

6th September 1935

**THE
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES**

(Official Report)

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(2nd September to 16th September, 1935)

SECOND SESSION

OF THE

**FIFTH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,
1935**



NEW DELHI
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1936

Legislative Assembly.

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THE HONOURABLE SIR ABDUR RAHIM, K.C.S.I., K7.

Deputy President :

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MR. M. S. ANEY, M.L.A.

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Assistant of the Secretary :

RAI BAHADUR D. DUTT.

Marshal :

CAPTAIN HAJI SARDAR NUR AHMAD KHAN, M.C., I.O.M., I.A.

Committee on Petitions :

MR. AKHIL CHANDRA DATTA, M.L.A., Chairman.

PANDIT GOVIND BALLABH PANT, M.L.A.

SYED GHULAM BHIK NAIRANG, M.L.A.

DR. F. X. DESOUZA, M.L.A.

MR. LALCHAND NAVALRAI, M.L.A.

CONTENTS.

VOLUME V.—2nd September to 16th September, 1935.

	PAGES.		PAGES.
MONDAY, 2ND SEPTEMBER, 1935—		MONDAY, 2ND SEPTEMBER, 1935—<i>contd.</i>	
Members Sworn	1—2	Election of a Member to serve on the Standing Committee for Roads	136
Deaths of Sir Basil Blackett, Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary, Lala Fakir Chand and Haji Abdulla Haji Qasim	2—8	Election of a Muslim Member to sit on the Standing Committee on Pilgrimage to the Hedjaz	137
Questions and Answers	8—42	Election of Two Members for the Central Advisory Board for Education	137—42
Unstarred Questions and Answers	42—51	Election of a Member to sit on the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research and its Governing Body	142
Statements laid on the table	61—124	The Payment of Wages Bill—Presentation of the Report of the Select Committee	143
Motions for Adjournment <i>re—</i>		The Criminal Law Amendment Bill—Introduced	144—47
Prohibition of Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena from entering into the District of Tippera—Disallowed by His Excellency the Governor General	125	The Provincial Insolvency (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	147—48
Refusal of permission to Mahatma Gandhi and Babu Rajendra Prasad to enter into the Earthquake Area of Quetta—Not moved	125, 127	The Indian Army (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	148
Rioting of British Soldiers stationed at Jubbulpore—Ruled out of order	125—27	The Provincial Small Cause Courts (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	148
Prohibition of the Convenor of the Congress Assembly Party Committee <i>re</i> De'ems to enter certain Places in Bengal—Disallowed by His Excellency the Governor General	127—28, 157	The Repealing and Amending Bill—Introduced	148—49
Governor General's assent to Bills	128	The Indian Motor Vehicles (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	149
Panel of Chairmen	128	Resolution <i>re</i> Ratification of the Draft Convention of the International Labour Conference concerning employment of women during night—adopted	149—57
Committee on Petitions	128	The Factories (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	157
Agreement between the Reserve Bank of India and the Imperial Bank of India	129—32	Statement of Business	157
Agreement between the Secretary of State for India in Council and the Reserve Bank of India	132—35		
Statement (laid on the table) showing the objects on which the Petrol Tax Fund was expended during 1934—35	136	TUESDAY, 3RD SEPTEMBER, 1935—	
		Member Sworn	159
		Questions and Answers	159—205
		Short Notice Questions and Answers	205—08
		Statements laid on the table	208—32
		Motions for Adjournment <i>re—</i>	
		Destruction of the Shahid-gunje Mosque at Lahore—Not moved	232

	PAGES.
TUESDAY, 3RD SEPTEMBER, 1933—contd.	
Motion for Adjournment <i>re</i> — <i>contd.</i>	
Lack of discipline in certain Soldiers at Jubbulpore—Ruled out of order	232—36
Despatch of troops from British India to Addis Abbaba (Abyssinia)—Withdrawn	236—37, 263—71
Election of a Member to the Standing Finance Committee	237
The Cinematograph (Amendment) Bill—Referred to Select Committee	237—53
The Aligarh Muslim University (Amendment) Bill—Passed	254—63, 271—72
The Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Bill—Discussion on the motion to refer to Select Committee not concluded	272—76
WEDNESDAY, 4TH SEPTEMBER, 1935—	
Questions and Answers	277—315
Short Notice Questions and Answers	316—42
Motions for Adjournment <i>re</i> —Despatch of Troops to Abyssinia—Discussed previously	343
Firing by the Military at Lahore over the Shahid-gunje Dispute—Disallowed by His Excellency the Governor General	343
Refusal of grant of protection to the Glass Industry—Ruled out of order	343—47
Bombing of women and children in the Trans-Frontier villages by the Indian Army (Air Force)—Adopted	348, 377—98
The Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill by Sardar Sant Singh—Presentation of the Report of the Select Committee	348
Resolution <i>re</i> Manufacture of Locomotive requirements in State Railway Workshops—Adopted	348—77

	PAGE.
THURSDAY, 5TH SEPTEMBER, 1935—	
Questions and Answers	399—433
Motions for Adjournment <i>re</i> —Interests of Indians concerned in Zanzibar—Postponed	433—434
Acoustics of the Assembly Chamber in Simla	434
Election of Members to the Standing Committee on Pilgrimage to the Hedjaz and the Standing Committee for Roads	434
The Criminal Law Amendment Bill—Discussion on the motion to consider not concluded	434—78
FRIDAY, 6TH SEPTEMBER, 1935—	
Questions and Answers	479—540
Statements laid on the table	540—48
Election of a Member to the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research and its Governing Body	548—49
The Criminal Law Amendment Bill—Discussion on the motion to consider not concluded	549—55, 556—88
Statement of Business	555—56
MONDAY, 9TH SEPTEMBER, 1935—	
Questions and Answers	589—619
Unstarred Questions and Answers	619—39
Motion for Adjournment <i>re</i> Interest of Indians concerned in Zanzibar—not moved	639
Election of a Member to the Standing Finance Committee	639
Statement laid on the table	640—41
Election of a Member for the Standing Committee for the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department	642
The Central Provinces Courts (Supplementary) Bill—Introduced	642
The Criminal Law Amendment Bill—Discussion on the motion to consider not concluded	642—85
Member Sworn	657
TUESDAY, 10TH SEPTEMBER, 1935—	
Questions and Answers	687—717
The Criminal Law Amendment Bill—Discussion on the motion to consider not concluded	717—69
Member Sworn	731

PAGES.	PAGE.
WEDNESDAY, 11TH SEPTEMBER, 1935—	
Supplementary Questions and Answers	761—64
Questions and Answers	764—95
Short Notice Question and Answer	795—96
Motion for Adjournment re—	
Appointment of an European businessman as the President of the Indian Tariff Board—Not moved	796
Election of Members to the Central Advisory Board of Education	796
The Criminal Law Amendment Bill—Discussion on the motion to consider not concluded	797—840
Member Sworn	809
THURSDAY, 12TH SEPTEMBER, 1935—	
Questions and Answers	841—69
Statements laid on the table	869—83
Election of a Member to the Standing Advisory Committee for the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department	883
The Criminal Law Amendment Bill—Motion to consider negatived	883—950
FRIDAY, 13TH SEPTEMBER, 1935—	
Questions and Answers	951—85
Motion for Adjournment re—	
Government circular prohibiting the Congress Assembly Party Committee to enquire into and report upon the Administration of the Repressive Laws in Bengal—Not moved	985
Circular regarding Governor General's address to the Members of the Indian Legislature	986
The Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Bill—Referred to Select Committee	986—96
FRIDAY, 13TH SEPTEMBER, 1935—contd.	
Statement of Business	993
Resolution re Reduction of import duty on carbon blocks—Adopted	997—1000
The Payment of Wages Bill—Motion to consider adopted	1000—10
Amendments to Standing Orders—Referred to Select Committee	1011—12
Election of Members to the Select Committee on Amendments to Standing Orders	1013
MONDAY, 16TH SEPTEMBER, 1935—	
Speech delivered to the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly by His Excellency the Viceroy	1013—25
Questions and Answers	1026—59
Message from His Excellency the Governor General	1059
The Criminal Law Amendment Bill—Motion for leave to introduce in the form recommended negatived	1059—62
The Jubbulpore and Chhatisgarh Divisions (Divorce Proceedings Validation) Bill—Introduced	1062
The Central Provinces Courts (Supplementary) Bill—Passed	1063—64
The Provincial Small Cause Courts (Amendment) Bill—Passed	1064—65
The Indian Army (Amendment) Bill—Passed	1065—67
The Provincial Insolvency (Amendment) Bill—Passed	1067—69
The Indian Motor Vehicles (Amendment) Bill—Discussion on the motion to consider not concluded	1069—76

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Friday, 6th September, 1935.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber at Eleven of the Clock, Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) in the Chair.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

RECRUITMENT OF PROBATIONERS IN THE TRAFFIC DEPARTMENT OF THE CALCUTTA PORT TRUST.

