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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

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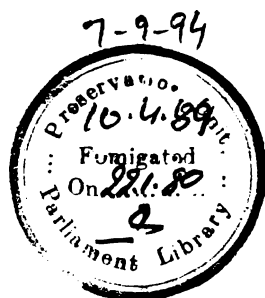
SECOND SESSION

OF THE

THIRD LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 1928



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1928



Legislative Assembly.

President :

THE HONOURABLE MR V. J. PATEL.

Deputy President :

MAULVI MUHAMMAD YAKUB, M.L.A.

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SIR DARCY LINDSAY, KT., C.B.E., M.L.A.

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

MR. M. R. JAYAKAR, M.L.A.

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

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

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

Marshal :

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

Committee on Public Petitions :

MAULVI MUHAMMAD YAKUB, M.L.A., Chairman.

SIR HARI SINGH GOUR, KT., M.L.A.

MR. N. M. JOSHI, M.L.A.

MR. JAMNADAS M. MEHTA, M.L.A.

DR. A. SUHRAWARDY, M.L.A.

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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Thursday, 23rd February, 1928.

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

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

AVERAGE SPACE OF SEATS ALLOTTED TO A THIRD, INTERMEDIATE, SECOND AND FIRST CLASS PASSENGER ON THE GREAT INDIAN PENINSULA, EAST INDIAN AND NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

273. ***Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** 1. Will the Government be pleased to state the average space of a seat allotted to a third, intermediate, second and first class passenger on the Great Indian Peninsula, East Indian and North Western Railways?

2. Will the Government be pleased to state the average cost worked out for one seat for a (a) third, (b) intermediate, (c) second, and (d) first class passenger on the Great Indian Peninsula, East Indian and North Western Railways?

3. Will the Government be pleased to state the space of an average (a) third class, (b) intermediate class, (c) second class, and (d) first class compartment and be further pleased to state the number of passengers accommodated in one compartment of the different classes on the different Government Railways?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The average figures for which the Honourable Member asks could only be procured, when they could be procured at all, by a laborious enquiry which Government regret they are not prepared to undertake. The number of passengers accommodated in different classes of compartments varies according to the type of the carriage.

ALLEGATIONS AGAINST AN ANGLO-INDIAN SUB-OFFICER TRAVELLING TICKET INSPECTOR DISCHARGED FROM THE EASTERN BENGAL RAILWAY.

274. ***Mr. B. Das:** (a) Is it a fact that in the Eastern Bengal Railway an Anglo-Indian Sub-officer Travelling Ticket Inspector was only permitted to take men out of a list approved of by the Chief Auditor in vacancies caused by absences on leave of permanent Travelling Ticket Collector while he used to appoint men in excess of vacancies?

(b) Is it a fact that he used to hand over card permits authorizing the holder to check passengers' tickets as well as blank books for handing over to passengers travelling without tickets to outsiders thereby enabling them to pose as Government servants and to defraud the public?

(c) Is it a fact that without the knowledge of his superior officers, he used to take men, not approved of by the Chief Auditor, as Travelling Ticket Collectors and made them work without any pay against all rules of the Railway Administration?

(d) Is it a fact that some of these men referred to above alleged that he used to take a considerable sum under false pretence, that a deposit was needed in some cases from Government servants and educationalists, and that some of these cases are pending under police enquiry?

(e) Is it a fact that the important office papers bearing on the subject, for safe custody of which he was responsible, were found missing and that for this no police enquiry was made?

(f) Is it a fact that this man was discharged with a month's pay although these charges were admitted?

(g) Is it a fact that this man was discharged for insolvency a couple of years ago and was re-appointed without refunding his Provident Fund and gratuity as required by the rules?

(h) Is it a fact that the two Anglo-Indian Circle Inspectors and three Travelling Ticket Inspectors were found to be his agents? If so, has any action been taken against them?

(i) Is it a fact that all these irregularities were discovered by a responsible Indian officer within fifteen days of his posting there and that he was transferred before the matter could be straightened out?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Enquiry is being made and a reply will be sent to the Honourable Member in due course.

STANDING ADVISORY COMMITTEES ATTACHED TO DEPARTMENTS OF GOVERNMENT.

275. ***Mr. B. Das:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether any meetings of the Advisory Boards of the different Departments of Government, specially Industries and Labour, Commerce and Home, took place since their election?

(b) Will Government be pleased to lay on the table copies of the agenda of these meetings and the conclusions arrived at by them?

The Honourable Mr. J. Crerar: The information asked for is being collected and will be supplied to the Honourable Member in due course.

MEETINGS OF THE CENTRAL ADVISORY RAILWAY COMMITTEE.

276. ***Mr. B. Das:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state the number of meetings that was held by the Central Advisory Board of the Railways?

(b) Will Government be pleased to place on the table copies of the minutes of all meetings of the Central Advisory Board of the Railways?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) Seventeen.

(b) I would refer the Honourable Member to the statement laid on the table on the 18th August, 1927.

HOSPITALS MAINTAINED BY THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

277. ***Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru:** (a) Does the East Indian Railway maintain hospitals for the railway staff and their families?

(b) Are separate buildings or blocks provided for Europeans and Anglo-Indians and for Indians?

(c) Is it a fact that while Europeans and Anglo-Indians are treated by the Senior Medical Officer and the District Medical Officer, Indians are treated by the junior Sub-Assistant Surgeons?

(d) Is it a fact that Europeans and Anglo-Indians receive preferential treatment in the supply of medicines?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) Yes, for the staff. Families are only admitted when accommodation is available.

(b) Yes, so far as the subordinate and menial staff are concerned. There is no distinction for gazetted officers.

(c) No.

(d) No.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Will the Honourable Member make inquiries with regard to part (c) to find out whether in practice the senior officer treats Europeans and Anglo-Indians and the junior officer treats Indians?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I will consider doing so. I am not quite sure whether I have not got fuller information from the Agent of the Railway.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Will the Honourable Member tell us whether it is a fact or not that railway subordinates, indeed all railway employes, are medically treated according to the salaries they receive, i.e., people drawing a certain scale of salary are treated by the District Medical Officer and those receiving a smaller scale of salary are treated by the Assistant Surgeon and those lower down by the Sub-Assistant Surgeon?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I would ask the Honourable Member to put down a question on the paper. The facts are not within my knowledge.

NURSES EMPLOYED IN HOSPITALS MAINTAINED BY THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

278. ***Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru:** Are nurses employed in the East Indian Railway hospitals? Do they look after European and Anglo-Indian patients only or are they required to attend Indian patients also?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Nurses are employed in the East Indian Railway hospitals; they attend gazetted officers irrespective of nationality. I am not sure what the exact position is with regard to attendance on subordinates, but am making enquiries.

REFUSAL OF ADMISSION OF INDIAN MATERNITY CASES INTO THE HOSPITALS MAINTAINED BY THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY, ETC.

279. ***Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru:** (a) Is it a fact that while suitable arrangements for maternity cases exist in regard to Europeans and Anglo-Indians, Indian maternity cases are refused admission to the East Indian Railway hospitals? Is it a fact that no arrangements are made for Indian maternity cases even in stations where there are no Government or District Board dispensaries?

(b) Are any midwives employed for dealing with Indian maternity cases? Have the Indian staff represented several times to the authorities the urgent need for the appointment of midwives? What action has so far been taken on their representation?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: From the information so far supplied to me by the Agent of the East Indian Railway, I gather that no distinction

is made between Europeans, Anglo-Indians and other Indians in regard to the acceptance of maternity cases into railway hospitals. That is to say, maternity cases for all classes are taken in provided accommodation is available, by arrangement with the hospital authorities, and the only reason for refusal would be lack of accommodation. I am, however, obtaining fuller information with regard to this and the other points in the Honourable Member's question from the Agent, and will communicate further with him when it is received.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Will the Honourable Member kindly communicate to the Agent the fact that I have received complaints from many quarters that Indian maternity cases have definitely been refused not merely for want of accommodation?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I will communicate to the Agent the Honourable Member's supplementary question.

PAY AND ALLOWANCES OF GUARDS ON THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

280. ***Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru:** (a) Is it a fact that some time ago two scales of pay and allowances known as "Guards' Pay and Allowances" and "Indian Guards' Pay and Allowances" were in force for guards on the East Indian Railway?

(b) Have guards now been classified into two grades known as Grade I and Grade II, and are Europeans appointed in practice to Grade I and Indians to Grade II? Are the scales of pay applicable to the two grade Rs. 110—10—210 per mensem and Rs. 45—5—100 per mensem, respectively? Are there any rules with regard to promotion from Grade I to Grade II or do Indian guards generally remain in Grade II throughout the period of their service?

(c) Does a similar practice prevail in regard to the appointment and promotion of ticket collectors?

(d) Is it a fact that promotions to higher posts in the subordinate services are generally made from European guards and ticket collectors?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) Yes.

(b) The pay of the present Grade I starts at Rs. 105 with an increment of Rs. 5; otherwise the present grades and their scales of pay are correctly stated by the Honourable Member. I have been informed that it has generally been the practice to appoint Europeans initially to Grade I and Indians to Grade II. Promotion from Grade II to Grade I is purely by selection and there are no rules governing it. Indian guards are so promoted.

(c) There are four grades of ticket collectors on rates varying from Rs. 22 to 120 per month, and they are open to staff of any nationality.

(d) The best qualified men are promoted, and nationality is not a consideration.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: With regard to part (a), will the Honourable Member take the matter up with the Agent and ask him to remove the distinction with regard to the employment of Indians and Europeans?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Yes, Sir. The Railway Board think that a certain amount of direct recruitment of men of superior stamp to Grade I is desirable. They do not consider it desirable that that recruitment should

in any way be based on communal considerations, and they propose to take the matter up with the Agent.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: With regard to the appointment of ticket collectors, is the Honourable Member aware that in actual practice, generally Europeans and Anglo-Indians are employed in the higher grades?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: That is not my information.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: When the Honourable Member discusses the general question with the Agent, would he mind going more fully into this matter with him?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: At the moment I am not aware of any reason for discussing it. I have been informed that in practice there is no racial discrimination made with regard to ticket collectors.

INCREASE IN THE IMPORTS OF COTTON YARN AND PIECE-GOODS.

281. ***Sir Victor Sassoon:** (a) Has Government's attention been drawn to the fact that the imports of yarn into India have risen from 37,223,606 lbs. in 1925 to 37,300,152 lbs. in 1926 and 44,518,886 lbs. in 1927, of which China has a share of 10,930,813 lbs., against 327,032 lbs. in 1926; and that the imports of piece-goods have risen from 1,100,604,884 lbs. in 1925 to 1,320,850,651 lbs. in 1926 and 1,498,045,631 lbs. in 1927?

(b) Are Government studying the situation and do they propose to take, any, and if so, what action to remedy this state of affairs?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The Honourable the Commerce Member who is absent in another place has asked me to reply on his behalf.

(a) and (b). Government's attention has been drawn to the increase in the imports of cotton yarn and piece-goods. They do not propose to take any action in the matter at present, but are watching developments.

Sir Victor Sassoon: Will the Honourable Member inquire from the Honourable the Commerce Member as to whether he is aware that during the month of January, in spite of the fact that 20 per cent. of the looms and 28 per cent. of the spindles in Bombay were stopped in Bombay, uncleared stocks of cloth increased to 166,000 bales. Will the Honourable Member endeavour to obtain an expression of opinion from the Honourable the Commerce Member as to whether Government would look on this indication of an impending crisis as one only affecting the industry or as one affecting the nation as a whole?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I will certainly bring the further information vouchsafed by the Honourable Member to the notice of the Honourable the Commerce Member, but I am not so sure that I am prepared to ask him to express an opinion as to whether a crisis is impending.

Sir Victor Sassoon: Why not?

SEPARATE SECRETARIAT FOR THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

282. ***Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji:** Will Government please state the date when they propose to provide a separate Secretariat for the Legislative Assembly?

Mr. L. Graham: Government can add nothing to the information already supplied in reply to Mr. B. Das's starred question No. 254.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: Will Government be pleased to give this House an idea of the probable date by which the Secretariat of the Assembly will be separated from the Secretariat of the Legislative Department?

Mr. L. Graham: That, Sir, seems to be precisely the same question as the original question.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: Does it mean that the Government is not in a position to inform this House precisely what action they have taken or they propose to take in the matter?

Mr. L. Graham: I think the Honourable Member was in the House the other day when I answered Mr. Das's question. If I remember aright, he asked a supplementary question himself. The answer given was that Government have received the proposals of the Honourable the President and are giving them their consideration and have not yet come to a final conclusion.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: For how many months has Government been in possession of the proposals of the Honourable the President?

Mr. L. Graham: The proposals of the Honourable the President, so far as I remember, were received on the day before the Assembly sat in Simla.

**LEADER OF THE INDIAN DELEGATION TO THE NEXT SESSION OF THE
ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.**

283. ***Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji:** Will Government please state if it is their intention to appoint an Indian gentleman as Leader of the Indian Delegation to the next Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations?

Mr. L. Graham: The personnel of the Delegation is now under consideration, but has not yet been settled. On the question of the appointment of an Indian to lead the Delegation, I would refer the Honourable Member to the Honourable the Law Member's speech in reply to the Resolution moved by the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna in the Council of State on the 9th March, 1927, and also to the Honourable the Law Member's announcement in that Chamber on the 24th August, 1926. Government have nothing to add to those declarations.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: Have those announcements made by responsible members of Government been given effect to?

Mr. L. Graham: Will the Honourable Member kindly repeat his question?

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: Will the Honourable Member kindly inform us if the announcements made by responsible members of Government in the other place have been given effect to by Government?

Mr. L. Graham: Might I ask the Honourable Member, Sir, if he has read those announcements?

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: I have, Sir. The announcements were to the effect that when the next appointments were made, the Government promised in the other place to consider the question of an Indian being appointed as leader. The facts before the public are that Indians

have not been appointed since that announcement was made. How does the Honourable Member reconcile the non-appointment of Indians with the announcements made in the other place?

Mr. L. Graham: Sir, I have here before me the two statements to which I should like to refer. Perhaps the position might be cleared up if I were allowed to read the announcement made in the other place. The announcement made by the Honourable Mr. Das at a meeting of the Council of State on the 24th August, 1926, is as follows:

"With regard to the leadership of the delegation, somewhat different considerations arise. The discussions at the meeting of the Assembly invariably include in their scope difficult questions of foreign policy and international relations. For these in the case of India under the present constitutional arrangements, the Secretary of State for India is responsible, and as a Member of the British Cabinet he is of necessity fully acquainted with the trend of the policy of His Majesty's Government in regard to these matters. It has accordingly been customary to appoint persons to lead the delegation who, in addition to possessing personal knowledge of India and Indian conditions, have been in a position to appreciate the guiding principles of His Majesty's Government's foreign policy and are thereby specially qualified to carry out the responsibilities devolving on the Secretary of State in this regard. This system has worked satisfactorily in the past, and in present circumstances it is thought unnecessary to depart from it."

—I am leaving out two sentences which I think are irrelevant—

"The question of continuing this practice in future and of the number of substitutes ordinarily required will be examined after experience of conditions at meetings this year."

I have said, Sir, that the conclusions of Government are the same as they were when that announcement was made.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: In this connection, may I inquire if it is a fact that the delegations from the Dominions are led by nationals of those Dominions? And if the nationals of those Dominions are in a position to discuss matters of high policy, how does it come about that the present and the past members of the Executive Council in India, for example, are not similarly considered capable by the Government of India?

Mr. L. Graham: I think, Sir, the difference is entirely due to the difference between Dominion status and the status of India.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Are we to take it that, until India achieves Dominion status, it is the settled policy of Government to appoint Englishmen as leaders of the Indian Delegation?

Mr. L. Graham: I am not in a position to answer that question.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: May I beg to inquire whether, so far as the League of Nations is concerned, there is any distinction between India and the self-governing Dominions?

Mr. L. Graham: India is a member of the League of Nations, Sir, as the Honourable Member very well knows.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: Is it also true that India is a member of the League of Nations with the same status as and equal power with other parts of the British Empire?

Mr. L. Graham: All members of the League of Nations have the same status and power inside it.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: If so, what power have the Government of India got under the Treaty of Versailles to consider Indians as inferior to other nationals of the Dominions of the British Empire when appointments to the League of Nations are made?

Mr. President: Mr. Haji.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: May I take it that there is no reply to that question, Sir?

Mr. President: Take it as you like.

NOMINATION OF INDIANS AS ADVISERS TO THE GOVERNMENT DELEGATES TO THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE.

284. ***Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji:** (a) Will Government please state if it is a fact that the advisers to the Government delegates of countries represented at the International Labour Conference are nationals of the respective countries?

(b) If so, is it the intention of the Government to nominate the advisers to the Government of India delegates their Indian officers?

(c) If the answer to (b) is in the affirmative, is it the intention of the Government to consider in this connection the claims of the Indian officers connected with the Departments of Labour and Industry in the various provinces of India in addition to the Department of Labour and Industries of the Government of India?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) The Government of India have no definite information on the subject.

(b) and (c). In nominating advisers to the Government delegates the Government of India are guided mainly by considerations of efficiency and economy. Advisers are chosen because of their knowledge of the subjects discussed and advantage is taken of the presence of officers in Europe on leave at the time of the Conference. The claims of Indian officers and of officers serving under Local Governments are also duly considered.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: With reference to section (a) of the question, in view of the fact that Government have no information, will they kindly arrange to get information under that head, as suggested, Sir?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: No, Sir.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: Is it because, if such information is asked for and obtained, it will force the Government of India to carry out the same procedure as adopted by other countries, namely, the appointment of a national as adviser to the Government delegation?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: No, Sir. The Honourable Member overlooks the fact that in the present conditions a number of officers of the Government of India must be Englishmen.

Lala Lajpat Rai: Does it come to this, that the Honourable Member does not read the proceedings of the International Labour Conference, where the names of the persons are given who represent other nations as advisers?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I certainly do read the proceedings but the names do not always indicate the nationality of the gentlemen.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: Is there any ground for believing that other countries send non-nationals as delegates and advisers?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I have no information on that point, Sir.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: If, Sir, the names of these gentlemen do not indicate their nationality, is it not a greater reason for Government making inquiries from Geneva?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: No, Sir, because no advantage will be gained from that inquiry. I have already given the reason why it may be necessary in the present conditions in India to send as an adviser to the Government Delegation an European officer.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: With reference to the point of economy mentioned by the Honourable the Industries Member, may I know from him if it is the intention of Government to be guided in future not by interests of economy alone but by the interests of India in general and what the position of India as an equal partner with other nations in the League of Nations requires, Sir?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: The interests of the Indian tax-payer include considerations of economy.

CONTINUITY OF PERSONNEL IN NOMINATIONS OF DELEGATES AND ADVISERS TO THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE.

285. ***Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji:** Will Government please state if it is a fact that the authorities of the International Labour Office have expressed their desire that the Governments of countries represented at the International Labour Conference should observe the principle of continuity of personnel in their nominations of delegates and advisers to the International Labour Conference?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: The Government of India have received no communication from the International Labour Office with regard to the principle referred to by the Honourable Member. So far as the Government delegates are concerned this principle is so far as possible being observed. With regard to the non-Government delegates I would invite the Honourable Member's attention to Article 389 of the Treaty of Versailles.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: With reference to the continuity that is desirable in the nomination of the personnel for the International Labour Delegations, would the Government consider the advisability of intimating to the organisations that nominate these delegates and advisers the desirability of observing continuity in their nominations, Sir?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: No, Sir. The Government of India do not desire to take any action which would in any way restrict the discretion of the parties concerned.

