

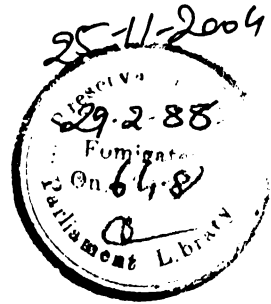
Wednesday, 19th March, 1924

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



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	PAGES.
WEDNESDAY, 12TH MARCH 1924—	
Questions and Answers	529—530
Message from the Legislative Assembly	530
Indian Tolls Bill	530—535
Resolution <i>re</i> establishment of pioneer sugar factories and the pro- motion of sugar-cane cultivation (Adopted as amended) ...	535—557
Resolution <i>re</i> deletion from the Statute-book of the ratio of two shillings to the rupee. (Not moved)	557
Resolution <i>re</i> transferred subjects in the provinces (Not moved) ...	557
THURSDAY, 13TH MARCH 1924—	
Session of the Legislature at Simla in May	559—562
Sea Customs (Amendment) Bill. (Passed)	562—564
Indian Tariff (Amendment) Bill (Passed)	564—565
Statement of Official Business for Tuesday the 18th March ...	566
TUESDAY, 18TH MARCH 1924—	
Member sworn	567
Questions and Answers	567—576
Questions and Answers <i>re</i> Rules under Section 67 of the Government of India Act	571—576
Bills assented to by His Excellency the Viceroy	576
Resolution <i>re</i> draft convention of the International Labour Conference concerning the use of white lead in painting (Adopted) ...	576—582
Indian Finance Bill	576, 582—583
WEDNESDAY, 19TH MARCH 1924—	
Questions and Answers	585—591
Message from His Excellency the Governor General	591—592
Indian Finance Bill laid on the table	592—593
Resolution <i>re</i> restrictions and disabilities on Indians in South Africa (Adjourned till 20th March)	593—613
Message from the Legislative Assembly	613—614
THURSDAY, 20TH MARCH 1924—	
Bill laid on the table	615
Resolution <i>re</i> restrictions and disabilities on Indians in South Africa. (Adopted)	615—635
MONDAY, 24TH MARCH 1924—	
Member sworn	637
Questions and Answers	637—648
Bills assented to by His Excellency the Viceroy	648
Indian Finance Bill	648—716
TUESDAY, 25TH MARCH 1924—	
Indian Finance Bill (continued)—(Passed)	717—732
Indian Income-tax (Amendment) Bill (Passed)	732—736
Amendment of Standing Orders	736—737
Valedictory remarks of the Honourable the President	737—739
Adjournment of Council to 27th May 1924	739

COUNCIL OF STATE.

Wednesday, the 19th March, 1924.

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

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

GRIEVANCES OF THIRD CLASS PASSENGERS.

151. THE HONOURABLE RAJA MOTI CHAND: Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the Report of the Indian Passengers and Traffic Relief Association, with headquarters at Bombay, wherein a list of grievances of third class passengers is given?

THE HONOURABLE MR. D. T. CHADWICK: The reply is in the affirmative.

USE OF CATTLE TRUCKS FOR PASSENGERS AND PILGRIMS.

152. THE HONOURABLE RAJA MOTI CHAND: (a) Is it a fact that cattle trucks are used for passengers and pilgrims?

(b) If so, what steps, if any, do the Government propose to take to prevent such use of cattle trucks?

THE HONOURABLE MR. D. T. CHADWICK: (a) Goods vehicles are not ordinarily utilised for the conveyance of passengers, but on the occasions of big *melas* railways sometimes find it necessary to supplement their coaching stock with goods vehicles.

(b) Early in 1922, instructions were issued to Railway Administrations that steps should be taken as far as practicable to put a stop to the practice of conveying passengers in goods vehicles.

OVERCROWDING OF RAILWAY CARRIAGES.

153. THE HONOURABLE RAJA MOTI CHAND: Is it a fact that Railways allow over-crowding to the extent of double and treble of the carrying capacity of carriages?

THE HONOURABLE MR. D. T. CHADWICK: The Honourable Member is referred to the answer given to *Question No. 145 asked by him in this Council on the 27th March 1922. Between 1921 and the 31st March 1923 an addition of nearly five million train miles was made to the passenger and mixed train mileage, and Government are not aware that overcrowding takes place to the extent suggested.

*Vide p. 1260 of Council of State Debates, Vol. II.

USE OF ALARM CHAINS IN RAILWAY CARRIAGES.

154. THE HONOURABLE RAJA MOTI CHAND: Do the Railways disallow under a penalty the use of alarm chains in case of intolerable overcrowding or when companion passengers are left behind?

THE HONOURABLE MR. D. T. CHADWICK: The Railway Act provides for the levy of a fine in the case of any passenger who without reasonable or sufficient cause makes use of the means provided by a railway administration for communication between passengers and the railway servants in charge of a train.

DIRTY THIRD CLASS RAILWAY CARRIAGES.

155. THE HONOURABLE RAJA MOTI CHAND: Is it a fact that third class carriages and their attached water-closets are not as regularly and as carefully cleaned as carriages of other classes?

THE HONOURABLE MR. D. T. CHADWICK: The reply is in the negative.

INADEQUATE WATER SUPPLY AT RAILWAY STATIONS.

156. THE HONOURABLE RAJA MOTI CHAND: Is it a fact that arrangements for water supply at most stations are still inadequate and at some stations none at all?

THE HONOURABLE MR. D. T. CHADWICK: The necessity for the provision of an ample supply of drinking water for passengers is fully realised by railways and Government are not aware that the arrangements are inadequate.

WAITING ACCOMMODATION FOR THIRD CLASS PASSENGERS.

157. THE HONOURABLE RAJA MOTI CHAND: Is it a fact that sheds and waiting rooms for third class passengers at most stations are insufficient so that passengers are generally exposed to sun and rain? If so, do the Government propose to take any steps to provide more sheds and waiting rooms?

THE HONOURABLE MR. D. T. CHADWICK: The provision of adequate waiting accommodation for third class passengers is a matter which is receiving close attention from Government and the Railway Administrations and where additional accommodation is required it is being provided as rapidly as funds permit.

BEGGARS ON RAILWAY PLATFORMS.

158. THE HONOURABLE RAJA MOTI CHAND: Is it a fact that at many stations beggars are suffered to infest the platforms?

THE HONOURABLE MR. D. T. CHADWICK: Government have no information. If the Honourable Member is aware of any specific cases I would suggest that he should bring them to the notice of the Administration of the railway or railways concerned.

"SECRET DOINGS ON INDIAN RAILWAYS".

159. THE HONOURABLE RAJA MOTI CHAND: Has the attention of the Government been drawn to a reprint of "Secret Doings on Indian

Railways", published at 7, Drummond Road, Agra, and printed by the Wilkins Press, 20, St. James's Lane, Calcutta?

THE HONOURABLE MR. D. T. CHADWICK: The reply is in the affirmative.

"COPYRIGHT LIBRARY" IN INDIA.

160. THE HONOURABLE RAJA MOTI CHAND: Has the attention of the Government been drawn to a note headed "A Barefaced Robbery," appearing in the *Modern Review* for January, 1923? Is it a fact that there is no "copyright library" in India?

THE HONOURABLE SIR NARASIMHA SARMA: The attention of the Government has been drawn to the article in question. There is no "Copyright Library" in India.

EXPENDITURE ON THE GOVERNMENT PRINTING DEPARTMENT.

161. THE HONOURABLE RAJA MOTI CHAND: (a) Has the attention of the Government been drawn to an observation of Mr. F. D. Ascoli, I.C.S., who was placed on special duty for the purpose of inquiring into the expenditure of the Government Printing Department that "the whole of the printing system is uncontrolled and wasteful"?

(b) Do the Government agree with this observation of Mr. Ascoli?

(c) If so, what steps, if any, have they taken or do they propose to take to ensure economy?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. H. LEY: (a) Yes.

(b) Government agree that the old system had become in many respects wasteful; but it was difficult to effect any far-reaching changes during the war or immediately afterwards. Steps were taken as soon as practicable to overhaul the system.

(c) The principal steps already taken or in progress include—

- (i) the reorganisation of the Simla, Delhi and Calcutta presses;
- (ii) the establishment of a Printing Clearing Office at the headquarters of the Government to regulate the flow of work, and to prevent unnecessary printing;
- (iii) the revision of the printing rules involving a reduction in the number of offices permitted to indent on the press, and close control over printing by Central Officers at Local Government presses;
- (iv) the abolition of the Foreign and Political Department press and the Rajputana press, and the amalgamation of the Mysore Residency press and the Coorg press;
- (v) the standardisation of forms;
- (vi) the establishment of a Forms Store to control the distribution of forms, and
- (vii) the installation of efficient modern machinery in the presses.

GOVERNMENT PRINTING.

162. THE HONOURABLE RAJA MOTI CHAND: Will the Government be pleased to state their policy for maintaining State printing works in preference to giving out their work to private printers?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. H. LEY: It would be difficult to state the grounds on which the policy of Government is based in this matter within the limits of a reply to a question. But the Honourable Member will find the policy of Government and the reasons therefor outlined in paragraph 5 on page 255 of the Report of the Indian Retrenchment Committee.

INDIANS IN THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.

163. THE HONOURABLE RAJA MOTI CHAND: (a) Are the Government aware of the observation of the Inchcape Committee that "considerable difficulty has been experienced in obtaining suitable Indian candidates for vacancies in the Geological Survey of India"?

(b) Will the Government be pleased to state the circumstances under which Indian recruits for the Department are not available?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. H. LEY: (a) Yes.

(b) Indian candidates do not in most cases possess the essential technical qualifications and practical training owing to the absence of a high class institution for teaching geology, a want which the Government of India are trying their best to supply.

