

12th March, 1926

THE

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

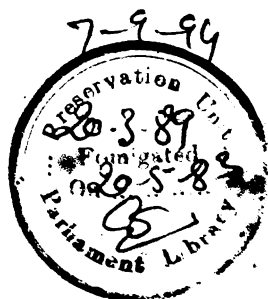
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OF THE

SECOND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 1926



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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Friday, 12th March, 1926.

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

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

HUMILIATING TREATMENT BY THE POLICE IN PONDICHERY OF VISITORS TO SRIJUT AURABINDO GHOSH.

1188. ***Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** (a) Has the attention of the Government been drawn to a communication published in the *Forward*, dated the 21st February, 1926, in which it is stated on the authority of a Member of the Madras Legislative Council that visitors to Srijut Aurabindo Ghosh in Pondicherry are subjected to humiliating treatment by the Police?

(b) Is it a fact that everyone who happens to enter the compound of Srijut Aurabindo Ghosh's bungalow has to affix the "impressions of all the fingers and of both the palms," and has also to give the names of his father, mother, and even his wife to the Police authorities?

(c) Do Government propose to make inquiry into this matter, and make suitable representation to the proper authorities with a view to stop such treatment?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: (a) I have seen the communication referred to.

(b) I have no information.

(c) No.

1189.—1200.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Sir, questions Nos. 1189 to 1200 have already been answered in the replies to similar questions asked by me on behalf of Haji Wajihuddin yesterday, and, therefore, I do not want to put these questions.

TRANSFER OF THE OFFICE OF THE ACCOUNTANT GENERAL, UNITED PROVINCES, FROM ALLAHABAD TO LUCKNOW.

1201. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** Is it a fact that a portion of the Accountant General's office is proposed to be transferred from Allahabad to Lucknow? If so, will the Government be pleased to state:

(a) The reasons for such transfer?

(b) The place and building in which the same is proposed to be located?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the reply given to question No. 887 on the 15th February, 1926.

(a) The removal is due to an experiment connected with the inquiry into the separation of accounts from audit

(b) The various sections into which the office will be divided will be located in the closest possible proximity to the departments which they will serve as pay and accounts offices.

TRANSFER OF THE OFFICE OF THE ACCOUNTANT GENERAL, UNITED PROVINCES, FROM ALLAHABAD TO LUCKNOW.

1202. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** Is there any prospect of removing the rest of the Accountant General's office from Allahabad to Lucknow? If so, will the Government be pleased to state:

(a) What are the reasons for such transfer?

(b) What new buildings are proposed to be constructed or will have to be constructed for location of the offices and the probable cost of the same?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The reply is in the negative, (a) and (b), do not arise.

SCALES OF PAY FOR THE STAFF OF THE OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR GENERAL, POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.

1203. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** (a) Is it a fact:

(i) that the Booth Committee recommended in 1920 certain scales of pay for the staff of the office of the Director General, Posts and Telegraphs, with reference to local conditions in Calcutta and not in view of the ultimate transfer of that office to Delhi?

(ii) that the Government, according to the P. W. D. Memorandum to the Standing Finance Committee, modified those scales of pay, in spite of the protest of the then Director General?

(b) If the answers to the above are in the affirmative, will the Government be pleased to state what is meant by the statement that the locality of the office had nothing to do with the question in part (b) of the question No. 844, answered in the Assembly on the 15th February last?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) The recommendations of the Booth Committee made no mention of local conditions in Calcutta nor of the probability of the ultimate transfer of the office to Delhi although the Committee was no doubt aware of the latter fact.

(b) The time scales of pay sanctioned by Government departed from those recommended by the Committee in respect of some of the grades only. There was no protest on the subject from the Director General.

(c) The location of the office has nothing to do with the question of its status. Even had the office of the Director General, Posts and Telegraphs, been located in Delhi, it would not have been accorded treatment in the matter of revision of pay on the analogy of attached offices of the Government of India.

SCALES OF PAY FOR THE STAFF OF THE OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
GENERAL, POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.

1204. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** (a) In view of the answer in (a) to the question No. 844 on the 15th February, in the Assembly that the staff of the D. G.'s office are not paid on All-India scales of pay do the Government propose to treat differently those of the staff who were recruited before 1912 in the Director General's office when they are transferred to Delhi?

(b) Will the Government please state what they mean by the statement "They were recruited to serve in the Director General's office and not in Calcutta" in the second part of the answer to starred question No. 847 on the 15th February, 1926, in the Assembly?

(c) Is it a fact that the Director General's office is still located in Calcutta?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) No. The reference is presumably to question 847 not to question 844.

(b) The meaning seems perfectly clear. There was no guarantee given or implied at the time of recruitment that the headquarters of the office would not be changed.

(c) Yes.

SCALES OF PAY FOR THE STAFF OF THE OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
GENERAL, POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.

1205. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** (a) Is it a fact that in the office order dated the 24th April, 1923, of the Director General, Posts and Telegraphs, the Director General's office was announced as one of the attached offices of the Industries and Labour Department Secretariat?

(b) If so, why have the staff of that office not as yet been granted and why should they not be granted the attached offices scales of pay?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) Yes. The office order cannot however be interpreted as a formal announcement of the Government of India. It was issued by the Director General, Posts and Telegraphs, and the words "attached office" occurring therein are used in a loose sense as indicating an office working with the Honourable Member in charge without the intervention of a secretariat staff.

(b) In view of the answer to part (a) this question does not arise. The Director General's office as a whole cannot be treated as an attached office of the Government of India in regard to scales of pay for reasons which I gave on a previous occasion.

SCALES OF PAY FOR THE STAFF OF THE OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
GENERAL, POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.

1206. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** (a) Is it a fact, as it is understood from the answer to starred question No. 848 on the 15th February, 1926, in the Assembly, that the staff of the office of the Director General, Posts and Telegraphs, will draw less pay in Delhi than what they are drawing in Calcutta?

(b) If so, do the Government propose to consider their grievances?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) It is not a fact that the staff will draw less pay in Delhi. The reply given to part I (a) of the Honourable Member's question No. 848 on the 15th February, 1926, related to the payment of charges for occupying Government quarters at Delhi and the repayment of advances.

(b) Does not arise.

PERMANENT LOCATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA OFFICES IN DELHI.

1207. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state which of the offices among both the Imperial Secretariats and their attached offices will be permanently located in Delhi when the Raisina Secretariat buildings are completed and occupied?

(b) Will there be any more necessity of the move of the offices between Delhi and Simla as at present, when the Raisina Secretariat buildings are permanently occupied by the Government of India, except taking a certain limited number of camp clerks only with the Members, Secretaries and certain other heads of Departments to Simla?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: (a) and (b). Government have not arrived at any decisions on the subject.

GRIEVANCES OF THE LOWER DIVISION CLERKS OF THE OFFICE OF THE ACCOUNTANT GENERAL, POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.

1208. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the article under the heading "Lower division under A. G. P. T." that appeared in the *Servant*, dated Calcutta, the 5th February, 1926? If so, what steps do they intend to take to remove the anomalies specified therein and ameliorate the conditions of the sufferers referred to in it?

COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE OF THE ASSISTANTS OF THE SAVINGS BANK DEPARTMENT OF THE OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY ACCOUNTANT GENERAL, POSTAL BRANCH, CALCUTTA, DURING THE CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS.

1209. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** Is it a fact that Mr. Joy Gopal Bhandari, Deputy Accountant General, Postal Branch, Calcutta, forced his assistants of the Savings Bank Department to attend office even during the Christmas holidays against their will? If so, why? Do Government propose to call for an explanation from him?

CASE OF MR. GANESH CHANDRA MITTRA OF THE OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY ACCOUNTANT GENERAL, TELEGRAPH BRANCH, CALCUTTA.

1210. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** Is it a fact that the pensionable services of one Mr. Ganesh Chandra Mitra of the office of the Deputy Accountant General, Telegraph Branch, Calcutta, have been dispensed with by the Accountant General, Posts and Telegraphs, without allowing any pension to him? If so, why?

**ALLEGED ILL-TREATMENT OF THE CLERKS OF THE SAVINGS BANK
DEPARTMENT UNDER THE DEPUTY ACCOUNTANT GENERAL,
POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS, CALCUTTA, BY MR. B. R.
RANGOSWAMI.**

1211. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** Did the Government of India receive a telegraphic representation some time in December 1925, from the clerks of the Savings Bank Department, under the Deputy Accountant General, Posts and Telegraphs, Calcutta, against one Mr. B. R. Rangoswami's ill-treatment of them? If so, what steps have they taken in the matter?

**PAY OF SOME LOWER DIVISION CLERKS IN THE TELEGRAPH CHECK
OFFICE, CALCUTTA.**

1212. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** Is it a fact that some lower division men in the Telegraph Check Office, Calcutta (under the Accountant General, Posts and Telegraphs), who passed the Departmental examination long ago for promotion to the upper division have not yet been paid at the upper division rate? If so, (a) who is responsible for this? (b) Do Government propose to remove their grievances early? (c) If not, why not?

**GRIEVANCES OF THE LOWER DIVISION CLERKS IN THE OFFICE OF THE
ACCOUNTANT GENERAL, POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.**

1213. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** (a) Has the attention of the Government been drawn to a series of articles regarding Accountant General Posts and Telegraphs lower division clerks' grievances, that appeared in the *Forward*, dated Calcutta, the 30th September, 1924, 23rd November, 1924, 1st January, 1925, 1st November, 1925, and 25th November, 1925, *Bengalee*, dated 1st October, 1924, 22nd November, 1924 and 24th December, 1924, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, dated Calcutta 26th November, 1924, and 25th December, 1924, and *Servant*, dated Calcutta, 25th December, 1924? If so, what steps have the Government taken up to date to ameliorate the hardships of the Accountant General Posts and Telegraphs lower division clerks?

(b) Do they intend to adopt one uniform scale, *vis.*, 60—8—140—6—230 with efficiency bars at Rs. 124 and Rs. 170 for Calcutta, and if not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I propose to answer questions Nos. 1208—1213 and 1215, together.

I would refer the Honourable Member to the replies given by me on the 7th and 14th September, 1925, and 19th February, 1926, to similar questions put by him.

**ALLEGED LOSS OF LIVES IN AN ACCIDENT ON THE AHMADPUR-KATWA
RAILWAY.**

1214. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** Are the Government aware that some 25 men recently lost their lives by an accident in a train on the Ahmadpur-Katwa Railway? Was it due to the non-supply of lights in the carriages by the Railway Administration?

If the reply be in the affirmative do Government propose to take proper action in the matter? If not, why not?

If the reply be in the negative, do Government propose to inquire into the matter and inform the House of the result? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Sir, I wish to answer question 1214 as I want to contradict the statement made in it.

The statement made by the Honourable Member is entirely incorrect. Government have made inquiry and have ascertained that no persons were killed or injured in any recent accident on the Ahmadpur-Katwa Railway.

**REFUSAL OF INCREMENTS TO THE ASSISTANTS IN THE SAVINGS BANK
DEPARTMENT UNDER THE DEPUTY ACCOUNTANT GENERAL,
POSTAL BRANCH, CALCUTTA.**

†1215. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** Is it a fact that Mr. Joy Gopal Bhandari, M.A., Deputy Accountant General, Postal Branch, Calcutta, has not granted annual increments to his assistants in the Savings Bank Department and has expressed his unwillingness to do so till June, 1926, though due, earlier, in contravention of rule 24 of the Fundamental Rules? If so, will the Government be pleased to state the reasons of his doing so?

**REDUCTION OF PASSENGER FARES ON COMPANY-OWNED OR COMPANY-
MANAGED RAILWAYS.**

1216. ***Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** (a) Will the Government kindly state if any of the Company-owned, or Company-managed Railways in India have reduced, or propose to reduce, their passenger rates?

(b) If so, what Railways have reduced, or propose to reduce, the fares; and what class fares?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Honourable Member is referred to the Proceedings of the meeting of the Standing Finance Committee for Railways held on the 20th January, 1926, and to the speeches on this subject during the discussion of the Railway Budget.

THE WOMEN'S MEDICAL SERVICE.

1217. ***Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar:** Will the Government be pleased to state:

(a) What are the number of appointments in the Women's Medical Service?

(b) How many of them are held by Indians?

(c) Does the number of Indians include Europeans domiciled in India and Anglo-Indians? If so, what is their number?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the report for 1924, of the Countess of Dufferin's Fund (including the Women's Medical Service), which gives all the information which Government possess. I would point out that the Women's Medical Service is not under the control of Government.

EMPLOYMENT OF SINDHIS ON THE NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY.

1218. ***Khan Bahadur W. M. Hussanally:** (a) Has the attention of the Government been called to a letter appearing in the *Sind Observer* on the subject of the North-Western Railway having resolved that in future no one except those who have passed the school leaving certificate examination shall be employed as signallers and clerks?

†For answer to this question, see answer below question No. 1213.

(b) Is it a fact that the above Railway have so resolved? If so what are the reasons for the resolution?

(c) Is it a fact that the Province of Sind is educationally backward compared with the Punjab, and that the Mussalmans of Sind are more backward than the Hindus of that Province? If so, are Government aware that the above resolution will have the effect of excluding Sindhis more particularly Mussalmans from railway service?

(d) If so, what steps are proposed to be taken by the Railway Administration to see that the service is not rendered a monopoly for one Province or one community?

(e) Is it a fact that now a very large proportion of Punjabis are serving in the Sind section of the North-Western Railway? Do the Railway propose to employ more Sindhis on the Railway than hitherto taking up a fair proportion of Muhammadans as well?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: As regards parts (a), (b) and (c) of this question, the Honourable Member is referred to the answers given to questions Nos. 1074 and 1077, on the 8th March, last. I can see no reason why the principle of a low educational qualification should stand in the way of Sindhis obtaining employment on the North-Western Railway and if the pay of signallers and clerks is as low as the Honourable Member suggests it is obvious that local men have a much better chance than Punjabis of taking such posts in Sindh.

As regards parts (d) and (e), the Agent, North-Western Railway, is aware of the policy of Government in this matter and Government have no reason to suppose that Sindhis are not afforded equal opportunities with other communities in entering railway service.

CONTRACTS FOR THE SUPPLY OF ICE AND AERATED WATERS ON THE NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY.

1219. ***Khan Bahadur W. M. Hussanally:** (a) Into how many sections is the North-Western Railway divided for the purposes of ice and aerated waters contract?

(b) What is the length of each section?

(c) Are there any rules for the giving out of these contracts? If so will the Government please place the same on the table?

(d) What is the investment each contractor has to make? Is it necessary that the contractor should possess a factory of his own? If so, what steps do the Railway take to see that the contractor uses waters of his own factory and no other?

(e) Is there any truth in the complaint that these contractors use waters from the bazars, and that many or some of them at all events do so not having any factory of their own?

(f) Are tenders called for for these contracts? If not, how are these contracts given out?

(g) Do these contractors pay any royalty. If not why not?

(h) Are Government aware that these contractors make almost cent. per cent. profit or even more? If they are not aware of this, do they propose to make an inquiry into the matter and place the result before the House?

(i) Will the Government please state the names of the contractors for the last ten years?

(j) Is it a fact that one contractor lives in England and comes to India when these contracts are given out, takes up one sub-lets the same, pockets a huge profit and goes back home? If the Government have no information, do they propose to hold an inquiry and place the result before the House?

(k) Is it a fact that the profits that each of these contractors make amount to anything like half a lakh? If not what is the average amount? If the Government have no information upon the point, do they propose to hold an inquiry and place the result before the House?

(l) What are the objections to dividing the line into smaller sections and giving out the contract to smaller men and reducing the rates for the benefit of the travelling public?

(m) Are Government aware that the ordinary rate of aerated waters from the best factories is about 9 to 10 annas a dozen while these are sold on the Railway for about 15 annas or more?

(n) Are Government prepared to advise the railway administration to introduce more competition into these contracts in the future for the benefit of the travelling public?

(o) Who gives out these contracts? Are the Local Advisory Committees consulted before giving out these contracts? If not why not? Do Government propose to consult them in future?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: From the minutes of the meetings of the North-Western Railway Advisory Committee the Government observe that the general question of policy raised by the Honourable Member has been discussed with reference to the sale of fruits, sweets and the like, and that in respect of these articles the Agent explained that the railway policy was as a general rule to employ the small vendors rather than the large contractors. There are obvious differences of course between the sale of fruits, sweets, and the like and the sale of mineral waters and ice. But a copy of the Honourable Member's question will be sent to the Agent in order that his attention may be drawn to the subject.

Khan Bahadur W. M. Hussanally: May I ask, Sir, if there is any objection to giving all the details that I have asked for?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I prefer, Sir, to take up the general question of the policy raised by the Honourable Member.

INADEQUATE NUMBER OF MUHAMMADAN TEACHERS IN THE GOVERNMENT HIGH SCHOOL, DELHI, AND IN THE NEW CANTONMENT GOVERNMENT MIDDLE SCHOOL, DELHI PROVINCE.

1220. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to a series of articles published in the *Al Muballigh* of Delhi in its issues dated 9th December 1925, 19th December 1925, 28th December 1925, 1st January 1926, and subsequent issues?

(b) Is it a fact that out of a total sum of Rs. 2,790, representing salaries paid to the staff of the Government High School, Delhi, Rs. 2,890 represent payment to the Hindu staff, and Rs. 400 only to Muhammadan staff? If the figures are incorrect will Government kindly give accurate figures and give reasons why Muhammadans receive such a meagre share in the only Government High School of the Province?

(c) Is it a fact that no Muhammadan has ever been appointed as Headmaster of the Government High School, and with the exception of one there has never been any senior Muhammadan teacher in the school?

(d) Is it a fact that the Headmaster of this School (who is also Assistant Superintendent of Education) holds prejudicial views towards Muhammadans and replaced the Muhammadan clerk, i.e., Mohammed Shareef, by a clerk of his own caste, i.e., Lala Kishori Lal in 1925?

(e) Is it a fact that with the exception of a Persian teacher and drill master all the teachers in the New Cantonment Government Middle School, Delhi Province, are Hindus? Will Government kindly state reasons why this is so?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: (a) Yes.

(b), (c) and (d). All appointments, transfers, etc., in the staff of the Government High School, Delhi, are made by the Ministry of Education, Punjab.

(e) Yes. No qualified Muhammadan teachers were available on the pay offered.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Will the Honourable Member be prepared to take them, if I supply him with more than a dozen qualified teachers within a week from to-day?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: I would suggest, Sir, that the Honourable Member should supply information about them to the Chief Commissioner, Delhi.

RECURRING AND NON-RECURRING GRANTS PAID TO AIDED SCHOOLS IN THE DELHI PROVINCE.

1221. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** Will Government kindly lay on the table a statement showing recurring and non-recurring grants paid to aided schools in the Delhi Province arranged according to various communities?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: A statement giving the information asked for is laid on the table.

Recurring grants, 1925-26.

		Rs.
Christian Mission	5 institutions	29,100
Muhammadan Schools	3 do.	18,500
Hindu Schools belonging to various denomination	14 do.	86,100

Non-recurring grants for 1925-26.

Mission Schools	31,100
Hindu Schools	13,000

PREVENTION OF THE PREPONDERANCE OF THE HINDU COMMUNITY IN THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT OF THE DELHI PROVINCE.

1222. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** Will Government kindly state what measures they are adopting to avoid a preponderance of one community (Hindu) in the Education Department of the Delhi Province?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: The Honourable Member is referred to the reply given to his question No. 1106 on the 8th instant.

ARTICLES IN THE *MUSLIM HERALD* OF ALLAHABAD.

1229. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** Has the attention of Government been drawn to a series of articles in the *Muslim Herald* of Allahabad in its three issues from 3rd to 8th January 1926? If so, what action has been taken by Government to remove the grievances contained therein?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: The Government of India have seen the extract from the *Muslim Herald* sent by the Honourable Member. I have nothing to add to what I have already said on this subject.

Mr. K. Ahmed: May I know, Sir, whether the Department of my Honourable friend controls the policy in the Province of Delhi? If the answer is in the affirmative, does it not behove him to transfer the grievances mentioned by the Honourable Member, so that they may be looked into? If there were no grievances, he would not have put this question.

Mr. J. W. Bhore: I really, Sir, did not follow the Honourable Member's question.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Have you, Sir, no policy in your Department which the Delhi Province should follow in the Imperial City?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: We have a very effective policy.

Mr. K. Ahmed: If the policy is not followed by the Delhi Province, does the Department of my Honourable friend take any steps to bring it to the notice of the Provincial heads of departments?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: My Honourable friend has not paid any attention, I think, to the reply given by me. I have already drawn the attention of my Honourable friend Maulvi Muhammad Yakub to the reply that I gave to his question No. 1106 on the 8th instant, and that gives him a complete reply to the question that he has now put.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Have you done anything to remove the grievances contained therein?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: I must refer the Honourable Member to the reply I have already given.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum: May I know, Sir, how far the Central Government are responsible for the action of these small administrations which are under the direct control of the Government of India?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: That, Sir, is a large question which I cannot reply to within the compass of an answer to a supplementary question.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum: May I ask the Honourable Member, Sir, how is this stigma of inefficiency and paucity of Muslim candidates to be removed? Can the Honourable Member suggest any means? How are we to prove that we are efficient and that there are plenty of Muslim candidates available for every branch of Government service?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: I would suggest to the Honourable Member that he should bring that matter to the notice of those who are directly responsible for the administration, namely, the Chief Commissioner in the North-West Frontier Province and the Chief Commissioner in Delhi.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: But we are here in direct touch with the Government of India and the Honourable Member is answering all the questions that are put to him. Can he suggest any means of redressing these grievances on the floor of the House?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: I have already pointed out, Sir, that the Chief Commissioner in Delhi has been informed of the questions and answers on this point that have been put in this House and that an assurance has been given that the matter will receive his attention. I can do no more than that.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: Is it simply the transmission of the Local Government's reply to this House and the forwarding of the questions put in this House to the Local Governments that is being done by the Government Members in this House?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: I would suggest to the Honourable Member that he should study the reply given by me to Mr. Yakub from which he will see that the Chief Commissioner has promised that these matters will receive his careful attention. Surely I cannot do more than that.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Do Government propose to send for the file and verify what the Local Government have said?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: No, Sir. Certainly not.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Then the Department of my Honourable friend is nothing but a bogus one here. Isn't that so, Sir? (Laughter.)

INSINUATIONS AGAINST CERTAIN HINDU OFFICERS OF THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT, DELHI.

1224. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** (a) Is it a fact that the Superintendent of Education has other multifarious duties to perform in the Government of India Secretariat and therefore cannot bestow proper attention and searching inquiry in the matters of establishment, grants, etc., and that he has to depend wholly on the advice tendered by the only four following heads?

Assistant Superintendent of Education	Hindu
District Inspector of Schools	Hindu
Head Clerk of the Office	Hindu
Permanent Assistant Superintendent of Female Education, though a Christian but of Hindu extraction.			

(b) Is it the accepted practice of Government not to post administrative and executive officers in their own native places?

(c) Is it a fact that the Assistant Superintendent of Education, District Inspector of Schools and Head Clerk, all belong to Delhi city proper and have got family connections to bring influence to bear upon the higher officers, both in the Department and outside offices?

(d) Is it a fact that the claims of other communities, i.e., Muhammadans, are ruthlessly trampled under foot by the above officers in favour of men of their own kith and kin and community?

(e) Is it a fact that inter-relations exist between them, head clerk a near relation of the District Inspector and so on?

