to have strong minds and brains in them? To tackle this question, the first step taken was by Lady Chelmsford. She started a Child Welfare League, and the object was to take care of children. In addition to that the Countess of Reading has started a Baby Week for the welfare of babies. Those Honourable Members, who were present at the prize distribution at Delhi a few days ago by Lady Reading, might have seen with their own eyes how many ladies were there with young babies in their arms. We were all struck by the interest that was taken in the show and the number of interested gentlemen and ladies we saw at that show. In the stirring speech made on that day by Sir Frederick, he gave us the following figures. In Bengal in 1921 out of every 1,000 babies born 236 died before they were 12 months old. In Calcutta itself the position is worse for out of every 1,000 babies 330 died. Other cities are even worse than Calcutta as, for instance, Poona, where out of every 1,000 babies 876 died. In Bombay city out of every 1,000 babies 667 died. For Cawnpore the figure was 580. But, though the Calcutta figure is less than that of Bombay, it is four times more than that of London city.

From all these figures you will see the abnormal high rate of mortality among babies in India. If we take the average figures, we find that not less than 20 lakhs of infants die in this country every year, and the death rate of children is not less than 197 per thousand. In England it is only 77 and efforts are being made there to reduce even that number. Now, from all these figures and facts, no one can deny that child welfare in this country has been very much neglected; and there are many reasons for that—ignorance, poverty, insanitary environments and some social customs, have much to do with this calamitous result. First, ignorance. Very little is known at present about the upkeep of babies and children in this country. Education and demonstration are required. For that purpose, I think Lady Reading deserves our best thanks and gratitude for starting the Baby League. In the whole country Baby Week was observed, when thousands of women gathered together with their babies, prizes were distributed to such of them as were found better than the rest, and much interest generally has been created throughout the length and breadth of the country among ladies to bring up their babies in better conditions. The second point is poverty. There is no doubt that poverty is prevalent in the country. We have discussed this question in this House recently. Many of us have admitted that there is poverty in the country and this poverty has a great deal to do with the question of the death rate among babies. For instance, if the mothers are not properly fed they cannot give sufficient milk to their infants. There is a great scarcity of milk in this country. It has been admitted even by officials. The late Inspector General of Civil Hospitals admitted in one of his reports that the great

death rate among infants and children in the United Provinces is due more to want of milk than to any other cause. Then on account of poverty people cannot give sufficient clothing to their infants. They cannot keep their houses as sanitary as they ought to be, and, therefore, poverty is the root of all the evils. There is no question about that. But any how we have to tackle this question. The third point is insanitary environment all round houses in cities and towns. Now what we find from these figures is that in the villages and the countryside the death rate is not so high as it is in the big cities and towns in India. Why is that so? It is because the municipal corporations or municipal bodies take care of public streets and public places and so on but they pay no attention at all to private houses. They say that the owners of houses are responsible for the sanitation of their houses, the municipal boards and corporations have nothing to do with it. I have been chairman of a municipality for ten years and I know as a matter of fact that municipal bodies and municipal corporations do not take care of private houses and private sanitation. When people are poor, when they cannot afford to have better ventilation, better drains and better cleaning of their houses, it is the duty of municipal bodies to look after them. I have seen certain houses through which the drains of other houses pass and they could be diverted very easily to other sites. But the municipality said "No, it is a private concern. The man affected should go to the Civil Court and have the drain diverted. The municipality has nothing to do with it." . . .

**THE HONOURABLE MR. G. A. NATESAN:** I rise to a point of order, Sir. I think the Honourable Member is entirely irrelevant when he refers to working of municipalities. I think his statement is also mistaken, but I shall speak about this later.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT:** I do not quite see any point of order, except on the point of irrelevancy. I see nothing irrelevant.

**THE HONOURABLE LALA SUKHBIR SINHA:** I think it is not irrelevant because the question can be dealt with by municipalities better than by private people themselves.

Then there are certain social questions with which I do not want to deal here, for instance, early marriages and so on. These also have something to do with the high infantile mortality, but these can be dealt with later when the time comes for them. I am glad to say that the custom of early marriage is now gradually dying out and that marriages are taking place now among boys and girls at a later age.

