

19th March 1930

THE

# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

(25th February to 20th March, 1930)

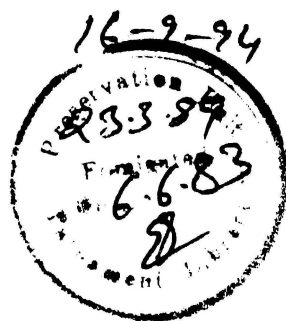
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## SIXTH SESSION

OF THE

## THIRD LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 1930

Chamber Fumigated. 18.10.73.....



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1930

# **Legislative Assembly.**

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**THE HONOURABLE MR. V. J. PATEL.**

## ***Deputy President :***

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

## ***Panel of Chairmen :***

**PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA, M.L.A.**

**MR. M. A. JINNAH, M.L.A.**

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

**SIR ZULFIQAR ALI KHAN, KT., C.S.I., M.L.A.**

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

## ***Assistant of the Secretary :***

**RAI SAHIB D. DUTT.**

## ***Marshal :***

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

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# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Wednesday, 19th March, 1930.

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

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

### PROTESTS AGAINST THE CHILD MARRIAGE RESTRAINT ACT.

856. **\*Mr. M. K. Acharya:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) whether they have received, since the 1st of February, 1930, any telegrams protesting against the Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1929; and if so, how many?
- (b) whether they have received any resolutions or any memorials or petitions, since October 1929, desiring the repeal of the Act, or the exemption from the Act of any community or sub-community in British India?
- (c) what is the total number of these resolutions; how many have come from each province?
- (d) what is the total number of signatories to the above memorials or petitions?
- (e) what response do Government propose to make to the above representations and when?

**The Honourable Sir James Orerar:** (a) Yes. 543.

(b) Yes.

(c) 494.

Madras 73. Bombay 51. Bengal 68. United Provinces 86. Punjab 60. Burma 16. Bihar and Orissa 59. Central Provinces 39. Assam 23. North West Frontier Province 9. Delhi 4. Ajmer 1. Baluchistan 1. Mysore 4.

(d) 39,886. It may be observed that in many cases the same petition bears a large number of signatures in different scripts which it is not possible to verify.

(e) Government are aware that there is considerable feeling regarding the provisions of the Act. They trust, however, that the difficulties at present felt may be resolved on further discussion and consideration of the problem. There are several Bills pending bearing on the subject which Government propose to circulate for opinion.

**APPOINTMENT AS TOWN INSPECTOR OF BABU SUDHAKAR BOSE, IN SUPERSSESSION OF SENIOR CLERKS IN THE GENERAL POST OFFICE, CALCUTTA.**

657. \***Mr. Anwar-ul-Azim:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether it is a fact that Babu Sudhakar Bose is an employee in the Calcutta General Post Office?

(b) Has he been recently confirmed as a permanent clerk of the Calcutta General Post Office?

(c) Has he passed the departmental examination for promotion to the lowest selection grade in the Post Office and Railway Mail Service?

(d) Is it a fact that he has been appointed to act as selection grade Town Inspector in Calcutta in supersession to eleven hundred clerks of the Calcutta General Post Office and its town sub-offices who are senior to Mr. Bose?

(e) Will Government be pleased to state the reasons for such supersession if the reply to part (d) above is in the affirmative?

(f) Is it a fact that, owing to his very junior position, Mr. Bose was not allowed to sit for the last selection grade examination?

(g) Is it a fact that many officials, who are senior to Mr. Bose, and have also passed the selection grade examination, are available for appointment in the lowest selection grade posts?

(h) If the reply to part (g) is in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state why special treatment has been accorded to Mr. Bose in supersession to the passed and qualified officials who are all senior to Mr. Bose?

**Mr. H. A. Sams:** The information required by the Honourable Member has been called for and will be furnished to him in due course.

†658\*

**EXAMINATIONS BY THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION.**

659. \***Mr. S. O. Mitra:** (a) Will Government please state the total number of men who sat for the Upper Division test of the ministerial selection branch examination of the Public Service Commission held in November 1929? What number has been declared qualified? What is the percentage of passed men to the total number?

(b) Is it a fact that an overwhelmingly large number of these men are stenographers?

(c) Is it a fact that a pass percentage of marks was fixed for each individual paper? If so, what was this percentage? Was this procedure of fixing a percentage in individual papers ever adopted by the late Staff Selection Board, or even the Public Service Commission, in similar examinations held in the past? What were the special circumstances that led the Commission to adopt this novel procedure for this particular examination?

(d) Are Government aware that this was the last qualifying examination for departmental candidates?

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†This question was withdrawn by the questioner.

(e) Will Government please state the number of candidates who obtained 60 per cent. or more marks in the aggregate and have not been declared qualified for the First Division of the Secretariat?

(f) Are Government aware that this result has created great discontent among the Secretariat Staff? If so, how do Government propose to redress it?

**The Honourable Sir James Orerar:** (a) 425 candidates appeared for the upper division, of whom 17 were declared qualified.

(b) Eight of the successful candidates are stenographers.

(c) and (e). The matter was left to the discretion of the Public Service Commission and Government are not in possession of the details asked for.

(d) Yes.

(f) Disappointment must, of course, be expected among those who have not been successful.

#### AGE LIMIT FOR CERTAIN EXAMINATIONS BY THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION.

660. **\*Mr. S. O. Mitra:** (a) Will Government please state the age limit fixed for the candidates who took the November 1929 examination of the Public Service Commission for the Ministerial Selection Branch?

(b) Will the departmental candidates be allowed to take the future competitive examinations irrespective of their age-limit provided they are educationally qualified? If not, what will be the age-limit and other conditions which the departmental candidates will have to fulfil to enable them to take the examination?

**The Honourable Sir James Orerar:** (a) 35 years.

(b) No. The ordinary age limits and other qualifications will apply.

#### EXTENSION OF SERVICE OF SIR NORMAN BOLTON, CHIEF COMMISSIONER, NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

661. **\*Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state as to when the term of office of Sir Norman Bolton the Chief Commissioner, North West Frontier Province came to an end?

(b) Is it a fact that he has already been given one extension and the Government are taking steps to grant him a further extension of two years from next July?

(c) Are Government aware that the aforesaid gentleman's administration is not popular and the public feeling is against granting him any further extension?

(d) Will the Government be pleased to state the special reasons for granting an extension to the said gentleman?

**Mr. E. B. Howell:** (a) 6th July, 1928.

(b) The reply to the first part of the question is in the affirmative and to the second that no decision has been reached.

(c) Government has no such information, and have, on the contrary, ample evidence of the degree to which the Chief Commissioner's services have been generally recognised as contributing to the peaceful state of the frontier in a very critical time.

(d) The interests of the public service.

#### THE DISTRICT JUDGE AT DERA ISMAIL KHAN.

662. **\*Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state the name of the gentleman who acts as District Judge at Dera Ismail Khan? What are his educational qualifications and since when has he been there?

(b) Is it a fact that the said gentleman is a resident of Dera Ismail Khan, and are Government aware that his appointment there is resented by the public?

(c) Do Government contemplate his transfer from that District? If so, when is he likely to be transferred?

**Mr. E. B. Howell:** (a) Khan Sahib Muhammad Nasir Khan, who has been holding the post since 8th December, 1925. He was educated in the Imperial Cadet Corps and his educational qualifications are considered adequate.

(b) Yes. Government have no information that his appointment is resented by the public.

(c) No.

#### REPRESENTATION IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF HINDUS IN THE NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

663. **\*Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state as to how the minority communities of the North West Frontier Province are being represented in the Assembly since the time of the reforms?

(b) Has any Hindu been ever nominated to represent the minority community since the beginning of the reforms? If not, will Government be pleased to state their reasons for so doing?

(c) Is it the intention of the Government to nominate a Hindu representative to the Assembly in the next formation of the new Assembly?

**The Honourable Sir James Crerar:** (a) There is no provision for representation of any community or class of persons resident in the North West Frontier Province on the Legislative Assembly.

(b) and (c). Nominations to the Legislative Assembly are made by the Governor General.

#### SUPPLY TO MEMBERS OF ACTS IN RESPECT TO WHICH BILLS ARE INTRODUCED IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

664. **\*Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** (a) Are Government aware of the fact that non-supply of Acts in respect to which Bills are introduced and considered in the Legislative Assembly is causing difficulty and inconvenience to the Honourable Members in the preparation of their speeches and debating in the House?



(b) Have Government taken any notice of the complaint the Honourable Mr. Jayakar made in respect thereof in the House on 6th March, 1930, when the Bill to amend the Special Marriage Act was being considered?

(c) Do Government propose to supply the Honourable Members with the copies of the bare Acts when they are supplied with the Bills amending the same?

**The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter:** (a), (b) and (c). A complete set of the Unrepealed General Acts of the Governor General of India in Council corrected up to date is available to Members on the table of the House. Another complete set, also corrected up to date, is available to Members in the Library. Government do not propose to maintain any larger number of copies, because the labour of keeping them up to date would involve a considerable additional staff for which Government feel there is no justification.

#### ACADEMICAL QUALIFICATIONS OF CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNMENT SERVICE.

665. **\*Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether any orders have been issued regarding the rank of graduates and non-graduates in the Government service and whether these orders have been acted up to?
- (b) Whether any vacancies—temporary or permanent—occurred in the grade of Rs. 85—5/2—100 and higher grades in the Sind Salt and Excise Department from 1st April 1929 to date?
- (c) If so, how many of these vacancies were given to graduates and how many to non-graduates?
- (d) In the case of the latter how many graduates were superseded and what were the reasons for doing so?

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** (a) The establishment to which the Honourable Member refers is a combined one, under the control of the Government of Bombay, who act, so far as the subject of Salt is concerned, as agents of the Government of India. Recruitment to and promotion in it are governed by the orders issued by the Local Government. The Government of Bombay have issued certain instructions governing the seniority, for the purposes of promotion, of graduates and non-graduates in the Government service in the grade of Rs. 30—5—80. The Government are informed that these instructions are being followed in the Salt and Excise Department, Sind.

(b) Yes. In the combined Excise and Salt establishment, one acting vacancy of Accountant for a period of three weeks, in the grade of Rs. 115—5—150. In the temporary Salt establishment—

- (i) One vacancy of Head Clerk in the grade of Rs. 105—5—145;
- (ii) 2 acting vacancies in the grade of Rs. 85—5/2—100.

(c) All were given to non-graduates.

(d) Three graduates were superseded in filling the short vacancy in the combined Excise and Salt establishment because the non-graduate appointed to act had experience of accounts work. Three graduates were also superseded in filling the vacancy in the higher grade in the temporary Salt establishment for the same reason. In filling one of the two

vacancies in the temporary Salt establishment, no graduate was superseded. In filling the other, three graduates were superseded because the non-graduate had longer service and experience.

#### INTERESTS OF SIKHS AND " UNTOUCHABLES " IN THE RAILWAY BOARD.

666. \***Mr. Lalchand Navalrai**: In view of the statement made by the Railway Member, Sir George Rainy, on the 24th February, 1930, at the time of the discussion of the cut No. 21 on the Railway Budget, Demand No. 1, to the effect that, in order to make larger employment of the Mussalmans, staff officers of that community will be appointed to vouchsafe their interests, will Government be pleased to state if a similar arrangement will also be made to secure the interests of the Sikh Community and the untouchables? If not, why not?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons**: The Honourable Member has not represented the Honourable the Railway Member's remarks with entire accuracy. But no bar is laid down against the employment of officers of any particular community and in making selections for these posts every care will be taken to be fair to the interests of each community.

#### SAFEGUARDING OF THE INTERESTS OF SINDHIS FOR RAILWAY EMPLOYMENT.

667. \***Mr. Lalchand Navalrai**: (a) Is it a fact that the Head Office of the North Western Railway, Sind Section, is at Lahore in the Punjab?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state if there are any staff officers belonging to Sind in the office of the Agent to represent and vouchsafe a due share of services for Sindhis in Railway employment? If so, who are they?

(c) If not, are Government on the same principle as stated in the preceding question, prepared to appoint some Sindhis on the staff of the Agent, North Western Railway, for the same purpose?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons**: (a) The headquarters of the Agent, North Western Railway, who is the Chief Administrative Officer of the Railway, is at Lahore.

(b) and (c). There is one Sindi Officer at present in the Staff Branch of the Agent's Office. In the discharge of his duties he is expected to be fair to the interests of every community.

#### AGE LIMIT FOR ENTRY INTO GOVERNMENT SERVICE.

668. \***Mr. Lalchand Navalrai**: (a) Will Government be pleased to state what is the age limit for entry into Government service?

(b) If the answer be 24 years of age, will Government be pleased to state if it is for all classes of service?

(c) Is it a fact that entry into the Judicial line by double graduates (LL.B.), is allowable up to the age of 30 years?

(d) Are Government prepared to raise the age limit of recruitment to Government service to 25 years in order to give sufficient opportunity to the candidates to acquire a higher education before entering into the Government service?

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** Provincial Governments have power to prescribe age limits for appointment to Government service except in respect of certain services, whose rules of recruitment are made under section 96B of the Government of India Act. So far as Government servants under the administrative control of the Governor General in Council or serving in a Chief Commissioner's Province are concerned, the general rule is that a person whose age exceeds 25 years may not ordinarily be admitted into the service of the State in superior pensionable service without the sanction of the head of a department. The ordinary limit is extended to thirty years in the case of a person appointed to a Judicial office.

This answer covers all four parts of the Honourable Member's questions.

**INTERFERENCE IN GENERAL POSTAL WORK IN SIND OF THE ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, RAILWAY MAIL SERVICE.**

**669. \*Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that the Director of Posts and Telegraphs for Sind and Baluchistan has at present two Assistant Directors, one on the Postal side, and the other on the Railway Mail Service side?

(b) What special allowance do they get?

(c) Does the Assistant Director, Railway Mail Service, do or interfere in, work other than that belonging to the Railway Mail Service Department? If so, why?

(d) Are Government aware that the interference of the Assistant Director, Railway Mail Service, in the work of the Postal side is causing dissatisfaction amongst the subordinates on the Postal and Telegraph side and the public?

**Mr. H. A. Sams:** (a) No. There is no Assistant Director on the Railway Mail Service side.

(b) The Assistant Director on the Postal side gets a special pay of Rs. 100 per mensem.

(c) and (d) Do not arise.

**DUTIES OF THE ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, RAILWAY MAIL SERVICE, SIND.**

**670. \*Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** (a) Is it a fact that the main post of the Assistant Director on the Railway Mail Service side is that of the Superintendent, Railway Mail Service, Sind?

(b) If so, is it a fact that his own work of Railway Mail Service Superintendent is subject to revision in his office?

(c) Do Government propose to relieve the Railway Mail Service Superintendent of the additional duties of the Assistant Director?

(d) Will Government be pleased to state if it was intended to appoint a second Assistant to the Director, Posts and Telegraphs in Sind, to work on the Railway Mail Service side when the Railway Mail Service work was being transferred to the Director?

(e) If the answer be in the negative, will Government be pleased to state why any necessity has arisen now and what is the additional expenditure on that account?

**Mr. H. A. Sams:** (a) The fact is not as stated. The Superintendent, Railway Mail Service, K Division, whose headquarters are at Karachi, helps the Director of Posts and Telegraphs, Sind and Baluchistan, in matters concerning the Railway Mail Service.

(b) The question is not very clear, but it is a fact that the Superintendent, Railway Mail Service, K Division supervises the work of his Division and of his office.

(c) I see no reason for making any change in the present duties of the Superintendent.

(d) No.

(e) So far as I am aware there is no proposal to this effect and accordingly no additional expenditure is contemplated.

#### HEADQUARTERS OF THE SUPERINTENDENT, RAILWAY MAIL SERVICE, SIND.

671. **\*Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** (a) Are Government aware of the rules in the Posts and Telegraphs Manual, Volumes V and VIII providing that the headquarters of the Superintendents of Posts and Telegraphs have to be located at a central place in the Division?

(b) Are the headquarters of the Superintendent, Railway Mail Service in Sind Division, located not in the central place at Sukkur but at the extreme end at Karachi? If so, why?

(c) Is it a fact that the office of the Superintendent, Post Offices, Lower Sind and Persian Gulf Division, had to be removed from the office of the Director of Post Offices to make room for the Superintendent of Railway Mail Service?

(d) Is it a fact that the building of the office of the Superintendent of Post Offices, Upper Sind Division at Sukkur, is large enough to accommodate the office of the Superintendent, Railway Mail Service also?

(e) Do Government propose to remove the office of the Superintendent, Railway Mail Service to Sukkur? If not, why not?

**Mr. H. A. Sams:** (a) Yes, but the term "central" has an administrative as well as a geographical significance.

(b) Yes, because this arrangement is more economical and convenient.

(c) and (d). I have no information, but inquiries will be made and the result will be communicated to the Honourable Member.

(e) No, in this connection the Honourable Member's attention is invited to the reply given by me to a supplementary question arising from the answer to question No. 1164 in this House by Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta on the 20th March, 1929.

#### CONSTRUCTION OF THE SIND RIGHT BANK FEEDER RAILWAY.

672. **\*Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that R. B. Kulkarni, B.A., was appointed by Government to investigate in detail the railway projects which had been recommended by the Government of Bombay?

(b) Is it a fact that the special officer recommended the Sind Right Bank Feeder Railway from Sita Road to Jacobabad?

(c) Is it a fact that, on the recommendation of Sind Communications Board, stating that the line would be remunerative, it was proposed to construct the loop-line, Larkana Dost Ali-Jacobabad Railway, immediately?

(d) Are Government aware that the narrow gauge railway now working between Larkana and Dadapur was intended to be constructed right up to Jacobabad?

(e) When was the above line between Larkana and Dadapur completed, and why is it not yet being extended upto Jacobabad?

(f) Is it the opinion of experts that this narrow gauge railway between Larkana and Dadapur is not quite strong for service and may give way at any time, specially at the bridge over the Norang Canal?

(g) Do Government propose to give effect to the aforesaid recommendation of the Sind Communications Board and construct the loop line between Larkana and Jacobabad immediately?

(h) If the answer be in the negative, will Government be pleased to state how much would this portion of the Right Bank Feeder Railway cost?

(i) Will Government be pleased to state when this portion of the line is expected to be taken in hand?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** (a) Government are aware that Rai Bahadur Kulkarni, B.A., was appointed by the Government of Bombay to investigate projects on their behalf in the Bombay Presidency.

(b) and (c). Government have no information.

(d) Yes.

(e) From Larkana-Shadadkote on the 16th February, 1922, and from Shadadkote-Dadapur on the 1st November, 1923. The line was not extended up to Jacobabad as the funds at the disposal of the Company were not sufficient for this purpose at that time. Sanction to the curtailment of the original project was given on the understanding that the Company would be required to complete the line to Jacobabad if subsequently called upon to do so.

(f) Government are not aware of this. The line is inspected annually by the Senior Government Inspector of Railways and in his latest report he makes no mention regarding any weakness in the line.

(g) I would refer the Honourable Member to my reply to parts (b) and (c) of this question.

(h) No separate estimate of the loop between Larkana and Jacobabad has been prepared.

(i) I regret that it is not possible to say at present when funds are likely to be available for construction of the Sind Right Bank Feeder Railway.

#### NON-ATTENDANCE AT RALLY OF INDIAN GIRL GUIDES.

673. **\*Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava:** (a) Is it a fact that there was a rally of Delhi girl guides on the 27th February, 1930, to collect funds for the Girl Guides' Headquarters in London?

(b) Is it a fact that many girl guides did not attend the rally where the Union Jack was to be saluted and patriotic British songs were to be sung by Indian girls?

(c) If the reply to part (b) is in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state how many girl guides did not attend the rally?

(d) Is it a fact that the names of such girl guides as did not attend were scored out of the rolls of the girl guides' register?

**Sir Frank Noyce:** (a) The rally was the annual rally held every year by the girl guides. The occasion was utilised to collect funds for the purpose stated.

(b) and (c). No. The approximate total of girl guides attending the rally was 250. Nine guides only absented themselves.

(d) Yes.

#### ALLEGED DISCRIMINATORY TREATMENT OF NEWS AGENCIES.

674. **\*Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava:** (a) Has the attention of the Government been called to the statement of Mr. S. Sadanand, Managing Editor, Free Press of India, appearing in the issue of the *Hindustan Times* of Sunday, March 9th, on page 4 of the paper?

(b) Are the facts stated therein substantially correct in respect of late delivery of telegrams?

(c) Have Government approved of the policy of discrimination of this character between one news agency and another news agency?

(d) How much money has been provided in the Budget for payment to news agencies, and how much out of that sum is proposed to be paid to Reuters, Associated Press and the Free Press Agencies?

(e) What was the amount budgeted last year, and how much was paid to Reuters and the Associated Press out of this amount last year?

**The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra:** (a) Yes.

(b) No.

(c) No; definite orders exist to the contrary.

(d) The amount provided for in the Budget for 1980-81 under Demand No. 75, Miscellaneous, is Rs. 71,400 of which Rs. 55,200 is payable to Reuter's Agency and the balance to the Associated Press. No payment is made to the Free Press Agency.

(e) The amount voted by the Legislative Assembly for 1929-30 is Rs. 75,200. Of this a sum of Rs. 47,000 was paid to Reuter's Agency up to the end of January, 1930; and Rs. 14,500 is payable to the Associated Press.

#### HOURS OF DUTY OF ASSISTANT CONTROLLERS ON THE NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY.

675. **\*Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** (a) Is it a fact that the Assistant Controllers, North Western Railway line, have to perform eight hours' duty daily, week in and out, or fifty-six hours' duty in the week?

(b) Is it a fact that, during these eight hours, the Assistant Controllers do their duty continuously without any relaxation?

(c) Is it a fact that other Railways—the East Indian Railway, the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway, the Burma Railways and the Bengal Nagpur Railway—have already reduced the hours of work for Control offices to six hours daily?

(d) Do Government propose to give relief to the Controllers by curtailing their duty hours and giving them some rest during their duty hours? If not, will Government give full reasons for not coming to their relief?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** I have called for information and will communicate with the Honourable Member when it is received.

#### TERMINATION OF CONTRACTS OF CERTAIN COMPANY-MANAGED RAILWAYS.

676. **\*Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas:** (i) Will Government be pleased to state the latest dates on which notices have to be given by the Government of India to (a) the Assam Bengal Railway Company, and (b) the Bengal and North Western Railway Company, to enable Government to acquire these Railways as early as possible?

(ii) Will Government be pleased to state what steps they propose to take to ascertain the wishes of the Assembly in connection with the advisability of acquiring these Railways?

(iii) Has the attention of Government been drawn to condition No. 9 of the convention approved by the Legislative Assembly on 20th September, 1924, between the Assembly and the Government of India, regarding the separation of the Railway Budget from the General Budget?

(iv) Will Government be pleased to state when they expect that the committee appointed by the Legislative Assembly to report on the question of the revision of that convention is likely to submit their report to the Assembly?

(v) Will Government be pleased to state if, in the meantime, they are prepared to accept the construction of condition 9 of the said convention as including the question of acquiring Company-managed Railways, agreements with which may fall due until the said convention of 20th September, 1924, is revised?

**The Honourable Sir George Rainy:** (i) (a) 31st December, 1930.

(b) 31st December, 1931.

(ii) It will certainly be the desire of Government that, before any decision is reached not to exercise the option to purchase in the case of either Railway, an opportunity should be given for a discussion on the subject in the Assembly.

(iii) Yes.

(iv) I regret that I cannot yet say when the Committee appointed to review the Convention will be able to submit its report.

(v) Government cannot accept the construction which it is proposed to put upon clause (9) of the Convention. But it is inevitable that the

Convention should come under revision in connection with the constitutional changes, and no question can arise of the continuance of the existing Convention for any long period.

**PRIVATE TUITION UNDERTAKEN BY THE HEADMASTER, GOVERNMENT HIGH SCHOOL, AJMER, AND THE PRINCIPAL, GOVERNMENT COLLEGE, AJMER.**

**677. \*Mr. Abdul Latif Sahib Farookhi:** (a) Is it a fact that the Headmaster of the Government High School, Ajmer, engages in private tuition? If so, will Government please place on the table of the House a list of the private tuitions undertaken by the said Headmaster, stating in the case of each private tuition: (i) the remuneration for it, (ii) the amount of time spent in it, (iii) whether the pupil privately taught lives with the Headmaster in the Government bungalow for the Headmaster or not, and (iv) whether the pupil privately taught is a pupil of the school under the Headmaster or not?

(b) Is it a fact that the Principal of the Government College, Ajmer (who is not only the principal of a university degree college but also the principal of what is called the "Government Intermediate College, Ajmer," at page 728 of the United Provinces Gazette, Part IV, dated June 22, 1929), is engaged in private tuition? If so, will Government please place on the table of the House a list of the private tuitions undertaken by the said Principal, giving against each private tuition (i) the remuneration for it, (ii) the amount of time spent in it, (iii) whether the student privately taught lives with the principal in the Government bungalow for the principal or not, and (iv) whether the student privately taught is a student of the Government College, Ajmer, or not?