PRODUCTION OF QUININE IN INDIA.

164. THE HONOURABLE RAJA MOTI CHAND: (a) Has it been the intention of the Government to supply not merely India but the whole Empire with quinine?

(b) Will the Government be pleased to state how they have stood financially during the last three years in respect of such transaction in quinine?

(c) For the purposes of such supply of quinine, do the Government produce all the quinine or do they also purchase quinine under contracts with foreign producers?

(d) For Government purposes in India alone, what quantity of quinine is required per annum? What proportion of this quantity is produced by Government and how much of it is obtained from private importation?

THE HONOURABLE SIR NARASIMHA SARMA: (a) The original intention was that India should be in a position to supply not merely her own requirements but the greater part of the needs of the rest of the Empire as well. This policy has since been modified under the pressure of financial stringency. It is now the intention not to aim at a greater production than is necessary for Indian purposes.

(b) The plantations in Madras and Bengal belong to the Local Governments, and the profit and loss on them are accounted for in the provincial accounts. The Imperial plantations in Burma were started in 1922 and the

products of these plantations will not be available before 1930. The following figures show the financial result of the sale of quinine purchased from Java since 1919-20:

Year.	Quantity sold.	Cost to Government.	Sale proceeds.	Profit.	REMARKS.
	Lbs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
1919-20	} 29,750	5,95,000	10,07,300*	4,12,300	*Recovered in 1921-22.
1920-21					
1921-22	No sales.
1922-23	8,216	1,64,320	2,80,565	1,16,245	

(c) The quinine produced in India has not been sufficient hitherto, and has been supplemented by purchases from foreign produces in Java. Government are extending their plantations so as to make India in due course self-supporting.

(d) During the four years ending 1922-23 the annual consumption of quinine for Government purposes averaged 68,000 lbs. of which it is calculated that about 45,000 lbs. was produced from bark grown in India. The balance has been met from quinine manufactured from imported bark by the Government Cinchona Departments in Bengal and Madras and from already manufactured quinine imported from Java. The importation of manufactured quinine has ceased from the end of 1923 with the termination of the contract under which it was purchased.

PROGRESSIVE REDUCTION OF THE CADRE OF MILITARY OFFICERS IN THE SURVEY OF INDIA.

165. THE HONOURABLE RAJA MOTI CHAND: Have the Government taken into consideration the recommendation of the Inchcape Committee that the cadre of military officers in the Survey of India be progressively reduced and vacancies filled by less expensive civil agency? If so, with what result?

THE HONOURABLE SIR NARASIMHA SARMA: The Government of India have the matter under consideration but no final decision is likely to be reached until the report of the Royal Commission on the superior services in India has been considered.

ABOLITION OF THE BOARD OF SCIENTIFIC ADVICE AND HYDRO-ELECTRIC SURVEYS.

166. THE HONOURABLE RAJA MOTI CHAND: Will the Government be pleased to state if they have abolished the Board of Scientific Advice and Hydro-electric surveys, as they informed the Inchcape Committee that they would do so?

THE HONOURABLE SIR NARASIMHA SARMA: It has been decided to hold in abeyance the Board of Scientific Advice with effect from the next financial year. No provision has accordingly been made in the Budget estimates for 1924-25.

The Hydro-electric Surveys were closed down, in so far as the Central Government was concerned, with effect from the 1st August 1922.

SCHOOL OF MINING AND GEOLOGY AT DHANBAD.

167. THE HONOURABLE RAJA MOTI CHAND: Will the Government be pleased to state if they have before them any scheme of a school of Mines and Geology for training qualified mining engineers and managers? If so, how far has the scheme matured and how soon may such an institution be expected to come into existence?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. H. LEY: The Government of India announced their decision in September 1920 to establish a School of Mining and Geology at Dhanbad as a Central institution. Since that time detailed proposals regarding the buildings, equipment, staff, curriculum, etc., of the school have been drawn up; plans and estimates of the buildings have been prepared and administratively approved by the Government of India. A beginning was made last year with the collection of bricks for the building, but further progress on the work had to be postponed on account of the financial position. A provision of Rs. 2,50,000 for the building of the school has been included in the Budget for 1924-25.

THE HONOURABLE DR. SIR DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY: Is it not a fact, Sir, that bricks of another kind in the shape of Professors have also been provided and are not being used as they ought to be?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. H. LEY: I do not think so. I have no information to that effect.

THE HONOURABLE DR. SIR DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY: Has not any member of the staff been appointed in advance?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. H. LEY: No. As far as I recollect, all that happened was that the Principal of the school was appointed. He was borrowed for the time being from the mining establishment—I think I am right in saying that—to draw up the curriculum of the school,—Mr. Penman, who was for a short time Principal of the School of Mines and Geology. If I recollect rightly, he was also at the same time Inspector of Mines, and he is now an Inspector of Mines.

LOSS OF RENT FOR QUARTERS OCCUPIED BY MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN LEGISLATURE.

168. THE HONOURABLE MR. PHIROZE C. SETHNA: (a) Is it a fact that Members of the Legislature, who at their request were provided with accommodation at Delhi, at Raisina or at Simla, have in some cases failed to pay in whole or in part the rents of premises so reserved?

(b) If the reply to (a) is in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to give particulars of the loss of such rent during each of the Delhi and Simla sessions for the three years ending 31st December, 1923, giving in each case the number of persons from whom such rent is still due?

(c) Do Government propose to take any action to recover such arrears and, if so, what?

THE HONOURABLE DR. MIAN SIR MUHAMMAD SHAFI: (a) In spite of repeated requests for payment it is regretted that a few Members have not yet paid the rent for accommodation occupied by them at Delhi and Simla.

(b) The number of persons who have not yet paid rent due from them for quarters occupied or reserved by them during the Simla sessions 1921, 1922 and 1923 is six. The amount at present outstanding is Rs. 1,408-11-11. A promise to pay has been received in respect of Rs. 1,009-13-4. There are no outstandings from Members for the Delhi sessions 1921 and 1922. One person has not yet paid the rent due from him for quarters occupied or reserved by him during the Delhi session 1923. The amount outstanding is Rs. 204-15-0.

(c) In the case of those who are still Members of the Indian Legislature some of the amounts outstanding have been recovered and further amounts will be recovered by deduction from the allowances accruing to them for their attendance at the sessions of the Legislature, and in the case of those who are no longer Members of the Indian Legislature further demands will be made and a copy of the question and of the reply thereto will be forwarded to them.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI: Is the Honourable Member able to say whether the Members in question are official or non-official Members of the Legislature?

THE HONOURABLE DR. MIAN SIR MUHAMMAD SHAFFI: I am not able to give that information.

THE HONOURABLE DR. SIR DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY: Have there been cases in which the payment of rent has not been made because the quarters had not been occupied, but merely reserved?

THE HONOURABLE DR. MIAN SIR MUHAMMAD SHAFI: I am afraid I am not able to answer that question without notice.

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. G. STOKES: Is it not the case that, if the members in question were officials, the rent would have been recovered from their pay bills?

THE HONOURABLE SIR MANECKJI DADABHOY: Is there any Member of the Council of State among the defaulters?

THE HONOURABLE DR. MIAN SIR MUHAMMAD SHAFI: I shall have to look into the papers in order to be able to answer the questions.

MESSAGES FROM H. E. THE GOVERNOR GENERAL.

THE HONOURABLE DR. MIAN SIR MUHAMMAD SHAFI (Law Member): Sir, I have a Message from His Excellency the Governor General.

(The Message was handed to the Honourable the President.)

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: This Message relates to the Finance Bill. It runs as follows:

"Whereas the Legislative Assembly has refused leave to introduce a Bill to fix the duty on salt manufactured in, or imported by land into, certain parts of British India, to vary certain duties leviable under the Indian Tariff Act, 1894, to fix maximum rates of postage under the Indian Post Office Act, 1898, further to amend the Indian Paper Currency Act, 1923, and to fix rates of income-tax, a copy of which Bill is hereto annexed;

[The Honourable the President.]

Now therefore, I, Rufus Daniel, Earl of Reading, in exercise of the powers conferred by sub-section (1) of section 67B of the Government of India Act, do hereby certify that the said Bill is essential for the interests of British India.

READING,

Viceroy and Governor General.

The 19th March, 1924."

Further Message:

"In pursuance of the provisions of sub-section (1) of section 67B of the Government of India Act, I, Rufus Daniel, Earl of Reading, do recommend to the Council of State that it do pass the Bill to fix the duty on salt manufactured in, or imported by land into, certain parts of British India, to vary certain duties leviable under the Indian Tariff Act, 1894, to fix maximum rates of postage under the Indian Post Office Act, 1898, further to amend the Indian Paper Currency Act, 1923, and to fix rates of income-tax in the form hereto annexed.

READING,

Viceroy and Governor General.

The 19th March, 1924."

The Messages received from the Governor General are endorsed on the Bill.

INDIAN FINANCE BILL LAID ON THE TABLE.

THE SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL: Sir, in pursuance of the provisions of section 67-B of the Government of India Act, I lay on the table a copy of the Bill to fix the duty on salt manufactured in, or imported by land into, certain parts of British India, to vary certain duties leviable under the Indian Tariff Act, 1894, to fix maximum rates of postage under the Indian Post Office Act, 1898, further to amend the Indian Paper Currency Act, 1923, and to fix rates of income-tax, leave to introduce which was refused by the Legislative Assembly at its meeting of the 18th March, 1924, the said Bill having been certified, under the provisions of the same section, by the Governor General as essential for the interests of British India.

INDIAN FINANCE BILL.

THE HONOURABLE SAIYID RAZA ALI (United Provinces East: Muhammadan): May I inquire when the Finance Bill is likely to be taken into consideration by this House?