DISMISSAL OF MR. B. E. deROZARIO, LATE DEPOT STOREKEEPER, ALAMBAGH.

286. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** With reference to the answer given by the Honourable Mr. Parsons in reply to my starred question No. 237 asked at the last Simla Session of the Assembly, will the Government be pleased to state:

- (a) The details of certain fraudulent transactions of which the special police officer is alleged to have secured proof implicating Mr. B. E. deRozario, late Depôt Storekeeper, Alambagh?
- (b) If the special police officer had secured proof against the said Mr. B. E. deRozario, why was he not sent up for trial before a court of law instead of being dealt with departmentally?
- (c) What were the reasons for which it was eventually decided to deal with him departmentally? And what was the charge that the department framed against him?
- (d) Why was Mr. deRozario given only a suspension allowance not full pay under Chapter VIII of the Government of India Fundamental Rules?
- (e) If Mr. B. E. deRozario was in direct charge of the Charbagh Depôt in March, 1922, will the Government be pleased to furnish a copy of the order by which he was appointed as in charge of the depôt?
- (f) What office order was in force in March, 1922, regulating the delivery of auction material?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) The fraudulent transaction consisted of giving delivery to certain merchants of a larger quantity of brass materials than had actually been sold to them.

(b) and (c). The police authorities considered that Mr. B. E. deRozario was in league with other employes in committing this fraud. I am unable to say exactly what circumstances connected with his participation in it decided them not to proceed further against him in court and to recommend that he should be dealt with departmentally, but it was on their recommendation that he was dealt with departmentally, and the departmental charge framed against him was that given in my reply to (a).

(d) Mr. deRozario was granted subsistence allowance in accordance with the provision of Fundamental Rule 43(b).

(e) and (f). I am asking the Agent of the East Indian Railway to send me copies of these orders if they are still in existence for supply to the Honourable Member on receipt.

RE-EMPLOYMENT OF MR. IRELAND, A DISMISSED RAILWAY SERVANT ON THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

287. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** Is it a fact that Mr. Ireland was dismissed from the railway service in connection with the late Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway stores fraud case of 1922, but was re-employed and is working on the East Indian Railway, as an assistant yard master at Lucknow?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Government have no information but enquiries are being made.

THE DELHI TRAMWAYS.

288. *Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Will the Government be pleased to state:

- (a) How many men, children and women were killed and injured by the tramways in Delhi since they were started in 1905?
- (b) How many animals were injured and how many carriages, carts and *thelas* were broken as a result of their coming across the tramways in Delhi since 1905?
- (c) What is the breadth of the roads in the following bazars of Delhi:
 1. Fatehpuri bazar in front of Kandle Kushan Lane,
 2. Katra Baryan in front of Farrashkhana,
 3. Lal Kuan in front of Koocha Pandit,
 4. Bazar Sirki Valan,
 5. Hauz Qazi near the fruit market where there is also a stand for tongas?
- (d) Is there any minimum breadth of road prescribed where a tramway can be run?
- (e) How much space of the road is covered by the tramway lines on the Fatehpuri road where it turns to Khari Baoli under the Coronation Hotel building?
- (f) Is it a fact that all the Police Inspectors, Sub-Inspectors, head constables and constables on duty have got free passes from the Tramways Company at Delhi?
- (g) Is there any arrangement of recording daily accidents by the tramways in Delhi?
- (h) How many cases were instituted against the tramways for accidents in Delhi since 1905 and in how many cases were the tramway conductors convicted and what punishment was awarded to them?
- (i) How many persons received any compensation from the Tramways Company at Delhi for the loss of life or injuries to themselves or their animals or other property, and what was the amount of such compensation since 1905?
- (j) Are Government prepared to consider the question of amending the Delhi Tramways Act so as to provide a certain minimum limit of the breadth of the roads on which trams can be allowed to run and other safeguards for the life and property of the people?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: The information asked for is being collected and will be supplied to the Honourable Member as soon as possible.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

LEVY OF LAND REVENUE ON SALT.

113. Mr. N. C. Kelkar: (a) Is it a fact that land revenue at the rate of 4 pies per maund is levied on salt at the place of production?

(b) Is income from salt on the same level as agricultural income?

(c) If so, are Government prepared to consider the desirability of exempting salt from income-tax?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a) Yes, in some cases in Bombay.

(b) The question is not understood.

(c) The answer is in the negative.

IMPOSITION OF A SALT DUTY ON IMPORTED SALT.

114. **Mr. N. C. Kelkar:** (a) Is it a fact that foreign salt is imported into India as "under-weight" without any cost?

(b) If so, is it a fact that it competes with indigenous Indian salt without payment of salt duty?

(c) Are Government prepared to consider the desirability of imposing the duty on such imported salt to counterbalance the duty on Indian salt?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a) and (b). Salt is largely imported at low freights by ships which would otherwise have had to come in ballast but is subject to the same duty as salt manufactured in British India.

(c) Does not arise.

MAINTENANCE OF RECORDS OF SALT PANS OWNED BY INDIVIDUAL SALT PRODUCERS.

115. **Mr. N. C. Kelkar:** (a) Is it a fact that the Customs Office does not keep survey records of pans, inner reservoirs and platforms and the area generally covered by the pans which are the exclusive property of each individual salt producer?

(b) If so, does not this state of things lead to confusion for want of official evidence of title and liability to assessment?

(c) Have Government considered the desirability of keeping a record from time to time of an official survey of salt pans owned by individual salt producers?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Under standing orders, all licensed works are to be surveyed and resurveyed from time to time, and records of rights kept.

NUMBER OF FIRST AND SECOND CLASS PASSENGERS WHO TRAVELLED ON INDIAN RAILWAYS AS PASS-HOLDERS OR AT THE PUBLIC EXPENSE.

116. **Mr. E. F. Sykes:** Will the Government please say how many of the first and second class passengers recorded as having travelled on Indian Railways in the last financial year were either passholders or otherwise travelling at the public expense?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Of the number of first and second class passengers recorded as having travelled on Indian Railways in the last financial year none were pass-holders. The information as to the number who travelled at public expense is not available and I do not think it possible to obtain it.

STATEMENT OF BUSINESS.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett (Leader of the House): Sir, with your permission, I should like to make the following statement about the probable course of business during the next week.

The lists of business have already issued for Monday the 27th and Tuesday the 28th. On Wednesday the 29th the House will sit at 5 P.M. for the presentation of the General Budget.

On Thursday, the 1st, a motion will be made (1) to take into consideration and pass the Burma Salt Bill as passed by the Council of State; (2) for leave to introduce and to take into consideration the Ply-Wood Industry Protection Bill, copies of which have already been placed in the hands of Members; (3) to take into consideration and pass the Indian Securities (Amendment) Bill as passed by the Council of State.

I am not yet in a position to state whether the House will be asked to sit on Friday, the 2nd March.

RESOLUTION RE (1) REPAIR OF OLD BUILDINGS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF DELHI, (2) EXCAVATION WORK ON THE SITE OF HASTINAPUR.

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan (United Provinces: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I move the Resolution which stands in my name on the paper. This is a Resolution which I hope will be accepted by the Government and by all the Members of this House without any opposition. As there is no controversial matter in this Resolution, I did not think that there would be any amendment or opposition to it. But unfortunately I am confronted with some questions with which I will deal later on if they are moved at all. I do not hope that they will come up before the House in the shape in which they appear. My Resolution, Sir

Mr. President: What is the Honourable Member's Resolution? (*Some Honourable Members:* "Read your Resolution.")

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan: My Resolution, Sir, is this:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to be pleased to provide a substantial sum in the Budget for the following purposes:

- (1) To thoroughly repair the old buildings like mosques, tombs, gates, etc., lying round about Delhi in a dilapidated condition and not owned by any particular individual;
- (2) To carry on excavation work on the site of Hastinapur in the Meerut District."

The first portion of my Resolution is about the repair of the buildings which lie round about Delhi. I want to make that recommendation on two grounds. The first ground is that in this new White City, these buildings, which are in a dilapidated condition and which are not going to be repaired by anybody, stand as a disgrace to those persons who can repair them but do not repair them. They are like a black dot on a white paper. While we have got such beautiful buildings and gardens in this new City, we have got round about it some half tombs. Either they should be removed altogether or they should be repaired. But I know, Sir, that they cannot be removed altogether. There is difficulty in removing them altogether, and when they cannot be removed, then the only possible course is to repair them and thus remove the ugly sight which they are

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presenting to-day. A lot of money has been spent in building up this new City. Crores have been spent on the buildings and roads of this City, and I therefore do not think that the petty sum required to restore these buildings will be denied by this House in view of the fact that they require a certain consideration from this House

Sir Hari Singh Gour (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muham-
madan): What is their value?

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan: I will come to that, if the Honourable Member will have a little patience.

The second consideration is that these buildings which I want to be repaired have got a historical value. We know, Sir, that nowadays the history of the people who lived a long time ago is learnt only by the buildings which they erected, and that is the only way left of knowing of the culture and the life which they led in times past. That being so, Sir, while we spend a lot of money in excavations for finding out the life of the people, I do not see how any Honourable Member who has got the slightest interest in the history of the past, can agree to let these buildings be destroyed by time, by rain and sun without being cared for.

The Revd. J. C. Chatterjee (Nominated: Indian Christians): Will you name any specific building?

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan: Keep quiet. I will mention everything. If these buildings are kept intact they will be of greater historical value after some time than they appear to be now. There are four periods which we can find in these old buildings here. Some buildings have got an architectural value of the period before the Mussalmans came to India. Some buildings have got the value of the time after the Mussalmans came and before the Mughal Empire came into existence. There are other buildings which have got the value of the period before Shah Jahan, and of course we know that the great builder for whom the whole world has got great respect, the Emperor Shah Jahan, changed the style of building altogether. We have also got a lot of buildings after the time of Shah Jahan, but there are very few left of the buildings before the period of Shah Jahan. They may not attract you by their appearance. They may not have any attractive beauty which would induce any one to go and have a look at them for pleasure. But they have got great historical value. If you go and study the real architectural intellect of India of these days, you will find in these buildings the ideas which prevailed before the Mussalmans came, and you have also got buildings in which the Mussalman style of architecture is mixed up with the architecture of an earlier period. Some of these tombs which are lying scattered about have no attraction for every one, but they have got an attraction for the historian to study how one civilisation gave way to another till new inventions were made at the time of the Emperor Shah Jahan. That is why I want these buildings to be preserved. If they are preserved, they will be examples of India's glorious past, which has not yet been realised by many. People from far and near come to Delhi. Whoever comes to India comes to Delhi, and Delhi is the only place which provides food for every person who seeks knowledge in the shape of history, and if those buildings which are lying here are preserved they will supply a great material for everybody who cares to see them. Some of my friends have asked that I should name those buildings. I refrain from naming those buildings, but

for example I would just tell you that there are some on the Asoka Road, some on the Qutab Road, in the Qudsia Gardens, some on the road which comes from the Delhi Gate, there is a fortress of the old Prithwi Raj, and as you go from the old Fort to Qutab you have a lot of buildings which have got a great historical past. If you let them die, you will take away from history a splendid material which you can supply as regards the glory of the past. This is the City where not one civilisation but hundreds of civilisations lie buried and you can detect them by spending even a small sum on them. I do not want to press on this House to allot a big sum in one year, but what I say is a substantial sum, and if it is spread over a number of years, say, 5, 6 or 10 years, the cost will be little. In a big budget of Rs. 140 crores a petty sum of a lakh or two would not affect it at all. But that small sum will show to the whole world what civilisation you had in the past.

Sir, may I say that I have visited some of these ruins, as I always do wherever I go, and I found in some of the buildings which are protected by the Government some stones are falling out in some places and they appear as if they have not been repaired at all. I do not mean to deal with each and every building because it will take a long time. If my Resolution is accepted, then I will place before the Government the names of the buildings that I had in mind and they can go on with the repair work in respect of those buildings which appear to them to have any historical value. This is not the time when I should specifically name each and every building. There might be some misapprehension in the minds of certain Members that by using the word "mosques" or "tombs", or "gates", etc., I intend to limit my object only to these three things. I include temples, churches—anything of historical value.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: They are already protected by law.

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan: It is not my intention to restrict the object of the Resolution only to buildings which have come into existence since the Mussalmans came to India, but I have in mind every historical building,—even those buildings which existed long before the Mussalmans came. They have got a greater historical value than buildings which were built in recent years. Now that I have made my point clear, I hope this portion will be accepted by the House.

I now come to the second portion of my Resolution. I do not want to take up the time of the House, but what I want to say is this. We have got only one epic poem, the Mahabharata, which gives the history of the old city of Hastinapur, and at present we have got no signs on the site at present of any buildings left. Once it was a glorious city and according to that great epic, it was one of the biggest cities in India and a great civilisation existed in that place. What do we find in that city to-day? Mounds of mud, reeds, etc., where people fear to tread even in the day time. In those days great people lived there and they ruled practically the whole of Northern India. There is no sign of even a passerby in the day time there at present. I have been to Hastinapur and people are afraid to go there for fear of wild animals. Why I recommend that this should be excavated is this, that the old civilisation of the Hindus, about which we know nothing except that there are certain poems, will be unearthed and that will add material to the history of India. Histories have been written about India, but I think Mohena-ja-daro and

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Harappa will make the historian change his mind again. Hundreds of thousands of pounds are spent in Babylon and other places. We know what they are doing in Egypt, in Babylon, and other places. We know what efforts they are making to find out where the Phœnician civilisation existed and how it existed. Here we have got the old civilisation of the Hindus which existed there, and which exists even to-day in some places, but how they lived, how they built, what was their mode of life in those days, how the degeneration set in—all that will be found if we unearth those old cities which lie buried under the ground. You will then be in a position to write the history of India in a better way. It is still a contested point as to when the Aryans came to India. Historians differ on this point. There is not enough material to settle this point and therefore every effort must be made to find out about this old civilisation. Sir, the Secretary of the Education Department is a great historian himself. Personally he may be interested in it, but I do not know what his Government would say, but I do hope that the Education Department, which deals with this subject, will exert all its influence and get a substantial sum allotted for this purpose. I know it is not an easy task to carry on a big excavation work like this, but a little beginning may be made. I do not want it to be finished in two months or three months or two years. That matter I shall leave entirely to Government. All that my Resolution asks is that these relics of an old civilisation should be preserved, and I commend my Resolution to the favourable consideration of the House.

Mr. M. S. Aney (Berar Representative): Sir, I beg to move the amendment that stands in my name. It reads thus:

“(a) That in clause 1 of the Resolution the following be omitted: ‘like mosques, tombs, gates, etc.’

(b) That in clause 1 of the Resolution after the words ‘particular individual’ the following be inserted:

“if they are found on an inquiry by a qualified officer of the Archæological Department to be possessed of sufficient historic, antiquarian or architectural importance.”

Sir, I wish to make clear at the very outset of my speech that I am not actuated by any communal feeling at all in moving this amendment. I have heard the speech of my friend Mr. Yamin Khan with great attention and I really congratulate him on the manner in which he has moved his Resolution. I never suspected that he was actuated by any communal feeling in moving his Resolution and I trust that he will not think that I am moved by any communal feeling in moving my amendment. My respect for the past history of India is as great as that of any Honourable Member in this House, if not more. The past history of India, dating from the Vedic times down to the expiry of the Mughal period and the rule of the Peshwas, is one for which I have great respect and I am one with Mr. Yamin Khan in thinking that whatever is likely to be a monument of any one of those periods deserves to be preserved at the expense of the State. But the question is this. I find that the Resolution that he has put before us is rather a vague one and, if he will excuse my saying so, an extravagant proposition. That is what I really feel. If the considerations which he has eloquently pleaded in support of his Resolution are the considerations on which we have to accept it, then I believe his purpose will be served by the amendment which I have moved. Before any monument

can be preserved, it is necessary to see that it has got some historic, architectural or antiquarian interest. We have got to see whether there is reason to discriminate some buildings from others on these grounds. Without that discrimination the Resolution would be a very comprehensive and unacceptable proposition. Old is gold, I admit. But it has to be accepted with some qualification when we come to give effect to it. All that glitters is not gold. Sir, with all my respect for the past, I am also a believer in another proposition. The living man has got a greater claim upon the money of the State than the dead. The money that is contributed by the tax-payers is more intimately and urgently necessary for the interests of the living than of the dead. (Mr. H. G. Cocke: "That is a happy division.") That being so, we have to find out to what extent we can go on in the name of preservation of ancient monuments. If what is to be preserved has got a historic, antiquarian or architectural value, then by all means it is our duty to the dead that we must preserve it. We must at the same time not allow every one of us to be a judge of that matter — of what is to be preserved and what not. Archæology is a subject which requires a special kind of training and it is not every one who is competent to say whether a building has got a historic value or not. We must sufficiently study the previous history as disclosed by chroniclers and interpreted by the proper persons. We have also to see whether we have already preserved monuments of similar historical value. That is a proposition for the specialist. Therefore I have deliberately inserted in my amendment the words "if they are found on an inquiry by a qualified officer" and so on. That will satisfy the conditions on which alone my friend wants these monuments to be preserved. That being so, there should not be much difficulty for him in accepting my amendment. I hope he will not put a sinister construction on my remarks. There is absolutely no communal feeling in the matter. I have also deliberately omitted the words mosques, tombs, gates, etc. According to my understanding of the English language the word 'building' is sufficiently comprehensive to cover all that. My friend has put "etc." also because he apparently thinks that his list is not exhaustive.

The tombs were there, the mosques were there, and he put down gates also. He was not sure whether the big dilapidated walls could be separately mentioned and in his helplessness he described as etcetera after mentioning tombs, mosques and gates. That being the case, instead of naming the numerous lot of structures whose variety makes it impossible for us to give a comprehensive and exhaustive list, I have thought it better to move for the omission of them altogether. These three things would not be illustrative or exhaustive of the great variety of buildings seen lying scattered in the vicinity of this town. That being the case, it is better to retain the generic term "buildings", and certainly the plain words "old buildings" are comprehensive enough to cover all monuments, which are suggestive of historic or even pre-historic times, and are of some interest otherwise. The word "old" is sufficiently comprehensive to cover any period of history, so for that reason I have deleted those words.

The second thing that I have said, is that under the provisions of the Ancient Monuments Act already in existence, the Department of Archæology is working. So if we know that there is a Department already brought into existence for the purpose of finding out these buildings or monuments, all that we can do is to call their attention to them, if we

[Mr. M. S. Aney.]

find they have not been properly cared for. And that purpose is served best by putting the Resolution in the form in which I have worded my amendment. I only say that if we think the vicinity of Old Delhi has not been properly cared for by that Department, we can say to that Department, "Send your officer and ask him to make exhaustive enquiries into the buildings" and then leave the Government to judge which of them requires to be preserved. Secondly, if we insist on the exact letter of the Resolution, what would be the consequences? Probably you will find that the expansion of any new town would be impossible. I don't know if the term old buildings like tombs is intended to include the innumerable small scattered tombs, even the ordinary tombs of persons who were of no importance. For that matter even the present cemeteries may throw some light on history, but I may assure my Honourable friend that the sort of light that they will throw is of that type of the man and civilisation which is living to-day. Excavations deal with a different type of man and culture, but those buildings on the ground which we see mostly lying around generally refer to the species of mankind and type of culture which does not differ from that of to-day. So, if there is any reason to preserve any of these things, it will be necessary to find out whether there is any speciality about them. Indiscriminate preservation will not only exhaust our resources, but will probably leave little space for the living man to move about. This earth is intended for those living at present, more than for those who have gone away. There is the law of survival, and those living have greater claim to the earth.