(c) If the replies to the question in the first part of part (a) and to the question in the first part of part (b) are in the affirmative, will Government please state if it is a fact that, under Chapter IV, paragraph 152, note (ii) of the Educational Code in force in Ajmer-Merwara, Headmasters of Government Schools, Principals of Government Intermediate Colleges and Superintendents of Government Hostels are not allowed to undertake private tuition?

(d) If the reply to part (c) is in the affirmative, will Government please state whether the Headmaster, Government High School, Ajmer, and the Principal, Government College, Ajmer, are engaged in private tuition with the permission of the Ajmer-Merwara administration? If so, why was permission given and under what rule of the Educational Code rule?

**Sir Frank Noyce:** (a) and (b). Yes. Statements giving the information asked for, so far as is immediately available, are placed on the table.

(c) The Educational Code of the United Provinces is generally followed in Ajmer-Merwara, but it has been applied in its entirety for purposes of grants-in-aid and stipends only; the Local Administration has discretion in other matters though the rules of the United Provinces Code are generally observed.

(d) The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative. The answer to the second part is that the permission was given under the discretion which is vested in the Local Administration.



*Statement showing private tuition undertaken by the Head Master, Government High School, Ajmer.*

Year.	Name of pupil.	Monthly remuneration.	Where the lessons are to be given.	School and class in which the pupil reads.
1914	Son of D. wan Bahadur M. Damodar Lal.	Rs. 75	At the Head Master's bungalow for one hour daily except on Saturdays and Sundays.	Student of the 1st Year Class in the High School under the Head Master.
1924	Son of Maharaj Nahar Singh of Ameleta and his cousin: aged 14 and 13 years.	200	To help them with their English; boys to live only with Head Master, who supervises the work of the Tutor of the boys.	Students of School classes under the Head Master.
1929	Two sons of the Thakur Sahib of Mitri.	250	The boys to live with the Head Master, who does no teaching work but is only responsible for the guidance and general supervision of the work of their tutor.	Students of the school under the Head Master.

*Statement showing private tuition undertaken by the Principal, Government College, Ajmer.*

Year.	Name of pupil.	Monthly remuneration.	Where the lessons are to be given.	Class in which the pupil reads.
1928	Kanhaya Lal Mehta, s/o Devi Lal Mehta of Udaipur.	Rs. 150	Private tuition for 6 hours a week.	Student of the 1st Year Intermediate Class of the College.

**DATE OF APPOINTMENT OF CERTAIN ANGLO-VERNACULAR TEACHERS IN AJMER MERWARA.**

678. \***Mr. Abdul Latif Sahib Farookhi:** (a) Will Government please place on the table of the House a statement showing all the appointments of Anglo-vernacular teachers, temporary, permanent, officiating, and substantive, made in the Government Anglo-vernacular schools in Ajmer-Merwara from April, 1927, to December 1929, giving for each appointment (i) the date on which the officer appointed began to work in the appointment, (ii) the date on which the officer competent to make the appointment issued the appointment order, (iii) the date on which the first disbursement of the pay of the appointment was made to the officer appointed?

(b) Is it a fact that in the case of a number of appointments mentioned in part (a), the appointment orders were issued and the first disbursements

of pay were made several months after the officers appointed began to work in those appointments? If so, who is responsible for this state of things and what action do Government propose to take to put a stop to it?

**Sir Frank Noyce:** With your permission, Sir, I shall deal with questions Nos. 678—681 and 686—688 together. The information asked for is being collected and will be supplied to the Honourable Member in due course.

#### GRANT FOR NEW POSTS AND REVISION OF EXISTING POSTS IN SCHOOLS IN AJMER-MERWARA.

†679. **\*Mr. Abdul Latif Sahib Farookhi:** (a) Will Government please state (i) the total amount of money granted for the creation of new posts and the revision of existing posts in the Government High School, Ajmer, the Government Normal School, Ajmer, and the Moinia Islamia High School, Ajmer, in 1927-28 and 1928-29, (ii) the total amount actually spent in the creation of new posts and the revision of existing posts in the said institutions in the said years?

(b) Is it a fact that a considerable part of the amount referred to in part (a) (i) was not utilised for the creation of new posts and the revision of existing posts for which it was granted? If so, will Government please state the circumstances justifying the appropriation of money for the purposes for which they did not actually utilise it?

#### APPOINTMENT OF TEACHERS IN AJMER-MERWARA.

†680. **\*Mr. Abdul Latif Sahib Farookhi:** (a) Will Government please put on the table of the House a statement regarding the posts in the Government High School, Ajmer, the Moinia High School, Ajmer, and the Government Normal School, Ajmer, advertised in the newspapers from April, 1927, to December, 1929, giving in the case of each post advertised (i) the grade of the post, (ii) the minimum qualifications required, (iii) the amount of money spent in advertising, (iv) the number of trained Muslim candidates applying for the post; (v) the number of trained non-Muslim candidates applying for the post, (vi) the qualifications of the person appointed to the post, (vii) the actual pay at which the appointment was made?

(b) Is it a fact that in the case of several of the posts mentioned in part (a), untrained persons were appointed though there were trained candidates for them? If so, why?

(c) Is it a fact that in case of several of the posts mentioned in part (a) appointments were made on salaries less than the minimum salaries of the posts? If so, why?

(d) Is it a fact that in case of some of the posts mentioned in part (a) appointments were not made at all? If so, why?

#### QUALIFICATIONS OF TEACHERS IN THE GOVERNMENT COLLEGE, AJMER.

†681. **\*Mr. Abdul Latif Sahib Farookhi:** (a) Is it a fact that with one exception, the teachers of the Intermediate Classes of the Government College, Ajmer, are untrained teachers?

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†For answer to this question, see answer to question No. 678.

(b) Is it a fact that paragraph 150 (a), Chapter IV, of the Educational Code in force in Ajmer-Merwara lays down that in Intermediate Colleges uncertificated teachers (only M.As. and M.Sc.s.) with special qualifications may be appointed permanently if trained teachers with suitable qualifications are not available?

(c) Is it a fact that a number of trained M. As. is already in Government employment in the subordinate educational service, whereas a number of untrained M.As. is employed in the Provincial Educational Service in the Government College, Ajmer?

(d) Do Government propose to appoint trained M.As. and M.Sc.s. to teach the Intermediate Classes of the Government College, Ajmer, in accordance with paragraph 150 (a) of the Educational Code? If so, when? If not, why not?

#### CLASSES IN THE GOVERNMENT COLLEGE, AJMER.

682. **\*Mr. Abdul Latif Sahib Farookhi:** (a) Is it a fact that the Government College, Ajmer, contains the university degree classes as well as the Intermediate classes?

(b) Is it a fact that the degree classes of the said college are affiliated with the Agra University, whereas the Intermediate classes are affiliated with the Board of High School and Intermediate Education of Ajmer-Merwara, Rajputana, Central India, and Gwalior?

(c) Is it a fact that the Intermediate classes of the said college are governed by Chapter IV of the United Provinces Educational Code, whereas Chapter III, Section A, of the said Code is applicable to the degree classes?

(d) Is it a fact that, unlike the degree classes, the Educational Code prescribes that the teachers of the Intermediate classes should be trained teachers?

(e) Do Government propose to separate the Intermediate section of the Government College, Ajmer, from the university degree section, and to attach the Intermediate section to the Government High School, Ajmer? If so, when? If not, why not?

**Str Frank Noyce:** (a) and (b). Yes.

(c) and (d). Yes, subject to the discretion of the Local Administration.

(e) The Government of India have not considered the matter.

#### HONORARY MAGISTRATES IN AJMER-MERWARA.

683. **\*Mr. Abdul Latif Sahib Farookhi:** (a) Is it a fact that several paid Government officers have been appointed Honorary Magistrates in Ajmer-Merwara? If so, what is their number?

(b) How many hours a week has each of the officers referred to in (a) to work as an Honorary Magistrate? Why have paid officers been appointed as Honorary Magistrates?

**Mr. E. B. Howell:** The information required is being collected and will be supplied to the Honourable Member in due course.

### ELECTION OF GOVERNMENT OFFICERS TO MUNICIPAL COMMITTEES.

†684. **\*Mr. Abdul Latif Sahib Farookhi:** (a) How many paid Government officers in Ajmer-Merwara were members of the Municipal Committees as elected non-officials during the last five years?

(b) Do Government propose to stop this practice? If not, why not?

### APPOINTMENT OF MR. TARLEKAR AS HEADMASTER OF THE MOINIA ISLAMIA HIGH SCHOOL, AJMER.

685. **\*Mr. Abdul Latif Sahib Farookhi:** (a) Are Government aware that important Muslim press organs, like the *Ittfaq*, Ajmer, the *Haqiqat*, Lucknow, and the *Inqilab*, Lahore, protested against Mr. Tarlekar's appointment as Headmaster of Moinia Islamia High School, Ajmer?

(b) Is it a fact that in connection with the proposed long leave of the Headmaster, Government High School, Ajmer, the Superintendent of Education, Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara, has proposed the appointment of Mr. Tarlekar again to the Headmastership of the Moinia Islamia High School, Ajmer? If so, why?

**Shr Frank Noyce:** (a) No.

(b) Proposals regarding personnel are confidential.

### EXPENDITURE, FEES, ETC., OF THE MOINIA ISLAMIA HIGH SCHOOL, AJMER.

†686. **\*Mr. Abdul Latif Sahib Farookhi:** (a) Will Government please state (i) the total expenditure of a recurring nature incurred in maintaining the Moinia Islamia High School, Ajmer, in the financial year 1928-29, (ii) the total amount of fees received by Government from the pupils of the said school in the said year, (iii) the total amount of contributions of a recurring nature received by Government for the said school from the funds of the Khwaja Sahib's Durgah in the said year, (iv) the expenditure of a recurring nature incurred by Government on the said school after deducting amounts of revenues mentioned in (ii) and (iii)?

(b) Is it a fact that more than 75 per cent. of the Muslim Anglo-Vernacular School boys of Ajmer-Merwara are taught in the Moinia Islamia High School, Ajmer?

(c) Are Government aware that a resolution was passed in the All-India Muslim Educational Conference held at Ajmer in December, 1928, to the effect that the Moinia Islamia High School, Ajmer, should be under a Muslim head of the institution?

(d) Do Government propose to appoint a Muslim Headmaster of the Moinia Islamia High School, Ajmer, when the present Headmaster vacates the Headmastership of the said school permanently or temporarily? If not, why not?

### ACADEMICAL QUALIFICATIONS OF CERTAIN ASSISTANT MASTERS IN AJMER-MERWARA.

†687. **\*Mr. Abdul Latif Sahib Farookhi:** (a) With reference to the list of trained graduate assistant masters in the employ of the Ajmer-Merwara

†For answer to this question, see answer to question No. 683.

‡For answer to this question, see answer to question No. 678.

Educational Department in 1926, with their names, qualifications, and grades, placed by Government on the table of the House in reply to starred question No. 279 (d) in the Legislative Assembly on the 10th September, 1929, will Government please state if it is a fact that Mr. Abdul Rashid Khan was a B.A., B.T., and not a B.A., L.T., as given in the statement?

(b) If the reply to part (a) is in the affirmative, is it a fact that B.T. was a university *degree*, and L.T. was a university *diploma*? If so, will Government please state why the qualifications of the said teacher were not shown to be as they were?

(c) Is it a fact that at the time for which the list referred to in (a) was asked for, Mr. Mohammad Ishaque Qureshi was not a M.A., L.T., as stated in the list under reference but a B.A., L.T.? If it is not a fact, will Government please state in which month and year the said Mr. Mohammad Ishaque Qureshi sat for the M.A. examination and in which month and year he was declared successful in the said examination?

(d) Is it a fact that Mr. Muzaffar Hussain was a B.A., B.T., and not a B.A., C.T., as stated in the list referred to in (a), at the time for which the said list was asked for?

(e) If the answer to (d) is in the affirmative, is it a fact that C.T. was a university *certificate* lower than B.T. which was a university *degree*? If so, why were the qualifications of the said teacher shown to be lower than they actually were?

(f) Is it a fact that Mr. Gauri Datt Durgapal had, at the time for which the list was asked for, *no lien* on any Government post?

(g) Are Government aware that the name of Mr. S. C. Chatterjee, a permanent incumbent in the grade of Rs. 120—5—145 in the employ of the Ajmer-Merwara Educational Department at the time for which the list was asked for, was *not* mentioned in the list referred to in (a)?

(h) Is it a fact that the grade of Rs. 120—5—145 mentioned against Mr. Nand Kishore Joshi in the said list *was not his grade*, at the time for which the list was asked for, but the grade of the teacher in whose place Mr. Nand Kishore Joshi was officiating?

(i) If what is stated in parts (a) to (h) above are facts, will Government please state why the list under reference was not freed from errors and defects before it was put on the table of the House?

#### EXAMINATION RESULTS OF CERTAIN SCHOOLS IN AJMER.

†688. \*Mr. Abdul Latif Sahib Farookhi: (a) Are Government aware that the figures for the results of the Moinia Islamia High School, Ajmer, for 1927-1928 (*sent up 12, passed 9*), given in the "Comparative statement of results for 1927-28 and 1928-29 in the Government Educational Institutions in Ajmer-Merwara", put on the table of the House by Government in reply to starred question No. 275 in the Legislative Assembly on the 10th September, 1929, do not agree with the Government affirmation, in the Legislative Assembly on the same date in reply to starred question No. 280 (c), in which the figures for the result of the said School for the said year are given to be *8 out of 13*? If so, will Government please state why the said two Government replies on the same date differ with each other in regard to the result of the same examination of the same school for the same year?

†For answer to this question, see answer to question No. 678.

(b) Is it a fact that in the "Comparative statement of results" referred to in part (a), figures given for the C. T. Examination result of the Normal School, Ajmer, for 1927-28, *exclude ex-students* appearing as compartmental candidates, whereas the figures for the result of the same examination of the same school for 1928-29 *include ex-students* appearing as compartmental candidates? If so, why was not the same principle adopted for the statement of the result of 1928-29 as for 1927-28?

#### SUPPLY OF INFORMATION ASKED FOR IN QUESTIONS *re* EDUCATION IN AJMER-MERWARA.

689. **\*Mr. Abdul Latif Sahib Farookhi:** (a) Are Government aware that Government's reply to majority of questions relating to Education in Ajmer-Merwara in the Legislative Assembly in the Delhi Session of 1929 and the Simla Session of 1929 was to the effect that the information asked for was being collected?

(b) Will Government please state why the collection of the information asked for in questions referred to in (a) was generally delayed?

(c) Do Government propose to make arrangements that the information asked for in questions relating to Education in Ajmer-Merwara may generally be communicated to the House on the days fixed for Government replies?

**Sir Frank Noyce:** (a) Yes.

(b) The required information is not usually available at headquarters and has therefore to be obtained from the local authorities who are often not in a position to furnish the detailed information asked for at short notice.

(c) Every effort is being made in this direction.

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#### UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

##### STAFF OF THE DELHI MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY.

261. **Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** (a) Is it a fact that, in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology, the entire staff including the Gallery Assistant and his clerk are Muhammadans mostly from Moradabad, the native place of Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan?

(b) Will the Government kindly state why no Hindu is employed there?

**Sir Frank Noyce:** (a) The entire staff is Muhammadan, but only the Gallery Assistant and one peon come from Moradabad.

(b) One Hindu was appointed but he resigned his appointment.

##### STAFF OF THE DELHI MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY.

262. **Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** Is it a fact that the Gallery Assistant of the Archaeological Museum, Delhi, is a brother-in-law of Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan? If so, what are the reasons for having two close relatives together in one office and for a number of years, i.e., from 1924 to March 1929?

**Sir Frank Noyce:** Yes. The nature of their work and their respective qualifications for it have sometimes required their employment in the same circle. They are, however, not employed in the same office, and for a considerable period they were employed in different circles.

#### EXHIBITS IN THE DELHI MUSEUM OF ARCHÆOLOGY.

268. **Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** Will Government be pleased to state whether most of the exhibits in the Delhi Museum of Archæology have been purchased at the recommendation of Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan and his brother-in-law, Maulvi Ashfaq Ali? Have the Government devised any means of checking and finding out that the articles recommended for purchase are genuine? Is there any check to find out periodically that no manuscripts, paintings, etc., have been replaced or are short?

**Sir Frank Noyce:** A considerable number of antiquities have necessarily been purchased on the recommendation of the Superintendent, but no such purchases are made without the approval of the Director General of Archæology. The question of devising checks on the genuineness of the articles purchased and against loss of the contents of the Museum is under consideration.

#### RECRUITMENT OF STAFF FOR THE FRONTIER CIRCLE, ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY.

264. **Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** Will Government please state whether Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, on his transfer from the Northern to the Frontier Circle, Archæological Survey, had to recruit a large staff in connection with the reorganization of the latter Circle?

If so, will Government please state the number of persons the Khan Bahadur has recruited since April, 1928, from each of the Hindu, Sikh and Muhammadan communities on permanent pensionable and non-pensionable posts, as well as those who receive their pay out of the conservation grant but are nevertheless, to all practical purposes, equivalent to persons holding posts of a quasi-permanent nature such as mistris, bankatis and chaukidars?

How far is the recruitment carried out by the Khan Bahadur in consonance with the orders passed by the Government of India during the last four years?

In the event the Government orders on the subject having been ignored, what measures do the Government propose to take against the Khan Bahadur for committing a breach of the rules and to ensure non-recurrence of such irregularities in future?

**Sir Frank Noyce:** The information asked for by the Honourable Member is being collected and will be communicated to him in due course.

#### SALE OF WOOD TO HIS PEON BY KHAN BAHADUR MAULVI ZAFAR HASAN.

265. **Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** Will Government please state whether:

- (a) In 1928 Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan sold wood in the Lahore Fort to his peon Ahmad Hussain?
- (b) Is it also a fact that on 8th February, 1928, 33 rafters and 252 square feet of planks were sold to his peon for a trifling sum at Sambhal by the said Khan Bahadur?

- (c) Was any notice for the sale of wood and rafters referred to above issued in time and widely circulated?
- (d) Will the Government kindly state whether the practice of selling things to the members of the office is not opposed to Government orders?

**Sir Frank Noyce:** Information is being obtained and will be communicated to the Honourable Member in due course.

#### CONTRACT FOR THE PURCHASE OF STORES FOR AKBAR'S TOMB AT SIKANDRA.

**266. Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** Is it a fact that in 1926-27 a contract bond relating to the purchase of stones for Akbar's tomb at Sikandra was tampered with by means of erasures and overwriting of dates, etc. Have Government examined the document? If so, with what results? If not, what action do they now propose to take in the matter? Is it also a fact that, in 1926-27, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan retrospectively enhanced rates over those which were tendered by a contractor and in respect of which he had been paid already? If so, what were the reasons for so doing?

**Sir Frank Noyce:** Government have no information but will make inquiries.

#### APPOINTMENT OF MEMBERS OF MINORITY COMMUNITIES IN THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

**267. Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** Is it a fact that the Archæological Chemist, the Assistant Archæological Chemist and their Head Clerks are all Muhammadans? If so, will Government kindly state why no members from the Hindu, Sikh or Christian community were recruited to maintain the proportion between members of the majority and minority communities in the public services?

**Sir Frank Noyce:** The Archæological Chemist and the only clerk employed in his office were appointed before orders for avoiding the preponderance of any community in the public service were issued. The Assistant Archæological Chemist was recruited through the Public Service Commission not because he was a Muslim but because he was best qualified for the post. I may add for the information of the Honourable Member that two Hindu laboratory assistants are employed in the office of Archæological Chemist.

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#### ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO THE STANDING COMMITTEE FOR ROADS.

**Mr. President:** I have to inform the Assembly that the following six Members have been elected to the Standing Committee for Roads, namely:

1. Mr. B. Das.
2. Mr. Muhammad Ismail Khan.
3. Mr. Adit Prasad Singh.
4. Mr. S. C. Mitra.
5. Mr. Anwar-ul-Azim.
6. Khan Bahadur Haji Abdullah Haji Kasim.



## THE INDIAN FINANCE BILL.

**Mr. President:** The House will now resume further consideration of the following motion moved by the Honourable Member, Sir George Schuster, on the 18th March, 1930:

"That the Bill further to amend the Sea Customs Act, 1878, to fix the duty on salt manufactured in, or imported by land into, certain parts of British India, to vary certain duties leviable under the Indian Tariff Act, 1894, to fix maximum rates of postage under the Indian Post Office Act, 1898, to fix rates of income-tax, to vary the excise duty on kerosene leviable under the Indian Finance Act, 1922, and further to amend the Indian Paper Currency Act, 1923, and the Indian Finance Act, 1926, be taken into consideration."

**Mr. T. Prakasam** (East Godavari and West Godavari *cum* Kistna: Non-Muhammadian Rural): Sir, I rise to oppose this Bill. It is an annual function to present this Finance Bill on the part of the Honourable Member for Finance, and it is also usual for the representatives of the people to oppose it to the best of their ability. It does not come with a good grace that this Bill should be introduced with a proposal of preferential tariff in favour of England. It does not come with any grace, the proposal for some little protection with regard to sugar when, for over ten years after the Sugar Committee Report had been published, it is not shown what steps had been taken by the Government to improve the sugar industry on the lines suggested by that Committee. And the Finance Bill stands almost self-condemned with regard to the claim on salt. It is, Sir, two or three years now since I had had the opportunity of moving for the reduction of the salt duty in the final stages of the Finance Bill from Rs. 1-4-0 to 0-10-0. By some fortune we succeeded in this House, and it was reversed in the House of Elders and finally it was certified. This demand for repeal has been going on for such a long time and the Government feel that it cannot continue to exist in this world unless this salt tax is maintained. Over seven crores of rupees are demanded on that account. If there should be a proposal to appropriate this seven crores of rupees for the free education in the country, for the education of the masses, perhaps there would have been, at least a counterbalancing factor. There is none such. Any Government in the world, however absolute it might be, however despotic it might be, considers it its duty to look to the education of its subjects, to the promotion of the industries and to the general benefit of the people. This is a Government that has been continuing in a most callous manner without caring in the least for the education of the masses or for the promotion of the industries or for any good generally of the people at large. With a top-heavy expenditure, it has not been possible for the Government to direct its attention, even in 1930, towards the education of the masses. What is the percentage of education in India according to the books of the Government? Over 6 per cent. Is it to the credit of this Government, a Government that has been in office for over 160 years, without having done anything for the promotion of the education of the masses? Was the country so illiterate, Sir, I question this of the Finance Member and also the Government here, was it in this stage during the Muhammadan period when the Moghul Kings were ruling here? What was the percentage of education in the country, in the provinces, amongst the masses then and what is the percentage today after the British Government have undertaken to rule this country? How has it gone down and what is the reason? Nobody to think of the masses. When a demand is made for self-government

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or for Dominion Status, they consider it proper to turn round and say, "The masses are not educated! It is not in the interests of the masses that we should hand over the reins into the hands of the people's representatives". That is the answer which this Government have been giving. When there was a high percentage of education in this country before the English people came, and when it has been reduced to 6 per cent., it is for them to say what became of the vernacular education in each province that was existing before they came here. Does it lie in their mouth to say that, because the masses are not educated today, the country is not fit to have self-government?

The Finance Bill again says that there is a sort of protection offered for sugar; that there is a protection offered for cotton piece-goods. What is the protection offered for sugar? After destroying an industry, to make a trifling and apologetic offer, when it suits them; is that protection? In 1920, the Sugar Committee inquired into the whole subject and published its Report. For ten years before the publication of that Report, Sir, the total quantity of sugar that was imported into India was worth about Rs. 53 crores, when, as a matter of fact, if the total area that was capable of producing sugar in India had been properly used for production, there would have been no need to waste that amount by importing foreign sugar. That will be clear on a perusal of the Report of that Sugar Committee. What was the total extent, Sir, in 1920 of the land that was fit for sugar cultivation in India? The total extent was 2,718,000 acres. This was found to be much more than the area in Cuba that was supplying sugar, and this was held by that Committee to be five times the extent under sugar in Java. With this extent at the disposal of the country, which would have been sufficient to produce sugar not only for the whole of India but also for exporting into other countries, as she had been doing in former times, what is it which the Finance Member has placed before the House and before the country to show that anything has been done since 1920 with regard to the promotion of this industry, even on the lines suggested by the Sugar Committee? This is what the Committee said in brief on page 8 of the Report. "It is our opinion that it should be perfectly practicable to produce the whole of this in India itself." "This" means sugar worth Rs. 53 crores imported at 628,000 tons annually for 10 years. That is what the Sugar Committee said. During the last ten years what has been done, and what is the protection now offered for sugar, after very nearly killing an industry? This is not the only industry that has been killed. Before my eyes, during the last forty years, industry after industry, cottage industries as well as other industries, have disappeared under the benign Government of the British. Fortunately we have got records and the reports of the Committees appointed by the Government itself to show how callous and how criminal has been the conduct of this Government towards the people of this country.