Now, Sir, my only object in bringing forward this motion before this House is to help the Government with our suggestions and advice and co-operation. If we admit that the question is of importance, that it is a national one and that it is our duty and responsibility to look after the children and reduce child mortality and infant mortality, I think it is right to come forward and help the Government in this House and elsewhere as far as possible with advice and suggestions. I know that many of my Honourable friends here will be able to put forward their useful suggestions on this subject. Lady Reading has made a start only to see how the people take to it. When Government find that the people are ready to take it up in right earnest, then I think much better results will follow and the mortality among infants and children will fall and the country be benefited. With this view I have brought forward my Resolution before this Council.

[Lala Sukhbir Sinha.]

As regards medical relief and sanitation, I know that every Provincial Government is taking this question up and the Ministers will give attention to it and will pay money also. But what I find is that, until such movements are financed by the Government of India also and are brought to the notice of the Local Governments prominently, very little will be done. Some Provincial Governments may take it up and some may not; but, when they come to know that it is an all-India question and that the Council of State and others are in favour of it, it will have a great effect upon them. I do not say how much financial help should be given; I am simply drawing the attention of the Governor General to give financial help from Imperial funds as far as may be possible. Therefore, Sir, as all Members are well aware of the national importance of the question, I expect that they will be pleased to put forward their views on the subject with a view to help Government with their advice and I hope that the Government will be able to accept the Resolution as it stands.

THE HONOURABLE MAJOR GENERAL R. C. MACWATT (Director General, Indian Medical Service): Sir, the Resolution of the Honourable Member appears to me to have come at a most opportune time. I find that an English paper has made an attack on the movement. It uses the following words:

"The difficulties of the Indian authorities are sometimes greatly increased by indiscreet fussiness of well-meaning philanthropic busybodies. Brass band attempts at reform and baby shows of the type which amuse the West should not be tried in the East."

The paper suggests that the Baby Week movement should be dropped. I think, after the great success which the Baby Week has achieved throughout India and in Delhi, a remark of this nature from an English paper is very much uncalled for. The success of the show has surpassed all the expectations of Her Excellency the Countess of Reading to whose enthusiasm as well as that of the workers the success is due. The result is that the public is fired with enthusiasm, a fire which requires fuel to feed it in the shape of continued organised assistance and activity, which necessitates expenditure of money. The Baby Week recently held has taught the workers and the public in general much that will be of value to them in their future efforts. I expressed the hope that the Baby Week would be an annual festival to serve as mile-stones on the forward march of progress. Aristotle has well remarked that the fate of Empires depends on the education of the youth; but we must go further back, to the origin of the youth of the Empire, namely, the parents and infants; because the fortune of Empires should be entrusted to a strong and vigorous youth who are fit and capable of receiving and assimilating education. It is the right of every infant that the best possible should be done for it physically and mentally by the parents and by those interested in social reform and by the State. It behoves every one to lend his aid in any way he can in dispelling the clouds of ignorance, superstition and poverty and to make life as bright and worth living as it can be made for one and all and well equipped for the battle of existence, even though the battle may not always be to the strong. Baby Week and baby welfare are a missionary enterprise with great potentialities for good; and all India—both Europeans and Indians—owe Her Excellency the Countess of Reading a deep debt of gratitude for the impetus she

has given to the movement. The torch has been lighted and we should see to it that it is kept burning brightly to illumine the pathway of the babies of India. For all India, two sums of Rs. 10,000 each, or a total of Rs. 20,000, one from the Red Cross Fund and one from the Lady Chelmsford League, were guaranteed. Every Province and State arranged its own Baby Week. But the Central Office was inundated with applications for advice and assistance from the various local centres. These appeals were in some small way an indication of the enthusiasm with which the scheme had been received. But the clerical staff of the Lady Chelmsford League and of the Red Cross at headquarters, who undertook *gratis* the duties of organizing and guiding, were grossly overworked, and the office work, which, it is anticipated will increase, cannot be carried out in future by these agencies. A permanent Secretary and a permanent clerical staff will become an urgent necessity. I would like to mention in passing that this Baby Week, it seemed to me, was a great binding influence, because all classes co-operators, non-co-operators, Swarajists or whatever each body calls itself, co-operated whole-heartedly in making the Baby Week a success. For the activities of the Central Office we shall require an annual income of say, Rs. 50,000 for running the framework, providing propaganda, pamphlets, exhibits, posters, pictures, books, magic lanterns, etc.—comparatively a very small figure. I should like to give a few figures which I trust will not weary the patience of the House. According to the Annual Report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Ministry of Health for England for 1922, for the quinquennium 1916—1922 the death rate for Infants under one year of age was 90 per 1,000. In England there was no fall in infant mortality of about 150 per 1,000 between 1841 and 1900. Since the latter date the fall has been large, progressive and continuous, until in 1922 it was reduced to 77 per 1,000. Comparison with the death rate of infants in India from 190 per thousand in some localities to 600 and over in others gives one furiously to think. The commencement of the decline in Infant mortality in England synchronises fairly well with the improvements in the general education of the people. In India education is making strides, but progress in hygiene, social and material, and child welfare should advance *pari passu*. In England a large proportion of the fall in infant mortality in the past five years has been due to the various activities of the Maternity and Child Welfare Scheme. At present in England the number of Infant Welfare Centres is 1,946, of which 465 are under County Councils, 783 are under local sanitary authorities and 698 are voluntary. We have much leeway to make up in India, and it remains to be considered from what source the money should be got. We have estimated a sum of Rs. 50,000, but this is merely approximate and the amount required might be less or even a little more.