If my Honourable friend sees that there is some force in the arguments I have put forward, he ought not to feel any difficulty in accepting my amendment, and I am perfectly sure that his mind is now entirely free from any prepossessions which he seem to have apprehended at the beginning of his speech on finding that there was an amendment tabled by me. My amendment is being solely moved with the view of confining the operations of these matters within a proper limit, and it is only with that purpose that I move this amendment. I hope it will be acceptable to my Honourable friend.

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan: You only move your amendment No (b), not (a)?

Mr. M. S. Aney: I have moved both.

Mr. G. S. Bajpai (Secretary, Department of Education, Health and Lands): Sir, I think it may save the time of the House if I were to state as briefly as I can the attitude of Government towards the Resolution which has been moved by my Honourable friend, Mr. Yamin Khan, and the amendment—it is a very reasonable amendment—which has been moved by my friend, Mr. Aney, opposite.

I envy the versatility of my friend Mr. Yamin Khan, who is as much at home in discussing matters of archæology as points of international law. He was good enough to pay me a compliment by suggesting that I was a great historian. I read History at one time in Oxford, but I must in all humility decline to be described as a great historian. If he thought that by paying me that compliment he would soften my heart, he was mistaken. (Laughter.)

The position is this. The Resolution of Mr. Yamin Khan makes two proposals. The first is that the Government should set apart a substantial

sum of money for the preservation of historical relics and monuments—I will use that comprehensive term — in Delhi and round about Delhi. The second proposal is that we should undertake the excavation of Hastinapur. I do not know what exactly he considers to be a substantial sum; but it may interest the House to know that of the total sum of seven lakhs and thirty-four thousand, which we spend every year on the preservation of ancient monuments, a sum of over one lakh is spent on relics round about Delhi, that is more than 14 per cent. of the total expenditure of the Government of India is devoted to the preservation of monuments round about Delhi. That I think would give him some indication of the interest which Government take in the subject for which he pleaded with great force and great eloquence.

The other thing that I should like to mention for the information of my Honourable friend is that the Department of Archæology, with which we have the honour to be connected at present, has by no means been neglectful of buildings of historical interest round about Delhi. It may interest him to know that they have — to use a colloquial term — practically gone through Delhi with a fine comb. Every building of any importance, which is to be found in the neighbourhood or province of Delhi, has been examined, and the number of buildings which they have examined, catalogued, annotated, assessed the historical value of is no less than 1,314. That I think ought to convince my Honourable friend that the Department of Archæology has not been neglectful of the historical value of the buildings which are to be found in the neighbourhood of Delhi.

The second point which I would mention is that not less than 145 out of these 1,314 buildings are actually maintained and preserved by the Department of Archæology. If the others are not maintained and preserved, it is for two reasons. In the first place we do not think it would be right to sacrifice the interests of the present generation for the purpose of preserving crumbling ruins. The second reason is that a good many of these ruins are private property, and, therefore, it is not the duty of Government to spend the tax-payer's money on the preservation of these buildings.

I hope that in the light of the explanation that I have given he will realise that the Government are already devoting a substantial sum on the preservation of some of these ruins, I mean ruins that are of real historical interest.

I now come to the second part of his proposal, which relates to Hastinapur. It may be of interest to the House if I were to state that the discerning eye of the Archæological Department has not overlooked Hastinapur. Some years ago a distinguished officer of our Archæological Department went to what is known as Hastinapur, or rather to what is designated as the site of Hastinapur, and he demarcated two mounds which are expected as being likely to yield finds or relics of value of interest; and that note or report of this officer has been docketted and it is available now in the Department of Archæology. Further, I would inform the House that the portion of the site of Hastinapur which is expected to yield results of some interest has already been declared to be a protected monument. That being so, the only question that remains is: "Are the Government going to undertake excavation at once, or are they going to wait a little while before they undertake

[Mr. G. S. Bajpai.]

excavation?" Now, Sir, I think we ought to leave something, at any rate, to the discretion of the experts of the Archaeological Department. We all have our own opinions as to the relative historical importance of this site or that, of this find or that, of this period of history or that period of history. The fact nevertheless remains that these archaeological experts, being steeped in the literature of history, and in their work, are best in a position to determine the relative importance of the different sites. It may interest the House to know that at the present moment the Department of Archaeology is excavating in no less than eleven places in India; but the bulk of their work is concentrated at Mohenjodaro in Sind and at Harappa in the Montgomery district of the Punjab and that is because, as my friend Mr. Yamin Khan himself admitted, these excavations promise to open up entirely new and unexplored vistas of historical investigation and research. That being the position, he will realise that it is not possible for us, our resources being limited, the staff being limited, expert knowledge being limited, to go forward gaily and say, "We will take up this, that and the other and we shall be able to astonish the world with the volume, if not the discrimination, of our activity."

I think, Sir, it is unnecessary for me to prolong my speech. From the list of business before the House it will be observed that, if all the Resolutions are moved, I shall have to speak at least four times, possibly eight; and I do not wish to weary Honourable Members opposite and Honourable Members on this side with the sound of my voice beyond the limit of endurance. But I do hope that after the explanation which I have given to my friend, Mr. Yamin Khan, and after the statement which I have made to the House, it will be realised that Government are doing everything that it is possible for them to do, consistently as I said with our objects and our resources. But if the Honourable Member who has moved this Resolution so ably has in mind any particular ruin, any particular building, any particular edifice which he thinks is not being properly cared for or which he thinks is historically important but which we, in the darkness of our ignorance, do not consider to be sufficiently important, I am quite willing to learn—the Department of Archaeology is quite willing to learn, and to do all that may be necessary. Similarly, in regard to Hastinapur, I cannot promise that we will begin the excavation to-day or to-morrow; but I shall undertake this, that the Director General of Archaeology and his associates will bear in mind the importance of the site and will do what they can to open up the mound and investigate the historical traditions and the history of it. That being so, I do hope that it may be possible for my Honourable friend to save the time of the House and prevent further discussion by withdrawing his Resolution, because, as I have already said, the term "substantial sum" is too vague and the recommendation that we should undertake a particular activity at once or for that matter that we should preserve every ruin and tomb in the neighbourhood of Delhi, is so comprehensive, it throws upon our shoulders a responsibility so great, that I could not consistently with our resources and our obligations accept the Resolution.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum (North West Frontier Province: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I simply want to make a few

observations in regard to this Resolution. I think the Mover of the Resolution as well as the Official in charge of the case wanted to make the subject lively and wake up the House, finding it very dull, by making those long speeches, as there was not very much to be said on the subject. There is the law for the preservation of old monuments and buildings. I think that is good enough. The law is there under which every care is taken to preserve all old buildings and relics, not only in the neighbourhood of Delhi but also all over India. Does my friend the Mover of the Resolution mean anything further than that? I do not think he means anything more than this, that these old buildings round about Delhi which are not covered by that law, should also be looked after to a certain extent. My reading of his Resolution is this: that these old relics add to the beauty of the town and if these small monuments here and there were to disappear, the attraction to Delhi would be lessened and the whole countryside will look one vast field with newly built white domes, etc. You want something to break the view, and you cannot have anything better than some of these old buildings here and there, scattered all over the area, to add to the beauty of the countryside. If instead of spending much money over them, instructions are issued to the private owners of these buildings and to the Government Departments concerned not to allow them to disappear, as they are disappearing so fast from year to year, that, I should think, ought to meet the wishes of my friend, Mr. Yamin Khan. At present we see that these buildings, whenever they happen to be in private compounds, are being undermined from day to day and I am afraid that, in a couple of years' time, they will either tumble down themselves on account of rain and weather conditions or the more careful owners of the houses, will, during the summer months, when there is nobody to observe them, manage to remove those buildings. I think that instead of removing them, if these owners will only just take a little care of them, they will prove an addition to the beauty of their houses. After all there are people who buy old carpets for the decoration of their rooms and these buildings may at least serve as old carpets for the decoration of their houses. Delhi is very lucky and also unlucky in many ways. While it has got the relics of old, old civilisations of the past and all sorts of buildings all round remind us of those past civilisations, it will be very unlucky if the whole thing is changed altogether and the place gives you the appearance of a huge cantonment or white city newly built and newly occupied. Sir, I do not think that the Mover of the Resolution meant to ask for the preservation of any tombs or mosques in particular, and I am glad that that apprehension has been removed by the remarks made by the Mover of the amendment. If any value is to be attached to this Resolution, it is because it seeks to save these beautiful buildings from being completely destroyed without incurring any large expenditure and because these buildings are a relic of the past. I wanted to say a few words on this subject, because I am also interested in the matter, as some of my ancestors and forefathers are buried round about Delhi, and I am anxious that their tombs should not disappear so unceremoniously.

Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda (Ajmer Merwara: General): Sir, I rise to oppose the Resolution moved by my Honourable friend Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan as well as the amendment moved by the Honourable Mr. Aney. The motion made by my friend Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan

[Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda.]

is unjustifiable and the amendment is superfluous. The motion is worded as a financial proposition, but in substance, it would be, if accepted, a mandate to the Archæological Department of the Government of India. It seeks to impose an inequitable burden on the Indian Exchequer and is calculated to interfere with the work of the Archæological Department. The motion calls upon that Department to lay aside all discrimination and judgment and indiscriminately to preserve all dilapidated buildings round Delhi which are, many of them, of no use and are really impediments in the growth of the city. The Archæological Department under Sir John Marshall has been doing excellent work in excavating places which are likely to yield useful results, and in preserving all monuments which are worthy of preservation. All students of Archæology know that the officers of that Department are keen on exploring all new avenues, if data are placed before them justifying their undertaking those operations. The Protection of Ancient Monuments Act is wide enough in its scope, and the Department is very careful to undertake preservation of all buildings of historical importance or which possess architectural or archæological interest. To ask, however, the Archæological Department to preserve all old buildings which have neither historical importance nor archæological interest

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan: I don't say that they should be preserved but that they should be repaired.

Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda: To repair is to preserve. And to ask the Archæological Department to preserve all old buildings which have neither historical importance, nor archæological interest, nor architectural beauty or splendour,—buildings which have no sculptural value either and which do not mark any stage or illustrate any point in the development of the noble art of architecture, would mean unnecessarily overloading the rising City of Delhi—the Capital of the Indian Empire—with lumber, when it is just beginning to throw off the debris of ages and resuscitate itself.

The Archæological Department have never complained that Government starves it and does not provide sufficient funds to do its legitimate work, and from what we have heard from the Secretary to the Education Department it is clear that the Government of India is very much alive to the importance of the work of the Archæological Department. Therefore, without in any way adding to the importance or the beauty of New Delhi, the motion, if accepted, would only hamper the growth of the city and be an impediment in the way of the smooth working of the Archæological Department, and I think the Honourable the Mover would be well advised not to press his motion but to withdraw it.

Sir, I oppose this motion.

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan: Sir, I am glad that my Honourable friend Mr. Aney while moving his amendment made it clear that he was not actuated by any communal feelings, but while he wanted to restrict his motion to buildings, he thought that the word "buildings" would cover everything that is required by my Resolution. Sir, I beg to differ from him in this respect. I am sorry that I cannot accept his amendment.

because it will not cover the ideas which he has in view. He pointed out clearly that the word "buildings" might cover all sorts of buildings like walls, graveyards and other things which are scattered about Delhi. I do not want them to be preserved. There seems to be a misapprehension in the mind of my Honourable friend Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda that I want to preserve the old buildings. That is not so. What I want is not the preservation of the buildings, but I want they should be repaired.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: What is the difference?

Lala Lajpat Rai (Jullundur Division: Non-Muhammadan): For what purpose?

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan: It has got a double significance, and that I clearly stated in my first speech, that while I was actuated in asking for the repairs of these buildings there were two reasons for it, one was because of the historical importance attaching to the buildings and the second was because some of them look so ugly that they do not deserve to be kept in such a condition. For example, there is a tomb just outside this Chamber, just outside the Secretariat. Do Honourable Members want that it should be allowed to stand in that condition? While you spend lakhs and lakhs of rupees for the beautification of the City, would you grudge to spend say Rs. 30, or Rs. 50 or Rs. 100 for repairing this tomb so that it may look more beautiful.

An Honourable Member: Don't touch it.

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan: I want only that such buildings which have any historical importance and which cannot be removed should be repaired. I would certainly say, remove them if you can, but there are certain difficulties and you cannot remove them so easily. Therefore, if you cannot remove them, repair them and keep them in good condition.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Why not let them remove themselves?

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan: It will take at least 59 years for those buildings to disappear; they will of course disappear in course of time. But then you cannot touch even a brick if it is lying there. You will have the heap of bricks lying there for no rhyme or reason, but you cannot remove them. Therefore, I ask, why not spend a few rupees on repairing these buildings? Government is spending enormous sums in various directions for various purposes. Why not spend a small sum on the repair of these buildings? The repairs of these buildings cannot cost such a large amount of money. Now, there is a tomb on the Qutab Road, half of it is shattered down. Do Honourable Members want it to remain like that for the next fifty or more years? It will not fall down for fifty years. It will stand in its present condition. Do you want it to stand in its present condition? While you are spending lakhs of rupees, would you grudge to spend, say, Rs. 50 or Rs. 100 to repair that tomb or buildings of that kind? You are spending a lot of money on gardens round about your houses. Cannot you spend a little amount for beautifying the place where you stay? This is one class of buildings which I wanted to keep in repair. I don't think it is a matter for the Education Department, but I think it is a matter for the Public Works Department to deal with. You want the old monuments to be preserved. They fall under different categories.

[Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan.]

There are other questions. Now another point which has been taken by my Honourable friend the Education Secretary, I am fully alive to the great efforts which have been made by the Government in this direction, and I think, Sir, nobody in India will be ungrateful to the late Lord Curzon in this direction. His memory will always be cherished in India whenever a question of old buildings comes before anyone. (Hear, hear.) It was he who started this idea and took up the great work in his hand, paid the greatest attention

Mr. President: The Honourable Member is replying.

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan: Yes, Sir. Since that time Government has been consistently doing its best in preserving the old monuments, and I am glad, as the Education Secretary has said before this House, that there are 1,314 buildings which are looked after by the Government in the City of Delhi alone.

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: On a point of personal explanation, Sir. What I said was that 1,314 was the number of buildings which were regarded by the Department of Archæology as being of historical interest and value. The number which is actually looked after by the Archæological Department is much smaller. It is 145.

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan: I am glad, Sir, that it has come as a personal explanation. I was under the impression up to this time that a much larger number were being looked after and my hands are more strengthened by this statement that, out of 1,314 buildings of historical value, only 145 are looked after by the Government, and the remainder (1,200 or so) are not looked after by the Government. This will satisfy my Honourable friends Mr. Aney and Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda, that there are so many others which require the attention of the Government. They have got historical importance and they ought to be looked after by the State. If you want to preserve your history, you must preserve these buildings and if the buildings are not preserved your history will dwindle down after some time. And for this purpose I must press my Resolution.

Of course, I know, Sir, that 7 lakhs of rupees are spent by the Government of India on the preservation of old historical buildings but is that sum sufficient and is the petty sum of a lakh of rupees sufficient for this wide City which has got, God knows how many, civilisations here; and how many dynasties ruled over this City, and their buildings are scattered right round this City, is a lakh of rupees enough, when you include the old Fort where you have got Humayun's Tomb, where you have got the Kutub Minar, and other buildings which require a lot of attention and a lot of money to be spent on repairs? Is that lakh of rupees sufficient for the preservation of these buildings? I do not think you can require a lakh of rupees for the repairs of the present Secretariat even every year. You will require much more money for annual repairs on the Secretariat than a lakh of rupees, and for good buildings like these you spend about a lakh of rupees and you call it a substantial sum. I cannot call it that. To my mind, I do not see how the Honourable Members of this House can think that a lakh of rupees is a sufficient sum for 1,314 buildings in this City alone. I do not contest this point as to what should be considered a substantial sum. I leave it entirely in the hands of the Government of

India. I say: let them consider it, let them think it over and let them realise the duty which they have got to posterity that these buildings, if they are not repaired, will fall down and that will be a great loss to the nation and to the country which antiquarians in time to come will try to find out and will not be able to find out because a civilised Government did not pay sufficient attention to that. At least I do not want to be a party to that. I would repair every building which has got any significance.

And the other point, of course, my Honourable friend, the Education Secretary, has satisfied and I am quite prepared to withdraw my Resolution if I can get another assurance from him that the view point which I place before him for the repairs to other buildings in that way, to remove ugly sights from the environments of this beautiful City, with this idea a little, Sir, may be spent on the buildings which are standing which cannot be removed and which are not owned by anybody. If they are owned by any particular individuals

Mr. President: The Honourable Member is repeating himself.

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan: I am sorry, Sir. I want that, if any particular individuals are found to be owning them, they may be asked to repair them. If they are not owned by anybody, let the State do it. If my Honourable friend is ready to give me an assurance, I am quite prepared, Sir, to withdraw my Resolution.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That in clause 1 of the Resolution, the following be omitted:

'like mosques, tombs, gates, etc.'"

The motion was negatived.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That in clause 1 of the Resolution, after the words 'particular individual' the following be inserted:

'if they are found on an inquiry by a qualified officer of the Archaeological Department to be possessed of sufficient historic, antiquarian or architectural importance'."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That the following Resolution be adopted:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to be pleased to provide a substantial sum in the Budget for the following purposes:

- (1) To thoroughly repair the old buildings like mosques, tombs, gates, etc., lying round about Delhi in a dilapidated condition and not owned by any particular individual.
- (2) To carry on excavation work on the site of Hastinapur in the Meerut District."

The motion was negatived.

RESOLUTION *RE* THE DEPRESSED CLASSES.

Mr. M. R. Jayakar (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I beg to move the Resolution which stands in my name and which reads as follows:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to issue directions to all Local Governments to provide special facilities for the education of the untouchables and other depressed classes, and also for opening all public services to them, specially the Police."

Sir, this Resolution relates to a question which can safely be regarded as non-controversial. I shall therefore not take more than five minutes of the time of the House. There are important Resolutions coming up later on, for which I propose to make room in as short a time as possible. The object of my Resolution, Sir, is this. I want to have an opportunity of listening to the policy of the Government of India in this behalf, because certain doubts have arisen on that matter, having regard to the answers which have been given by Provincial Governments and also in the light of the answer which was given on the floor of this House to a question relating to this matter which was put a few weeks ago. We on this side also want to have an opportunity of finding out what steps the Government of India are willing to take in order to co-operate with the efforts of non-officials to bring up the communities which are briefly described as "depressed" or "untouchable class". I find, Sir, that it is necessary for the Government of India to clearly state their policy in this behalf. If the word "directions" in my Resolution is too strong on the ground that "Education" and a part of the public services have now become a provincial subject, I do not want to quarrel over the word, and will be content with mere recommendations in this behalf. But I do certainly want this, Sir, that the Government of India should, as early as possible, issue a statement of what they wish should be the uniform policy of Provincial Governments suggesting to them to speed up reform in these matters. In the absence of such an expression of policy there is great danger of Provincial Governments having their own policy in this connection. Whereas one Provincial Government is willing to go far ahead, another Provincial Government is not prepared to move, taking shelter under the plausible excuse that unless Hindus themselves are prepared to admit these classes to equality, the Government do not propose to take any steps to improve their lot. The result is that to-day we find a varied policy followed by Provincial Governments according as liberal ideas enter or do not, in their constitution. There is a great danger, Sir, owing to this, of some Provincial Governments getting out of line with the onward march of progress in this behalf. This Resolution, therefore, humble as it looks, is intended to give an opportunity to the Government of India, of satisfying the wishes of the non-official benches in this connection and of stating in detail what they have done in the past, and what they propose to do in the future. I am quite aware, Sir, that "Education" is a transferred subject in the provinces. I appreciate the difficulty which the Government of India may feel in this behalf in issuing mandatory directions to the Provinces. But we are also aware that there are a few provinces which are managed directly by the Government of India. One or two of them may be regarded, without any disrespect, as backward provinces, and we are anxious to know what the Government of India themselves are doing as a kind of pattern of behaviour which the Provincial Governments may copy. Therefore I am expecting that

the spokesman of Government who replies to this Resolution will state in a clear and detailed manner what the Government of India have been doing in the provinces which are directly administered by them.