155. *Mr. Basanta Kumar Das : (a) Did the Calcutta Port Trust authorities ever hold any departmental examination, as was set forth in the programme of training for the probationers appointed by them in 1929 in the Traffic Department, to test their relative ability, efficiency and intelligence ? If not, why not ?

(b) Is it not a fact that Government employees of almost all grades of services, including those in the Imperial ranks, have to sit, before their confirmation in the services, for departmental examinations and the results thereof go to determine their progress at the early stages of their careers ?

(c) If the answer to part (b) be in the affirmative, do the Calcutta Port Trust authorities adopt a similar system with regard to the services under them ? If not, why not ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : (a) No. The probationers were required to submit monthly reports on the work done by them. The sectional heads also interviewed them and reported on their progress. They were further interviewed at regular intervals by the head of the Department and interrogated as to their work. It was considered that the manner in which the probationers did their work furnished sufficient indication of their ability.

(b) It is not a fact, although there are a few Government services in which the passing of departmental examinations after appointment is a necessary preliminary to confirmation.

(c) Departmental examinations are not held by the Calcutta Port Commissioners because they consider that the results of such examinations would not give a correct index as to a man's qualifications for an outdoor supervising post where character, personality and temperament are of at least as great importance as ability to secure high results in examinations.

Mr. Basanta Kumar Das : If examinations are not held, on what basis are the entrants to the services confirmed in their respective posts ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : On the progress report of their work.

Mr. Basanta Kumar Das : Do the Port Trust authorities draw up any comparative statement of the quality of the work done by the candidates in order to see whether any man should be promoted in preference to another man ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : As I have already read out in the answer, reports are made from time to time on the progress they are making with regard to their work, and, it is on the basis of these reports, that the result is arrived at as to the comparative merits of the different probationers.

APPOINTMENT OF ONE MR. HOGAN AS A YARD MASTER IN THE TRAFFIC DEPARTMENT OF THE CALCUTTA PORT TRUST.

156. ***Mr. Basanta Kumar Das :** (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether it is a fact that towards the middle of the year 1934, the Calcutta Port Trust authorities appointed one Mr. Hogan as a Yard Master in their Traffic Department ?

(b) If the answer to part (a) be in the affirmative, what are the qualifications, academic or otherwise, of Mr. Hogan and on what salary has he been appointed ?

(c) Is it a fact that Mr. Hogan has been appointed on a higher initial salary than what usually happens to be the "Scale" of a Yard Master in the Port Trust ? If so, what are the special reasons for doing so ?

(d) Was the vacancy, before it was filled up, at all notified ? If not, how did the Port Trust authorities ascertain that no Indian with qualifications similar to or better than Mr. Hogan's would offer himself as a candidate for appointment, and what made them to come to the conclusion that Mr. Hogan was the best available person for the post ?

(e) Is it a fact that one Mr. Crawford, an outsider, has been appointed by the Calcutta Port Trust authorities ? If so, was his post advertised, and why was no probationer appointed ?

(f) Is it a fact that Messrs. Bolst and Ward, who had retired from the services, have again been taken in by the Calcutta Port Trust authorities ? If so, will Government be pleased to state the circumstances under which they have been re-appointed ?

(g) Will Government be pleased to lay on the table of the House the correspondence that passed between them and the Calcutta Port Trust authorities and the Bengal Government with regard to the resolution passed in the Council of State in September, 1932, on the question of Indianisation of Port Trust services ?

(h) Is it a fact that in pursuance of the resolution passed in the Council of State in September, 1932, on the question of Indianisation of Port Trust services, the Calcutta Port Trust authorities formulated the policy that in the ordinary circumstances it would not be necessary to recruit non-Indians for most of their Departments and Sections ?

(i) If so, will Government be pleased to state why that policy has been departed from in the case of the appointments referred to in parts (a), (e) and (f) above ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : (a) Yes.

(b) Mr. Hogan had 15 years' Railway experience. He had passed the Guard's and Assistant Station Master's examination and the Junior and Senior Audit Examinations. He had also passed as Section Controller at the A. S. M. Training School. While on ten months' leave out of India in 1933-34 he passed in "Railway Economics" at Cardiff Technical College, was attached to the G. W. Railway at Cardiff for five months and studied Goods and Docks working, Yard working, Train control, Goods Depot work, Claims and Rates and Parcels work. He was appointed as Yard Master in the Traffic Department of the Calcutta Port Commissioners on a pay of Rs. 440 per mensem in the scale of Rs. 300—20—600.

(c) Yes. His services could not have been secured on the minimum pay.

(d) No. About this time there was a sudden and unexpected increase of work in the Transportation Section, an increase which coincided with the death of one and the retirement of two experienced officers. In consequence the Port Commissioners required an experienced Railway man at short notice and applied to the Railways. Mr. Hogan was strongly recommended by the East Indian Railway authorities.

(e) Yes. The post was advertised. No probationer was found qualified for the post.

(f) Yes, on a temporary basis, because there was a rush of work and experienced traffic officers were required.

(g) A copy of the correspondence is laid on the table of the House.

(h) Yes.

(i) The position has been explained in reply to parts (a), (d), (e) and (f) of this question. I would, however, add that Mr. Crawford is a statutory Indian.

Madras, Marine (Finance) Department,
Bombay, Political Department,
Bengal, Marine Department,
Burma, Revenue Department,

Letter to the Secretary to the Government of

and the Chief Commissioner, Aden, No. 204-P. & L. 32, dated the 19th April, 1933.

I am directed to address you on the subject of the Indianization of Port Trust Services.

2. As the Local Government (you) are (no doubt) aware Sir (then Mr.) P. C. Sethna, in January, 1922, moved a Resolution to the following effect in the Council of State :

" This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that steps be taken to increase the number of Indians in the higher grades in the services of the Port Trusts, and to lay down a definite policy in regard to the same for the future."

The Government of India in accepting the Resolution made it clear that in their view the most practical way in which Government could give effect to it would be the amendment of the Port Acts so as to strengthen Indian representation on the Port Trust Boards. Accordingly, the Port Acts of all major ports except Aden were amended with this end in view.

3. Since the acceptance of the above Resolution by the Government of India, the question of the appointment of Indians in substantial numbers to the higher grades of the Port Trust Services has received considerable attention both in and outside the Legislature. Questions have been asked on numerous occasions in the Central Legislature as to the action taken by Government and the Port Trusts on the Resolution and as to the progress achieved in the direction of Indianization in the different branches of the Port Trust Services. Frequently also, more especially in recent years, representations have been made by Indian commercial bodies and others expressing dissatisfaction with the slow rate of Indianization or alleging specific instances in which appointments have been filled without due regard to the possibility of employing eligible Indians. In September, 1932, the Honourable Sir P. C. Sethna again moved a Resolution on the subject in the Council of State in the following terms :

“ This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to adopt effective measures to secure a substantial improvement in the matter of Indianizing the services of the Port Trusts to an appreciable extent.”

This Resolution, as will be seen from the Council of State Debates, Volume II—No. 4, pages 169—186, was accepted by the Government of India on the understanding that it did not commit Government to further amendment of the constitutions of Port Trusts.

4. The Government of India note with satisfaction that Port Trusts are generally in sympathy with the principle of Indianization and recognize the importance of adopting measures to secure a wider employment of Indians in their Superior Services. The stage has, however, now been reached at which it is desirable that concrete proposals or programme should be formulated for carrying through an effective policy of Indianization. Under the various Port Acts, except in the case of certain high posts, the statutory power to make appointments to their Superior Services is vested in the Port Trusts, and the power to implement a policy of Indianization of these Services lies therefore mainly with the Port Trusts themselves. They are, moreover, in the best position to judge, having regard to the special conditions of each port, what steps should be taken to hasten the pace of Indianization, and also to indicate the practical limitations or difficulties, if any, which oppose themselves to the recruitment of Indians in particular Departments. The Government of India, therefore, consider that the onus of formulating detailed schemes for carrying out the purpose of the Resolution lies primarily on the Port Trusts themselves, I am accordingly to request that the Resolution may be brought to the notice

	<u>Madras, Port Trust</u>	
	<u>Bombay and Karachi Port Trusts</u>	
of the	<u>Caleutta Port Commissioners</u>	and the Government of India informed
	<u>Rangoon Port Commissioners</u>	
	<u>Aden Port Trust</u>	

in detail, as soon as possible, of the specific measures which the Port Trust(s)
Commissioners*
propose to take to give effect to the Resolution. The Government of India would be glad if the Local Government would at the same time favour them with their views as to the adequacy of any proposals made by the Port Trust(s)
Commissioners* together with suggestions as to any further action which may usefully be taken for the attainment of the object in view.