(f) Is it the usual practice in other provinces to appoint officers in the inspecting line in charge of the Offices of the Director of Public Instruction or of those of Divisional Educational Inspectors and that nowhere a headmaster in the teaching line is appointed in charge of an administrative and inspecting office? If not, will Government kindly give any instance? If so, will Government give reasons for the departure in Delhi from such usual established practice?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: (a) I must repudiate as absolutely unwarranted the suggestion contained in this part of the question. I trust the Honourable Member will not allow his zeal on behalf of his community to lead him in future into making such grossly improper suggestions in regard to an officer of the standing of the Superintendent of Education in whom the Government repose entire confidence.

(b) No such rule is observed in the Education Department.

(c) I must decline to answer this part of the question which contains highly objectionable insinuations, unless the Honourable Member can satisfy me that he has good grounds for putting it.

(d) No

(e) No.

(f) The employment of a college principal or a high school headmaster on administrative and inspecting duties is by no means uncommon. In any case the Government do not propose to alter the existing practice.

INSPECTIONS OF THE LOCAL HIGH SCHOOLS IN THE DELHI PROVINCE
BY THE ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT OF EDUCATION TO THE
DETIMENT OF HIS WORK AS HEADMASTER OF THE GOVERNMENT
HIGH SCHOOL.

1225. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** Is it a fact that the Assistant Superintendent of Education now makes all inspections of the local High Schools with the District Inspector of Schools and during the inspecting season extending over months in the year his work as headmaster of the Government High School suffers considerably?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: The reply is in the negative.

COMPLAINTS OF NEGLECT OF DUTY AGAINST THE HEADMASTER OF THE
GOVERNMENT HIGH SCHOOL, DELHI, BY MATRICULATION STUDENTS.

1226. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** (a) Is it a fact that there is a universal complaint amongst the Matriculation class students of the Government High School, Delhi, that the headmaster does not give proper attention to his classes and thus their preparation for the University examination suffers considerably? Do Government propose to remove this grievance by either appointing a wholtime headmaster of the High School or by relieving the headmaster of the extra charge of the Assistant Superintendentship of Education?

(b) Are Government aware that the headmasters of the other Delhi High Schools, his equal colleagues, resent inspections by an officer of equal rank of their schools?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: (a) No. The school is gaining continuously in popularity and efficiency.

(b) No.

APPOINTMENT OF MUHAMMADANS AS SEASON TEACHERS IN THE RAISINA AND TIMARPUR SCHOOLS.

1227. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** Will Government lay on the table a list of season teachers for the Raisina and Timarpur schools? Will Government state why no Muhammadan candidate has been appointed as season teacher?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: The Raisina and Timarpur schools are not Government but municipal schools.

STATEMENT REGARDING TEACHERS APPOINTED TO THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT, DELHI.

1228. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** Will Government lay on the table a statement giving names, religion, pay, previous occupation, etc., of all those persons who have been appointed during the dual duties of the Superintendent of Education, one statement for Delhi and one for Ajmer? (Teachers already in the Department but transferred from one school to another need not be shown.)

Mr. J. W. Bhore: I regret to say that the question is unintelligible to me.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Will the Honourable Member suggest how to make this question intelligible?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: That, Sir, I am afraid, is not part of my duties. But if he will . . .

Mr. President: Order, order. It is not the business of the Government Member to suggest how to make the Honourable Member's question intelligible.

NUMBER OF MUHAMMADAN AND HINDU TEACHERS, CLERKS AND PEONS IN SCHOOLS IN THE DELHI PROVINCE AND AJMER-MERWARA.

1229. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** Will Government kindly state the actual number of Muhammadan and Hindu teachers, clerks and peons both in the Delhi Province and Ajmer-Merwara schools?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: This question is also not quite clear. If it refers to teachers in aided schools and board schools, collection of the information would involve an expenditure of time and trouble which in the circumstances would not be justified.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Sir, this question is very important so far as my community is concerned and to say that the collection of information would involve labour which is not justifiable in the interests of my community is not correct.

Mr. J. W. Bhore: That, Sir, is not a question. It is a matter of opinion.

THE HEADMASTER OF THE RAISINA SCHOOL.

1280. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** Are the facts stated in the issues of the *Muslim Herald* from the 3rd to the 8th January, 1926, about the Raisina School correct, i.e., the post of headmaster was offered to a Hindu candidate who was found unfit and the offer withdrawn, the post for the second time was offered to another Hindu gentleman, his antecedents were also found doubtful and again withdrawn, the post then for the third time was offered to another Hindu gentleman, quite fresh from the college with no teaching experience? If it is correct will Government kindly state why the Muhammadan candidates were entirely ignored? Will Government kindly state in what papers advertisements for this vacancy appeared? If they were not published in any European or Muhammadan paper, will Government kindly state reasons? Do Government propose to appoint a Muhammadan headmaster for the Raisina High School to be established next year?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: This is not a Government school and the Municipality makes its own appointments.

RECOMMENDATIONS IN THE *MUSLIM HERALD* OF THE 18TH JANUARY, 1926, REGARDING EDUCATIONAL OFFICERS OF THE DELHI PROVINCE.

1281. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** (a) Do Government propose to accept the recommendation of the *Muslim Herald* contained in its issue of the 18th January, 1926:

- (i) that the District Inspector of Schools, as in other provinces, should be made Assistant Superintendent of Education:
- (ii) that the allowance of Rs. 75 given to the Headmaster of the Government High School, Delhi, should be abolished, thereby saving Rs. 900 per annum:
- (iii) that the District Inspector must be a Muhammadan:
- (iv) that the Head clerk of the Office must be a Hindu?

(b) Is it a fact that the conditions in the Ajmer Education Department are similar to those in Delhi, all the inspecting officers and office clerks, with the exception of one, being Hindus?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: (a) The reply is in the negative.

(b) Yes.

PREPONDERANCE OF HINDUS IN THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT OF DELHI.

1282. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to an article in the *Muslim Outlook* of Lahore, dated the 22nd December 1925? If so, are the figures given therein correct; if not, will Government kindly give correct figures?

(b) Will Government kindly give reasons for the preponderance of one community (Hindu) in the Education Department of Delhi?

(c) Will Government kindly state if a sufficient number of Muhammadans cannot be obtained to keep the proper equilibrium?

(d) Will Government kindly state whether they are adopting proper measures to avoid this preponderance and to safeguard the rights of other communities?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: (a) to (d). The article in question has not been seen by the Government. An endeavour is being made to obtain the issue of the paper referred to.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE BALLY BRIDGE BY INDIGENOUS AGENCY.

215. Baboo Runglal Jajodia: 1. Is it contemplated to place the contract for the proposed Bally Bridge with a firm of engineers in Britain? If so, why?

2. Have Government considered the question of carrying out the work by engineers of the East Indian Railway with the help of local contractors?

3. Is it the declared policy of the Government to carry on all works through indigenous agencies as far as possible?

4. Is it a fact that the Sara Bridge was constructed by the Railway and Public Works Department engineers through local contractors?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (1) The construction of the Calcutta Chord Railway including the Bally Bridge will be done departmentally except the girders and the piers above foundations for which it is proposed to call for tenders.

(2) to (4). The questions do not arise.

AMENDMENT OF THE CURRENCY NOTES REFUND RULES, 1921.

216. Baboo Runglal Jajodia: (a) Are Government aware that the proposed amendment of the Currency Notes Refund Rules, 1921, which contemplates:

(1) that no claims on half or mismatched notes of denominations of Rs. 5 and Rs. 10 will be admitted, and

(2) that on half-notes of denominations of Rs. 50 and upwards while half the value will be paid within 14 days of presentation, claims to full value will not be entertained till after the lapse of 5 or 8 years will prove detrimental to public interests in India.

(b) Will the Government please state what considerations have led them to propose a change in the existing rules?

(c) Have the Local Governments been consulted in the matter and what has been their opinion?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a) and (b). I would invite the Honourable Member's attention to the Finance Department Resolution No. F./20-XI-F., dated the 15th October, 1925, which was published in the Gazette of India at the time. Objections raised before the 31st March, 1926, will be taken into consideration before the amendments are made.

(c) Local Governments have been consulted, but their replies have not been received.

ARTIFICIAL GHEE.

217. **Baboo Runglal Jajodia**: Has the attention of the Government been drawn to an appeal issued by the Pure Food Stuff Supply Co. of Delhi, relating to the introduction of an artificial kind of ghee imported from abroad and which is being sold in the market as a substitute for ghee?

(b) Will the Government please state whether they are satisfied as to the purity of the stuff?

(c) Will they please state if there is any truth in the statement that the stuff is not ghee but only foreign fat not derived from milk?

(d) If the answer to (c) be in the negative what action if any do they propose in the matter?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: (a) No.

(b) The Health Officer, Delhi Municipality, has obtained from Government and other analysts certificates testifying to the purity of "Vanas-pati" (vegetable oil), which is probably the article referred to by the Honourable Member.

(c) These vegetable oils are not ghee as ghee is ordinarily defined but the Government understand that they are purely of vegetable origin.

(d) So long as they are sold as vegetable products and not as ghee, no action is called for.

PROSPECTS FOR BRITISH FIRMS IN THE NEW AGRICULTURAL POLICY TO BE PURSUED IN INDIA.

218. **Baboo Runglal Jajodia**: Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the following statement of Mr. George Pilcher, M.P.:

"In the New Agricultural policy to be pursued in India I see great prospects for British firms. India could absorb annually 2 or 3 million iron ploughs, not less than 5 millions small engines for water lifting and 2 million larger ones for other purposes and as all these would come from Britain 1½ million men out of work would be benefited."

(b) Will the Government please state whether the implication contained in the statement has anything to do with the appointment of a Royal Commission recently announced by Government?

(c) Are Government aware that the above statement has given rise to considerable misapprehension in India?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: (a), (b) and (c). The answer is in the negative.

STATEMENT OF BUSINESS.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman (Home Member): With your permission, Sir, I desire to make a statement on the probable course of Government business next week. The outstanding legislative business of Government will be put on the agenda paper for Monday, the 15th March in the following order:

1. Resumption of consideration of the Indian Tariff (Amendment) Bill.
2. Consideration and passing of the Madras Civil Courts (Second Amendment) Bill.

3. Consideration and passing of the Indian Finance Bill.
4. Consideration and passing of the Cotton Industries Statistics Bill.
5. Consideration and passing of the Legal Practitioners (Fees) Bill.
6. Consideration and passing of the Code of Civil Procedure (Second Amendment) Bill.
7. Consideration and passing of the Indian Divorce (Amendment) Bill.
8. Consideration and passing of the Indian Factories (Amendment) Bill as reported by the Select Committee.
9. Consideration and passing of the Indian Income-tax (Amendment) Bill as reported by the Select Committee.
10. Consideration and passing of the Delhi Joint Water Board Bill.
11. Consideration of the amendments made by the Council of State to the Indian Trade Unions Bill, the Legal Practitioners (Amendment) Bill and the Madras Civil Courts (Amendment) Bill.

This will be followed by a motion to refer to Select Committee the Indian Bar Councils Bill. I may inform the House that it is not my intention that the Committee should sit during the current Session. Thereafter time will be given for the consideration and passing of Sir Hari Singh Gour's Transfer of Property (Amendment) Bill.

So much of this legislative business as is not completed on Monday the 15th March will be taken on Tuesday and if necessary on the following days. On the completion of the legislative business the remaining business will be taken up. This business will be placed on the agenda paper for Tuesday which will remain until completed. The business which will be entered on it consists of—

1. A supplementary Demand for fifty lakhs in respect of "Archæology."
2. Resumption of the discussion on the Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra's Resolution regarding workmen's compensation for occupational diseases.
3. A Resolution by the Honourable Sir Basil Blackett regarding the reduction of exports of opium from India.
4. Resumption of the debate on the Resolution regarding Reforms in the North-West Frontier Province.
5. Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh's Resolution on the South African situation.
6. Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer's Resolution regarding the creation of an Indian Mercantile Marine.
7. My own Resolution regarding Standing Committees for dealing with Bills relating to Hindu and Muhammadan Law. I may say as regards this that, if it is not the wish of the House to go on with it, I shall not object.
8. Mr. Bhoré's Resolution regarding the terms on which emigration to British Guiana should be allowed.

THE GENERAL BUDGET—LIST OF DEMANDS—*contd.*

SECOND STAGE—*contd.*

Expenditure from Revenue—contd.

DEMAND No. 28—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL—*contd.*

Appointment of a Royal Commission on Reforms—contd.

Mr. President: The House will now resume the consideration of **Mr. Jinnah's** motion:

“ That the Demand under the head ‘ Executive Council ’ be omitted.”

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, as we know, the discussion raised this morning is not on the merits of the item under discussion, but we have raised it in order to give vent to our feelings of indignation and disappointment at the attitude taken up by the Government in not acceding to the demand of the country, demonstrated through the almost unanimous vote of the elected Members of this House, for a Royal Commission before 1929. Last year the prospect was brighter. Lord Reading was to consult with Lord Birkenhead, and it was anticipated that a Royal Commission would be the logical outcome. Since then there has been Lord Birkenhead's speech in which there is little consolation. And the Viceroy's addresses at the opening of the Assembly and the Council of State contain less. In his address at the opening of the Session of the Assembly on January 20th, His Excellency the Viceroy, after quoting a passage from the speech of Lord Birkenhead, and also a passage from his own speech of August last, said he had hoped that the leaders of Indian political thought might seize the opportunity afforded to them. “ But to my great regret”, observed His Excellency, “ I must confess that the realisation has fallen short of the extent of my hopes”. With due respect to His Excellency the Viceroy I must say that if, according to His Excellency, the realization has fallen short of his hopes, it must have been due to the fact that His Excellency probably extended the sphere of his hopes to such an unrealizable extent that it was doomed to disappointment. As regards the general co-operation of the responsible leaders, I submit they have not failed in giving a practical shape to their sentiments of friendship and good-will, and have all the time extended their hand of friendship and co-operation, but there was no response or gesture of the change of mind on the part of the Government.

In the first place, I submit that the number of those leaders of Indian political thought who profess non-co-operation is so small, in comparison with the huge population of the country, that it can hardly be taken into consideration. But even those who preach non-co-operation by word have by their deeds shown genuine co-operation and, so far as it lay in their power, paved the way for an earlier appointment of the Royal Commission. The very fact that the Deputy President of the Swaraj Party occupies the Presidential Chair of this House with great dignity and credit, and the respected leader of that party acted as a member of the Skeen Committee and had consented to go . . . (*The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman*: “ He has resigned.”) Because your attitude obliged him to resign. He resigned only the other day. He acted for a long time as a member of the Skeen Committee. As I was

saying, he had consented to go to foreign countries with that committee, and last, though not least, the generalissimo of the movement, Mahatma Gandhi has himself retired from active life for the long period of twelve months. These are no doubt sure and unmistakeable signs of co-operation on the part of those whose action according to His Excellency the Viceroy would change the political atmosphere; and even if such a manifestation of good-will and co-operation has fallen short of the extent of His Excellency's hopes, then the only logical conclusion is that according to His Excellency the time will never come when India will arrive at the surest and the quickest way to travel along the road to her ultimate aims and aspirations, nor would the British Government elect to comply with their request. This being the attitude and the gist of the pronouncement of a great Viceroy like His Excellency Lord Reading, the representatives of the people in this House are quite justified in making the strongest possible protest, and adopting any methods which they may consider would go to demonstrate the depth of their feelings. The Swarajists, whose absence from the House we keenly feel and regret, and we ourselves have got the same sentiments. The difference is only in the *modus operandi*. Being dejected by the attitude of the Government, they left the battlefield and acknowledged their defeat, while we, although small in number, have decided to fight to the bitter end.

*"Má wa majnoon ham sabaq boodem dar diwán-i-ishq,
Oba sahrá raft wa man dar kúcháhá ruswa shudam."*

which means:

"Majnoon and I were together, in taking lessons in the poetry of love; he chose to wander into the wilderness while I earned my notoriety in the lanes."

Again, Sir, it may be argued, as it was argued on the Resolution for extending the Reforms to the North West Frontier Province, that, in the picturesque language of the Honourable Sir Denys Bray, "There have been happenings in this great country which might lead to tone down a little here, to brighten up a little somewhere else. The lights might be softened, the shadows might possibly be deepened". These are the words of the Honourable Sir Denys Bray. And it is in order to break the spell of these happenings in the country that I take my stand in the House to-day. This is now the third time since the second Assembly came into being that we have had any occasion to discuss the question of the extension of the constitutional reforms, and on the two previous occasions, as well as on this occasion, I, representing the views of a large majority of educated Mussalmans, was, and am, in full accord with the demand for a speedy attainment of full responsible government in India. But, as on two previous occasions, I made quite clear the Muslim point of view, in the same way I want to make it quite clear for the third time, so that there may be no mistake and misunderstanding about our point of view on this all-important question, that our association in the demand for the freedom of the country is supplemented with our demand for safeguarding the rights and interests of the 71 millions of the Indian Mussalmans, at the various stages of our future constitutional development, until the goal is reached. It is true that Islam has a distinctive individuality of its own, not only as a religious but also as a political and social system, and the Mussalmans of India are not, in any case, prepared to merge their separate entity into a body politic. It is to my mind beyond question that without inter-communal co-operation and good-will, the attainment of full

[Maulvi Muhammad Yakub.]

responsible government in India is an absolute impossibility and therefore those who preach to the Hindus, Christians and Parsees, "to keep together so as to fight out the disease of communal representation in the political field", and dream of obtaining Swaraj in India without taking into consideration the Muslim element, are to my mind leading the country to a path which will never take them to their cherished goal. To those who think that separate Muslim electorates are opposed to the basic principles of democracy I would point out that the basic principles of all modern systems of democratic government are, (1) that the executive of the country should be responsible to the Legislature, and (2) that the Legislature should be really representative of the people. Now, in order to make the Legislature really representative of the people, it is obvious that the electorate must be so constituted as to give the fullest scope to representation of all sections of the population. We find that in the latest constitution within the British Empire, where the conditions are somewhat analogous to those obtaining in India, i.e., in the Kenya Colony, communal electorates form an integral part. Territorial electorates in the circumstances at present obtaining in India may result in bringing into existence an oligarchy, but cannot create a really representative Legislature. In the conditions unfortunately existing at present in India, mixed electorates furnish a periodically recurring cause of friction between the two communities. Still there are certain mixed electorates, for instance university electorates and the landholders' electorates. From the commencement of the formation of these electorates, that is since the days of the Minto-Morley reforms, not a single Mussalman has ever been elected to the Provincial or the Imperial Councils through these electorates.

Next comes the question of the proportion of the Mussalmans in the various elective bodies. The principle of the protection of the minorities has now been recognised by all civilized countries. Unless you give to the minorities a representation somewhat in excess of their numerical strength, you do not afford any protection to them. It was on this principle that the Congress-League Pact was arrived at. There was also one proviso in the pact which constituted a real safeguard, but it was somehow or other ignored by the Government. According to that proviso,

"no Bill nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting one or the other community in the Legislative Council concerned, shall be proceeded with if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular Council, Imperial or Provincial, opposed the Bill or any clause thereof, or the resolution."

The non-acceptance of this proviso by the Government, when they had accepted one part of the pact, was an arbitrary act, which has placed the Mussalmans at a great disadvantage. To give an illustration of the hardship to which the Mussalmans may be subjected by the non-acceptance of this proviso, we have the recent case of the United Provinces Council, where, in spite of the unanimous verdict of the Mussalman Members, the compulsory primary education Bill was passed in the teeth of their opposition, and they had no option but to leave the Council in order to record their strong sense of protest.

For the Indian Mussalmans the immediate appointment of Royal Commission is an absolute necessity to remedy the injustice done by the exclusion of the protective proviso from the constitution. The Muslim demands are fully described in the Muslim League resolution, passed at its special

meeting at Lahore in May 1924, which was confirmed at Bombay in December 1924 and reaffirmed at Aligarh in December last., The full text of this resolution was quoted by me in my speech at Simla in September last on the demand resolution and therefore I need not repeat it here. In this connection I have only to say one word more and it is this, that whatever concessions and safeguards we demand for our community, the same concessions and safeguards we are prepared to accede to the other communities in provinces in which they are, or in future may happen to be, in a minority.

The other question which is as important as the representation of Mussalmans on the elected bodies is their representation in the public services of the country. Not possessing capital to enable them to take up any trade, and by temperament not being adapted to the profession of traders, the Mussalmans have for a long time been mostly associated with the public services of the country and therefore their sudden expulsion from the only avenue of livelihood is a very serious problem for them. I should like to make it quite clear that what the Indian Mussalmans want in this connection is fair treatment and bare justice. They do not want to be given a share in the administration for which they are not fully equipped. Their grievance in the past and at present is that the door of many an office is shut in their face not because they are not qualified for it, but because they lack the influence to open it, and that in many cases having entered an office, and though fully fitted to perform efficiently its duties, they are hounded out of it because they are Mussalmans. Remember, no administration can prosper and no country can achieve greatness where a large and important community, having thrown aside its ignorance and lethargy in an enthusiastic and zealous mood to recover its glory and greatness, is subjected to such treatment.

Having thus safeguarded our rights and interests, we, the Mussalmans, are perfectly in harmony with our Hindu brethren in claiming the emancipation of our motherland. No doubt, for the present, the atmosphere is beset with thick clouds of communal tension and communal heat, of which we are really ashamed, but I am quite sure that the present situation is merely a passing phase and an abnormal state of affairs which cannot last long, and it would be very unfair indeed to use it as a stumbling block in the way of our further progress. A parallel to the present state of affairs in India may be found in the history of Canada where the relations between the English and the French were more strained than the relations between the Hindus and Mussalmans in India. So much so that the English and the French were not on talking terms, and there was even no social intercourse between the two communities. So much so that even the school children formed their parties on communal lines. Happily the situation is not so bad in India. But it was under those gloomy surroundings that Lord Durham recommended the grant of full responsible government to Canada, and the present harmonious relations between the two communities in that part of the Empire are due to the emancipation of that country. In the same way harmony and good-will in India is bound to follow in the train of the satisfaction of our political aspirations and, to quote the same line of Sheridan which Sir Denys Bray quoted the other day, "When they do agree upon the stage, their unanimity is wonderful!"

***Mr. J. Baptista** (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Mr. President, it is with considerable reluctance that I rise to

*Speech not corrected by the Honourable Member.

[Mr. J. Baptista.]

support the motion of my Honourable friend the Member for Bombay. My reluctance is due to the policy of responsive co-operation which I have inherited as the political testament of that great and sagacious patriot, Bal Gangadhar Tilak. I am thoroughly convinced that the policy of responsive co-operation reinforced with goodwill to Great Britain is the best policy to pursue for the purpose of promoting the political progress of India towards the great goal of Swaraj. In the circumstances you will realise the reluctance I feel to begin my responsive co-operation in this Assembly by associating myself with a motion of this description. I feel somewhat embarrassed, like a man constrained to approbate and reprobate at the same time, but one must do his duty, and although the duty may not be a very agreeable one it must be discharged.

Now, Sir, the motion before us is to omit Demand No. 28. The object of this omission really is to raise the constitutional issue. The Honourable Member from Bombay has explained what he means by the constitutional issue. It is quite clear from that explanation that this vote, though it is in the form of a censure, is not in its essence a vote of censure. As a matter of fact, it would be somewhat anomalous to move a vote of censure in a constitution of the present description. We have His Majesty's Government, yet we have not reached the stage of His Majesty's Opposition. We have a Government that is irremovable. Therefore the Government established by law cannot be disestablished by a vote of censure. Therefore nobody need be deterred very much by this kind of vote of censure. It has not the consequences that pertain to votes of censure. Government are not going to resign. Nobody expects them to resign. This vote of censure is really a more emphatic way of raising the issue than could be done by a mere Resolution; and, therefore, I think that nobody need be deterred or frightened by the idea that this is a vote of censure and will result in disastrous consequences. Nothing of the kind.