THE HONOURABLE DR. MIAN SIR MUHAMMAD SHAFI: The Honourable the Finance Secretary will give the information.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. C. MCWATTERS (Finance Secretary): I would suggest, if it is convenient to the House, that the date for consideration of the Finance Bill might be fixed for Monday next.

THE HONOURABLE COLONEL NAWAB SIR UMAR HAYAT KHAN (West Punjab: Muhammadan): Monday will be all right.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: If it is the wish of the House and if Honourable Members have no objection, let it be on Monday.

THE HONOURABLE SAIYID RAZA ALI: I think, Sir, that no time limit need be fixed in the case of this measure. As a matter of fact, no time

limit is necessary; under the rules it can be fixed, but it is not necessary. Having regard to our experience of the Budget Debate, I think it is necessary that I should make this suggestion.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: The Honourable Member is in some difficulty. Under the rules I had the power to fix a time limit for discussion on the Budget debate, but I did not do so. Under the rules I have no right to fix a time limit for the discussion of Bills, and therefore the question of time limit does not arise in regard to Bills.

***THE HONOURABLE LAJA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab: Non-Muhammadan):** Can we not take it on Saturday, Sir?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I am entirely in the hands of the House. I may, however, inform the House that our Muhammadan friends have a festival on that day. (*Some Honourable Members:* "On Friday.") In my calendar it appears on Saturday. However, I understood Monday was convenient to the Department concerned and, as it is the wish of the House also that the consideration of the Bill should be taken up on Monday, unless there is any objection, I should fix Monday. As I have already said, I am in the hands of the House.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR NAWAB SIR MOHAMED MUZAMMIL-ULLAH KHAN (United Provinces: Nominated Non-official): Gentlemen who go for the *Holi* festival cannot be back in time for Saturday. Therefore, Monday will be better.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I think, in view of the statement by a Muhammadan gentleman of the standing of my Honourable friend, the House will be well advised to avoid any possibility of dispute on that ground. Then, the consideration of the Finance Bill will be on Monday next.

THE HONOURABLE COLONEL NAWAB SIR UMAR HAYAT KHAN: It will give us more time to consider.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I do not think the House wants any advice on the question of procedure, as it had a recommended Bill on a previous occasion. If Honourable Members will turn up the proceedings on that occasion, I think they will find the information they want. I do not think there will be any difficulty in regard to the procedure once the Bill is in our charge.

RESOLUTION *RE* RESTRICTIONS AND DISABILITIES ON INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. A. NATESAN (Madras: Nominated Non-official): Sir, before proceeding to move the Resolution that stands in my name, I should like to convey my grateful thanks to the Honourable Member in charge of the subject for waiving the rules of procedure and giving me all the facilities necessary for doing so. The terms of the Resolution that stands in my name are as follows:

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to take effective steps to prevent the repeated attempts of the Union Government of South Africa to impose restrictions and disabilities on the Indian community similar to those embodied in the Class Areas Bill, as the proposed measure constitutes a violation of the Smuts-Gandhi agreement of 1911, and would damage Indian interests irretrievably besides endangering the solidarity of the Empire." •

[Mr. G. A. Natesan.]

Sir, for a proper understanding of this question, it is necessary that I should set forth briefly—and I will do it very briefly indeed—the origin of the presence of as many as 161,000 of our countrymen in South Africa at the present time. It is due to the fact that the Government of India encouraged indentured emigration from the year 1860 to 1911. The story of the treatment of these Indians who went there from time to time—and a good number of them are still there as domiciled Indians—is a story of wrong, indignity and suffering at the hands first of the Boer Government and then of the Government as it is constituted now, the Government of General Smuts. All kinds of allegations were from time to time made against them. At one time it was the complaint that there was an influx of Indians, at another time, it was the complaint that they were taking away the trade of the Whites there. It has been proved—and proved beyond doubt, and I have the authority of British statesmen and representatives on our side to state—that these allegations are baseless. All these years Indians in South Africa have been subjected to a number of humiliating restrictions and most of them have been designed to put a stop to their developing themselves particularly as traders, hawkers and other business men. So long as they were labourers they were welcome. But the moment they freed themselves from indenture and tried to elevate themselves as independent men, the trouble arose. It owes its origin to the attempt of the South African Government which introduced what is called the Asiatic Law Amendment Act, a measure which our countrymen very justly regarded as humiliating and which Lord Morley described as certainly branding them with the bar sinister of inferiority. For a few years from 1906 this trouble was of the fiercest character. As many as 3,500 of our countrymen were imprisoned and included men, women and even young boys. Among those who were imprisoned was a Jew by the name of Mr. Polak and a German by the name of Mr. Kallenbach. These gentlemen boldly and publicly espoused the cause of the Indians. Over 150 people were deported from South Africa. They were tossed from port to port and eventually were dumped and stranded in Madras. I had the privilege of attending to the wants of these unfortunate men and had the misfortune for a period of three months continuously, day and night, to listen to their tale of wrongs and indignities. In that great struggle, which was headed by Mr. Gandhi and supported by brave comrades, these people had also the misfortune of losing property worth nearly one crore of rupees. Matters were brought to a climax when a number of people were flogged and fired at. It was just at that time that the conscience of not only the British Cabinet but of the whole civilised world was aroused and Lord Hardinge, whose name will ever be remembered with gratitude by the people of this country, made a public pronouncement in Madras on this subject in 1913, to which I had the privilege of listening. He then declared that he shared the indignation of the people of India at the treatment meted out to Indians in Natal. This pronouncement so just, so honourable and so fitting, from the head of the great Empire of India was resented by many British statesmen and Lord Gladstone, who was then the Governor General of South Africa, expressed himself at that time as shocked at such an unconstitutional utterance. I will not take this House to the further history of this very gruesome story. I will only say that this trouble was by wise statesmanship and a spirit of compromise brought to a close by what is called the Smuts-Gandhi agreement. Mr. Gandhi then agreed not to press for the right of unrestricted immigration. He was willing to have an agree-

ment based upon what is called restricted immigration. To quote Mr. Gandhi's own words:

"The essence of this arrangement was that an assurance should be given that existing laws especially affecting Indians will be administered justly and with due regard to vested interests."

On behalf of the South African Union Government Mr. Gorges, the Minister of the Interior, gave the following assurance:

"With regard to the administration of existing laws, the Minister desires me to say that it always has been and will continue to be the desire of the Government to see that they are administered in a just manner and with due regard to vested rights."

Sir, this was a solemn agreement and everybody expected that it would be faithfully adhered to. Our distinguished countryman, the late Mr. Gokhale, who had been in South Africa, has borne testimony to the correctness of the terms of this agreement. Mr. C. F. Andrews, a noble Englishman, who has been for years pleading the cause of our countrymen overseas, was also aware of the terms of this compromise, and it will be very interesting to note now what Mr. Gandhi says in his communication, dated February, 14th. This is what he says:

"In accordance with that compromise no further anti-Asiatic legislation was to be passed by the Union Government. The understanding at the time was that the legal position of Indians would be gradually improved and that the then existing anti-Asiatic legislation would, in time to come, be repealed. The contrary has, however, happened."

It may perhaps interest the House to know that, speaking at the Imperial Conference in 1917. General Smuts himself referring to this agreement said:

"Once the White community of South Africa were rid of the fear that they were going to be flooded by unlimited immigration from India, a fear removed once for all by India's acceptance of the Reciprocity Resolution of 1917, all other questions would be considered subsidiary and would become easily and perfectly soluble."

Later, speaking at the same Conference, Mr. Burton on behalf of South Africa bore the following public testimony to the character and conduct of our countrymen in South Africa. He said:

"So far as we are concerned it is only fair to say, and it is the truth, that we have found Indians in our midst in South Africa who form, in some parts, a very substantial portion of the population, good, law-abiding and quiet citizens and it is our duty to see that they are treated as human beings, with feelings like our own and in a proper manner."

What is the situation now? And what is the game that General Smuts is playing at the present moment? He has given the go-by to this solemn agreement and to the assurances and pledges that he himself gave and he now threatens to inflict further wrongs and sufferings on my community in South Africa by a measure which is known as the Class Areas Bill. Sir, the term "Class Areas Bill" is a misnomer. In reality and in fact it is nothing but a segregation Bill, a Bill meanly and mischievously designed to hamper and restrict the honourable and useful lives which Indians there at the present day are leading as traders and as merchants and in various other occupations. The Bill, as it was originally drafted and published in the newspapers for sounding public opinion, was designed to apply to all the people there. But, as a matter of fact, its design is far deeper. I do not think I shall be justified in wearying the House by reading it clause by clause, although I have the full text of the Bill before me.

[Mr. G. A. Natesan.]

will only refer to the main principle in order to illustrate what I am driving at and to show that it has been designed to bring about the ruin of Indians.

"It provides for such a large and serious restriction of the rights hitherto enjoyed by Indians as gravely to affect the whole prospect of their future welfare. It gives any Municipal Council, Village Council, Local Board, Health Board or similar body the right to intimate to the Union Government its desire to have a certain area within its jurisdiction proclaimed a class area. The Governor General may proclaim the area to be 'a class residential area, or a class trading area or a class residential and trading area'. It will therefore not be lawful for anybody not belonging to the class concerned 'to acquire immovable property or a lease or renewal of lease of immovable property within that area.' If, then, an existing Indian bazaar in a town or village is proclaimed an Indian area, Indians will have no right to buy or renew a lease of property anywhere else in the place. If, on the other hand, an area—possibly a whole town—is proclaimed one for British or Dutch South Africans only, then Indians will have no property rights in it. The Bill similarly restricts the right to obtain trading licenses, though it provides that the Governor General may relax these conditions regarding them in favour of particular persons or trades."