5. A number of the superior posts under the Port Trusts require mercantile marine qualifications, and one of the factors which have militated against the appointment of Indians to these posts has been the dearth of Indian candidates possessing the requisite qualifications. The position, however, will be rectified when passed cadets of the Indian Mercantile Marine Training Ship “ Dufferin ” have obtained their certificates of competency and have acquired the necessary experience. It is in the highest degree desirable that the local material which will thus become available should be utilized to the fullest extent possible in filling appointments for which the possession of mercantile marine qualifications is considered essential. The Government of India have accordingly already embodied in the recruitment rules of the Bengal Pilot Service provision to the effect that preference shall be given to candidates

who have passed through the "Dufferin". I am to enquire whether the
Madras Port Trust
Bombay and Karachi Port Trusts
Port Commissioners
Aden Port Trust

would be prepared, in filling such posts under

them, to give a similar preference to ex-"Dufferin" cadets possessing the requisite qualifications.

6. The Government of India are frequently called upon to answer questions in the Legislature regarding the progress of Indianization in the Port Trust Services and are obliged on practically all such occasions to call for the requisite information from the Local Governments. In order to obviate, as far as possible, the labour and inconvenience involved in the compilation of the relevant data at frequent intervals, I am to request that the Government of India may be furnished in January each year with :

(a) a report on the progress of Indianization of the Superior Services under
Madras Port Trust

Bombay and Karachi Port Trusts

the control of the Calcutta Port Commissioners during the preced-

Bangoon Port Commissioners

Aden Port Trust

ing twelve months, in which the circumstances attending the various appointments made in the course of the year should be fairly fully explained, and

(b) a statement in the attached form showing the superior staff of the various branches of their Services as on the 31st December of the previous year.

I am also to say that the Government of India consider it desirable that they should remain in close touch with current developments in regard to the process of Indianization and would therefore be glad if they could be kept fully and constantly supplied with all relevant information on the subject which is likely to be of interest to them.

Name.

Nationality and Religion*.

Designation.

Scale of pay.

Present pay.

Total Service.

Remarks.

Copy of letter No. 2646-Mns., dated the 12th December, 1933, from the Government of Bengal, Commerce and Marine Departments, to the Government of India, Department of Commerce, New Delhi.

SUBJECT :—Indianisation of Port Trust Services.

I am directed to refer to Mr. Raisman's letter No. 204-P. & L.82, dated the 19th April, 1933, on the above subject, and to say that, as requested by the Government of India, the Resolution of Honourable Sir P. C. Sethna was brought to the notice of the Port Commissioners, Calcutta. A copy of the reply of the Chairman in his letter No. 58402, dated the 11th September, 1933, is enclosed for the information of the Government of India.

2. The Chairman states that the policy of the Calcutta Port Commissioners is that if there is any person already in their service fully qualified and in every way suitable for the vacant post, that person will be promoted, and the appointment made regardless of race. If there is no suitable person in their service, and in consequence the vacancy has to be filled from outside, full opportunities will be given to Indians to apply for the vacancy, and when an Indian with the necessary qualification is available and candidates of other nationalities are not better fitted for the post, the

*I.e., whether European, Anglo-Indian or Indian.

Indian candidates will be appointed. The Chairman states that this policy has been unanimously accepted by the Commissioners, and, as the Government of India are aware, three of the Commissioners are elected by the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, one by the Indian Chamber of Commerce, and one by the Corporation of Calcutta.

3. The Chairman also states that the Commissioners have taken action to ensure that, as far as possible, Indians will be appointed to their service suitable for promotion to higher appointments. In the Traffic Department, probationers have been appointed for special training as officers; in the Accounts Department, qualified accountants have been appointed as Inspectors of Accounts, so that it should no longer be necessary for the Commissioners to recruit from outside for the senior appointments in the Accounts Department. Indian assistants have also been appointed in the Engineering Department.

4. From further enquiries it has been ascertained that the system of appointing probationers in the Traffic Department for special training as officers was started in 1922. Two men were then appointed and both are now officiating as Deputy Dock Superintendents, each drawing Rs. 1,000 per mensem. Another probationer was appointed in 1924, but, as he was found unsuitable for the service, his services were terminated in 1927. Another was appointed in his place, but he also proved unsuitable and was transferred to a post of Head Shed Clerk. In 1928 three probationers were appointed. One was transferred to the Secretary's Department, and he is now an Assistant Secretary; one is now officiating as Superintendent, Kantapukur, on a salary of Rs. 600 per mensem while the third proved unsuitable and his services were terminated in 1932. Six more probationers were appointed towards the end of 1929, and they are still in the Commissioners' service.

5. As regards the Accounts Department, the appointment of qualified accountants as Inspectors of Accounts was started only in 1931. Three qualified Indians were appointed in 1931 (of these one was a promoted clerk), and two more were appointed from outside in 1932, while some men already in the service have also qualified as accountants. In this connection I am to refer to the correspondence ending with the Local Government's letter No. 402-Mne., dated the 11th February, 1933, from which it will be seen that, with the exception of the present Chief Accountant and Deputy Chief Accountant, all the present accounts staff of the Commissioners are statutory natives of India, that the Commissioners have accepted the position that as regards future recruits to their Accounts Department enrolment on the Register of Accountants will be regarded as a sufficient qualification, and that owing to the arrangements made for the recruitment of qualified officers to junior posts in the Accounts Department it should ordinarily be unnecessary to recruit from outside to the posts of Chief and Deputy Chief Accountant. Since then the Commissioners—as the result of a reference made to them by the Local Government in connection with the letter of the Government of India, Department of Commerce, No. 28 (1)-T. & E. (B.A.), dated the 1st September, have revised their further decision that in future all appointments from outside to posts of Audit Inspector or senior posts will be restricted to persons enrolled on the Register of Accountants (*vide* the Port Commissioners' letter No. 05840, dated the 31st January, 1933, a copy of which was forwarded to the Government of India with the letter quoted earlier in this paragraph from the Local Government). The reason for this change in view, which the Local Government regard as reasonable, is contained in the enclosed letter of the Chairman, No. 66112, dated the 23rd October, 1933.

6. With regard to the engineering side of the Port Commissioner's work, it has been ascertained that there are now five Indian Assistant Engineers in the Commissioners' service, one of whom is now officiating as an Assistant Executive Engineer. Two of these engineers however are promoted subordinates, and are said to be not fully qualified for further promotion.

7. With regard to paragraph 5 of Mr. Raisman's letter, it will be seen that the Commissioners will be prepared to give preference to *ex*-"Dufferin" cadets possessing Master Mariner's certificates when such candidates are available. The Commissioners, however, expect candidates to have served afloat at least as second officers and prefer them to have served as Chief officers. Apart from posts which must be filled by Master Mariners, it is said that there are several posts requiring sea experience, which have in the past been necessarily filled by Europeans, but which the Commissioners intend to fill with *ex*-"Dufferin" cadets with second mates certificates when they are available. Such posts are second officers in the Commissioners' Dredger and Despatch vessel service and it is the Commissioners' intention to appoint *ex*-"Dufferin" cadets possessing second mates certificates to these posts

with a view to training them as Berthing Masters. It is stated also that in the Piver Survey the recruitment of Europeans has ceased, and that three out of the last four appointments have been made direct from the "Dufferin". This method of recruitment the Commissioners intend to follow in future.

8. The Chairman states that the recruitment of some Europeans will still be necessary in the Chief Mechanical Engineer's Department owing to the dearth of qualified Indian mechanical engineers with the necessary practical experience, especially of ship repair work. Marine Engineers with Board of Trade Certificates are also required, and it is stated that there are few Indians available with this qualification. It is also stated that there are no Indian shipwrights. Whenever Indians with the necessary qualifications are available however they are being appointed and it is stated that the electrical section is already under an Indian Electrical Engineer.

9. I am to say that the Local Government have nothing to add to the letter of the Chairman with respect to the policy pursued by the Commissioners. The Chairman states that the Commissioners have taken such action as is within their power to Indianize their services. He goes on to say that the rate of Indianization must depend upon the retirement of the European officers now in their service. The Local Government are of the opinion that as the Commissioners have accepted generally the principle that where properly qualified Indians are available, they will receive preference, no further action can be taken by Government towards Indianization. In particular, the Local Government invite the attention of the Government of India to the fact that the Commissioners are unanimously opposed to any suggestion that Europeans should be compulsorily retired to make way for Indians. With this sentiment the Local Government are in entire agreement, and they trust that any such idea would be strongly opposed by the Government of India.

10. I am to add that the information requested in paragraph 6 of Mr. Raisman's letter as amended by Mr. Stuart-Smith's letter No. 233-P. & L. (4)38, dated the 23rd September, 1933, will be forwarded regularly to the Government of India.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.)

Joint Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Copy of a letter No. 58402, dated the 11th September, 1933, from the Chairman of the Commissioners for the Port of Calcutta, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Marine Department.