Now, Sir, I myself am disposed to look upon this demand as a kind of gentle gesture to remind the Executive of the Ides of March. But the dramatic departure of the Swaraj Party has more than warned the Government to beware of the Ides of March. Now I do not know whether the Ides of March is going to be the doomsday of the Executive Council or the doomsday of the Swaraj Party or the doomsday of both! I do really hope that it will not be the doomsday of either of them. I hope no one's doomsday is at hand. After all, Sir, in spite of the faults of the Swaraj Party we cannot but admire the spirit of service and sacrifice which they are displaying on very many occasions. Some of their acts no doubt remind us of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*. But there is one particular aspect which I should like the House to take note of, which has rather a serious aspect from a constitutional point of view. We were solemnly told the other day by the Leader of the Swaraj Party that they had received orders from the Congress to deliver their message and then quit the House; and they did so. Now, Sir, all of us know that we have travelled very far from the days of Burke in the way of mandates from constituencies. Nevertheless, I submit that there is not a party in the House of Commons which would to-day tolerate any interference, much less dictation, from any party outside the House. Any one who has studied the growth of parties in England will corroborate me in that matter. Everyone knows how Gladstone reprimanded a member of his party in the early days of the Liberal Federation. Everyone knows how Lord Salisbury reprimanded Lord Randolph Churchill in the matter

of the Conservative Association; and so far as I can see there is no party in the House of Commons to-day, be it Liberal, Labour or Conservative, which will tolerate any interference from outside. But what do we find here, Sir? We find a party outside making rules to regulate the conduct of Members of the party inside this House. Now that is, I submit, subversive of all representative institutions, and I sincerely and earnestly request our colleagues in this House and our compatriots outside this House not to allow, not to tolerate, not to express any approbation of this kind of conduct. I am quite sure that our enemies in India and more, our enemies in England, will misuse, will abuse, this departure for the purpose of doing damage to our just cause. I hope and trust that we shall not put ourselves in the hands of our enemies by this means.

Then, Sir, I come to this Demand. What will happen if this Demand is dropped? What will happen is simply this. We shall deprive the weary workers on the Executive Council of their joy rides in reserved saloons to all parts of the great Indian peninsula. Nothing more than that will happen, nothing more serious, if they do not travel, as my Honourable friend Mr. Jinnah said: they will learn nothing and they will forget nothing like the Bourbons of old, and that will not do much harm. This grant can be restored because they have the power of restoration. Therefore, I submit, Sir, we need not be frightened by any disastrous consequences. What will happen really is this. It will do no harm to Government but it may do good to Government and good to the people. It will probably strengthen the hands of the Government to make fresh representations to the effect that the people of this country are thoroughly discontented with the present constitution and they are quite justified in their discontentment; and in that way they will promote the good of the country. And in this matter I would ask even our European and Anglo-Indian Members and others to be with us and support us. After all, the object of the Honourable the Mover of this amendment is merely to accelerate the appointment of a Commission, Statutory, Royal or whatever you may call it, for the purpose of promoting further instalments of reform, for the purpose of reforming the Reforms. I trust, Sir, that our Anglo-Indian and European friends will support us. Sir, they are sometimes described and depicted as birds of passage: personally I think it will be more correct to depict them as Birds of Paradise for I find them quite as charming and as beautiful as Birds of Paradise. (Laughter.)

Sir, that is the point of view that I would urge upon this House. Now, who in this House is enamoured of this present constitution? Is there any one in this House who does not thoroughly agree that these Reforms are inadequate and unsatisfactory? If they do, I should like them to examine it a bit. Some years ago, Lawrence said that there were only two great autocrats left in the world, the Czar of Russia and the Viceroy of India. That was before the War. Sir, the Czar is gone, but the Viceroy remains. As a matter of fact he has emerged from the Reforms far more autocratic than he ever was before, far more autocratic than the Great Moghul was in the zenith of his power. Now, I would ask you to consider this. Before the Reforms, the Viceroy could issue Ordinances which could last only for six months. To-day after complying with certain formalities he can make any law he pleases, and he has made laws as he pleased. That could not be done before these Reforms. (*An Honourable Member: "What about the cotton excise?"*) I do not quite understand the interruption. So far as the cotton excise is concerned, I do not know how it

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affects the power of the Viceroy. He could have done it before the Reforms. I am not saying now that the Government are not doing something good, that they are not making regulations and passing laws which will satisfy socialists in England. I am only a Fabian, Sir, I am not a red-hot Socialist myself. I am not contending about that. I am now only discussing the power which the Viceroy possesses under the present Reforms. Take Bengal for example. Before the present Reforms, under the Morley-Minto Reforms, Bengal had an elected majority. That elected majority could prevent the making of any laws which they did not approve. They cannot do so to-day, under the powers of certification that are reserved to the Governor. Therefore, in this matter so far as I can see, the Reforms have retrograded to some extent and have not advanced. The only difference is that now you have got a lot of camouflage and behind you have terrible reserve powers which you can use; nowhere is it more clear than when we come to deal with the power of the purse. What happens, Sir, to-day? You have the power of restoring any Demand for Grant that has been refused. I often hear people say "Why should we compel Government to restore?" I was sorry to hear some gentlemen say that by compelling Government to restore we will only transform an abnormal power into a normal procedure. I do not think that need deter us. That argument once appealed to me; but it now makes no impression on me because of the past conduct of the Government when they restored grants on very flimsy grounds. Therefore I do not think any one should be deterred by it. On the other hand, Sir, I think that being compelled to restore it exposes one of the most fundamental defects of this present constitution; and I shall explain it. We have all heard of the sacred principle of no taxation without representation. But the power of restoration means this, that the Government can impose taxation and ignore representation. If I may use an expression which is more graphic, though less polite, the power of restoration means "Impose taxation and damn representation." That is the power of the purse which exists to-day, and it is one of the most fundamental defects in this constitution. Is there any one here who can tolerate the powers thus possessed by the Government? I submit, Sir, no one in this House should tolerate it, much less should Englishmen tolerate this power. In this twentieth century no Government imposes taxes without the consent of the people. Here the Government can impose taxes in spite of the dissent of the people. Nothing can deter them. They have the power to do so. But what does it mean? To impose taxes against the will of the people through the representatives of the people in this Assembly means nothing more than legal robbery. Constitutional lawyers are to-day agreed that to tax the people without their consent is legal robbery. I should like to hear the views of the successor of Lord Macaulay in this House upon this aspect of this question. I am quite certain, Sir, that Robin Hood and our own Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves would have been delighted if they had had this power. Therefore, Sir, this is a constitution which cannot for a moment command our approbation. It causes dissatisfaction, it causes discontent; it causes divine discontent; it enforces agitation. And I should like to ask, are the Government prepared or disposed to do something to relieve us in this matter in the way that has been suggested, namely, by the appointment of a Royal Commission? It is a very moderate and modest demand, and I do not think that Government should hesitate.

After all the Government must remember that they have had a good deal to do in fashioning this present constitution, and even if they had not, they have a duty to advise. I do not know if you remember that in that famous declaration there was a paragraph which said that Parliament would decide what steps to take or in what time and measure the next move should be with the advice of the Government of India. Somehow those words have disappeared from the Preamble that is now embodied in the Government of India Act. I cannot for one moment believe that the Government in England would act without the advice of the Government of India, and I cannot for one moment believe that the Government in England would reject the advice of the Government of India; and I therefore ask the Government of India what are they doing? Are they going to facilitate the next instalment or are they doing anything to impede the next instalment? I do hope and pray that they are doing something to facilitate the next instalment.

Sir, what has happened hitherto? We were first told that there was no necessity to revise this constitution because within the structure and scope of the Act much could be done. Lord Peel said so, and I do not know what Lord Peel had in mind. He might have had in mind the distinction between votable Demands and non-votable Demands. This distinction of votable and non-votable, Sir, sometimes reminds me of the distinction between potable and non-potable drinks. It may be that he intended to obliterate that distinction; but I myself think that what he probably had in mind was what was done in Canada under the scope and structure of the Canadian Act. We know, Sir, that the Canadian constitution at the time Lord Derby made his famous report resembled very much the constitution of the Government of India to-day. But what did England do within the structure and scope of that Act? They did not change the Act—not at all; they simply issued instructions to the Governor General to appoint as his Ministers those only who commanded the confidence of the people; and by that simple act he transformed a family compact into a representative and responsible institution. I do not want to say anything about those who are appointed here; but sometimes I feel, Sir, that those who are appointed, instead of commanding the confidence of the people, seem to command the diffidence of the people, and that makes a world of distinction between appointing or not appointing Indians.

Well, Sir, that is the position. So far as this is concerned, we have not had the benefit of Lord Peel's instructions to the Government of India. But somehow the Government of India did not know what to do within the structure and scope of the present Act; they appointed a Committee—I suppose it was called the Muddiman Committee, and the Muddiman Committee made certain reports. Now, I do not like to throw mud at Sir Alexander Muddiman or at any other man; but I must say, Sir, that I am not enamoured of this Minority Report, much less of the Majority Report. We are no doubt grateful to them for transferring Forests or Fisheries or some loaves and fishes; but on the whole it seems to me, Sir, that it is playing with the temper and the talent of the people to ask them to be satisfied with this sort of change or improvement.

The next point to which I will refer is this. We are asking for a Statutory Committee or Royal Commission to be appointed before the ten years have elapsed. No doubt the period of 10 years is fixed under the Act, but that is only the maximum period. The Government are

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bound to appoint a Commission after that period, but they are not precluded from appointing it within that period. I remember very well, Sir, Mr. Ben Spoor interpellating Mr. Montagu whether a Commission could be appointed within that period and Mr. Montagu declared that there was absolutely nothing whatever in the Act to prevent the appointment of a Statutory Commission before the lapse of ten years. If I am right, Sir, I think you yourself inspired the interpellation of Mr. Ben Spoor at that time, and the wording of the Act completely bears out what I have said. Why then do they not appoint it? We are told, "Here is a machinery. If you work it well, we shall accelerate the Commission. But if you do not work it, we shall stand still. We shall not accelerate the Commission". You all know that many of us are willing to work this Act for all it is worth. But they will tell us, "There is the Swaraj Party who refused to do it". The Swaraj Party naturally say, "We asked for a machine, but you have given us a different machine. The machine we asked for is quite different to this. Don't you know the difference between the machine you have given us and the machine we asked for?" Of course they do. It reminds me of a dutiful child who once prayed to God that it may have a bicycle. Its mother heard the prayer and promptly bought a tricycle. The child was very gratified, but the next year it prayed, "Oh, Lord, I thank you for the tricycle. But don't you know the difference between a bicycle and a tricycle?" (Laughter.) I ask this Government, don't they know the difference between the machine they have given us and the machine we desired? Sir, the Swaraj Party naturally say, "This is a bad machine. This is a rotten machine. This is an unworkable machine. If we work this machine, we will find it unworkable and you will say that the mechanic is incapable. We therefore decline to work this machine. Give us a better machine and we shall work it". The Government's attitude is simply this: "You work this machine. It may be bad, it may be rotten, but you must work it. If you do not work it, we shall never give you a better machine."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Or any other.

Mr. J. Baptista: Is that a rational attitude? That is one of the most comical attitudes I have ever come across. Surely, Sir, the best way is to give them a better machine. Instead of giving them a better machine, the Home Member appeals to a proverb. He says, "You can take a horse to the water, but you cannot make it drink". That may be good enough for the horses of England. There is another proverb in England which says "England is the heaven of women but the hell of horses". Therefore, no wonder horses in England behave in the fashion which the Honourable the Home Member says, that "You can take them to the water but you cannot make them drink". Horses in India are quite different. (Laughter.) You can take them to water and make them drink. The difference really, Sir, is the difference between the mentality of the East and the mentality of the West. Here we have come across a conflict between the mentality of the East and the mentality of the West. What would a wise man do? A wise man would say, "Well, you say you cannot work this machine. You want a better machine. I shall give you a better machine". That would mean responsive co-operation. That would compel co-operation. That is what a wise man would do. Instead of saying that, I find in Government a stubbornness which

baffles my comprehension. I cannot understand why they will not give a better machine. If they say this is a perfect machine and our laws are perfect like the laws of Medes and Persians, and immutable, we should not be able to say anything more than what Carlyle said: "There are 20 millions of people in England, mostly fools". Well, Sir, I do honestly pray that they will take a more reasonable attitude in this matter. They say the Swarajists were not responsive. Were they not? Could you get anything better, Sir, anything more desirable than what the Leader of the Swaraj Party said at the very commencement of the second reformed Assembly? He said, "We are here, non-co-operators, come to co-operate with you. We are your men if you will take us". There was the hand of friendship extended to the Government of India and the duty of the Government of India ought to have been to grasp that hand and if they had done so, at that very moment the history of India would have been completely changed.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman (Home Member): What was the hand that was offered?

Mr. J. Baptista: I do really believe that the Government have not acted in that manner in which they ought to have acted. It makes me feel that the whole object is to delay, delay, till the 10 years have elapsed. If that is your object, please say so and we shall know what to do. But if that is not your object, then do not insist upon the humiliation of the Swaraj Party. We know very well the history of the Swaraj Party. We know what made them take to non-co-operation, and if I may say so, it is non-co-operation on the basis of non-violence that has rendered the greatest service to the Government of India and has prevented the bloodshed of thousands of persons. (Hear, hear.) It has rendered the greatest service that could have been rendered to the Government of India at the most critical moment in the history of India. I therefore do not think, Sir, that the Government of India should insist upon the humiliation of the Swaraj Party. Do you mean to conciliate them or humiliate them? I come here as a responsive co-operator and I can tell you honestly that if you respond to the appeal which my Honourable friend Mr. Jinnah has made, you will change the face of this country. You will have a very large measure of response. Remember, Sir, after all the people of India are a very grateful people, and they, more than anybody else, are grateful for any concessions that are given to them. We are now entering upon a new era. I do hope, Sir, that under the régime of Lord Irwin and under the supervision of Lord Birkenhead we shall enter upon a new era of co-operation and of responsive co-operators. If you wish that responsive co-operation, then accept this Resolution and comply with the demand of my Honourable friend for a Royal Commission. If you do so, we shall feel very grateful. I can assure you, Sir, that East and West will walk hand in hand and each will serve for the welfare of the other. I hope that will be the future of our country now. (Applause.)

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes (Member for Commerce and Railways): Sir, I must apologise for inflicting a speech upon the House to-day, but Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal is responsible for it. It is his speech that has brought me to my feet. Before I come to Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, I should like to refer to the speech of the Honourable Member who has just sat down. The Honourable Member is an old Parliamentary hand, and it would not become me to congratulate him on his maiden speech in

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the Assembly, but I think that I can say that this House can congratulate itself on having added to its ranks yet another accomplished orator. At the same time, I should like to make it clear that I disagree heartily with most of what the Honourable Member said.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: That was expected.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Sir, I listened to Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal's speech with the greatest attention. I must say that it surprised me very greatly. But what surprised me most of all was the conclusion of his speech in which he said that he was going to vote with Mr. Jinnah. I am not one of those who believed in the practice which has been described as digging into the dust-heap of past speeches, but I have a very vivid recollection, and I may say that most Honourable Members in this House will have a very vivid recollection, of a speech made by my friend Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal on the Demand for Grant for the Railway Board in February, 1925. Pandit Motilal Nehru had moved the
12 NOON. rejection of that Demand. Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal with all that eloquence to which we are accustomed in this House opposed that motion, and he made a declaration of principle with which I think the House will agree. He gave this as his main reason for opposing the motion of Pandit Motilal Nehru. He said:

"We want to create conventions and all over the world constitutional advance has been made through the creation of conventions and we want to create conventions if we can, that the Viceroy shall not ordinarily certify a rejected grant."

And here may I just point out that Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal is constantly mixing certification and restoration. The restoration of a rejected grant is the painful duty of the Governor General in Council. The Governor General in Council does not certify but can restore it, and he can restore it only when he is satisfied that it is essential to the discharge of his responsibilities. Now, Sir, it is this building up of conventions to which Lord Peel referred in that famous despatch of 1923 to which Mr. Baptista and Sir Hari Singh Gour referred. It was by building up these conventions that he thought that the progress within the Act could be made, and it is a matter of extreme regret to us on this side of the House that instead of building up these conventions in the way in which not only Lord Peel but Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal advocated, this House is doing its best to prevent those conventions from being built up.

I am quite sure that when Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal resiled yesterday from his declaration of principle in February, 1925, he was acting under a misapprehension. He thought, indeed he said it in so many words, that it would make no difference to any one if Members of Council were marooned as it were in Simla or Delhi. He said that the expenses to which this grant relates are the expenses for taking the Members of the Executive Council to and from Simla. That is an entire misapprehension as my Honourable friend, Sir Basil Blackett pointed out yesterday. The expenses of our going to Simla form a very small proportion of these tour expenses. The grant is intended to enable Members of Council to travel all over India and get into touch with people whom they ought to see if they are properly to discharge their duties, and I appeal to any

business man in this House, especially my Honourable friends on the European Benches, whether the business community of this country would relish it if any restriction were placed by this House upon tours by Sir Basil Blackett, by Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra or by myself. (*An Honourable Member*: "Are you really accessible to Indian opinion?") That is the best way in which we can discharge our responsibilities, and we tour periodically to important centres of India in order to discuss matters of the greatest importance to the country with people who are chiefly interested. I ask Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal to consider whether it would be wise that he should do anything which should stop us from doing that. As I have said, I am perfectly sure that if Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal had rightly apprehended this grant he would not have made the speech that he made yesterday.

But, Sir, I am not concerned with the inconsistencies of Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal. I should like to pass on to a much more important point. Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal said, "What do we want? We merely want a re-examination of the problem. We want an examination only." Those were his words. That is a very great change from the demand made in Simla in the September Session, and I should like to assure Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal that we in this House appreciate that change very much. The demand that is put forward now by Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal for the earlier appointment of the Statutory Commission is a demand with which we on this side of the House can have much more sympathy.

Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal (Calcutta: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Then why not accept it?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Honourable Member asks me why we should not accept it. The Honourable Member has asked for the earlier appointment of the Statutory Commission under section 84A of the Government of India Act. Let me just read to the Honourable Member what exactly the Statutory Commission has got to do.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: To take away the Assembly.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Section 84A (2) says:

"The persons whose names are so submitted, if approved by His Majesty, shall be a commission for the purpose of inquiring into the working of the system of government, the growth of education, and the development of representative institutions, in British India, and matters connected therewith, and the commission shall report as to whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government"

(*Mr. M. A. Jinnah*: "It does not exist now.")

"or to extend, modify, or restrict the degree of responsible government then existing"

Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal: We knew that you could go back. Go back if it is necessary.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Then again that Commission undertaking that all-important inquiry will be governed by those famous paragraphs in the Preamble to the Government of India Act to which my Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah, takes such exception

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: I have never taken any exception.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I beg the Honourable Member's pardon. He takes exception to our repeating them in this House. That being so, I think I had better repeat those words once more.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: On the contrary I had said that the Preamble is of no consequence in a Statute. Why repeat it?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Honourable Member says that all this reference to the Preamble of the Government of India Act is a parrot cry. It is not a parrot cry, nor is it a formula as the Honourable Member also called it. Co-operation is—and this is the point which I wish to make most clearly—one of the conditions that govern the whole problem, and the Statutory Commission when it comes will be governed by that condition. And whose fault is it that we constantly bring in this condition to the notice of this House? Is it our fault that every Session of this Legislature, since the second Assembly began to sit, this constitutional debate has been brought up? Even Mr. Jinnah, polished orator that he is, was entirely unable to say anything new yesterday and I can say the same of Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal. If every Session Honourable Members will bring up this question we must as often refer them to the Preamble of the Government of India Act.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Is there any mention in the Preamble or in any particular section that the Swarajists should co-operate before an advance could be made?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I do not catch the Honourable Member. Then several Honourable Members asked us a pertinent question. They said, "What do you mean by co-operation?" Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal said, "You want the co-operation of slaves with masters." I make bold to say that that statement is entirely incorrect. We have never objected in this House to reasoned criticism of any action of the Government: on the contrary, we have welcomed it and we will welcome it still.

Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal: And you have defined reason according to your own ideas.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Mr. Rangachariar said to me, "Have I not co-operated?" If there were 318 million Rangachariars in India—it is an awesome thought,—I admit that the problem would be shorn of most of its difficulties.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar (Madras City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): No country can produce that.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I will even say, that if there were 159 million Rangachariars and 159 million Jinnahs the problem would be shorn of most of its difficulties.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: You would not be here then.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: But what is the use of making debating points of this kind? I should like to restate without any bitterness at all the position that Government have always been compelled to take up in this matter. In 1919 the Government of India Act was

passed. I think everybody will admit that whatever defects there may be in this Act, and no one on this side of the House has denied that there are defects in the dyarchical system, all we have claimed is that given good-will and co-operation that system is workable, workable as a transitory measure. Whatever be the defects, every fair-minded man will recognise that that Act represented a notable advance in the solution of a very difficult problem. It was a really generous advance, and it was an advance which ten years ago not one of the Honourable Members of this House would even have thought possible, and yet what was the response that we got? The British Parliament had made this very generous advance to the people of India, and the response we got was first the dangerous non-co-operation movement. The response we got was the boycott of the first Councils. Then, Sir, the non-co-operation movement spent itself. It failed, and the Swaraj Party, whose absence we all regret so much, came into this House with the avowed object of persistent obstruction within this Council. Then only in July last a Conservative Government made the most generous gesture of advance towards this House. What was the response? Their offer was flung back in their face by the Resolution of September last. And finally, Sir, only a few days ago the most numerically important party in this House walked out. Now, Sir, I do not want to rub in these facts, and I am not speaking with any bitterness. I am speaking of what has passed and I am not referring to the future at all. But I do ask any fair-minded man in this House to consider for himself what sort of record is that for a Government which is bound to look, as one of the conditions of the problem, for reasonable co-operation before further advance can be made. That is the answer that I must give to Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal.