Commenting upon this monstrous measure the *Times of India*, a leading Anglo-Indian daily, has observed:

"The more one studies the clauses of this Bill the worse do its implications appear. On the surface it provides for no compulsion in regard to segregation, except in compelling people to continue in a locality where they have already settled if it is proclaimed. In essence it introduces compulsion of a most repellent character and leaves only to the passage of time its application in the fullest degree. The South African Municipalities are notoriously not to be trusted. The municipal segregation areas for Indians in the Transvaal were lately shown by the Asiatic Inquiry Commission to be a disgrace to civilization and an important section of opinion in South Africa openly aims at making segregation a means to break down the endurance of the Indians and compel them to flee the country. There is in the history of the Indian question in South Africa nothing to justify belief that the provisions in the Bill for protection against the Municipalities by references to a Governmental Commission and to Government itself are adequate safeguards."

It may be said that this measure, despicable as it is, is intended for all. but as a matter of fact I find from a telegram from South Africa published in the *Times of India*, dated the 17th, that as originally framed, Jews, Greeks and others were included. But what is the information that we have now? The Jews have been excluded from the operation of the Bill; the Greeks have been excluded from the operation of the Bill; the Cape Malays have been excluded from the operation of the Bill: so that, by a process of exhaustion the Bill can now apply only to Asiatics, and that is in Natal and Natal only. I find too in the same cablegram a statement that the Chinese Consul General has now run up to Johannesburg to protest against this measure on behalf of his countrymen, and Indians alone living in that God-forsaken country are now to be the victims of this measure. The principles of this Bill can well be explained by a statement which Mr. Gandhi has thought fit to issue from his sick bed in the Sassoon Hospital, Poona, in which he says:

"Unlike the Natal Municipal Franchise Bill, which happily the Union Governor-General has in effect vetoed and which applied only to Natal, the Class Areas Bill is designed to apply to all the poor provinces. It enables the Government to segregate all the domiciled Indians and other Asiatics alike for residence and trade. It is therefore an extension in a modified manner of the location system devised as early as 1885 by the late Transvaal Government. Let me say in a few words what the segregation law means. The Indian location in Pretoria, where, in spite of the law of 1885, not a single Indian has been as yet compelled to remove, is situated far away from the town itself and entirely outside the beat of the buyer, whether English, Dutch or native. The only trade possible in such locations is trade among themselves.

Segregation, therefore, carried out to the full, means nothing less than compulsory repatriation without any compensation. It is true that the Bill appears to preserve to a certain extent the existing rights. But that reservation is of little consequence to the Indian settlers. I do not wish to burden this note by citing illustrations from South African experience to show how such reservations have, in practice, proved almost useless.

Finally, let it be remembered that when Indian emigration to South Africa was unrestricted the fear of the European was expressed to be that South Africa might be swamped by India's millions. All the South African statesmen then used to say that South Africa could easily digest a small Indian population and could even give it a liberal treatment but that the European settlers could never rest content so long as the possibility of swamping remained. Now that the so-called fear of swamping has been removed, practically since 1897, the cry is raised for segregation and if that is accomplished, the next step will be compulsory repatriation, if the segregated Indians do not voluntarily retire. The fact is that the more accommodating the European settlers of South Africa find the Imperial trustees to be, the more grasping they become in their anti-Asiatic demands."

Sir, the object of this proposed legislation is, as I have said, to injure the interests of Indians there and if possible to drive them out of South Africa. The testimony of a distinguished South African, the late Mr. Maurice Evans, will be quite germane to the point. He said:

"Some of the legislation passed to this end was advanced by specious argument, and it would be difficult to defend it on the score of justice, and the violation of conscience engendered by this course of action has been felt by many in the colony, though any defence of these men was exceedingly unpopular.

* * * * *

It has been a case of taking the lower road, the line of least resistance which though apparently at first clear and open, leads invariably into jungle and morass. The gods will not be deceived."

Sir Benjamin Robertson, who was sent out to South Africa in connection with the Asiatic Inquiry Commission, has very justly pointed out that—

"Compulsory segregation in the eyes of many of its supporters is merely a means to an end. The ultimate aim is to force the Indians, and more especially the better class Indians, to leave the country."

That the object of this legislation is really to drive the Indians out of the country is made still more clear by the pronouncement of a gentleman who says he belongs to a church, and I hope by this time he has been turned out of his church. This is what he says:

"I am representing our Church (the Dutch Reformed Church) in the League, and I helped to draw up that petition. What I think is, and what I tried to bring out in the Committee, is, that our main object is to get the Indians out of this country; that, I think, must be our ultimate object. Therefore I say that as a means to that end I support segregation, but only as a means to that end."

As I said, compulsory segregation as interpreted by such witnesses differs only from compulsory repatriation in that it avoids the expense of expropriation and repatriation. I think I have said enough to show that this new legislation is a distinct violation of the Smuts-Gandhi agreement and that it is designed to bring about the ruin of a number of Indians who are settled there.

In conclusion, I would only ask the House to remember that those Indians are voteless and voiceless and therefore powerless and that they are Indian subjects of His Majesty who are ill-used. I would go further and say that some of them were induced from time to time by greedy agents of the South African Government to come over to Natal. They have been worked and sweated and now the attempt is being made to throw them away like sucked oranges. And who are these Indians that are being treated in this manner? They are a section of the most loyal

[Mr. G. A. Natesan.]

of His Majesty's Indian subjects. I am not speaking now of the great services which my countrymen here and in South Africa rendered in the last great war. But I must ask the House to remember, and I trust the authorities will remember, that at a time when Boer and Briton were in conflict, when the Boers were chopping off the heads of the British, when Ladysmith was in danger, when Lieutenant Roberts gave his life in striving to recover the guns lost at Colenso, 1,200 of my countrymen undertook voluntarily, nobly and patriotically the menial work of stretcher bearers under the captaincy of Mr. Gandhi, having been refused the privilege of fighting under the flag as combatants. And what then has been the reward? General Smuts has lately been talking in the Imperial Conference of the lower kind of citizenship which Indians have in this country, and he makes that a ground for saying that Indians there cannot claim anything better than what they have here. Sir, in a contest between two parties one is bound to win and the other is bound to lose. But in this contest I think a great responsibility rests on the Government of India and on the British Cabinet to fight a battle on behalf of those countrymen of ours with unusual vigour and vigilance. For it must be remembered that this Government is not a national Government. The acceptance of this Resolution will not quite satisfy me. I want further that the present head of the Government of India, His Excellency Lord Reading, must put himself in the position of an Indian in this country, must feel and act as if the Government of India was a national Government, a Government of the people, for the people and by the people, and place himself at the head of the great national protest and be the mouth-piece of the Indian nation whose cry goes forth from one end of the country to the other. I want His Excellency Lord Reading publicly to identify himself with this agitation of ours and share our indignation and give expression to it.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I do not wish to interrupt the Honourable Member, but his Resolution is a recommendation to the Governor General in Council.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. A. NATESAN: I will simply finish my sentence. I would therefore, Sir, say that he should act in the manner in which his predecessor Lord Hardinge did in 1913. For not only are the interests of Indians in South Africa at stake, but the honour of India is in the hands of the Governor General in Council, and therefore Indian interests would be damaged irretrievably if a brave and gallant fight be not put up on our behalf. The issue at stake now, Sir, is something more than getting the wrongs of the Indians redressed. In my opinion the issue is whether British Imperialism is to prevail in guiding the destinies of the British Empire. The issue is, is the integrity of the British Empire and the honour, the self-respect and dignity of 300 million inhabitants—the most important member of the British Empire—to be sacrificed at the altar of Africa? The issue is not between Africa and India. Even if it was that, I venture to think that there is only one course open to His Majesty's Government,—to say that they would prefer India, because your civilization, your culture, your trade, your commerce, your industry, everything that you hold near and dear will certainly be improved by the continuance of your connection with India; and my own countrymen, on the other hand, would be proud to be connected with your Empire. I will not utter vain threats, but I will simply close with a passage from a speech delivered by

a great English statesman, Mr. Lloyd George, at the Imperial Conference of 1921:

"No greater calamity could overtake the world than any further accentuation of the world's division upon the lines of race. The British Empire has done signal service to humanity in bridging those divisions in the past; the loyalty of the King Emperor's Asiatic peoples is the proof. To depart from that policy, to fail in that duty, would not only greatly increase the dangers of international war; it would divide the British Empire against itself. Our foreign policy can never range itself in any sense upon the differences of race and civilization between East and West. It would be fatal to the Empire."

Sir, I thank the House for the indulgence and for the attention which they have given to me.

THE HONOURABLE SIR S. M. ANNAMALAI CHETTIYAR (Madras: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, the Honourable Mr. Natesan has dealt almost fully with the subject, and I do not propose to take up the time of the House by giving a fresh recital of the disabilities of the Indians in South Africa. I would only add that public opinion in this country is entirely in favour of the motion before the House. There seems to be a growing desire in the various Colonies of the Empire to keep out Indians and impose humiliating restrictions on them. They do not realise the great harm they are doing to the cause of the Empire. Imperial citizenship is a mockery, with such restrictions on the Statute-book of the Colonies. It behoves the Government of India, Sir, to use all means in their power to uphold the self-respect of the people committed to their care; and whatever steps they take in this direction will have the hearty support of this House.