THE HONOURABLE MAJOR NAWAB MOHAMED AKBAR KHAN (North-West Frontier Province : Nominated Non-Official) : Sir, I fail to understand the object of the Honourable Mover of this Resolution when he asks for financial help from the Imperial Government, knowing as he does, the amount of poverty and distress prevailing in the country. May I ask, Sir, if the request of the Honourable Mover is complied with, will it not mean additional taxation on the country? It is well known to the House that all the babies have parents, and cannot these parents look after the nourishment of their own babies? Sir, only just a few minutes ago we were discussing the question of adopting remedial measures for unemployment, and now my Honourable friend from the United Provinces brings forward a Resolution asking for

[Major Nawab Mohamed Akbar Khan.]

financial help for babies of his province. I ask the Honourable Mover to say whether the country has got enough resources to meet his requirements. I for one do not think that the present financial condition of the country would admit of such a proposition being considered. If the babies of his province are not looked after . . . .

THE HONOURABLE LALA SUKHBIR SINHA: No, no, I am not talking of babies of my own province, but the babies are neglected in all the provinces.

THE HONOURABLE MAJOR NAWAB MOHAMED AKBAR KHAN: I admit that. But if the babies in his province are not properly looked after, why should people of the North, especially of the Punjab and the North West Frontier, where the parents are well able to take care of their own children, be made to pay for the neglect of the parents of other provinces . . .

THE HONOURABLE LALA SUKHBIR SINHA: Why should you pay?

THE HONOURABLE MAJOR NAWAB MOHAMED AKBAR KHAN: It seems to me, Sir, that the question is absolutely a provincial one, because I do not think that Members from the other provinces have ever complained on this score. I would advise my Honourable friend to approach the big landowners, taluqdars and the commercial people of his province and appeal to them, and I do not think they will not respond to him in his philanthropic object.

THE HONOURABLE LALA SUKHBIR SINHA: Is not Government also a landlord?

THE HONOURABLE MAJOR NAWAB MOHAMED AKBAR KHAN: Yes, but in this case it seems to be purely a provincial question, because we in the Punjab and in the North-West Frontier Province can look after our own children but the United Provinces perhaps are unable to do so. Well, if the parents of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh are unable to look after babies, I would advise the Honourable Member to cut his coat according to the cloth, and the Honourable Mover of the Resolution should not expect the other provinces to pay for the nourishment of the babies of his province. I would not mind if the Government extends help to the Honourable Member in this matter, but it should not entail any fresh taxation on the other provinces, because my province is a very poor province and we are already heavily taxed, and I do not think that the people of my province would be willing to be again taxed to satisfy the whims of the Honourable Member from the United Provinces in this matter. I would repeat again that I have no objection to financial help being extended by the Government of India provided it does not throw any additional taxation on the other provinces. I beg to submit to this House that the idea of fresh taxation will not appeal in any way to my province. And when I express these views, I have my finger on the pulse of the population of the North-West Frontier Province.

With these remarks, Sir, I am sorry to say that I cannot support the Resolution brought in by my Honourable friend the Member for the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I see there are several Honourable Members prepared to speak. Is the Honourable Member prepared to take the rest of the debate to-morrow?

THE HONOURABLE SIR NARASIMHA SARMA: I have no objection.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Has the Honourable the Mover any objection?