I have the honour to refer to your letter No. 60-T. Marine, dated the 1st May, 1933, forwarding a copy of letter from the Government of India, Department of Commerce, No. 204-P. & L.32, dated the 19th April, 1933, on the subject of the Indianization of Port Trust services.

2. The policy of the Calcutta Port Commissioners in the matter of filling appointments is as follows. If there is any person already in their service fully qualified and in every way suitable for a vacant post, he will be promoted and the appointment will be made regardless of race. If there is no suitable person in their service and in consequence the vacancy has to be filled from outside, full opportunities will be given to Indians to apply and when an Indian with the necessary qualifications is available and candidates of other nationalities are not better fitted for the post, the Indian candidates will be appointed. This policy was unanimously accepted by the Commissioners.

3. The Commissioners have taken action to ensure as far as possible that there will be Indians in the service suitable for promotion to higher appointments. In the Traffic Department probationers have been appointed for special training as officers; in the Accounts Department, qualified accountants have been appointed as Inspectors of Accounts so that it should no longer be necessary for the Commissioners to recruit from outside for the senior posts in this Department; and Indian assistants have been appointed in the Engineering Department.

4. As a result of the action taken, it will not be necessary in ordinary circumstances to recruit Europeans for any post in the Trust, other than posts in the Deputy Conservator's and Chief Mechanical Engineer's departments. I say in ordinary

circumstances because it is always possible that the necessity for an outside appointment may arise, and there may not be a suitable Indian candidate available.

5. The recruitment of Europeans will still be necessary for the Deputy Conservator's department because the incumbents of many posts must be holders of Master Mariner's certificates, and Indians with this qualification are not now available. They will be available in the future, and the Government of India ask whether the Commissioners will then be prepared to give them preference. The reply is in the affirmative, but it must be remembered that the mere possession of a Master Mariner's certificate is not sufficient as the Commissioners expect candidates to have served afloat at least as second officers and prefer them to have served as Chief Officers. Apart from posts which must be filled by Master Mariners, there are several posts requiring sea experience, which have in the past necessarily been filled by Europeans. *Ex.* "Dufferin" cadets with Second Mates certificates will shortly be available and it is intended to appoint them when vacancies occur as second officers in the Commissioners' Dredger and Despatch vessel service with a view to training them as Berthing Masters. In another important section of the Deputy Conservator's Department, *viz.*, the River Survey, men can be recruited young and receive the necessary training in the service. The recruitment of Europeans for this section has ceased, the three out of the last four appointments made have been direct from the "Dufferin". This method of recruitment will be followed in future.

6. The recruitment of some Europeans will still be necessary in the Chief Mechanical Engineer's Department owing to the dearth of qualified Indian Mechanical Engineers with the necessary practical experience, especially of ship repair work which is such an important part of the work of this department. Also, Marine Engineers with B. O. T. certificates are necessary and there are at present few Indians available with this qualification, and there are no Indian shipwrights. Whenever Indians with the necessary qualifications are available, they are being appointed and the electrical section is already under an Indian Electrical Engineer.

7. The Commissioners have taken such action as is within their power to Indianise their services, but the rate of Indianization must depend upon the rate of retirement of the European officers now in their service. It has never been suggested that Europeans should be compulsorily retired to make way for Indians, and the Commissioners would be unanimously opposed to any such action. The rate of Indianization has also been adversely effected by the abolition of posts on account of trade depression.

8. The Commissioners will in future forward to you annually the report and statement referred to in paragraph 6 of the letter from the Government of India.

THE COMMISSIONERS FOR THE PORT OF CALCUTTA.

The 23rd October, 1935.

No. 66112.

From

T. H. ELDERTON, Esq.,
Chairman,

To

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL,
MARINE DEPARTMENT.

SIR,

I have the honour to refer to your letter No. 422-T.(Mne.), dated the 9th October, 1933, forwarding copy of a letter from the Government of India, Department of Commerce, No. 28 (1)-T. & E. (R.A.), dated the 1st September, 1933, regarding Auditor's Certificates Rules, 1932.

The Government of India in the last paragraph of their letter ask the Local Government to consider the desirability of prescribing enrolment on the Register of Accountants as the qualification required of candidates for various posts requiring knowledge of accountancy. The Port Commissioners would not be prepared to insist upon this qualification in the case of their service, for the following reasons :

- (a) No person will be eligible for enrolment on the Register under Rule 6 (a) unless he has completed a certain period of service under articles. This

would exclude from enrolment all persons who have received their early practical training in the Commissioners' service.

- (b) There would appear to be no justification for insisting upon a person qualified for enrolment under rule 6 to incur the cost of enrolment when he had no desire to act as a public accountant and would not be permitted by the Commissioners to do so.

At present men who are obtaining their practical experience in the Commissioners' service can acquire by private study the theoretical knowledge which is necessary for promotion to the highest posts, and they can prove the possession of this knowledge by passing the examination qualifying for the Government Diploma of Accountancy or the examinations held by bodies such as the London Association of Accountants. The Commissioners would certainly not be prepared to adopt any course which would unnecessarily exclude from promotion men who have all the theoretical knowledge required for enrolment on the Register and also have long experience of the practical side of their duties in the Commissioners' service.

I take this opportunity to correct the statement made in the penultimate paragraph of this office letter No. 5840, dated the 31st January, 1933. Although anyone enrolled on the Register of Accountants will be deemed sufficiently qualified for any post in the Commissioners' Accounts Department, future appointment from outside to posts of Audit Inspector or senior posts cannot be restricted to such persons. Theoretical qualifications such as the qualification G. D. A. will certainly be insisted upon but to prescribe the further condition of enrolment on the Register of Accountants might only render it impossible to appoint the most suitable candidate.

I have, etc.,

(Sd.) T. H. ELDERTON,

Chairman.

Mr. Basanta Kumar Das : How long will these men be retained ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : I can discover that if the Honourable Member is anxious to know.

Mr. Basanta Kumar Das : How long after their retirement they were taken in ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : I have no information on the point, but I can discover that if the Honourable Member wants.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : With reference to the answer to part (h), may I know if this policy is being enforced now ? Are they recruiting only Indians now ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : No, if you mean *only* Indians. If you mean progressive recruitment of Indians, yes.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : What proportion of Indians and non-Indians is recruited ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : I cannot state the exact proportion of recruitment of Indians, but I may say that every year the recruitment of Indians has been on an increasing scale.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : What is the exact proportion ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : I can give that. In 1927, there were 64 Indians, including Anglo-Indians and 235 Europeans. The percentage of Indians, including Anglo-Indians, was 21 per cent. In 1932, Indians including Anglo-Indians were 147, and Europeans 293. The percentage of Indians including Anglo-Indians was

33. In 1935, there are 204 Indians including Anglo-Indians and Europeans 295. The percentage of Indians including Anglo-Indians is 40. In 1927, Indians, excluding Anglo-Indians, were 14 and the percentage was 4.6. In 1935, Indians, excluding Anglo-Indians, are 88, percentage 17.6.

RECRUITMENT OF INDIANS IN THE CALCUTTA PORT TRUST.

157. *Mr. Basanta Kumar Das : (a) Is it not a fact that in the latest Administration Report of the Bombay Port Trust it has been maintained that during the last ten years, the authorities at Bombay while filling up vacancies did not appoint any European, if Indian candidates with the requisite qualifications were available ?

(b) What steps do Government propose to take in order that the legitimate aspirations of qualified Indians may not be neglected by the Calcutta Port Trust authorities ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : (a) It is presumed that the Honourable Member refers to the following statement in the Administration Report of the Bombay Port Trust for 1933-34 :

" * * * * no European has been recruited to any post in the Trust carrying a salary of Rs. 500 and over during the past ten years, except in the case of certain specialised appointments in the Port and Engineering Departments requiring technical qualifications not yet possessed by Indians, such as Dredging Masters and Engineers with Board of Trade certificates or Master Mariners with Foreign-going certificates."

(b) Government have no reason to suppose that the legitimate aspirations of qualified Indians are being neglected by the Calcutta Port Trust authorities.

APPOINTMENT OF NON-INDIANS AS PROBATIONARY ASSISTANT RIVER SURVEYORS IN THE CALCUTTA PORT TRUST.

158. *Mr. Basanta Kumar Das : (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether it is a fact that in the month of June, 1934, two non-Indians, as distinct from persons of pure Indian parentage, were appointed as probationary Assistant River Surveyors by the Calcutta Port Trust authorities ?

(b) If the answer to part (a) be in the affirmative, were those non-Indians appointed due to Indians with similar qualifications not being available or not offering as candidates for appointment ?

(c) What are the qualifications of the persons appointed, and what is the scale of salary for an Assistant River Surveyor during the probationary period and on confirmation ?