THE HONOURABLE SIR NARASIMHA SARMA (Education, Health and Lands Member): Sir, there is so little of difference between the Honourable Mr. Natesan and the Government of India on the substance of his Resolution that I feel that I would not be justified in taking up the time of the House at any considerable length. The Government of India realize that the proposed action of the Government of the Union of South Africa is one which it would be difficult to justify, the only ground by way of explanation being that the Union Government perhaps feel compelled by the force and pressure of public opinion to embark on some measure which is considered by the people of South Africa to be calculated to safeguard their interests. This Class Areas Bill is viewed with great apprehension by the Indian Community both in South Africa and India, and naturally and rightly so. It has been said and correctly that there is no real justification for this measure inasmuch as the Indians resident in the Colonies are very small in numbers compared with the European population, that there is no danger of any fresh influx in any numbers, or in any large numbers into that Colony, and consequently whatever fears might have been entertained in the past by the Europeans resident in South Africa, inasmuch as those fears have been removed by the voluntary action of the Indian Government, the Union Government ought to act more in consonance with the basic principle of Imperial connection than seems to be the case by their bringing forward this Class Areas Bill. Government recognize the great delicacy of the situation. Here is a self-governing Dominion to which have been entrusted wide powers of self-government by the Imperial Parliament. The basis on which the Imperial connection rests is of so fluid a character that the Government recognize the difficulty of interfering with a legislature in what is described to be largely a matter of domestic concern. But speaking on behalf of the Government of India, I think I shall not be doing any wrong to the Union

[Sir Narasimha Sarma.]

Government if I appeal to them for more consideration both to the Indian Government, to the Indian people and, I might say, to the Empire as a whole. Viewed dispassionately and critically, there seems to be no foundation for any real fears on the part of our European fellow-subjects of South Africa, any real fear that their interests would be jeopardised if they did not follow the policy underlying this Bill. I am glad to note that the Legislature and the Government of the Cape Province are setting their face against this and do not want its provisions to be applied to them. That is an indication, a hopeful indication, a hopeful feature that the heart of at least a section of South Africa is after all sound, that there are many people there far-seeing and wise, that this temporary prejudice, which seems to be the real cause of all the trouble in South Africa, would prove, only to be short-lived, and that wiser counsels will prevail before the mischief is done. It is true that the Indian Government have

12 Noon. failed in securing for the Indian community in South Africa any very great amelioration by their representations. But that is not because the Indian Government have not been vigorous in taking up the cause of the Indian community, but because of the inherent difficulties arising out of the relations of the self-governing Dominions to one another and to the Empire as a whole. The Government of India have always felt that the true remedy in South Africa for any evils that may be existing there is by that Government pursuing a policy of steady elevation of the status and position of the Indian community, so that before very long that community may be assimilated into the general social structure more than at present, and some of the social and economic evils arising out of unalleged unequal competition or other differences may disappear by reason of a steady elevation. The true remedy for African ills does not lie in the opinion of the Government of India in social separation, in commercial separation or segregation or in adopting measures which are likely to humiliate or lower the position and status of the Indians or any other community resident there. They have been urging, therefore, upon the Union Government as well as His Majesty's Government the necessity, the desirability, the advisability and the practicability of adopting a course of action which would enable the Imperial connection to be rendered more solid, the Indians identifying themselves completely, wholly and wholeheartedly with the European residents in South Africa and defending common interests as if they were their own interests. Unfortunately, we have not been successful so far. I would not say owing to any hostility on the part of the statesmen there, but on account of the prejudices of a large class of the population in that country, especially in Natal. We must, therefore, be patient when we are dealing with such democracies as we have in South Africa and realise that what may be possible in the case of strong autocracies or absolute monarchies, or very highly enlightened democracies may not be possible where the Government, whatever may be the advantages of the system, is weakened by the factor that it is largely swayed by strong temporary passions and self-interests of the electors. I was glad, therefore, to note that Mrs. Naidu, who has been championing the Indian cause both in Kenya and in South Africa, is hopeful that a settlement is possible, has realised the complexity of the problem and is asking from the Indian people, both there as well as here, more patience and that they should do nothing to antagonise the European community resident in South Africa by any speeches or actions on their part. The problem can be solved only by

patience and an appreciation of one another's difficulties and by a recognition that prejudices can be overcome only slowly by steady action on the part of the leaders and the Government. Government, Sir, have done and are doing what they can to impress upon the people and the Government of the Union of South Africa the extreme undesirability of placing this measure on the Statute-book. I have told you already that they cannot be parties to any measure of compulsory segregation, whether residential or commercial. His Majesty's Government have emphatically asserted the undesirability, unsuitability and the non-necessity for a measure of segregation in the Dominions or Colonies directly under their sway. The plea that insanitary habits on the part of a people and the dangers attendant thereon can only be removed by segregation has been effectively met and can be met by the argument that a rigorous enforcement of the sanitary laws, and town hygiene would achieve the object in view. If sanitary laws be strictly enforced and strengthened where necessary, there can be no reason whatsoever for any social separation. That is the view which the Government of India are urging. The great difficulty no doubt in the past and perhaps even at present has been that some of the shop-keepers, Indian shop-keepers, in towns reside on the premises, making the habitation perhaps very crowded and insanitary, and naturally provoke hostility on the part of the European community. We must recognise that that practice where it exists ought to be condemned. But it ought not to be difficult for the Union Government to enact laws and enforce laws preventing the residence of Indians on their shop premises, where such residence is considered undesirable. The problem can be met in that way; and whatever may be said then in favour of the desirability of people of different habits living in separate quarters of the town, the Government hold that there is no necessity for legislation in that respect, because people would themselves seek to live in localities where they can congregate together, with members of their own community and that is the view that has been expressed by the Government of India. With regard to commercial segregation, the case of the Union Government, the Government of India consider, is weaker still, the safeguards which I have mentioned above being possible in the case of trading premises. Allusion has been made to the fact that the legislation proposed is considered in India as being a violation of the Gandhi-Smuts agreement. It is unnecessary for me to go into the details of that agreement. Whether it infringes upon the letter of that agreement or not, it is unnecessary to state. But all those who have been connected with the relations between India and South Africa had hoped that, as the fear of the influx from India had gone, the Union Government would steadily follow a policy of removing restrictions at as early a date as possible. Whether they are able to remove the existing disabilities, they have, at any rate, to maintain at least the *status quo*. Sir, it has been urged in defence of segregation in South Africa that we in India have no reason to complain having regard to the way in which large masses of the population are treated here. I must admit that in some parts of the country, there is a separation in actual practice. But I would suggest to the Union Government that they have overlooked the fact that there is no segregation under the law, no compulsory segregation, anywhere in India, at any rate, in British India. It is open to the lowest and the most depressed class man to live anywhere he likes and there is nothing in law to prevent his freedom of movement and his right to reside and trade wherever he may please. It must also be remembered—I am suggesting it for the consideration of the Union Legislature and speaking here as a responsible Member—

[Sir Narasimha Sarma.]

that whatever may be the faults of a section of the Hindu community, the Muhammadan community can plead that it does not treat the members of any community in this regard in a manner in which any outside Government can find a precedent. I believe that a large section of the population in South Africa belongs to the Muhammadan community and therefore the arguments, based on analogy, however plausible they may be, have no real substance when we are dealing with the Indian community in South Africa and a question of legislation. But I shall not put my plea for justice and for fair treatment for the consideration of the Government of the Union of South Africa on such a narrow ground. If India has erred in the past, she is paying the penalty for it. In fact, she has already paid the penalty for it. The numerous sections into which a similar policy has cut up India in the past, however much the people in authority were blinded by surface indications were a source of weakness and showed, when the test came, that the social fabric was crumbling to pieces; and may not South Africa take a lesson from the past history of India? May I not ask them to remember that the true strength of the Government of the Union of South Africa would consist in their pursuit of a policy of assimilation making the Indians resident there identify their interests with those of their European fellow-subjects? Sir, we in India may do something by appealing to the generous instincts and to the noble traditions of the European community, however much the conception of their present day interest may temporarily warp their judgment. We know, and history has proved, that there are no people who love and cherish freedom, justice and fairplay for other people more than our fellow-subjects resident in the United Kingdom and those who have migrated and settled down in various parts of the country and their descendants may be expected to inherit those traditions. I, for one, do not entertain any fear that in the long run those noble traditions will assert themselves notwithstanding a temporary set-back in actual practice owing to the conditions that I have described. India has given hostages to the Empire by sending her people into the various outlying Dominions protected by the flag of His Majesty the King Emperor. These hostages, if treated justly, will be an indissoluble link between India and the other parts of His Majesty's Empire. General Smuts himself has in an answer to the Maharaja of Alwar, which I quoted some time ago, made a statement which fills me with some hope that, notwithstanding the conditions under which he has to speak and to think out the present day problems, he may yet rise above his environment. When he was asked by the Maharaja whether no injustice to our fellow-subjects was being done in various respects, General Smuts said:

"They have all the rights barring the rights of voting for Parliament and the Provincial Councils that any White citizens in South Africa have. Our law draws no distinction whatever. It is only political rights that are in question. There, as I explained to you, we are up against a stone wall and we cannot get over it."

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. A. NATESAN: Did he say that in 1921?

THE HONOURABLE SIR NARASIMHA SARMA: No, he said this in October 1923.