Then, Sir, the Bill says that a small increase is proposed in income-tax. When I moved an amendment for the income-tax proposed in the Finance Bill two years ago, I heard a voice at one time in this House, "Why should we plead for the rich people?" Then I replied that the rich people's money should not be wasted in this manner; the rich people's money should go in the direction of popular causes, when the Government is a most irresponsible one which does not care in the least

for the good of the people, but which is anxious only to collect as much money and spend as much as possible on the scale on which it is spending. Why should there be an increase in income-tax, Sir, when there is every scope for reducing the pay, the salaries and the unnecessary wastage of the money which this Government has been incurring year after year? Not a single attempt is ever made or is even thought of in that direction. They persist year after year, even though it was pointed out by comparative statements, how expenditure is met in a country like Japan; how the national income is spent where men of the country are employed in the services. It is not to the interests of this Government to do any of these things.

Sir, I should not detain this House on the question of salt by narrating the history of salt. It has appeared in the Press during the last few weeks ever since the leader of this country has thought fit and has considered it necessary to break the laws relating to salt. It is such an unholy tax, a tax that touches the poor, a tax which this Government have taken every means in their power to levy and regulate in such a manner that cannot be justified before the world. Salt is the one article that can be produced without any labour, without any trouble, without any expenditure by the poor people. I do not deny that any Government, whether it is this Government or a nationalist Government, should have the power to regulate the market rate of a certain commodity, even when it is produced by the poorest without incurring much expenditure. But what is it that this Government have done? What are the regulations; what is the Salt Act; what are the rules, and how is it controlled? Although I had been a lawyer for a good long time in my life, until I surrendered my practice in 1920, I have not lost touch with the law, but I did not know myself how this salt duty had been regulated and what precautions had been taken for the departmental working of it. What is it they have done, Sir? My friends do not know. I did not know myself until Mahatma Gandhi declared that the salt laws must be broken at any cost. I did not know myself, and when he started it,—notwithstanding the differences I have had either with Mahatma Gandhi or with the Congress on certain matters,—I wanted to know exactly what the real law about the salt duty was and how it could be broken. It is the duty of every patriotic Indian to break the law if it is really an unholy and oppressive law. I hold it, Sir, relying upon the authority of some of the greatest jurists and constitutional lawyers of Great Britain, who refused to administer bad laws when they were called upon to administer them, that it is the duty of every patriotic citizen to ask the Government to revoke such a bad law. If they do not do it, then I consider it will be the duty of every one to break such an oppressive law. With that object in view, I went into the matter to see as to how Mahatma Gandhi was going to break the salt law, how it was possible for us to acquire the salt pans and salt fields by purchasing them, if necessary, for manufacturing salt there and to refuse to pay up the salt duty to the Government. Because it is so simple to manufacture salt, because every poor man can make salt out of the earth by using sea water or even otherwise, the Government took care to frame its regulations in such a manner that it may not be possible for poor men to think of diverting the salt water into their fields for making salt out of it. Look at the huge Department of Salt, look at the whole administration of that department. I had been to

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certain salt depots to see the position. I found that even private owners, who hold a freehold interest in the soil itself, are brought within the catchment area which is put under the custody of these Government officials, I mean the salt police. The whole area is fenced, the fields that are cultivated by the Government on the monopoly system, as well as those that are owned by private individuals, are brought together within one area; the whole of it is fenced, the gates are guarded, and there is a treasury attached to it. Inside the enclosure, after the salt is manufactured, even the private owner who manufactures salt after acquiring the necessary license cannot take it out of his area even after paying the duty. Government have made it a rule that there should be some platforms established within the area for the purpose of storing the salt that is manufactured. The salt manufactured should be removed by these private owners to those platforms which are also again fenced and guarded by the police. These unfortunate people who own the freehold rights of the soil, who hold an inalienable right to manufacture salt after paying the duty,—whether it is heavy or not I will not care to discuss the question now,—are compelled to take it to those platforms which have been specially built for storing the salt. If these private owners want to sell their salt to some one, the purchaser has to go to the platforms, pay the money into the treasury, and the salt must be measured out on the platform which, as I said, is guarded by the police. Now, I ask, is that the way in which the laws should be administered in this country? Is it not clear to one's mind why these precautions are taken? These precautions are taken because it is so easy to manufacture salt, and poor men can live on it without paying for it. Sir, the Government's policy is one of terrorism. They have a department for the administration of salt, and that department is such that it terrorises the people and informs them that they would run serious risks if any attempt were made by them to manufacture salt in any other place. That is the position, Sir, with regard to salt. The reason is apparent, and in our country, as Mahatma Gandhi has said repeatedly, one is still free to breathe the air; in our land this Government have still to levy a tax for breathing the air as well in future. That is the nature of the salt tax, Sir. I will not take the House into the previous history of this question. I say, Sir, that it is most criminal that this Government should persist in levying this salt tax, and in certifying it even when it was voted against by this House. These are all causes sufficient to provoke people to resist the keeping up of this tax. Today over seven crores of rupees the Finance Member wants to levy on salt.

Then coming to the question of cotton piece-goods and Imperial Preference, Sir, what do we find? I was carefully reading through the speech of the Finance Member on the Budget. It is very interesting to find that the Secretary of State and the Government in England should be anxious to give freedom to the Indian Legislature and the Government of India for levying this protective duty, giving them fiscal autonomy. This is the first time, Sir, that this convention is sought to be established by the Government in England, but the Government of India say, "Oh, it is very good that the Home Government has considered it proper to concede fiscal autonomy to India, but we have to exercise our own judgment here". Pandit Malaviya was good enough to elicit an answer

from the Honourable the Commerce Member about the original proposals from this Government which are at variance with the present. To India Government will give protection only under certain conditions. The speech of the Finance Member contains a threat to the effect that, only when that Imperial Preference is recognised, the protective duty will follow. That is what I gathered from the speech of the Finance Member. If it is a right of fiscal autonomy conceded to the Government and to the House here, is it proper, I ask, that they should enter into such a bargain now? And what is the cause for this bargaining? They want a consideration for creating a proper atmosphere in England to consider how far and to what extent favours could be bestowed upon these wretched people in India with regard to constitutional advance in the next one or two years. Now, is that the way in which an Imperial Preference should be bargained for? Is that the consideration for which you are going to give anything by way of a constitutional advance to India? It should not be on such lines.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): On a point of order, Sir. Are we discussing the Tariff Bill or the Finance Bill?

**Mr. President:** We are of course discussing the Finance Bill. . . .

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah:** But, Sir, the Tariff Bill is no part of the Finance Bill.

**Mr. President:** But the Honourable Member knows that the budget speech of the Honourable the Finance Member makes extensive references to the Tariff Bill.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah:** We are discussing the Bill now, and not the speech of the Finance Member.

**Mr. President:** The Honourable Member knows that, on the second reading of the Finance Bill, the whole of the administration of the Government of India can be reviewed.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah:** When we have got this specific measure before the House, is it not irrelevant to discuss that on this Bill, Sir?

**Mr. K. O. Neogy** (Dacca Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): May I further point out that the Honourable the Finance Member himself stated that the revenue duty which was proposed to be levied on cotton piece-goods in the Finance Bill itself was the framework of the scheme of protection.

**Mr. President:** I do not think we can separate the two questions.

**Mr. T. Prakasam:** I am surprised that the Honourable Mr. Jinnah should have found so much difficulty to understand the bearing of the tariff provisions upon the Finance Bill. The very basis of the Finance Bill is to a very large extent the Tariff Bill. It may be that the Tariff Bill is considered separately. So also several other Bills are considered separately, but you are stating in this Bill the whole position and consolidating the whole position.

Now, Sir, with regard to the cotton piece-goods, I should not like to take the House to the East India Company. Suffice it to say that the most reprehensible methods had been resorted to to suppress the hand

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spinning and hand weaving in this country which alone enabled India to make the cloth required not only for the whole of India but also to put it in ships and carry it to other countries and bring back gold to this country. The methods adopted were recorded by Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt in his book. I shall not refer to them now. They are too well known. They have practically brought the whole industry to destruction. Since the trouble arose in Bombay, the premier city in India, the richest city in India . . . . . (*An Honourable Member*: "No.") Well, statements have been made in public records, that Bombay was the richest city, the gate and the entrance to India.

**Mr. Fasal Ibrahim Rahimtulla** (Bombay Central Division: Muhammadan Rural): It was.

**Mr. T. Prakasam**: It was and is still. That position cannot be lost. It may be lost for a while. If Mr. Rahimtulla will be lost to Bombay, then the industry will be lost for ever. Anyway, the industry was nearly killed. I am not a millowner myself. I am not in the line. Today, the Government have suddenly woken up and considerable solicitude is shown to the industry. Mills after mills were closed down in Bombay and various reasons were assigned in the Press from time to time. My friend, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, and my friend, Mr. Birla, have been pointing out that it is the exchange ratio that has been the main cause of the ruin of the industry in Bombay. When there were labour troubles and riots in the streets of Bombay, what was it that was stated in the Press and in the official communiqués of Government? Great Britain, the Indian Government and the Finance Member could not realise what was meant by the closure of mills in Bombay until the mills in their own country began to close down one after another owing to Japanese competition. It is an unfortunate position both for England and India.

At one time, Sir, as a student of constitutional law and history, I was very much enamoured of the constitution of Great Britain, of the constitutional law of Great Britain and the constitutional lawyers of Great Britain. The constitution of Great Britain is considered to be a very elastic one which could be extended to do good to the subjects and to other countries as well. The system of French Government is the droit administrative system, and I had a very great prejudice against the French administrative system. Last year, I had the chance of crossing the sea and visiting a country which is now under the French Government—Indo-China or Cochin-China as it is called. When it is called Indo-China, it refers to the greatness of this unfortunate land at one time. That part of China was annexed by India and ruled by Indian kings for centuries. That part of the country still possesses the great temple of Angkor Wat, which is considered one of the wonders of the world, to visit which visitors from America and from all over the world come. That country has a palace in which those kings resided. The compound wall extends over 20 miles. These buildings remain intact today and the French Government preserves them as living monuments of the ancient civilisation of India. Now, Sir, the French Government have got Crown Colonies, just as the British Government have in the Malay States, and the French Government have also got French protectorates. When I was there, Sir,

the exchange ratio fell all of a sudden. Indo-China or Cochin China was adopting a silver standard under the French Government just as we have been adopting a silver standard under the British Government. The fall of silver is a notorious fact today. Silver has fallen for various reasons and when silver has fallen . . . (Mr. M. A. Jinnah: "Have a share with them.") I cannot divide with them although my Honourable friend offers a division; I will leave him to divide with the Government at the Round Table Conference. Now, Sir, I was referring to the action of the French Government and wanted to contrast it with of the British Government here on the question of the exchange ratio. I am just pointing out that the people had suffered on account of the fall of prices in silver in the French country, and when the contracts entered into by the merchants at the prevailing rates on the date of contract could not be kept up at the time of delivery of goods, and when the whole trade was about to crush, the French Government was good enough, at once, to abolish the silver standard and establish in its place the gold standard. The French Government have established a gold standard in the interests of the subjects, who were about to be ruined on account of the fall in silver prices. What is it that we have been doing here? It was not long before my Honourable friend, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, and other friends invited the Honourable the Finance Member to preside over a certain meeting where there was a reference to revise the exchange ratio, namely, to go back to 1s. 4d. from 1s. 6d. There came the authoritative pronouncement that that could not be done. That was the statement made there.

With regard to cotton piece-goods, I would like to say that it is not only in India that we are suffering with regard to them. We had had some trade in the other countries. In Indo-China, for instance, you will find, Sir, that the cotton piece-goods that were imported once from the Bombay Presidency, particularly from Ahmedabad and other places, were charged the same duty as the other nations were charged. But recently it has been so ruled that while European countries should be charged 20 per cent. of duty on the cotton piece-goods, India is charged with 80 per cent. The result was that, on account of the levying of that 80 per cent. duty, not a single cloth that was made in India for the use of the Annamese people in India-China could be imported into that country. So far as the cotton piece-goods are concerned, therefore, the solicitude is only apparent and not real. I should say, if any protection is to be given in India even 50 per cent. will not satisfy us. If the country should ever get power into its own hands, our English friends can understand that this country would not require even 10 years to make itself absolutely self-supporting by imposing its own tariffs. It will not take even 5 years with regard to that matter.

I would like to say a few words on the question of constitutional reforms. The latest move is the Round Table Conference, about which my Honourable friend, Mr. Kelkar, has said a good deal. The Round Table Conference that is promised today is not a Round Table Conference. My submission to this House is that, if it is a Round Table Conference it must be one at which the representatives of a country would gather together and the Government would be on the other side, and the principles which should be embodied in a constitution should be arrived at.

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at that table. But it is not that Conference that has been promised. Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders were led into a mistake at first. You may not agree with me, Sir, but that is what I thought, that this Round Table Conference, about which I read when I was somewhere in Siam or Indo-China, was the biggest hoax that was put forward by the British people. I knew, Sir, that it was the Simon Commission Report that would be ultimately discussed, and this Round Table Conference was referred to by Sir John Simon himself before he left India for good. He said: "You have boycotted my Commission: you have not given evidence before me; but, beware, you will be made to come to England. There will be a Conference in England where you will be glad to come and participate and where you will be stating what you have declined to state now." That is in substance what he stated in one of his statements here before he left India. That is the Round Table Conference that is going to be held now. And, when Mr. Wedgwood Benn was cornered and cross-examined by his opponents to state exactly who had got the power of deciding the principles and embodying them in a draft constitution, he was obliged to say: "Oh, it is only the British Cabinet and it is only the British Government that would be entitled to do it. All that is promised to our friends is an invitation. Come along, please, with all your grievances. You are so many people in the great land of India. There are the Muhammadans, the Hindus, the Christians, the Sikhs and so many others. And then there are the Brahmins and non-Brahmins and so many other communities that are at war with each other now. Each one can send a representative to this Round Table Conference and with open arms we are going to receive you. We are going to hear what all of you have to say. There ends the duty of those who go to this Round Table Conference." That is what Mr. Benn says. I appeal through you, Sir, to the Members of this House who may have been deluding themselves under the notion that this is really a Round Table Conference not to do so. A Round Table Conference was demanded on the floor of this House in a Resolution that was adopted in 1925. It is not that that is promised. Nor is it anything in the nature of the demand made in 1924 on the floor of this House. It is nothing of the kind. This Round Table Conference is only in name. I do not really know what is meant by this. It only means this, that India does not contain any statesman. In India there are good many dandies, some with Gandhi caps and so many without any name. We are all great men in our own way, but the Englishmen always thought, and they think so even today, that it is enough if they can tell these men, the so-called leaders, that it is a Round Table Conference to which they are invited. Never mind the meaning; never mind of the implications; never mind of the power of a Round Table Conference. It is enough if you hold forth that there is a conference to which all of them are invited. We have now commenced the race. Applications are pouring in from the likely candidates. The scramble has begun as to who are the people to go. Each party wants representation. I was shocked to see that even the Congress leaders said that they should have sufficiently large representation there. Is it not enough if one man goes there from the Congress? Is it not enough if one man goes there from each of the recognised parties? How many of you should go there and for what purpose? We have had the music of the Central Committee in England.



**Dr. B. S. Moonje** (Nagpur Division: Non-Muhammadan): Should they go at all? What is your opinion?

**Mr. T. Prakasam:** I say that, until and unless the British Ministers and the Government of India say that it is a Round Table Conference with its full meaning, with its recognised meaning that when the principles are decided at that table they will be embodied in the constitution—until and unless you have that guarantee—you will be failing in your duty to the country if you go there. You will be committing a crime against your country if you go there. You have no business to go there to represent any community or any communal interests, whether Hindu, Muslim or Christian. India is India. In India there are so many nationalities. If the English should be ruling today without creating another caste, without adding another caste of their own to the castes that existed already in India, if they should have been dispensing justice between man and man without any difference and without any Imperial Preference or without any difference as regards the spending of money, then perhaps Indians would not have been complaining against the British people so much now. It is only representative people that should go to the Conference. Who went when Muhammadans were ruling in this land? Who went when Hindu kings were ruling? Was there no justice in those days when the ruler or the king of the country was of one community? Was there then no justice between man and man? Having known all about India, having known all about its troubles and having themselves been the cause of the troubles to some extent, why should the Government now call upon the people of all communities to a conference which is called the Round Table Conference, when it is not really a Round Table Conference? Is it merely to go and sit there? I was referring, Sir, to my Honourable friends of the Central Committee that attached themselves to the Simon Commission that went to England. It was painful for me to read in the English papers the details of the differences that were depicted as between any two Members of these five Members of the Central Committee, each one telling his own story, each one writing his own long minute of dissent. It is pathetic for India that in 1930 the Members of this House or the Members outside should be agitating for small petty offices, not merely for top offices but with regard to every grade of offices starting from the lowest to the highest. Is that the way in which the constitution can be built up by any one of us? Is that the way in which you can bring about unity amongst us? You cannot even dream of unity under such circumstances. I submit, Sir, it does not matter even if the Englishmen should continue to have the right of ruling over us ultimately if it is a matter of election and by a vote they get into power. Let them have it by all means under a democratic constitution. How can anybody do justice with regard to the distribution of offices if we are diverting our attention into such minor matters and if we are breaking up for such small differences the all-Parties Conferences held time and again both in Delhi and Simla? Up to now, what is the result? The Government taking advantage of our disunion are inviting us to go to the Round Table Conference and represent our case to them. I submit, Sir, that this Round Table Conference is really not a Round Table Conference and I appeal to the Honourable Members of this House who may have any misgiving until now to realise that it will not be a Round Table Conference in the real sense of the term. On the statements made by the Viceroy and on the statements made by the responsible Ministers in England, they should

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dismiss all such wrong notions from their minds. You will find it to your cost, I am telling you today, that unless and until the position is made clear by the Government of India and also by responsible Ministers in England that this Round Table Conference is one at which the claims of India will be considered separately and independently without having anything to do with the proposals made in the Simon Commission Report or the Nehru Report or some other Report, and those principles will be embodied in the constitution, until that position is made clear, if you go there, you will not be serving your country. Well, Sir, this Round Table Conference has got a previous history. It was in 1924 that a Resolution was moved in this House, not by an extremist politician, not by a Congressman, not by Pandit Motilal Nehru but a very moderate old friend of mine, Mr. T. Rangachariar, who was the Deputy President of this House also and was carried. He moved the Resolution and made a speech on it. It was in 1924 and the Resolution moved by Mr. Rangachariar reads thus:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that he be pleased to take at a very early date the necessary steps (including if necessary procuring the appointment of a Royal Commission) for revising the Government of India Act so as to secure for India full self-governing Dominion Status within the British Empire and Provincial autonomy in the Provinces."

The speech made by Mr. Rangachariar in support of his Resolution was really a very good one, and the Leader of the Opposition then, Pandit Motilal Nehru, was quite right in having stated that he had nothing to differ from what Mr. Rangachariar said. Mr. Rangachariar said that he sought election from his constituency on the demands embodied in his Resolution. He said that the electors asked him what he was going to do and it was only on his agreeing to move a Resolution containing that demand, it was only on that promise to his constituency that he was returned to this House. That was the position in 1924. In 1925 again, there was the national demand on the floor of this House, when again it was carried. I am referring to the amendment moved by Pandit Motilal Nehru to the Resolution of Sir Alexander Muddiman *re* the recommendations of the Reform Enquiry Committee. The amendment of Pandit Motilal Nehru runs thus:

"This Assembly further recommends to the Governor General in Council that necessary steps should be taken :

- (a) to constitute in consultation with the Legislative Assembly a convention, round table conference or other suitable agency adequately representative of all Indian, European and Anglo-Indian interests to frame with due regard to the interests of minorities a detailed scheme based on the above principles, after making such enquiry as may be necessary in this behalf;
- (b) to place the said scheme for approval before the Legislative Assembly and submit the same to the British Parliament to be embodied in a Statute."

These were the demands, Sir, that were made in the years 1924 and 1925 and the latest demand was embodied in what was called the Nehru Report in which so many parties joined and which also failed on account of certain small differences. After all these stages during the last ten years, the Simon Commission came here and it was boycotted by almost all the parties excepting a few. I do not know whether they were not merely individuals or some representing certain groups or certain minorities. They were not of any recognised parties. There was no evidence before the Simon Commission from any of the recognised parties. It is now

said, Sir, that the Simon Commission Report would be placed before this very House in June in a special session and to have that blessed in this very House on the floor of this very House in which it was boycotted previously. They would like to have it done now because the Congress Group that was in this side of the House have gone out, and it was also stated that, after that was done, they would even go to the length of placing it before the electors in the country, taking advantage of the resolution of the Congress that the Legislatures should be boycotted, believing that the Congressmen would not be going to the electors. Is this the way in which matters should be handled when a critical stage has been reached? When we are at such a juncture as this, is it not the duty of the statesmen in England as well as here to do justice? Instead of doing that, the Finance Member says in his speech that the country is threatened with civil disobedience, and the Government will not be afraid of civil disobedience. Civil disobedience can never be a threat. They are the persons with an army, a navy, aeroplanes and all the destructive machinery in their hands which they can call to their aid any moment and drop bombs from above, when they like, even on the innocent masses who may refuse to pay taxes to them tomorrow. How can there be any threat? Civil disobedience is never a threat. It is a submission on bended knees for justice; it is a submission of their head into your hands, to your swords and to your revolvers (I am referring to Government). If you like, take them. This country needs freedom; you shall not keep us in subjection any longer. Civil disobedience is the gentlest and most effective weapon which a subject nation which is not pledged to violence can adopt in any country.

Sir, I do not know why this land has become so very unfortunate and why the rulers have become so hardhearted. Even stones would have melted to see the sacrifices made in this land by men and women during the last 11 years. If it were Englishmen alone that were dealing with us direct today, I should make bold to say, without caring for the consequences, that perhaps Englishmen's minds would have changed much quicker; but in this land Englishmen, who were good when they came here, have been spoiled by us who have become their subordinate officers. We have tainted them; we have spoiled them; we have given them notions of false prestige, and they have now become a curse in themselves, and they think that the only way in which India should be ruled is the steel frame and with the pistol in hand. This country would perhaps never have thought of attaining freedom so soon but for the fact that that worthy individual who had given his life blood to South Africa, had come to his land here again and has given a message to his country. Civil disobedience is not a threat, Sir. I am telling you that it has actually been put into action today again. A man of 60 without much of strength in his body has marched himself to show to this Government that he can call to his aid all the forces behind him in this country, to show to you how he can break your salt laws to begin with. It is not a threat. He has gone there and you are noticing day after day the response on the part of the masses, the illiterate masses who have no education, of whom only 6 per cent. are educated according to your books. Still these masses have got the strength and have inherited the soul power to take a message from above, to adjust themselves to any position, to respond to the call of the leaders and to show to you by the sacrifices they make their determination to give their lives

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in the cause of freedom. I am telling you, Sir, as one who has been with them for the last 11 years, who has lived with them notwithstanding the demoralisation that was brought into existence in the country by terroristic methods and by repression. The masses have known today that they should not get into this campaign in a fit of excitement, 1921 was the year in which there was a good deal of excitement. Nobody knew what would happen and nobody knew whether the people understood the meaning of Swaraj. Today it is quite different. They have understood it. There is no excitement there, they are courting imprisonment with determination. But you must play the game. I say this to the Viceroy and to Government that they must play the game. You must not have recourse to devious methods. This is a straight, honest challenge given,—I do not call this a challenge, I withdraw that word,—this is a straight honest programme given for a subject nation to go through with a view to change your heart. Courting imprisonment is one of things of great sacrifice. In British history you may have perhaps read in your younger days, Sir, it is said somewhere that one great man named Hampden refused to pay ship money. How many Hampdens have come into existence in India! How many women have gone into prison for the freedom of their country, how many men have gone to prison for the freedom of the country! And they see today that all their attempts for the last 11 years have failed. This time your Round Table Conference is a hoax. You only draw us there to say that we are quarreling and we are therefore not fit for anything. We shall not go there, but we shall show you to what extent we can make sacrifices. Are you not as sportsmen to take that into account and deal justice? I say deal justice. When I court imprisonment, you must imprison me.

I am told now that when Mahatma Gandhi goes with his 75 volunteers, Government have decided not to lay their hands upon him and his men, but they will go and forfeit the salt that they manufacture. Has not the salt that has been taken for all these years been sufficient for Great Britain? Will this give you more strength, the forfeiture of their salt? The purpose is stated plainly to you. It is not done by anybody else. One man who has worked it out and produced some good results in South Africa has stated to you plainly the purpose of his campaign in India, and he asks you to imprison him and his batch, and then you will find how many people there are in the country to follow him. I am asking you to imprison him and his men and you will know how many people will be courting imprisonment; and the only request I make to the Government of India is to make facilities for receiving all the men that go into the jails and give them food and accommodation. If you have no place to accommodate them, if you cannot find funds to feed them, is it right that you should apply the regulation *lathi* as was done at Guru-ka-Bagh? You might have been present with me, Sir, when we witnessed those Sikh soldiers beaten with regulation *lathis*. Is it fair that you the Government should apply either the regulation *lathi* or say that you will adopt some other method? We want only a test. That test is that we are a determined nation. We cannot wage war with you. We have no army, we have no arms, we have no ammunition. You are the people who are used to the battle-fields; you are the people who will bend only to violence and physical force. We have got none of these things. But, after all, what is the difference between a violent war and a non-violent war? In

the battle-fields you kill your opponents and you get yourselves killed. Take yourselves back to the last war. How many Indians shed their blood in Flanders for the sake of your freedom and for the glorification of Great Britain which Lloyd-George recognised in letters of fire? But he has gone back upon those letters today. As a lawyer and as an ex-solicitor, he is attempting to put his own interpretation on these pledges which he gave then. How can India stand any further? How many times can the British afford to ignore the Indian people's claims?