(d) Were the posts, before being filled up, properly advertised ? If not, what was the reason for the Calcutta Port Trust authorities for not providing adequate opportunities to Indians who might have otherwise offered themselves as candidates for appointments, and how did the authorities determine that the persons appointed were with their qualifications the best available for the posts ?

(e) Is it not a fact that the persons appointed never served as cadets in the Mercantile Marine Training Ship *Dufferin* ?

(f) Was it not decided by the Calcutta Port Trust authorities that River Survey section of the Deputy Conservator's Department could be Indianised without difficulty by taking in cadets from the Mercantile Marine Training Ship *Dufferin*, as being eminently suitable for the purpose ?

(g) If the answer to parts (e) and (f) be in the affirmative, what is the reason for prescribing one set of qualifications for non-Indians and another for Indians ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : (a) Two Anglo-Indians who are Statutory Indians were appointed as probationary Assistant River Surveyors on the 1st June, 1934.

(b) The names of three Indian candidates were received from the Principal, Bengal Engineering College, but the candidates were found to be over-age.

(c) The qualifications required of probationary Assistant River Surveyors are given in the statement laid on the table. The probationers appointed possessed these qualifications.

The salary during the probationary period of three years is Rs. 75, Rs. 95 and Rs. 115 per mensem, respectively. The pay on confirmation is Rs. 200 in the scale of Rs. 75—20—95—115—200—250—310—30—400—450—50—1,200 per mensem.

(d) The posts have not been advertised in the past. The names of three Indian candidates were received through the Principal of the Bengal Engineering College. I believe it is intended to advertise these posts in the future. The two probationers appointed were considered suitable.

(e) Yes.

(f) The following is an extract from a letter of the Chairman of the Port Commissioners to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated the 11th September, 1933 :

“ In another important section of the Deputy Conservator's Department, *viz.*, the River Survey, men can be recruited young and receive the necessary training in the service. The recruitment of Europeans for this section has ceased and three out of the last four appointments made have been direct from the ‘ *Dufferin* ’. This method of recruitment will be followed in future.”

(g) The qualifications required are the same for all candidates, Indians and non-Indians.

Statement showing the qualifications required of probationary Assistant River Surveyors in the service of the Calcutta Port Commissioners.

(1) The candidate should be less than 18 years of age.

(2) The candidate should have passed the Senior Cambridge Examination, or its equivalent, with credit in Mathematics, which must include Trigonometry.

(3) The candidate should be of good physique and produce a medical certificate of fitness with specific reference to absence of any defect or weakness of eye-sight. The candidate will be further examined by the Commissioners' Medical Officer prior to entry.

(4) The candidate must produce a certificate of conduct and character from the head of his last school.

INDIANS, ANGLO-INDIANS AND EUROPEANS SERVING IN PORT TRUST IN INDIA.

159. ***Mr. Basanta Kumar Das** : With reference to the answers to starred questions Nos. 537 and 308 (b) and (c), asked in this House on the 29th February, 1932, and 31st August, 1933, respectively, will Government be pleased to state separately the number of the Indian, European, and Anglo-Indian officers serving up to date in the higher and more remunerative posts in all the Port Trusts ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : A statement giving the required information is laid on the table.

Statement showing the number of Superior Officers in the various Port Trusts holding appointments carrying a maximum salary of Rs. 500 and over as on the 31st March, 1935 (in the case of Aden upto the 31st December, 1934).

Port Trust.	Indian.	European.	Anglo-Indian.	Mauritius.	Chinese.	Armerian.
1. Madras	6	12	..			
2. Calcutta	25	114	85	..		
3. Bombay	32	74	11	1		
4. Karachi	10	18	2			..
5. Chittagong .. ..	..	8	..		..	..
6. Rangoon	12	59	20		2	1
7. Aden	1	10	..	..
Totals	86	295	118	1	2	1

INDIANISATION OF SERVICES IN PORT TRUSTS IN INDIA.

160. ***Mr. Basanta Kumar Das** : What measures do Government propose to adopt in order to ensure the speeding up of the Indianisation of the services in all the Port Trusts in India ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : The desirability of Indianising the superior services under them has been brought to the notice of the Port Trusts and the Government of India have been informed that the Port Trusts have generally taken and will continue to take such action as lies within their power to accelerate the process of Indianisation.

Mr. Basanta Kumar Das : Has any time limit been fixed within which Indianisation of the services in the Port Trusts is to be completed ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : No, Sir.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : When was this communication sent to the Port Trusts by Government ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : The correspondence I have laid on the table supplies all the information. I think it was on the 19th April, 1933.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : Since then, how many Indians have been appointed to the superior services of the Port Trusts ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : I shall require notice of that question.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai : May I know if there are any Indians as Chairmen of Port Trusts ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : Notice of this question has already been received and it will be replied to when it is reached.

REPORT ON THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN INDIA SUBMITTED BY
MR. M. L. DARLING.

161. ***Mr. Basanta Kumar Das :** (a) Is it a fact that Mr. M. L. Darling, I.C.S., Special Officer in the Finance Department of the Government of India, has submitted to Government a report on the Co-operative movement in India ?

(b) If so, will Government be pleased to lay on the table of the House a copy of the said report and to state what action they propose to take on the said report ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : (a) and (b). Mr. Darling was primarily appointed to advise on the constitution of the Agricultural Credit Department of the Reserve Bank and the methods by which this Department could best assist agricultural credit including the co-operative movement. To his main report Mr. Darling has added a report on the co-operative movement in India as a whole and notes on the movement in the various provinces. The reports are primarily intended for the consideration of the Board of the Reserve Bank to whom they have been forwarded, and Government are not in a position to make any statement regarding their publication until they have received the views of the Board.

Prof. N. G. Ranga : Have Government reviewed those reports ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : As I say, it is primarily for the Board of the Reserve Bank to review them. The duty of considering the question of agricultural credit has been placed upon them by Statute.

Prof. N. G. Ranga : Has it been reviewed by the Board of Directors of the Reserve Bank ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : It is under consideration. Whether they have completed their review I cannot say.

Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar : When was the report sent to the Reserve Bank ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : I do not know exactly, but some months ago.

Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar : What have the Reserve Bank done till now ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : I have just answered that question. The Report is under their consideration, but I cannot say whether they have completed their consideration of it or not.

Mr. Basanta Kumar Das : Did Mr. Darling investigate into the working of the department in all the various provinces ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : I cannot say off-hand about every province, but he certainly did it in most of them.

SCHEMES FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT RECEIVED FROM THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.

162. ***Mr. Basanta Kumar Das :** (a) Will Government be pleased to lay on the table the schemes for rural uplift received from the Provincial Governments ?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state how the one crore of rupees, granted for the rural uplift, has been allotted to the different provinces ?

(c) Have Government made an estimate of the sum that will be required for thorough rural uplift work to be carried on with a programme involving continuous work for the next few years ?

(d) Do Government propose to include in the programme of work for rural uplift the work of reviving village industries ? If so, are Government prepared to consider the desirability of co-ordinating the Government scheme with that of the Congress scheme that may be formulated under the auspices of the Village Industries Association ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : (a) and (b). A statement showing the distribution of the grant and the schemes recommended by the Local Governments and approved by the Government of India is laid on the table.

(c) It would be impossible to form such an estimate.

(d) As the Honourable Member will see from the statement, some of the Provinces propose to devote part of their grants to the improvement of village industries. The Government of India have not required Local Governments to co-ordinate their schemes with schemes formulated under the auspices of the Congress Village Industries Association.

Perhaps I may say that I think there is now available a full supply of this statement for the use of Honourable Members.

The Government of India Grant for Rural Development in 1935-36.

In the budget speech for 1935-36 it was announced that the Government of India proposed to make a grant of Rs. 1 crore for distribution to the Provinces to be spent on schemes for the economic development and improvement of rural areas. It was indicated that 10 or 15 lakhs of this sum would be earmarked for the purpose of assisting the co-operative movement and that the remainder would be allocated among the Provinces on the basis of rural population. The money was to be spent on schemes approved by the Government of India which would improve the economic position of the people in rural areas. The term 'economic position' was intended in its broadest sense, i.e., it was meant to cover measures designed to improve the actual

money incomes of the people as well as those designed to improve their health and education. The schemes were of course to be additional schemes, i.e., over and above the ordinary activities of the Provincial Governments.

A demand was laid before the Legislative Assembly for the transfer of one crore from the 1934-35 surplus to a special fund to be devoted to the economic development of rural areas. At a later stage it was proposed to transfer to the fund the unallocated balance of that surplus, then estimated to amount to 13 lakhs, in order to provide scope for varying the allotments payable on the rural population basis where it seemed desirable to do so, particularly in the case of some of the economically backward Provinces.