THE HONOURABLE LALA SUKHBIR SINHA: If the matter could be settled to-day I should be thankful, as I have to go back to Muzaffarnagar.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. A. NATESAN (Madras: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, no useful purpose will be served by prolonging the discussion. I do not think there is any difference of opinion regarding the merits of the case that the Honourable Lala Sukhbir Sinha has made. But I understood from his proposition, if I did not misunderstand the terms of it, that his object is to secure generous financial help for the Child Welfare movement. I understand from that that the Imperial Government is requested to make a grant, more or less as a mark of appreciation of this movement and as expressing its conviction that it is a national concern. But I was somewhat surprised to hear the remarks of my Honourable friend opposite (Major General MacWatt) that his object in supporting the Resolution was more or less to make a demand for a sum of Rs. 50,000 for keeping the establishment going for the movement which has been started under the auspices of the Countess of Reading. This proposal does not commend itself to me. It seems to me a sum of Rs. 50,000 for more or less organising and carrying on the work of a central organisation like this is very small when one remembers the movement is one started by Countess of Reading, and there are people, not only in the Province of Delhi, but in other Provinces near to it, who could very well manage to give some regular contributions for keeping this organisation going. And I do hope it is the intention of the Honourable Mover to induce the Government to give some contribution to this Child Welfare movement to make the other Provinces understand that the Central Government views this more or less as a question of national importance. Having said this much, I must take exception to the remarks of the Honourable Lala Sukhbir Sinha when he launched on a diatribe against the administration of municipal corporations. He seems to have been very unhappy in his career as chairman of his municipality. I may say I have been for years connected with the Corporation of the City of Madras and I have very pleasant recollections of it. Let me tell him and the House, in the first instance, that it is some years since we have organised, and organised very successfully indeed, a Child Welfare movement. We have at the head of the movement a distinguished lady doctor; we have superintendents, nurses and midwives, and we are from day to day, consistently with our finances, trying to improve and extend child welfare centres, and it is because we have not enough funds to carry on that work on an improved scale as we would like, that we feel we are handicapped. If, for instance a proposition like this is carried, I take it the Imperial Government will generously and equitably distribute a share to all Provinces that claim it, and that the Corporation of Madras, at least through its Government, will be given a good share because we are not going to experiment on this; we have successfully worked it. We have started an organisation and worked it successfully, and our claim for financial help I think stands on a better footing than others. I would also remind the Honourable Lala Sukhbir Sinha that he is not just to municipal corporations, which are, after all, managed by our own people, when he says they are not interested in sanitation. (*The Honourable Lala Sukhbir Sinha:*

[Mr. G. A. Natesan.]

"Private Houses") I think every well organised municipality is expected to supply good lighting, good sanitation and good water supply. If the Honourable Member has in view a large number of small houses in one big compound owned by landlords who accept municipal resources for improving the sanitation and water supply of those particular places, I can only say the municipality is perfectly justified. This is a problem with which we are constantly confronted. There are landlords who are owners of several small houses within one boundary wall. That is to say, 100 small houses in one compound or one place. They will not look to the sanitation of the place, and in some cases they have actually refused to extend water supply or even to build latrines for sanitary purposes. My own municipality compelled some of these householders or landlords to undertake all these elementary requirements. If my Honourable friend refers to things like that, I can only say that his sympathy is given to a class which do not deserve it.

With regard to the Child Welfare movement I have only to remind him again that, so far as the corporations are concerned, whatever may be true of other corporations, so far as the Madras Corporation is concerned, it has started and is to-day working a very good Child Welfare movement. I have in my capacity as a municipal councillor paid surprise visits to these centres and found they were doing really efficient work. With these remarks I give my support to the Resolution, but I do hope he does not think unkindly of municipal corporations.

(At this stage the Chair was taken by the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri.)

THE HONOURABLE SIR NARASIMHA SARMA (Member, Education, Health and Lands): May I put the suggestion that, if the Honourable Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary moves his amendment, I could reply to both propositions instead of making two speeches?

THE HONOURABLE DR. SIR DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY (West Bengal: Non-Muhammadan): I thought, Sir, the provincial bogey, which has an uncanny method of stalking out in season and out of season with regard to anything with an ultra-central aspect that is brought up here, would have appeared this afternoon in the usual shape and in not the particular North-West Frontier shape to which we have been treated. My gallant friend opposite (the Honourable Major Nawab Mohamed Akbar Khan), who has unfortunately left, described his Province to be poor. I do not think it can be at all poor if all the babies there can be adequately taken care of. My Honourable friend General MacWatt quoted Aristotle and the Honourable Major's remarks came apposite after that. This Spartan treatment which the North-West Frontier Province keep in store for their babies certainly has admirable results, as illustrated by the individual who has objected to "other peoples' babies" being thought of because their own are well looked after.