May I also take this opportunity of referring to a statement of my own which has, I understand, caused considerable excitement on the other side of the House. Speaking at the end of the railway discussion, I had great pleasure in telling this House that in so far as railway and commerce matters are concerned, not only this Assembly but the other Assembly had co-operated with me. Only three days later I had to revise that statement. But I still say that though the Assembly has passed many Resolutions on questions relating to commerce and railways of which I disapprove, yet when they treated commerce and railway matters on their merits, they did give me great assistance. I was then referring only to those two subjects, commerce and railways, and I did not refer in any way to politics at all. Now, Sir, if that statement will give my Honourable friend Mr. Rangachariar any pleasure he is welcome to it. But I should like to tell the House what followed upon that statement. I mention no names at all. When I had sat down after making that speech, two prominent members of the Swaraj Party came across and said to me "Sir Charles Innes, you have admitted co-operation with us. We shall get Sir Basil Blackett to admit co-operation with us and we shall get Sir Alexander Muddiman to admit co-operation with us and then all will be well". I think, Sir, that throws a flood of light upon the mentality of the Swaraj Party. It is perfectly true that within two or three days the Swaraj Party had walked out, but, Sir, who shall say with what searchings of heart they did walk out, and what divided counsels there were in the Swaraj Party? I have not the slightest doubt myself that many members of the Swaraj Party bitterly regret the mistake they made, and more than

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that I believe I am correct in saying that many members of the Swaraj Party recognise that during the last five years they have followed throughout a wrong and misconceived policy. The trouble is that one false step has led to another until it is difficult for them to retrace their steps. But I am quite sure that if we could rewrite the history of the last five years many of the prominent gentlemen who belong to that party would come in like Mr. Rangachariar and others and do their best to work this constitution, defective though it may be, instead of standing outside and trying to obstruct us at every turn. Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal said that non-co-operation had spent itself, and he believed that the Swaraj movement would spend itself also. I believe that too. I believe that the tide has now turned. I believe that the members of the Swaraj Party are beginning to realise their mistake. What I appeal to Honourable Members in this House is that they should not in any way identify themselves with the methods which have been pursued by that Party. I know, Sir, that Mr. Jinnah's proposition is an attractive proposition to some. I am glad to recognise that Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal and Mr. Baptista have not put forward as the reason for the action they wish us to take any statement such as "grievances before supplies". All they say is this. We want to show that we are anxious to have a further advance and we think that this is the most emphatic way in which we can show it. Sir, I agree that to some it is an attractive proposition. But I also believe that it is an unsound proposition, and I believe that the right thing for Honourable Members in this House is at the present time to resist such political manoeuvres and to refrain from unsound methods of this kind. The Honourable the Home Member has told you that he is looking for the sign of the dawn. I believe that he would get that sign if my Honourable friends opposite would withdraw this motion and refuse to identify themselves with methods which, I make bold to say, have been wholly discredited. I appeal to all Members of this House, if Mr. Jinnah will not withdraw, to reject this motion.

Colonel J. D. Crawford (Bengal: European): It was not my intention to intervene in this debate, for my Honourable friend Sir Darcy Lindsay has said all that there is to say on behalf of the non-official European group; but the further appeals made to us by Sir Hari Singh Gour, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal and Mr. Baptista necessitate, in my opinion, some answer, and they afford me the opportunity of developing one point which to my mind has been overlooked and is a point of very great importance. Before I turn to that point I would like to thank the Home Member for the very sympathetic way in which he has replied to the request of Mr. Jinnah. I personally have never been one of those who have been enamoured of this talk of "the open door". My feeling is that either here you have an Act which is capable of development and affords ample opportunity for progress if worked in a reasonable manner or the Act is fundamentally faulty in construction and therefore should be changed irrespective of other factors, and it has been difficult for me to understand how it is that the Government of India have not made up their mind on this subject one way or the other. To many of us it seems that much of the trouble and much of the difficulties with which we are faced to-day arise from the opportunity afforded by the Government of India Act itself and by these suggestions of the open door to divert the attention of electors and their representatives from the important

social and economic problems with which India is faced and invite them to concentrate their attention on this constitutional question. Had it not been for the fact that a definite period was stated in the Government of India Act we might have seen a far greater development of real political progress in this country to-day than we have done. I am anxious to pay a very real tribute on my part to Mr. Jinnah and his Party in this House and to those representatives in the first Assembly and their supporters in the country who have in the face of much unpopularity and continued pressure stood staunchly by constitutional methods. I do not in any way wish to limit my appreciation, and I am sure the appreciation of my colleagues, of the co-operation which they have always accorded. I am one of those who believe with the Home Member that the reward for that work will in due course be forthcoming from the country. And in spite of what is said elsewhere, my constant watching of the political situation in India leads me to believe that in the forthcoming general election there will be a large sense of appreciation shown by the electorate throughout India of the work which my Honourable friends have done; and I sincerely trust that they will come back in larger numbers to continue the policy which they have held hitherto. I feel that if that is the case, as my Honourable friend Mr. Darcy Lindsay said, we Europeans will be only too ready to reconsider our attitude as it is to-day.

My Honourable friend Sir Hari Singh Gour and Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal have charged Sir Darcy Lindsay and the European non-official Members on these Benches with having gone back on the liberal outlook which was displayed by the European representatives in the first Assembly. I know my friends opposite believe that if we are not inimical to India's aspirations at least we are intentionally conservative. Sir, let me emphasise the fact that we are not inimical in any way to India's political aspirations, and if I may prove to my friends that we are really and genuinely in sympathy with the desire to see India progress politically and economically, I will do so. There are many who will say that the European Association which I have the honour to serve is one of those "die-hard" bodies. That is a charge which is often brought against it. Now what, Sir, does that body put forth as its political faith? What are three of the important points which it says are the political creed of the non-official Europeans in this country? The first is that their desire is "the fostering of a relationship of cordiality and co-operation with those Indians who are working constructively for the good of India"; and it says that the following considerations will govern the actions of the Council of that body: and the first two are these, "the maintenance and promotion of ties strengthening the position of India as an integral part of the British Empire", and secondly "the wisdom of assisting the political and economic development of the country in which we live with due regard to the benefit and contentment of its various peoples". Those, Sir, are expressions which I think genuinely show that we are desirous of assisting India's political progress, that we are prepared to assist all those, like our friends opposite, who are working constructively for the good of India.

Mr. K. Ahmed (Rajshahi Division: Muhammadan Rural): What about your vested interests?

Colonel J. D. Crawford: My friend Mr. Kabeer-ud-Din Ahmed says, "What about our vested interests?" Sir, I think we all have vested interests in this country. The European community has very considerable

[Colonel J. D. Crawford.]

stakes in this country, and it is the fear that those perfectly legitimate stakes may be endangered, from remarks that are at times passed in this House, that is inclined to make the community cautious in coming forward. In view of those statements, Sir, it is therefore a matter of regret to me personally that to-day, when for the first time this little non-official European group finds itself in this House in a position to throw the scales one way or the other, that we are unable to give our vote to Mr. Jinnah. (*An Honourable Member*: "Shame.") (Laughter.) We do so, Sir, out of the entirely honest conviction that the time has not yet come for the appointment of a Royal Commission. That is our conviction as it stands to-day and that is the reason we cannot, holding that conviction, go, as many of us would like to do, with our friends into the lobby.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: When will it come please? In 1959?

Colonel J. D. Crawford: And this, Sir, brings me to the point which I wish to emphasise. My Honourable friend opposite asks me when we will come. Well, Sir, there is one remark which fell from the lips of my Honourable friend Mr. Baptista which seemed to me to show that the time cannot be very far off when we will be coming. He called us for once, "Birds of Paradise"; and I felt that I was clothed in that wonderful plumage and had but to open my wings and fly into my Honourable friend's lobby. (Laughter.) But the fact underlying that remark is the most essential factor to the advance of India. We are accustomed in this House to be told that we are "robbers, thieves, blackguards." It comes from the lips time and again of irresponsible Members; and when Members opposite say, "Why will you not come into the lobby with us?" we might say, well when we go back to our constituencies they say to us, "Did so and so say that about you in the House, and do you mean to say you chatted with him in the lobby afterwards? We cannot understand the mentality of a man who is called a thief and a robber and then goes and has a cup of tea with the man who has called him that." That is the position that we are faced with in our constituencies. Remarks of that nature are doing much harm to our joint advance together. It is remarks such as Mr. Baptista has made, that we are Birds of Paradise, that will bring us together. (Laughter.) (*An Honourable Member*: "You want compliments.") That, Sir, is to my mind the great point. My friend Mr. Muhammad Yakub has mentioned it; my friend Mr. Baptista has mentioned it again. We desire to develop amongst not only the British and the Indians but amongst all communities a real feeling of goodwill and trust in one another. That is the surest method of advance, and all those who use these bitter words, either in this House or on a public platform or in the Press, be they European on the one side or Indian on the other, are putting off the day when we can really get towards Swaraj; I do implore my Honourable friends there who have done so much to work the constitution that they will always check such unworthy sentiments and that together we may work for that real atmosphere of goodwill and co-operation between all communities which alone will bring us to our goal. (Applause.) You may appoint a hundred Royal Commissions but they will do no good unless you can get the people themselves to work together and work for advance. I feel sincerely that the question of the earlier appointment of a Royal Commission is not one that really matters. But if to-day we as a community and other communities were relieved of the constant threats against minorities—if we could hear kind words instead of hard words, then . . .

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: May I ask my Honourable friend, does he really believe in those threats? Has not the action of this Assembly during the last five years vouchsafed that safety which he wants?

Colonel J. D. Crawford: I am asked if I believe in those threats. I believe that many of the remarks made from the opposite Benches are due to the exuberance of youth more often than not. But that is not the effect that they are inclined to have on persons outside the House who elect us as representatives here. I again emphasise my honest belief that if we could only get co-operation amongst ourselves, then we would not only have the solution of our difficulties here in India but the solution of the problem which faces the world to-day, the adjustment of difficulties between the various races of the world, so that we may live in peace and progress constantly. (Applause.)

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions: Non-Muhammadian Rural): Sir, I was sorry to hear in the course of the debate two of my friends on this side of the House belittle the Congress and its influence in the country. I am sure they did not intend to cast any serious reflection on the Congress and that it was an unfortunate expression of opinion which

Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal: A word of explanation, Sir. I never said one word in depreciation of the Congress. What I said, and I hold still and will always hold, is that the Congress has no right to give any mandate to a Member of this House.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Sir, I entirely agree with my friend that he is entitled to express the opinion that the Congress is not entitled to give a mandate to a Member of this House. That is a proposition which may be debated, but what I took objection to and regretted was the remarks which went to show that the Congress had lost all its influence in the country and that its membership was confined to the number of a few thousands, and it is that which I took exception to. I wish to say that the influence of the Congress in the country should not be judged merely by the numbers on its rolls at the present moment. The Congress stands in this country for only one policy, namely, the policy of the early establishment of responsible Government in this country, and on that point I venture to say that all educated Indians are of one mind. We differ from the present Congress Executive and the policy which they pursue. I have my strong differences with them. But I wish everybody to understand that the country as a whole is of the same mind which the Congressmen at present in office express, namely, a strong, a keen and an undying desire for the early establishment of responsible Government in this country.

Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal: By civil disobedience.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: They have dropped it.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: I had hoped my Honourable friend, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, was cured by this time of the dread of civil disobedience. I will not spend any more words on it.

The second point I come to is the attitude which the Government Members have adopted in this debate. The Honourable the Home Member in a very sympathetic mood expressed his differences from those who have spoken in support of this motion. So also the Honourable Sir Charles

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Innes has said that it is not in any spirit of bitterness that they approach this question, that it is not in any spirit of unreasoning opposition that they oppose this proposal, but that they honestly feel that the interests of India will not be served by persisting in the attitude implied in the motion of my Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah. They expressed, both of them, a strong desire that there should be greater co-operation and goodwill shown by Indians. The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman said and there was a note in his speech which touched the hearts of some of us—that he did not mean to treat lightly the proposals that came from this side of the House: he opposed the motion because he honestly believed that those who had put them forward were mistaken, and he justified the attitude of the Government because he said that there was an absence of that amount of co-operation which the Government considered necessary. He described himself as a watchman, and he said he did not see the beacon light, otherwise it would be his happiness, his privilege, to report that darkness had been dispelled and light had dawned so that the Royal Commission might come to this country. Now, Sir, I ask my Honourable friends on the Government Benches to consider whether we Indians as a body, or Swarajists in particular, are alone responsible for the absence of that amount of co-operation which my Honourable friends on the Government Benches desire. I wish, Sir, that they would examine the situation dispassionately and calmly. May I remind my Honourable friend, the Home Member—because he certainly was present here in 1918—of the Conference which was held in this very House under the presidency of Lord Chelmsford in 1918 when the Princes of India and the representatives of all sections of the Indian public met here in response to the appeal of His Majesty's Government to make a stronger, a greater effort in the matter of recruiting for the Army and helping the Government in other ways in carrying on the War? My friend certainly will remember in what spirit the Princes and the representatives of the people met. My friend will remember that there was no desire in any heart except the desire loyally, honestly, earnestly to co-operate with the Government in that crisis; and, Sir, I would then ask my friend to remember what came in 1919. It is unfortunately necessary to recall these facts in order that we should judge fairly and impartially whether the blame lies on only one side, or whether it should not be distributed on both sides. I do not wish to dwell at length upon the incident of the enactment of the Rowlatt Act when all the Indian Members of the Legislative Council were opposed in a body to the passing of that Act. I do not wish more than to refer to the incidents of the martial laws in the Punjab. I wish merely to remind you that the Government appointed a Committee to inquire into the administration of the martial laws, and that by the verdict of that Committee the complaints of the people about the excesses which had been committed under those laws were fully established. I come, Sir, to the year 1920. Finding that the Government had not responded sufficiently to the call for redress made in respect of the Punjab wrongs and in the matter of the Khilafat, Mr. Gandhi launched his non-co-operation movement. It was the result of the attitude which the Government had adopted. The Government should not forget that fact. We come then to 1921. We know what unfortunately happened that year. We know the unfortunate incidents that took place in Bombay; but those incidents need not have led to the extension of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act to various provinces. Under that extension my

Honourable friend will remember that nearly 25,000 persons or about that number were put into jail. Men, highly educated and most respected among the Indians, were put into jail. My friend Pandit Motilal Nehru was among the number, and my friend, the late Mr. C. R. Das, was also among the number. I cannot name all who were thus made unjustly to suffer. The Government continued that policy for a long time. The Government kept up that policy of not merely non-co-operating with the people but a policy of repression of the people. In 1922, Mahatma Gandhi, the most respected Indian of his time, was put into jail. Now, Sir, did not these circumstances combine to create a feeling, were they not calculated to strengthen the feeling, of regretful non-co-operation with the Government on the part of Indians? We then come to 1923. The Government found that the men who joined the first Assembly in the teeth of the opposition of their own countrymen did co-operate with the Government to the best extent they could. Their co-operation elicited more than once from the then Home Member, Sir William Vincent, an expression of appreciation of their attitude. The Government were inclined at that time to recommend to the Government in England that the question of an earlier extension of the Reforms should be considered. But that attitude disappeared shortly afterwards. A new Assembly came in in 1924. Who came in? Many men who had kept back on the first occasion, men who thought that the system of dyarchy which had been introduced was very unsatisfactory, men who were in principle entirely opposed to the system, still came in, and came in with the desire to mend the system or to end it, with the desire either to have it improved or to have the system as it existed destroyed. Was it a crime to do so? Is not that language known to politicians all over the world, that when you want to improve a system, you do talk of either mending it or ending it, of destroying the old system so that a new system might be substituted for it? That was the object with which these gentlemen came in. And who were they? Many of them men who had suffered imprisonment most unjustly for various periods of time, men who were among the most educated, several of them among the most esteemed of Indians. Such were the men who joined the Councils, the Legislatures all over the country. And what was the first act, the first important act which they resorted to? I do not wish to take up the time of the House by going through all the details. There was a demand put forward in February 1924. That demand was not the demand of only one Party. It was not the demand of the Swaraj Party; it was not the demand of the Independent Party. It was a joint demand of all Nationalists in this Assembly, in fact practically of all Indians who were free to record their vote in favour of any proposition which helped the people. Now, that demand, I submit, indicated very clearly a desire for co-operation with Government, and the speech delivered by my Honourable friend Pandit Motilal Nehru in putting forward that demand could not have been delivered in a better spirit of co-operation than it was. You remember, the House will remember, Sir, and Pandit Motilal Nehru reminded the House of it the other day, that he had said to Government "If you accept our proposal, I am your man; I offer co-operation if you will accept it". And the co-operation that he offered was not offered on impossible terms. What was it that the demand asked for? It did not ask that the reforms we desired should be introduced all at once. It did not say that full responsible Government should be established there and then in this country. All that it urged was that the Government should take steps to call a Conference at which the question

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should be fully examined, at which all sides of the question should be examined, and representatives of all important parties in the country could be heard as to what they thought was best in the interests of the country as a whole. That was all that that demand asked for. The response of the Government to that demand, Sir, is very well known. It was not adequate. A Committee was appointed; a Committee did examine the question in a very limited form. There was a Majority Report and a Minority Report. It was open to the majority to differ and it was open to the minority to differ each from the other; they did differ. When the Government brought forward a proposal that effect should be given to the report of the majority, with which the people's representatives in this House did not agree, what did we do? We put forward another proposal, a carefully considered proposal, which embodied the principles which we desired should be considered, examined and embodied in the next Reform Act; the Resolution of the 8th of September, 1924, incorporated those principles. Those principles were put in in a Resolution, because that was all that we could do on the occasion, and as my Honourable friend Mr. Jinnah reminded the House yesterday it was done in distinct response to the utterance of Lord Birkenhead, who had invited us to show if we could help in constitution-making. Constitution-making, Sir, we did not undertake, because we had not the power to amend the Government of India Act, but we had it in our power to indicate the principles which we desired should be embodied in the new Act; and that, I submit, was a real contribution in co-operation, honest, earnest, honourable co-operation; it was as much of reasonable co-operation as the Government could reasonably expect.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Not a comma to be altered.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: I think, Sir, the Honourable Sir Charles Innes is far too old an officer and man of experience seriously to mean that that stood in the way of the Government accepting the proposal. I think, Sir, my Honourable friend knows—he himself sometimes makes very witty remarks,—he knows that every word that is uttered in a debate is not to be treated with equal seriousness. At any rate, without any disrespect to him, I do not treat all that he says with equal seriousness. I would be doing him an injustice if I thought he really felt that that was the bone, that the comma was the bone, which stuck in his throat, and that but for if he would have accepted the proposal contained in the Resolution of this Assembly. I should be very happy if the case was really otherwise, for then, even without consulting my friends of the Swaraj Party, I would venture to agree, and we would persuade our friends and the country generally to agree, to remove that comma and any other similar commas. Now, I ask, Sir, the Government Members to consider what is the real position. Have they done all that they could on their side to make it possible for us to offer greater co-operation? Can they suggest anything more that we could have done in the way of real co-operation? When it was urged by Mr. Jinnah or some other friend that Government measures had received support from this side, and that the Honourable the Home Member could not mention any Government measure which had been opposed by this House, any measure of importance which the Government wanted to pass, the Honourable the Finance Member had ejaculated “What about the Finance Bill?” The Finance

Bill of 1924 was of course rejected by this House, and if it was a sin to reject it I was the greatest sinner, because the idea originated with me. But I beg to tell the House that I do not feel repentant up to this moment. I feel that it is perfectly legitimate for this House, as it would be for the Members of the English House of Commons, to express our disapproval of the financial and executive administrations of the Government in the strongest manner we can within the constitution by opposing a Finance Bill. It was a step quite within the constitution. We gave our reasons for rejecting the Finance Bill. I will not detain the House by dwelling again on those reasons; but I will say this, that if the taxation which had been put up so high during and after the war should still be maintained, if taxation should continue to be maintained at a higher level than we honestly believe it should be, if the Government should not reduce expenditure to the extent we think they should, if the Government should not minister to the needs of the people, industrial and other, to the extent they should, if the Government would not respond to the call of the people for greater Indianisation of the services, if the Government would not open all the departments of the Army to Indians, if the Government would not take the necessary steps to prepare Indians, to train Indians, to take their proper share in the defence of their country, in the service of their country and their King, the representatives of the people would be justified in opposing the Finance Bill as we opposed it; and if it becomes necessary to do so, I think every one of us would be prepared to oppose the Finance Bill again under those conditions; and unfortunately those conditions have not been very much altered, though, I recognise, that in some matters the Government have somewhat moved forward. I submit, Sir, that the rejection of the Finance Bill was meant to draw the attention of the Government here and even more, of the Government in England to the extraordinary situation in which we Indians found ourselves. Is there a country in the world where the people labour under such high taxation, where the taxation is so disproportionately high to the average national income? Is there a country in the world where the representatives of the people, elected by the people, are denied a voice in determining how the great bulk of the taxes, which are raised by their voices, shall be administered? I submit there is not; and that being so, we were justified, it was a duty we owed to our country, that we should record our protest against the action and attitude of the Government in the very effective manner in which we did. Sir, I submit that even that action of ours was one of co-operation, honourable co-operation, not slavish co-operation, to help the Government by the pressure of our honest opinion to do their duty rightly by the people, because I submit when we decided to join the Assembly, every Member who decided to join the Assembly or any other Legislature, decided to co-operate with the Government; when a Member took the oath of allegiance to the King-Emperor, he decided to co-operate with the Government, he decided to co-operate as an honourable man, as a free man. And we have all done so.

Mr. President: Order, order. This House now stands adjourned to ten minutes past two.



The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Ten Minutes Past Two of the Clock.