Coming to the public services, Sir, the difficulty has been occasioned by answers which were given to questions put in one or two Provincial Councils. I hold in my hand a copy of the Debates of the Punjab Legislative Council in the year 1927, and at page 990 of the Official Report of the proceedings I find a question and answer which raise considerable difficulty with regard to the policy of that Government. I will read for the information of the Members opposite the question and answer in detail. In the Punjab Council which met on the 22nd July, 1927, a non-official Member put the following question:

"*Lala Mohan Lal*: Will the Honourable Member for Finance be pleased to state if members of the depressed classes are taken in the police? If not, does the Government intend to direct that, in the matter of recruitment of police constables, the members of the depressed classes should also be taken?"

The Honourable Member in charge of the Finance Department replied:

"Members of the depressed classes are not enrolled in the police. When there is evidence"—

—I want Honourable Members opposite to note these words—

"When there is evidence that the depressed classes are treated on an equal footing by all sections of the community"—

—which may not happen till doomsday—

"When there is evidence that the depressed classes are treated on an equal footing by all sections of the community, or when the Government is satisfied that enrolment of members of these classes will satisfy the requirements of efficiency and be in the best interests of the composition of the service, Government will be quite prepared to throw open recruitment to them, provided they come up to the physical and other standards required of all recruits."

I may say, Sir, without the least exaggeration that the time which this answer lays down as the test may not come till doomsday. "All sections of the community" is the expression used and not Hindu society alone. That means that all communities in India should come to this level of liberalism that they will regard the depressed class as standing socially on an equal footing. Until education and ideas of liberalism grow to this extent, until everybody in India regards his depressed brother as his equal, which may mean 100 or 200 years on a rough calculation, until then, the Punjab Government—and it is only typical of one or two other Provincial Governments in this behalf which I shall not weary the House by mentioning details of—until then, the Punjab Government are not prepared even to throw open—much less to give special facilities in—this important public service to the depressed classes. That I say, Sir, without exaggeration, opens a very controversial line of inquiry, and it is necessary that having regard to the disappointment, if not dismay, which this answer has caused in non-official circles, the Government of India should come out boldly to state whether the test of time as laid down here has their approval. It is for this reason that the Resolution which is tabled in my name has been moved with such elaboration. The position is this. Even in orthodox Hindu circles like Hindu Sabhas a change of ideas is fast taking place. Arya Samajists are making tremendous efforts in this.

[Mr. M. R. Jayakar.]

behalf. As Lala Lajpat Rai said on another occasion a few days ago, speaking about himself, that for the last 35 years he has been doing his best for the regeneration of these classes. By depressed classes, I mean those who suffer from social disabilities like untouchability. It is necessary to clear this, for I find an amendment standing in the name of my Honourable friend Sir Hari Singh Gour which speaks of "backward" classes. These are confusing terms. They are neither co-extensive nor synonymous. By "depressed classes" I mean those who are regarded as suffering from social disabilities like untouchability. "Backward classes" is a much larger term, as Dr. Gour knows. It includes many classes which are not untouchable. Therefore a distinction has to be drawn between depressed classes and backward classes. My Resolution only speaks of depressed classes. It does not speak of backward classes. These latter do not acutely suffer from the same disabilities. The purpose of my Resolution briefly is this. I want the Government of India to come into line with the efforts which non-officials are making in this direction. This is necessary at this stage particularly, because there is a feeling which my Resolution voices, that the Government of India are silently conniving at the policy indicated in the answer of the Punjab Government which I read to this House a few minutes ago. If the Punjab Government have their own way, the depressed classes will not be given for another century, any chance of entering that service for which they are fitted by reason of their physical endurance, health and other qualifications. That is a very serious situation, and therefore, innocent as my Resolution may look, it has a great significance behind it if the Government will only take this opportunity and state clearly, in what practical way they propose to evince their great love for the depressed classes.

I move, Sir.

Mr. G. S. Bajpai (Secretary, Department of Education, Health and Lands): I think that it might serve the convenience of the House if I were to state as briefly, and I hope, as clearly as possible the position of the Government of India. I cannot attempt to rival either the lucidity or the force of presentation of a distinguished and trained lawyer like my Honourable friend, Mr. Jayakar; but I hope that he and the House will extend to me the indulgence and the forbearance that are always due to one who suffers from the limitations of inexperience. The first thing that I should like to state is that, whereas the Honourable Member's Resolution falls into two parts, namely, admission into the services and provision of special educational facilities for these classes, for the sake of clarity of treatment, one has to superimpose as it were a cross division on this classification. That cross division is based on the respective spheres of responsibility of the Government of India and of the Local Governments. The Government of India are responsible for the central and the Imperial services. In the sphere of education they are responsible for the areas which are known as directly administered areas. The Local Governments, on the other hand, are responsible for the provincial services and subordinate services and for education,—and it is an important point which I wish to emphasise, namely, that education is a transferred subject for which responsibility now rests entirely with Ministers for Education in their own territorial limits. Having stated that perfectly simple, but at the same time important constitutional distinction, I should like to

pass on to enunciate what in my opinion are perfectly clear and unchallengeable principles so far as the attitude of the Government of India is concerned.

The first principle which is really a statement of fact, is that, in regard to admission to the services for which the Government of India are responsible, there is no bar because of a person's creed or because he happens to belong to what are called the depressed classes. The second thing that I should like to discuss and discuss in some detail is the question of educational facilities which the Government of India have offered to the so-called depressed classes. Now, Sir, the first thing which is of some importance and which the House ought to bear in mind is that we are to-day, according to what my Honourable friend, Mr. Jayakar, has said, discussing the case of classes which are subject to social disabilities; that we are not traversing the wide ground of the status of backward classes which may include even members of the so-called superior classes, because I can testify from my personal experience, there is many a Brahmin in the United Provinces who is economically as badly off as many members of the depressed classes. The problem being thus limited, the first point to state is the strength of the population of the depressed classes in the territories for the administration of which the Government of India are directly responsible. I have had certain calculations made in the light of information which is available in our educational records, and I find that the sum total of the depressed classes in the areas directly under the Government of India is 1,80,000. The second point which I wish to state in regard to the children of the depressed classes is—and that statement is again based on reports which we have received from the heads of departments—that members of the depressed classes in these areas are subject to no disability in regard to admission to any public school. That being the position, for the Government of India the problem is not a problem of providing special facilities for the education of the depressed classes. It really is a problem of providing educational facilities for all classes which are entrusted to their particular care, that inhabit these areas; and from that point of view I should like to state for the information of the House that last year with the consent of the Assembly and with the approval of the Standing Finance Committee the Government of India undertook to spend a sum of Rs. 29 lakhs non-recurring and a sum rising by amounts which vary and which I need not specify, to 10 lakhs recurring in the course of the next five years. The position to-day is that we are spending Rs. 30 lakhs a year on education in the areas which are directly under the Government of India.

Mr. N. M. Joshi (Nominated: Labour Interests): May I ask how much of this is spent on higher education and how much on primary education?

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: I shall answer that point later. The statement which I was making was that at the present moment we are spending Rs. 30 lakhs a year on education in the areas which are directly under the Government of India. We now propose to spend Rs. 29 non-recurring and an additional Rs. 10 lakhs a year recurring, the Rs. 10 lakhs to be worked up to in the course of the next five years. My Honourable friend, Mr. Joshi, whose solicitude for the depressed and poor classes is proverbial, asked me a question. The question is this, how much of

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this are we going to spend on primary education. It may interest him to know that the bulk of this expenditure is going to be incurred on primary education.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: I want figures. I make a statement that the bulk is not spent on primary education.

(Both Mr. G. S. Bajpai and Mr. N. M. Joshi were standing.)

Mr. President: Two Honourable gentlemen should not keep standing at the same time.

(Mr. Joshi resumed his seat.)

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: Sir, I was stating the position of the Government of India in regard to the provision of educational facilities in the areas which are directly under their administration. I have stated that position in as much detail as it is necessary for the purposes of the present Resolution.

Now, I should go on to the provinces. I stated earlier in the course of my remarks that the Government of India have no responsibility, no direct responsibility now,—and even such responsibility as they have is remote,—in regard to education in the provincial areas now enjoying reforms. Some time ago, in 1926, we had occasion to make enquiries as to what was being done for the depressed classes in the provinces, and recently we have been collecting material for the compilation of what is popularly known as the Quinquennial Review of Educational Progress in this country, and the figures which I propose—I shall not go too much into detail—and the figures which I propose to place before the House now are as accurate and as complete as it is possible to get from annual reports, etc. I want the House to bear in mind that I do not propose to extend my survey of educational progress over more than a decade, I take 1917 as it were

Lala Lajpat Rai (Jullundur Division: Non-Muhammadian): That was the year when the Government discovered the existence of the depressed classes.

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: I take 1917 as it were as the datum line, and 1926 as the year for which the latest reports are available. Let me state generally that within this period, between 1917 and 1926, the number of scholars belonging to the depressed classes reading in recognised institutions has risen from 295,000 in 1917 to 667,000 in 1926—in other words a more than 100 per cent increase—and I think it would be only fair at this stage to state that a considerable part of the progress which has been made in the provision of facilities for the education of the depressed classes and the increase that has taken place in the number of students belonging to the depressed classes have taken place since the inception of the reforms in 1921. I do not know whether the House wants that I should give detailed figures for each province.

Lala Lajpat Rai: Yes. That will help us.

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: If the Honourable Member wants them I can give them. In Madras, for example, the number of pupils has increased from 114,000 to 209,000. In Bombay, it has increased from 28,000 to 55,000, an increase of roughly 100 per cent. In Bengal, from 80,000 to 250,000;

in the United Provinces, it has increased from 16,000 to 75,000; in the Punjab, it has increased from 3,000 to 19,000. I hope that my Honourable friend, Lala Lajpat Rai, will make a note that this is the province where the activities of the Arya Samaj are supposed to be exceptionally intensive. I do not wish to reflect on any one, but I merely wish to point out that by comparison with other provinces, perhaps the Punjab has not made such progress as it might have.

Lala Lajpat Rai: Because of the attitude of Government.

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: I shall now take the province of Bihar and Orissa. There again the increase is not very remarkable, but the figure has increased from 19,000 to 23,000. In the Central Provinces, it has increased from 26,000 to 34,000. Honourable Members would note that I have said nothing in regard to Burma and Assam.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: There are no depressed classes there.

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: The reason is that, as Sir Hari Singh Gour has pointed out, there are no depressed classes in Burma; and in Assam, the problem of untouchability does not practically exist. I have given these detailed figures. I would now go back to the general statement which I made earlier and from which I wish the House to draw its own deductions, namely, that the total strength of pupils belonging to the depressed classes has risen from 295,000 to 667,000. There is another interesting fact connected with this which the House may find of some value. That is, Sir, that the percentage of students of the depressed classes to the total population has increased at a relatively higher rate than the corresponding percentage of what are called the superior classes. Whereas the percentage of pupils of the depressed classes has increased from 1 to 2·3, that is to say, by more than 100 per cent., the percentage of the higher classes has risen only from 3 to 4 or roughly 33½ per cent. I do not think it is necessary for me to say much about expenditure (*Lala Lajpat Rai:* "Oh"?). My friend the Lalaji need not say "Oh". The reason for that is this—and I am sure it will gratify Lala Lajpat Rai—that the barriers of social prejudice are breaking down and, to-day, we find the position that members of the depressed classes are reading in the ordinary schools—I will give you figures for two provinces just now—and the reverse process is also going on, namely, that members of the superior classes are reading in schools which are specially meant for the depressed classes. Let me give the figures. In the United Provinces, there were roughly 56,000 pupils belonging to the depressed classes.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: 75,000.

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: 75,000 was the figure in 1926. The comparison which I am giving is for one year earlier, 1925. In 1925 there were 56,000 students belonging to the depressed classes reading in public schools and, of this 56,000, 33,000 were reading in ordinary schools and 23,000 or less than half were reading in special schools. In the case of the Punjab, the figures are still more striking. Out of roughly 19,000 odd students, 16,000 were reading in ordinary schools and 3,000 odd were reading in special schools. I need not go into that aspect of the case any further.

[Mr. G. S. Bajpai:]

I wish now to give the House some account, as briefly and as generally as possible, of the circumstances and the measures of which the remarkable improvement—I would not say that it is an ideal improvement,—which these figures disclose is the result. Practically every province, Sir, has opened special schools. Personally I am not much in love with these special schools, the reason being that I look forward to the day when social prejudices would have softened sufficiently for members of all classes and communities to read in the same school. However, as I say, the first step which the Local Governments have taken is to establish and start special schools. The second step which they have taken is to give special scholarships and to remit fees in the case of students belonging to the depressed classes. The third step which they have taken is to liberalise the rules for grants in aid to schools and also to offer special subsidies to schools which teach pupils belonging to the depressed classes. The fourth step which they have taken is to give special capitation grants. That, Sir, is the position in Bengal in respect of teachers employed in schools which admit members of the depressed classes. In the Central Provinces, from which my friend Mr. Aney comes, the Local Government have gone one step further. They have actually offered a bonus to the headmaster of every primary school for every student of a depressed class for whom he can secure a primary certificate. That, Sir, is the position. I have mentioned the four steps, but the catalogue does not end there. They have also offered special facilities for the training of pupils belonging to the depressed classes who pass through the primary stage and who are anxious to adopt the teaching profession, in order that the members of the community itself, who best understand the conditions of the community, may take up teaching work. That brings the list to an end. I do not think it is necessary for me to dwell at great length on what might be called minor but important administrative measures that have been taken. For instance in the United Provinces—there the credit is due primarily to the Ministers under whose instructions this work is being done—36 out of 48 District Boards have appointed special supervisors in order to foster education among the depressed classes. In the Presidency of Bombay, in one division a special officer has been appointed to look after the improvement of education among the depressed classes. In the Presidency of Madras, I regret to see that Mr. Rajah is not here to bear me out . . .

Lala Lajpat Rai: He is not interested.

Mr. M. E. Jayakar: He is unwell.

Lala Lajpat Rai: I am sorry.

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: In Madras, the Commissioner of Labour is charged, I think, among other matters, with the duty of looking after the promotion of the education of the depressed classes. That, Sir, ends my list. What do this enumeration of the measures taken by the different Provincial Governments, and the two other facts which I have stated, namely, the increase in the number of students of the depressed classes and the fact that the students of the depressed classes are getting admission more and more into the ordinary schools, prove. They prove, first, that the Local Governments are alive to their responsibility. The second thing they prove is that it is not merely Government action which has

fostered the progress of education among these classes but the spirit of tolerance, if I may say so, among the communities at large which is quickening and broadening. We may soon look forward to a day when resort to any special measure for furthering education among the depressed classes may be unnecessary. The Honourable the Mover of the Resolution, Mr. Jayakar, has asked us to issue directions to Local Governments. He did not quarrel with words and it did not matter to him whether they were directions, recommendations or suggestions. The particular phraseology was not of much consequence, so long as the broad general principles and the lines on which education should advance and the lines on which special facilities should be provided for the education of the depressed classes were brought clearly before the notice of Local Governments. Sir, it will be an act of super-arrogation on the part of the Government, in the light of the facts which I have stated, to draw the attention of Local Governments to what is a clearly recognised and realised responsibility—a responsibility which is actively exercised and discharged. That being the position, I submit with all respect, that it is not necessary for the Government of India to issue directions, assuming that it were possible for them, or proper for them, constitutionally, to issue such directions. What the Government of India can do, and are willing to do, is to communicate to Local Governments, if the House wishes, the views expressed by Honourable Members on this question of the education of the depressed classes, and I have no doubt that the views which have already been expressed, and which hereafter will be expressed with great eloquence and great force will act as a stimulus and inspiration to Local Governments in carrying on their beneficent work. But again let me repeat; the Local Governments are alive to their responsibility, they are doing what they can. It is not my privilege to claim for them that they have achieved the ideal, but I do claim that there is an awakening and an awakened and roused sense of responsibility, and a roused sense of endeavour for improving the position of these depressed classes. That being so, it is no function of the Government of India, it is no duty of the Government of India to interfere by direction or by demand. They can, if the House wishes, communicate to them the views of the House on this very important national problem. *(Cheers.)*

Lala Lajpat Rai: Sir, I beg to move the amendment that stands in my name. It runs as follows:

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

'And this Assembly further recommends to the Governor General in Council to sanction one crore of rupees for the education of the depressed classes from the Central funds and to issue orders that all wells that are not private, all streets and roads that are public, and all institutions which are financed or managed partly or wholly from public funds be opened to the depressed classes and that a special list be made of untouchables, and others who are not untouchables but are at present included in the depressed classes in Government records'."

Sir, my friend the Mover has made it clear what the object of this Resolution is. We do not admit that sufficient has been done either by the Government of India or the Governments of the provinces in this direction. Moreover, we also complain that there is great diversity of practice between different provinces as to what Local Governments are

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doing in this matter, and there seems to be great confusion of ideas between local administrations about what they should do, and therefore it is necessary to clarify this by a clear pronouncement of the Government of India. I must say that to my mind that pronouncement is very disappointing. It shows that although a very great and very loud claim has been made for the solicitude of the Government of India for the depressed classes—the trustees of 60 millions of depressed classes—yet sufficient is not being done to bring them educationally at least to the level of the other communities of India, or to give them equal privileges by virtue of their being citizens of India.

I will first take the Education Secretary's figures. First of all I might clear this point by saying what I mean by special facilities. It is a recognised principle of the Government of India, which has been stated in many despatches on education, that classes which are backward in education must be taken in hand by Government and brought up to the level of other classes. It is the considered policy of the Government of India and has been put into practice in different provinces for the last twenty or twenty-five years, nay, even more, by different measures taken by different provinces for the purpose. It is now too late to say that there are general institutions that are open to all classes of His Majesty's subjects, that they are quite sufficient for the purpose of giving education to the depressed classes, and that special facilities are not required. It is shown that special facilities are being given and are required. In certain places those special facilities are being provided, and Government is alive to the necessity and importance of providing special facilities in these places. But what are those special facilities that have been so much dilated upon as having brought about remarkable results? I would remind the House that there are only three provinces out of nine in which special steps are alleged to have been taken to provide facilities for the depressed classes, and one of them is the United Provinces, where great credit is due to the Minister. I want to pay my tribute to him openly. In the case of the other provinces, Bombay has only one Division in which anything special is being done, and in Madras the Commissioner of Labour has been asked to look after the depressed classes.

I ask the House to consider whether the fact, that in three provinces out of nine any special care is taken for the education of the depressed classes, is satisfactory. This is a very meagre record, and I don't think that any Government should be proud of it. In only one province something adequate has been done, and that is the United Provinces. That also has been done by the exertion of the Minister and also by private agencies.