The object of the amendment which I formally move, namely, to add at the end of the Resolution the following words:—

"with a view of securing better milk supply and other necessities for babies,"

is to support the principles of the proposition now before the House and to widen its scope in the way that it requires widening, and restrict its scope with regard to certain other aspects. I do not know whether my



Honourable friend representing the Finance Department, a week before the Budget takes its final shape, will be able to recast it so much as to give more than a blessing, if he is inclined to give it for the purpose that this Resolution has in view; I do not know whether it will be fair or right to take Major-General MacWatt's benediction as the Government pronouncement on the subject, and we shall anxiously await what the watchdog of the Finance Department has to say in the matter.

Sir, it is impossible to deny that the movement, inaugurated by Lady Chelmsford and very energetically taken up and continued by Her Excellency Lady Reading, which has covered the whole of the country, has done exceeding good work, and I think it is up to us to recognise that good work by giving it what support and help we can. The movement has spread in all the provinces. The wives of all Provincial Governors—I know particularly of the work of Lady Lytton in Bengal—have been intensely interested and they have whole-heartedly identified themselves with this good work. District exhibitions, sub-divisional exhibitions, demonstrations in the smaller townships, even in villages, have been held in Bengal; and it was only yesterday or the day before that Lady Lytton opened one of the maternity hospitals in Calcutta which I think my friend the Honourable Mr. Natesan might like to go and see on his way back to Madras in order to be able to be acquainted with it before he speaks of the good work that Madras is doing in this direction. I do not envy Madras—I never did so. I am very glad to hear that Madras is doing good work, but other provinces are also doing good work, though possibly not to the Madras extent.

THE HONOURABLE MAJOR NAWAB MAHOMED AKBAR KHAN: No, not all provinces.

THE HONOURABLE DR. SIR DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY: Just so. Perhaps there is more scope for some work in the gallant Major's province in spite of the happy and flourishing babies that my Honourable friend has so effectively trotted out this afternoon. But I think we must tackle the question in its very foundations. To have Baby Weeks, exhibitions and prizes for patent milk and feeders and paraphernalia of that kind, is all very well in Imperial cities or Provincial Capitals or even in district towns. Mothers come and enjoy the show and are very interested, as my Honourable friend the Mover has said. But Indian mothers hardly need to be roused to take an interest in their babies. There, Sir, I think he has misjudged his own countrywomen, and I am surprised to hear a good Hindu like him saying that very little is known about baby welfare in India. I certainly claim, on behalf of Hindu India, that he is wrong. I believe I am also right in claiming that on behalf of Muhammadan India.

THE HONOURABLE SAIYID RAZA ALI: But not on scientific lines.

THE HONOURABLE LALA SUKHBIR SINHA: Not in present-day India.

THE HONOURABLE DR. SIR DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY: Present day India which is neither fish, flesh, fowl nor good red-herring may have defects from many points of view! Let it be corrected. But the Indian mother knows her duty if not her work. My Honourable friend has suggested that this should be an annual festival. The Honourable Lala Sukhbir Sinha knows or ought to know that the worship of the goddess *Shasti* is an annual festival in all Bengali homes. Care of the baby and the mother and all that appertains to motherhood is the most anxious concern of the household—not merely after the birth of the baby but long

[Dr. Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary.]

before. Want of resources or want of organisation is the real trouble. We have fallen on evil times and evil tongues and have to put up with a great deal. But what about the root causes of this high infant mortality? We have shows and shamianas and banners and leaflets and other propaganda work. I do not say it has not its proper place. On the other hand I think it can do good work and has been doing good work, and I do not grudge the expenses involved by that propaganda work, because there are certain classes of people that can be appealed to by *media* like that and that alone. But when the mother goes to the show and enjoys the exhibition and comes back to her poverty-stricken home, where there is no milk nor linen nor food and she and her children have neither shelter nor warmth, how is that exhibition or that propaganda work going to help her? That is why you have got to dig down to the root of the subject and see that baby necessities are also provided. Unless that is done, the work that has been so auspiciously begun will be half done, badly done and worse than badly done. That is why, Sir, I suggest that we should indicate the directions in which the movement for baby welfare should expand from more to more and we ask that sufficient provision may be made, so that better milk supply and supply of other baby necessities may be ensured. That is a large order, I shall probably be told by the Honourable Sir Narasimha Sarma. It is to some extent—in fact to a large extent—a provincial question in many of its aspects. But what we are wanting here is to ask the general benediction and blessing of Government to this movement which will co-ordinate it all over the country. We want to have an indication as the Honourable Mr. Natesan has pointed out, that the Government of India is in entire sympathy with the movement and will do all it can to help the Provincial Governments in ensuring what I aim at, and that is much more than propaganda and exhibition work, namely, better supply of milk and other necessities of life for baby preservation. I do not want to take up any more time of the House, Sir, at this hour of the day, but I trust that if Government sees its way to making any contribution towards the object we have in view, the contribution will have been well and worthily made.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SRINIVASA SASTRI: To the Resolution under discussion it has been moved by way of amendment that the following words be added:

"with a view of securing better milk supply and other necessities for babies."

That Resolution and that amendment are under discussion.

THE HONOURABLE SIR NARASIMHA SARMA (Member for Education, Health and Lands): Sir, the Honourable Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary asked the Government of India to give a general blessing and I do not think it is possible for the Government to give a general blessing in more eloquent terms than has been given by the Honourable Major General MacWatt. Speaking on behalf of the Department over which I have the honour to preside, the Government are very grateful to Her Excellency Lady Reading for giving the country a lead in this matter. They have realised and do realise the very great importance that the country in general, and the Government in particular, ought to attach to a movement of this description directed to prevent infant mortality, to prevent distress of any description whatsoever and to safeguard the proper development of the future manhood and womanhood of India. They realise the importance of the milk supply to which the Honourable Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary alluded. Efforts

are being made by them, in so far as such efforts are within their province, to help the Local Governments in increasing the milk supply, especially in towns. I am glad that public attention is being drawn to the subject and to the figures which are a serious blot on municipal administration. I feel that, if public attention is drawn to the great infantile mortality which prevails in our large populous and rich cities, great good will be done. The Government are directing research into the problem of an increased milk yield which will receive their best attention; they have taken over from the military administration dairy farms and they are developing their agricultural courses in order to give training to young students in dairy farming, and they are doing all that they can in the direction of improving the milk yield and increasing the pasturage and fodder supply which are needed for a proper solution of this problem. We hope that the public also will take a more real and genuine interest in the subject, form companies and seek the help of Government if land has to be acquired and push on ahead to a solution of this problem, which is such a sore problem, especially in cities. I am glad that the City of Bombay is taking up the solution of this question. I went to Calcutta more than once and sent my expert to see if anything can be done; but so far no efforts seem to have been put forward by the people to take up this question in real earnest. I hope greater success will attend the departments' efforts in future.

While saying so much for the general attitude of Government, you will naturally say "Well, the Government are always ready with their sympathy and with their general blessing; but we want hard cash." I wish it were possible for me as spokesman of the Government to comply with the wishes of the Honourable Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary and the Honourable Lala Sukhbir Sinha. But I regret that the functions which have been assigned under the reforms to the Central Government preclude them from extending any support, generous or otherwise, in this direction. Public health administration and medical administration have been included under the head of Provincial subjects. I have scanned the list once again to see if by any stretch of meaning I could bring this subject under the head of Central subjects. Our Devolution Rules preclude us from utilising any Central funds whatsoever for the purposes which have been described as Provincial subjects, and therefore the Government deeply regret that, however much they may wish to help Local Governments in this direction, they are unable to do so. But I hope that this chilling cold reply on behalf of Government would only induce Honourable Members, both here and elsewhere, and the general public, to increase their efforts for the purpose of meeting the expense of the central organisation to which my Honourable friend, the Director General, has drawn public attention to-day in his speech, and also to assist the Local Governments and to redouble their efforts, especially in the urban areas. I am glad that my Honourable friend, Major Nawab Akbar Khan, has come to the rescue of the Government in taking a correct view of the financial position of the Central Government and, on further consideration, I am sure that all Honourable Members will sympathise with the Government in their inability to utilise Central funds even if such could be forthcoming. Unfortunately, as Honourable Members know, our finances are in such a position that we are at present unable to devote any funds, even assuming that the rules permit us to do so.