Well, Sir, if Mahatma Gandhi is not arrested and if his followers are not arrested and if the salt is confiscated, not only there but in every other province where people are ready to go in a non-violent manner and manufacture salt, there are other methods which the people of India will adopt in order to show to you that they can wage an effective war with you without using arms and ammunition. Here is a no-tax campaign. I for one did not approve, did not think it right to have recourse to the programme of a no-tax campaign at this earlier stage. It will come, it did come once and it showed what it was like. It did show what it would be like in Bardoli on a small scale, and I may tell you in Guntur also. There is one Member, a new Member, my friend, Mr. Choudhry sitting here representing Guntur and Nellore today. He may speak on what I say. In Guntur there was a no-tax campaign in 1921. Sixty-four lakhs or sixty-five lakhs was the revenue that had to be collected, and when the Congress called upon the people to suspend payment of the tax, it was suspended for two or three months. It was not paid back until the Congress took stock of the situation, having regard to the terrorist methods adopted by the Government, and advised the people to pay it down, because they would not have been able to stand the repression any further. Out of these 64 lakhs, Sir, the Government could collect only 8 lakhs; 61 lakhs was withheld. That was a demonstration of the spirit of the people. That was a demonstration of the determination of the people. Lord Willingdon was the Governor at that time. Lord Willingdon, after retiring, went to England and in more than one public speech referred to the people of Guntur and said that it was only the people of Guntur during the Gandhi campaign that shook the foundations of the British Empire in India. Suspension of the payment of tax for a few months had its effects, because there was no money to pay to all these officers, Collectors, Revenue Officers and all the other people put together. The money had to be collected and it had to be paid. But such things will happen, if not today, if not tomorrow, if not this year, there will be some day when this will be resorted to by India, when you cannot hold this country in the manner in which you are holding with all the Army and Navy and other forces you can command. I, therefore, say, Sir, that this Government should not ignore the civil disobedience campaign. I am not one of those who feel, Sir, that because there is not that net work of organisations of 1924, there is no life in the country and there are no men in the country. I have taken stock of it and you will know it when you go out with your policy of repression. Do it honestly and arrest as many people as offer themselves to you and you will find that the number will be much more than it was in 1921. (Applause.) They are offering themselves in a cool, calculated spirit and the best of the men will be there and you will not be surprised if I go from this House to break your laws there if you persist in your policy. (Hear, hear.)

Now, Sir, it was Dadabhoi Naoroji with whom I was in London in 1905 and he came over to preside over the Calcutta session of the Congress and

[Mr. T. Prakasam] in his book,—“Poverty and Un-British Rule in India”, he wrote more than 40 years ago about the economic condition of India, he gave the facts and the figures. This is what he said :

“Britain has appropriated thousands of millions of India's wealth for building up and maintaining her British Indian Empire and for drawing directly vast wealth to herself; she is continuing to drain about £30,000,000 of India's wealth every year unceasingly in a variety of ways. She has thereby reduced the bulk of the Indian population to extreme poverty, destitution and degradation. It is, therefore, her bounden duty in common justice and humanity to pay from her own exchequer the cost of all famines and diseases caused by such impoverishment.”

This is what Dadabhai Naoroji said. My friends, the Honourable Members on the other side, and His Excellency, Lord Irwin, might not perhaps take the words of Dadabhai Naoroji at their face value because he happened to be an Indian. But I should like to quote from the letter of one of the Viceroys of India, Lord Lytton. These are the words from a confidential communication that had found its way into the Press. Speaking of the pledges of the Sovereign and the Parliament of England, he said :

“We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled. We have had to choose between prohibiting them (the natives of India) and cheating them, and we have chosen the least straightforward course.”

Again :

“Since I am writing confidentially, I do not hesitate to say that both the governments of England and of India appear to me, up to the present moment, unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear.”

Now, Sir, these are the words uttered by an ex-Viceroy of this country. It was in a confidential communication. Everyone on the other side and Lord Irwin, the present Viceroy, will have the same heart, although we do not know what they may have been writing and those letters perhaps will not see the light of the day just as this letter has seen until some generations are over. That may be. But it will not be within the power of the present Finance Member or even within the power of the Viceroy to concede to India the freedom that they have been promising so often. The last eleven years' struggle would have extorted freedom of this land even from the worst bureaucrats in the land, even from the most despotic of despotic monarchs in the land. But as the irony of fate would have it, the Englishman's mind both in this land and in their own land has been converted into one block of iron which would not melt ordinarily until it is thrown into a melting pot. We have no arms, we have no power to do anything. The people of India are going to offer themselves to be sacrificed for the freedom of their country and submit themselves to any repression that you might adopt in future. That is the present position, Sir, and I appeal to my friends here on bended knees not to allow themselves to be tempted into this trap of a Round Table Conference. Those who have pledged themselves to it, who have not understood the truth of it and who have made up their minds about it, let them go and they will find out what it is and what they will get. India is entitled to her full freedom, if not fullest freedom. India had been longing to be a partner with Britain and to remain in the Commonwealth; but you have driven India into desperation. On account of their broken pledges they have driven the Congress to change its creed into one of independence, complete severance.

You remember, Sir, the American War of Independence, in which the British lost their position; how they were driven from post to post; how they lost every inch of ground there, and how they built up their Empire by

annexing province after province, state after state in India. Their existence today in the world—if they look into the world's history written by others, they will find that England owed its existence to India. India does not deserve to be treated in the manner she is treated by the Englishmen. Therefore I submit that this Finance Bill does not come with any grace, with any regard for the condition of the people. I feel, Sir, that Members of this House, whether they are non-co-operators or not, owe a duty to their country; they owe a duty to the people who are sacrificing themselves outside.

If we take, Sir, Hindu-Moslem unity—you will pardon me, Sir, if I refer to the year 1922, when you and I happened to be present with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Hakim Ajmal Khan and others in Multan in connection with the Multan riots. This was the first Hindu-Muslim trouble. As a journalist, as a publicist, and as one who has taken some little part in the country's cause, I noted the causes. Without the fear of contradiction from my Muslim friends or from my Hindu friends here, I will state exactly what I found on my own investigation on the spot, and what I recorded at that time in the Press also. It was not really a communal dispute that brought about the trouble. It was not a religious dispute, strictly speaking, as it was put up publicly in the Press and elsewhere. The real cause of the trouble was a dispute about a seat in the Municipality. Six months later, Sir, there was a dispute again with regard to the Vice-Presidentship of the Taluk Board of some place. I shall not go into further details of what we witnessed then, and what happened. It was a mistake on the part of the Congress also to have neglected its duty after the Multan riots. For nearly twelve months we were engaged in domestic quarrels about no-changers and pro-changers. The fire spread; it came to Saharanpur and to every other place. I visited many centres of disturbance, but I never wanted to add fuel to the fire by publishing all sorts of things in the Press, hoping that the matter would not take a communal turn. I am therefore really surprised that some of the leaders come here to settle the communal differences of these great communities that have been brought into conflict for some reason or other and to settle their disputes in the manner they are attempting to do. The real points of dispute, the real troubles, were not investigated on the spot immediately by many of them. You will be surprised in this House if I tell you that, after the riot in Saharanpur, even on the fourth or fifth day, it was not the British police officers or military who were patrolling the streets; it was the Akali volunteers that came from another place that were patrolling the streets. It pains me very much to see Hindus and Moslems quarreling. What is their quarrel? If they are religious quarrels, they should be settled outside; why should we make political capital of the religious differences? Do we realise how the people, as a whole, are suffering, notwithstanding the fact that you score a few seats here or a few places there? All these things should be forgotten. Our problems should be approached from quite a different point of view, and I appeal to my Hindu and Muslim friends who are already doing their best and are in the last stages of settlement to produce the settlement as quickly as possible. Who was responsible for this Hindu-Muslim trouble? It was not the work of the two communities alone. There were people ready, bent upon breaking the Hindu-Muslim unity upon the basis of which the foundations of Swaraj were laid by that leader of the country, Mahatma Gandhi. Soon after he was locked up, it was thought that the first thing that should

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be done was to break up the Hindu-Muslim unity. The Multan riots came up somehow or other. Later they became communal. Now the poison has spread in every direction, and they have had to fight and measure their respective strength until they have found out that one community could not destroy the other. Now at last they feel that they will have to settle the matter, and the matter will have to be settled in a manner which will be consistent with the dignity of the two great communities.

And now almost every one who has got a stake in the country has made a unanimous demand, but the Government have trifled with the entire nation, they have rejected everything; to the great man who sent a letter on bended knees, a discourteous reply goes forth from some Private Secretary or some officer informing him "Beware of the laws of the land". Laws of the land! Take the heads of all those who offer themselves to the laws of the land in a non-violent manner, and then have your kingdom here established permanently. I say, it shall not be for your benefit. You will be losing India, you will be losing India a thousand times as you had lost America on very small matters, for rights in fisheries and such trifling matters. You took the matter to a breaking point there and you lost the whole of that country, and you will lose India in the same manner if you do not have vision, if you do not have sense to do justice by the people on whose account you have got your Empire, your position, your power and wealth and everything in the world now.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad** (United Provinces Southern Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I do not want to refer today to the important question of the Tariff Bill, because we will have further discussion on it next week. I would develop two points when the question comes for discussion. The first point is that which Mr. Jayakar pointed out, that, under this Bill, we cannot give our consent in principle to preferential duties. We have to consider the case of each part of the Empire separately, and we ought not to concede to this very important principle very lightly. The second point is the protection of our industries. There are two important phases of protection. The first is to impose an export duty, but the second one, which is equally important, is that a portion of the export duty ought to be given as a bounty in some shape to the local manufactures. The industry can be guarded in two ways, by giving some kind of bounty to the local industry, and by imposing a tax on foreign goods. We have tackled only one side of the question in this Bill and the other side is entirely left out.

But today, Sir, I want to bring to the notice of the Assembly a few important points which will affect the Budget, and if they are properly carried out, new taxation may perhaps not be required. The first point I would like to draw attention to is the question of forest administration. I have studied the statistics about forests, and in this book you will find that we have got about 250,000 square miles of forests, yielding an income of 263 lakhs, that is 2½ annas per acre, expressing it in the familiar words of the Indian zamindar, the profit on our forests is only two pies, or half an anna per bigha. In the Assembly there are zamindars, and they will at once jump up on hearing that our forests are at present yielding an income of only half an anna per bigha. Now, by better administration, you will be able to raise the income by about ten times. Instead of having an income of two crores, we can easily have an income



of over 20 crores. The administration can be improved by following any of the three methods. The first one is, that we should follow the modern European method, the method which is now being followed in European countries, Germany, France and England, and with these improved methods of administration, it would be quite possible for us to raise the income. An Englishman would shudder if he found that his forests were only yielding an income of 3d. an acre; Germany would have no forests if they did not yield more than 60 marks per quadrat kilometer. The second method, which probably is also more profitable than the present administration, is the crude method of the Mogul Empire, that is the method of *Mustajir*. If these forests are let out under proper safeguards to *Mustajirs* or contractors, we will be able to get more than ten times the present income; and the third method is the one recommended by the Royal Commission on Agriculture, namely, that we should have the administration by means of panchayats, because they say that the forests are for the people, and as such they ought to be administered by the people.

**The Revd. J. C. Chatterjee** (Nominated: Indian Christians): What was the income of the forests under the Mogul Empire?

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad**: I could not tell you exactly now.

**Mr. Amar Nath Dutt** (Burdwan Division: Non-Muhammadian Rural): It was about four crores.

**The Revd. J. C. Chatterjee**: Where does the Honourable Member get that from?

**Mr. Amar Nath Dutt**: From the "Aini Akbari". You will find it there.

(At this stage Mr. President vacated the Chair, which was taken by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.)

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad**: I cannot enlighten my Honourable friend, but I certainly think that the contract system will yield much more than the present income.

Then the second point to which I wish to draw the attention of the House is the question of the administration of Customs. I always felt that Customs was an All-India question, and like Post Office and Mint, it ought to be administered centrally by the Government of India . . .

**Mr. K. C. Neogy**: May I interrupt the Honourable Member? I do not know whether he is referring to the small areas of forests that are at the present moment under the administration of the Central Government, or he is taking also the provincial administrations' share of the forests.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad**: As regards the total figures of income which I have given, they refer to the whole of British India, but I do recognise that a major portion of it comes from the provinces in respect of forests administered by them. But if the income of the forests is increased as a whole, then certainly the Government of India will proportionately be benefited.

**Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi** (Dacca Division: Muhammadian Rural): Is the Honourable Member aware that forests in Bengal belong to the zamindars?

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** I am not talking of the forests administered by the zamindars, but I am talking of the administration of the Central Government. I am sure my friend, who is a landlord, will never be satisfied with an income of half an anna on his own zamindari forests.

**Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi:** I am sure my friend does not know that we get much more than that.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** That is exactly the reason why I say that we should adopt improved methods, or hand them over to zamindars to manage on the contract system.

Continuing my second point, Sir, Customs should be an All-India subject. I was considerably impressed by the speech of my friend Mr. Abdulla Haroon yesterday. He pointed out the enormous difficulties that are facing the Government at present, because a part of the Customs is administered by the Central Government and a part is left to the States to administer. Some years ago we had the same duplication of work in post offices and mints. Some of the States had their own mints and some had their own post offices and postage stamps, but now, by some kind of understanding, we have got a unified system. I therefore think that it would be quite possible, by some kind of understanding, to bring the entire Customs under the Government of India, and the numerous difficulties that were pointed out by my friend yesterday, and the other complications that are bound to arise in commercial matters can be avoided by unified central administration. Some kind of financial arrangements can be made with the Indian States in the same manner as we made them in regard to postage stamps and mint.

Then the third point which I wish to raise is the question of salaries. I do not want to raise an academic discussion such as we very often have in educational institutions, and which is supported by very subtle arguments of political economy, whether India is getting richer or poorer, but I will mention only two very important facts which will show that India is not so well off as other European countries. The first thing is that the entire Budget of the Government of India is less than the expenditure on education alone in the United Kingdom, whose population is less than one-fifth of the population of British India. In fact it is less than the population of Bengal, even less than that of the United Provinces. So when the educational budget of a country with only one-fifth the population of India is more than the entire revenue of the Government of India, we cannot, in the English sense, call India a rich country. The second characteristic fact is that Germany, with a population of one-fourth of British India, is paying 175 crores of rupees, that is 1½ times the entire revenue of India, as war indemnity, and after paying this war indemnity, their people are more prosperous than the people of any other country except England and America; Sir, these two facts clearly show that India is really a poor country and cannot afford to pay the high salaries which we are now paying. As regards high salaries, I will just quote one or two things from my own book if I may be permitted to do so.

"The lowest salaries in France may be judged by the fact that the Minister of Education gets about £675 a year, that is about Rs. 750 per month. The four Directors under him get about Rs. 400 a month. Now, the salary of the Vice-Chancellor of the University who controls primary and secondary education as well is only Rs. 450 a month, and the salary of the Chief Inspector of a province is only Rs. 300 a month."

That is the scale of salaries paid in France. (*An Honourable Member*: "Are they all foreigners?") Now, the salaries in Germany are slightly better. The professors there get a salary from Rs. 500 to Rs. 650 a month, and the salary of the Inspector of Education is only Rs. 500 a month. I do not wish to tax the Assembly by quoting more figures, but I do maintain that, with the exception of England, the salaries in India are higher than the salaries in any other country in Europe, and after considering our financial position, I would strongly appeal to the Members on the Treasury Benches to consider whether they seriously believe that India can afford to pay such high salaries as we are paying at present.

**Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney** (Nominated: Anglo-Indians): What is the difference between an M. P. and M. L. A.?

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad**: This important question we shall discuss on some other occasion.

The next point I want to allude to is the question of the abolition of the Advisory Committees and the Advisers for Indian students in the Universities of the United Kingdom. The Advisory Committees are expected to give advice to the Indian students about the courses and the universities that may best suit their requirements, but the members of the Advisory Committees know very little about educational conditions either in this country or outside India. If they don't understand these conditions themselves, how is it possible for them to give any kind of advice to the students? The only advice which they can give, and I have seen it often and often is, "Read the pamphlet published by the High Commissioner's office". This pamphlet is sometimes quoted to the prospective students. This is all the information they possess. This pamphlet does not deal with education outside the United Kingdom. Sir, the educational conditions change very rapidly each year, and any information which we gather today will be quite obsolete two years later, and therefore it is very desirable that the Government of India should set up at their headquarters a Bureau of Information, as recommended by the Hartog Committee, to give detailed and up-to-date information to the students who desire to proceed to England, and this information may be supplied through the Headmasters of Schools, Principals of colleges and Registrars of universities. This will be a quicker, more efficient and more economical arrangement than the present system of Provincial Advisory Committees.

Now, the second thing is that I should like to abolish the system of appointing advisers to the Indian students in various universities. No other Dominion has got advisers at University centres. These persons are supposed to help Indian students. We are tired of spoon-feeding in our present system of education. We are tired of the constant watch and constant supervision, which is very different from the supervision in a public school or a college in England. Now, if this spoon-feeding for our Indian students continues even beyond the seas, our students will never acquire any of the valuable characteristics of the British system of education, that is, self-reliance and resourcefulness. Some persons may argue that these advisers help the students on their admission. It is just the other way round. If they do anything, they do the work of obstruction. The authorities of the British Universities are very jealous about their power of admission. They would never leave the admission in the hands of any person except themselves, and the only thing which the advisers can do is

[Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad.]

that they can stop the admission of students. They cannot help in the admission of students, and it is not very desirable that the Government of India should pay large sums of money for this negative work and the students will be better off if the system of advisers is abolished.

The next thing I should like to take up is the question of labour. Some Honourable Members in the Assembly no doubt fight with their sleeves up for the protection of labour. Labour should be very thankful to my friends, Diwan Chaman Lall and Abdul Matin Chaudhury, for their advocacy, in season and out of season, for the cause of labour, that the Washington and Geneva Conventions should be applied to India without reservation at an early date. But I regret, Sir, that they do not pay sufficient attention to one characteristic fact, that the Indian labour is not so intelligent as the labour in other countries. (*An Honourable Member*: "Whose fault?") The Government no doubt is to blame, but the facts are there. Our labour cannot produce the same amount of work in the same time. The only way in which our industries can compete with other countries is to have longer hours of work, so that the industry may be run more profitably. I suppose all the persons who are in favour of the amelioration of the conditions of labour will support me in pressing the Government to introduce free and compulsory primary education without the least delay. Our labour should be trained to produce the articles in the cheapest possible manner. If they cannot do that, they only destroy the capitalists and *ipso facto* destroy themselves. At the same time, it is important that labour should derive benefit from the wealth which they help to produce. The capitalists alone should not get the entire profit. This can be done by some arrangement whereby the capitalists could be guaranteed a profit equal to the bank rate, and the employees in the factory, including the shareholders and workmen and managers, should get some kind of bonus out of the balance of the profits left after paying a premium to the shareholders at the current rate of interest. I do not want to enter into the details of this question, but I do maintain that the labourers ought to be benefited by the profits of a factory. (*An Honourable Member*: "75 per cent.?" ) I would fix no percentage. It may be 75 per cent. if the profits amount to 200 or 300 per cent. This will depend upon the amount of profit a company is able to show. The key to the improvement of labour is the enforcement of compulsory primary education. That is really the important problem of the day. I showed last time that we required only 2½ crores in order to enforce compulsory primary education among the boys in British India. This is a very small sum, and I wonder whether the Finance Member may not be able to contribute something for primary education. The Hartog Committee has recommended this very strongly. The Government always desire to quote the recommendations of committees when they suit them, but they entirely throw them into the background if the recommendations happen to go against them. This is just what happened to the recommendations of the Hartog Committee. No mention was made of it by any Member on the Government side. As regards the total cost, I go one step further and say that, if we accept the recommendation of the Literacy Committee of the United Provinces, that one-half of the schools should be of the old Indian type and the other half of the modern type, the cost of primary education will be reduced from 2½ crores to 1½ crores. The schools of the old Indian type do impart better language instruction, though they don't come up to modern schools in

cultural instruction. This is a very small sum and I wonder why the Finance Member, in spite of increased taxation, was not able to provide even half a crore of rupees to meet this urgent nation-building demand.

The next thing I should like to mention is that the Government of India cannot wash their hands altogether of education even if it be a transferred subject. The administration of education is in the hands of provinces, but I do maintain that the policy of education is a thing in which the Government of India cannot remain mere spectators. Here in this Assembly, we have got the representatives of all provinces. They are familiar with the educational conditions in their respective provinces, and it will be of great advantage if these educational problems are discussed here, so that the people of one province may derive benefit from the successes or failures in other provinces.

Now, one of the topics which the Government of India alone could take up is the question of the system of examinations. Now, it has been proved scientifically that the results obtained by tabulating the numerical marks don't represent the merit of a candidate. There is some element of luck. There are errors which are unavoidable errors, which occur in every examination. Professor Edgeworth, a few years ago, took up this question from a mathematical point of view and he found out five different errors—error due to minimum sensible, deviation errors, errors due to difference of scale, deviation due to speed, errors due to the fatigue of the examiner. Taking all these into consideration, which are quite unavoidable, the error counts to 7.5 per cent. So that a student who has obtained 28 marks, say, in 100 and has been pronounced as a failure, may have been affected adversely by these examination errors and may have really passed. Now, I will give one very good illustration to show how faulty the British system of examination is. Here is the question of the perception of the examiner.

"The perceptions of the examiners are so divergent that the same answer may secure good second class marks from one examiner but less than the minimum number from his colleague. An example of this is recorded by Dr. Ballard. In an examination in History in the year 1920, the papers were evaluated by six professors of History working as a panel. The candidates were required to get 60 out of 100 marks for a pass, and it was agreed that any paper which secured less than 60 marks should be circulated among the examiners in order to ensure fairplay to all border-line cases. One of the professors, who was exceedingly conscientious, began by writing out what he considered model answers to the questions, but inadvertently his model answer-paper got mixed up with the papers of those whom he had ploughed and was sent round to the other five professors for their appraisal. His paper was read by them as a *bona fide* answer-paper of an examinee, and some of his colleagues ploughed him, the marks ranging all the way from 40 to 80."

This is really the way in which the question papers are examined at the present moment. In other words, the success in examination, according to the present system, is more a question of luck than a question of merit. This being so, it is exceedingly desirable that this system should be revised and the Government of India are the only competent authority who can appoint a Commission to examine the systems of examination in other countries and may institute in India a system of examination which may best suit the Indian conditions. We had our own system of examination which the English people condemned, but today we find that Germany has adopted the very same system which we had followed for several centuries; and nobody can say that the German system of examination and teaching is inferior to the system prevalent in any other country.

[Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad.]

Sir, the next point which I would like to mention is the abolition of the Public Service Commission. This is a point which I discussed last time and I shall give two reasons for its abolition. I am going to base my arguments only on scientific grounds, and I will not discuss today the question of the Indianisation of the services or the representation of the different communities, or the representation of the different provinces. That is a point which I will entirely neglect today.

**Maulvi Muhammad Yakub** (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): Is this discussion relevant on the present motion?

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad**: If I want to abolish the Public Service Commission, I must give the arguments for doing so. If my suggestion for the abolition of the Public Service Commission is accepted, it will bring in an income of about five lakhs of rupees or perhaps even more.

**Maulvi Muhammad Yakub**: This point can be brought on the general discussion of the Budget but not on the Finance Bill.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad**: If you can effect any saving in the working of our administration, then new taxes will not be needed, and it is on account of this reason that I am suggesting this economy. (Hear, hear.) Now, when I recommend the abolition of the Public Service Commission, I base my arguments on two facts. In the first place, I maintain that, by adding the marks in a competitive examination, it is impossible to put down the order of merit. The Calcutta University Commission wrote a memorandum in Volume VI of their Report, in which they discussed this point *in extenso*:

"The determination of the order of merit by the aggregate marks awarded by a group of examiners is not possible. Within a certain limit of valuation, the limits can be calculated. They depend upon the number of questions, the number of papers and the total aggregate marks. The order of merit of the candidates whose marks lie within certain limits should be determined by considerations other than the examination results."

**The Revd. J. C. Chatterjee**: May I ask the Honourable Member what better method he would use instead of the method of competition?

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad**: I will come to it later.

The second point which I should like to discuss is that it is impossible for any three persons, whoever they may be, and however learned they may be, to sit down as the Selection Committee for the employment in all professions and for all departments. It is impossible for any person, however qualified he may be, to select in one breath an engineer, and in the next breath a doctor and on the following day an accountant and on the fourth day a customs officer and so on and so forth. Therefore, it is very desirable that the Government should institute a kind of qualifying examination and allow any person to sit in that examination whether he does or does not possess a university degree. The list of the qualified candidates may be published, and each Department or a group of Departments working together may form a small committee to make a selection from the list of approved candidates required for their Departments. This

system will work very satisfactorily. Every Department knows its requirements and will be able to make a much better selection than the one which is made by three persons who know nothing about the internal working of that particular Department.