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

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Sir, I have submitted that this Assembly has offered as much reasonable co-operation as it could to the Government, and I submit that the plea that the Government will not take any further step towards constitutional reforms because the amount of co-operation offered has not been reasonable is utterly unjustifiable. I submit, Sir, if my friends on the other side were to put themselves in our position, how would they like it? I should like them to contemplate what their feelings would be if they were in our position and we were in their position. I think it was Lord Morley who once said that an administrator should try to get into the skin of the people with whom he has to deal. Will the Honourable Members on the Government Benches consider what in a similar situation their feelings would have been if they had acted as we have acted and if they had been met with the replies that we have met with.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: They would have broken our heads.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Yes, they would have broken our heads. Perhaps they would have done so. I ask what their feelings would have been if they were in our position, if they were as resourceless as we are, and if the might and power of the Government was all entirely in the possession of those who had the upper hand over them? I should like them to look at the question from that point of view. It will not help the Government, it will not help the cause of good government, if our friends will continue in the attitude which they have adopted. The Honourable Sir Charles Innes had said that the co-operation which had been offered was more than counterbalanced by the dangerous non-co-operation movement which was started afterwards. I have already explained how that came in, and I submit that two parties were responsible for that movement having come into existence, of which the Government was one. And, if the effects of that movement are to be obliterated, if the feelings which that movement generated have to be removed, the Government have to play a very important part in bringing this about. If the Government will not play that part, if they will not do their duty, and go on blaming those who were opposed to them by repeating again and again that they have not offered that amount of co-operation which the Government desired, I submit that they will not improve their position before the Indian world or before the civilised world. The Honourable Sir Charles Innes also thought that there was a change in the attitude of the Assembly indicated by the speeches of the Honourable Mr. Jinnah and the Honourable Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal. I submit he is mistaken. The demand that was put forward as the united demand of Swarajists and Independents or of the Nationalist Party stands where it did. The suggestion that the Government might appoint a Royal Commission is merely one of the solutions which is possible. But the point of complaint was that the Government have not shown any readiness to meet the wishes of the Assembly even by appointing such a Commission as is contemplated under section 84A of the Statute. If the Government think that this is the best form in which the inquiry should take place, then they have to bear in mind what Mr. Jinnah very carefully added that the composition of the Commission should be such as would command the con-

fidence of the Indian public. That is not an extravagant demand. The whole question therefore is: Do the Government desire that the present state of feelings which exist between educated Indians and the Government should change or do they want that it should continue? Here you have the educated Indians throughout the country united on one demand. You find that everywhere the same demand is made whether it is the Swarajist camp, or the Independent camp or the Liberal camp or any other camp. Every political party has put forward the demand for the earliest establishment of responsible government in this country. Will the Government ignore it? How long will they? And what will be the result? Do the Government think that the position which they have taken up at present is the best in the interest of a long-lasting unity between Indians and Englishmen? I do not think that anybody suggests that the connection between England and India is going to cease at an early date. At least we, on this side, do not contemplate an early cessation of this connection. And, if this connection is to continue, is it desirable that the existing bitterness of feelings should be allowed to continue? If not, how long will substantial reform be delayed? It is obviously extremely desirable that the feelings between the Government and the people should be very much improved. And what are the means which should be adopted for it? Will the Government improve the feelings between the Government and the people by continuing to ignore or to treat lightly the united demand of educated Indians throughout the country. Some may adopt one course, others may adopt another, but they are united in their demand. And let me here say a word as to the course adopted even by my Swarajist friends. I submit, Sir, that even those who disagree with them, even those who, like me, think that they have not adopted the right course, must admit that the fact that 40 or more Members of this Assembly should have decided to walk out of this Assembly and that a number of highly educated men who wish well of their country and wish to serve it according to their lights have by concerted action retired from the Legislatures throughout the country, is a fact of serious import. It certainly shows that the present system of Government calls for an early reconsideration. We are all anxious that the Government should adopt a reasonable attitude towards us, and we on our part are anxious that our attitude should be similarly reasonable. Differences must exist between men and men, and we are anxious that all our differences should be considered at a round table conference, at which we may be able to see the Government point of view and the Government may be able to see our point of view better than they do at present. If the Government continue to meet us only with a "No" to our united demand, and to function as they do at present with the powers they possess, what is the duty cast upon this House, what is the duty cast upon Members who come here to represent the people in this House? We clearly must place on record our protests against the existing system. That system is represented by the Executive Council of the Government of India. This motion is therefore brought forward to record our constitutional protest against the system. We feel that it is not the right system, we feel that it ought to be changed, that there should be an element of responsibility introduced in the Government of India; that the members who wield all the power of Government should be responsible to the elected representatives of the people in this House. We do think—we may be wise or unwise, right or wrong—but let me assure my Honourable friends, we honestly think that we can improve the administration very much if the Government Members will become responsible to the elected representatives of the people. Is

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that such a revolutionary change that the Government must oppose it? Will any Honourable Member on the Government Benches say that in any important matter that has come up for discussion they have found Indian Members to be unreliable? Will they not admit that we have debated all the questions which have come before us on their merits, that we have tried to put our own views and have tried to understand the views of the Government? If that has been the normal state of feeling which has existed in this House, who can say that if the Government Members will become responsible to the elected representatives of this House the administration of India will not be carried on much better than it is at present? That there is much room for complaint is beyond question. In every matter where we wanted improvement, Government have moved very slowly. In the matter of the Indianisation of the services what has been done is not sufficient. We do not merely want that our young men should be put in responsible positions. We also want institutions created to give them the necessary training to fill those high positions. We want suitable and sufficient opportunity given to Indians to train themselves for the defence of the country. When we find a sober and esteemed man like my friend Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, who has all along co-operated with the Government, complain of the most inadequate admission of Indians into the Army, I think Members of Government ought to feel that there is something very wrong in the attitude they have adopted. In this question as in others, for instance, on that relating to the encouragement of indigenous industries, we have much reason for complaint. The Government recognised before the War, and more so during the War, that the industries of this country ought to be developed. The dangers of India being isolated during the time of war were realised by the Government. A Commission was appointed which recommended many useful measures. How few of those recommendations have been carried out? How many recommendations remain still unattended to? The country is not growing in wealth, unemployment is growing to a distressing extent. After twenty or more years of education in Government and other schools, colleges and Universities a large number of our young men are not able to find employment. Trade is not flourishing. Industries are not growing and flourishing. I am sure that my Honourable friends opposite, who are where they are because of the Education they received, will admit that if such a serious state of things was found in England there would be a terrible cry raised throughout the country and in Parliament, and Parliament would have to legislate or adopt other measures necessary to improve the situation. Occasionally the Government have taken some steps in some directions, but I submit that what has been done is very little. A vast deal more requires to be done. And I express the considered opinion of most educated Indians when I say that the pace of progress would be tremendously accelerated if members of the Government would become responsible to this House. It is our conviction that this absence of responsibility is a serious drag upon good administration. Not only are our recommendations disregarded in matters where vital changes are necessary, but even in ordinary affairs the recommendations of this House have not been given effect to. Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer has already referred to the complaint regarding the expansion of the University Training Corps. The Government took a wise step when they introduced the University Training Corps. University students have been longing to get permission to be admitted in large numbers to the Corps. But when

you find that out of 2,000 students only 74 or 150 are admitted to a training corps and the rest of them have to wait and wait for years because the Government have not sanctioned an increase, I ask the Government to consider what will be the feelings of those students. They want to train themselves; they want to be trained to serve their country and their King, and is it right of the Government to make such delay in responding to that appeal? I might also refer to the administration of justice. What has been the action of the Government in two provinces which is partly responsible, I submit, for the attitude shown by my friends of the Swaraj Party and by some of us who have spoken on this present motion? In Bengal you have had so many educated men deprived of their liberty. Again and again it has been urged that the Government should bring them to trial. We do not want that those who may be really criminals should be allowed to go scot-free. We want that those against whom any guilt is established should pay the penalty of that guilt, but we do feel that it is a wrong that so many men should be deprived of their liberty and for such a long time without being brought before a court of justice. Let me also refer to a case relating to the Punjab. Two years ago, when the Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey was the Home Member, a Resolution was put before this House recommending the release of Sardar Kharak Singh, ex-President of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, one of the finest men I have known in my life, a man most esteemed throughout the Sikh world. Sardar Kharak Singh has been going without any clothing except his *kachch* for over two years now I think, because a foolish rule was introduced in the Jail. He was a political prisoner and he and his fellow prisoners were allowed to wear their own clothes. He therefore wore his Akali turban. One day an order was passed by the jail authorities that he should put aside his turban, and that those who wore Gandhi caps should also put aside their Gandhi caps. He resented the order and as a protest he put aside all clothing, except a bare *kachch* on his loins. The order was subsequently changed, and he was told that he might put on his turban, but the order prohibiting the use of the Gandhi cap still remained. He protested and said he could not put on his turban while his fellowmen, who were also political prisoners, were deprived of the freedom to put on their Gandhi caps. The matter was brought to the notice of the Government by a Resolution by Sardar Kartar Singh. Speaking in support of that Resolution, I laid the whole of the evidence of the case in which Sardar Kharak Singh had been convicted before this House. The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey said that he would ask the Punjab Government about the matter, but two years have passed and Sardar Kharak Singh, I am distressed to think, has still gone through all the cold of the winters of the Punjab without any clothing on his body. Last year also the attention of Government was drawn to this fact, and I should like to know from the Honourable the Home Member whether he has called upon the Punjab Government to explain why they have not taken any action in this matter. This is an isolated incident, but it is an incident of great importance, Sir, because it shows the attitude of mind which some of my Honourable friends in the Government adopt towards Indians and towards their grievances. For all these reasons I submit, that so long as the present system of Government will continue, such wrongs and grievances will largely continue. We therefore think that it is high time that the reforms we urge should be introduced and that they have long been overdue, namely, that the Members of the Government who are appointed to serve the people ought to be

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responsible to the elected representatives of the people. So long as this reform is not carried out, our duty is clear. We must record our protest, with regret but with a clear idea of the duty we owe to our people, against the present constitution of the Executive Council.

Mr. E. Burdon (Army Secretary): Sir, ever since I became a Member of this Assembly, about four years ago, my Honourable and very greatly respected friend Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer has been our most assiduous and most formidable critic of military expenditure and military administration, and I wish to acknowledge the very great pains which he has taken to study the military problems and the military organisation and military system of this country, and of other countries also, in order to make his criticism of the Government of India in this respect informed, reasonable and consequently effective. I confess with pleasure that it is largely due to his criticisms and also to his suggestions that we have elaborated the form in which the military estimates for next year have been presented, and that in the course of the last few years we have discovered a number of new means of affording to Honourable Members of this House and to the general public a much larger quantity of information regarding military affairs than was formerly at their disposal. In fact I regard what has been done in this direction as one of the "reforms" of that particular category to which my Honourable friend Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer attaches so much importance. My Honourable friend, I feel sure, takes it, to some extent at any rate, as an indication of the liberal attitude which the Government of India desire to adopt towards Members of the Legislature in presenting and discussing important military questions. But when I heard the speech which my Honourable friend made yesterday I felt very strongly, and I still feel, that in this instance his criticism is less generous than I should have expected from him, and that he has not done the Government of India all the justice which they deserve. I propose now to address myself to the task of demonstrating, by an array of facts which I hope will not be unduly tedious, that the charge which my Honourable friend has brought against the Army Department is not entirely justified.

I will begin, Sir, first of all by referring to that well-known theme, the institution of the Royal Indian Military College at Dehra Dun. The House has often heard from me and from successive Commanders-in-Chief a great deal about this school, and there are many Honourable Members who know a great deal about it at first hand; they have visited it and seen it in working. But it is necessary for me to bring forward again on this occasion the subject of the College because its institution and its successful development were and still are essential to the inauguration of the Indianisation of the Army, to use a phrase which I think combines in itself all the reforms which my Honourable friend, Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, had in mind. Moreover, the Dehra Dun Collège not only represents the most important measure of reform, among reforms of this category, which the Government of India have undertaken in recent years, but it is also the best evidence of the difficulties which the Government of India have had to overcome in setting about the reforms in question. For it was found at a very early stage that the system of education generally prevailing in India was not adapted to the production of young men likely to make successful officers in the Army, and the Government of India themselves by official agency had to create a College

which, though for very good reasons of sentiment it is called a military college, is really nothing more than an English public school in which the system of education has been given a certain bias towards training for the Army. The college is still unique of its kind in India and private enterprise has so far not seconded the efforts of Government. Yet there is no doubt at all that the school has been markedly successful. It was of course started only four years ago and it has not yet had time to produce the first batch of boys who have gone through the complete curriculum. The value of the results which the College has already achieved, however, has been generously acknowledged—I will say that—has been generously acknowledged by many shades of public opinion in India and I should like to read to the House certain observations made by the Commandant of the College in his last annual report:

“Before closing this report I particularly desire to place on record my opinion that the foundations of a sound ‘tradition’ are undoubtedly being laid at this college. From the very first all members of the staff have fully appreciated the importance of building up such a ‘tradition’; but they have at the same time realised that this cannot be done in a day. With this object in view it has always been impressed upon the cadets that, however great the efforts of the staff, the founding and maintenance of ‘tradition’ must rest largely with the cadets themselves. It is a pleasure to be able to state that the Cadet Captain and section commanders have by their conduct and actions given clear indications that they realise this, and I would add that I have nothing but praise for the manner and spirit in which they have carried out their duties and have shouldered their responsibilities in circumstances which at times have been far from easy. It is perhaps too early yet to say that this spirit extends throughout the whole body of the cadets; but one must not be impatient in a matter which only the course of years can bring to full fruition. I have, however, no hesitation in saying that the start made is good and justifies the hope that the day will eventually come when the general tone and conduct of the college will be regulated by the sanctions of an unwritten code enforced by the common consent of the cadets themselves.”

There are, I think, some who would say that it is hardly fair to criticise the Dehra Dun College until it had been in existence for, say, twelve years at the very least and had thus been able to produce two generations of boys who had gone through a complete course. I think myself that would be a reasonable opinion; and looking at the matter in this light it seems to me that it is a remarkable tribute to the success of the efforts of Government that the Commandant should have been able to speak of the College in such an early stage of its development in the words which I have just quoted. I feel myself that if Government had done nothing more in the last five years beyond establishing that College, they would have been entitled to claim that they had taken the most important step towards the accomplishment of the end which my Honourable friend wishes to reach so quickly.

Now, Sir, we have had to attack the question of education in and for the Army at many other points. A good deal has recently been written on this subject and been made available to the public and I do not propose to detain the House long on this particular point. I think it will suffice if I explain that we have made special and very carefully designed arrangements to provide the Indian soldier in the Indian Army with a sound practical education. We have done this because it has been our experience that education of this kind not only makes a man a better citizen but it makes him a better soldier. We have also made arrangements to provide for the special education of the children of Indian soldiers and officers, because it will obviously be to the national advantage and also to the advantage of the Army that these children should acquire

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a sound educational background before, as we hope they will do, they join the service in which their fathers have served Government. We have of course not confined our energies in the case of the Indian soldier and officer to imparting general education. In the Indian Army, as it has been re-organised since the War, Indian personnel have a far wider range of employment than they had before the War. They are employed not only in the primary combatant arms but also in many of the technical arms, for example, as gunners in certain branches of the Royal Artillery; and consequently, it has been necessary to give the Indian soldier, non-commissioned officer and the Viceroy's commissioned officer intensive training at military schools in technical military subjects. At those schools Indian personnel are trained not only to perform technical duties but also to instruct others in the performance of such duties.

Now, Sir, I pass on to one or two questions relating to the Indianization of the ancillary departments of the Army, a subject to which I know my Honourable friend Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer has devoted a considerable amount of attention. In the first place, I should like to remind the House of what has been done in regard to the Cantonments Department. Some time ago the Government of India decided to reserve some 20 appointments in the Cantonments Department—approximately 50 per cent. of the appointments of executive officers—for Viceroy's commissioned officers. The remaining appointments in the Cantonments Department are open to British and Indian officers holding the King's Commission and I hope that it will not be very long before I get my first King's commissioned Indian officer to join the Cantonments Department. I next wish to remind the House of the fact that it has been decided to admit Indian gentlemen to the Army in India Reserve of Officers. That is another new departure. At the present moment we are not actually receiving any candidates for the Army in India Reserve of Officers for the reason that the terms and conditions of service laid down immediately after the War have not proved sufficiently attractive. But we have drafted a new set of terms and conditions which I hope will have the desired result and will draw British and Indian gentlemen to the Reserve.

Now, Sir, I should like for a moment to refer to our Ordnance Factories in which very valuable national and educational work is being carried on. The Civil Mechanical Engineering appointments in the Ordnance Factories are of course open to Indians but we have had practically no applications from Indians for these appointments. One reason undoubtedly is

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao (East Godavari and West Godavari *cum* Kistna: Non-Muhammadan Rural): May I ask the Honourable Member what steps have been taken to advertise these appointments?

Mr. E. Burdon: I was just about to deal with that. The appointments are of course advertised in the usual manner but there are practical difficulties, which have to be recognised. There are a number of Indian boys who go to England and acquire the academic diploma which is one of the necessary qualifications for these appointments but afterwards they find it impossible to obtain the necessary workshop experience in industrial firms either in India or in England. That is a very real difficulty, and

in order to meet it, the Government of India recently sanctioned a small experiment with great possibilities in it. They created an appointment of Probationary Assistant Works Manager at one of the Indian Ordnance Factories. An Indian gentleman has recently been appointed to this post and I personally hope that the experiment will be successful and will lead to much wider developments. Now, Sir, another matter to which I desire to draw the attention of the House is this. We have worked out proposals for the employment of Indians as King's commissioned officers in the Indian Army Veterinary Corps. But here, again, we have been up against the difficulty we are up against in so many cases, namely, there is no institution in India, private or otherwise, which teaches up to the standard of veterinary science required. We have framed proposals for overcoming that difficulty and I hope they will be successful. Now, Sir, I come to the question of the Territorial Force.

Sir Hari Singh Gour (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muham-madan): What about the wireless or the Air Forces?

Mr. E. Burdon: I do not think I shall be allowed to talk on all these matters. I shall take a sufficiently long time to deal with other subjects. I come, Sir, to the subject of the Territorial Force Committee's Report which formed one of the principal counts in Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer's indictment. Here are the facts. The Government created the Territorial Force as the nucleus of a citizen army in 1920. Four years later, much sooner than would have been considered proper . . .

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: I shall have to ask your protection, Sir. What bearing has all this on the motion I have moved? The Honourable Member is going into details which are quite irrelevant.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett (Finance Member): Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer went into them.

Mr. President: I do not think the Honourable Member is very anxious to go into details if the House does not want them. He is attempting to answer the criticisms made by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer.

Mr. E. Burdon: The Government of India were accused of stagnation and I endeavour to show that stagnation is not a correct description of what the Government of India have done.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: You might give us the full history.

Mr. E. Burdon: We created the Territorial Force as the nucleus of a citizen army in 1920. Four years later, much sooner than would have been considered proper by many people, we agreed to appoint a Committee to go into the whole question of reforming the Territorial and other non-regular forces. This Committee had a non-official majority and a majority of Indians on it. The Report of the Committee was presented a little more than a year ago. Immediately after it was presented Lord Rawlinson, the Commander-in-Chief in India, under whose auspices the Committee had been appointed, died, and his immediate successor held the appointment of Commander-in-Chief temporarily only. These are factors which have undoubtedly contributed to such delay as has occurred in dealing with the Report. Then it was necessary to consult Local Governments. The Local Governments, I may say, took a very great interest

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in the Report and went into the recommendations of the Committee with very great care. They have furnished us with very valuable criticisms and material. There was, it is true, one Local Government which said that as it had no Ministers it could not furnish us with representative Indian opinion on the subject. Since then that Local Government has appointed a committee to deal with the recommendations of the original Committee. These have been our difficulties, but actually the consideration of the Report of the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces Committee has almost been completed and the Government of India hope very shortly indeed to send forward recommendations to the Secretary of State . . .

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: How long will he take?

Mr. E. Burdon: I am unable to say how long the Secretary of State will take but I hope it will not be very long.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: 1929.

Mr. E. Burdon: Honourable Members will remember that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, speaking in this House the other day, envisaged very clearly the possibility of some expenditure being incurred in the next financial year on fulfilling some, at any rate, of the important recommendations of that Committee.

Now, Sir, I come to the Skeen Committee but I will mention that very briefly. (Mr. M. A. Jinnah: "Nobody referred to that.") I cannot with propriety say very much about it for the moment except that the evidence which has so far been published in the papers seems to show clearly that the inquiry was necessary, that the problems which have to be investigated are not altogether easy of solution and that probably the inquiry could not have been undertaken with advantage at an earlier date. Here again, in the case of this Committee, representation of Indian opinion is on the widest possible basis, and certain members of the Committee are being given an unexampled opportunity of studying the methods of military training in other countries.

Now, Sir, the last item of my tedious list is the Royal Indian Navy and here I must acknowledge that my Honourable friend Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer expressed himself without qualification as being gratified with what the Government of India have done in regard to this matter. In other quarters I have seen some expressions of disparagement but it seemed to me that the expressions were halting and that our critics in this particular instance realise that there must be something very substantial behind a scheme in which His Majesty's Government have agreed to give to the new force from the start the title of Royal and the privilege of flying the White Ensign. The critics of Government talk of percentages when it suits them and of numbers, not in the form of percentages when by doing so they can lend their argument a better colour. I propose to do the same myself. In the case of the Royal Indian Navy, the percentage of Indians to be recruited as executive officers from the start is 83½ per cent. I admit that this only means one Indian a year as an executive officer to start with but that is because the force for practical and prudent reasons has been established as a small force to begin with. It will be for the people of India to say whether they wish the force to be increased after having seen what its value is and what the possibilities are of obtaining

Indian naval officers of the standard required. My Honourable friend Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer expressed the hope that there will not be great delay in taking the Navy scheme further and bringing it into practical operation. Well, Sir, I am rather optimistic on that point myself. We have got the ships, we have got the men and we have got the money too. One of our main stumbling blocks may be legislation but of course it is inconceivable that undesirable delay should take place in the process of legislation.

Now, Sir, in the record which I have given to Honourable Members of this House, do they find justification for my Honourable friend's complaint? (*Some Honourable Members: "Yes".*) Sir, I would ask the House particularly to look to the circumstances in which the programme of reforms up to date has been carried out. The period of time to which my Honourable friend's observations relate commences with the end of the Great War when the Army and the Army administration were exhausted by the efforts of the War and when it was imperative that the Army itself should be reconstructed and reorganised from top to bottom in the technical military sphere quite apart from any changes that might be necessary in the political sphere to which my Honourable friend has mainly addressed himself. There were other preoccupations also. There was the Third Afghan War. There were continued disturbances on the Frontier. There was the necessity of settling the Waziristan problem in which I think the House will acknowledge that the Government of India have achieved a very conspicuous success. Will any reasonable man say that the record of army reforms in the political sphere which the Government of India have carried out is inadequate having regard to the difficulties under which the task had to be essayed? I can hardly believe that the general sense of the House will be against Government on this point. And I must further point out that Government have had to work alone in this matter. As I have said in an earlier passage in my speech, private enterprise has not arisen to reinforce the efforts of Government to improve the Indian system of education though measures of the character which Government have set on foot are acknowledged, and widely acknowledged, to be necessary not only for army purposes but for other important national purposes also. Private enterprise has done nothing—let me take another example—to encourage civil aviation amongst the people of this country. Had there been any such attempt the arguments in favour of admitting Indians to the Royal Air Force, another of my Honourable friend's bones of contention, would have been immensely strengthened. Now, Sir, I hope the House will agree that I have gone a long way to answer my Honourable friend's indictment. I cannot admit that stagnation is a correct description of the history of the administration in the Army Department during the past few years. Had Government attempted to go faster they might not have achieved so much; they might even have found it necessary to retrace their steps. In the ordinary affairs of life "safety first" is an admirable maxim. It is a very sound maxim to follow in questions affecting the defence of India. (Applause.)

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: Sir, the debate on this question of constitutional reform has spread over a very wide field and every imaginable argument that has been used during the last three years has again been brought into requisition. Sir, we have had our usual surprises, both in regard to the logic of facts and the logic of argument. I do not wish to cover the whole ground again but would confine myself to a few matters. Sir, the Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman began his speech

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by making some reference to the statement of Monsieur Briand that a politician's job is an atrocious one. I think, Sir, that the Honourable Member has come to realise the truth of that statement more than anybody else. He has become a very astute politician in this House, and the answer which he has given to this debate fully justifies the view that he is in the front rank of the politicians in this country. (*An Honourable Member*: "No, of the world.") (*An Honourable Member*: "Atrocious.") Sir, I do not wish to add the adjective which my Honourable friend wishes me to add to qualify my statement. The Honourable Member made a most interesting speech for half an hour and went over the whole ground but committed himself to absolutely nothing. He did not give us an indication of the general conclusion which the Honourable Member and his Government have reached as a result of three years' endeavours in this House to get the Government to move on. He says that he is waiting for the dawn. I should like to know whether he was referring to the break of the dawn in Great Britain or in India. He said nothing very cogent in regard to want of co-operation on which he laid so much stress in the previous debates. I think his argument in regard to the subject of co-operation, though he repeated the formula of Lord Birkenhead, was not reinforced with the same enthusiasm and insistence which was characteristic of him on previous occasions. I think he has distinctly weakened in this respect. He has realised, very fully realised, that the argument of want of co-operation is unsound and is not justified by the circumstances which have arisen during the last two or three years.

Sir, the most surprising portion of this debate is the contribution made by my Honourable friend Sir Charles Innes. He taxed my friend Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal with a change of views and he quoted certain statements made by him last year as being in conflict with the general position that he has taken up to-day. In the course of his arguments, Sir, the Honourable Member has developed a new argument which was not urged by him in September last, when the whole question was under discussion. He stated to-day that there is a general want of co-operation in the working of the Reforms. Sir, I think this is a new argument which my Honourable friend has introduced in the debate to-day. Not only did he not say a word last time on this question of want of co-operation but he went about in the opposite direction. I will quote what he said on that occasion. He has apparently forgotten all about it now. Sir, he said:

"But, Sir, we have to look at the difficulties in the way of this demand for full self-government. Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer suggested that the difficulty was that we did not think there was capacity among Indians. I would like to say that we on the Treasury Benches do not claim, never have claimed, that there are not extremely able men among Indians. Indeed, Sir, it would be a poor compliment to my Honourable Colleagues on my right and on my left. Nor, Sir, is it fear of anti-British action. Nor, Sir, is it a complaint of lack of responsibility on the part of this House. It is true that every now and then this House has passed Resolutions which I personally do not approve of, but speaking for myself"

—and these are words which are very important—

"speaking for myself I can say at once that I have had the greatest help from this House. With regard to practically every Bill I have had to put before them, I have had the greatest co-operation from them. It is not those reasons, not those reasons in the very least . . ."