In the first place, 15 lakhs have been set aside for developing the co-operative movement. Even before the decision to make a grant of Rs. 1 crore was taken, the Government of India had placed Mr. M. L. Darling, formerly Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Punjab, and an acknowledged authority on the subject, on special duty to enquire into the state of the co-operative movement in each Province with a view to assisting the Reserve Bank in developing its proposals for the creation of its agricultural credit department. As the result of his enquiries Mr. Darling was impressed with the neglect from which, in certain of the Provinces at any rate, education in the principles and practice of the movement of official as well as non-official workers engaged in it had suffered. He was strongly of opinion that unless this neglect were promptly remedied, there would be no real revival of co-operation. The Government of India recognise how wide is the scope for co-operative principles in rural reconstruction. They, therefore, agreed with Mr. Darling's view that their proposed contribution for developing the co-operative movement should be devoted to giving effect to the educational schemes which he had worked out in consultation with the Provincial Registrars of Co-operative Societies. Local Governments have been informed of this and the Government of India now await their final views on Mr. Darling's proposals. On receipt of these the sum of Rs. 15 lakhs will be distributed.

Next 85 lakhs were allocated on the basis of rural population as follows :—

	Rs. Lakhs.
Madras	14
Bombay	6
Bengal	16
United Provinces	15
Punjab	7.5
Burma	5
Bihar and Orissa	12.5
Central Provinces	5
North-West Frontier Province	1
Assam	3

Then from the supplementary amount available, $\frac{1}{2}$ lakh was set aside for each of Coorg, Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara, while an additional 2 lakhs each were assigned to Assam and the North-West Frontier Province. These two

Provinces are sparsely populated and economically backward and clearly offer the most abundant opportunities for development. The needs of Assam and its case for special treatment have been recognised on all hands in recent years.

Finally the Government of India considered that the distribution on the basis of rural population somewhat under-estimated the needs and claims of Bombay and the Punjab and an additional lakh was given to each of these Provinces.

Thus, in the end, 92½ lakhs have been allotted, as shown in the following table, and 5½ lakhs have been kept in reserve :—

	Rs. Lakhs.
Madras .. .. .	.. 14
Bombay .. .. .	.. 7
Bengal .. .. .	.. 16
United Provinces .. .. .	.. 15
Punjab .. .. .	.. 8.5
Burma .. .. .	.. 5
Bihar and Orissa .. .. .	.. 12.5
Central Provinces .. .. .	.. 5
North-West Frontier Province .. .. .	.. 3
Assam .. .. .	.. 5
Delhi .. .. .	.. 0.5
Ajmer-Merwara .. .. .	.. 0.5
Coorg .. .. .	.. 0.5
Total	.. 92.5

Immediately the demand was passed by the Legislative Assembly, Local Governments were asked to submit schemes to an amount somewhat in excess of their allotment in order to allow for the possibility of some of their proposals not finding favour with the Government of India. The scope for initiative and experiment in rural reconstruction is of course vast. But the Government of India decided to give a lead to Local Governments by indicating certain categories which in their view covered the most pressing needs of village life and offered the most practical benefit. These categories are as follows :—

1. Sanitary measures, *e.g.*—

- (i) Anti-malarial schemes,
- (ii) Village water-supply including well-boring,
- (iii) Village sanitation including drainage.

2. Consolidation of holdings,

3. Village roads,

4. Discretionary grants to District Officers to enable them to promote or assist minor local works of improvement,

and Local Governments were told that the Government of India would accept without question schemes falling under these heads. It should be emphasised that these categories were not meant to be exhaustive but only to direct effort

into channels that appeared to be most fruitful. Some of the Provinces proposed to spend the bulk of their allotment on projects of these general descriptions but a considerable number of other schemes were put forward covering a wide range of activity, some of them representing entirely new departures which should in time make a radical transformation in the conditions of village life. The nature of these various schemes can most conveniently be described by a recital Province by Province of the projects actually approved by the Government of India. A further report as to the actual progress of the schemes will be laid before the Assembly in due course.

Madras.

	Rs.
(1) Rural water supply	5,50,000
(2) Village communications	4,50,000
(3) Village sanitation	3,00,000
(4) Anti-malarial measures	50,000
(5) District Officers' discretionary grants	50, 00
Total	14,00,000

(1) The works will be executed by the district boards and, where the schemes relate to protected water-supply, the approval of the Sanitary Engineering Department will be insisted upon. The grants will be confined to new works only and they will be spread over as many taluks as possible in each district.

(2) A sum of Rs. 3 lakhs will be allotted to District Boards for the improvement of village communications in areas other than those within the jurisdiction of non-union Panchayat Boards. It is proposed to distribute a sum of Rs. 1,50,000 through the agency of the Inspector of Local Boards and Municipal Councils for the improvement of village communications in non-union panchayat areas. In each case, the local Government will sanction the grants after satisfying themselves that the works proposed are really useful and that the grants are distributed evenly in all districts.

(3) A sum of Rs. 3 lakhs will be spent on village sanitation as shown below :

	Rs.
	Lakhs.
(i) Borehole latrines in rural areas	2.75
(ii) Poonamallee Health Unit scheme	0.25
Total	3.00

(i) *Borehole latrines.*—The Director of Public Health has drawn up a scheme providing (1) for the construction of two public latrines in each

village selected, the local body or villagers undertaking to maintain them, and (2) for the supply of concrete slabs at half cost and the full supply of borers necessary for installing private latrines in a few houses in each village, subject to the condition that the house-owner finds funds for the enclosure, labour for boring and construction, and also the other half of the cost of the slabs. Work will be confined to about 100 important villages in a typical taluk of each district and the needs of areas inhabited by depressed classes will also receive due consideration. The work will be executed by the Public Health Department.

(ii) *Poonamallee Health Unit Scheme*.—It is proposed to utilise a sum not exceeding Rs. 25,000 on a scheme of intensive health work in a selected area to demonstrate the benefits that will accrue thereby to the health and welfare of the rural population. The health unit will work under the Public Health Department.

(4) The following anti-malarial measures will be carried out in four typical areas :

- (a) provision of sub-soil and open drainage at a place in the Vizagapatam Agency ;
- (b) sub-soil drainage at a place in the Nilgiris (hilly tracts) ;
- (c) anti-malarial measures in the Rameswaram Island ; and
- (d) anti-malarial measures in certain coastal areas in the Nellore district.

The works will be executed by the Public Health Department.

(5) The discretionary grants will be spent on urgent village necessities in particular localities and will be non-recurring. The objects on which the grants may be spent are restricted to the following :

- (i) Construction or improvement of public baths ;
- (ii) Improvement or provision of minor village communications such as river landings, foot-bridges, culverts, foot paths, boats for crossing streams and canals.
- (iii) Wells or other drinking water sources for the poorer classes.
- (iv) Playgrounds for village schools.
- (v) Burial and burning grounds.
- (vi) Relief of poor people who have suffered from fire, flood, cyclone or other sudden calamities or who are obliged to vacate their houses owing to plague, etc.

The question whether Collectors should be authorised to spend this grant of Rs. 50,000 on objects other than those specified above is under the consideration of the Local Government.

Bombay.

(1) Village Improvement scheme :	Rs.	Rs.
Northern Division	1,08,000	
Central Division	2,02,000	
Southern Division	1,58,000	
Sind	1,38,000	
	6,06,000	
(2) Improvement of buffaloes and disposal of milk	42,000	
(3) Improvement of poultry	15,000	
(4) Co-operative egg-collecting and marketing	2,000	
(5) Improved preserving and tanning of hides	25,000	
(6) Inland fisheries	10,000	
	7,00,000	
Total		7,00,000

(1) The Village Improvement Scheme of the Bombay Government organised on the lines laid down by the late Governor, Sir Frederick Sykes, has now been in actual operation for nearly two years.

The essential factor of the scheme is the co-operation of all agencies—Government, local authorities, non-official associations and local effort, to improve all sides of the life of the cultivator, concentrating in the first instance on the more pressing needs of the particular village concerned. The scheme is based on the view that no effective progress is possible without the co-operation of the villagers themselves and that the first task is to arouse in them an interest in, and a desire for, improvement of their condition.

Under the scheme the primary agency is the District Executive Committee for village improvement of which the Collector is the *ex-officio* Chairman and the President of the District Local Board is the Vice-Chairman. The Committee normally includes Government officers representing the social service departments of Government, representatives of local bodies, such as Local Boards and the like, and persons concerned with social service, education, charitable organisations, etc.

Under the District Executive Committee, work is carried on in the talukas of the districts, either through the existing Taluka Development Associations or by the formation of Taluka Committees. In villages themselves Panchayats established under the Village Panchayats Act or local committees are made use of. Particular subjects, as for instance, education, co-operation, agricultural improvements, etc., can also be dealt with by the appointment of special sub-committees.