We are not now on the question of political rights. I do not consider that the question of residence and the question of commercial facilities are in any way connected with any question of political rights and I hope General Smuts will remember the answer that he has given at a public

Conference at which all the Dominion Premiers were gathered and see his way to convince his countrymen in South Africa that, for the sake of the Empire which is protecting them, if not for the sake of India, they might give up this policy of enacting a law which is bound to fill with indignation, grief and dismay His Majesty's Indian subjects wherever they may be resident, however wisely and generously that law might be enforced in actual practice. India has held out her hand of fellowship to all the sister Dominions, and we have had a gratifying response at the Imperial Conference from almost all the Dominion Premiers. I feel that General Smuts himself would have been only too happy to have joined his brother Premiers if he felt that the forces behind him would permit him to do so. I pray therefore that in any speeches that may be made either here or outside no feeling of hostility or antagonism or bitterness will be introduced, that the difficulties with which the Union Government are faced should be frankly recognized, but that the Indian people and the Indian Government should follow firmly their policy for securing justice and fair play to the Indian community resident in that country. I may assure our Indian fellow-subjects in South Africa of the support of the Government of India, such support as they can give, and I feel sure that we have behind us the support of His Majesty's Government also. An appeal has been made to His Excellency Lord Reading to espouse the Indian cause. There seems to be no necessity for such an appeal. I may assure this House and the people of India that His Excellency Lord Reading has been striving his utmost to secure justice and fair play for the Indian community resident in South Africa and in other parts of His Majesty's dominions. (Hear, hear.) Whatever lay in his power, whatever lay in the power of the Government of India they have exercised, are exercising and mean to exercise. Our hearts go forth to our Indian fellow-subjects in South Africa. They may rest assured of our sympathy and of such support as we can give. But I pray that we may be granted the wisdom not to import unnecessary passion into the controversy and spoil a good cause, and that the people of India will steadily and steadfastly pursue a course of action which will strengthen the hands of the Government of India and His Majesty's Government in dealing with this very thorny and troublesome question, and I feel sure that in the end all will be well.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. A. NATESAN: Will the Honourable Member give us some information as to what stage the present Bill has reached in the Union Parliament?

THE HONOURABLE SIR NARASIMHA SARMA: I fear we know nothing more than the Honourable Member. We were informed that the first reading of the Bill would be taken up about the 5th March. We have not since heard anything more than what has appeared in the press. Evidently the second reading has not yet taken place. We have arranged to get a full summary of the speeches delivered in South Africa on this subject if this Bill should be taken up for second reading in the Union Parliament. We sincerely hope that the Union Government may see their way to drop the measure, or, if they cannot do that, to so radically modify it as to meet the wishes of the people of India and their fellow countrymen resident in South Africa.

THE HONOURABLE MR. R. P. KARANDIKAR (Bombay: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, after the very dispassionate treatment this vexed question has received at the hands of the Honourable Sir Narasimha I do not propose to move my amendment. I was hoping to place before this

[Mr. R. P. Karandikar.]

House most of what could be said on this subject of our African brothers and sisters residing in South Africa and also Indian subjects residing there. I have noticed that the cause of Indians residing anywhere in this world has been acknowledged to be the function of Indians here to protect, and it is in that sense that the Government of India, we are assured, are very properly taking all possible measures to protect Indian interests. When I put forward the amendment I was under the impression that perhaps this Resolution might be applicable to much more than the language of the Resolution itself indicates. But having heard the Honourable Member in charge, I am sure that it is restricted only to a particular part of the grievance, and that is the residence of Indians in South Africa. I will therefore desist from embarrassing the situation. I am however anxious to correct a certain impression. Our patience has all along been misjudged outside India. It has been construed into a sort of submissiveness which passes the comprehension of those who are residing outside India to appreciate. Recognition by courtesy has been the rule which has been applied to Indians outside India. What is wanted by Indians is action in assertion of the right of Indians as citizens of His Majesty's Empire. I hope that we will see the summary of the speeches delivered there in South Africa, and I am anxious that the summary of the speeches delivered here, fragmentary as they might be and not sounding as enthusiastic as might be expected, should convey to those who have it in their power to exclude Indians from certain areas the necessity of thinking over the situation and respecting the wishes of the Government of India that very properly represents the sentiments of the Indian people. I therefore do not move my amendment in the hope I must say that at no distant date, possibly there may be no occasion for it, it may even be possible for me to put it forward in the form of a Resolution which may be acceptable to the whole House if circumstances do require it at a later period.

THE HONOURABLE DR. SIR DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY (West Bengal: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, no one in this Council can fail to appreciate what the Honourable Member in charge of the Department and his colleagues on the Executive Council, especially His Excellency the Viceroy, following in the footsteps of Lord Hardinge, have been doing for betterment of the lot of the Indians abroad. It is not for us to say that we are supremely thankful to them for this, for they and we for this purpose are one and the same. I congratulate my Honourable friend on his stout optimism—the optimism somewhat like that of the boy who when given a very sour mango to suck and asked how it tasted had to moan out, in view of the big stick behind, that it was tasting admirably sweet indeed. Well, appeals to “noble traditions” and “generosities” and other estimable traits of South Africans have been incessantly made and I am sure will continue to be made as matters of policy for the good people playing the bully are, according to my Honourable friend, obliged to play the part, because of “the forces behind them.” But my friend must not forget, and we must not forget, and those abroad who are dealing with the situation must not forget, that the forces of the kind behind General Smuts that have been concentrated and are moving him forward in spite of all his own sweet reasonableness are also steadily at work here in India. The time may be distant but the time is fast approaching when these forces will manifest themselves more and more and people will not stand by and

see their brethren abroad treated as they are being treated and Government here will find its work increasingly difficult. Sir, last year my friend appealed in another House; this year he did so here; and the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri by letter and wire appealed to Members of both the Houses of the Legislature for sweet reasonableness, and the response was adequate. Not a word was said, not a gesture was made, which could be construed into anything like hostility or antagonism or which might embarrass negotiation. The Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri has come back somewhat chastened. I do not attempt to read his thoughts, but sometimes his utterances, though not exactly in this Council Chamber but not very far away in a somewhat heated atmosphere, have not of late been exactly responsive to what my Honourable friend opposite would still appeal for. Sir, our delegates are now on the high seas, the delegation has been completed and we wish it all success in its arduous work. His Highness the Aga Khan is not its head, and some one is inspiring people with hope—if his first name is likely to be of any significance—in this concern. We are all bound to be hopeful. We shall wait for the best of results for there is nothing else to do. Not a word, I quite agree and appeal to all concerned should be said that would make their work difficult. But one has to pause and think. My friend has referred to the action of the Cape Government. I have a copy of the telegram about it in my hand. What has the action of the Cape Government referred to by my friend been due to? The telegram will speak for itself:

"As the result of a conference of the Cape Members of Parliament Government has decided to introduce a clause in the Class Areas Bill exempting the Cape from the provisions of the Bill. *This is regarded as significant, as the Cape is the only province in which the Indians have the franchise.*"

The Cape is the only province where Indians have the franchise, and, where the Indians have the franchise, somehow or other they can make themselves felt, and it would not be quite agreeable to the Cape Government to have that franchise of the Indians exercised for the moment for objects prejudicial to what the Cape Government has in view. That which moves all the powers that counts, is really what has been moving the Cape Government in this direction, and we must not belittle the significance of the exclusion which has been clearly brought out in the telegram which I have just read. Sir, that is exactly why we are pleading for the franchise as one of the inevitable goals everywhere. With self-respect comes power. We have been told to-day that we must not raise false issues, or at all events outside issues regarding political and other questions; in connection with what is purely an economic question, a question of residence and sanitation. Well, Sir, the two things are absolutely and indissolubly mixed up together, and we cannot forget that so long as our people have not the requisite status and do not possess the franchise that they are entitled to, they will not be able to assert themselves in the same way as the Indians having the franchise in the Cape Colony have through the Cape Government been able to do. With power comes the means of asserting self-respect. However, that is only by the way. My Honourable friend has referred to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's exertions, and I wish her all success I am sure. If she will succeed in restraining herself as she promises to do, I am sure a great deal of good will be done. But let me give an extract from her recent journal, where we are told:

"It will be well to remember that there were times when the white settlers were in sore need of Indians to develop that colony. Indians have made Natal the 'Garden

[Dr. Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary.]

Colony' of South Africa. The white men no longer need their assistance and find that they can live by themselves. The Anti-Asiatic League is becoming stronger every day and is out for segregating Indians. They forget that Indians have several vested interests and valuable properties and before they are asked to go elsewhere, they will have to be compensated fully."

Sir, the compensation scheme, the reparation scheme, is in full working order, and those who are doing that propaganda work tell the people in glowing language that it is a fact that food is plentiful in India, crops in India have been good, brown rice is Rs. 24 per sack of 157 lbs. and that there are large avenues to plentitude and luxury. By way of curing a headache, amputation in the neck regions is the remedy and Indians abroad are to be admitted to easy repatriation. The issues with which we are concerned are issues affecting the few that are unfortunately there for no more will go to augment their number. Even from the point of view of this limited number what is the value of what separate authorities however reasonable for the time being may be doing? To-day the Cape Government may be able to influence the Union Legislature to the extent indicated in the telegram just read by me. But to-morrow we may have other experiences. The Governor General in Council vetoed not long ago a Bill passed by the Natal Provincial Council almost exactly on the lines of the Hulett Ordinance which has just been promulgated. The objectionable thing goes on, and in a see-saw fashion and unless something strong and definite is done, it is bound to go on, and the vexed question will never be settled (*The Honourable Sir Arthur Froom*: "May I ask, Sir, from what paper the Honourable Member is reading extracts?")—"Indians Abroad" by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who was mentioned by the Honourable Sir Narasimha Sarma in the course of his speech. Sir, I do not want to labour this point. We have often been told that these are domestic matters about which under the Imperial contract the South Africans are entitled to do what they like. We were told the same thing when last year, in connection with the question which I raised elsewhere of a reduction of the League of Nations contribution, we were told what was done in Tanganyika was also a domestic concern with which the League of Nations could not interfere although they were no more than mandated territories; we understood that all the same matters in Tanganyika would be worked into and put right. But what is happening in Tanganyika to-day? I hold in my hands a telegram just received which shows that the Tanganyika people are just as badly off as they were when we were discussing that measure last year: the language difficulty, the obligation to keep accounts in any but a non-Indian language was continued. Even French has been added as a language in which accounts could be kept. The Indian literature and the Indian language are to have no value to the Indian abroad. I do not want to go into details of questions like that at length here, because I recognise with Mr. Karandikar that we are considering a fairly narrow issue, but one cannot help referring to these matters by way of indicating what is going on in the different parts of the world where Indians have been obliged to go and where these troubles and difficulties are instead of diminishing arising more and more. My suggestion to the Honourable Member here to-day in connection with this Resolution would be that, although we do not press him to publish the brief and his instructions to the delegation on points like those arising out of this Resolution, points like those arising out of the telegram from Tanganyika that I have in my hand (and which

I shall hand to my Honourable friend if he likes and which will be made public to-morrow), are points that ought to be pressed upon the delegation and, if they have an opportunity, they should bring them home to the Colonial Office and, if they are not allowed an opportunity for doing this, then Government should create such an opportunity.