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: I would like to correct one mis-apprehension which my friend seems to be labouring under. It was not the purport of my remarks to say that special measures had been taken only in three provinces. What I said was that a special staff had been appointed in three provinces. In addition to that I stated that certain measures of a general character, such as the offer of special scholarships, remissions of fees, opening of schools, liberal grants-in-aid had been resorted to; these I said were common to more than three provinces.

Lala Lajpat Rai: If my Honourable friend had waited, he would have found that I was coming to that point. What he has explained to us does

not at all explain the matter fully. He has stated that in three provinces only, special staff had been appointed to look after the education of the depressed classes. If he goes into the Education Report he will find that almost in every province a special staff has been appointed by Government to look after the other classes considered to be backward, but only in three provinces has any special staff been appointed to look after the depressed classes. That is a point which is worthy of note.

Now we will come to what has been done in the matter of special facilities. I will dispose of the special concessions first; with regard to that I submit that the practice in different Local Governments is not quite uniform, and in all places there are not special scholarships granted for the benefit of the depressed classes. I will read to you another question which was put in the same session of the Punjab Legislative Council, in which the question read to you by the Honourable the Mover was put, about the enrolment of the depressed classes in the Police:

"Lala Mohan Lal:—(a) Will the Honourable Minister for Education be pleased to state if it is a fact that the Government has fixed some scholarships for the boys of the criminal tribes?

(b) If the reply to the above be in the affirmative, will the Honourable Minister be pleased to state if they intend to extend this privilege to the boys of the members of the depressed classes?"

The answer by the Honourable Mr. Manohar Lal was:

"(a) Stipends are awarded.

(b) Members of the depressed classes are eligible for fee concessions under Article 12, Chapter IV of the Punjab Education Code."

The House will see how cleverly the Minister evades the question that was put to him. The question was, if special scholarships similar to those provided for the children of the criminal tribes were also provided for the children of the depressed classes. He did not reply to that question but he referred to the general concessions that were provided in the Provincial Educational Code.

Sir, great importance has been attached to the rise in the number of the scholars of the depressed classes. It has been said that within the last decade, since when the Government of India discovered the existence of the depressed classes on account of the announcement of August 1917, and on account of the reforms being on the anvil, since that time the number of scholars of these depressed classes has increased from about 3 lakhs to about 6 lakhs, that is 100 per cent, as my friend said. Yet, Sir, it is being dinned into our ears every day and disseminated broadcast all over the world that there are 60 millions of these depressed classes who are protected by this Government against the tyranny of the superior Hindu castes; and in these ten years, since this enumeration has taken place, the Government is very proud of having put one per cent. of this community as scholars in schools. Is that an achievement which the Government is proud of, considering the boast they always make and the interest they profess to take in these classes, saying that it is their concern? Then, Sir, I want this House particularly to remember that this increase in the number of scholars of these depressed classes is not due to the efforts of Government alone. I do not deny that something is being done by the Government, but I think that that something is extremely insufficient. The increase in the number of the scholars of these

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depressed classes is due very largely to private effort. I may tell my Honourable friend, if he does not know it, that various Hindu organizations have been trying not only to encourage the introduction of these scholars of the depressed classes into the ordinary schools and to remove any bans and prejudices that may be existing against them, but also to open up special schools and to provide special scholarships for them. I know of one individual (Hindu) who has been spending within the last five or six years from Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 25,000 a month on the education of these depressed classes and that is the eldest brother of my friend, Mr. Ghan-shyam Das Birla. So the Government cannot take exclusive credit for having increased the number of scholars of these depressed classes. The cause of this increase is due in part at least to the Hindu organizations that have been working in this direction very zealously and devoting funds—they are also entitled to the credit. I wanted to know exactly what part Government has played in the advancement of the depressed classes and what they are at present prepared to do. The reply to that question is practically nil; because as far as the expenditure is concerned, we have been told grandiloquently that 30 lakhs had been sanctioned for education by the Government of India; but we were not told this more relevant point of how much of that money had been spent for the advancement and education of the depressed classes. Not even my friend, Mr. Joshi's question has been answered as to how much of that has been spent on primary education. The bulk of that money is being spent on education, no doubt; but surely the Education Department could have given us the figures of how much is being spent on primary education and on the education of the depressed classes; that information is not forthcoming. I know that something like 6 lakhs out of this 30 lakhs have been given to two universities; I do not quarrel with that and I am glad they have got that money; but after providing for them, you must also provide more for the depressed classes and for primary education. I want to know from the Government of India what example they are going to set to the different Local Governments in this matter and that is why I propose a definite sum of one crore of rupees to be sanctioned for the education of these depressed classes from Central funds; surely that is not too much—one crore of rupees for six crores of people whom you announce under big headlines in the newspapers to be under the special protection of the Government and whom you use for your political propaganda. I could surely ask the Government to sanction one crore of rupees for the immediate uplift of these people by providing them with education in order to uplift their social and economic conditions. It is not a very big demand considering the proportion of the population—six crores out of 24 crores which are under British rule. They amount to one-fourth of the population on your figures and if we ask you to sanction one crore of rupees in order to give them a start so that they may afterwards be taken into the schools under the ordinary rules, surely that is not a very big demand and it is a test of your sincerity and of your alleged concern for the interests of the depressed classes. I want the Government to play up and show us that they are really anxious; that their claims are sincere and *bona fide*; that they are not playing a political game, but that they are really interested in the education and uplift of the depressed classes. That is my point in bringing forward this proposal to spend one crore of rupees on their education.

Do Government really want that these depressed classes should be educated, should be uplifted and be brought to the level of other communities? If so, let them accept my amendment. But the Government of India is not accustomed to do things of that kind; they are not in the habit of doing things of that kind; they simply want to use catch phrases for their own political ends; but when it comes to doing anything tangible, there is nothing doing. There are a large number of other things; there is the army, there is the navy, and there are so many other things on which money can be spent and must be spent; but when it comes to the education of these classes for whom the Government of India here and the Secretary of State at Whitehall profess so much solicitude, then there is an evasion of the question or there is a plain refusal and an absolute "No". I hope the people of this country and the people of the world will take note of the state of things and will value the professions of the Government of India at their proper worth.

Now coming to the figures that have been given by the different provinces, I do not want to go into them now, because I have not got the time; otherwise I would have shown that the different provinces have practically neglected the depressed classes. The only two provinces which have made some progress are Bengal and the United Provinces. The Honourable Member pointed out rather scoffingly that the Punjab had not done much. I may tell him that in the Punjab we have done much more than the Government has done for the education of the depressed classes. We have provided special schools; we have given scholarships; we have opened special wells for them which the Government never provided for them considering that these were the classes who were so much oppressed by the tyrannical Hindus. The Honourable the Home Member said the other day that the complaint of the depressed classes was not so much against Government as against the Brahminical caste system and against the Brahmins. Well, here I want to test your good will and your sympathy for these depressed classes. Here is something tangible to be done; do it please. We are as much interested, perhaps even much more interested than you are, in the elevation of the depressed classes; we believe that untouchability is a great slur, and a great blot on the fair name of Hinduism and the sooner we remove it the better. We are also interested in bringing them up to our level because we want our ranks to be solidified and to come up to one level, so that we may be able to take India with us as a whole at an early date. We are much more interested in the elevation of the depressed classes than any Government can possibly be; but we want to know what you are doing when you are making empty boasts that you are interested in the uplift of these sixty millions of the depressed classes, as against us who are striving to raise them and to bring them up to our own level.

Now, Sir, I do not want to say much more, as my time is very limited. I want to say only a word or two about the other points which I have raised. . . .

Mr. President: The Honourable Member has already exceeded his time.

Lala Lajpat Rai: If you will only allow me two or three minutes, Sir, I shall finish.

Mr. President: I am afraid of Mr. Cosgrave.

Lala Lajpat Rai: Mr. Cosgrave will, I hope, learn better. I was just going to say a word about roads and wells. This point has been raised in my amendment for this reason that the Hindu Members once brought up a Resolution in the Punjab Legislative Council that all public wells in all municipalities and district boards should be thrown open to all communities including the depressed classes, and the Resolution was resisted by the Government and lost. As regards roads several times attempts have been made in the Madras Presidency to have all roads opened to the depressed classes, in fact some people in their zeal for bringing about this reform, have gone to jail; but the main obstruction has come from the Government; and that is why I want the Government of India to enunciate a policy which will apply to the whole of India and to which all Local Governments and administrations will conform. Of course the word "Local" is a wide term and will include all those administrations which are directly or indirectly under the Government of India and therefore they can spend their money on those areas which are in their charge directly.

One word more, Sir, and I have finished. I want a special list of untouchables and other so-called depressed classes to be made, because I am perfectly certain that many of the classes who are classified as untouchables at present are really not untouchables. The figure has been swollen for political objects as I said the day before. In 1917 the figure was estimated to be somewhere near 30 millions; in the census of 1921 the exact figure came to about 52 millions; then it was simply stated in the Report somewhere that the figure may be estimated to be somewhere between 52 and 60 millions; and Mr. Coatsman in his annual report of India has just put it definitely at 60 millions. In the next census it may rise to 100 millions because there is an object behind it. So I want that a special inquiry should be made to find out who are untouchables and who are not.

With these remarks, Sir, I commend my amendment to the acceptance of the House.

Mr. Arthur Moore (Bengal: European): Sir, I should like to move, with your permission, the two amendments standing in my name—to substitute for the words "special facilities for the education of" the following words "Proper facilities in existing educational institutions for". Also to omit the words "specially the Police". The object of these amendments will, I think, be immediately clear to the House. It seems to me that untouchability can only be dealt with by attacking the principle and not by making separate provision for untouchables. How are we to educate and uplift these depressed classes? What can we do with people who have been taught for generations to believe that if they are touched they themselves commit a sin? What are we to do with people who are not aware that they have human rights? I willingly accept on certain conditions the addition of my Honourable friend Lala Lajpat Rai. I too would like to see a crore of rupees spent. But on what is it going to be spent, Sir? Surely, there is only one proper way of spending that money, and that is on educating the oppressors. Should the money not be spent on propaganda, in bringing home to the heart and conscience of people that this thing must be stopped? It is, when my friends who are doing this work and are trying to convert their fellow countrymen who hold these views—it is when they succeed that the question will be solved. It has to be solved from the top and not from the bottom. Sir, I do not wish to say anything against caste.

Caste exists in every country. Caste is probably an absolute necessity in the scheme of evolution. Let us have caste by all means, but let us not have outcaste. Let us not have people who are outside human charity. I do feel that in this House this question is a little in danger. There seems to me—I may be wrong—but I detect a certain undercurrent on both sides of the House of desire to make capital out of the untouchables. Let the untouchable beware when all men speak well of him. What are we doing for him? My friend Mr. Jayakar said—and it was good to hear it—that this is almost a non-controversial subject. But he said another thing which, I may say, relegated me to membership of the depressed classes. He said that he would only detain the House for five minutes because he did not wish to keep it from more important subjects. We are discussing the depressed classes sandwiched in between a Resolution for the repair of old buildings and a Resolution to stop the exportation of antiquities, and also another Resolution demanding the withdrawal of all the British troops. Mr. Jayakar said that if we waited till India was converted, we might wait till doomsday. But, Sir, that is our real task. It is the conversion of opinion that is wanted. Let us convert opinion, and the education of the untouchables will be solved by itself. When we have realised our human obligation to the untouchable, then there will be no difficulty about lifting him up. He can only be lifted up by recognising his human rights; he can only be lifted up when we are conscious of him as a human being

Mr. M. R. Jayakar: On a point of personal explanation, Sir. It is not my object in bringing this Resolution forward to raise a debate on the moral aspect of it. I want a specific answer to my inquiry as to what the Government of India are prepared to do on their part.

Mr. Arthur Moore: I too want an answer to that question; not that I am for a moment suggesting that the Government of India are indifferent. I know that the view of the Government of India is that the untouchable shall not be discriminated against in the eye of the law, but I do think that it is possible, as Mr. Jayakar himself suggested, that there are very great local differences. You find that a District Officer who takes a personal interest in the question will go into the schools and when he finds that the children are made to stand out in the verandah he will insist on their being taken inside. If he finds that a Brahmin teacher makes difficulties, the District Officer carries his own point and he sees that something is done to improve the lot of the depressed classes' children in that district. But there are other District Officers who do not press the point, who do not take the same interest, because they take the other view,—that you have got to wait for the conversion of opinion. They do not fully realise how much responsibility lies upon themselves for converting opinion and how much they themselves with their local influence and local power can do. Therefore, while I do not in any way wish to suggest that the Government of India is at fault in this matter, I do feel that there is a tendency to be self-satisfied with what has been done, and I think that a reiterated declaration of policy will be useful at all times to encourage local officers to pursue this work. On that point I am entirely at one with my friend Mr. Jayakar.

But my main point is the essential urgency of this question, and when Mr. Jayakar said that we might have to wait till doomsday, there came into my mind a statement made by Mahatma Gandhi in a speech he

[Mr. Arthur Moore.]

delivered at Calcutta less than two years ago. He said that Swaraj is unthinkable so long as there is untouchability in this country; and he went on to say that were it possible that we could obtain Swaraj before the removal of untouchability it would prove a curse and not a blessing. When Mahatma Gandhi said it would prove a curse, he said it advisedly, and I think that the party which sits to the right of Mr. Jayakar's party should have been here to-day. (Hear, hear, from the non-official European Benches.) This, at any rate, is a question which demands—I am not attempting to make capital at other's expense—the best efforts of all of us. Surely, Sir, it is time that we realised that nowhere else in the world, except in the British Empire—and we are proud of our freedom in the British Empire!—nowhere else in the world does such a condition of things obtain,—that there should be people whom their fellowmen will not touch. Not long ago at the season of good will the Lord Mayor of London gave a party to all the employés of the Corporation. He had the scavengers and he had the rat-catchers. There was no one outside his invitation. And I think it is actions in that spirit which are required in this country. We must not go on providing special facilities and thereby preserving the principle of untouchability. Let us have armies of people going about touching the untouchables. Let us have armies of people going about drinking water with them; accepting a glass of water and giving a glass of water. In that way this problem, which must be ripe for solution, can be solved. We do know that things are moving, that things are advancing. But still it is the great problem of India, the great problem at the basis of politics, and until we realise that the whole of this population must at least be recognised as human beings, that in a country claiming to have Parliamentary institutions, we cannot have this age-long helotry continuing,—until we realise that, I do not think we can progress very far. But if we do unite our efforts, if we do work together in a partnership, British and Indian, all of us working together to remove this thing, we will find that, while we are working together, we have made immense strides at the same time in solving the problem of self-government.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Twenty-Five Minutes to Three of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Twenty-Five Minutes to Three of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

Mr. William Alexander (Madras: European): Sir, I rise to say a few words in support of the amendment put forward by my colleague Mr. Arthur Moore. The purpose underlying the Resolution and the amendment will, I am sure, commend itself to all parties in this House. The disabilities under which large Indian communities have suffered for ages past through being brought into the world and looked upon as beyond the pale so far as personal advancement is concerned has seemed to many of us as one of those things most difficult and well nigh impossible to understand.

It is now sought to open up further avenues for advancement and generally for improvement in the miserable conditions of life in which such large numbers of the people of this country are being brought up.

I have seen something of the efforts made in the Southern Presidency to ameliorate the lot of some of those depressed classes, and having had the honour to serve on the Madras Council with my Honourable friend Mr. Rajah, who, I am sorry to hear, is ill and is not in his place to-day, I have followed the movement which he has led there, and which he has had so much at heart for many years past, and I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate him and those associated with him on the success which has attended their efforts.

But, Sir, a great deal remains to be done, and it is only by further and increased effort backed up by Government support—more particularly in regard to education—that full and satisfactory results can be brought about.

So far as the Madras Presidency depressed classes are concerned, we would like to see the line taken in education as applying more particularly to agriculture with all its needs as to increased knowledge in respect to rotation of crops, the use of fertilizers and the thousand and one factors which go to bring about successful cultivation and increase of produce in what is the greatest industry of this great country.

I mention this as the Resolution and the amendment merely refer to the opening of all services to the depressed classes. That, of course, is very essential, but when we consider the question of agriculture, the horizon at once greatly widens and we have there unlimited scope for the employment of whole communities of those poor people.

Sir, I hope the Government will lend a sympathetic ear to the very important appeal now being made and do what they can to assist further development by encouraging the Local Governments to take the necessary action.

Mr. N. M. Joshi (Nominated : Labour Interests): Sir, when we started work this morning we considered a question regarding ancient monuments in the form of tombs and mosques. We are now considering the question of an ancient monument in the form of the disgraceful treatment given to a section of a population of this country. Sir, in the morning Mr. Yamin Khan was anxious that the ancient monuments should be preserved by the Government of India at a great cost. But now, Sir, we want that the Government of India should do much more for the demolition and destruction of this ancient monument than what they do for the preservation of the mosques and tombs. Sir, the Government of India have claimed to be the trustee of the masses in this country, and if the report of the work done for ameliorating the condition of the depressed classes as stated in this House by the Secretary of the Education Department is considered as the proper discharge of that trust, I think, Sir, nobody in this House will agree with that statement. I believe that the Government of India have not discharged their function as a trustee to the satisfaction either of the depressed classes or of the other classes in this country. If untouchability of the depressed classes exists to-day after 100 years of British rule, certainly there is nobody here who can say that the trust has been properly discharged. And what do we find now? We are told, and told with great pride by the Secretary of the Education Department, that in the whole of India there are now 600,000 children of the depressed classes studying in the schools. But he did not tell us out of what number these 600,000 children are learning in the schools. The population . . .

Mr. Victor Sassoon (Bombay Millowners' Association: Indian Commerce): Out of how many children?

Mr. N. M. Joshi: The population of the depressed classes is 60,000,000.

Mr. Victor Sassoon: How many out of these are children?

Mr. N. M. Joshi: According to ordinary calculation of the number of children that ought to be going to school from this population, it ought to be at least 90 lakhs or 10 millions. Sir, out of 90 lakhs we have only 6 lakhs of children belonging to the depressed classes attending schools, and the Government of India say they have done everything that they can do. Sir, only one child out of every 15 is going to the school, and there is therefore much more to be done if the Government of India want to discharge their trust satisfactorily. Then, Sir, my friend Mr. Bajpai also narrated what the Local Governments are doing in connection with this problem. One thing we have to remember is this, that the depressed classes cannot be brought to the level of the other classes and their untouchability cannot be removed unless special facilities are given for the education of these classes. By special facilities I do not mean that separate schools should be started for the depressed classes. It is perhaps due to a misapprehension of the word "special facilities" that my friend Mr. Moore moved his amendment. I do not want a single separate school to be started for the depressed classes. But, Sir, when we ask for special facilities for the depressed classes, we mean that the Government of India must do much more for them than they are doing for the other classes. The untouchability of the depressed classes cannot be wholly removed unless the depressed classes are educated and the depressed classes will not be educated or cannot be educated unless special facilities are given.