And then he went on to suggest his own reasons for not making an advance to which it is not necessary to refer. Sir, the point that I wish to bring to the notice of Sir Charles Innes and the House is that on the

last occasion the Honourable Member acknowledged in the most handsome terms that this House gave him the greatest co-operation in every Bill and every measure that was brought forward by him in this House. Sir, he made the same generous acknowledgment during the last few days; and now the Honourable Member gets up in his place and accuses us of a want of co-operation.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Not you.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: Sir, my Honourable friend says that he did not refer to us. Now let me refer to the doings of my friends who are not here. I will invite his attention to the review of political events for 1924-25, which Dr. Rushbrook Williams compiled for the edification both of my Honourable friend and of Parliament. Sir, it is true that my Honourable friends, the Swarajists, committed themselves far too heavily to a policy of obstruction, but I claim that as soon as they came into this House, they realized the possibilities of the situation and quickly changed their methods. This is amply acknowledged by Dr. Rushbrook Williams in his book "India in 1924-25". In referring to the proceedings of the March Session of 1924-25 the author of this book says that:

"So far from indulging in the wholesale programme of obstruction and wreckage upon which they had at one time laid stress, they were taking a prominent part in the ordinary business of the House. For the rest, the Session served conclusively to demonstrate the general unanimity with which the section of Indian opinion represented in the House viewed the question of constitutional advance."

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Represented in the House.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: We are all representatives.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Not of Cawnpore.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: My Honourable friend seems to think that the question as to whether there is co-operation should
 3 P.M. be decided only with reference to events that took place after the Congress resolution was passed in Cawnpore. As has been stated by Sir Alexander Muddiman, you have to judge of this matter by a continuous course of conduct of the Swarajists in this House during the last three years.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: By what is stated by the Leader of the Swaraj Party.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: I will answer my Honourable friend later if he will allow me to proceed in my own way.

Now, coming to the September Session of 1924, when very many important questions were discussed, Honourable Members will notice that the same attitude of co-operation was maintained by all parties in this House. The historian says "that the events of September, 1924, proved that the death knell of the policy of obstruction in the Central Legislature has been sounded". Sir, I have now taken you up to September, 1924. I have already read the statement of Sir Charles Innes made in September, 1925. I have also referred to the handsome acknowledgment which Sir Charles Innes has made a few days ago. I maintain, Sir, that the Members of the Swaraj Party have served in all advisory committees, in the Standing Finance Committee for Railways, in the Standing Finance Committee, in the Public Accounts Committee. They have worked hard and have given every satisfaction.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Led deputations.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: My Honourable friend suggests that the Leader of the Party even went to Viceregal Lodge to meet the Viceroy on the South African question. In the face of all these facts, in the face of the continuous conduct of my Swarajist friends who are not here to-day, I maintain, Sir, that the fullest co-operation was offered not only by themselves, but by every section in this House, and the charge which my Honourable friends opposite are bringing forward, namely, want of co-operation, up to the time when they left this House is absolutely baseless and without any foundation.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: They always protested very strongly when we congratulated them on co-operating.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: My Honourable friend always goes by the spoken word for the purposes of his argument.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Action is there.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: I have given a brief review of their proceedings in the House and I maintain that it is an act of injustice to the Swarajists and also to this House, notwithstanding the heavy commitments of the former to the contrary, to say that they offered no co-operation; and it is very ungracious on the part of my Honourable friends now to contend after all that they have done that no co-operation was forthcoming from them. Sir, the Honourable Sir Charles Innes asked us not to have anything to do with any other political party in this House.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Unsound methods.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: I may say, speaking for myself and several other Honourable Members on these Benches that we have differed from the Swarajists as to the methods; but let me assure him that on the general lines on which political reform should proceed in this country, there is and there has always been consistent unanimity amongst all the political parties in this country including the Swarajists. If he thinks that we differ in our ideals of political and constitutional reform, he is entirely mistaken. We undoubtedly differ in regard to the methods. Therefore, Sir, let there be no misunderstanding on this matter. So far as the ideal of winning Swaraj as early as possible is concerned, there is no difference between the Swarajists, or Independents, or National Home Rulers, or Muslim Leaguers or any political party in the Country. I am glad to recognise that my Honourable friends, the European Members of this House, who have always identified themselves with the measures of Government whether good, bad or indifferent, are now awakened to a new sense of responsibility in regard to the people of this country. I am glad to recognise that the great work of political education which my friend Colonel Crawford has undertaken in regard to his community is bearing fruit and the fact that he is going round and explaining the chief points of the Indian Constitution is changing the angle of vision even of the European Members of this House. And I trust, Sir, that sooner or later they will also agree to and support our ideals for which we have been fighting for years. Sir, these are the general observations which occur to me in regard to the charge of want of co-operation.

Sir, I should also like to refer to one or two other aspects of this question. On the general question of the unsoundness of the machinery that has been set up, I think my Honourable friend Sir Alexander Muddiman has altogether forgotten all the representations that had been made before the Joint Parliamentary Committee preceding the enactment of the Government of India Act. He must remember that on the subject of dyarchy there has been a sharp difference of opinion between the various deputations that appeared before the Joint Parliamentary Committee. It was contended that the system of dyarchy would be unworkable in practice and that any measure of constitutional reform which did not introduce an element of responsibility in the Central Government would be unsound and unacceptable and would be inconsistent with the purpose and objects with which the reform scheme was undertaken. The abolition of the India Office was also urged, as also that the revenues of India should vest in the Government of India on behalf of the people of India. All these and other proposals which were continuously under discussion for a long time were placed before the Joint Parliamentary Committee. The Government of India had accepted the dyarchical system, and the creation of an irresponsible Executive in the Central Legislature. The scheme had been very vigorously criticised before 1919 and notwithstanding our protests and warnings that scheme has been embodied in the Government of India Act. What has been the result? The result has been that, when my Honourable friend Sir Alexander Muddiman undertook the inquiry, every one of these criticisms were again made before them and were further reinforced by practical experience and declared to be inherent in the existing constitution. Therefore, Sir, the position is this. You have set up, as pointed out by my friend Mr. Baptista, on whose excellent speech I wish to offer him my hearty congratulations and the congratulations of all my friends, a creaky machinery and you continue to say that we should continue to work that machinery against which every political party in this country made a protest in 1919 and you persist in saying that we must continue to work that scheme for the whole period fixed by the terms of the Government of India Act. The deputation with which I was connected represented to the Joint Parliamentary Committee that the new machinery that was about to be set up by the Government of India Act, was of such a hybrid nature that serious constitutional and administrative difficulties were likely to arise and that this period of 10 years should be cut down to 5 years. That was our suggestion at the time. We are now asking you to undertake an inquiry because our criticism has been fully justified and that this period of ten years was far too long and that the tempers of the people entrusted with the working of this machinery are being sorely tried. Notwithstanding all these facts and warnings which they have had, the Government of India are persisting in their course of not squarely looking at the problem.

There is another point to which I would like to refer. I contend that any inquiry under section 84A would empower the Royal Commission to deal with all the questions which I mentioned to-day in the course of my speech. I contend that it would be open to the Royal Commission to go into the question whether there should be responsibility in the Central Government. It would be open to it under the terms of the section to inquire into the constitutional changes that would be necessary in the whole constitutional machinery of the Government. My Honourable friend, Sir Charles Innes, thinks it is quite possible under the terms of the section for the Royal Commission to recommend a set-back. I do not say that it is not possible, but

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none of my friends on this side of the House hope that any Royal Commission would do it, though it may be the opinion of my Honourable friends opposite. I do not think they hope that such a recommendation would ever be made. Therefore, Sir, there is no object in saying, "Are you for an inquiry under the terms of section 84A?" I would also bring to the notice of Honourable Members that there is another clause which says:

"The Commission shall also inquire into and report on any other matter affecting British India and the provinces, which may be referred to the Commission by His Majesty."

What is there to prevent the Royal Commission from taking up all the questions which have arisen, not only with reference to the constitution of the Government of India, the want of responsibility of the Government of India, the partial responsibility in the provinces? What is there to prevent the Commission if there is a reference to it to inquire into all the questions relating to the Indianisation of the Army? (*An Honourable Member*: "Nothing at all.") Therefore, Sir, I maintain that even if a Commission is appointed under the terms of section 84A, all the questions which are referred to in our September Resolution can be gone into, provided there is willingness to meet us and to meet our political aspirations. There is nothing in the threat which is always held out to us that the Commission may make a recommendation to go back on the Reforms. Such a contingency is very remote and we are prepared to face that. There is not a single member of Government who says that such a result is likely or that they wish for it or that there is material for going back. It is quite possible under the terms of the section, but I feel certain that neither the Honourable Sir Charles Innes nor the Honourable Sir Basil Blackett nor any of the other Honourable Members wish it or desire it or think it is likely. I do not know of any evidence in support of such a position. We are, however, quite prepared to take the risk and shall take steps with the support of the Government of India to see that this Commission is properly constituted. The Central Legislature has been declared to be the Great Parliament of India. I met a very distinguished public man, who came here recently from Great Britain, and he and his wife and another friend of mine, who is an Irishman, fell to talking about the general question of how to get the Government of India to move on. My friend, the Irishman, who has lively recollections of the days of Parliamentary obstruction led by Parnell, immediately said: "You are too polished in your manners in this House, you are too mild, and unless there is a free fight on the floor of this House (laughter) you will not get on." I may also say, Sir, that he made an observation that, in these days no deliberative Assembly can be considered to be a decent one unless there is at least one free fight on the floor of the House. I regret to say, Sir, that we cannot carry out this suggestion, at least for the present. We may consider such a course to convince my Honourable friends at a later stage, but at present I regret to say that we cannot take up that suggestion. The lady in our company said that she had very exaggerated notions of the Parliament of India, judging from published books. She related to me a story of two distinguished Chinamen, who went all the way to Great Britain, after establishing a Parliament in China, with a request for a Prime Minister and other Ministers. Our position is exactly the same in this House. We have a Parliament, a representative House, but who are our Ministers? Ministers appointed not by this House, not in consultation with it, but by the Secretary of State and His Majesty the King-Emperor, and who, judging from

their remarks in this House, do not feel any sense of responsibility to this House. In fact, Sir, Sir Alexander Muddiman complimented my friend Sir Basil Blackett on his achievements in the sphere of finance which he said were only possible because he was not responsible to this House . . .

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Far otherwise, I complimented Sir Basil Blackett on his exploits in finance because his exploits have been wonderful. It would be well if the Honourable Member recognised it.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: I remember a further statement that my Honourable friend made, but he did use these words, that his achievements were possible because he was not responsible to this House.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I deny any such statement; will the Honourable Member quote it?

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: I am sorry I am not in a position to quote it. If my Honourable friend persists in denying it, I withdraw those words. If my Honourable friends were responsible to this House, would all the things that have been done in the last few years have taken place? My friend Sir Alexander Muddiman gave a number of instances of the achievements of the Government of India. May I ask him whether there was any sense of responsibility to this House in, to take the latest instance, the appointment of the Royal Commission on Agriculture. Was the Commission appointed after consulting this House or taking its opinion either as to the terms of reference or the purpose or the scope of its work? What do the Government of India do? They correspond with the Secretary of State, and correspond with the Local Governments, and actually announce the Commission without any discussion whatever in this House. Is that the sense of responsibility?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Exactly the same thing would happen in the House of Commons.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: I am glad the Honourable Sir Basil Blackett referred to the House of Commons. The Prime Minister in the House is the leader of the Party which is behind him and if he announces the appointment of any Royal Commission without knowing the trend of opinion of the leading men of his Party, he would not hold his office for a single day. My Honourable friend is fond of Parliamentary forms and Parliamentary analogies but, so long as he is irresponsible, and so long as he and his colleagues are not responsible to this House, these analogies do not apply. I may refer him again to the increase of the salaries of military officers amounting to 50 lakhs of rupees last year. Was there any discussion in this House? Was there any opportunity given to any one to say a word about this matter? After the announcement is made we may make any number of speeches that the increase was not necessary. Under the present arrangement, the proposal came automatically on the budget estimates of the Military Department and there is an end of it, and we had no opportunity of discussing the matter. Again with reference to the Lee Commission. My Honourable friends did even a little better in this case; they not only imposed a

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permanent recurring charge of Rs. 50 lakhs on Provincial Governments and the Government of India, but they also deprived this House of the power which they possessed of voting the salaries of the Civil Services. They advise that Parliamentary action should be taken, and that Parliamentary legislation should be undertaken, depriving this House of the powers they had possessed in this matter. I may also refer to the Civil Justice Committee. It was announced a few days before I came to this House in 1924 and I am greatly surprised that a measure of that character should have been announced without any discussion whatever in this House. We are met with the argument that the thing has been done, and that we should foot the bill. If we do not vote for it the Honourable Member gets up and says "You are not working the Reforms".

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: What about the Privy Council?

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: Well, Sir, if the question relating to the composition of the Privy Council had been discussed as I have suggested it should have been, we at least in this part of the House would have considered it. We had a different proposal which I am certain would have been agreeable to my Honourable friend Sir Alexander Muddiman. I do not want to go into the matter now; but, Sir, I can give him a scheme which has met with our approval and we are perfectly willing if he likes, to-day here and now, to discuss that scheme with my Honourable friend. But when he puts forward his scheme, which has been approved by the Secretary of State, without giving any opportunity to us of examining it in all its bearings, mistakes like this (*Members on the Government Benches*: "Mistakes!"), are bound to occur. So far as this particular matter is concerned I do not think the scheme put forward by my Honourable friend was a sound one and for that reason I voted against it.

Take another instance. Time and again the rules of this House are amended without any discussion in this House. You call this a self-governing body and during the last two years the rules have been amended six times, including the rules for the election of the President, without a word being said in this House.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Why were the rules amended for the election of the President? Because there were not any rules; they were added.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: I am perfectly certain my Honourable friend understands me. I say no self-respecting body should have its rules for the conduct of its business settled by executive authority; and that is exactly what my Honourable friend is doing, and that is why there is justification for saying this House is subordinate to the Executive. I resent the treatment which this House has received during the last three years. If you wanted to amend the rules to get over any practical difficulty, what prevented my Honourable friend from putting forward a Resolution and taking the sense of the House unless he thought that nothing emanating from him—I do not think he would make such a statement—would be accepted by the House?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I had a suspicion.

Biwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: Well, Sir, I have always had a better opinion of my Honourable friend than he seems to have of himself. I do not think my Honourable friend could say he had a suspicion before asking us what we thought of the rules of procedure in any particular matter. I repeat again, what prevented my Honourable friend from bringing forward a Resolution suggesting that the rules should be amended in any particular manner? I fully recognise that under the present constitution the Executive Government has got the power to amend them. We have protested against this power and we still continue to protest against it.

Well, Sir, take again the question of Standing Committees. It is true the Montagu-Chelmsford Report said that with a view to giving the Members of this House an insight into the practical working of these Reforms, Standing Committees should be formed and attached to the various Government Departments. What use has been made of these Standing Committees? During the past three years this question relating to the Standing Committees has been raised every year. Every time the Standing Committees have been proposed there has always been some kind of criticism that no use was being made of these Committees. There is no account of what these Committees were doing.

Sir, I do not think I shall weary the House any further. During the last three years every political party in the country has put forward some scheme or other at the December Conferences for constitutional reform. What action has the Honourable Member taken on these schemes? I think, Sir, the long and short of this story is that the Government of India do not want to move and we are at a loss how to get them to get a move on in this matter. It is no use telling us, without any justification whatever, that there is no co-operation in the country. Take the various communities in this country. Are you bringing this charge of want of co-operation against, say, the landlords? Are you bringing this charge against the Muhammadan community? Or are you bringing this charge against Honourable Members who belong to the European community and who have been so faithful hitherto but who now show a more discriminating attitude? Would you bring the charge against the Anglo-Indian community? I do not understand what this attitude really is. My friend points to the empty Benches. All that I can say is this, that the Swarajists have done their level best during the last three years to get you to pursue a different course of action. They have failed; and notwithstanding their heavy commitments they have stayed here and times out of number they helped you in the shaping of your legislative and administrative measures. Notwithstanding all this it is very regrettable that you by your action should have driven them out of this House; I do not think they should have gone—that is a different matter. Therefore, Sir, I think the time has come when my Honourable friends should take up this matter without any further delay. It has been said—I remember the statements of various distinguished members of the Civil Service—that the members of the Civil Service may be very good judges, they may be very good administrators, they may be all that, but they are very poor judges of political currents and cross-currents in this country; and if notwithstanding all that has been done during the last three years my Honourable friends wish to maintain the same attitude as before, I can only say

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this, that the system in which they have been brought up is greatly at fault. It may be that my Honourable friends have occupied distinguished positions as administrators and may hold even more distinguished offices hereafter, but the point they have yet to learn is the art of statesmanship. They must realise the implications of the various political forces in the country; they must seize the proper moment without any hesitation and try to guide political opinion in this country. What they really are doing is to keep aloof, to watch the quarrels between the various political parties in the country, and try to get some comfort out of it. They do not at all seem to see that after all they are here to work the Reforms as much as we have to and I submit, Sir, that when the Muddiman Report disclosed so many inherent defects—the Majority as well as the Minority Reports—I submit there is absolutely no justification for the attitude, which my Honourable friend has taken, of “waiting for the dawn”. I do not know how long my Honourable friend proposes to wait for this dawn. I hope better wisdom will dawn upon him and that the motion will be passed by a majority.

The Honourable Mr. S. R. Das (Law Member): Sir, I propose to address this House on only one point which has arisen during the course of this debate, and that is the contention of my Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah, as also of some of those who followed him (*Sir Hari Singh Gour*: “We cannot hear you.”) that the condition of further advance laid down by Lord Birkenhead has been fulfilled. Pandit Motilal Nehru also made that claim and complained that if the Government were not satisfied with the co-operation which his Party had shown it was because the Government wanted abject submission from them. That the Swarajists have co-operated in this Assembly I do not dispute; in fact I cannot dispute it after what I have heard. But I want this House to consider whether the co-operation which they have shown is really such co-operation as is required by the condition laid down by Lord Birkenhead.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: What is that condition?

The Honourable Mr. S. R. Das: I am coming to that, if you will have patience. Just consider the history of their coming into this Assembly. What was the policy on which they went to the election? I myself happened to be one of the defeated candidates at the last election, defeated not by what my rival Swarajist candidate did but by reason of the vigorous and powerful campaign which the great leader of the Swarajists and the founder of the Swarajist Party, my cousin, the late Mr. C. R. Das, carried on against me. And what was his cry? What was the main plank of that cry? It was, “We must pull down a building before we can construct a new one. We must destroy, we must obstruct continuously . . .”

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Destroy a dangerous building.

The Honourable Mr. S. R. Das: One of his favourite illustrations was, “We must pull down an old building before we can construct a new one on its site” forgetting, as it struck me then and as it has always struck me, that it is only prudent before you pull down an old building to ascertain if you have got the materials for a new one, because it is more prudent to continue in the old building even though it may have a leaky roof than to be without one. It at any rate protects you from the sun if it does not

from the rain. Now, that was the cry with which they got themselves elected and came into this House. I do not forget that Pandit Motilal offered the Government co-operation when he came here. I do not forget, as I have been told here over and over again, that he did co-operate with the Government in many instances. But do you think, having regard to the avowed policy of the Party, with which they came into this Assembly, that if they had come with a clear majority, Pandit Motilal, consistently with the avowed policy with which they came, would have made that offer of co-operation? Do you really think that if my Honourable friend Mr. Jinnah and his friends had not been here to prevent them from carrying out the policy with which they came they would have in any manner co-operated with the Government?

Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal: Is this their reward?

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: This is their reward.

The Honourable Mr. S. R. Das: The point I want to make is that the co-operation which they gave was not co-operation from a feeling that they ought to carry out the Reforms under the present Act but it was one which was forced upon them by the circumstances under which they found themselves here. What happened afterwards? Before the last Cawnpore Congress some members of the Swarajist Party who called themselves responsive co-operationists charged Pandit Motilal with having in fact co-operated with the Government in this House, and they suggested that that co-operation should be carried to its logical consequence and that the Swarajist Party should be prepared to accept offices. What was the result? Pandit Motilal, Leader of the Swarajist Party, and the Swarajist Party not only refused to accept that suggestion—the House will bear in mind that that is the only way in which you could work the Reforms so far as the Provinces are concerned—they not only refused to do that but with a view to show to the country that they were still non-co-operators and with a view to get rid of the charge made by the responsive co-operationists that they had co-operated with the Government, they passed a resolution by which they directed the Swarajist Party to walk out of this House if certain demands were not conceded, knowing very well, as I am sure every one here will agree, that whatever the reason may be, right or wrong, the Government were not going to concede this.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Why not?

The Honourable Mr. S. R. Das: I am not going to deal with that. But I say they must have known it. They did that for the purpose of repudiating the charge made by the responsive co-operationists that they had co-operated and with a view to show it to the country. What happened when they came here? Pandit Motilal Nehru and his Party walked out on the plea that they had humiliated themselves by co-operating with Government, that the Government had rejected their co-operation and the only course open to them was to walk out. That is practically his plea for the action that he took. But I want this House to consider if that really was the reason why he and his Party went out. Was the reason that he put forward, that is to say that his co-operation had not been accepted, really the reason for his walking out? Was not the reason this, that the elections were approaching, that they felt that their action in having co-operated with Government while in the Assembly, having regard to the charge made against them by the responsive co-operationists, was likely to be misunderstood by their followers in the country and that it was necessary for them

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to convince their followers that they are still non-co-operators and that the only course open to them was to walk out? I want Members of this House to consider whether that was a co-operation which the Government was bound to accept as fulfilling the condition,—a co-operation not with a desire or in the belief that these Reforms should be worked which Lord Birkenhead wants, but co-operation which they were compelled to give by reason of their position. I submit, therefore, that my Honourable friends are not right when they say that they have throughout co-operated and that by reason of the tactless conduct of the Government the Swarajists walked out. I have suggested to the House the reason why they walked out and I submit that that is the real reason of their walking out.

There is one point to which I just want to draw the attention of this House. Mr. Jinnah like the able lawyer that he is, knowing the weakness of his point that the Swarajists had co-operated, suggested, "Assuming that the Swarajists did not co-operate, are you going to penalise the rest of the country because the Swarajists did not co-operate?" I do not want to deal with that question at very great length, but I want the House to consider this. Does this House really consider that the Government in deciding whether the country is prepared to co-operate or not can possibly ignore the attitude of the Swarajists? They may be numerically a very small party: I believe, with my Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah, that so far as the bulk of my countrymen are concerned they are not Swarajists; but after all, however small they may be numerically, you cannot forget that they have by their power, by their organisation brought into this Assembly the largest single party, that they have succeeded in carrying out their policy, avowed at the time of their election, so far as the Central Provinces Council is concerned and so far practically as Bengal is concerned.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Do I understand from the Honourable Member that so long as the Swaraj Party does not make a declaration of co-operation, however small that Party may be, Government are not prepared to make any move?