In each Division the Commissioner secures the general co-ordination of the village improvement work being carried on by the District Executive Committees in co-operation with the various Departments of Government. District Executive Committees have been formed in all districts of the Presidency proper, except the Bombay Suburban District, where the work of village improvement is entrusted to the District Local Board. Taluka and village committees have also been established in most talukas and villages. Up to the present secretaries have been appointed in eleven districts to carry on propaganda and organise activities in the districts, the necessary financial provision for them being made by Government.

The manner of development has not been the same in all districts. In some a start was made at the top with District Executive Committees, from which

the movement spread downwards to the talukas and villages, while in other districts there was concentration on villages from the start, certain villages being selected to test the experiment or to serve as models.

The Local Government recommended and the Government of India agreed that the greater part of the grant should, in the case of Bombay, be utilised for furthering this scheme which has already produced striking results. Out of the Rs. 6,06,000 to be devoted to the scheme, Rs. 2,00,000 will be distributed to District Officers for expenditure on the objects which the scheme seeks to promote, and of this Rs. 2 lakhs, Rs. 1 lakh will be reserved for villages where the scheme has not been introduced. The balance will be distributed through District Committees and other local bodies. Rs. 55,000 out of the provision for Sind will be utilized for agricultural and industrial improvement.

The following schemes will be confined to the Presidency proper and will be in charge of the officers of the departments concerned.

(2) The scheme for the improvement of buffaloes will be spread over 5 years. It is proposed to employ the agency of the village improvement committees or other similar bodies, or, where such bodies are not available, the agency of Government officials. One inspector and 4 non-graduates will be specially employed.

(3) The scheme for the improvement of poultry is in two parts. Cocks of improved breed will be introduced in a certain number of villages, and a limited number of premiums will be awarded to poultry farmers who undertake to abide by certain conditions, one of which is that their eggs will be sold locally for breeding purposes at controlled prices.

(4) It is proposed to institute a pioneer co-operative society in order to improve the marketing of eggs.

(5) For the improvement of preserving and tanning of hides two touring demonstration parties will be employed for a period of 3 years.

(6) It is proposed to stock 5 or 6 selected tanks with small fish from the Madras Presidency. Little or no recurring expenditure is anticipated when once the tanks have been stocked.

Bengal.

	Rs.
(1) Establishment of seed, paddy and crop demonstration centres ..	1,09,000
(2) Improvement of cattle and of fodder crops	1,75,000
(3) Improvement of poultry	500
(4) Propaganda in the districts—loud speakers and gramophones ..	20,000
(5) Wireless transmission in Midnapore district	82,000
(6) Improved marketing—jute and paddy	50,000
(7) Coir spinning and weaving	40,700
(8) Union Board dispensaries and improvement of water supply ..	3,50,000
(9) Attachment of agricultural farms, etc., to secondary schools, and provision of play-grounds and village halls	1,80,000
(10) Boy Scouts, Girl Guides and Bratachari	20,000
(11) Minor drainage and flushing schemes	3,30,000
(12) Chittagong Hill Tracts	25,000
(13) Discretionary grants to Commissioners and District Officers ..	2,17,800
Total ..	16,00,000

(1) The spread of improved paddy seed is hindered by the heavy cost of distribution. Local centres have therefore been opened for the multiplication and distribution of better types of seed by 114 Union Boards in Bengal. More Boards are willing to provide land for opening such centres. It is therefore proposed to extend the scheme to 450 Union Boards in all. 8 acres will be provided at each centre, 5 for multiplication of seed and 3 for general demonstration. The Union Boards will pay for the cost of cultivation and recoup themselves from the money received for the produce.

(2) There are at present 2 temporary live-stock officers working in Bengal and 3 more will now be employed. These officers will work in 10 districts, in each of which a temporary Veterinary Assistant Surgeon will also be employed on the work. It is proposed to introduce 100 pure bred bulls in each of the districts and thus to promote the development of an indigenous breed of cattle and eliminate the necessity of importing bullocks from outside the Province, which costs Bengal at the present time Rs. 50 lakhs a year.

It is also proposed to introduce on a larger scale the cultivation of Napier grass as green fodder for cattle. This grass can be grown on areas at present not under cultivation; one acre of such grass will keep 8 animals fully supplied. It is proposed to introduce sufficient cuttings of Napier grass to grow 100 acres in each of the 10 districts at a total cost of Rs. 10,000.

The total cost of giving effect to the Local Government's schemes under this head is Rs. 1,90,000 of which the Local Government will themselves provide Rs. 15,000.

(3) The nucleus of the scheme for improving poultry in Bengal will be the Dacca Farm, which is under the charge of a specially trained officer. In each of the 10 districts mentioned above 20 selected mating birds will be supplied from this farm to villages which agree to get rid of their old male stock. Three centres have already been developed on these lines in Bengal as an experiment, and the experiments appear to have been successful.

(4) One of the most effective and established methods of rural uplift propaganda in the districts is through mass meetings. It is proposed to provide 30 loud speakers with dry cell batteries, 30 gramophones and 30 sets of musical records for use with the loud-speakers. It is proposed to use this grant to meet the initial cost and the recurring cost for one year.

(5) It is proposed to establish a rural broad-casting service in Midnapore district with a medium-wave transmitter installed in the Midnapore Court building. From this will be served 50 receiving sets installed in different parts of the district. The transmitter will be used for broadcasting the amusements programme from the Calcutta Broadcasting Station, and also to broadcast from Midnapore in the local dialect news, instructions and propaganda talks of the kind required by the people of the district and in the form likely to appeal to them. The station will be worked for the 6 months of the year during which the reception of the programme can be guaranteed to be satisfactory. The scheme will be worked for 2 years, at the end of which it is hoped to establish it on a business footing.

(6) The Government of Bengal have been considering a scheme estimated to cost Rs. 1½ lakhs for establishing jute-marketing and paddy-marketing

societies. There is a general desire for some scheme for the improved marketing of agricultural products in Bengal, but past experience has indicated the need for caution. The Local Government therefore intend to use Rs. 50,000 of this grant for opening one jute-marketing and one paddy-marketing society by way of further experiment. A special officer will be attached to the Agriculture and Industries Department of the Local Government to work out the scheme.

(7) A prolific supply of coconuts is available in the deltaic districts of Bengal the fibre of which is at present used only for fuel. But there is the prospect of its being put to a more remunerative use as string, rope, matting, tatties, etc. The articles of these kinds at present sold in the bazars of Bengal come mostly from Southern India. An experimental coir-making and spinning demonstration party was created in November, 1934, which showed that there is a reasonable prospect of developing a local industry. It is therefore proposed to organise 4 demonstration parties with suitable equipment, to tour the deltaic areas and demonstrate the method of turning coconut fibre to economic use. The sum which the Local Government propose to utilise for this purpose will enable this experiment to be conducted for 3 years.

(8) The Local Government propose that half this sum of Rs. 3½ lakhs, should go towards the establishment of Union Board dispensaries, and the other half towards the improvement of rural water-supply. But if local opinion in any district does not favour dispensaries, any amount which is made available thereby will be diverted from dispensaries to water-supply in that district. A cheap form of dispensary with brick walls and corrugated iron roof will be erected, provided with a tube well if required. No such dispensary will be opened unless there is a definite assurance that the recurring expenditure involved will be forthcoming from local sources.

In the distribution of the money available for improved water-supply those areas in which cholera is endemic will be given preference. Money will be allotted to specific projects by the District Officers in consultation with the Chairmen of District Boards.

(9) It is proposed to attach a farm, dairy or workshop to selected schools in the province so as to provide a vocational or rural bias and keep the schools in touch with the rural population. This will be the first step in the Government of Bengal's new policy of introducing a rural bias in education.

The Local Government also propose to establish village halls, with small libraries attached, in certain selected villages to form the centres of village life. It is also proposed to construct and equip village play grounds in connection with and in close proximity to the village halls. It is also proposed to acquire and prepare playgrounds for selected schools, particularly girls' schools, many of which have at present no playground or open space attached to them.

It is hoped to establish a village hall and playground in each sub-division. The Local Government have been asked to consider whether some economy could not be effected by utilising the school building itself for the purpose of a village hall and library.

(10) A sum of Rs. 20,000 is to be spent on approved schemes for the promotion of the Boy Scouts and similar movements.

(11) Money will only be spent on minor drainage and flushing schemes examined and approved by the Local Government's technical experts. In selecting projects the following principles will be observed as far as possible :

- (a) that the expenditure is calculated to effect a permanent improvement,
- (b) that the schemes are schemes which are really wanted by the people themselves,
- (c) that money will be available locally for maintenance if required.

(12) This sum will be expended on water-supply, drainage (sanitary and agricultural), and communications (including wooden bridges).

(13) The balance of the grant will be used to augment the discretionary grants of Commissioners of Divisions and District Officers, who will be instructed that these additional sums are to be spent only on supplementary projects within the intention of this grant.

United Provinces.