As regards the general question of examination which I was just asked to answer, that is my reply. May I just mention that the recruitment for public services is not restricted to India and to England alone but every country in the world recruits persons for its public services. May I ask if there is any Public Service Commission in France, Germany or Italy? And yet they do select very competent persons for their employment and the method of selection which the French people employ for selecting their officers is far superior to the one which we use either in England or in India. The French system of examination is also superior to the one we follow in this country.

Sir, there are two more points to which also I should like to draw the attention of the House today. One is the cost of education in the Prince of Wales Military School in Dehra Dun. The Sandhurst Committee recommended that:

"The Prince of Wales Royal Military College at Dehra Dun should be gradually expanded to the limit most suitable for an educational institution of this character. Its curriculum and standard of teaching should be carefully tested with a view to securing also that the course of education which it confers should be a qualification recognised by the University authorities."

Now, the number of students in the Dehra Dun military college is 116, and the cost per head is Rs. 2,250. Everybody knows that there is nothing of militarism in this Dehra Dun military college. It is a kind of public school, preparing the students for a military career or any other career which requires general character. I ask all those gentlemen who have been in a public school whether the real spirit of a public school can be inculcated . . . . .

**Dr. A. Suhrawardy** (Burdwan and Presidency Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): On a point of order, Sir. May I draw your attention to article 16 of the Manual of Business and Procedure which reads thus:

"At the commencement of every session, the President shall nominate from among the Members a panel of not more than four Chairmen any of whom may preside over the Assembly in the absence of the President and the Deputy President, when so requested by the President, or in his absence by the Deputy President."

I find, Sir, that not only is the Deputy President present in the House but that he rose to a point of order. May I have your ruling as to whether the Deputy President is to occupy the Chair now?

**Mr. Ghanshyam Das Birla** (Benares and Gorakhpur Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): May I point out, Sir, that the Deputy President was not present in the House when the President asked you to occupy the Chair?

**The Chairman:** The Deputy President was not in the House when I was asked to occupy the Chair. When he came in, I invited him to take the Chair, but he said he would not. (Hear, hear, and Applause.)

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** Sir, it is impossible to inculcate the real spirit of public school life if the number is limited to 116. It is very desirable that the number should be increased, not only from the point of view of economy, but also from the point of view of efficiency. Sir, this question of suitable number for an efficient working of a secondary school was discussed recently in England, and I will just quote a few sentences from my book on "Systems of Education":

"It is impossible to prescribe an ideal maximum enrolment for a Secondary School. A very large school has a distinctive momentum and massive force and it has great reserves to draw upon for the organisation of its advanced work and its games. But the bigger the numbers the more difficult is it for Head Master to know personally the boys under the charge and the harder it is to provide adequate space for assembly, dinner and games. On the other hand, a small school is expensive to staff, as teachers are needed for all branches of the curriculum, whether the pupils are many or few. The London County Council has adopted 450 as a standard figure for its own Secondary schools. The average attendance in France is 1,500 and in Germany 650. The number of Students in Eton College, on the play ground of which the battle of Waterloo was won, is 1,500."

**Mr. M. S. Aney** (Berar Representative): What is the book that the Honourable Member is quoting from?

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** I am quoting from my own book on "Systems of Education". Sir, the proper number by which we can have a real equilibrium between efficient working on the one side and unwieldiness on the other side is 450, that is the figure adopted by the London County Council, and I do recommend that, in the interests of economy and efficiency, the military authorities may see their way to increase this number from 116 to 450. The cost will be reduced from Rs. 2,250 to about Rs. 800 per head per annum.

Sir, the last point which is not educational, to which I should like to draw the attention of the Honourable the Finance Member, is the question of the Post Office Cash Certificates. I recommend today, for his consideration, three points. First, that the minimum face value of the Cash Certificate should be reduced from Rs. 10 to Rs. 5. They will then be within the reach of poorer people, who cannot afford at one time to spare Rs. 7-12-0. Many persons will be able to spend Rs. 8 and a few annas in order to purchase Cash Certificates for Rs. 5. Cash Certificates as the Honourable the Finance Member will bear me out, are not intended for big financiers. They are really intended for persons with limited means, who cannot afford to invest big sums in banks. The second thing which I want to press is that the period may be increased. A person should be able to keep it on, if he chooses to do so, for an unlimited period, after the certificate has matured. The present practice of giving the money back at the end of five years should be discontinued.

**Sir Hugh Cocke** (Bombay: European): He can keep it, even now, for ten years.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** That was the old rule. One thing about the rate of interest. At present the rate of interest which is awarded on paper is five per cent. If one calculates at compound interest, the interest on a given Certificate comes out to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. only. I calculated this rate of interest entirely in a different way, and I should like to find out from the Honourable the Finance Member whether I am right in my calculation. That is, I have taken the total amount of the cash which the Government have got in their possession for the last five years as given in the administrative reports and I have taken



the amount of interest which they paid on Postal Cash Certificates year after year. Calculating the interest on the total amount in the possession of the Government the rate of interest comes only to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. So according to my calculation the real rate of interest which Government actually pay is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., though the official rate is quoted at 5. I may be wrong in my calculation, but this is the figure which I arrived at by taking the actual amount in possession of the Government for the last five years and the actual amount of interest they paid during the same period. It may be due to the fact that many persons may have cashed their certificates before the prescribed period and failed to get any interest on them. In other words, they got their money back without any interest whatsoever. If this be so, then I think the Government can easily afford to increase the rate of interest to 6 per cent., and perhaps accept only Rs. 3 for a Cash Certificate of the face value of Rs. 5, and in this way it will be a great boon for the poorer people who have not got the capital, and it will also be a source of income to the Government because they might be able to raise this money at a very cheap rate of interest. With these observations, I resume my seat.

**Mr. Ghanshyam Das Birla:** Sir, in the present atmosphere of this House when the Government have got little regard for public opinion, I would dread to say anything about retrenchment. I have been pressing this point for the last three years, and I feel that if I press it further, I may be called by my Honourable friend the Finance Member a monomaniac. The only consolation, Sir, is that, even the European Group has realised the consequences of the extravagant policy of the Government and has joined me in pressing that economy should be effected in all departments of the Government. The proposal of my Honourable friend, Sir Hari Singh Gour, to retrench five per cent. all round may not be practicable, but I do not think it should have been ridiculed. It is a method which has been adopted in business houses from time to time, and even if it may not be a practical proposition, it should not be without value as offering practical guidance. I hope, Sir, Government will realise, if not today at least some day, the dire consequences of their extravagant policy, and the sooner they realise it the better in the interest of the taxpayers. I propose, however, to confine my remarks entirely to the merits or otherwise of the proposed new taxation.

Sir, I welcome the increased taxation on sugar on the ground that it will afford protection to the producer in the country. It is however an agreeable surprise to me that the consumer's interest, for which Government have been all along so solicitous, has been deliberately ignored. We know why it has been so. We know that, in spite of an already heavy duty on sugar, a further tax on imports has been imposed. All the same, to my mind it should be welcome to every protectionist who feels that, to protect an indigenous industry is to make an investment in the interest of the consumer. I however feel, Sir, that with the same burden which we are proposing to impose on the consumer, we could have protected two industries, and more adequately; for instance, if, instead of putting up the existing duties on sugar which are already heavy, a further burden, say, to the extent of 5 or 10 per cent. had been imposed on the import of piece-goods, we could have, with the same burden on the general consumer, given protection and adequate protection to the two industries.

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

[Mr. Ghanshyam Das Birla.]

But we know why in one case a 100 per cent. duty has been imposed without any regard to the interest of the consumer, and in the other case, when the Indian mills wanted only a 20 per cent. import duty, Government said that, in the interest of the consumer, they could not agree to this proposal. We know why this is so. In the one case, the competitor is not an Englishman; he is a Dutchman in Java and therefore the question of the consumer could not arise. In the other case, it is an Englishman; the imports are from Lancashire, and when it is a question of protecting our industries, whose interests clash with those of English manufacturers, the question of the interest of the consumer comes to the forefront! However, being a protectionist myself, the new duty to my mind should be welcomed and I welcome it.

Coming to the question of increased excise duty on kerosene oil and reduction in the import duty, I again welcome it. My only complaint is that both the duties were not equalised. My English friends sitting opposite may inquire why I grudge such a meagre protection of 9 pies per gallon to the oil producer, when I plead for protection for all other industries. Let me make it clear that protection is nothing like a religious creed; it is a philosophy of bread. If we are to impose a tax on our own consumer, if we are to put a burden on the Indian taxpayer, we can do so with justification only in the interest of the truly Indian industries and not in the interest of those industries in which Indians have no interest. The oil industries in Burma have been paying heavy dividends and they do not require any protection. The companies are not registered in India, the management is not in the hands of Indians, and that being so, I would be the last person to ask Government to impose any taxation which will not benefit real Indian industries. Sir, it was on these principles that this House supported Mr. Haji's Bill. If the Burma Oil Company can be called an Indian concern, or if the Burma producers of oil can be called Indian concerns, I see no reason why the Peninsular and Oriental and other shipping concerns controlled by non-Indians should not be called Indian concerns. Sir, the implications are clear. We want to protect our own industries. If we have to pay for the protection, we should protect only those industries by which Indians are benefited and in which they are interested, and it is on that principle that we supported Mr. Haji's Bill, and it is on that principle that I suggest that the import duty and the excise duty on kerosene should be equalised. Sir, the Indian Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta suggested to the Finance Member that the duties should be equalised at two annas per gallon. They said that this will not only give substantial relief to the consumer but also add very considerably to the revenue of Government. Sir, I congratulate my Honourable friend the Finance Member on his acceptance, although only partial, of our suggestion. We hope that next year, if it suits his financial policy, he will fully accept our proposal and will see his way to equalise the excise as well as the import duties so that, while on the one hand he would be able to give relief to the consumer, he would, on the other hand, be able to add to the revenue of the Government of India.

Sir, coming to the proposal of the duty on imports of silver, let me make it clear that I am strongly opposed to it, and I shall give my reasons for it. What we have objected to and what we have agitated against is the sale of silver by Government. We have maintained that,

on account of heavy sales by the Government of India, the savings of the masses have been very much affected by depreciation of the value of silver; and we still maintain that. Our second objection was that if silver had to be sold, it must be replaced preferably by gold, or if this was not possible, by gold securities. Now, the Government of India maintain that, in the first place, the fall is not due to the sales by Government but to sales by China. In fact, in reply to a question put by my Honourable friend, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, the Finance Member stated that the fall in the price of silver was due to heavy sales by China and Indo-China. Now, Sir, first of all, I want to tell this House that this was a most misleading statement. Ordinarily, the statements made by my Honourable friend the Finance Member are very accurate, frank and candid. But I must confess that in this case, I shall not say deliberately, but quite unwillingly, he misled the House. I will put figures before this House which will show that since 1926, so far as I could see, not one ounce of silver has been sold by China. On the contrary, China took:

In 1927	.	.	.	.	85 million fine ounces.
„ 1928	.	.	.	.	124 „ „
„ 1929	.	.	.	.	137 „ „

In fact, their consumption has been increasing from year to year. The production, so far as the United States are concerned, has been practically stationary. The following are the figures of production in million fine ounces in different countries:

	1927.	1928.	1929.
United States . . . . .	60	58	61
Mexico . . . . .	104	108	105
Canada . . . . .	22	21	22

You can see from these figures that the production from 1927 to 1929 in almost all the countries has been stationary. So far as consumption is concerned, India has been practically taking the same quantity. She took 90 million fine ounces in 1927, 89 million ounces in 1928, and 82 million ounces in 1929. As I have shown to you, Sir, the consumption in China has been increasing. The logical inference is that the actual cause of the fall in the price of silver was, Sir, the heavy sales by the Government of India and we strongly protested that those sales should be stopped because they have been very largely affecting the savings of the masses. That was, Sir, our proposal No. 1. The second proposal was . . . . .

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster** (Finance Member): Sir, I must interrupt my Honourable friend if he is going to say no more on the subject of our sales. He has accused me, “unwillingly” he said, of making a statement which has misled the House. He said he would give the figures to show that my statement had been misleading. I maintain that he gave no figures to show that my statement was misleading. My statement was to the effect that the recent fall in price had been mainly due to sales of silver by holders in Indo-China and China. I do not know whether my Honourable friend was present when I made a supplementary statement the other day—I think it was in answer to one of his own questions—in which I explained the position. I pointed out, first of all that, according to my information, Indo-China had actually sold 50 million ounces

[Sir George Schuster.]

during the last three months as compared with the total sales of 67 million ounces by the Government of India during a period of 8½ years. As regards China, I freely admit it that on balance in the last two years China had imported more silver than her average consumption in the previous five years. But in my answer to my Honourable friend, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, I was referring to the causes for the recent fall in the price of silver and my information was that one of the largest contributory factors was the position in China—first, the knowledge that very large stocks of silver far in excess of the normal position were held in Shanghai; secondly, large operations in the market by Chinese interests. Now, Sir, my Honourable friend is perfectly aware that the influences which affect the price of silver are not necessarily physical transfers of actual silver, but operations in the market. He knows perfectly well that the price of silver is fixed very largely by transactions from day to day in the London market. Now, if China has imported, let us say, 130 million ounces of silver and holds those stocks physically in Shanghai or anywhere else, the figures which he has given us will show that those imports—and he will be able to say that China has imported silver. But he knows quite well, that against those stocks one may go into the market in London and sell millions of ounces “forward” and smash the price without moving an ounce of silver from Shanghai or any other place in China. In the information I gave to the House, I was acting on reports which I have received from the London market as to such operations and I maintain, Sir, that the information which I gave was perfectly correct. I do not wish to withdraw a word of it.

**Mr. Ghanshyam Das Birla:** I can see that the Honourable the Finance Member, while willing to modify his statement in spirit, will not like to withdraw a word. But this does not alter the facts. The exact words he used in reply to the question of my Honourable friend, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, were, “Government are informed that the primary influences causing the drop in the price of silver during the last year were heavy sales by China and Indo-China”. Now, Sir, I have put figures before the House which will show to you that China has been taking more silver than what she was taking before. As I told you, Sir, in 1927, she took 85 million ounces and in 1929 she took 187 million ounces. When does the speculator come in? If he sells short he must cover eventually and put up the market. Speculators can't produce supplies. I must say the reply was misleading.

**Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas** (Indian Merchants' Chamber: Indian Commerce): Perhaps it will help the Honourable Member if I suggest to him that the difference between what he wishes to impress on the House and what the Honourable the Finance Member is trying to explain is this. The Honourable the Finance Member, replying to my question, gave the impression as if the Government of China had sold silver. What the Honourable Member, Mr. Ghanshyam Das Birla, is trying to make out is that the Government of China never sold. It is possible that speculators in China may have sold. The parallel between the sales by the Government of India and the sales by speculators in China, therefore, is not correct. If this is what my Honourable friend is trying to bring out, perhaps the Honourable the Finance Member will agree with him.

**Mr. Ghanshyam Das Birla:** I do not think it is a question, so far as I am concerned, of mere words. But the impression which this House got was that the fall in price was due to heavy sales by China. Now either these heavy sales were subsequently covered and therefore could not have affected the price, or the goods were delivered which is not a fact.

**Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas:** Sales by the Government of China?

**Mr. Ghanshyam Das Birla:** He did not say that in his reply.

**An Honourable Member:** Indo-China.

**Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas:** Indo-China does not come in the picture at all. The question is about who is selling from China.

**Mr. Ghanshyam Das Birla:** I have placed the figures before the House, and if the Honourable the Finance Member agrees with me that he did not mean "actual exports" from China, I do not think there is much difference on that point. And therefore it goes only to confirm what I maintain that the fall in price of silver has been primarily due to sales by Government, and what we wanted to press was that Government should not make these sales at these rates or that at least they should announce their silver policy to the effect that they were not going to sell silver as long as low prices prevailed. That was our contention. I do not know how the imposition of the duty is going to meet this point. My Honourable friend, the Finance Member, will agree with me, that after the imposition of the duty on silver, the world price of silver has fallen further by about 1 to 1½%, and if that is so, surely the duty imposed is not going to help the holders of silver in India. The prices may have been artificially put up in India, but it is the world price which counts. And we should not forget that India imports a very large quantity of silver every year, and that being so, the money going into the pocket of the Government of India through the taxation imposed comes only out of the pocket of the Indian consumer. I do not know how this duty on silver is going to help the Indian consumer or the Indian holder. So far as the world prices are concerned, they have been further depreciated by the imposition of the silver duty and therefore I strongly oppose this new taxation which, to my mind, is neither calculated to help the Indian consumer nor the Indian investor who has invested his savings in silver.

Another point is, the Honourable the Finance Member, in his reply, again to Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, stated that the reason for selling silver was that he wanted to replace it by gold, and that as the silver earns no interest, if it is sold and converted into sterling securities, they earn interest and that is to the advantage of the public. Now, Sir, I would not mind if silver has to be sold provided it is replaced by gold. But there again, Sir, we have been misled. Let us examine the figures of our gold securities and see whether the Government has been able to replace the holdings of silver by gold securities. Sir, on the 31st March, 1926, the total holdings of the sterling securities in the Paper Currency Reserve of the Government of India amounted to 29 crores. That was before the Government started selling silver, and what is the position, Sir, today? On 22nd February, 1930, our total holding of gold securities had come down to Rs. 2 crores 98 lakhs; that means a reduction from Rs. 29 crores to Rs. 2 crores 98 lakhs. That is the position, Sir. On the one hand, on account of our heavy sales we have depreciated the value of

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silver; on the other hand we have not replaced it by gold. On the contrary, our gold holdings have been very much dissipated during the last three years. I maintain, Sir, that silver has been sold, and probably the policy of the Government still is to sell silver, for the purpose of putting funds at the disposal of the Secretary of State or for the purpose of contracting money; and that being so, I strongly oppose that policy. I also maintain that the imposition of a duty is not at all going to help us but is likely to put a further 2 crores of rupees into the pocket of the Government of India from the pocket of the Indian consumer of silver.

Now, Sir, my other objection to the duty on silver is that, just as salt is mostly consumed by the poor man, so too is silver. It is for the poor an article of consumption and investment both, and therefore this duty must come out of the pockets of the masses. I do not say that the tax should under no circumstances fall on the poor man, but I would try other expedients before touching these two sources of revenue, salt and silver; I should leave them intact as a last resort. My third objection to this duty is that the estimated revenue which has been mentioned by the Honourable the Finance Member is an under-estimate. My Honourable friend Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas has already pointed out in his speech that it will bring in probably more than Rs. 2 crores instead of one crore as estimated by the Honourable the Finance Member. Probably, Sir, the Honourable the Finance Member has in mind that if there is a surplus at the end of the season, he would like to make a gift of it to the provinces in some directions or on some conditions, or probably he will put the surplus at the disposal of some department or committee to be spent for constructive purposes in the provinces. Now, Sir, that is not a bad idea, but I am afraid this must inevitably interfere with the fiscal autonomy of the provinces. Sir, the complaint is being made from time to time that the Government of India exercise undue interference in purely provincial matters and now when we are talking of provincial autonomy and the residuary power being left to the provinces I think, Sir, such a proposition must seriously clash with the fiscal autonomy of the provinces. We can, Sir, well imagine the results of the Government of India having at their disposal funds and telling the provinces, "Well, if you agree to certain conditions, we shall pay you so much; if you do not agree to those conditions, we will not pay". In such an advantageous position, the Government of India must be able to exercise a very undue influence, and therefore, Sir, I would be the last person to encourage such a policy. I think, Sir, that we could give relief to the provinces in some directions. For instance, we could allow the provinces to collect some kinds of taxations which are being collected at present by the Central Government, and thus allot them quite different spheres. On the other hand, Sir, what we could do is, that if we find at the end of the season a surplus in the Budget, we might remit taxation in some direction, for instance, the tax on salt. But I would be the last person to recommend that the Government of India, with funds at their disposal, should dictate policy to the provinces and come into clash with their fiscal autonomy.

Sir, before concluding, I should like to join with my friend Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas in the congratulations which he offered to the Finance Member for accepting his suggestions about imposing duties on silver thread and silver wire. Sir, in this connection, as has been very

appropriately said, there has been a distinct change from the past in the attitude of the Government of India. Sir, while I join with my friend Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas in congratulating the Finance Member, I must confess that, if my satisfaction is great, my dissatisfaction is still greater. Sir, it is all right accepting a few suggestions here and there, but that is, Sir, really a poor consolation. We find ourselves today being confronted with a situation in which a principle is sought to be imposed on us for the first time in the history of India, that is, the principle of "Imperial Preference". The Government of India, Sir, know very well that the opposition is not in a majority; it is in a minority. They know that it is very easy in the present condition of the Assembly to carry this proposal through, although they realise that, so far as the country is concerned, it is uncompromisingly opposed to this principle. And having regard to the fact that this proposal was very strenuously opposed in 1903 by the late Lord Curzon, it comes as a painful surprise that the Government of India under the present circumstances, when the political situation is so unsettled, should think it desirable to impose on the country a principle which was opposed as far back as 1903. Therefore, Sir, it is not a consolation to find that the Government is accepting a comma here and a semi-colon there. So far as the question of a vital principle is concerned, we find that the Government remains what it was and is determined to impose a principle we have been strenuously opposing for the last so many years. Sir, I must, therefore, confess that I do not feel as enthusiastic in offering my congratulations to the Treasury Benches as my friend Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas feels.

But, Sir, if we are disappointed, probably it is our own fault. We entertain high hopes; we felt, when the Finance Member introduced his Budget last year that we were to expect from him unalloyed justice so far as the economic interests of India are concerned, and now, Sir, this introduction of Imperial Preference has made it more than clear that, whatever may be the personality of any particular Member, we cannot get full justice from this Government. The only solution, therefore, is, the grant of Dominion Status, and until we get that, we should not expect full and unalloyed justice from the Government of India. I hope, Sir, before the Honourable the Finance Member leaves India, I shall have the pleasure with reasons of expressing my hearty congratulations for the services which he may have rendered. And none will be happier than myself to do it. But, that is, Sir, a pious hope at present the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of which is a matter which rests entirely with the Honourable the Finance Member.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Ten minutes to Three of the Clock.

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

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**Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney:** Sir, I desire to take part in this discussion . . . .

**Pandit Nilakantha Das** (Orissa Division: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, there is no quorum. (*Some Honourable Members:* "There is quorum.")

**Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney:** Sir, I desire to take part in this discussion with a view to bring to the notice of the Honourable the Finance Member certain matters which I believe have not been prominently emphasised. I do not intend to compete with my friend Mr. Prakasam who has established a record in his heights of oratory or to indulge in a diatribe against the Government for, even if this is a bad Government, a substitute might be much worse. I want to come down to *terra firma* and treat with solid facts, Sir, not celestial politics, and to ask the Honourable the Finance Member,—I am sorry to find he is not in his seat just now,—to listen to a Back Bencher's view on the adjustment between his Budget expenditure and income on lines indicated by a layman and not an expert financier.

Sir, to my mind, this discussion has been remarkable for the absence of any evidence of that original disease—once so much in evidence before in this House—Indianisation. I suppose Indianisation has been carried to such an extent that there is very little room for it to be practised. (*Some Honourable Members:* “Question.”) Anyhow, in its place I have noticed symptoms of another disease which, in the words of my friend Mr. Jinnah, I would call Retrenchment, Retrenchment, Retrenchment, and in doing so the words of Kipling, in his famous “Departmental Ditties” come to my mind:

“And Retrenchment, ah, retrenchment oft I swore,  
“But was I sober when I swore?”

And from all parts of this House in this discussion, Sir, I see evidence of the fever of Retrenchment. But no one has said from what ranks and Departments this is to be effected. We have however had from the Honourable the Finance Member so many promises of Retrenchment, especially in his reply to the motion moved by the European group, that I would seriously warn him, not that I desire to emulate my friend Mr. Jinnah who has of late acquired a habit of warning Government,—but a friendly warning against the many promises he has been making to the House—at times rather recklessly, because the indemnity demanded by this House for broken promises is sometimes very heavy. After the demand for retrenchment was exhausted we were treated to Sir Hari Singh Gour's five per cent. decapitation cut from the Demand of every department, and this was followed by my friends Pandit Nilakantha Das and Mr. Aney, who wanted to abolish the Salt Department entirely. This wholesale demand for economy is a wholesome one, but, Sir, let us come down to practical facts. The Honourable the Finance Member has frequently said he is ever ready to effect any practical measures of retrenchment and I need hardly warn him in such matters,—for I am no financier,—that efficiency and economy are very often incompatible factors. I should also like to warn him, in view of his promises, of the many past attempts that have been made by the Government of India, under the guise of retrenchments and which have resulted in creating labour troubles and grave economic upheavals with great loss to Government. I do not intend asking him to consider, as my friend Sir Hugh Cocke said in his speech, the price or the hire of a motor car to Government servants, etc., I want to deal with something much more practical than that. I want to warn the Finance Member against certain attempted measures of retrenchment that have been practised during the past few years and which he will



find have resulted in disturbing the peace and harmony of his employees and which will in the future cause him more anxiety than the time scale system of increment of salary that was introduced some years ago in various departments.