THE HONOURABLE COLONEL NAWAB SIR UMAR HAYAT KHAN (West Punjab: Muhammadan): Sir, on all the occasions when this matter has been brought before the Council, I have taken part in the debate, but somewhat differently, because I have always spoken very feelingly and perhaps strongly. We are told to-day by Sir Narasimha Sarma that no points should be introduced in the debate which may cause annoyance in that country with which we are now dealing. I would therefore leave that point. I can say one thing, Sir, that in those Dominions it is not the English people alone who are there, but there are many other nations, because if they were one nation our British Government would not have gone to war with them. The question of Indians was, as I said the other day, so paramount, to our Government, that one of the main causes of going to war with them was their treatment of Indians. I think I have already said this before that I was so sorry when I heard that they were treating Indians so badly that I offered my services and the offer was accepted, and had the war not come to a close, I would have taken part in it. One of the reasons why I am speaking to-day is that a large proportion of that population is Muhammadan, and being a representative of Muhammadans of my part of the country, I think it is necessary that I should add a word, because Punjabis are concerned in the matter of emigration as they go all over the world. I want to impress on the House that, if that country consisted of only the English, we would have been treated just as well as we are treated in England if we go there now. As the Resolution stands, Sir, it is all very well and very good, but I think whether Government accept it or not, all that they can do is being done and a greater part of it was done when Sir Narasimha Sarma spoke to-day. Because we have not got strength to achieve our object, all that lies in our power is begging and that we are doing. Sir, as regards the disabilities there, the Government of the Dominions cannot rectify them, as it is really the people who are against Indians. They think that we can live cheaply and on less money which they cannot do, and that is one of the causes of the trouble there. All the laws which are in process of enactment there are really not meant to give us any trouble, but what is at the bottom of the heart of the people in the Dominions is that Indians who have gone there have got no business to do so and it is better that they should soon depart therefrom and if they put the Indians to trouble or humiliate them, they think they would soon go. They do not want Indians there and we have not got any power, because there is no chance of our going to war against them. The best thing, therefore is to do something practical, and that is this. India is in a position and will be in a position to give those people who have got lands or house property there of any value, property in this country. There are many canals which are going to be constructed on which there are thousands and thousands of acres of land on which people can be accommodated and employed. If we have got any *izat* or any love for our countrymen, I think all those who are now thinking of getting land should not do so and should give place to our poorer countrymen who are stranded in South Africa, so that they may come back and make India their home again. That would be, I think,

[Sir Umar Hayat Khan.]

a more practical step. Of course we ask the Government of India that they should do something on our behalf; but if we ourselves in this country do not accept from the Government the recommendations which they say are for our benefit and for our good, for running the State, just as happened the other day, how can we expect the same Government to go and ask on our behalf such things from another Government? It was for this purpose, that is the treatment of the Indians abroad, that Dr. Gour brought forward a Reciprocity Bill, or whatever it may be called. Yet Government can make rules thereunder. For this there ought to be a committee of experts who know what we can do against the Dominions if we take the extreme steps that we can. That is can we do anything effective against those who are now humiliating our countrymen? If we can do something then it is all well and good. We can only pass the Resolution if we stand on some firm ground. But if we find that we cannot do anything, then, I think there is no use in passing Resolutions which nobody is going to hear. With these few remarks, I thought I should just take part in this debate and say something practical as to what should be done in future.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SRINIVASA SASTRI (Madras: Non-Muhammadian): Sir, the speaker who has just sat down occasionally startles us by a stroke of genius; he has done so to-day. He said the people of India and the Government of India have, in the matter of disabilities of Indians overseas, been doing and have done all that could be done. All that is open to them, according to him, is begging; and of that art they are perfect masters. The Honourable Member in charge of the subject, in a speech, characterised by much thought and statesmanlike caution, has informed us that this Government is aware to the full of the developments in South Africa and that everything that could be done is being done. He added in the course of his remarks that he would much like that the hands of the Government were not weakened and their advocacy embarrassed by any statements made by speakers and writers, whether in the Council or on the public platform outside, calculated to show bitterness of feeling or hostility towards the South African Government; and amongst the reasons that he urged in favour of this course of moderation and reasonableness, I came upon a statement which I must challenge without any compunction. He told us that in this matter the Government of India have the full support of His Majesty's Government. Now, Sir, I am not here to accuse people unreasonably or without a sense of responsibility. I make no statements that I cannot substantiate. It is perfectly true that His Majesty's Government are in a sense in full sympathy with our case in South Africa and would, whenever it suited them and was not otherwise inconvenient put in a mild word of remonstrance at the unreasonable ways of the democracy as it is called, but what is the narrowest oligarchy in the world, in South Africa. How the British Cabinet is handicapped in this matter, everyone knows. They cannot honestly stand up now for the maintenance of any pledges that the South African Government may have made in this behalf. Having themselves been a party to the violation of the spirit of the Resolution of 1921 in regard to Kenya, their appeal to the good sense of the South African oligarchy is bound to fall miserably flat. Moreover, not only where they are themselves the final arbiters, but where they are the trustees holding a mandate from the League of Nations, which at all events, for moral purposes is on much higher and much more unassailable ground, as in the territory of Tanganyika, they

have permitted the local Government to discriminate against Indians in a manner that the Honourable Member opposite, who seems to scowl at me, does know. My friend the Honourable Dr. Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary alluded to a telegram. It will be published, I dare say, in the papers. Then my Honourable friend will come upon a statement which will be a surprise to him—how, time and again, where Indians are concerned, the British Cabinet falls below its accepted and avowed standard. From them, therefore, I expect no sort of assistance in this matter. Sir, my friend the Honourable Sir Narasimha Sarma, echoing the words of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, asked us to believe that the heart of South Africa is still sound. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu herself took care to say that, while the moral heart of South Africa seemed to be sound, the political heart of South Africa was corrupt to the core. I do not wish, Sir, to go into personalities. I was much struck, however, by the way in which Sir Narasimha Sarma still believes in the possibility of getting round General Smuts. He does not know General Smuts. He has not met him. I have met him. If Sir Narasimha Sarma and the members of the British Cabinet also believe that they can persuade General Smuts to forget the necessities of the situation and act in pursuance of those mighty truths of humanity and brotherhood of the world of which occasionally he does speak with eloquence which takes the similitude of conviction, then all I can say is that they entertain a delusion of which, I am sure, they will all too soon become aware. In this very matter of the disabilities of Indians in South Africa, General Smuts has given the world, and India in particular, many a promise in the past. Declarations that, if India and Indians took a certain course, namely, restricting their emigration to South Africa, all would be well with those who were domiciled in his dominion, have been frequent. Although emigration from India to South Africa has in point of fact ceased for a good long time now, as the Honourable Sir Narasimha Sarma knows well—even better than I do for he has access to secret documents which he seems to make his exclusive property—the difficulties, disabilities and humiliations of his countrymen are only increasing from year to year in the Dominion of South Africa. In 1911, in 1914, in 1917 and again in 1918 General Smuts said that nothing would be done to damage the interests of the Indians resident in South Africa. This is a false promise which he made to my knowledge and which has been broken, torn and scattered to the winds of heaven. I will not say much further. It was said by the Honourable Dr. Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary that we have just now sent off with our good wishes an unofficial Committee of Indians and Europeans on whose labours we wish the blessings of Heaven, who is the source of all justice and goodness in this world to rest. Let me say nothing that would embarrass them. But in this matter concerning South Africa solely, which is excluded from the scope of their deliberations, I think a word or two may be said without fear of any harm to their labours. I have for some time now believed that in South Africa our countrymen have, at least for a generation, no hope whatever. We have to carry on the struggle, it is true. But so long as the Government of India continue to believe that they can bring about amelioration of the conditions of Indians in South Africa merely by remonstrance, by diplomatic representations and by dignified protests which are made in public and withdrawn subsequently, they will find that they are letting themselves in for the most bitter disappointment. The country has lost all hope of improving our conditions in South Africa. The bitterness is there. Our efforts must now all be concentrated on the evil not spreading beyond South Africa.

[Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri.]