I have only one further point to make. The Honourable Nawab should not be over confident in regard to his province; although his province is

[Sir Narasimha Sarma.]

decidedly better than many other provinces, still it records an infant mortality rate of 195 per thousand, and therefore efforts have to be put forward in the North-West Frontier Province as well as elsewhere for the purpose of remedying this evil, and I am sure the stout hearts and the ready organising capacity of the frontier people would be equal to the situation. I do not think, Sir, there is any justification for my keeping you from your lunch any more.

THE HONOURABLE LALA SUKHBIR SINHA: Sir, in the first place I agree to the amendment proposed by my Honourable friend, Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary. I want to say a word about what has been said by my Honourable and gallant friend, Nawab Akbar Khan. He says that a little contribution from the Central Government would result in fresh taxation. I do not know how far he is correct. The income of the Government of India is not less than 180 crores, and out of that, if a few thousand rupees are spent on this subject, would it mean fresh taxation? I put this question to him. That this little demand for expenditure on a national object will mean fresh taxation is rather a surprise to me. That would mean that no suggestions should be made to the Government, Central or Provincial, for expenditure on a new object, for fear of new taxation. We have got plenty of income. What is required is proper distribution of the resources. We do not want fresh taxation, we do not want fresh money for these small things. The Honourable Nawab says that the mortality of babies is greater in the United Provinces than in his own province and therefore I put forward this proposition. That is not the case. The Honourable Sir Narasimha Sarma has pointed out that in his province also the mortality is not less than 195 per thousand. That is four times more than that of England.

I am very glad to know from my friend, Mr. Natesan, that the Madras Corporation is doing good work and I appreciate his work and that of his Corporation, and I wish the other corporations and municipal bodies follow the example set by them. But it does not follow that, if his corporation is doing good work, others are also doing the same. My object was to point out that those who are not doing good work must do that work. Dr. Sarvadhikary referred to poverty. I quite agree with him that poverty is the root of all evils. If people are better fed and better clothed, everything can be set right. But on account of poverty the people are not getting sufficient food; they cannot feed their infants and children properly; there is a great lack of milk for want of cattle and so on; and therefore poverty has a great deal to do with this calamity; and I quite agree with him when he says that the Western system of the upkeep of children and babies should not be introduced into this country wholesale. Of course, I say that scientific methods should be adopted, but simpler and cheaper methods should be adopted so that people may bear the expenses. If expensive methods are adopted, people will not be able to go in for them, and therefore I do agree with my Honourable friend, Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary, that scientific methods should be adopted that are cheap and simple.

There is one more point, Sir. When the Honourable Major Nawab Akbar Khan's province is working at a loss, why should the Government of India pay for that loss? If this principle is to be accepted that every province should contribute for itself, and his province is sufficiently rich enough why should he ask the Government of India to relieve his province?

With these few remarks, Sir, I ask the House to accept the Resolution as amended by the Honourable Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary.

**THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SRINIVASA SASTRI:** The Resolution before the House is :

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that, in view of the great public utility and beneficence of the Child Welfare movement started by Her Excellency the Countess of Reading, he may be pleased to take steps to secure for it generous financial help from Imperial funds."

Since which an amendment has been moved in these terms :

"That at the end of the Resolution the following words be added, namely, 'with a view of securing better milk supply and other necessities for babies'."

The question is that those words be added.

The motion was adopted.

I will now put the Resolution as amended which will run as follows :

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that, in view of the great public utility and beneficence of the Child Welfare movement started by Her Excellency the Countess of Reading, he may be pleased to take steps to secure for it generous financial help from Imperial funds *with a view of securing better milk supply and other necessities for babies.*"

The Council divided :

#### AYES—8.

Abdul Karim, Maulvi.  
Ayyangar, Mr. K. V. R.  
Kstrandikar, Mr. R. P.  
Natesan, Mr. G. A. A. A.

Ray, Raja P. N.  
Sarvadhikary, Sir D. P.  
Sinha, Lala Sukhbir.  
Vedamurti, Mr. S.

#### NOES—12.

Akbar Khan, Major Nawab.  
Briscoe, Mr. H. K.  
MacWatt, Major-General R. C.  
McWatters, Mr. A. C.  
Misra, Pandit Shyam Bihari.  
Rafique, Sir Muhammad.

Sarma, Sir Narasimha.  
Sethna, Mr. P. C.  
Shafi, Dr. Mian Sir Muhammad.  
Shepherd, Mr. W. C.  
Singh, Sirdar Charanjit.  
Stow, Mr. A. M.

The motion was negatived.

The Council adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, the 21st February, 1924.