In this connection let me bring to his notice one or two such matters. Let me take the Railways for instance. Retrenchments have lately been introduced in the various staffs of the Railways, which I consider will lead further and further to disharmony and disaffection amongst the employees. To quote only one instance. We have the 1928 new rates of pay that were introduced in the East Indian Railway in the name of retrenchment and economy, rates that were introduced on this Railway by the Railway Board and not by the Railway, rates which, in my opinion, in as far as it affects European and Anglo-Indian employees, do not amount to economy, but a starvation wage and an invitation to every employé to quit railway work. I ask this House to consider how is it possible for an Anglo-Indian employé,—and my friend Diwan Chaman Lall will certainly support me here,—how will it be possible for such an employé to exist, *i.e.*, to live, work and at the same time be an effective member of the Auxiliary Force which with him is a compulsory term of employment on a salary of Rs. 15 a month as a fireman and from which salary reductions of from 2 to Rs. 5 have to be made for his house-rent and other things. It is absolutely impossible, and I would ask the Finance Member to at once enquire into this revised rate of pay and remedy it. Whilst on the one hand we have such absurd measures of retrenchment, on the other side of the picture we had a recent deputation headed by one of our greatest retrenchers and economisers, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, who approached the Finance Member in support of the employees of the Currency Department asking for more pay. Sir, we cannot have our bun and eat it at the same time. But, however necessary it may be to improve the pay of the Currency Department, the 1928 revised rates of pay on the East Indian Railway are an inequity, not retrenchment, and unless remedied at once will lead to serious trouble.

Let me draw the attention of the Honourable the Finance Member to another instance of wrong retrenchment. Honourable Members will bear with me if I refer in some detail to it, because it bears a communal complexion, but this needs no apology from me. I am here to represent my community, and I do so without fear or hesitation. I refer to the revised Indian Medical Department rates of pay that was introduced by the Army Department. Honourable Members will remember that when I discussed the retrenchment motion of the European Group last week, I referred, in brief, to certain measures of retrenchment in the Army Department to which they had turned deaf ears. In addition I referred to a Department in which members of my community are almost entirely employed,—I refer to the Indian Medical Department. Well, Sir, a new scale of pay was introduced in 1929 in this Department. The Secretary of State's permission was obtained, and this House will hardly believe me when under the guise of retrenchment, I tell them of the utter and unparalleled meanness of the Army Department in the limitation of the application of that increased pay, for that increased pay was given only to those members of the Indian Medical Department serving in military and denied to those serving in the civil and other miscellaneous Departments,—an unheard of procedure in the annals of British administration in any part of the British Empire. Let me quote other Departmental increments of pay. Can you for a moment imagine the result if the Government of India when it sanctioned the Lee concessions

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to the superior Military and Civil Services it limited its application only to those officers who were employed in the Government of India offices and not to those in the Provincial Government? Again, can you imagine a similar case of the Army Department sanctioning an increased pay to its King's Commissioned regular officers and limiting this increment to officers working at Army Headquarters or regiments and refusing it to those army officers employed in the Political Department? Or can you imagine the salary of the Civil Service being increased and it being applied only to those in the Government of India offices and not to those employed under the Provincial Governments? Such conduct would never be tolerated in any other Department for a day. And yet this is exactly what the Army Department has done in the case of the I. M. D. And why? Because he knows that in the I. M. D. he has a patriotic, loyal and well disciplined class of men. Such unfair treatment would never be tolerated by any other Department and yet the Army Department have granted increased pay to some men and denied it to others, and all belong to one cadred Army Department. Is this economy retrenchment or meanness and dishonest economy? Is such treatment to be meted out to the Anglo-Indian community only? The Army Member knows he is wrong and he cannot

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quote another Department which has been so niggardly and dishonestly treated. I call upon the Finance Member and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to rectify this injustice for it is wholly wrong to single out this Department for such mean and un-British treatment. Contrast this meanness with the liberality amounting to financial profligacy displayed by the entire Army Department, when, in the teeth of opposition of the Finance Department, it passed the present extravagant rates of pay, allowances and pensions to the India Unattached List and the Indian Miscellaneous List. Then compare this with the dates and rates of pensions and revised pay given to the Indian Medical Department from the year 1919 to date. The Indian Medical Department seems to be a very remote after-thought of the Army Department when improvements are concerned. I have also been trying to impress upon the Government of India the miserable lot of their civil pensioners. I wish I could take the Finance Member to the homes of some of these poor old pensioners, Indians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans, living on mere pittance, most of them on starvation wages, and yet these were the men who laid the foundation stones of the very institutions which you and I are working today. These poor men have not got enough money to pay for medicine and comforts while their successors in office are today living in ease and comfort. The Government of India knows of the terrible plight of these their old and faithful servants and say financial stringency prevents them from giving any relief and yet, I can charge this very Government of India (in the Army Department) with financial profligacy. I refer to the extravagant rates of pay, allowances and pension today given to the ancillary Branches of the Army, called the "India Unattached List". I am almost weary of referring to this point,—a Department recruited from the rank and file of the British Army, poorly educated, occupying positions of no importance and no responsibility and yet given a rate of pay higher than is given to one of your own graduates, highly educated technical even entering the superior services on the railway. Ordinarily a ranker is promoted to a non-commissioned officer and brought into the India Unattached List today on a salary of about Rs. 800 a month including allowances more than is given to a qualified Indian

Medical Department man or most probationers in the Superior Indian Services. Here is an instance in which on the one hand you indulge in financial profligacy and on the other you refuse to give your poor old starving civil and military pensioners a few extra rupees, the difference between starvation and comfort. These are a few of the methods of retrenchment in which Government seem to specialise today and which certainly do not stand to their credit.

Then we have another department over which my friend Mr. Sams presides—the Telegraph Department. It is no use for him or the Honourable Members thinking that this Department or the Telephone Department is happy and contented. I can tell the Honourable Member that they are not happy. Measures of retrenchment are being carried out in this Department which are creating a great deal of unrest and discontent and I solemnly warn the Government not to go too far, to cry a halt or they may create an uncontrollable condition of disruption and eruption in the Telegraph Department. The Honourable Member has given freely of his care and love to the Postal Department a very necessary and pressing provision, but he seems to be starving the Telegraph side. Let him have a care. My friend Diwan Chaman Lall will bear me out when I refer to the grave discontent now prevailing among the labouring classes in the railways. These poor men can barely exist under less. The railway subordinate services are understaffed. They have no leave reserve. They cannot get sick leave for the same reason. There is always a conflict going on in most railway stations between the medical officer and the administration officer, with the result that men are sent out to work in an unfit condition and yet this state of affairs is allowed to exist. The men's health is so undermined that they cannot do their work, they cannot get leave and even when they go on leave, sick or ordinary, they have to live on a starvation wage. I hope my friend Sir Hugh Cocke's motion for retrenchment is not meant to apply to these classes of servants and that the Finance Member's promises are not to be fulfilled by such measures of economy. If they are, I shall use my vote to reject the Finance Bill. But, I know the Finance Member has other measures in view, may be he intends to apply Sir Hari Singh Gour's all round cut of five per cent. and apply the retrenchment to the official classes only. If this is his intention—I agree, for in my opinion Railway Officials are overpaid and underworked. The railway subordinates do the work and the officers get the pay. Retrench in the official grades of the Army and Civil Services. The Lee Commission concessions and free passages have drained and are draining India's revenue. I shall not refer in this speech to the industrial unrest that exists in various parts of this country. My friend Diwan Chaman Lall is more competent to treat with that matter. *En passant*, this Honourable House devotes much of its time to discussing the economic and political troubles of a few thousands of Indian settlers that go to East Africa and the Government of India spend a great deal of money in sending cables to the Secretary of State to obtain redress for these few discontented people. Why not spend a little more time, energy and money in giving comfort and ease to your workmen in this country—both pensioners and active workmen—why not put our own house in order before wasting our energy and money on colonists in far off countries, obtain economic peace and harmony in our own country for it, but you must retrench properly. Do not overpay your officials at rates uncomparable with other countries and at the same time underpay your workmen. I warn the Finance Member against a continuance of this policy especially in the Railways.

[Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney.]

Now, Sir, when I spoke on Sir Hugh Cocke's motion, I referred in general terms to economy in the Army. Many Honourable Members were impressed with certain of my observations and have asked me to dilate on them. Apart from their request, I feel it my duty to recapitulate my points in more detail and I do hope they will receive more response and attention than in the past. In the Finance Member, Sir George Schuster I know we have one who is keen on effecting sound and honest retrenchment, when he sees that it can be accomplished without the sacrifice of efficiency. Let me deal with the Army Estimates: Honourable Members are familiar with the total cost of the Army. Now the total cost of the staff of the Army Headquarters, Divisions, Brigades and lower formations is about 2 crores and 15 lakhs out of a total military cost of 54 crores and 20 lakhs which works out at 1/26th of the total cost for the Army. I should like to know whether any business firm in India could run successfully for more than a few months without going into insolvency with such heavy overhead charges. It may be said that the army needs well trained, well paid and many staff officers. I admit this, but not at such a heavy total comparative cost. Let us go further into the matter and ask ourselves how can this be altered? The remedy is a very simple one. In my opinion if His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief were to issue an order introducing the Washington and Geneva Conventions in the offices of Army Headquarters Departments and make all officers of Army Headquarters not the few enthusiasts on whose shoulders the chief responsibility rests work for eight hours a day, I am convinced that the entire staff could be reduced by one-third with no loss in efficiency. In support there is no need to go into further details than to compare the personnel and cost of the civil administration of the Government of India with the cost of Army Headquarters. Such a comparison which would be very enlightening and most instructive, I commend to the notice of the Finance Member. I now propose to enter into further details and would ask the Honourable the Finance Member to bear with me for a while longer. Being a medical man myself, Sir, I have devoted a considerable amount of study to the Army medical estimates as far as the total expenditure of the Government of India is concerned. I find that the Army medical estimates come to a total of Rs. 146 lakhs. In other words, 1/36th of the total Army cost is devoted to the supply of the Medical Service, I mean doctors and their personnel. Some Members may think this a sound investment for a healthy army, but let me go into details: I do not know whether my friend Colonel Crawford agrees with me when I call it extravagance. And why do I say so and why is it so costly? Honourable Members may not be aware of the details, but I have studied this subject and I will tell you why it costs so much. We have in the Royal Army Medical Corps a class of medical officers numbering about 230 who look after the medical needs of the British troops. Out of this total of officers there are 176 Majors, which means that nearly two-thirds of the Corps consist of Majors, officers who are in receipt of salaries ranging from Rs. 1,200 upwards. Now, what work do these senior officers perform? They do the work ordinarily performed by junior Lieutenants and Captains who are in receipt of salaries from Rs. 500 to Rs. 600 per mensem, about half the pay of a Major. The Army Member will no doubt say in defence: But, we cannot obtain Captains and Lieutenants for the R. A. M. C. in India as they will not come out to this country. My contention is if they will not come to this country, is it fair to ask the Indian tax-payer to pay this excessive and extravagant amount of money for

servants—senior Majors—who are doing the work of junior officers and on twice the salaries? In my opinion it is wholly unfair to ask the Indian taxpayer to pay for this financial profligacy. Here you have a measure in which, if the Army Department did not shut their eyes it could effect real and solid economy. Instead they say we cannot get men to come out from England. I agree with them, for I know that they will not come out here for reasons best known to themselves. But if Mahomed cannot go to the mountains, etc., have you a remedy? I have one near at hand and which will not only save much money, but increase rather than decrease efficiency. It is this: We have in the Indian Medical Department about 70 officers who possess British qualifications—experienced men of proved merit and responsibility. These men are today being denied employment in the various provinces. Medicine being a transferred subject, the Minister in charge claims to appoint whom he likes and most provinces are refusing to accept I. M. D. men into Civil. In olden days a certain proportion of I. M. D. officers were always employed in the provinces, but today these provinces do not want them. The result is that they are coming back to the Military employment which together with the fact that the military revised rates are higher than civil rates will soon result in overcrowding. This overcrowding will soon have to be faced by the Army Department. You cannot compulsorily retire these men. You cannot employ these senior higher paid men on junior assistant surgeon's work. Here you have a body of men—about 70 of them—who have British qualifications and who can well perform the medical officers' duties today being performed at three times the cost by R. A. M. C. Majors. My demand is, employ these I. M. D. men as professional men and not as compounders and glorified clerks as today to do the work of R. A. M. C. Captains and Lieutenants—send back your hundreds of Majors to England—and you will effect great economy without any loss in efficiency. And yet the Army authorities will not accept my suggestions. Why is it that the Vigilance Economy Committee is so blind to this point? Why will the Commander-in-Chief and the Finance Member turn deaf ears to this economy? Why will they not use the excellent material that is at their very door? It is good material which can be had at half the present cost with no passage money to pay and no Lee Commission concessions as are paid to the R. A. M. C. officers, and at the same time just as efficient, if not more so, because they, the I. M. D., know the country and its diseases and they have been the friend, the intimate and respected friend, pal and doctor of Tommy ever since he came to this country over a century ago, who know Tommy better than the apothecary of but a few years ago. Ask him. It is no use of the Army Department talking of "birds of one feather" as the Secretary said the other day, for there were birds of many feathers in his nest during the war. Here is a class of men whom the Finance Member can use with efficiency and still the Army Department refuses to do so. So much for the R. A. M. C. officer rank. Let me go a little deeper into this question of medical economy and retrenchment. We have a corps attached to British Military Hospitals known as R. A. M. C. (Ranks). Now, who are they? They are men recruited either from the rank and file of the army or separately trained as male nurses or as assistants to specialists, e.g., dispensing X-Rays bacteriological laboratories, etc. They are not well educated, but they are selected men from the ranks who in time rise to commissioned ranks. These men about 500 in number do duty as male nurses and are attached to the British Military hospitals at attractive rates of pay and not hard work. I want to know what necessity is there for

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these male nurses to be brought from England for the British soldier when sick in India? Today the cry of economy and retrenchment is being heard on all sides and from all lips. We also see in some stations British and Indian hospitals are being united and worked as one unit. You have Indian hospital orderlies and R. A. M. C. rank working together as friends, but one drawing three or four times the pay of the other. Why cannot you recruit the R. A. M. C. (ranks) in this country at less cost—from men who are more efficient and higher educated than you have today. I refer to Domiciled European and Anglo-Indian lads fresh from our first class European public schools, real good stuff who would do you proudly and well? This is another means of economy and an effective antidote to our present day unemployment. If economy were effected in those two branches alone, it would mean a saving of over 20 lakhs per annum. I go further and refer to the Q. A. I. M. N. Service. I mean the nurses attached to British Military Hospitals. These excellent ladies who come out to this country as nurses on high salaries, are paid at rates much higher than junior Railway Engineer officers. Their total salary including allowances comes to about Rs. 400 a month. I ask why should these hospitals indent on England for their nurses to treat the British soldiers in this country when there are hundreds of capable European and Anglo-Indian nurses in this country jumping over each other for want of employment? Cannot the British soldier be treated by any nurse but a white one—or is it the British officer who demands this need? Our Indian trained nurses are more capable and proved their worth during the war? Here is another measure of economy and yet the Army Department will not listen to it. There are about 800 of these nurses entertained at a cost of many lakhs of rupees—a hospital luxury—not a necessity. I draw the attention of the Finance Member to this.

I shall now refer to a service to which once I had the honour to belong, namely, the Indian Medical Service. We have in the Indian Medical Service today a cadre of over 600, half of this number works in the civil side and half in the military side. About 25 per cent. of them are generally on furlough and there are 120 Indian Medical Service temporary officers working in the Indian Medical Service. In other words, one-third of the military medical needs of the Indian army is today performed by the temporary Indian Medical Service officers and which is an entirely Indian corps. Here, Sir, we have another means by which economy can be effected without loss in efficiency. In the permanent Indian Medical Service there are nearly 800 Majors, in other words the same position obtains in the Indian Medical Service as in the Royal Army Medical Corps. In my opinion there is no branch of the Indian Army in which Indianisation can be extended and applied as the Indian Medical Service. Indeed this is being operated today, but only as a temporary expedient as evidenced in the retention of the temporary Indian Medical Service. And why is it that Government will not make these men permanent? They say we cannot get permanent Indian Medical Service members from England even though they have indulged in extensive propaganda work as also thrown out baits of salaries of nearly Rs. 1,000 per mensem, so as to secure candidates from England, but they will not come out to India and, yet, the Army Department will not recruit in this country. Instead they are retaining a temporary cadre of 120 Indians to fill up the permanent gap in the cadre of the Indian Medical Service and this has been going on since 1914

—16 years ago—surely it is high time that these temporary measures have become permanent and should be accepted as such.

**Mr. K. O. Neogy:** Do not forget Sir Cecil Walsh?

**Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney:** Thank you. But he is far beneath the notice of this House. Moreover I think we have dealt effectively with him.

**An Honourable Member:** Where is the Member representing the Army Department?

**Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney:** He is apparently not interested in this, so is absent. Here are measures of practical economy which, if the Government of India and Army Department were seriously disposed to accept, they could effect great retrenchment without any loss in efficiency.

Now, Sir, I come to another point in connection with the Indian Medical Service which refers to the last year's budget. This House will remember that last year, I moved a cut of Rs. 100 which cut was carried by a very big majority and the Government was defeated. That cut related to the redress of certain disabilities in connection with temporary Indian Medical Service officers. As far as we know in this House, the Government have taken no notice whatever of that cut. Now, I want to know from the Government Member what he has done on that motion. If nothing, what is the use of us coming to this House, discussing matters and moving cuts and defeating the Government and the Government turning a deaf ear to it. You may just as well give us our travelling allowance and tell us to go home and not waste our time here. Here is a reasonable grievance—an injustice which this House brought to the notice of the Government and which the Government has ignored though it was censured. Now, what is that injustice? It is this. We have about 120 officers at present employed as a temporary I. M. S. Department composed entirely of Indians. Within the past year their terms of contract have been altered. Formerly they could serve for nine years, but they could not work for ten years; after 10 years' service Captains are promoted to Majors and the Army authorities did not wish these men to become Majors; instead they were suddenly found unfit, discharged and told to go home. Today the contract of a temporary Indian Medical Service officer is renewable every year and the maximum period he can serve is five years. Why? Because in the sixth year the permanent Indian Medical Service officer can retire with a gratuity of £1,000; this is denied to the temporary Indian Medical Service officer and he is suddenly found unfit for further military service at the end of five years and told to go home. He is given no gratuity but his bare pay though he has put in nine years service, the best part of his life. Compare this niggardly parsimonious treatment of the Army Department to these medical men with the liberal treatment extended by the Railway Board to its temporary skilled workmen who come out as chargemen and foremen in their workshops. These men are brought out on a contract of three years for company managed railways and five years for State Railways. At the end of their temporary contracts they are encouraged, in fact they are asked to take permanent employment and their services are retained and counted for gratuity as if they were permanent servants. I repeat, contrast this magnanimity with the niggardly treatment that is given to temporary Indian Medical Service Officers who have given the best part of their lives and who are today

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performing one-third of the medical needs of the Indian Army. Is this fair? Is this how you treated those junior British officers whom you demobilised in 1922 at the termination of the War?

**Mr. M. S. Aney:** The Honourable Member should have voted with us on the censure motion against the Labour Member of the Railway Board.

**Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney:** That, Sir, is beside the mark. I again ask, why do you not deny a gratuity to temporary Indian Medical Service officers? I quote from a circular which was in existence up to the year 1922. Up till 1922, Members of the temporary Indian Medical Service were given a gratuity. I shall now read from the Circular of the Army Department of the Government of India, dated Simla, 2nd May, 1916, to Local Governments and Administrations:

"As the contract of employment of temporary I. M. S. officers is renewable every year, a gratuity of £60 on the termination of employment in their Commission at £60 every year for the period of employment."

This was given to officers from the year 1914 till 1922. It has since been withdrawn. I want to know from the Government why this has been done? Surely the Government cannot treat our censure motion on this matter in this contemptuous fashion? It is wholly wrong for Government to treat us in this way, indeed I find the Army Member is not present here in the House. I only hope he will be made to realise that he is not treating the Members of this House fairly, nor is he treating the Indian Members of the temporary Indian Medical Service in a fair and square way. Here we have the introduction of marked racial distinction, even though the giving of gratuity to permanent Indian Medical Service officers is camouflaged by giving it to Indian permanent officers. Sir, the Army Department seems quite prepared to indulge in financial profligacy in the present rates of pay to the Indian Unattached List. But it refuses to apply the revised Indian Medical Service rates of pay to the entire Department or to use their services in a professional capacity in British Military Hospitals; it also refuses to treat temporary Indian Medical Service officers more liberally. Why?

Now, Sir, I desire to refer to another point and I wish to ask the Honourable the Finance Member kindly to give his attention to it, although it may not directly concern his Department. I wish to bring to the notice of the Government of India that India which is one of the Members of the League of Nations, a country that claims to be a first class civilised power, and that wants to claim equality with the other civilised nations of the world does not possess a Pharmacy and Poisons Bill. Sir, any petty clerk and uneducated possess and open a shop for medicines and himself dispense poisonous drugs without any qualifications. We, in this House, who call ourselves representatives of this country have allowed this disgraceful condition to exist. Why! Little Ceylon and even Iraq has a Pharmacy and Poisons Act, the Straits Settlement has it also and I would not be surprised if China has such an Act too, but India does not possess such a necessary piece of legislation as the Pharmacy and Poisons Bill. I have in my possession a Pharmacy and Poisons Bill which I have taken the trouble to draft and I propose to offer it as a present to the Honourable Member in charge of Education, Health and Lands in this House. Unfortunately he is not in the House just now. It is iniquitous,



indeed it is incredible and, I may add, most deplorable that this vast sub-continent of India, does not possess such a protective measure as a Pharmacy and Poisons Act.

I have another piece of legislation on which I wish to address Government. Every civilised country except India has some means by which it can protect its mental defectives. In India we have the Indian Lunacy Act of 1912.

(At this stage Mr. G. M. Young, the Army Secretary, entered the House and took his seat and he was greeted with Applause.)

I am sorry the Army Secretary is so late. I am afraid I cannot repeat what I have said except to stress an Act to protect defectives. We have in India, Sir, an Act called the Lunacy Act of 1912. The Honourable the Law Member will bear me out when I say that this is the only Act that we have which in any way controls mental defects, the insane and the imbeciles of this country. In this country we have nearly 2 lakhs of deaf mutes alone. According to Dr. Pacheco, a mental expert of the Ranchi Hospitals we have nearly three million insanes, mental defectives and imbeciles in India and yet we do not possess a Mental Deficiency Act such as he and Colonel Berkeley-Hill so strongly advocate. Every other country has such an Act. The Indian Lunacy Act of 1912 deals only with lunatics of all classes, but not with mental defectives. This means that into our lunatic asylums and mental hospitals are admitted on a common footing the worst types of lunatics and imbeciles along with the incipient cases of mental defectives, and which latter patient requires special and entirely different treatment to the lunatic. In our jails we insist on a rigid separation between first offenders and chronic criminals. The same differentiation should be observed with lunatics and mental defectives. This has been brought to the notice of the Government of India, but with no effect. Why this callousness? This is one of the most serious and sacred duties of the Central Government. I seize this occasion to impress this vital duty on Government and ask it to at once introduce a Mental Deficiency Act similar to the 1913 English Bill and so save the country by preventing these mental defects from roaming the country marrying and so seriously impairing the mental condition of future generations. These unfortunate people should be placed under skilled care and treatment. To my Honourable friend, the Secretary to the Department of Education, Health and Lands who has just entered the House I have much pleasure in presenting this Pharmacy and Poisons Bill. I am also prepared to give a Mental Deficiency Act to the Honourable the Law Member if he would kindly promise to give his serious attention to it.

**An Honourable Member:** Give him also a copy of the Bill.

**Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney:** I have not yet got ready a copy of the Bill. I am glad the Honourable the Education Member is now in his seat as I now wish to again refer to the importation into this country and the sale in it of spurious drugs. Two years ago, I brought to the notice of this House at Simla the glutting of the Indian markets with spurious quinine and other drugs. Two years have almost passed and we do not know what has been done except one is told that a Committee has sat and another Committee is to sit, but what has actually been done, I know not. Sir, as the chief mover in this matter I have a right to know and I think this House has a right to know what is being done. Every year three to four millions of people die in this country from malaria and, as

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I previously said, if you were to place the corpses of these people side-by-side they would cover nearly 2,000 miles from north to south of India and which for want of a better term, I would call the malarial longitude of India and, yet, what do we still find in India? Our markets are still being glutted with spurious drugs, the bazaars are flooded with drugs., e.g., Ergot Ipecacae-Santonine, etc., at 40 to 60 per cent. below the British Pharmacopœia strength and still the Government of India remains idle and looks on complacently on this situation. Whatever action they may be taking is being done by their quills in the office files. Sir, surely the Government intends to stop this danger, this criminal imposition on an ignorant public, it is a disgrace to any Government calling itself a civilised Government that it should tolerate this imposition on the public of India, the ignorant villager who goes to the chemist to buy his quinine and is given chalk instead of quinine (*An Honourable Member*: "Does he not go to the Post Office?") It is disgraceful that laymen can dispense and with impunity sell poisonous drugs with a license. You demand a license from a doctor, a Barrister, why not exact a similar qualification from a chemist?