The Honourable Mr. S. R. Das: I do not suggest that for one moment, but what I do suggest is this, that so long as the Swaraj Party have the influence that they have at present it is not possible for Government to ignore their attitude towards co-operation in working the Act

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: What are you going to do?

The Honourable Mr. S. R. Das: I do not intend to go very much further into this matter

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Will their influence last if Government make a move forward?

The Honourable Mr. S. R. Das: That is a matter that I cannot answer, that is a matter on which there may be a difference of opinion. But the point I am dealing with is this. Is there that co-operation which Lord Birkenhead laid down as a condition for further advance? (*Several Honourable Members:* "Yes", "Absolutely", "Decidedly.") I may be wrong. Probably I am wrong. I am only putting forward the position as it strikes me.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: A good lawyer arguing a bad case.

Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal: May I ask whether the action of the Government and the attitude of the Government will not help the Swarajists at the next election?

The Honourable Mr. S. R. Das: It is a question of policy on which I am not prepared to give this Assembly my views. The position is this—that the Government have laid down through Lord Birkenhead that until certain conditions are fulfilled they are not going to make any advance. I am only dealing with that question.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao: You are the sole judges of whether those conditions have been fulfilled.

The Honourable Mr. S. R. Das: I am putting to you the circumstances under which we think that there has not been that co-operation. You may say that in spite of that there has been co-operation. I am suggesting that there has not been that co-operation which is intended. I now want to answer the question put by Mr. Rangachariar—"How long is this to continue? If we cannot get the Swarajists to co-operate, is this going to continue for ever?" Surely that depends to a very great extent upon the Independents, the Nationalists, the Liberals and other parties. If they will only get rid of their disunion, if they will only organise themselves, if they will cease to be apathetic, if they will go to the electors and work for it, I am positive that they will be able to exercise their influence as against the Swarajists and then it will be difficult for the Government to say that the country was not prepared to co-operate.

Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju (Ganjam cum Vizagapatam: Non-Muhammadan Rural): At this late hour I would not have got up but the Honourable Mr. S. R. Das's remarks make me stand up.

Sir Denys Bray (Foreign Secretary): Sit up.

Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju: I will sit down after I have done with Mr. S. R. Das. We still love him because he bears the name of the national hero Mr. C. R. Das, whom we all revere. He told us that he was defeated at the elections and I hope he has not brought that ill-feeling into this debate when he made that speech. (*An Honourable Member:* "He has not forgotten it.") Has he read anywhere the definition of co-operation? What is its opposite? I will only request him to read the history of the Irish Revolution, and he will find there what is the opposite of co-operation. The opposite of co-operation, as understood in England and in Ireland, is contempt of law. Did you find or do you find either now or at any time amongst the Swarajists that contempt of law which is the opposite of co-operation? The next is passive resistance. Did you find or do you notice that passive resistance started, which we regard as the opposite of co-operation or, lastly, open rebellion? These three things, open rebellion, passive resistance and contempt of law, alone can be regarded as the opposite of co-operation. If these are absent, I do not understand how the Honourable Mr. Das is justified in saying that we do not get co-operation from that side. There is no use of mixing up the question of election with the present problem. We are here to consider whether there should be a further constitutional advance and what should be the methods adopted to secure it. Constitutional lawyer as he is, may I ask him about the defects of the present constitution. If I were the examiner I would put him the question, what are the fundamental principles on which the

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present constitution of British rule in India is based? I will tell him of those necessary ingredients which go to make up the constitution of a progressive State; and they are absent here. I will mention four fundamental principles which are absent in the working of this machinery. Does he find here that taxes should be levied only with the consent of the people's representatives? Is that the case in India? Is it not the fact that whenever you want you pile tax on tax in opposition to the popular view? Do you not think that there is an absence of that fundamental constitutional principle? Secondly, Sir, does he not agree that no subject should be imprisoned without cause being shown? Is there such a fundamental constitutional principle observed here? You have put aside the Habeas Corpus Act and have sent several people to jail without any charge brought home to them. Do not you think that you should refuse that portion of the constitution? Thirdly, I ask, should there not be constitutional limits to the autocratic will? Whenever we refuse any Bill, you certify it; whenever we refuse any grant, you restore it. How long do you think that that autocratic method should go on without being curbed? Do not you think the proper constitution requires that you should put an end to that? Lastly I ask you, Sir, with your short experience here and with your previous experience elsewhere, do not you think that equal opportunities to all and special privileges to none should be the underlying principle of all proper constitutions? Do you find it here? Do any of these things exist here? You impose taxes at your will; you show partiality and racial prejudice and you encourage privileged sections; you do not show cause for sending a man to jail; and if you do all these things, do you still think that this constitution does not require change? If it requires a change, if you think it is absolutely necessary that it should be changed, would you ask the people to bring about the necessary changes? Is it the practice in any country to consult the people in order to secure needed reform? If you think that the constitution has defects which should be corrected, you ought to do it yourself. You ought not to wait for others to say it. And if you think it is not right, it is for you to say so. Do you want to perpetuate these defects for ever? I will mention this as I am speaking with special reference to the Honourable Mr. S. R. Das. Do not you think in the reorganization of the Department itself that the very existence of a Law Member without any administrative portfolio is an anomaly? If I were to suggest remedies the first thing I would do is to abolish that Department or give a much more substantial and useful portfolio in which the Honourable Member can exercise his intelligence and previous experience, and not only to act merely like a Solicitor General. Therefore I would appeal to him, when his advice is sought in the Cabinet, that he should see that in the reorganization either his portfolio, his Department, should be abolished or some other useful portfolio should be placed in his charge. I may tell him that there is not much difficulty. In September there will be a vacancy and Sir Charles Innes will go, and there should be a reorganization of Departments, and if this Department is abolished, still there would be ample room for three Indians to be put in charge of important portfolios. But I do not propose to take this up at this late hour or to discuss the general policy of administration. I will only just read the condemnation of the present administration, not by Indian politicians but by the Labour Party in England which was published in *New India*. I shall just read it to show how far

they have condemned it. The charge against British rule in India is that "India is denied the rudiments of self-government, since the Council of State has a permanent Government majority, one-third of the Members of the Legislative Assembly are nominated, and the Governor-General is empowered to enforce any proposal". It declares that "freedom of speech and press, of meeting and of person is denied. Social reform is resisted by the Government. Health measures are inadequate, and the Indian Delegates to the League of Nations are appointed by the Secretary of State instead of by the Assembly. The Independent Labour Party recognises the full right of Indians to self-government and self-determination, and the British Government should announce its readiness to end external control".

The report of the Indian Advisory Committee of the Independent Labour Party further advocates "an amnesty for political offenders, and the withdrawal of Indian troops from non-Indian territories". It further urges "the enfranchisement of the working classes, and the examination of the system of land tenure and the affiliation of the All-India Trade Union Congress to the International Federation of Trade Unions". Now I ask, if an independent body in Great Britain should come to this conclusion that these are the defects in British rule in India, can I expect that an Indian Member of that bureaucracy should come forward and tell us, "It is not yet time for us to change the constitution"? I appeal to him if to no one else—because it is impossible to convince persons who have vested interests. . . .

The Honourable Mr. S. R. Das: I have not said it.

Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju: Though you are bound by the rules and you cannot say it openly yet you feel in your heart of hearts that you have done a great injustice to yourself and to the country in which you are born and to the country in which you are serving.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member must address the Chair, please.

Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju: I have done with him, Sir.

An Honourable Member: I move that the question be now put.

Colonel Sir Henry Stanyon (United Provinces: European): Sir, the conclusions at which we, the non-official Europeans, have arrived on the demand for the immediate issue of a Royal Commission on the Reforms have been sufficiently set out by my Honourable friend and colleague, Sir Darcy Lindsay, and I have no wish to weary the House with undue repetition. But there is one point upon which I wish to emphasize our position. My Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah, in the course of a speech, which has earned the admiration of all parties in this House for its moderation, its force and its dignity, invited the European non-official Members "not to play into the hands of Government", by voting with them. Sir, that was an unfortunate expression which tended, unwittingly and unintentionally, to cast a reflection on our honesty of opinion and independence of action. I am anxious to repudiate it because I am afraid it must be confessed that it has become a habit of thought to regard with suspicion the sincerity of opinions which do not agree with proposals for the censure of Government, and to credit pro-Government votes with ulterior and unworthy motives. My own course of action is to reach conclusions after independent and

[Colonel Sir Henry Stanyon.]

careful consideration, first individually, and then collectively with my colleagues; and when I have formed an opinion, to express it fearlessly and follow it into the lobby. We have had the word "co-operation" used over and over again in this House and out of it; but it seems to me that no one has made any serious attempt to find a common definition of it, and it is manifest that much political controversy concerning what is co-operation arises from the different meanings which the word presents to different people. As interpreted in the Swarajist camp, the word seems to me to mean the unquestioning acceptance of every dictate made by that Party. I cannot wholly acquit the Government of putting a somewhat similar interpretation on the word. Government come here with cut and dried schemes and inelastic demands, and seem sometimes to regard as non-co-operation any rejection of them by the non-official majority in this House. (Hear, hear.) Now, if these interpretations were correct it would mean that a mere difference of opinion amounts to non-co-operation with the party from whom you differ. In a narrow sense that may be so; but that is not, I think, the sense by which either the Government or the non-official Benches should guide themselves in this House. In my humble opinion, co-operation in the Legislatures demands first of all mutuality, a spirit of give and take, then honest opinion, individual or collective, on the merits of each question as it comes up, and a fearless following thereof into the lobbies. In this process conflict of opinion and a division of votes is inevitable. In the British Parliament all parties co-operate, though there is seldom universal agreement. The present debate, in which the Independent Party have put forward an honest, but, as we think, mistaken, view is co-operation as I understand the Right Honourable the Secretary of State and His Excellency the Viceroy to have used that word. And when I differ from my Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah, and endeavour to convince him that he is wrong, I think I am using my best effort to co-operate with him and his party. We have studied the proposal now before the House individually and collectively, and we have formed an honest opinion against it. If there is anyone who could have convinced me to the contrary it is Mr. Jinnah. I take his appeal for our votes, unhappily worded though it was, to be an appeal to our reason and judgment; and I tell him in all sincerity that he has not been able to convince me. But let me assure him and my friends that even a minority vote of a co-operating House will carry far more weight than an overwhelming majority vote of obstructionists. My idea is that a Royal Commission should come out when we can prove that the democratic form—it is nothing but a form—of government introduced by the Reforms has been so far assimilated in this country as to justify us in asking for some of its substance. If a Royal Commission under the Act came out at once, what would it find? It would find a country torn by communal tension, racial animosity and universal distrust—a country in which at present regard for communal weal shows no signs of giving way to regard for common weal. It would find a country in which the electorate represents a very small fraction of the population—an electorate which is largely still without conception of the responsibilities of the franchise—and an electorate which, at all events

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so far as it is in touch with those responsibilities, has returned a majority who claim to possess a mandate for the obstruction and destruction of the particular form of Government now under trial. Sir, that is not a picture which I, as a sincere friend of India, desire to present

to a Royal Commission under section 84A of the Government of India Act. I apprehend that, if such a picture was presented to it, it might form the opinion of one who is an Indian first and last, an unquestioned and distinguished patriot, one who was intimately associated with the introduction, and has been intimately associated with the working, of the Reforms, and who has fearlessly and clearly stated, what we Europeans think, that India is not yet ready for a further advance. I refer to Lord Sinha. Finally, we object,—I object at all events,—to be a party to a proposal which, if adopted by the House, will compel the use by the Governor General in Council of his extraordinary powers. I say again it is not the result of the voting on this motion but this co-operating constitutional debate which will carry weight with the British public and, perchance, with our own hard-hearted Government. Let the certainty of that result hearten my friends if the division should go against them.

Rai Bahadur Raj Narain (Delhi: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I rise for the second time in order to avoid giving a silent vote on this motion. The question which is before the House is of great importance. Sir, I am one of those who have from the very start been opposed to the present constitution. Nobody has taken it well, none of the political parties in India have taken it well, and I do not believe that at the time it came into force the then Government of India were themselves satisfied with the constitution under which we are working. Nobody liked it when it came and I repeat that I, for one, did not like it. (*An Honourable Member: "Resign."*) My reasons may be very different from those of others. But I must say that on the lines of the present constitution, in my humble opinion, India cannot be governed. Now, that is so far as the constitution is concerned. I am extremely sorry to find the Benches not half so full as I used to see them before the Swarajists left the House. It is a matter of deep regret that they should have walked out in the fashion they did. In my humble opinion their walking out will not serve any useful purpose in the advancement of the country.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Your vote compelled them to walk out.

Rai Bahadur Raj Narain: I think they would have done well if they had remained inside the House. I know they do not require my advice; they are much abler men to ask advice from. But this is my humble opinion which I am entitled to submit as a Member of the House. Sir, I think, although I am whole-heartedly of the idea that the present constitution must change, what form the change shall take is not of course a matter for discussion this evening. But I am decidedly of the opinion that the present constitution must go and the sooner it goes the better. The next question which I ask is, what is the best method by which we can attain that object, an object which is common to us all, that is, that this constitution shall be changed? Is it by passing the motion which we propose to pass to-day? With great respect to my learned friend, the mover of the motion, I beg to differ from him, and say that that is not the best method of attaining the object which he has at heart.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: What is the best method? Tell us please.

Rai Bahadur Raj Narain: In this respect we have got to see what part the Government of India have been playing in this matter, and also whether under the present circumstances of India one can hope for the result

[Rai Bahadur Raj Narain.]

which we have at heart, that is, will the Government of India be assisting you if at this moment they press for the appointment of a Commission? Sir, in this connection I am very, very sorry indeed to have to refer to a matter which has become a matter of every-day occurrence on the floor of this House. I refer, Sir, to the communal differences of the communities and the resulting effects of it. There is not a single day, a single day does not pass in this House when questions relating to communal differences, communal appointments, proportion of appointments even in the grade of chaprassies, in the grade of Munshis, is not brought forward. Even to-day we have heard some words suggesting that the future constitution should try to provide for communal and separate electorates. What does it convey to an ordinary mind? It is no good deceiving ourselves and saying that India is a nation, it has one idea and it has one goal. It is no doubt very since to hear all this but I think it is our duty to realise after all how we stand. Sir, for the last three years those Indians who have been following the Press can hardly be ignorant of the fact that for the last 2 or 3 years communal differences have been increasing. They have been becoming bitterer and bitterer, and the bitterness is increasing every year. Can you suggest that, while this state of things exists, the Government of India have no excuse whatever for not suggesting the immediate appointment of a Royal Commission? Supposing the Royal Commission came, what would they find? Whatever else they may find, they would certainly find this existing factor in India, and if they find this, what will they recommend to the English nation? In the existing circumstances, Sir, I suggest it is rather ungenerous to suggest that the travelling allowances of the Executive Council of the Governor General shall be cut down. What power had the poor Councillors to further your cause which they have ignored?

An Honourable Member: Poor.

Rai Bahadur Raj Narain: I do not refer to their poverty, but I say after all we must remember this circumstances that they are acting not under us, it has been admitted over and over again by us, but they are acting under the advice of the Secretary of State and under the influence of the Secretary of State; they are servants of the Secretary of State and not of us. They cannot ignore the situation existing in India and they cannot but judge what would happen if a Commission were to come at once. I submit that it is a matter for the consideration of the Mover whether this motion should be pressed to a division, considering the circumstances, as I have suggested, that exist, and I strongly ask my learned friend to do that. And I would suggest to the Honourable the Home Member, that, as after all it is a matter of three years, why cannot you get up and say "As soon as we see the circumstances are suitable, we will recommend that this should be done". There is no harm done by that. You are pledged to do it; you mean to do it; it is a matter of three years, and you can very well get up and say, "We are of opinion that this will be done as soon as the circumstances of the case permit," and on that for my learned friend to withdraw his motion.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Sir, I am quite willing to withdraw my motion if the Government will give me a definite assurance that the Royal Commission will be appointed at once.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I thank Mr. Jinnah for his generous offer. I notice that he would go as far as to agree to what he has himself proposed.

Raj Bahadur Raj Narain: With these few remarks, I suggest that the remedy which has been suggested by my Honourable friend is rather ungenerous and I shall not be able to support him for one

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Suggest another remedy, will you?

Raj Bahadur Raj Narain: I suggest persevering, go on pressing, and the real remedy I want to suggest to you is this, go to the country, tell them that they must make up their differences, they must have no communal feeling, they must trust each other. You must trust each other. You must not say that this post must be given to a Muhammadan because he is a Muhammadan, or this post must be given to a Hindu because he is a Hindu; for the simple reason that the best man ought to have it. We ought to trust each other, we ought to be able to say to the world "We trust that a Hindu will do just as well as a Muhammadan". Unless that feeling is brought about in India, unless that feeling exists in the minds of the inhabitants, I think that our claim that we are a nation is not a true one. With these few words, I oppose the motion.

Maulvi Abul Kasem (Bengal: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, like my Honourable friend who has just sat down I also do not like to record a silent vote, and I will crave the indulgence of the House for a few minutes only to speak on the motion. The question before the House for decision has been clearly and definitely stated by Mr. Jinnah in the very admirable speech with which he preceded his motion. I take it that what this motion actually means is a demand from the Members of this House on behalf of the country for the appointment of a Royal Commission. That belief is also shared by many of my friends here. It was expressed by the great parliamentarian Mr. Baptista; and I see no reason why a Royal Commission should not be appointed. Mr. Jinnah wants the appointment of a Royal Commission because he is very sanguine that the examination to which the people and the constitution will be subjected will be very favourable to him. I cannot say that I fully share his optimism. On the other hand, there is an opposition to the Royal Commission by the Government on the ground, not that they hope or wish, but because they apprehend that the situation in the country is such that if a Commission comes out to India the result of their inquiry may not be very favourable to the people of the country or to the demand of the reformers. I say, Sir, that it looks like the case of a young student who wants to sit for an examination. His teachers, his friends, or I may say his guardians think he is not at all prepared for it but the boy persists in saying that he is prepared to sit for the examination. At any rate he is prepared to have a sporting chance of success, and I think nobody will be justified in refusing him that opportunity. He takes the risk with a full sense of responsibility. Why not let him have it? Then, Sir, there is another reason why I want a Commission to be appointed, or in other words why I want an inquiry to be made, a full detailed, honest, and, what is more, an impartial inquiry into the whole constitution and the situation in the country; and the reason is, as expressed by my Honourable friend, Maulvi Muhammad Yakub, that in this constitution, although I may be charged with feelings of communalism, I feel that in this constitution we have not been very properly treated. I will not go into details here, but I want a tribunal

[Maulvi Abul Kasem.]

which will examine my case when I present it before that tribunal. We presented our case before the first tribunal, and we think we did not receive full justice then.

Then, Sir, the main question this evening has been, as stated by the Honourable the Law Member, that the real test is to see whether there has been actual co-operation or not; and able and distinguished lawyer as he is he has placed his case with a great deal of forensic ability to convince us that there has not been co-operation. I do not deny that, but I want to know—I have been told that the year 1929 is not to be considered as sacrosanct—I want to know, why then the Act of 1919 need be considered sacrosanct, why the statement of the Secretary of State that an inquiry is only possible when co-operation is forthcoming should be treated as sacrosanct. Whether anybody is co-operating or non-co-operating, the question is whether the constitution as inaugurated in 1920 has or has not proved a success. If the machinery has failed—as everybody will admit it has failed—what is the defect in it? Is the defect in the machinery itself, or in the people who have been asked to run the machinery? Reference has been made by Mr. Jinnah that in the Central Provinces and in Bengal it has not worked; and he incidentally remarked that if the machinery had been properly handled in Bengal it would have worked successfully. I quite admit that the situation could have been better handled in Bengal than it was; but I doubt that any kind of handling would have made the operation of the Reforms and the present constitution in Bengal a success at all.

Then there is this question: it has not been appreciated by the people; it has not worked as the well-wishers of the country and the Government would have wished it to be worked. If the people for whose benefit it is intended do not want to work it satisfactorily, I say there is every reason why you should not thrust that constitution upon them, but should re-examine the whole question anew. The Honourable the Law Member has told us that the proper course is that you should go back to the country, tell them "Here is this situation and unless you send us absolute co-operators in very large numbers to the House we cannot get a Royal Commission or any further advance". But, Sir, you by your action are helping the Swarajists to capture the constituencies and ask us to fight against odds. What is the situation? The Commission cannot start work before the next elections. If you announce it now and if the non-co-operators or wreckers come in larger numbers, that would be a good ground for the Commission to refuse a forward move. Announce the Commission and give a chance to the electors to respond. The words "co-operation" and "non-co-operation" were started in 1919. Whatever the opinion of my countrymen may be, I for one hold this opinion and I think I am as much entitled to hold mine as anybody else—that those phrases were coined and used for the purpose of capturing popular imagination; and it has been to a great extent successful. It has been said that the Swarajists came to this House with the declared object of wrecking the constitution and of creating a deadlock; but by their conduct they have shown that they were actually co-operating. That is according to the old proverb that those who came to curse remained to pray. The object with which they came they said was to wreck the constitution, they raised the cry simply to capture the electorate and they succeeded in their attempt in doing that. Consequently, when they came

here, as the Honourable Mr. Das has said—and I agree with every word he has said—when they came here their instinct and their reason and their legal attainments all pointed to co-operation with the Government, and they did it for over 2½ years. When they found they had to go back to the electorate again then they wanted to do something in accordance with the mandate of the Congress and so they have gone out. If you say that they did actually co-operate, but they never admitted co-operation, if I may say so—I mean no disrespect to my absent friends—but if you believe that they did actually co-operate with you but they were not in a position to declare that they had done so (we may say, they felt some nervousness in doing so), why take them not in the spirit in which they have worked, but in the spirit of their declaration which is more or less meant, not for reasonable men but intended entirely to capture the electorate, with an eye on the gallery as it were?

Now, Sir, I am not one of those who will agree to any movement of a rash or precipitate kind. I would go slowly but on sure and sound lines. I think that the best course you could adopt for chalking out a proper course of action is by a thorough and impartial examination of the whole situation. I do not want that this examination should be conducted in a way so as to gratify the vanities or the ambitions of only the politically minded people in this country or that it should be conducted with a view to perpetuate the bureaucratic system. But whether it is bureaucratic or democratic I think the inquiry should be held only for the good of the people of this country, the masses, the agriculturists and the labourers and all those who make up the people of India. It should be for their benefit and advantage. You have to examine what system of government is good for them and what will improve their material, their moral and their social condition. With this end in view an inquiry should be started and that without delay. We have been told, "What is this? Everybody who goes to the electorate and says that we must wreck this has got the largest number of followers". Why? Because all sorts of ills to which humanity is subject are attributed to the present system of government. You have to examine the thing and prove that it is not so. How can you do it but by holding a thorough and impartial examination? I think there should not be any nervousness to go forward but, though I think there is no reason to apprehend it, if there be any justification for going backward, I think you should take courage in both your hands and go backward, if by an impartial examination on the evidence produced before the tribunal you find it necessary.