Then, Sir, the Education Secretary said that the schools of the Government of India are open to them. But that is not enough. Experience has shown that merely keeping the schools open is not enough. What is necessary is that you must inquire why children of the depressed classes do not attend schools. One reason for that is that the depressed classes in India are the poorest of the classes. If you want the children of the depressed classes to attend school, it is necessary that the children ought not to be earning members of the family. Unfortunately, in the case of the poor people, children have to begin to work from even the age of 5 or 6 and upwards. If the Government of India are anxious and if the Members of the Legislative Assembly are anxious that the children of the depressed classes should take advantage of the facilities which they keep open, then certainly it is necessary that the school-going children of the depressed classes should be maintained at the public cost. Sir, this is the only way in which the number of the children of the depressed classes can be increased in public schools. That attempt is being made in certain provinces on a very small scale. In Bombay there are two free boarding houses maintained by the Government of Bombay, but the number is not sufficient for the large population of the depressed classes. What is necessary is that the Government of India should give sufficient grants to the Local Governments and the Local Governments out of their own revenues should also spend a large sum of money to maintain a large number of boarding schools for the depressed classes. The boarding may be either connected with the board-

ing of other classes of students, or it may be separate if there are not a sufficient number of boarding houses in all places for all classes of people, but the schools may be common. But this is the only way of securing a sufficient number of students from the depressed classes for going to schools and for going to colleges. If you do not provide for the maintenance of these children, you are not likely to succeed in your effort. Your efforts have so far failed simply because the depressed classes are the poorest class of people and it is not easy for the parents of children to refrain from expecting their children to earn something for the common maintenance of the family.

Then, Sir, there is the question of throwing open the services to the depressed classes. It is not sufficient to say that Government services are open to all classes of people. Services being open to all classes of people is only in name. The Government of India know that it is not very easy for an educated lad belonging to the depressed classes to get a job in any of these departments. The Honourable Mr. Jayakar has read the question that was put and the answer that was given in the Punjab Legislative Council. The difficulty is there. The Government of India must therefore do something by which this difficulty will be removed. The Government must insist that if there is a qualified boy belonging to the depressed classes he must get a job, and he must be protected against the tyranny of the other classes. The amendment moved by my Honourable friend, Lala Lajpat Rai, also refers to the throwing open of public wells and other public places to the depressed classes. Here again the Government of India will have to give special protection to these classes. In the district from which I come recently the depressed classes

Khan Bahadur Mian Abdul Aziz: Protection from whom?

Mr. N. M. Joshi: Protection against all classes even including the class to which my Honourable friend belongs. Now, Sir, in the district from which I come, recently the depressed classes wanted to exercise their undoubted right of using the water of a public tank, but unfortunately the sense of law and order of the District Magistrate came in the way of the depressed classes using their undoubted right. Here is a good opportunity for the British Government and the Government of India to give special protection to the depressed classes. If the depressed classes cannot exercise their undoubted right on account of the anxiety of the Government to preserve law and order, I submit there is something wrong with your law and order. I therefore think that the Government will have to re-examine this problem. If the public wells and public places are open, then it is up to the Government to see that the depressed classes are able to exercise that right.

There is only word that I would like to say about the suggestion of my Honourable friend, Lala Lajpat Rai, that the Government of India should give a grant of a crore of rupees. I do not know whether he wants that grant to be recurring or non-recurring. If he has not decided either way, I would suggest to him that he should insist that this grant should be a recurring grant, and I am quite sure that this House will not consider this a very big grant. A crore of rupees for the education of 60 millions of people cannot certainly be regarded as a very big grant.

[Mr. N. M. Joshi.]

Moreover, we are all willing now to give special facilities for the depressed classes and we are all anxious that the depressed classes should come in to their own, and therefore we should not hesitate to spend a crore of rupees every year although that may cause some little pinch to the Honourable the Finance Member. I hope that the Resolution and the amendment will be carried.

Sir Hari Singh Gour (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhamadan): Sir, the Honourable Mover of this Resolution wants to give special facilities for the education of the depressed classes. I have not the slightest doubt that what he intended to do was to give special facilities to the depressed classes because they were backward and not because they were depressed. Untouchability and social depression is the creation of our social system and I do not see how the mere facilities that the Government may give to the untouchable and depressed classes will remove untouchability and social degradation from which they suffer. In point of justice it seems to me that we who have brought about this deplorable state of things should be taxed to remove it, and if the question really were decided upon a strict reference to equity and justice I do not see why the general tax-payer should pay for the removal of a social evil

Lala Lajpat Rai: We do not ask the Legislature for the removal of any social evil.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: by a class legislation in which the general tax-payer is not interested. It is in consequence of that that I have ventured to alter the words "depressed classes" into "backward classes".

Lala Lajpat Rai: May I rise to a point of order? I beg to state that the Honourable Member's amendment is entirely out of order. The object of the Resolution and the amendment is confined to the depressed classes and untouchables and not to the backward classes including women as stated in my Honourable friend's amendment.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: I shall presently explain why my amendment is in order and everything else is comparatively speaking out of order. I was trying to show why the Resolution itself, if it means anything else, is out of order and my amendment is in order.

Mr. President: Order, order. As the Honourable Member contends that the Resolution is out of order, his amendment cannot be in order.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: I am trying to reconcile the two. I beg to submit this, that you must give facilities to all classes who are backward and bring them into line so that they may be able to pull their weight in the advancement of the nation. My submission therefore is, that, while I entirely concur with the Honourable Mover of this Resolution and those who have spoken in support of it that the untouchable and depressed classes should be given special facilities, I do not at the same time limit the granting of special facilities to the depressed classes and the untouchables. I hope that the Government of India will realise that they owe a larger responsibility to a wider circle of His Majesty's subjects in this country which I have mentioned, namely, the backward classes, people to whom on account of social thralldom, on account of age-long custom, or various other reasons facilities for education have not been given to the

extent they should have been. I was reading the report of the Census Commissioner of 1921 and I find that in India Parsis are at the head as regards general education, and Hindus, Sikhs, and Mussaimans are at the bottom of the list in the diagram on education. Amongst Hindus there are a very large number of people like the Aborigines, Gonds, Bhils, and the lower classes of people who, though not classed as untouchables and depressed classes, are nevertheless not able to receive the education which I submit should be given to them by the Government of India extending the special facilities alike to all, so that those who are backward may be able to come forward and be in line with Indian progress as regards education. Sir, I do not know whether you have definitely ruled my amendment out of order but if you have done so I limit myself to saying that the policy of the Government of India should be to give every facility to all backward classes.

Mr. M. R. Jayakar: On a point of information, Sir. Does my Honourable friend include women among the backward classes?

Sir Hari Singh Gour: I am afraid the women of India are more depressed than the worst of the depressed classes. My friend will remember that in the villages the *pater familias* say, "I will give education to the boy because he will be able to earn his living and bring back home salary or wages, whereas the girl is good for nothing, she will go into another family and why should I give education?" I therefore submit that she should be the object of special commiseration on the part of this House because she is the mother of creation and she, being the most depressed of all classes, should receive special treatment at the hands of the Central Government. I am not standing here for special pleading. I want justice, nothing more and nothing less. If you consider the arguments that have been used by the Honourable Mover and the subsequent speakers on the subject you will find that those arguments as equally apply to the depressed classes as to the women of India, and therefore, when the Honourable Mover interpellates me as to whether I intend to press for the granting of special facilities to women, I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that I do so emphatically. My submission on the whole is this. The Government of India should have a well considered policy for the purpose of providing facilities to all backward classes and that policy should be strictly adhered to. You have the power of supervision, direction and control and you cannot hypothecate the central funds or the funds of the Local Governments better than on the improvement of education by giving facilities to those who are lagging behind in the scale of human progress. With these remarks, I support my Honourable friend's Resolution with the proviso that the facilities must not be limited merely to the depressed classes spoken of as such, but to all backward classes including women who should get the same treatment as the depressed classes and the backward classes, so that they may also receive the benefit of education.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (Ambala Division: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, the present Resolution seeks the amelioration of the depressed classes of India in so far as the territories directly administered by the Government of India are concerned, as well as those territories which are administered by the Local Governments. It divides itself into three parts. It has reference to education, public services and to the use of wells, public streets and other buildings, etc. I do not want to enter into the discussion of how the depressed classes originated in this country. It has been said

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by Dr. Gour that the aborigines of India are not included in that class. I humbly beg to differ. All classes in this country who are known by the name of depressed classes deserve special treatment at the hands of this House, independently of the fact whether they are aborigines or form an integral part of the social system of Hindus. Whatever may be the origin, the central fact remains that they are regarded in the eye of the law as equals to the rest of the citizens of India and justice demands that the treatment so far as they are concerned should be the same as is meted out to other portions of the body politic. In submitting this, I do not lose sight of the fact that in point of fact this is not so. So far as equality of status is concerned in the eye of the law, this equality of status cannot be secured to the depressed classes even if this Assembly votes for this Resolution. We know that a *chamar* or a *bhangi* in the Punjab cannot purchase lands, but this inequality of status is shared by him along with the Honourable the Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court and the leader of our Party. There are other points of difference so far as status is concerned. This Resolution does not touch them. This Resolution is very modest and only touches such rights as are secured to every individual in this country by the various promises made by the Sovereigns of Great Britain. We remember the Charter of the Gracious Queen Victoria and that Charter secures to every citizen the right of holding every post and equality of treatment. Now, it has been said by several speakers that it is the Hindus who are responsible for this and I have to thank Dr. Gour, a Hindu himself, who went to the length of saying that it is the Hindus who must be taxed for this. Without raising any communal issue on this question, I would beg the House to consider that since it is said that the depressed classes form almost one-fifth of the total population of India, their amelioration is the concern of all the classes and not of one class alone. The Indian National Congress, the Hindu Maha Sabha are all agreed upon this point and in this connection Mahatma Gandhi has been quoted. So far as the Hindus are concerned, to-day it is not correct to say that the Hindus are not in favour of equal treatment being meted out to the depressed classes. Now, Sir, I speak for every section of the Hindus. I do not belong to the advanced section. I belong to the orthodox part of it but I may say that you will not find any Hindu worth his name in the whole country who is not ready to concede equality of rights to all members of the depressed classes. (*An Honourable Member*: "Will you shake hands with them?") What is shaking hands? I am ready to dine with them. To-day do you want to ask a follower of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai a question like this? The question is out of date and you will be glad to know that thousands like my humble self are doing their mite in their own unostentatious way. I would further inform the Honourable Member that there are societies in various districts in the Punjab which have tackled this question and which have done perhaps more than what Local Governments have done in this matter but I am really transgressing the subject. What I want to submit before this House is this. Considering that equality of status and justice claimed is admitted by all persons, the question arises: what has Government done during the last 150 years. It is not in a recriminatory spirit that I raise this question. I know all foreign governments subsist on the mutual differences of those whom they say they are governing. It is but natural that in the public services the higher posts should go to the members of the governing class. As regards the subordinate services. I

can understand that the question of patronage comes in and a post to one community and a post to another is the only way in which a foreign government can show its patronage. Therefore there is nothing surprising in the fact that the depressed classes in whom there is so little literacy have been ignored in the past. The question is, are you going to ignore them even now? When it is said and claimed by the Government of India that they are a national Government, I beg to ask very humbly, is this national government? You are going to ignore one-fifth of the population of India in so far as the question of services is concerned. Public service carries with it social prestige, and if a member of the depressed classes is appointed to any particular post, that fact by itself gives encouragement to other members of the depressed classes, and they think that in the social scale they have got some status. It cannot be said that they are not literate and therefore cannot be appointed to any public post, because there are posts for which no literacy is required, as for instance, the post of a constable, and some posts in the army, the post of sepoy for instance. I do not see any reason why Government should not have so far moved in this matter. Since the talk of reforms is here we hear now that Government have become special trustees of the six crores of people. As trustees I submit the Government should consider the interest of the *Cestuy que trust* more favourably. We are told by the Secretary in the Education Department that during the last ten years the statistics of education have shown a progress of 100 per cent. and whereas previous statistics show that literacy was only $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. at present it is one per cent. If during the ten years the literacy has advanced so far, an ordinary calculation will establish that it would take 500 years before all the members of the depressed classes can be educated.

Now, Sir, I would submit that this snail pace is too slow and should never be tolerated. As regards Local Governments we have been told about Bihar and the Central Provinces that during the last ten years there has been an increase from 19,000 to 23,000 for Bihar and from 26,000 to 34,000 in the Central Provinces. Is this progress one which can satisfy anybody? During the last ten years I think that in these two provinces the progress as regards the rest of the classes on calculation will be found to be much more than in the case of the depressed classes, so that it is clear that Local Governments are not doing their duty, and the claim that Local Governments are doing well is not well founded.

Now, Sir, several suggestions have been made in this House as to how the question should be tackled. I have got some experience in this matter and I would submit for the consideration of the Education Department that the best thing for them to do is to give every scholar some sort of scholarship. It does not matter what the value of the scholarship is, Re. 1 or 8 annas a month even would do. You have only to encourage them and at the same time to pay something to the teacher of those particular boys. It might be 4 annas a month per student. But that would serve as a great incentive for the teacher to attract those boys.

Now, so far as the question of the use of wells, etc., is concerned, it was asked by one Honourable Member in this House, "protection against whom?" Now, Sir, so far as this question is concerned, may I submit that it is not Hindus alone who are the offenders in this respect. I will concede that so far as Hindus are concerned, they have been tyrannical in the past, but to-day it cannot be said of them that they are tyrannical. By

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close association with us the democratic Moslem also has in certain matters imbibed our faults, and it happens that in the case of untouchables sometimes Muhammadans raise objections that they are not to be allowed to take water from public wells. I see the force of the argument that until the Hindus move in the matter, the Moslems are not likely to move. The Honourable Member who put this question will fully realise when I speak of a case in his own court, in which he tried his best to solve the matter, but still he was unsuccessful. (*An Honourable Member*: "Because the Hindus of the district were concerned.") That is not correct. The case was between the Muhammadans and Sikh members of the depressed classes. The Hindus had nothing to do with it.

In this Resolution you will find that a recommendation has been made that the sum of one crore of rupees be appropriated for this particular purpose. Now, Sir, this sum is certainly not sufficient, but at the same time it commits the Government of India to a particular policy and the Local Governments will have to follow suit, and the only thing which I have to submit in this connection further, is that it is not a question of the subject being a transferred subject. We know the Government of India have contributed to the Muhammadan University, to the Hindu University, and there is no reason why one crore of rupees be not set apart for the education of the depressed classes. If our talk about national government, about reforms, about the oneness of India, and equality of rights is not a mere untruth, the whole House should see the justice of the claim contained in this Resolution, and I would beg of the House to pass this Resolution unanimously.

The Rev. J. C. Chatterjee (Nominated: Indian Christians): Sir, I beg to move the amendment that stands in my name on the agenda paper for to-day, namely:

"That after the words 'and other depressed classes' the following be added: 'particularly by reserving seats in teachers' training classes for them'."

In doing so I desire to say that I am in hearty and complete agreement with the Resolution moved by my Honourable friend Mr. Jayakar, and also with the amendment put forward by my friend Lala Lajpat Rai. I am absolutely confident that the problem of the depressed classes and of their education is one of the utmost importance to this country. I should say it is the most vital social and even political problem of to-day, and I believe that everyone, whether Government, or social and philanthropic workers, ought to be absolutely unanimous in doing their utmost to bring up to their right level the millions of people who are unfortunately dubbed by this derogatory appellation of the depressed classes.

I believe that they should not be looked upon as mere political material, nor should they be looked upon as inferior to any particular community. I believe that everyone who works for them is entitled to the gratitude of the country, and I therefore pay my tribute to the Hindu organisations led by Lala Lajpat Rai that are working for their uplift. I am a little surprised that Lala Lajpat Rai should not have made any reference to the Christian missions, the thousands of British and American missionaries, who work for these classes. I would also humbly submit that it is due to the example set by them that indigenous workers have come forward to help them. I hope that Lala Lajpat Rai will also admit that.

I have for several years in my humble capacity been working as part of my official duties for the education and social uplift of these classes, and I represent them on the Delhi Municipality. I feel that Government have not done all that they should have done or could have done. In the first place, I have heard with great attention and interest all the schemes and all the achievements that the Education Department have been engaged in for these unfortunate people. But the fact that we are told that all classes of schools and educational institutions are open to them is not, I submit, at all satisfying or enough. I can quote instances to you from my experience in Delhi, experience extending over many years, that this does not really do. It is all very well to say that schools are open, but what happens in actual practice? I shall give you the instance of the Government Industrial School in this city. That school claims to do its best for children of the backward classes and of the depressed classes. I have often sent boys of the depressed classes to that school and after a few months those boys go away. I do not know what the real reason is; but I know that some of the reasons are these: that they are asked to pay certain fees or at least expenses on apparatus, which they cannot afford. There are scholarships which are given to boys in that school, but strangely enough I do not find that the boys of the depressed classes that I have sent there have ever got those scholarships—I do not know the reason why, but they do not get them; and therefore I am trying by my amendment to point out that the mere fact of opening schools and colleges is not enough. What is wanted is that special seats should be reserved for them in these schools, training institutions and industrial schools. Without that these boys will never get in. They should be given scholarships and special facilities in order to make it possible for them to remain in that school. I very much hope therefore that Government will give an earnest of their good intentions and a practical proof of their undoubted interest in and of their desire for the protection of these classes by accepting my Honourable friend Lala Lajpat Rai's Resolution, or at least accepting it in spirit, and if they cannot give a crore of rupees, at least give something substantial, earmarked specially for the education of the people of these classes. Unless that is done, it is rather difficult to realise that Government do mean business in this matter. I also hope that Government will agree to reserve places not only in schools, but specially in teachers' training classes, as I think that this is of the utmost importance for the success of the education of these boys. I will later on show why it is so difficult for these boys to get education, but now I only want to say that unless there are teachers coming from those very classes, these boys will neither get the right education nor will as much interest be shown in them by their teachers as is absolutely necessary for their uplift.

The Honourable the Secretary of the Education Department pointed out some places where such reservations were made; but in this part of the country I do not know of any training classes where candidates from the depressed classes are given places. Though technically schools are open to them, I do not know of any such people having got admission to these training classes. Till that is done, we will never be able to get the real move on that we desire on this side of education. At the same time I would also like to point out that no amount of Resolutions being accepted by Government and no amount of directions being sent by them or even mandates from Government are really going to make any radical change or make any great improvement. It is we, the people of the

[The Revd. J. C. Chatterjee.]

country, who must put our shoulders to the wheel and do something; we should lay aside our prejudices and we have got to do something more than merely making speeches. I will give you an illustration. In the Municipality of Lahore some years ago the Primary Compulsory Education Act was enforced. But there the Committee, largely composed of our own countrymen, exempted children of the depressed classes from the operation of that Act. Now, I ask, why was that done? That was not done in the interests of the depressed classes; it was done, because some people, capitalists or whoever they may have been, were anxious lest they might have to pay higher wages to their servants who were doing menial work in their homes. I was sent by the Delhi Municipality to study the system of compulsory education in Lahore and I say that, that was the reason why those people were kept out. I appeal, therefore, to my Honourable friend, Lala Lajpat Rai, and I hope he has had this matter brought to his notice—that directly he goes back to his headquarters he will persuade the Municipality of Lahore to extend this legislation and the privilege of education to the children of these depressed classes.

Lala Lajpat Rai: I never heard of this exception.

The Revd. J. C. Chatterjee: It is true, because I have been to Lahore myself and I have studied this point; I hope you will interfere.

Lala Lajpat Rai: Yes, I will.