They give bad stuff. I would add that Local Boards are similarly duped. They buy these cheap drugs at one-third the real price, e.g., the price of pure quinine sulphas is. I believe, Rs. 18 a pound, but one can buy this spurious quinine sulphate compound in tablet form in the markets of India at Rs. 6 a pound. The man who buys this does not pay for quinine; he pays for a tablet of chalk with a little alum. It is up to Government not to delay any longer in stopping this criminal defrauding of the public; it is up to Government to stop this spurious sale of drugs. It is not fair to the dealer in honest drugs who has to compete with such swindlers. 'How many mothers' lives are dependent on the administration of pure liquid ergot and yet ergot is sold today in the market at less than 50 per cent. British Pharmacopœia strength, and how many others die for want of proper drugs. I bring this deplorable state to the notice of the Honourable Member in charge, and if he desires to immortalise himself, even if it be in a monument of quinine, I ask him to give serious notice to it and to take action at once.

The other point to which I wish to refer is this. I notice in the Honourable the Finance Member's speech that a certain amount of money, about five lakhs, is being spent on improvement of the Andamans. I should like to know whether the Andamans has ever paid the Government of India any revenue, or has it always been a loss to the Government of India? And whilst on this question I should like to bring to the notice of my Honourable friend Mr. Gwynne a certain statement said to have been made by Colonel Ferrar, the Chief Commissioner of the Andamans, when he gave evidence before the Standing Finance Committee on the 14th January last. This officer made a statement (the truth of which I challenge on the floor of this House) that the Anglo-Indian settlers who went to the Andamans to colonise were an utter failure. Sir, on the floor of this House I deny that any Anglo-Indian went to the Andamans as settlers. The twelve men who went to the Island in 1924 were ex-service men unemployed and were sent by the ex-Service Association for 12 months and they did not give a pice to any of these men except for their food.

**Mr. C. W. Gwynne** (Home Department: Nominated Official): Sir, I should like to explain that, in the proceedings of the Standing Finance Committee, the statement attributed to Colonel Ferrar does not occur. There is nothing to that effect at all.

**Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney**: I have seen there is no reference to this in the official report, but, it appeared in every newspaper in India. I must therefore ask the special correspondent of the *Statesman* in which paper this statement appeared, as also the Editor of the "Occasional Notes" of this newspaper to explain the reason why it commented on a thing which was not true and never stated as Mr. Gwynne states. I have with me, Sir, the newspaper report, a press cutting from the *Statesman* in which it states, in unequivocal language, that Colonel Ferrar said that the Anglo-Indian colonists were an utter failure, and if he said that, it was not a true statement. No Anglo-Indian was sent to the Andamans as a colonist. These twelve unemployed men went at the mercy and the good grace and kindness of the ex-Services Association as an unemployment relief measure for 12 months only. Thirty rupees were given to Colonel Ferrar, at the rate of one rupee a day for their food, and not a pice extra. How can you make bricks without straw? How can you expect to make anyone a colonist without providing him with bullocks, seeds and a plough, or even takavi, to say nothing of clothing, etc.? That statement in the press, Sir, is grossly untrue and I deny it on the floor of this House with all the emphasis at my command.

Sir, the next and last point I wish to deal with is on European education. I will not enter into a learned dissertation on the subject as my friend Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad did. My desire is to refer to and criticise in general terms education as it is taught in our European schools today. I consider that the system of education as taught in European schools today has as its two chief objects a continuance of the importation into India of expensive European Headmasters and the alienation of the European and Anglo-Indian community from the Indian community. In short we live as two peoples poles apart. Times are changing, Sir, and the time has come when we Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indians must come together more closely, and learn more of each other and where can this be better achieved and developed than in our schools? And yet European education as it is being taught today by the imposition into this country of a system called the Cambridge system of education has nothing else as its object but to alienate us from each other. This system, Sir, has further disadvantages well known to all of us. This system was brought into this country twenty years ago, because it was then thought that the Indian University matriculation examination of this country was not good enough for us. Sir, it was good enough for me and many others who have made good in India, but it was brought into this country, first of all into La Martinere College of Calcutta, from where it has disseminated throughout the length and breadth of India in our European schools. With this system we are taught more of English history and little or nothing of Indian history. We are taught more of the capital towns of Europe and nothing about India. In short the superiority and inferiority complexes are developed and kept alive to our loss. Moreover we have to stop in our schools for two years longer than if we go to schools which accept

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the matriculation standard. In short it means that the Anglo-Indian is handicapped by two years in the race of life in his own country. We are today called upon to run a level race with the rest of India. The Anglo-Indian boy passes his Senior Cambridge at the average age of 18, the Indian boy passes his Matriculation at the age of 16, which means that he has two years' advantage over the Anglo-Indian boy in his post graduate and graduate life. If I am asked by Government to run a level race, I think it should be one of the sacred duties of the Government of India who have an Educational Commissioner to advise them in matters of education to forcibly bring home to all provincial Governments and Government educational institutions that the Senior Cambridge is foreign to this country, that it leads us to nowhere and to nothing in this country especially for Government employment. The Chairman of the Public Service Commission, I hear, chucks candidates possessing the Senior Cambridge qualification away from his consideration by the bucketful when selecting candidates for employment. He is neither a graduate nor an under-graduate. The parents of this child are called upon to pay for two years' additional education than an Indian lad and he is in addition given a system of education which is of very little practical value and use to him except as a clerk or a *Chota Sahib* in some firm in Calcutta. To graduate on equal terms we have to swim in the same educational stream as the rest of India, though we would prefer to have our own schools indeed—our religious faith and culture assist on such a segregation. But even so I submit with all respect to the Government of India and the Member in charge who is now sitting in this House that it is the duty of the Government of India to indicate to the provincial Governments that it is time the Senior Cambridge system was forthwith stopped and the Anglo-Indian and European lad in the European schools in this country were allowed to appear for the same examination as the Indians and run a level race, i.e., the Cambridge system be replaced by the Matriculation, and that we should not be so seriously handicapped, in that many of our parents are in a measure forced to send their children to hill schools for the chief reason that it is only in the Hills that European teachers can teach and not in the plains, which in turn considerably adds to the cost of our education and which with reduced wages we cannot afford to meet. This is the chief reason why the majority of Anglo-Indian children cannot go up for higher education as compared with the cheapness of Indian education. The cost is too heavy, the overhead charges of our European schools are most excessive and with our daily lowering wages we will find it increasingly difficult to educate our children in any of our expensive European school. Indeed I can visualise a near future when our meagre wages will result in an emptying of our present European schools and Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indians will be found attending common cultural schools.

Sir, these are few of the various matters I desire to place before the Honourable Member for his personal and serious consideration. Sir, there are certain matters on which I have specialised and there are other points on which I have generalised. But I would ask the Finance Member to give these various matters his serious consideration. I beg of him to give his personal consideration to the economies and retrenchments I have suggested in the Army Department. I would ask the Member in charge of Education to abolish this distinction that exists today in the

systems of education of Europeans and Anglo-Indians on the one hand and the Indians on the other. Let us swim in the same stream though in our own schools; if you want us to run a level race with the Indian, let it be on equal terms, not unequal as it is today. But if you handicap us and compel our parents to spend money for an extra two years, you cannot expect us to have a fair race with the rest of India.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** Sir, may I ask the Honourable Member if he is speaking on behalf of himself or on behalf of the European Group?

**Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney:** I am speaking on behalf of the community which I represent here.

**Dr. B. S. Moonje** (Nagpur Division: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, from the time the conviction has been forced upon me that the Government of India will not be likely to yield to our demand for our birthright, my attitude towards such measures has been undergoing a tremendous change. I was a young man when, in the company of my *Guru* Lokamanya Tilak, I was very hopeful. We were so hopeful that my *Guru*, though old and even broken in body owing to the rigours of the imprisonment he had to go through for his patriotism, went all the way seven thousand miles over the seas and appealed to the Labour Party to see that at least their conscience could be roused to see the rights of the people of India. He returned disappointed; he returned heart-broken. He did not survive long. His disciples have the experience of their *Guru* running in their blood. They have come to feel that there is no hope from this British Government. When this conviction has come upon us, then the mind naturally goes in for a critical analysis of the situation, and after analysing it, we find that we Indians, including also the Mussalmans, not to speak of Hindus alone, but we both, Hindus and Muslims, are essentially a spiritual people, and are moved essentially by spiritual motives. But on the other hand, we find the Britishers, in contradistinction to us, are equally essentially a material people. They are moved essentially by material motives. They cannot understand the spiritual force. They cannot understand the soul force. They can only understand what is material force, and they appreciated that material force when it was brought against them for the first time on the face of the world by most intelligent race known as the Germans. They understood the material force then. (*An Honourable Member*: "Brute force.") You may call it brute force. But every human being has also the brute in him along with his God. Fortunately for us, our spiritual nature has prevailed or has overcome our brutish nature. I will not use that word brute in respect of my British friends. The Britishers have already specialised in cultivating material force. I admire them for that. I am the greatest admirer of an Englishman for the development he has brought about of his material force, and therefore, after having analysed the state of things in this way, it is our duty first to see if we can infuse some part of our spiritualism into the British, so that the Britisher might see that there is some such thing as right which need not be backed up with might for its assertion and might come with his soul in his heart to see the right and grant the right which we regard as our birthright. We are trying to do that, and Mahatma Gandhi is experimenting in that. I wish him all success, because soul force incarnate as he is, I hope he

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will succeed in his experiment of injection of his spiritualism and soul force into the British Bureaucracy and I trust the British skin will not prove so impenetrable because of its thick materialism as to be found incapable of being injected with the spiritual force of love and non-violence of Mahatma Gandhi. But while I wish every success to the Mahatma, I feel, Maratha as I am, with my innate capacity—you may call it weakness—of balancing profit and loss and of distinguishing practicality from impracticality. I should ask myself, should I entirely depend on my soul force, or should I also cultivate that force, that power called the material power, which alone, at the present moment, the Britisher recognises and which alone can impress the Britisher and it is therefore that from the time I have come into the Assembly, I have been doing my best to infuse as much as possible, as much as I can, my spiritual force into the British people and to infuse their material force into myself, so that they may grow spiritual, and I may grow material. We shall then come together on a level, and then when we are equals we shall be friends. They will then recognise our birthright, and we shall recognise their position in the Empire. There will then be a commonwealth of nations, where even the British Throne will be an equal property of all the Dominions which will go to make up that commonwealth. There will be no such thing as English Raj, and there will be no such thing as Hindu Raj or Muslim Raj. It will be the entire Empire Raj, and if the Indians are an immensely larger body in that commonwealth, that Empire will then be the Indian Empire. There the Britishers will be sitting by us, side by side, and will say, "If that is your right, I also have got my right". I will then say, "If you recognise my right, I shall recognise your right." So long as we had been admitting the superiority and our lordship of the Britishers as the sole masters and proprietors of the Empire, we met with nothing but disheartening failures. As an inevitable result of despair a new mentality has been developed—a mentality of complete equality between the Indians and the Britishers, and it is this mentality that I have inherited from my political *Guru Lokamanya Tilak*. (Interruption.) It is very good that my Honourable friend, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, who interrupts me here, recognises it. I hope he will develop that kind of spiritual force which he may be able to infuse into the British materialism and that he has got a sufficient amount of material force which he and I shall use for the mutual benefit of the Britishers as well as ourselves. (Hear, hear.) Here now I am dealing with what is called the Finance Bill. I may say that, as financiers, we Maharattas are generally failures. We can never make money. There is a saying that if a Maharatta Brahmin boy is given a rupee in the morning by his father and asked to go into the market and bring back home Re. 1-4-0 in the evening, that Maharatta boy will bring back only 12 annas, and not Re. 1-4-0. That is our difficulty. As we Hindus are caste-ridden so also our country, this land of Hindusthan, appears to be equally caste-ridden. Because if you go to Gujrat or to Marwar and there you give the boy a rupee, that rupee will perhaps be converted into Rs. 100 by the evening. My friend, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, who is a blue blooded Rajput and comes originally from Rajputana and now belongs to the Punjab, the home of Sikhs and Jats, has much

material force in him. We can all combine together and create a force which will be a double-edged weapon of soul force and material force—a force of love and non-violence and of machine-guns and aeroplanes. Well, we are inspired by this ambition, and having an ambition is a very good thing. But this ambition is really ideal. It is his mission in one's life to humanise people, to civilise people if spiritual force is to be recognised as a civilising agent. It is a noble ambition no doubt but the means, that is, spirituality, by which the ambition is to be realized are still nobler. But the most disheartening fact is that the material, to start with, on which this humanising agency has to work, is highly ephemeral though solid, highly impalpable, though we feel every moment that it is actively working on all sides of us. It has been said by a very famous Englishman—I forget his name now—that the British Empire in India, which is called the Government of India, is an institution which is soulless and bodiless. Therefore, when the material on which to work is an institution which has got no soul and which has also got no body, the question arises, how is this ephemeral body to be infused with a soul, that is, in other words, how is the spirituality of Mahatma Gandhi to be injected into it? It is so very intractable. (Interruption.) My friend says it is a Holy Ghost. It is therefore that we find it extremely difficult to deal with it. As a natural consequence, our experience of the last three years in the Assembly has been that the Government of India as such are thoroughly irresponsible, are highly extravagant, are heartlessly wasteful, and what is more, as I have found by my own experience, they are positively and wilfully obstructive to our rightful exercise of whatever little privileges have been conferred upon us by the present Government of India Act. I am going to illustrate all these points by instances in our day to day working.

Now, I will give an instance of wastefulness. I deliberately call it heartless. My friend, Colonel Gidney, has very ably anticipated me in this respect in one department. I am so very thankful to him for having lightened my task to that extent. But he has been expressing his ideas in his own language and I should therefore, as far as possible, try to speak in the language of the highest officers of the Bureaucracy. Now, as regards wastefulness. Take, for instance, the department of the Army. I have come to know that the department of the Army is an agency where waste reigns supreme. What I am saying is really no exaggeration. I am going to prove it by facts and by the opinions of the highest British officers. Now, there has been in India a very honest English gentleman who was our Commander-in-Chief lately, known as Lord Rawlinson. He was a very honest gentleman. Though a large part of the steel frame of the Institution which is called the Government of India, he appeared to possess both soul and body. There is no reason to disbelieve what he wrote in his private diary where he appears to have opened out his heart. He perhaps did not think at the time of writing his diary, as so many people write their own diaries, that his diary would ever find a place in the public Press. Lord Rawlinson, writing in his diary, says:

"The average cost of a British officer has gone up by about Rs 4,000 a year." of course after the war, and further on he says:

"I am shocked to find we have nearly 2,000 officers in excess of requirements." of course of the military needs of India.

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Did I not make out a point when I was making my budget speech the other day, that the military machine of India is much in excess of the present needs of India?

**Diwan Chaman Lal:** Our friend, Colonel Crawford, does not subscribe to that view.

**Dr. B. S. Moonje:** I am speaking of an officer who is a far greater authority than the Honourable Colonel Crawford.

Lord Rawlinson said that he was shocked. Can you imagine the shock it gave me when I read it for the first time? Can my Honourable friend, Mr. Young, bring himself into communion with the spiritual soul of mine and imagine and appreciate the amount of shock I could have received when I read that?

**Mr. G. M. Young** (Army Secretary): I do not know whether I can respond to that invitation exactly, but I can inform the House that, as the result of Lord Rawlinson's efforts, about two thousand officers were retrenched in the Indian Army.

**Dr. B. S. Moonje:** I am so thankful for that information. Does it not prove my point to the hilt? Does it not indicate wastefulness in the Army? But when were they retrenched? I call for that information.

**Mr. G. M. Young:** During Lord Rawlinson's time.

**Dr. B. S. Moonje:** Say about 1924. So from the time of the Mutiny up to 1924, or to be more accurate, from the time war was declared in 1914 to 1924, so many officers over and above our needs were being maintained, were receiving pay at our cost. But Lord Rawlinson was a kind-hearted Englishman; he said he was shocked; his honest conscience was biting him, and he could not refrain from expressing his frank opinion. Somehow he had to explain away the point and ameliorate the shock he received, and he says, "They were taken on when they were wanted during the war, and we cannot simply kick them out". That is the explanation. My friend, Colonel Gidney, gave an example of Indian officers of the Indian Medical Service who were similarly recruited when wanted during the war but who were and are now being kicked out heartlessly. But if Lord Rawlinson had been living today and if this fact could have possibly been brought to his notice, I am sure my friend would have had no occasion to complain as he is doing now. Now, Sir, I can quite understand the humane sentiment that, since we engaged them for war, they should be kept and paid and not be kicked out unceremoniously. That is human nature, and human nature is everywhere the same but blood is thicker than water. The question, however, is why should the cost be debited to India? Why should they be dumped into India? Have you not got your own British Army in England, your colonial Army of your own kith and kin? And why didn't you distribute these people amongst them, and why did you keep them here? That is the question. You know we have been paying, according to Lord Rawlinson's calculations—my calculation however is different—but I will speak according to the calculations of Lord Rawlinson, we had been paying these two thousand officers yearly at the rate of Rs. 4,000 each, that is to say we



have been paying Rs. 80 lakhs per year for the last seven years. It comes to Rs. 5.60 crores. And we have been told that to give effect to the Skeen Committee's recommendations is a question of money. It is a question of money, they say, to establish an Indian Sandhurst. Now the excuse of Indian cadets not coming forward of required quality and in sufficient quantity has disappeared because I have proved by actual facts that there is no ground for the excuse, I have also quoted from the Report of the Skeen Committee that the Indian Commissioned Officers have given every satisfaction. The other day my Honourable friend, Mr. Young, was saying that I did not quote correctly. Without quarrelling over the point, I am repeating it now. The Skeen Committee says:

"There are a number of King's commissioned officers already in the Indian Army who were pronounced by their Commanding Officers to be efficient according to the single standard of efficiency which the Army recognises."

"Single standard of efficiency", mark the words; no two standards of efficiency, one for the Indian and one for the Britisher, single standard of efficiency by which Indian officers have been judged and pronounced to be competent officers equally with the Britishers, by the Commanding Officer, and further the Committee says:

"Many of these have reached their present position in the face of far greater disadvantages and difficulties than the British boys."

What higher test for Indian boys can any body conceive of? Indian boys have to contend against greater disadvantages and difficulties than the British boys, and yet they have proved their worth as tested by the single standard of efficiency applicable equally with the British boys. I have brought to the notice of the House a handicap of one student who had competed for admission to the Cadet College of England last November. He was chucked out, he was failed; he was not accepted for admission simply because he failed to get three marks more in the combined subject of mathematics and physics, to come up to the level of pass mark in those subjects while in the aggregate he had got 157 marks more than pass marks, and in the Interview and Record test which is regarded as the most important of all, he has obtained 210 marks; that is 70 marks more than the pass marks. Passing in this Interview and Record test is regarded as of such high importance that no boy who may have got the highest or even cent. per cent. marks in all the other subjects, but has failed to get at least 140 marks, which is the minimum fixed for passing in the Interview and Record tests, can be accepted as fit for the Army or the Air Force. A boy with a fine body, fine appearance and fine development and very fine record of proficiency in many sports such as riding, shooting, games, etc., certified by no less a man than the European Principal, Mr. Garrett, of the Lahore Medical College, was turned down because he obtained three marks less than the pass marks in the combined subject of physics and mathematics. We have no right to ask that a favour should be done to him. No, we have no right, because he has failed by three marks in physics and mathematics. His career in the college has been so good that he has been getting about 75 per cent. of marks in mathematics in his class, and if I remember aright, in his first turn of appearing for the competitive examination of the June session of the Interview and Record Board in 1929 he got more than the pass number of marks in mathematics, but was failed in the Interview and the Record test. I was

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surprised when I heard that such a boy could not pass through the Interview and the Record. However, the fact is there, that there is a single standard of efficiency by which Indian boys should be judged, and therefore I might make a suggestion. In this instance, if the boy had passed in all other subjects, and only for want of three marks, he has failed in mathematics and chemistry combined, let him be given a chance to appear for that paper alone when the next examination comes in June, so that he may try again to pass in mathematics, and after he has passed in mathematics he could go to England along with the boys who had been declared eligible in the November examination. That is a reasonable suggestion. I do not ask for a lower standard of efficiency. Besides, if the Skeen Committee's recommendation had been given effect to, the vacancies that should have been available to Indian boys last year should have been 24, that is 20 for 1928 and 4 additional for 1929. So that

4 P.M. 12 boys should have been taken in the June examination and another 12 should have been taken in the November examination of 1929; but only 10 boys have been accepted though there ought to have been 12 vacancies for Sandhurst, for which 18 boys have been declared to have "passed the examination but are unsuccessful". That boy had passed very well all the tests for Sandhurst. He had given his first preference for Woolwich for which he unfortunately failed for want of three marks in mathematics and physics combined, but he had also given his second preference for Sandhurst, and that boy should have been taken in for Sandhurst. My question, therefore, to the Government, whose soul I am trying to rouse and quicken at the present moment, is, that, as the boy had passed in the Sandhurst examination completely, according to your standard, and if there ought to be two more vacancies to be filled in, according to your own admission, that the recommendation of the Skeen Committee had been given effect to, why did you not take that boy for Sandhurst though Sandhurst was his second choice because he could not get through for his first choice, Woolwich?

Sir, I find I went a little astray, so I will come back to my original theme of wastefulness of the Government of India which I characterise as heartless. I am not going to cite many instances of this wastefulness, because they are so many in number. A few instances were quoted by my friend, Colonel Gidney, and I could quote several more, but I shall not tax the patience of the House by citing any more instances. I shall therefore address myself now to the possibilities of economy in the department of Army. If, for instance, Lord Rawlinson had been alive today as our Commander-in-Chief, or if any other gentleman like him had been our Commander-in-Chief today, he would have taken action. I hope this matter will be brought to the notice of our present Commander-in-Chief—I know him, he is a very high-minded chivalrous sportsmanly and yet very considerate and very sympathetic gentleman,—but the only question is that his attention should be drawn to the matter engrossed as he is in the midst of his several other arduous duties—(*An Honourable Member*: "Have an interview with him.")—Well, I will have an interview with him, but I should have liked to tell him face to face on the floor of the House, if there was an opportunity for it,—as I said if Lord Rawlinson had been in our midst today, he would certainly have taken effective action. In his life-time Lord Rawlinson recognised the

wastefulness that was going on in the military department and had suggested several ways and means of economy. And what does he say in this respect? He says, "The only effective economy on the military side"—of course his views must be respected by every one of us—"must come from the reduction of the British troops, the cost of which is still rising". Therefore, our own point of view, before we had read this report in the diary of Lord Rawlinson that the British Army is too big for India and therefore it could effectively, safely and without any undue danger be reduced, has been established beyond contention. That spontaneous appeal of ours for reduction of British troops has been substantiated and supported by no less a person than Lord Rawlinson.

To this evidence of Lord Rawlinson, Lord Roberts, another still more distinguished Commander-in-Chief of India adds his own testimony in support of our appeal. And what does he say? "When the mutiny broke out"—and what kind of mutiny it was I shall describe presently in his own words,—“when the mutiny broke out, the whole effective British force in India only amounted to 36,000 British men against 2,51,000 native soldiers”. This mutiny took place—the House must remember this fact,—at a time when there was no Arms Act in India, at a time when the Kingdom of my warlike Sikh friends in the Punjab was conquered only just seven years before, at a time also when the Mahrattas had lost their India-wide empire—hardly 73 years ago, and at a time when the only deciding weapon on the battlefield was either the sword or the rifle—but the rifle was not so well developed as it is today, and ultimately the deciding factor on the battlefield was the sword on one side and the bayonet on the other. At that time, the Indians had been weaned away from their martial spirit. At that time of the fierce mutiny the Britishers could maintain their Empire in India, when the whole of the Indian Army had revolted, with only 36,000 British troops. And now after about 75 years of complete disarmament, when the Maharatta has practically completely lost his warlike colour, when the Sikhs though still maintaining their martial spirit had completely lost their former soul of Ranjit Singh, because as the House will see it was hardly seven years after their final defeat and the surrender of their kingdom to the British that the martial power like that of the Sikhs had accepted the divine superiority of the English and submitted themselves to serve as soldiers to save their Empire during the mutiny of 1857, I ask—now after the lapse of 75 years, during which science has revolutionised both the weapons and methods of warfare to which Indians are absolute strangers now—I ask, where is the need for such a large British Army of Occupation? I repeat—I ask—where is the need today for as big a British Army as 69,513 strong, that is, almost double of what they had in 1857 with which they were able to tide over the mutiny? Is it not wastefulness to have such a big army beyond our needs? In those days we were not emasculated; we were in full possession of our martial spirit, when nobody could dare say that there was no martial character in our boys; we justified our fitness for the army career because we waged wars, fought, battled and built our Empires. Of course, in those days all—the utmost—that one could say was that our boys were not initiated in the western modern methods of warfare, the western methods of Drill and Discipline, but the martial spirit was there, the military character was there, and nobody could challenge it. Giving a very vivid description, a very heart-touching description of the

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Mutiny of 1857, Lord Roberts says this in his interesting book, "41 years in India", "Happily"—please mark the essentially spiritual nature of the Indians and contrast it with the essentially material nature of the English,—even at that time when the country was in the throes of a revolution when Englishmen and Indians were running at each other's throats, when every one was trying to kill the other, when the Indians were trying to drive out the British people from India . . . . .