Kenya, and while it is not too late, Uganda and Tanganyika, must be protected from the infection of this Boer menace of hatred of coloured people. The Honourable Sir Narasimha Sarma must be aware as well as I am that General Smuts resents the imputation that he is against Indians. And

1 P.M.

for a wonder, would the Council believe me when I say that General Smuts' claim is that in this matter of prejudice towards Indians, that in this matter of hostility towards Indians, that in this matter of desiring to rid the African region of Indians, it is not the Boers, it is the British people who are more responsible. He said so deliberately at the last Imperial Conference. He said so to me in person. This is what he said. "It is in Natal, where the white population is predominantly British and not Boer, it is in Natal that the worst troubles have recently arisen". And he says that the enemies of Indians are not his countrymen but Britishers. I respectfully pass on the compliment to the British people. Let them decide, Boer and Britisher, in amiable rivalry to whom should fall this laurel of the most rooted hostility to the Indian fellow-subjects. I will not attempt to decide the dispute between them. But that is the trouble. It has now reached very acute dimensions in Natal where the Britisher is in power, and General Smuts says if it were the Boer "I could go for him. But as it is the Britisher in Natal whom I am bound to protect, I cannot interfere with his liberty." Sir, I must say that the Government of India must in their heart of hearts have come to the same conclusion that I have come to, that the problem in South Africa is beset with so many difficulties of a moral character, involving the whole psychology of a people, the entire upbringing of an arrogant white race, that the weapons which they have hitherto used and to which Sir Narasimha Sarma still sticks with pathetic simplicity would not do. I really do not know what Colonel Sir Umar Hayat Khan has in mind when he says begging will not do. What else is there in our power? We cannot use the bullet which he once recommended in this Council. Sir, I will only conclude with this confession. Along with Mr. Andrews, along with Mr. Gandhi, along with Mr. Polak and along with many others who have tried to judge of the situation in South Africa from a level of statesmanship and humanitarian conviction, to which most hard-hearted politicians round me might be foreign,—along with them I have come to the conclusion very reluctantly that there might be some awakening of the British conscience in this matter, some rousing of a deeper sense of responsibility which we have not been able hitherto to touch in the British nation, if on some happy occasion in the future the Governor General in Council—I will not say the Viceroy, remembering your ruling, Sir,—if the Governor General in Council of India should say to the listening world, "It is impossible for us as representatives of His Majesty's Government to govern India if within His Majesty's dominions we are unable and His Majesty's Government are unable to protect the just rights of the Indian subjects of His Majesty". When a statement of that kind could be made in the moral hearing of the world by the Governor General in Council and the Governor General and his Council of that day resigned their offices because they could not protect their subjects from the insults of another class of His Majesty's subjects—when that step is taken—very far from the bullet which Colonel Sir Umar Hayat Khan recommended the other day I think something would be done which might touch the conscience of the British people. I still have faith in them; they have a way of throwing up their hands when the last extremity is reached and saying, "We did not know; we never

realized there was so much feeling in India. Why did not somebody say "o? Why did not your Indian Member resign? Why did not people do this or do that"? They have a way of remaining deaf and blind until something in the nature of a political explosion takes place and a crisis is reached. Well, I am not asking anybody now to resign. I am only saying that between the limit of the begging line that we have taken up and the beginning of the bullet line recommended by Colonel Sir Umar Hayat Khan there is a large margin of high-minded, of brave and of responsible statesmanship which we have got to traverse, and, God willing, we hope that the interests of the British Empire, its dignity and its high mission in this world, in which I still have faith, disappointed as I have been sorely in one or two matters, that these would still be maintained while we are traversing that margin.

THE HONOURABLE SIR MANECKJI DADABHOY (Central Provinces : General): Sir, I did not at all propose to intervene in this interesting debate. There is no one in this Council who entertains a warmer feeling on the South African question than myself. There is no one in this Council to whom I yield in the warmth of my resentment in the matter of the indignities and the humiliation with which India has had to put up in respect of the treatment accorded to her fellow-subjects in South Africa. But certain observations which have fallen from my Honourable friend the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri compel me to get up and join issue with him. Sir, the Honourable the Government Member has explained the entire position. The Honourable Member made an appeal to all Members that on this occasion no unguarded expression should be allowed to fall either in this Council or outside, for the obvious reason, that our delegation are now on the high seas and are shortly about to negotiate with the Colonial Government in the matter of a kindred and most important controversy.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. A. NATESAN: It has nothing to do with South Africa

THE HONOURABLE SIR MANECKJI DADABHOY: I know that, but our other interests might be jeopardised by any warmth of feeling here in the matter. I am sorry that that advice has been thrown away or scattered to the winds of the heavens, to use my Right Honourable friend Srinivasa Sastri's language, for the purpose of expressing an angry opinion on the subject, and I am exceedingly sorry that so profound a statesman, so great a master of patience and tactics as my friend the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri, should have in a feeling of zeal and warmth spoken and used some arguments to-day which are calculated to jeopardise our other interests. Sir, I do not propose to-day, I have unfortunately not got enough time, to go into the controversy whether the blame lies with the British statesmen and men governing the various Colonies or with General Smuts in the matter of the unequal and unjust treatment of the Indians. My Right Honourable friend has spoken on the subject with great warmth and I therefore expected from him some sort of concrete remedy and suggestion when he disapproved of the action of the Indian Government as well as of the Colonial Government in the matter. I expected him, with his great knowledge, with his profound information on the subject, to have suggested some effective remedy, some skilful solution of the important question. All that I heard from

[Sir Maneckji Dadabhoi.]

him in connection with this matter was that the interests of India would be well served if the Governor General in Council resigned as a body and chucked up their offices as a protest against this unequal treatment and civic indignity. Sir, I have great respect for my friend, the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri, but I entirely disagree with the suggestion which he has made. It is a suggestion altogether of a character and nature which, on reflection, he himself will see will not conduce to the interest of the people at large or of any class. As soon as His Excellency the Governor General in Council resign in a body as a protest, what will happen? There will be a lot of other people ready to take the place of His Excellency and the Members of his Executive Council, the Union Government will remain undeterred and undismayed by that course, and the government of this country will go on as it is, and the object which my Honourable friend has in view will never be achieved. I, Sir, abhor loose statements, destructive criticism of whatever the matter may be. If my Honourable friend had suggested any constructive proposals in preference to the policy adopted by the Government, I would have given them my very best consideration. Let us look at the matter dispassionately, and in a matter like this, where the African Government, the Union Government, desire even to act with some measure of contumacy, whether the policy of persuasion, whether the policy of conciliation, or the policy of the bullet recommended by a Member sitting behind me, or the policy of resignation suggested from the opposite benches, is likely to succeed. Sir, by fighting with Africa, India has a great deal to lose. It is no use making random and irresponsible statements in the Council or outside the Council. Those who have got dealings, those who know of our commercial relations with the South Africans, will agree with me when I say that India has much more to lose by any rupture with the Union Government than otherwise. The interests of this country are seriously at stake. I appeal to my Right Honourable friend there to turn over the pages of the commercial Blue Books and see our exports to the Union Government, to compare the large volume of Indian exports to Natal, to the Transvaal and to other parts of that country, and compare them with the imports that we get from those places, and that will be a sufficient answer to my friend that the policy of opposition pleaded for by him will be of great disservice to the Empire and to India in particular. We cannot afford to rupture our diplomatic relations with the Union Government. A policy which propounded such rupture is fraught with danger to the country, danger to the financial and commercial interests of India and one which is utterly unjustifiable and reprehensible. I, therefore, Sir, submit that the policy which the Government of India have hitherto adopted and of which indications have been given to us by the Honourable Member in charge is a policy of sanity, one of propriety and justification, and one which appeals to all unprejudiced people and people who are prepared to think dispassionately and take a reasonable view of the subject. Sir, I do not wish to detain the Council much longer. Nothing will help us except a policy of peaceful protest and dignified remonstrance with the Union Government, a policy pointing out the injustice of their action and the sobriety and fairness of our claims, and I have no doubt that, with all its defects, a day will come when the Union Government will listen to our grievances and justice will be done to this country.

THE HONOURABLE LALA RAM SARAN DASS (Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I rise to support the Resolution, and I wish to support all that my esteemed friend, the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri, has said. My friend, the Honourable Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy, without suggesting any new policy, has deprecated the policies which have been considered useful by certain speakers of this House. Sir Maneckji approves of the policy which the Government have hitherto been pursuing, which policy, I am sorry to say, has so far utterly failed in achieving the object and the noble object it has in view. (*The Honourable Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy*: "There is no other policy".) No, there is. My Right Honourable friend has rightly said that the British Government have not been very well impressed with the manner in which this matter has hitherto been represented to them, and that stronger action is needed. I agree with him, therefore, Sir, that when the present policy has not succeeded, it requires a change, and a change which will bring about a useful result. India is now very fast reviving the virtue of self-respect, which has been hitherto lost sight of. That self-respect demands that the promises which the British Government and the Governments of South Africa have given from time to time in regard to the status of Indians there must be fulfilled and all the relative pledges must be honoured. So, Sir, it is a matter of paramount importance that the question of colour should not be allowed to stand in the way of Indians attaining equal status and rights of citizenship in the Empire which have been many times promised. I therefore strongly urge, Sir, that a stronger policy of representations must be made and in case the representation has no effect, the action which I proposed two years ago and which has now been endorsed by my Right Honourable friend after his tour in the Colonies and discussion with the authorities concerned, should be adopted, that is the practice, which in England even is a general one, that whenever the Minister or the Secretary cannot have his own way and when he feels that no justice is being done to the cause he has incessantly advocated he has no other alternative but to resign.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I think this is rather an important debate and might be adjourned. I notice there is no business for to-morrow. If it is equally convenient to the Honourable Member in charge and the Honourable Mover of the Resolution, I think the debate may be resumed to-morrow at Eleven of the Clock instead of resuming it this afternoon.

THE HONOURABLE NARASIMHA SARMA: Yes, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. A. NATESAN: I also agree, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: This debate stands adjourned till to-morrow Eleven O'Clock. Before I adjourn the Council, I desire to lay on the table the Report of the Select Committee on the Standing Orders, for the information of the House. It relates to the rules regarding quorums for Select Committees.

MESSAGE FROM THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

THE SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL: Sir, a Message has been received.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Let it be read.

THE SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL: "Sir, in accordance with Rule 36 (1) of the Indian Legislative Rules I am directed to inform you that the amendment made by the Council of State in the Bill further to amend the Indian Coinage Act, 1906, for certain purposes, was taken into consideration by the Legislative Assembly at their meeting to-day, the 19th March, 1924, and that the Assembly have agreed to the amendment."

The Council then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday the 20th March, 1924.