The Revd. J. C. Chatterjee: This same thing was tried in Delhi; but we were able to include the depressed classes within the operation of that Act. But then, what happened in actual practice? I have visited school after school and I have found that the boys of the depressed classes, though they were admitted—and they had to be admitted because the Act required it—were made to sit in a corner by the schoolmaster and very seldom really given any teaching. This is what I observed in school after school and I think that that is where the need comes in of having teachers coming from these classes. However, this defect will be cured; there is no need for pessimism; I do believe that our country is advancing by leaps and bounds in this direction; that the thoughts of the people are turned towards these people. But I do want to impress this one fact that, unless we all put our shoulders to the wheel in this matter, whatever concessions Government may give us would not really fulfil our purposes. I hope, therefore, that the Honourable the Mover of the Resolution will agree to incorporate my small amendment in his original Resolution and thus give a chance of securing for the members of the depressed classes special seats in our training schools.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas (Indian Merchants' Chamber: Indian Commerce): Sir, I support the main Resolution with the amendments of my friends Mr. Arthur Moore and Lala Lajpat Rai. I do not think it is necessary at this stage of the debate or indeed at all perhaps in the course of this discussion to justify the main reason of this Resolution. I believe, Sir, that it is principally due to the efforts of Mahatma Gandhi that the question of the depressed classes is becoming more and more easy, as far as the Hindu community is concerned, from day to day. But I have no doubt that the Government should and can indeed help very materially in the solution of this great problem. I do not understand from my

Honourable friend Mr. Bajpai's speech exactly what the attitude of the Government of India in this connection is and I think it would be extremely deplorable if that Department of the Government of India, which has till now earned and very deservedly earned the reputation of looking at things from the pro-Indian point of view, if I may say so, has instructions to oppose this Resolution. Whilst I fully sympathise with and see the point of Mr. Bajpai's defence of the Provincial Governments' policy in this connection and of their work which to some may look comparatively insignificant, but which in the eyes of the Government may look quite justifiable—whilst I see the point of that, I wonder if the Government of India can have any objection to being a party to a Resolution of the nature of my friend Mr. Jayakar, with the addition of Lala Lajpat Rai's amendment. I do not overlook that Lala Lajpat Rai's amendment involves also the question of financial assistance in the shape of one crore of rupees. Mr. Joshi would like that figure to be made a recurring figure of one crore. Irrespective of the figure, if the Government is prepared to accept the Resolution with such modification he may indicate—*viz.*, for instance, that the Government of India should consider the desirability of subscribing towards this from the central revenues—I expect that it might meet with the views of the Assembly as a whole. Unless the House is to be divided on such a vital issue I very strongly suggest that a unanimous vote may be tried for. Should, however, Mr. Bajpai be debarred from meeting us in any direction of this nature, I will vote for Lala Lajpat Rai's amendment as it stands.

I attach, Sir, greater importance to the latter part of Lala Lajpat Rai's Resolution, the part which asks Government to issue orders that all wells which are not private, and all streets and roads that are public, and all institutions which are financed or managed partly or wholly from public funds be opened to the depressed classes and that a special list be made of untouchables, and others who are not untouchables but are at present included in the depressed classes in Government records. I fail to see, Sir, how the Government of India can object to this part of the Resolution. I think it is now too late in the day for Government to say that there may be strong opposition from certain orthodox sections in mofussil or urban areas if the course suggested in the Resolution were adopted. But where the tax-payer's money has been spent on roads or streets, or wells, etc., and where it has come from the general tax-payer's revenue, I think it is only right that the representatives of the tax-payer in this House and obviously also in the provincial Legislatures should have a voice in this matter. If this House is of the opinion that all that is indicated in the latter part of Lala Lajpat Rai's Resolution is correct, I really cannot see how the Government of India can oppose such a proposition.

Sir Darcy Lindsay (Bengal: European): Mr. Bajpai made his speech before Lala Lajpat Rai moved his amendment.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I hope he will say that he is prepared to agree to the latter part of the amendment.

I feel, Sir, that the question of the education of the depressed classes is one which should receive the most careful attention of the Government. I know that the percentages given by my friend regarding literacy are small, and I think the anxiety of all of us on this side of the House who press for this question to-day is that as soon as possible, small as the percentage of literacy in India is, the percentage of literacy in the depressed classes should not be less than what it is in the other classes. We

[Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas]

realise very fully, Sir, that the percentage of literacy in India as a whole is very small, but we are very anxious that the literacy in the case of the depressed classes should be made up as early as possible and no amount of money that can be spared for this purpose would be grudged by this side of the House.

Sir, I give my most cordial support to the Resolution and the amendment.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions: Non-Muhammadian Rural): Sir, I have very great pleasure in offering my support to the Resolution which is before the House. It is a matter for regret and reproach to the Government and to the country that such a Resolution should have to be brought forward at this advanced period of the history of the world. It is a matter for reproach to both of us, and I wish that we should each, in criticising the other, frankly recognize our share of the responsibility. It is undoubtedly true that for a long time past the depressed classes, as they are called, have been living under conditions which are very depressing indeed. The social customs and rules as they have been understood, or wrongly understood among a section of us Hindus, have largely been responsible for it in the past. But, Sir, as more than one speaker has pointed out, Hindu public opinion has undergone a very great change on these questions, and to-day it is a matter for sincere satisfaction to Hindus that a large number of their public men of all classes, and among them a large number of Brahmins, are working for the amelioration of the depressed classes. There are many societies and missions working in which the higher classes of Hindus, as they are called, have been taking an active and prominent part to ameliorate the condition of the depressed classes. My friend Lala Lajpat Rai has referred to these efforts, and mentioned the name of one large-hearted donor, Babu Jugal Kishore Birla, eldest brother of our colleague, Babu Ghanshyamdas Birla. He alone has been spending between Rs. 20,000 and Rs. 25,000 every month for ameliorating the condition of the depressed classes.

Mr. H. G. Cocke (Bombay: European): Is it Government?

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: I am speaking of what Babu Jugal Kishore Birla, brother of our friend Babu Ghanshyamdas Birla, has been spending for the last five years for the amelioration of the condition of the depressed classes. There are numerous other individuals and societies which have been working in the same direction, and I am happy to be able to say that Hindu public opinion has undergone a very great change. The House has heard from Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava what that change means. There are thousands of men in the higher classes of Hindus who make no distinction between a brother belonging to one of the depressed classes and another brother of the higher classes.

Many of us have long recognised that this question of the amelioration of the condition of the depressed classes is largely a question of education. I can say that this has been recognised by every sensible man who has looked at this question. The other day I quoted from a speech which I delivered in 1916 in the Imperial Legislative Council in which I said that: "the question of the elevation of the depressed classes depends largely, almost wholly, nay I say, depends wholly upon education. That is the one solvent which will solve this problem and most certainly do I wish and pray that the Government will do as much more as it can towards the spread of education among these classes. I also urged that the schools of the Government and of the community should be open to the children of the depressed classes as much as to any other children."

That was in 1916—*i.e.*, before the reforms. But now let me say,—and it pains me to say it—in connection with this question of the elevation of the depressed classes, that while I gladly recognise that a few officers of Government have individually expressed a great deal of sympathy with them, and while the Local Governments have taken some steps to improve their condition, what they have actually done for them is very very small compared to what they should have done. So long ago as 1815, a great Englishman, Sir Montstuart Elphinstone wrote :

“It is now well understood that in all countries the happiness of the poor depends in a great measure on their education. It is by means of it alone that they can acquire those habits of prudence and self-respect from which all other good qualities spring; and if ever there was a country where such habits are required, it is this. We have all often heard of the ills of early marriages and overflowing population; of the savings of a life squandered on some occasions of festivity; of the helplessness of the ryots, which renders them a prey to moneylenders; of their indifference to good clothes or houses, which has been urged on some occasions as an argument against lowering the public demands on them; and, finally of the vanity of all laws to protect them, when no individual can be found who has spirit enough to take advantage of those enacted in their favour; there is but one remedy for all this, which is education.”

That was in 1815. Since then we have many times had very profuse expressions of opinion in favour of extending education among the masses. We know that an Excellent scheme was introduced in 1845 in the United Provinces; we know that a memorable despatch—the despatch of Sir Charles Wood—came to us in 1854 in which in the words of the Education Commission “the education of the whole people in India was definitely accepted as a State duty”. But we know also how little has been actually achieved. Nearly 30 years after the despatch of 1854, the Government of India appointed the Education Commission over which Sir William Hunter presided. That Commission found that in actual practice very little had been done to educate the masses, and in dealing with the recommendations of that Commission “that an attempt should be made to secure the fullest possible provision for an expansion of primary education by legislation suited to the circumstances of each province”. The Government of India again declared that they regarded the extension of primary education to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should be directed and which should be regarded to possess almost an exclusive claim on local funds set apart for education and a large claim on provincial revenues. In spite of these and other similar declarations another thirty years elapsed, and very little was done to secure elementary education to the people. Then in 1910 the late Mr. Gokhale brought forward a Resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council urging that a beginning should be made in the direction of making elementary education free and compulsory throughout the country and that a mixed commission of officials and non-officials should be appointed at an early date for that purpose. For twenty-five years before that, the Indian National Congress had been repeatedly urging that the Government should extend the blessings of education to the people. In 1886, the Congress stated that it “regards with the deepest sympathy, and views with grave apprehension, the increasing poverty of vast numbers of the population of India,” and urged the introduction of representative institutions “as one of the most important practical steps towards the amelioration of the condition of the people.” In 1887, it urged “that having regard to the poverty of the people, it is desirable that the Government be moved to elaborate a system of technical education, suitable to the condition of the country and to encourage indigenous manufactures.”

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In 1888, it urged that "it was the first duty of the British Government in India to foster and encourage education, general as well as technical, in all its branches." And finding that the Government did not respond to these reasonable demands of the people, it again declared its conviction that "India can never be well or justly governed, nor her people prosperous or contented, until they are allowed, through their elected representatives, a potential voice in the legislatures of their country."

I draw attention to these facts to show that, while the Government of India as a whole and many officials of the Government of India individually, repeatedly expressed deep sympathy with the cause of the education of the people, and while the Government of India's records are full of Resolutions recognising that it was their duty to extend it and expressing their desire that it should be extended, as a matter of fact the Government of India did very little to promote general mass education. And what is worse, when, as I have said, a Resolution was brought forward in 1910, by Mr. Gokhale in the Governor General's Council, the Home Member at the time, Sir Harvey Adamson, opposed the Resolution. A year later Mr. Gokhale brought forward his Bill for permitting compulsory and free primary education to be introduced in certain areas. It is sad to recall that Government opposed that Bill also. Mr. Gokhale's Resolution of 1910 was withdrawn, but when the motion that his Bill of 1911 be referred to a Select Committee was brought forward the Government members voted against it and with them voted those who considered it their duty to vote with the Government. It is painful to recall how that modest Bill which sought only to give permission to certain Local Boards under certain conditions to make elementary education free and compulsory was defeated by the votes of the Government. Only 13 of us—humble representatives of the people—voted for the motion to refer the Bill to a Select Committee, and 38 persons—at the head of whose list stood His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal—and which included all the officials, and I am sorry to say certain Indian members, voted against the motion, and killed the Bill. Now that was in 1912. In 1918, my friend Rai Bahadur B. N. Sarma brought forward a Resolution in this House urging that this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that one of the post-war reforms should be the introduction throughout British India of free and compulsory primary education immediately after the war. That Resolution again was opposed by the Government. Sir Sankaran Nair was then the Member in charge of Education, and he opposed the Resolution on behalf of the Government, and from the voting on it you will find unfortunately again that there were only 12 of us non-official Indians who voted for the motion, and that there were 43 members and supporters of the Government who voted against it. What was the motion? It was simply this that the Council recommend to the Governor General that one of the post-war reforms should be the introduction throughout British India of free and compulsory primary education, and yet it was opposed by the Government.

That, Sir, is the record of the present system of Government so far as the education of the people is concerned! I submit that that record condemns the system outright and absolutely. In the interval, as you know, England passed the Education Act in 1870 and you know how rapidly she secured the blessing of elementary education to her own children. Japan started about that time, and in twenty years Japan

made education universal among her people. In every country of the West the education of the people has been regarded as one of the primary duties of a civilised Government, and it has everywhere been carried out. While here in India the Government of India have spent nearly 13 crores in building this New Delhi, they have not found money to promote general mass education among the people. The failure of the Government in this respect is ignominious.

Now, I submit, Sir, that in this connection the facts mentioned by the Honourable the Secretary to the Department of Education are very important and significant. But before I deal with them let me offer my hearty congratulations to him, Sir, on the excellent speech which he made on the subject. We may not agree with all that he said. There are some points of difference, but I congratulate him both on the matter and the spirit of the statement which he made. Now, I submit that what the Honourable Mr. Bajpai said on this question is of very great importance. He drew attention to the progress which had been made since 1920, i.e., since the Reforms were introduced, and claimed that it was satisfactory. What is clear from his statement is this, that so long as the reforms were not introduced and education was not made a transferred subject and put in charge of Indian Ministers, so long the Government of India and the Local Governments did very little of their duty towards the depressed classes and the general mass of the people in the matter of education and the amelioration of their condition. In this connection I drew attention the other day to the statement made by the then Home Member on the Resolution which Mr. Dadabhoy brought forward in 1916 and which ran as follows:

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that measures be devised with the help, if necessary, of a small representative committee of officials and non-officials for an amelioration in the moral, material and educational condition of what are known as the depressed classes, and that, as a preliminary step, the Local Governments and Administrations be invited to formulate schemes with due regard to local conditions."

That Resolution was supported by the elected representatives of the people but the Government could not accept it. And all that Sir Reginald Craddock, the then Home Member, said was:

"What I say is that while extending our sympathy to the objects aimed at by the Honourable Mr. Dadabhoy, we can go no further than promise to refer the question to Local Governments, and ask them whether they can do more than they are doing. That is as far as we can go, and with that assurance, I will ask the Honourable Member to withdraw his Resolution."

That marked the measure of the actual and active sympathy of the Government with the depressed classes up to 1918; and I submit, Sir, that the fact that it has only been since the reforms, since Indian Ministers were placed in charge of education, that the percentage of literacy among the depressed classes has increased, is a very significant one to be taken into consideration in dealing with the question whether the administration of the affairs of this country should or should not be entrusted to Indians. Now, I say, here you have this fact which you cannot dispute, which establishes that the present irresponsible system of administration has failed and failed miserably in a very important matter. I say this with very great regret. It is no pleasure to me to accuse members of the Government, to remind them of their lapses, of their failure to do their duty, and I am not speaking of any individuals, but I say the system of irresponsible government which has prevailed in this country is responsible in the largest

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measure for the present depressed conditions of those who are described as the depressed classes. And I say this for two obvious reasons. We have seen that more than a century has passed since Sir Montstuart Elphinstone drew attention to the necessity of educating the general mass of the people, including of course what are known as the depressed classes, for they form a large section of the population. And we have seen how very little the Government had done in that direction up to the year 1920. We have seen that the Government opposed the Education Bill which Mr. Gokhale brought forward in 1911. And we have seen that it opposed the Resolution of Mr. Sarma in 1918. That makes it clear that up to this time, so far as the Government's achievements are concerned, there is very little for which they can take credit. My second reason for accusing the Government in this matter is this. The depressed classes have lived in our midst and before our eyes. We have benefited by their humble services, by their co-operation to make our lives comfortable and happy. Every Member of this House, everyone who has lived in this country during the last a hundred and fifty years of British rule, has seen the deplorable condition of the depressed classes. The Government had it in its power to improve that condition by giving them education. It has failed to do so. The Government very rightly helped the Muslim community which had for some time stood aloof from the system of education introduced in this country by the British Government. The moment the Government recognised that the Muslims were backward in education, the Government did help the Muslims considerably, and in the course of ten years, as the Government of India pointed out in re-affirming their educational policy in 1913, in the course of ten years, Muslims increased their percentage of education by nearly 50 per cent. If the Government has similarly done their duty by this unfortunate section of our humbler countrymen, the depressed classes also, their condition would have been much ameliorated. Education is the great solvent. Give them education, both general and technical, and they will not ask you for anything more. They will obtain every kind of service; they will get into the offices; they will push themselves forward to the positions to which they are entitled to rise as our equal fellow subjects by their manhood—by their intelligence and their character. You the Government are responsible for their present condition after they have lived for a hundred and fifty years under your guardianship because you have not given them that education, and what is worse, you have not done what you could do even without educating them to improve their condition. I ask, who is the greatest employer of the depressed classes at present? Is it not the Government and the public bodies which are controlled by Government? It is they who employ the depressed classes very largely. Have they paid them sufficiently for their very exacting services? Is the paltry sum you pay them sufficient remuneration for them? Is there any one here who does not know that they do not get enough to eat, that they do not get enough to clothe themselves and their children with, that they do not get enough to give any medicine to their children, that they do not get enough to live in decent huts, that they do not get enough to be able to educate their children. Who is to blame for it? Certainly you the Government more than the people. But both you and we are to blame, for I submit that if the Government and the members of the general public had only recognised that it was not possible for this large section of our fellow-men, of whom we are speaking,

to live on the paltry remuneration we pay them the lives of decent human beings, we should have seen by this time that their remuneration was made adequate to their human needs, and that what is urged to-day should have been done long long ago.

I know, Sir, that "Education" is a transferred subject, but I say to the Government of India that they ought to recognise that they have a great responsibility in this matter, that they ought to recognise that they have failed up to this time to do their duty by the depressed classes, and as an index of their desire to make up for it they should accept the Resolution which has been moved with some of the amendments that may be agreed upon, and that they should send out a circular to all the Local Governments drawing their attention to the crying necessity of a great deal more being done to give these depressed classes better remuneration as well as the education that they need than is being done now. The Government have a solemn responsibility in this matter. That responsibility cannot be discharged by a mere recital of the small progress that has been made in the matter of education. I do not blame the Education Secretary. He has done what he could to describe the situation, and he has described it well. But it is for the Government of India to recognise their own laches in the past, and to remember that this is one of the things by which the Government of India will be judged when the matter comes to be considered how the Government of India have discharged their trusteeship of the people of this country. I submit that on this issue alone, on the neglect of the Government of India to do their duty by the depressed classes, the whole question can rightly be solved. I therefore hope that the Government will accept the Resolution and will send out their considered opinion to all Governments to stimulate further effort, to encourage them to go forward with the work which the Ministers have begun. If they will yet do their duty in this matter, I submit, Sir, 'hat in the course of five years this question will be solved. Either they should spend the money needed

Mr. President: Order. order. The Honourable Member must conclude his observations.

Pandit Madan Mohan Ma'aviya: One minute, Sir.

Mr. President: I hope the Honourable Member will now conclude his observations. It is not right that the Honourable Member should ask for further indulgence when he has already taken 20 minutes.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Shall I conclude, Sir? I submit the Government of India should either find the money needed for the education of the depressed classes, or hand over the finances of the country to us, and I venture to say that we shall see that in the course of ten years the problem of the depressed classes will have become a matter of past history.

Sir Walter Willson (Associated Chambers of Commerce : Nominated Non-Official): Sir, may I ask my Honourable friend Lala Lajpat Rai, if he will agree to split his amendment into two parts which would then read:—

"And this Assembly further recommends to the Governor General in Council :

(a) to sanction one crore of rupees for the education of the depressed classes from the Central funds, and

(b) the remainder."

[Sir Walter Willson.]

This, Sir, would afford me the opportunity which I should much enjoy of being able to vote with my Honourable friend on the second part of his amendment which has my entire sympathy. The first part in regard to the sanction of one crore of rupees is one that at this stage I am afraid I cannot see my way to vote with him for the simple reason, as has already been stated, that Education is a transferred subject and secondly, until we know the Budget for the year, we do not know what money we have and therefore whether we should vote it in this direction or some other. I trust, therefore, Sir, that my Honourable friend will accept my recommendation and split up his amendment into (a) and (b) as I have indicated so that I may be able to vote as far as possible for his amendment.

Lala Lajpat Rai: If the Chair allows it I have no objection.

Mr. President: Does the Honourable Member (Mr. Bajpai) wish to reply?

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: Yes, Sir, I should like to.

Mr. President: Does the Honourable Member (Mr. Jayakar) wish to reply?