(At this stage Mr. President vacated the Chair, which was taken by Mr. Deputy President.)

Speaking about the mutiny of 1857, this is what Lord Robert says, "Happily"—there is no need to be nervous. We are at the present moment in a mood to own the Commonwealth and to be equal members thereof with the Britishers. That is our present mood, I know, that my sons and my grandsons are in that mood now. But as I was disappointed after my Lokamanya Guru died, so my children will be disappointed and they will say "Oh, this fellow has become too old. A firebrand of his time in his youth has now become a moderate in his old age." I will certainly take pride if I can develop in my sons and grandsons a more martial, a more aggressive, a more materialistic spirit, and an ambition of an Empire of their own and if I succeed in it I shall have ample reason to be proud of such an achievement. "There is no happiness greater than the happiness which a teacher feels because the taught, his pupil, is proving himself superior to the teacher". That is the happiness I am feeling in my old age, because I see my young boys, my grandsons and children proving superior to me; for a Sanskrit Proverb says:

*Shishyadichcheta parajayam.*

Lord Robert says:

"Happily this feeling (of racial antagonism) did not last long. Even when things looked blackest for us."

—look at the spiritual eminence of the Hindus,—

"even when things looked blackest for us it was softened by acts of kindness shown to Europeans in distress and by the knowledge that, but for the assistance offered by the natives themselves, the restoration of order and the suppression of the fierce military insurrection would have been a far more arduous task."

How arduous it would have been he himself describes later on:

"Delhi could not have been taken without Sikhs and Gurkhas. Lucknow could not have been defended without the Hindustani soldiers who so nobly responded to Sir Henry Lawrence's call."

Their soul force supervened and intervened.

"And nothing that Sir John Lawrence might have done could have prevented"

—note this remark—

"our losing for a time the whole of the country north of Calcutta, had not the men of the Punjab and the Derajat remained true to our cause."

Such was the spontaneous outburst of our soul force and what did we get in return? How did the Britishers reward us? By the promulgation of what is known as the Arms Act which has emasculated us so thoroughly. But I should prefer to speak in the language of our late Commander-in-Chief, Lord Rawlinson:

"I have agreed to recommend the reduction of 3 British cavalry regiments and 5 British infantry regiments when the internal condition and the state of the Frontier admits. This is rather faster than I had intended to go in the first instance; but I could not resist the pressure when it came to considering the fact that we had 28 British and only 21 Indian battalions allotted for internal security. It was impossible to defend this proportion which dates from the post mutiny days. Now that we have decided to trust the Indians and lead them to Self-Government, we cannot justify an army of occupation." P. 295. Life of Lord Rawlinson.

Now, the Frontier is quite safe. We have our khassadars. We have made roads. We are giving the young men over there a rupee a day so that they may not feel the need to loot and they may cultivate the habits of civilised nations. So there is no fear of the Frontier now.

Now during the mutiny our people helped the British. They fought for them. The Gurkhas fought for them. The Hindustanians fought for them. The greater portion of Hindustan showed kindness to them. What is the return that we got for all this kindness? India got 28 British and only 21 Indian battalions. This is the reward that have been given to us for our kindness to the Britishers and for our help given to them during the dark days of the mutiny by which they could save their Empire in India. It means that the British troops were enormously increased beyond the real needs of India and we were made to pay crores and crores of rupees every year for their maintenance. What a waste. Can anybody challenge my statement that it is a huge waste and that 28 British battalions were beyond the needs of the defence of India. Now,—Lord Rawlinson asks—that you have decided to trust the Indians and lead them to self-government, how can you justify this army of occupation?

Lord Rawlinson further says:

"I have agreed to reduce the peace establishment of British battalions to 882; it was 1,003 in 1914."

That means that we had 1003 minus 882, that is 121 British battalions more for which we had no need. Is that not waste?

Now, let us ask a radical question. Do we really need the British soldiers for the defence of India? I will not speak in my own language. Again I would prefer to speak in the language of British Authorities. Lord Roberts our former Commander-in-Chief found that for the internal security of the country, so that no rascal might rise up in the country to subvert British rule, 36,000 British soldiers were proved to be enough to tide over the difficulties of the kind of the mutiny of 1857. Now, in this era of mutual trust, when Indians are fighting the battles of England all over the world, when science has vastly improved the Ways and Means of Communication and also the weapons of warfare, none of which are now in the possession of the Indians, is it not pertinent to ask, "Do you really need the British soldiers for the defence of India from foreign aggression?" I shall leave it to my Honourable friend, Sir Abdul Qaiyum, to reply as he may think fit from his own point of view as he did the other day. But,

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let us see what Lord Roberts says: Writing about the Umbeyala pass expedition, Lord Roberts says:

"The Expedition was an admirable school for training men in outpost duty. The Pathans and Gurkhas were quite at home at such work and not only able to take care of themselves but when stalked by the enemy were equal to a counter stalk often most successfully. The enemy used to joke with Brownlow's and Key's men on these occasions and say 'We don't want you (the Gurkhas). Where are the Lal Pagriwallas or the Gora Log (European). They are better Shikar (sport)'."

They are better Shikar, the Pathan says, the Lal Pagriwalla and the Gora log then the Gurkhas. (*An Honourable Member*: "Who is the Lal Pagriwalla?") I do not want to tell you who is the Lal Pagriwalla. Perhaps my friend the Army Secretary may prefer to enlighten you on the point. It does not matter much. What I am concerned with at the present moment is the Gora log which means the Britishers and therefore I shall deal now with the Gora logs. Pathans are born Shikaris. I have seen Pathan boys, quite kiddies coming out of their houses with their rifles on their backs going about and looking after their sheep in the mountains.

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

I have seen also beautiful flowers in His Excellency's garden over there. They are so lovely that one is tempted to pluck them; but does anyone feel any compunction or a bite of conscience while plucking a beautiful flower. In the same way the Pathan goes about and when he comes across a man tempting enough for the money he may have in his pockets he chops off his head with the same ease with which you may pluck a flower from the Viceroy's garden. (*An Honourable Member*: "Has he got spiritual force too?") Yes, he had but 900 years ago when the Pathans were Hindus like us Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, etc. If you will read the history, you will find that in Kabul and Kandahar upto 1,020 Brahmin kings and Kshatriya kings were the rulers. They were our own blood relations and we did not have in those days the caste-ridden society as we have now. So, Afghanistan is a country which is a province of India being populated by our own kith and kin, though they may call themselves Mussalmans now. Just as an Englishman in England may be a Christian or a Mussalman or a Hindu and yet he is an Englishman and none else than an Englishman pure and simple. The only thing that is required is that we should begin to recognise them and own them as our own and they should begin to do similarly and as this consciousness shall grow the Bureaucracy will lose all their trade in India and will then begin to imbibe the spiritual force from us. Lord Roberts further on says:

"The tribesmen soon discovered that the Sikhs and the Europeans, though full of fight, were very helpless on the hillside and could not keep their heads under cover."

We have the Gurkhas and the Marathas to fight battles on hilly and mountainous country; the Sikhs, the Jats, the Rajputs in other places; then where comes in the need of British soldiers? And what is the immunity we have got after spending such huge sums ever since the British came here? The military threat from the North-West Frontier is perpetually kept before us. My friend Mr. Coatman is not here. Perhaps

he has resigned and is going away to England. But his book on India which he has written for presenting to the Parliament has been very useful to me. His latest report is for 1928. According to him, after spending so many crores, what immunity we have got is somewhat as follows: "The Indian Government have conducted 17 active operations against the Pathans since 1852." That is to say, on the average about one expedition in every four or five years during the last 75 years; "and four expeditions since 1911". And what was the immunity that India had when our friends the Sikhs were the rulers of Punjab? And, mind you, they did not have such a wealth to spend. They did not have the machine guns or the aeroplanes; neither did they have electricity or steam to serve them. They did not have the whole of India behind their back. It was a small province and so long as that province was governed by the Sikhs, there was no military threat from the Frontier. The Pathans recognised their brother Sikh as their equal. And, though there were skirmishes between these two equals, each respected the power of the other and therefore peace was maintained. And yet Mr. Coatsman says in his Report that the British people did not receive any kind of sound frontier policy as a legacy from the Sikh kings. Well, I do not know that. It may be that none is so blind, as one who will not see; but I see a very clear and sound policy which the Sikhs were following. Not only do I see it but I have been trying my very best to get the Government to give effect to that policy. And what was that policy? It was this that if every Pathan a boy, a young man or an old man was a sharp shooter and knew well how to wield the sword, so was every Sikh in the Punjab, and thus they were both equalised. And that is the reason why ever since I have been in this Assembly I have been impressing upon the Government the wisdom of the Sikh policy. Wisdom does not lie in spending crores and crores in maintaining a standing army of the Britishers which cost us five times more than an army of Indian soldiers on the frontier to protect us against the threat of hardly 7 lakhs of people over there in the Hills armed with only 140,000 modern rifles. You are today much better furnished than the Sikhs. You have machine guns, heavy artillery and aeroplanes. Sikhs had none of these and they were merely a handful compared with what you have in your support throughout the whole of India. I say take a lesson from the Sikhs who ruled in the Punjab and initiate that policy here. Your policy should be that every boy in India between the ages of 10 and 20 should undergo compulsory physical training, military drill and rifle practice. This is the only remedy for the so-called perpetual threat of the North-West Frontier, and there is no other, so cheap and yet so radical. Every boy should be made to undergo this training so that when he grows up to be a man of 20, we shall have more than three crores of people in India ever ready to defend their country. Will there be then any trace even of the threat of which so much is made? You may not know how many crores of soldiers we will thus have but if I calculate them here as I have been calculating in my speeches outside this House, we shall have trained fighters between the ages of 20 and 50 to the tune of more than 8½ crores. India's population is estimated at 80 crores. Leave aside 15 crores of females. Out of the remaining 15 crores of males, leave aside also 5 or 6 crores of children and boys below the ages of 20 and also an equal number above the ages of 50 years. You have thus from 3 to 5 crores of young men between the ages of 20 and 50 who, if trained, as I suggest, will reduce the Frontier threat to nil. Will not these from 3 to 5

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crores of trained young men be able to stand against 7 lakhs of Pathans? In that case we can employ the Sikhs, the Jats, the Rajputs for our warfare on the plains of India, the Gurkhas and the Marathas on the hills and the mountains.

After all this, I am tempted to quote one more instance to give you an idea of the immunity that we are receiving. Mr. Coatman says in his book:

"The Third Afghan War in 1919 sent along the whole frontier a new wave of unrest which broke in Waziristan in the bitterest and most determined fighting which the Government of India ever had to undertake on the North-West Frontier Province."

Well, Sir, after spending so many crores, after having been ruling in India for nearly 150 years, or at least 100 years the British people found out as late as 1919 that the Waziri really revels in fighting, that shooting a man is a mere pastime to him. I do not say that the result of the Afghan war of 1919 in so far as it culminated in the acceptance of independence of Afghanistan was a bad thing in itself; but the defeat of our army over which we have spent crores and crores is not a thing to be proud of. I do not say that will always happen. But we can at least say that money will not give us the immunity if it is not spent on the training of the people as suggested by me. You must train the children of the soil who shall always stand by you, who shall stand by the Indian Empire and who shall form the bulwark of defence against any military threat of any country that may dare cast an evil eye on India. Also about the result of the modern development of warfare, Mr. Coatman has given a very nice instance, which I am tempted to quote. I hope the House will bear with me for a little while, for I have not been getting enough time within the twenty minutes allotted during the general discussion of the Budget to say all that I have to say to my heart's content. I do not know whether I shall again be coming to the Assembly, and so I request the House for, and I hope the House will allow me, some latitude to speak at length. I hope that I am not boring any one.

**Several Honourable Members:** Go on.

**Dr. B. S. Moonje:** Mr. Coatman says:

"In June 1927 certain sections of the Mohmand tribe crossed the border and attacked the British post line."

(At this stage, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya entered the House and seated himself in one of the back benches behind Dr. Moonje.)

I wish the Honourable Member, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, would come and sit in his usual seat in front of me, for I get inspiration from the reverential Pandit.

(The Honourable Member complied with the request.)

Now that my Elder has occupied his usual seat, it gives me great inspiration. I have known only two persons in all my life before whom



my head bowed spontaneously. One was the late Lokamanya Tilak, and now Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Well, Sir, coming to Mr. Coatman's book, he says :

"In June, 1927, certain sections of the Mohmand tribe crossed the border and attacked the British post line. Air action was taken against these hostile tribesmen and they were dispersed after suffering about 30 casualties. The Royal Air force incurred no casualties and the ground troops which had been gathered had no need to go into action owing to the refusal of the enemy to show himself after his introduction to the Air force."

I am reminded here of one little action fought during the Third Mahratta War. The military drill and discipline on modern lines was not known to us then but it was found to be so very effective that a company of 8,000 Indian soldiers trained by British officers stood their ground for three hours against the Peshwa's soldiers. I may profitably repeat here what I had quoted in my speech on the Budget, British General Sir Ian Hamilton's words. He said :

"A thousand men standing up in the open with arms in hand, each anxious to fight himself but each uncertain of how far his fellows meant to fight, were liable to be scattered like chaff by a mere handful of soldiers hypnotised by habit into responding as one individual to the order of their Sergeant."

That had happened to the Peshwa army during the Third Mahratta War, and here is an instance of how a few aeroplanes cowed down a body of well known sharp-shooters, determined fighters, fanatic fighters, known throughout the world for their fighting capacity, being armed only with rifles. Having noted this fact, Mr. Coatman's soul and spirituality were also quickened. He says :

"Though the circumstances were perhaps too unusual to permit the drawing of sweeping conclusions, food for thought is given by the swiftness with which this minor campaign was brought to an end and also by the fact that the rising was suppressed with no casualties on the side of the Crown forces and very few on the side of the enemy."

Is not this most demoralising? The biggest fighter he may be, the most determined fighter he may be, but if he is not armed as his enemy is, after a time he gets demoralised. When a man has only a *lathi* to fight with, and if he is pitched against a man with a modern rifle, what can he do? I say that at the present time the only weapon with which our neighbours the Pathans in the trans-frontier country are armed is the modern rifle, and as against them you have got your modern air force, you have got all these scientific implements of war. Therefore, I ask can you justify this huge yearly expenditure of 55 and more crores of rupees that you have been spending up to now? Therefore, I think I am fully justified in saying that the Government of India is wasteful in its policy—heartlessly wasteful.

Now the second charge of mine against the Government of India is lavish extravagance.

**An Honourable Member:** That nobody questions.

**Dr. B. S. Moonje:** I will give you only one instance and that ought to suffice. It is an instance of money spent on what is called civil aviation. In this year's Budget you have provided 24·5 lakhs of rupees. Up to now

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from the time the hobby of civil aviation had taken hold of the Government, nearly a crore of rupees has been spent and yet to the children of the soil it has offered no advantage. I submit that from our point of view this civil aviation is a hobby, a luxury. But I think I am not wrong in saying that, in spite of the fact that you have spent such a huge sum as 80 lakhs, nearly a crore of rupees on civil aviation, still you have not got one single school for the training of Indians either in civil aviation or military aviation. Look at Japan. Japan sent only two of its men to Europe and got these two of their nationals trained there and they brought with them back to Japan two European expert officers to train their countrymen in aviation, and like a magic, in a few years Japan has raised an effective Air Force and established civil aviation, which had made Japan a power to count. The whole money that was spent in rearing up that force in Japan was spent among the Japanese. But here, we have been crying ourselves hoarse, at least I have been crying myself hoarse for the last three years; will the Government of India be pleased to grant us, as a concession, air force training to our Territorial forces? If not to the Territorial forces in general, at least to the University Training Corps, which are composed of well educated people, who are graduates and who are in every way equal to the Britishers in intelligence and some even superior to them as regards bodily development? This has been my question to the Government. I pause for a reply on the floor of this House. Let any body examine these University Training Corps boys and if they are found fit, why don't you choose them and give them training? How many people are you going to train if you insist on sending them to England? I do not think up to the time of the last November examination, you sent even one man to England for training in the Air Force. It was merely a fortunate circumstance that at the last November examination we were successful in selecting six men.

And now let us see what is being done in England in this respect. The whole of England's air forces have been a growth practically of the last 15 or 16 years. I am giving the authority of no less a person than Brigadier General Thompson, the Secretary of State for Air in England. He said that, before the war, the ordinary private people used to make experiments and used to build aeroplanes and flying ships and other things. When the world war broke out and when they found that the Germans were effectively using aeroplanes against them it was then that a tremendous impetus was given to aeroplaning. Money was lavishly spent in building aeroplanes and thus the whole air force of England is a growth of hardly 16 years. In India lakhs of rupees have been spent in the last 5 or 6 years and we do not yet see anything tangible for us. If you go to England now you will hardly find one or two Indian boys,—there will be six boys at the end of next October,—receiving air force training there. England has made a great name as a great military power in Europe and therefore it can be said that there is no such military threat to England as is said to exist for India. And yet what does England do for being ever prepared for any emergency? Brigadier General Lord Thompson, Secretary of State for Air says: "One thousand boy apprentices are required every year by the Royal Air Force". We here have got a concession of sending two boys yearly from 1928 and a proportionate increase in number every year. I do not know what would be the proportionate

increase in number of boys over two. If the proportion of yearly increase of 4 to 20 boys fixed for the Sandhurst be taken as a guide then, I do not think we can have an increase of more than one-third of a boy every year. And in England one thousand boy apprentices are required every year by the Royal Air Force. Says Lord Thompson:

"Boys of promise between the ages of 15 and 17 are accepted; they are drawn mainly from the secondary schools, technical schools, continuation day or night schools. Entry is by competitive examination for the majority of candidates except in the case of a limited number of boys whose fathers' services entitle them to exemption."

And now look at the care with which these boys are trained. You will see with what fatherly care these British boys are trained in England.

"All skilled Air Force tradesmen are taught a basic trade to ensure them as far as possible against unemployment when their term of service has expired. Boys are accepted between the ages of 15 and 17 and whenever possible, their own wishes and those of their parents in regard to choice of trade are followed."

He further says:

"Thus it is possible for a boy to receive a good technical training and general education at practically no cost to his parents; then to enter a Cadet college where the normal charges are almost entirely remitted; and eventually to get his feet on the bottom rung of a ladder by which he can climb to the highest rank."

So the British boy receives his training in the Air Force practically without any cost, and we in India had to pay 80 lakhs or a crore up to now for civil aviation and an Indian boy's parents are required to spend more than Rs. 7,000 for his training in England. Similarly an Indian boy in the Dehra Dun Military College has to pay a fee of Rs. 155 per month for a training course of 7 or 8 years—what extravagance this! I am determined to see that this is stopped and that an arrangement is made that the monthly fee in the Royal Military College at Dehra Dun does not exceed 50 or 60 rupees.

**Mr. President:** How will the Honourable Member see to it?

**Dr. B. S. Moonje:** God is great and my hope is great; there is a spiritual soul on one side and there is a material soul on the other. They will accommodate themselves some how to bring about this change.

I am reminded here at this stage of a little incident that had happened on the floor of this House three years ago. When I was an inexperienced man in the Assembly and when I had not had much reading of the subject, I found through what little I had read at that time, that in other countries civil aviation and military aviation are interdependant so that boys trained in military aviation can go to join civil aviation, and boys trained in civil aviation would form reserve forces in the military. That was my information at that time, but our Honourable friend Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra at that time contradicted me. At that time I was inexperienced and I had not got full facts and figures with me. But I have got them now and I am going to present them to my Honourable friend. I am placing before my Honourable friend

[Dr. B. S. Moonje.]

what Brigadier General Lord Thompson, the Secretary of State for Air in England, says:

"In Great Britain the Air Ministry is responsible for much more than the Air Force; it exercises a measure of control over aviation in all its branches. . . . Military and civil aviation are closely interdependent and an efficient Air Ministry will reflect this condition."

Therefore I said at that time that my Honourable friend over there who is in charge of civil aviation should make friends with the military authorities and see that civil aviation and military aviation are made inter-dependent in India.

**The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra** (Member for Industries and Labour): Sir, as my Honourable friend, Dr. Moonje, has been specifically referring to me, I think it is only desirable that I should tell him what, to the best of my recollection, I placed before him at that time. The Air Force as it is now constituted in India cannot produce an Indian service suited for civil aviation. If we had an Indian Air Force with a reserve service, things might be different. On the other hand, if we develop civil aviation we may be able to create a number of reservists which will be useful from the point of view of military aviation when an Indian wing of the force is started. But at the present moment there cannot possibly be any inter-dependence between the two in India.

**Dr. B. S. Moonje:** That is exactly what I was saying and I was appealing to the Honourable Member at that time to make friends with the military authorities and bring it home to them that it is in their interests that civil aviation should develop in India in conjunction with military aviation. If he had used his position in the Cabinet, perhaps his voice would have carried greater weight than mine. Brigadier General Lord Thompson, Secretary of State for Air, says:

"In this connection likely casualties in aerial warfare will be as high as 80 per cent. per month. . . ."

This is worthy of note because you want to relieve India of the perpetual military threat:

"In this connection likely casualties in aerial warfare will be as high as 80 per cent. per month in pilots and machines and obviously no ordinary system of reserves to replace losses will meet attrition on this scale and if a nation were to depend entirely on the standing Air force to meet the exigencies of a war, say, for the first six months, it will have to maintain in time of peace nearly five times the air force considered requisite for national defence at the beginning of hostilities. The expense for training and maintaining this standing air force in peace time will be so heavy that no nation, not even the United States is rich enough to finance such a policy. . . ."

It is this thing that I am trying to impress upon the Government, that however much India will be milched of her crores every year, no amount of money will be found sufficient if it is desired to make India free from the military threat so far as the air force is concerned. Then:

"Another solution has therefore to be sought and one of the most promising avenues of approach to it is the encouragement of air craft manufacture and Civilian aviation."

So, I say whatever money on civil aviation, 80 lakhs or a crore of rupees, has been spent during the last 5 or 6 years has been wasted, wasted, wasted.

**The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra:** If I may interrupt my Honourable friend again, the bulk of the money which has been spent, has been spent on ground organisation and that ground organisation would have been required in any case. In fact, we are more or less compelled to incur that expenditure on account of our international obligations.

**Dr. B. S. Moonje:** Not that I have not got intelligence enough to understand it. I have been a member of the Advisory Committee of the Honourable Member's Department. But, Sir, there are illustrations and instances for us to copy. That was not done in Japan. What was done in Japan was, the boys were trained along with that ground engineering work. (Hear, hear.) Was that done in India? Why was ground preparation done by British engineers imported from England? Is it meant to convey that India cannot produce engineers? There is the Roorkee College and I am even prepared to say that you can import one expert engineer from England and have the other engineers from the Roorkee College under him. Japan is doing that.

**The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra:** That is precisely what is being done. In the Civil Aviation Department we have got one Royal Engineer, who is the expert adviser. Otherwise the work is done through the agency mostly of Provincial Governments and therefore largely through Indian engineers.

**Dr. B. S. Moonje:** I am sorry I did not anticipate this thing. Otherwise I would have given figures for the edification of the Honourable Member. Now I charge the Government . . . .

**Mr. President:** He can charge the Government only for five minutes more.

**Dr. B. S. Moonje:** Only five minutes, Sir? Not half an hour? Or shall I continue tomorrow? From my point of view I think this is very important, and I might continue tomorrow.

**Mr. President:** How long are you going to take?

**Dr. B. S. Moonje:** Till I have done, perhaps. (Laughter.) Because this is exactly what I wanted to say, and I was waiting for three years for an opportunity to place before the House everything connected with the peculiar ways of the Army Department.

**Mr. President:** I will allow the Honourable Member to speak up to quarter past Five. Will it suit him?

**Dr. B. S. Moonje:** I think my suggestion might be accepted.

**Mr. President:** Then the Honourable Member will come prepared with fresh facts?

**Dr. B. S. Moonje:** Yes.

**Mr. President:** I think we had better continue.

**Dr. B. S. Moonje:** Now, I am speaking about the utter irresponsibility of the Government of India. From the constitutional point of view, my friend, Mr. Kelkar, dealt with it fully the day before yesterday. I am looking at it from the point of view of the Shea Committee's Report and the Skeen Committee's Report. In 1928, 20 vacancies were conceded to the Indians for Sandhurst and it was said that 4 additional vacancies yearly would be granted. So in 1928 the vacancies were said to be 20, and in 1929 the vacancies should have been 24 if this part of the Skeen Committee's recommendations had been really given effect to. If I remember right, my Honourable friend, Mr. Young, said the other day that the Government had accepted all the recommendations of the Skeen Committee except two, that is the Sandhurst for India, and the other about the abolition of the 8-unit Scheme.

**Mr. President:** Will the Honourable Member promise that he will not take more than half an hour tomorrow?

**Dr. B. S. Moonje:** Yes.

**Mr. President:** Not more than thirty minutes?

**Dr. B. S. Moonje:** Yes, I promise.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, the 20th March, 1930.