There is another aspect of the question. Sir Sivaswamy Iyer yesterday made a speech and said "I support Mr. Jinnah's motion on all fours (Laughter) but I am sorry I cannot support him with my vote because that would mean restoration of the Demand by the Governor General in Council and that is a bad precedent". Sir, I myself am opposed to doing any act which would necessitate the Governor General in Council to take action under the extraordinary provisions of the law. That is a bad precedent and I fully appreciate the remarks made by the Honourable the Leader of the House that you should not make the Governor General in Council callous about restoring lost grants. That is a thing which I myself do not like and I would have very much preferred if this motion was for a nominal cut only for the expression of the opinion of the House on this particular question. But, Sir, I can assure my friends who like Sir Sivaswamy Aiver feel that the principle involved is about the restoration of the Grant that neither Mr. Jinnah nor those who share his opinion nor

[Maulvi Abul Kasem.]

those who will go into the lobby with him for a moment want or believe that will mean the deprivation of the Executive Council Members of their travelling allowances. What they want is an emphatic expression of their opinion about the appointment of a Royal Commission to consider the constitution of the country. At least I for one want that this grant be restored by the Governor General in Council. People will say then, "Why put him in that position?" I say in reply, "You have already put him in the position of restoring grants on several occasions. Where is the harm in adding one more to the number?" That is the actual situation as I read it.

I think, Sir, that the time has come when we should have an inquiry. Since the first Legislatures were opened under Royal auspices in 1920 we have been spending our time and our breath in discussing this constitutional question in this House and in the provincial Legislatures to the detriment of other and more useful and legitimate work for the benefit of the country. Many questions of material importance to the country have been relegated to the background simply because the people focus all their attention on this constitutional issue. Silence that by the appointment of a Royal Commission. The Commission will be appointed by His Majesty the King on the advice of His Ministers and on the recommendation of the Government of India, and I trust and hope that it will be a Commission which will enjoy the confidence of the people as well as of the Government of this country. Therefore an impartial examination by that Commission should not be denied. The point is that people are not afraid to subject themselves to that examination and Government need not be afraid to subject themselves to an examination by a Royal Commission. Then where is the objection and where is the difficulty? The only difficulty that I find is in the statement made by the Secretary of State that co-operation must precede the appointment of a Royal Commission. I say, if you insist upon co-operation from a small section of my countrymen who are opposed to it, though they are very well organised, though they are the most vocal, you will be attaching much greater importance to them than their position in the country would warrant and therefore you will by your action, directly and indirectly, help them and, as my Honourable friend Sir Chimanlal Setalvad said, leave your friends, the co-operators to the wolves when they go to the electorate.

(Several Honourable Members moved that the question be put.)

Mr. President: The question is that the question be now put.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: Sir Alexander Muddiman.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Have I a right of reply?

Mr. President: If the Honourable Member wishes to reply the Chair has no objection.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I do not propose to speak again.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That the Demand under the head 'Executive Council' be omitted."

The Assembly divided :

AYES—31.

Abdul Haye, Mr.
Abul Kasem, Maulvi.
Ahmad Ali Khan, Mr.
Aiyangar, Mr. K. Rama.
Alimuzzaman Chowdhry, Khan
Bahadur.
Ariff, Mr. Yacoob C.
Baptista, Mr. J.
Chanda, Mr. Kamini Kumar.
Das, Mr. B.
Datta, Dr. S. K.
Deshmukh, Mr. R. M.
Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja.
Ghulam Abbas, Sayyad.
Gour, Sir Hari Singh.
Hyder, Dr. L. K.
Ismail Khan, Mr.

Jinnah, Mr. M. A.
Joshi, Mr. N. M.
Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Mr.
Lohokare, Dr. K. G.
Mahmood Schamnad Sahib Bahadur,
Mr.
Malaviya, Pandit Madan Mohan.
Musalik, Sardar V. N.
Neogy, Mr. K. C.
Pal, Mr. Bipin Chandra.
Ramachandra Rao, Diwan Bahadur M.
Rangachariar, Diwan Bahadur T.
Sadiq Hasan, Mr. S.
Talatuley, Mr. S. D.
Venkatapatiraju, Mr. B.
Yakub, Maulvi Muhammad.

NOES—47.

Ajab Khan, Captain.
Akram Hussain, Prince A. M. M.
Bajpai, Mr. R. S.
Bhore, Mr. J. W.
Blackett, The Honourable Sir Basil.
Bray, Sir Denys.
Burdon, Mr. E.
Calvert, Mr. H.
Carey, Sir Willoughby.
Clow, Mr. A. G.
Cocke, Mr. H. G.
Crawford, Colonel J. D.
Dalal, Sardar B. A.
Donovan, Mr. J. T.
Ghulam Bari, Khan Bahadur.
Gidney, Lt.-Col. H. A. J.
Gordon, Mr. R. G.
Graham, Mr. L.
Hezlett, Mr. J.
Hira Singh Brar, Sardar Bahadur
Captain.
Hudson, Mr. W. F.
Innes, The Honourable Sir Charles.
Jafar, Mr. K. S.
Jeelani, Haji S. A. K.
Lindsay, Sir Percy

Lloyd, Mr. A. H.
Macphail, The Rev. Dr. E. M.
Makan, Khan Sahib M. E.
Mitra, The Honourable Sir Bhupendra
Nath.
Muddiman, The Honourable Sir
Alexander.
Muhammad Ismail, Khan Bahadur
Saiyid.
Naidu, Rao Bahadur M. C.
Owens, Lieut.-Col. F. G.
Rahman, Khan Bahadur A.
Raj Narain, Rai Bahadur.
Rau, Mr. P. B.
Reddi, Mr. K. Venkataramana.
Roffey, Mr. E. S.
Sama, Mr. H. A.
Sarda, Rai Sahib M. Harbilas.
Singh, Rai Bahadur S. N.
Stanyon, Colonel Sir Henry.
Tonkinson, Mr. H.
Ujagar Singh Bedi, Baba.
Vernon, Mr. H. A. B.
Vijayaraghavacharyar, Sir T.
Willson, Mr. W. S. J.

The motion was negatived.

*Delay of the Commerce Department in dealing with the Report of the Indian
Mercantile Marine Committee.*

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Sir, my motion No. 85, although it should come properly under the Commerce Department for which my Honourable friend Sir Charles Innes is responsible, I wish to take under this head, as I see the guillotine moving from one end of the House to the other and I have no chance of reaching the Commerce Department Demand. Sir, this is a most important Committee which was appointed by the Government of India on a motion adopted by this House as early as 1921. The Committee was appointed, an expert member from England was appointed to that Committee and the Committee made its recommendations in February 1924. Here we are now in March 1926. This is a subject in which the Government of India had been guilty of delay, inordinate delay beforehand. It is a subject on which the Government of India should have taken steps long long ago. But having neglected it so long it became their

[Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar.]

duty to be prompt in taking action on the recommendations of this Committee. On a subject of that great importance there was commendable unanimity of opinion, except for my friend Sir Arthur Froom who differed on only one of the recommendations of the Committee. As regards other matters, for instance, the starting of our training ship and the giving of facilities for Indians in the development of the mercantile marine of this country; he was at one with the rest of the Committee. So that although he differed on one point there was no difficulty; the recommendations had been summarised under each head and it only remained for the Government of India to take prompt action on that matter. Sir, there are matters in which the Government of India make up their mind very quickly indeed. Distances do not count; time is of no importance; they press on; and the Secretary of State on the floor of the House of Commons expresses regret for a delay of even a few months in giving allowances, etc., to the domiciled community in the provincial services. He actually expresses regret on the floor of the House, as I see from one of the recent telegrams, when the matter in question is one which affects the services. But in regard to the people at large the Government of India are guilty of delay, criminal delay, in a matter of this importance. Sir, I submit that the country attaches the greatest importance to development in this direction. These are matters of substance which would add to the economic wealth of this country and of the people of this country. It is in these respects that the Government of India have been accused of step-motherly treatment of the interests of India, because they do not fail to look after the interests of other communities with whom they are identified. That being so, it was their duty to have taken steps. Sir, time after time questions have been put asking what steps were taken. My Honourable friend used to tell us that he had sent for one expert, that that expert did not come and that another expert has come; that he came last time, and he has made a report. Now, Sir, these are matters which could have been hurried if they really had the heart. My complaint is that they have not, Sir, their heart in the business, and I want them to say what steps they have taken to carry out this long-delayed but urgently needed reform in adding to the welfare of this country and to opportunities for service in this country for my countrymen in these respects. I accuse them of delay, and I ask them to take earnest steps in the future at least. To-day, Sir, I was glad to see an announcement by the Honourable the Home Member that the matter is to be discussed on a motion to be moved by my Honourable friend; Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer. Why leave it to Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer to move the motion again? Here the Government of India appointed a Committee to go into this matter. They have their recommendations before them. Why do not the Government of India come forward with their own recommendations? If legislation is needed, why do they not come forward with the legislation needed? Why leave it again to a non-official Member to take a day from the Honourable the Home Member? Sir, the Honourable the Home Member could have had any number of days, and, Sir, we are willing to sit here if necessary if more days are needed to deal with this matter, but I do accuse the Government of India of deliberate delay in a matter of this great importance. Sir, I move my motion:

“That the provision under the sub-head ‘II. B.—Allowances, etc.’ be reduced by Rs. 1”

In order to draw attention to the delay of the Commerce Department in dealing with the Mercantile Marine Committee's Report.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Sir, I plead at once not guilty. The Honourable Mr. Rangachariar accuses me of undue delay in dealing with this matter, the matter being the Report of a Committee on which my Honourable friend himself served. Now the first point I wish to make to the House is that the most important recommendation made by that Committee is that the coastal trade should be reserved practically to Indian-owned ships. Now, Sir, Mr. Rangachariar will bear me out that when the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee made that recommendation, at the same time they said in so many words in their Report that they were unable to say whether the reservation of the coastal trade would be for the benefit of India. They said they had no data to examine the question. Their view was that they had been asked to find out the way in which an Indian Mercantile Marine could most expeditiously be fostered, and they said, "If you want an Indian Mercantile Marine, reserve the coastal trade, but, mind you, we are unable to tell you whether that reservation is going to be for the benefit of India or not." Now, Sir, I say quite definitely that when the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee made a statement of that kind, they were not altogether doing their job, and as they did not go into that question, they put a burden upon the Commerce Department. That is one reason, Sir, why we have had to delay this matter, because we have had to examine this very important recommendation in all its aspects. Then, again, Sir, the Honourable Member knows perfectly well that the recommendation reserving the coastal trade of India raises difficult questions and we had to take the highest legal opinion as to whether such a proposal was *intra vires* or *ultra vires* of the Indian Legislature. Then, again, Sir, the Honourable Member knows that long ago we took up with the departmental Advisory Committee the question of a training ship. On the advice of the departmental Committee we wrote home to try and get a man who could advise on this point. Through no fault of our own, it was only last August that we were able to get hold of Captain Sayer but through circumstances over which he had no control, he could not come out till December last. His report has now been published and is in possession of Members of the House. There is another point I wish to draw the Honourable Member's attention to. It is perfectly true that in the last Session in Simla I promised my friend, Sardar Mutalik, that I would give a day for discussion this Session. I waited to see whether Sardar Mutalik's own Bill for the reservation of the coastal trade would give me the opportunity I was looking for, and it got the second place in the ballot on a certain day; but to my astonishment I was informed by the Legislative Department that Sardar Mutalik had informed the President that he did not intend to move the motion.

Sardar V. N. Mutalik (Gujarat and Deccan Sardars and Inamdars: Landholders): May I make a personal explanation, Sir. I have already explained to the Honourable Member the reason why I gave that notice. It was simply because there would be no opportunity on that day for discussing this particular subject.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I do not know what the reason was, but as soon as I saw that the Honourable Member's motion had secured the second place in the ballot, I informed my friend Mr. Graham that we need not provide a Government day for purposes of discussing this question. But as soon as I saw it was not coming on, I again informed Mr. Graham and the Honourable Member that a Government day would be provided for the discussion of this question.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: May I ask why Government themselves do not bring forward Resolutions or legislation? If they have come to a conclusion, let them submit it to the House.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Honourable Member must wait for two or three days and then he will see what action Government are taking. Finally, Sir, the Honourable Member has made a statement. He said the country attaches the very greatest importance to this question. Let me remind the Honourable Member what he said himself on the 8th of February, 1924, referring to the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee's Report. I will read out his actual words:

"Yesterday, Sir, my Honourable friend, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, bemoaned the absence of a mercantile marine in this country. But, Sir, a subject so important as that did not attract much attention in the country. We felt it. There is no public response to such Committees. We had to egg them on to come before us, those who had got any interest in such questions."

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: The thinking public want it.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I quite admit that in circumstances over which we had no control we have not yet been able to place the matter before the House, but as the Honourable Member himself knows we have now given Government time for a Resolution. I hope to get the decision of the House on the question of the Training Ship and to make a statement regarding the attitude of Government in regard to other matters.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That the provision under the sub-head 'II. B.—Allowances, etc.' be reduced by Re. 1."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 62,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Executive Council'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 29—LEGISLATIVE BODIES.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Sir, I beg to move:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,60,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Legislative Bodies'."

Equality of Treatment of Members of the Legislative Assembly and Council of State in the matter of Allowances.

Sardar V. N. Mutalk: Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Demand under the head 'Legislative Bodies' be reduced by Rs. 1,001."

At this late hour, Sir, I am only going to draw the attention of Government to the subject and I want the opinion of the House, if it can be given within this short time that is at our disposal. The subject is that more allowances are given to the Members of the other House and there is in my opinion, absolutely no reason why the Members of the other House should be treated in a different way to that in which the Members of this House are treated. Sir, I only say this and I want the vote of the House.

Mr. L. Graham (Secretary, Legislative Department): Sir, it seems to me rather unjust that I should be allowed only four minutes to deal with this subject but I shall do the best as I can in the time at my disposal. As Honourable Members know perfectly well, this question was first raised some three or four years ago by my Honourable friend Mr. Rangachariar. The Honourable the Law Member on that occasion said quite plainly that the question was one to be determined by the other House. It was not really proper for this House to say to the other House: "We have got so much and therefore you should have no more". On the assurance of the Honourable the Law Member that on an early occasion Government themselves would bring a Resolution before the other House suggesting that they should regulate their allowances on the scale laid down in this House, my Honourable friend very courteously withdrew his motion. Thereupon—I do not know if Honourable Members read the proceedings of another place, but if they do they will be well aware of it—a motion was duly put in the other House by Sir Muhammad Shafi and the matter was debated entirely on its merits. The Honourable Members of the other House rejected the Resolution. (*Cries of "Shame"*.) I do not know why Honourable Members should say "shame". It was a popular vote. It was not a vote which was demanded by the officials. Honourable Members should remember that the officials did not vote on that occasion. Government went as far as they could in view of the wishes of this House. In order to meet the wishes of the Honourable Members of this House the concession was withdrawn by executive order from the official Members of the Council of State who come from the provinces.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Am I right in assuming that non-official Members are treated more favourably than official Members in the Council of State?

Mr. L. Graham: Yes, the official Members get a smaller amount.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Do the non-official Members of the other House realise this?

Mr. L. Graham: I trust they do. Politicians have no sense of gratitude. The position with regard to the new House is that a motion was again put before it the other day. Government, in response to a question asked at Simla, said quite frankly that, when the new Council of State came into existence, they would again take up the question. The intention of the Government was to bring a Resolution before the other House. At the same time, Government were of opinion that the question could more appropriately be raised by non-official Members because official Members were not concerned in any way. Notice of a Resolution was given by a non-official Member. It was duly debated in the other House but no final decision has been reached. The House was actually adjourned on the motion of a non-official Member who said that these personal questions of allowances and things of that sort were not matters to be ventilated on the floor of the House. They should first be inquired into by a committee. In the course of the last week, I think, the other House has set up a committee which is actually to go into all these questions of the allowances of the other House.

(*An Honourable Member:* "Why should we not be represented on that committee?")

[Mr. L. Graham.]

Government of course recognise that is for this House to vote the allowances. Unfortunately, I have not sufficient time at my disposal to deal adequately with this question. I think Honourable Members will realise that it is for this House in the first place to

(It being Five of the Clock, Mr. President proceeded to put the questions.)

Mr. President: The question is:

“That the Demand under the head ‘Legislative Bodies’ be reduced by Rs. 1,001.”

The motion was negatived.

Mr. President: The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,69,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of ‘Legislative Bodies’.”

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 30—FOREIGN AND POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

Mr. President: The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,22,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of the ‘Foreign and Political Department’.”

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 31—HOME DEPARTMENT.

Mr. President: The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,07,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of the ‘Home Department’.”

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 32—PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION.

Mr. President: The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,07,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of the ‘Public Service Commission’.”

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 33—LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

Mr. President: The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,61,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of the ‘Legislative Department’.”

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 34—DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, HEALTH AND LANDS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,29,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of the 'Department of Education, Health and Lands'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 35—FINANCE DEPARTMENT.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 9,99,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of the 'Finance Department'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 36—SEPARATION OF ACCOUNTS FROM AUDIT.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 12,30,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Separation of Accounts from Audit'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 37—COMMERCE DEPARTMENT.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,87,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of the 'Commerce Department'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 38—ARMY DEPARTMENT.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,55,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of the 'Army Department'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 39—DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIES AND LABOUR.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,85,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of the 'Department of Industries and Labour'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 40—CENTRAL BOARD OF REVENUE.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,88,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of the 'Central Board of Revenue'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 41.—PAYMENTS TO PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS ON ACCOUNT OF
ADMINISTRATION OF AGENCY SUBJECTS.

Mr. President: The question is :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,44,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Payments to Provincial Governments on account of administration of agency subjects'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 42—AUDIT.

Mr. President: The question is :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 71,92,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Audit'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 43—ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

Mr. President: The question is :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,88,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Administration of Justice'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 44—POLICE.

Mr. President: The question is :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,10,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Police'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 45—PORTS AND PILOTAGE.

Mr. President: The question is :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 24,27,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Ports and Pilotage'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 46—SURVEY OF INDIA.

Mr. President: The question is :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 29,01,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Survey of India'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 47—METEOROLOGY.

Mr. President: The question is :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 9,17,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Meteorology'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 48—GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,99,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Geological Survey'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 49—BOTANICAL SURVEY.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,86,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Botanical Survey'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 50—ZOOLOGICAL SURVEY.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,46,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Zoological Survey'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 51—ARCHÆOLOGY.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 14,09,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Archæology'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 52—MINES.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,73,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Mines'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 53—OTHER SCIENTIFIC DEPARTMENTS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,19,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Other Scientific Departments'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 54—EDUCATION.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,00,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Education'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 55—MEDICAL SERVICES.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,81,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Medical Services'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 56—PUBLIC HEALTH.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 10,34,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Public Health'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 57—AGRICULTURE.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 15,02,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Agriculture'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 58—CIVIL VETERINARY SERVICES.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,77,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Civil Veterinary Services'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 59—INDUSTRIES.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 43,86,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Industries'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 60—AVIATION.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,50,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Aviation'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 61—COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE AND STATISTICS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,47,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Commercial Intelligence and Statistics'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 62—EMIGRATION—INTERNAL.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 45,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Emigration—Internal'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 63—EMIGRATION—EXTERNAL.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 85,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Emigration—External'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 64—JOINT STOCK COMPANIES.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,35,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Joint Stock Companies'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 65—MISCELLANEOUS DEPARTMENTS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,47,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Miscellaneous Departments'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 66—INDIAN STORES DEPARTMENT.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 16,27,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of the 'Indian Stores Department'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 67—CURRENCY.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 59,12,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Currency'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 68—MINT.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 15,71,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of the 'Mint'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 69—CIVIL WORKS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,55,27,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Civil Works'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 70—SUPERANNUATION ALLOWANCES AND PENSIONS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 35,19,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Superannuation Allowances and Pensions'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 71—STATIONERY AND PRINTING.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 34,27,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Stationery and Printing'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 72—MISCELLANEOUS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 16,04,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Miscellaneous'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 73—ADJUSTMENTS WITH PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,00,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Adjustments with Provincial Governments'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 74—REFUNDS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 54,59,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Refunds'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 75—NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,13,41,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of the 'North West Frontier Province'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 76—BALUCHISTAN.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 27,22,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Baluchistan'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 77—DELHI.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 35,56,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Delhi'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 78—AJMER-MERWARA.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 13,77,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Ajmer-Merwara'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 79—ANDAMANS AND NICOBAR ISLANDS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 37,41,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of the 'Andamans and Nicobar Islands'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 80—RAJPUTANA.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,36,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Rajputana'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 81—CENTRAL INDIA.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,90,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Central India'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 82—HYDERABAD.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 77,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Hyderabad'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 83—EXPENDITURE IN ENGLAND—SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 17,47,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Expenditure in England—Secretary of State for India'."

The Assembly divided:

AYES—33.

Abul Kasem, Maulvi.
Aiyer, Sir P. S. Sivaswamy.
Akram Hussain, Prince A. M. M.
Bajpai, Mr. B. S.
Bhore, Mr. J. W.
Blackett, The Honourable Sir Basil.
Bray, Sir Denys.
Burdon, Mr. E.
Carey, Sir Willoughby.
Clow, Mr. A. G.
Dalal, Sardar B. A.
Donovan, Mr. J. T.
Gordon, Mr. R. G.
Graham, Mr. L.
Hezlett, Mr. J.
Hira Singh Brar, Sardar Bahadur Captain.
Hudson, Mr. W. F.
Innes, The Honourable Sir Charles.

Jatar, Mr. K. S.
Lloyd, Mr. A. H.
Macphail, The Rev. Dr. E. M.
Mitra, The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath.
Muddiman, The Honourable Sir Alexander.
Naidu, Rao Bahadur M. C.
Owens, Lieut.-Col. F. O.
Rahman, Khan Bahadur A.
Raj Narain, Rai Bahadur.
Rau, Mr. P. B.
Singh, Rai Bahadur S. N.
Stanyon, Colonel Sir Henry.
Tonkinson, Mr. H.
Vernon, Mr. H. A. B.
Vijayaraghavacharyar, Sir Tiruvalangadi.

NOES—20.

Ahmad Ali Khan, Mr.
Alimuzzaman Chowdhry, Khan Bahadur.
Chanda, Mr. Kamini Kumar.
Das, Mr. B.
Datta, Dr. S. K.
Hussanally, Khan Bahadur W. M.
Hyder, Dr. L. K.
Jinnah, Mr. M. A.
Joshi, Mr. N. M.
Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Mr.

Lohokare, Dr. K. G.
Makan, Khan Sahib M. E.
Muhammad Ismail, Khan Bahadur Saiyid.
Mutalik, Sardar V. N.
Neogy, Mr. K. C.
Pal, Mr. Bipin Chandra.
Ramachandra Rao, Diwan Bahadur M.
Sadiq Hasan, Mr. S.
Venkatapatiraju, Mr. B.
Yakub, Maulvi Muhammad.

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 84—EXPENDITURE IN ENGLAND—HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 16,43,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Expenditure in England—High Commissioner for India'."

The motion was adopted.

B.—Expenditure charged to Capital.

DEMAND No. 85—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON SECURITY PRINTING.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,72,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Security Printing'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 86—IRRIGATION.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Irrigation'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 87—INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 60,89,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Indian Posts and Telegraphs'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 88—INDO-EUROPEAN TELEGRAPHS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Indo-European Telegraphs'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 89—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON VIZAGAPATAM HARBOUR.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 48,70,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Capital outlay on Vizagapatam Harbour'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 90—COMMUTED VALUE OF PENSIONS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 20,00,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Commuted Value of Pensions'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 91—NEW CAPITAL AT DELHI.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 97,48,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'New Capital at Delhi'."

The motion was adopted.

C.—Disbursements of Loans and Advances.

DEMAND No. 92—INTEREST-FREE ADVANCES.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,02,85,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Interest-free Advances'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 93--LOANS AND ADVANCES BEARING INTEREST.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 9,05,72,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Loans and Advances bearing Interest'."

The motion was adopted.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, the 15th March, 1926.