Mr. M. R. Jayakar: I will not take more than a few minutes to reply, Sir. As regards the amendments, I have no objection to the amendment moved by Lala Lajpat Rai, either in the form in which it stands now or in the form suggested by my Honourable friend Sir Walter Willson. I think, Sir, that amendment is really a specific case of what my Resolution describes as "special facilities", and therefore there is no conflict between my Resolution and that amendment and I have therefore great pleasure in supporting it.

I am very sorry, Sir, that my Honourable friend Mr. Moore entirely misconceived the purpose of my Resolution which was to obtain from Government a categorical statement as to what they are prepared to do in the form of special facilities for education and in the direction of opening the Police service to the depressed classes. I am very sorry, Sir, that in spite of the very elaborate statement made by the Honourable the Secretary for Education, I have not received any definite assurance here as regards the special facilities the Government are prepared to give. I am aware that "Education" is a transferred department in Provincial Governments, but I still maintain that it is necessary and possible for the Government of India, having regard to the fact that all provinces have their own way of dealing with this question, and having regard to the debate which has taken place to-day, to frame a statement of their views as regards the policy which they would like to be pursued by Provincial Governments in order to get to a uniform course of administration throughout. I cannot see much difficulty in the Government of India doing that. But my Honourable friend the Education Secretary says that he will simply forward for the information of Provincial Governments the proceedings of this debate. I for one am not satisfied with this. I want the Government of India to go further and frame in the light of this debate a specific set of recommendations or expression of opinion as regards the policy which they desire the Provincial Governments should pursue in this matter. I told my Honourable friends in my opening speech that there are varying policies pursued by the Provincial Governments and I wanted that they

should be brought in one line, and in doing so, the Government of India should take the lead.. I do not care whether the word "directions" is retained or not. If it is found inconvenient I am quite willing that it should be changed to "recommendations". What I particularly desire to obtain by my Resolution is that special facilities should be given to these unfortunate classes. What I mean by special facilities is what was suggested by my Honourable friend Mr. Joshi, scholarships specially intended for the depressed classes, special schools started for them, and similar other measures. I have great pleasure in accepting the amendment moved by my Honourable friend Mr. Chatterjee. It is only one specific case of a special facility, namely, seats being reserved in training schools of the description which he mentioned. I have no objection in accepting that amendment. It is consistent with my Resolution.

Then it was said, Sir, that the Local Governments are alive to their interests.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Not sufficiently.

Mr. M. R. Jayakar: I am aware of that. But I want to know from the Government of India that whereas we have in this country one individual whose name was mentioned in the course of this debate, Mr. Birla's brother, who spends Rs. 25,000 a month, that means about Rs. 3 lakhs a year, and that has been going on for 5 years—I say that when the question is so important that one individual, a Hindu, can spend nearly Rs. 15 lakhs in this behalf, I cannot see much difficulty in the Government of India being able to devote one crore to this object. I am not aware of the complexity of the next Budget, but I do not see much difficulty why Government should not come to this House with an assurance that they will try their best to give this year one crore at least for this particular object. It is said that education being a transferred department no money can be given by the Government of India to the Provincial Governments. I am not aware of anything in the Devolution Rules or in the Government of India Act which prevents them from making such special grants. If there is anything, my Honourable friend opposite will point it out, but I do not see much difficulty at present. It will be in the form of a special grant for a specific object, viz., for the purpose of giving special facilities for the education and uplift of the depressed classes. Then, Sir, it was pointed out that the number of pupils has increased. I am aware of that. But that is no reply to my question. My question is how many pupils have increased owing to the special facilities given by Government. That is the point at issue. The Secretary for Education pointed out that pupils have increased throughout, but that may be because the sense of social obligations in regard to these poor classes has gone up all round. I wanted to know, and that information has not been supplied by the Secretary for Education, how much of the improvement is due to the intervention or activity of the Government. We were told that public schools are thrown open to them. That is not enough. I want to know what special facilities have been given. We have no information on that point. My Honourable friend Mr. Moore suggested, "Oh, there is a political meaning behind this Resolution". If he says so, I will retort by saying "Yes, there is a political meaning behind it, but Government also have a political meaning in pretending a love for these classes". May I call the attention of my Honourable friend opposite to a statement in "India in

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1925-1926" written by no less a person than Mr. Coatman. I will begin by quoting what he states at page 238:

"Government, of course, can do very little beyond guaranteeing to members of the depressed classes the legal rights to which every one of its subjects is entitled."

Frankly speaking, I want Government to go beyond that, and not be merely content with guaranteeing to the members of the depressed classes their legal rights. I desire them to specially speed up their progress by special facilities of the nature which the amendment of my Honourable friend, Lala Lajpat Rai, speaks of. Then Mr. Coatman goes on to say, as a justification for keeping India in bondage:

"It is impossible to have a nation of half slaves and half free."

If he hereby voices the Government view then I certainly admit that my Resolution too has a political meaning behind it, namely, that we want to speed up the progress of these people as fast as we can, we want the progress of the country to be accelerated, we want to bring these people into line in order that their ignorance and illiteracy may not act as impediments to the political progress of the country and that they may take their proper place in our struggle for freedom. I am not ashamed of stating this as the political object behind my Resolution if Mr. Moore must attribute such motives to me. Sir I want my Resolution to be considered on its merits along with the amendments moved by my Honourable friends, Lala Lajpat Rai and Mr. Chatterjee.

(At this stage Mr. Arthur Moore rose in his place.)

Mr. President: Does the Honourable Member wish to speak?

Mr. Arthur Moore: With reference to the amendments standing in my name

Mr. President: The Honourable Member must know that the Mover of the Resolution has replied.

Mr. Arthur Moore: I submit that I have not had an opportunity of explaining my attitude with regard to my amendments. I should like to know what will happen to the amendments standing in my name.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member's amendments will be put to the vote.

Mr. Arthur Moore: I am willing to withdraw one of them, but I . . .

Mr. President: The Honourable Member will be entitled to withdraw his amendments if he wishes.

Mr. Arthur Moore: By your leave and the leave of the House I would like to make certain proposals with regard to the amendments before the reply of the Government is made, in the hope that it might perhaps procure an agreed settlement.

Mr. President: Is the Honourable Member prepared to withdraw any of his amendments?

Mr. Arthur Moore: Yes.

Mr. President: Will he say which amendment?

Mr. Arthur Moore: I am prepared to withdraw my first amendment.

Mr. President: The question is :

"That leave be given to withdraw amendment No. 5, in the name of Mr. Moore, namely :

"That for the words 'special facilities for the education of' the following be substituted :

'proper facilities in existing educational institutions for'."

The motion was adopted.

The amendment was, by leave of the Assembly, withdrawn.

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: The debate has already dragged on since mid-day, and I do not wish to take up the time of the House very much longer. There are one or two points of detail which I should like to clear up. One point was made by my Honourable friend, Lala Lajpat Rai, with reference to the figures which I have given of the improvement in the enrolment of the number of pupils. He said, what does the percentage or proportion of 660,000 in 60 millions amount to? I would just like to correct one figure, and that is the figure of 60 millions. I have had calculations made in the light of the material which we have available, and I make my statement with special reference to the point which was made by Mr. Jayakar, namely, that his proposition relates, not to all the backward classes of the community, but to the so-called depressed or untouchable classes. That number, according to my calculation, — I think I am not far out, — in the Governors' provinces excluding Burma and Assam, is 28½ millions.

Lala Lajpat Rai: Then Mr. Coatman ought to correct his statement in the Year Book.

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: That is one point which I wish to make. The other point is more or less personal. My Honourable friend, Lala Lajpat Rai, said that I was inclined to scoff at the Punjab. I was not scoffing either at the Punjab or at my Honourable friend, Lala Lajpat Rai. I merely made a debating point, just as my Honourable friend, Lalaji himself, makes in the course of debate, not once or twice, but several times; and I hope he will extend to me the privilege which he utilises himself. The third thing which I should like to point out is that I do not in any way endeavour to minimise either the quality or the worth of private endeavour. In fact, if I may recall one remark which I made in the course of my statement this morning, what I said was that it is not by increasing the number of special schools or by providing special facilities that you are going to solve this problem, and that you will solve the problem only by a quickening and broadening of the spirit of all sections of the community towards the so-called depressed classes. That carries in itself a tribute, if I may say so, to the work which private bodies including the Arya Samaj have done. The Honourable Lala Lajpat Rai was rather severe on certain provinces, severe more by implication than by explicit speech. He said that it is only the United Provinces and Bengal that have made some progress and that the other provinces have lagged behind in the race. The position is that Bombay and Madras also share the honour with the two provinces to which my Honourable friend has referred. And I think it may interest the House to be informed at this stage that to the Presidency of Bombay belongs the credit of having laid down definitely in their grant-in-aid rules that no institution will receive any aid from public funds if it does not admit members of the depressed classes. I shall turn to Madras, which

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is supposed to be the stronghold of exclusive orthodoxy. There again what has happened? The Local Government have ordered that schools which are situated in areas supposed by social customs to be inaccessible to the depressed classes should be removed to areas which are accessible, and they have adopted the logical corollary of this by ordering that new schools will only be constructed in areas which are accessible. I think, Sir, it will be admitted that, whereas private effort may have done a great deal and a private spirit of liberality may have achieved a great deal, it is not strictly fair to say that Local Governments have done nothing. There is another point which was made by one of my Honourable friends Mr. Joshi. He said that I had spoken with great pride of the achievements of Local Governments, that I thought they had accomplished miracles, and that I thought that the unattainable ideal had been attained. I said nothing of the sort. I merely said that in the last ten years remarkable progress has been made, and because I say remarkable progress has been made I do not by any means suggest that perfection has been achieved and that there is nothing more to be done. Another point on which my friend Mr. Joshi wanted information was in regard to the figures of expenditure in the five years programme of expenditure. I do not claim infallibility but I do claim to devote some attention to the work which has been entrusted to me and it may interest the House to know the figures. 18 lakhs out of 29 lakhs non-recurring and 6 lakhs out of 10 recurring is to be devoted to expenditure in the areas which are directly under the Government of India.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: May I ask the Honourable Member to state . . .

(Mr. Bajpai was standing also).

Mr. President: Two Honourable Members should not keep standing at the same time.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: May I ask the Honourable Member to state how many students take advantage of primary education and how many students take advantage of secondary and higher education?

Mr. President: The Honourable Member might put down questions.

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: Sir, I shall go on to the broad question which is implicit in the Resolution that has been moved by my Honourable friend, Mr. Jayakar. I wish the House to understand quite clearly that Government have no quarrel with the principles underlying his Resolution: that our sympathy is not lip sympathy. I wish them to realise that there are certain limitations on what the Government of India can do. I shall turn first to my friend Sir Hari Singh Gour. I am surprised that a jurist of his eminence should have said that the powers of direction, superintendence and control of the Government of India were so wide that they could by a stroke of the pen give away a crore or two crores or three crores and that they could issue instructions to Local Governments as to what they should do. Nothing of the kind. I will read Devolution Rule 49 of the Rules framed under the Government of India Act. It relates to transferred subjects and as the House knows Education is a transferred subject:

"The powers of superintendence, direction and control over the Local Government of a Governor's province vested in the Governor General in Council under the Act shall in relation to transferred subjects be exercised only for the following purposes: namely, to safeguard the administration of Central subjects, to decide questions arising between two provinces and to safeguard the due exercise and performance of certain other duties of a general character."

I really fail to see how even the legal ingenuity of my friend can discern power in this rule which would enable the Government of India to tell Local Governments as to what they are to do. Sir, the position is that we are in full sympathy with the principles underlying the Honourable Mover's Resolution.

What we do find it difficult to carry out is that we should issue instructions to Local Governments. What we can do is to forward to Local Governments (*Sir Hari Singh Gour*: "With any recommendations?") proceedings of this debate. My Honourable friend asks me whether we should send it with recommendations. I am quite prepared to consider what recommendations—not of a mandatory but of a purely advisory character—we can make after a perusal of the various points of view which have been raised in the course of the debate. But, Sir, my Honourable friend Mr. Jayakar does not confine himself to the original proposition. He goes further and says that he lends his support to the amendment of my friend Mr. Lajpat Rai to the effect that the Government of India should contribute a sum of one crore of rupees for the education of the depressed classes. (*An Honourable Member*: "As a proof of your earnestness.") I think it was not the intention of the Honourable Lalaji to suggest that this sum of one crore of rupees should be spent on the education of a lakh and 80 thousand which is the total population of the depressed classes in the areas which are directly administered by the Government of India and of which possibly one quarter may be said to represent the school-going population. I think he had in mind that this sum of one crore of rupees should be spent on the education of the depressed classes even in the areas which are under the control of Local Governments. If I am wrong perhaps the Lalaji will correct me. (*Lala Lajpat Rai*: "Yes".) The answer to that is that the Government of India are by the principle and by the spirit of the existing constitution precluded from spending central funds. (*Lala Lajpat Rai*: "Not at all".) If the Honourable Lalaji says it is not so, I beg to differ because I happen to know that it is not within the power of the Governor General in Council to spend funds derived from central revenues on provincial transferred subjects and if my Honourable friend will refer the matter to that impartial arbiter of the financial provisions of the Government of India Act, the Auditor General, he will get a confirmation of the statement which I have made. (*An Honourable Member*: "Why not make grants to provincial Governments?") The Honourable the Finance Member is here and it is not in my mouth to reply to that. If the remission of provincial contributions to the extent of 10 crores—and the Honourable the Finance Member pointed out last year that the remission was made to help the nation-building departments—is not a liberal and generous grant, I do not know what is.

To conclude my remarks. I desire to thank the Honourable Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas from Bombay for his tribute which deeply touched me—tribute to the pro-Indian attitude and the pro-Indian policy of the Department to which I have the honour to belong. I do not wish to suffer in his estimation or in the estimation of the House by saying anything on this occasion which would lead them to the conclusion that the Government of India are not in sympathy with what is clearly a laudable object. (*Lala Lajpat Rai*: "We do not want lip sympathy. We want substantial money".) Well, Sir, I have just been informed on very high authority that we can make remissions of contributions but we cannot make

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grants for provincial objects. That reinforces or at any rate supports the difficulty which I was placing before the House. My Honourable friend says "I do not believe in sympathy". Then what would he believe in if he would not believe in manifestations of sympathy. (*Lala Lajpat Rai*: "There is no question of believing. Give money".) Sir, it is no use prolonging this discussion longer. I have stated what I had to state.

Mr. M. S. Aney: May I ask if the Honourable Member can raise points in his reply which were not raised in the first speech?

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: I did not know that I was precluded from raising in my answer points which had been raised by Honourable Members opposite. As I have said, our difficulty is that the constitutional position prevents us, both from issuing directions to Local Governments and from making contributions from central funds to provincial revenues for expenditure on provincial transferred subjects. I am prepared to do what I stated when I was first speaking of my friend Mr. Jayakar's original motion, namely, to communicate to Local Governments the proceedings of this debate and, in communicating those proceedings, to try also to draw their attention to such recommendations of a broad character as may emerge from the discussion that has taken place.

Mr. President: The original Resolution was:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to issue directions to all Local Governments to provide special facilities for the education of the untouchables and other depressed classes, and also for opening all public services to them, specially the Police."

Since which four amendments had been made. One of them has already been withdrawn, and there therefore remain three amendments. I will proceed to put them one by one to the House. I will read the amendment of Rev. Mr. Chatterjee first and put it:

"That after the words 'and other depressed classes' the following be added:
'particularly by reserving seats in teachers' training classes for them'."

The question is that that amendment be made.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: The next amendment is by Mr. Arthur Moore:

"That the words 'specially the Police' be omitted."

The question I have to put is that that amendment be made.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: The last amendment is by Lala Lajpat Rai, which reads as follows:

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

'And this Assembly further recommends to the Governor General in Council to sanction one crore of rupees for the education of the depressed classes from the Central funds and to issue orders that all wells that are not private, all streets and roads that are public, and all institutions which are financed or managed partly or wholly from public funds be opened to the depressed classes and that a special list be made of untouchables, and others who are not untouchables but are at present included in the depressed classes in Government records'."

The question I have to put is that that amendment be made.

Sir Walter Willson: Will you not put that amendment in two parts?

Mr. President: To enable the Honourable Member to have the pleasure of going into the same lobby with Lala Lajpat Rai, the Chair is not going to divide the amendment.

Sir Walter Willson: The Honourable Member accepted it.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member may have accepted it but the Chair is not bound.

The Assembly divided:

AYES—25.

Abdul Matin Chaudhury, Maulvi.
Aney, Mr. M. S.
Bhargava, Pandit Thakur Das.
Birla, Mr. Ghanshyam Das.
Chatterjee, The Revd. J. C.
Das, Mr. B.
Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja.
Gour, Sir Hari Singh.
Haji, Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand.
Iswar Saran, Munshi.
Jayakar, Mr. M. R.
Jinnah, Mr. M. A.
Joshi, Mr. N. M.

Kelkar, Mr. N. C.
Kunzru, Pandit Hirday Nath.
Lajpat Rai, Lala.
Malaviya, Pandit Madan Mohan.
Moonje, Dr. B. S.
Mukhtar Singh, Mr.
Neogy, Mr. K. C.
Pandya, Mr. Vidya Sagar.
Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sir.
Rao, Mr. G. Sarvotham.
Sarda, Rai Sahib Harbilas.
Sinha, Mr. R. P.

NOES—47.

Abdul Aziz, Khan Bahadur Mian.
Abdul Qaiyum, Nawab Sir Sahibzada.
Ahmad, Khan Bahadur Nasir-ud-din.
Alexander, Mr. William.
Allison, Mr. F. W.
Anwar-ul-Azim, Mr.
Ashrafuddin Ahmad, Khan Bahadur
Nawabzada Sayid.
Ayangar, Mr. V. K. Aravamudha.
Bajpai, Mr. G. S.
Bhuto, Mr. W. W. Illahibakhsh.
Blackett, The Honourable Sir Basil.
Bray, Sir Denys.
Chalmers, Mr. T. A.
Chatterji, Rai Bahadur B. M.
Coatman, Mr. J.
Cocke, Mr. H. G.
Cosgrave, Mr. W. A.
Couper, Mr. T.
Courtenay, Mr. R. H.
Crerar, The Honourable Mr. J.
Dalal, Sardar Sir Bomanji.
Gavin-Jones, Mr. T.
Gidney, Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J.
Graham, Mr. L.

Irwin, Mr. C. J.
Jowahir Singh, Sardar Bahadur
Sardar.
Kabul Singh Bahadur, Captain.
Keane, Mr. M.
Lamb, Mr. W. S.
Lindsay, Sir Darcy.
Mitra, The Honourable Sir Bhupendra
Nath.
Moore, Mr. Arthur.
Mukherjee, Mr. S. C.
Parsons, Mr. A. A. L.
Rainy, The Honourable Sir George.
Rao, Mr. V. Pandurang.
Roy, Mr. S. N.
Sams, Mr. H. A.
Sasseon, Sir Victor.
Shamaldhari Lall, Mr.
Shillidy, Mr. J. A.
Singh, Raja Raghunandan Prasad.
Sykes, Mr. E. F.
Taylor, Mr. E. Gawan.
Willson, Sir Walter.
Yamin Khan, Mr. Muhammad.
Young, Mr. G. M.

The motion was negatived.

Mr. President: The Resolution as finally amended reads as follows :

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to issue directions to all Local Governments to provide special facilities for the education of the untouchables and other depressed classes, particularly by reserving seats in teachers' training classes for them and also for opening all public services to them."

The question is that the Resolution, as so amended, be adopted.

The motion was adopted.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, the 24th February, 1928.