	Rs.
(1) Main Scheme	7,00,000
(2) Agricultural schemes	3,28,000
(3) Public Health and medical relief schemes	3,16,000
(4) Industrial schemes	70,000
(5) Publicity and propaganda schemes	36,000
(6) Kumaun district	50,000
	15,00,000

(1) The "Main Scheme" referred to is the Local Government's scheme of rural development, the object of which is to promote the spirit of selfhelp in the villages. To this end the Local Government propose to employ for about two years a special staff consisting of :

- (i) at least six organisers in each one of the 45 districts (the three hill districts of Kumaun being excluded);
- (ii) one inspector in each district to guide and supervise the work of the organisers.

Each organiser will work more or less on the lines on which the "Village Guides" work in connection with the co-operative movement. It is expected that he will be able to look after about 12 villages; but this number may later on be increased. The organisers as well as inspectors will, before appointment, undergo special training in sanitation and hygiene, agricultural practice and co-operative methods. This special staff will be under the control of the District Officer. There will be district rural development associations with consultative functions. For the execution of minor local works of public utility a sum of at least Rs. 5,000 (on the average) will be placed at the disposal of each of the 45 District Officers.

For the initial two years the cost of the staff and the district allotments, together with a small reserve for unforeseen opportunities, is estimated to amount to Rs. 9 lakhs. Out of this the Local Government propose to provide Rs. 2 lakhs, which will be utilised towards the cost of the staff. The balance, viz., Rs. 7 lakhs, will be debited to the Central Government's grant.

(2) It is proposed to spend Rs. 1,20,000 in making grants-in-aid, up to one-third in each case, towards the cost of sinking tubes in existing wells. 3,000 such borings will be carried out over a period of two years in areas unserved by canals or tube wells. An extra sum of Rs. 18,000 is added to provide guarantees against cases of failure.

A sum of Rs. 79,000 will be spent in constructing embankments to prevent soil erosion and to retain moisture, particularly in the eastern districts. For the construction of these embankments a tractor will be purchased which at other times of the year will be utilised for the eradication of *kans* grass. It is also hoped to excavate 250 temporary reservoirs, towards which Government will contribute up to one-third of the cost, subject to a maximum of Rs. 300 in each case.

To develop the culture of fruit in the Province, grafts, plants and seed will be supplied to villages included in the "Main Scheme". A fruit chowdhuri will be employed in each district. The total cost of these measures will amount to Rs. 20,000.

Rs. 80,000 will be spent partly in buying up inferior seed in the villages and replacing it by good seed supplied by the Agricultural Department, and partly in improving the system of distribution of departmental seed. This will involve the subsidizing of privately managed seed stores and also, if necessary, of developing the system of seed multiplication.

Rs. 3,000 will be utilized in the establishment of poultry farms at Jaleswar and Etawah, and Rs. 8,000 on "goat improvement" by the maintenance and distribution of suitable bucks.

(3) The Local Government propose to establish nine health units, each of which will cover a compact and exclusively rural area of about 50 villages with a population of about 30,000 at an estimated cost of Rs. 11,000 a year. They propose also to introduce a scheme (estimated to cost Rs. 2,540 per unit per year) for medical relief in conjunction with these health units, and also a scheme estimated to cost Rs. 36,000 a year for the supply of village medicine chests in villages included in the Main Scheme.

The total estimated cost during the initial two years is Rs. 3,16,000.

(4) The Local Government consider that the development of marketing is one of the most promising lines for giving help to village industries. With this object a sum of Rs. 8,000 will be set apart for the existing Government Emporium of Arts and Crafts at Lucknow to cover the initial outlay on preparing catalogues, price lists, samples, etc., and as insurance against the risk of possible losses from the marketing of products of village industry. It is also proposed to subsidise local retail shops to induce them to sell articles of local manufacture, the annual subsidy being Rs. 50 each. It is proposed to establish co-operative arrangements for the marketing of *ghi* in the five

important *gñi* producing districts of Etawah, Agra, Muttra, Aligarh and Etah, and to subsidize private associations at Hathras and Agra for the testing and control of the purity of *gñi* on the lines of the institution which has already been established at Etawah. It is also proposed to expend a further Rs. 40,000 under this head, but the Local Government's final recommendations have not yet been received.

(5) In order to ensure abiding results from rural uplift work, the 3,240 villages to which the Main Scheme is to apply will receive *gratis* newspapers, monthlies and reprints, featuring rural uplift articles and news, at least once a week; the estimated cost of this is Rs. 30,000 for the initial two years.

A hundred sets of double-sided records pertaining to rural uplift will also be prepared at a cost of Rs. 6,000.

(6) The "Main Scheme" will not be applied to the hilly region comprised in the Kumaun Division. It is, however, proposed to spend Rs. 50,000 for its benefit, and suitable schemes are under preparation.

Punjab.

	Rs.
(1) Consolidation of holdings	1,04,000
(2) Sanitary improvements in 31 villages in Gujrat district	9,000
(3) Bore-hole latrines in Shakargarh tashil of Gurgaon district ..	10,000
(4) Water-supply schemes	2,25,000
(5) Serum cellars	20,000
(6) Reconstruction of veterinary hospitals in Rohtak district ..	12,000
(7) Construction of 10 veterinary hospitals	60,000
(8) Broadcasting scheme	48,000
(9) Tanning scheme	76,000
(10) Fruit growing	62,000
(11) Well-boring	50,000
(12) Cinema films and loud-speakers	59,000
(13) Sheep development	15,000
(14) District Officers' discretionary grants	1,00,000
Total	8,50,000

(1) It is universally admitted that no measure can confer greater benefit on *zamindars* in the Punjab than consolidation of their holdings. The work is at present progressing in 11 districts at the rate of 60,000 acres a year through the agency of co-operative societies formed for the purpose, under the guidance and supervision of a staff of 8 inspectors and 104 sub-inspectors employed and paid by Government, assisted by a staff of 3 assistant inspectors and 22 sub-inspectors paid for from the contributions of applicants for consolidation. It is now proposed to employ a special consolidation officer and 8 inspectors and 88 sub-inspectors in order to expedite the progress of the work. Any sums which may be collected from *zamindars* who are benefited will be used to employ additional staff.

(2) These improvements will consist in the provision of sullage drains, pavements of dry brick on edge, hand-pumps, repairs and roofing of percolation wells, etc. The villages have been selected in consultation with the district officers. One-third of the cost will be debited to this grant, one-third to the district boards, and one-third to the *Islah-o-Taraqqi* committees of the villages.

(3) The Shakargarh tashil in Gurgaon district is infected with hook-worm disease. The construction of bore-hole latrines is intended to prove to the people their advantage in preventing re-infection from the soil. The money will be spent in purchasing augers and squatting seats. The further expenditure involved will be met by the district board.

(4) The water-supply schemes will provide a protected supply of drinking water in selected villages in Kangra, Shahpur, Mianwali, Dera Ghazi Khan and Jhelum districts, where it is particularly required.

(5) 100 serum cellars will be constructed at suitable centres so as to facilitate the prompt despatch of sera and vaccines on the occasion of outbreaks of cattle disease. The recurring expenditure involved will be met by the district boards.

(6) Great damage was done to the veterinary buildings in Rohtak district by floods in 1933, and the district board cannot afford to restore them. This will now be done at the expense of this grant.

(7) 10 new veterinary hospitals will be constructed on a standard plan in the areas covered by the Dhanni and Hariana cattle-breeding schemes, where the district boards are too poor to afford the cost. The boards will, however, be liable for the recurring expenditure.

(8) For the instruction and entertainment of the people of the districts nearest to the Delhi Broadcasting Station, namely, Rohtak, Karnal and Gurgaon, it is proposed to instal 40 receiver sets and maintain them for two years. Arrangements will be made in consultation with the Government of India to broadcast suitable programmes from Delhi to the villages, under the control of the Commissioner of Rural Reconstruction.

(9) The Punjab is one of the principal centres in India for the export of goat skins and has practically a monopoly of the export of lamb skins. Approximately 8 per cent. only of the skins exported are tanned in the Punjab. Punjab hides also are of good quality and there is a local supply of tanning material. It is proposed to create a central tanning institute for research and demonstration, with two travelling demonstration parties.

(10) Rs. 47,000 will be spent in producing and distributing reliable fruit nursery plants at cheap rates and on a large scale, and Rs. 15,000 on installing a fruit preservation plant on a semi-commercial scale for experimental and demonstration purposes. To achieve the former object existing nurseries will be extended and new nurseries opened: after two years the scheme should be self-supporting. The other part of the grant will be spent in opening a small canning plant at Lyallpur, which is regarded as of primary importance to the Punjab fruit industry. It is hoped that after the first year the recurring expenses of this factory will be covered by the receipts.

(11) Experience in the Province has shown that the boring of wells increases their yield by anything up to 300 per cent. In addition to the cost of the pipes and strainers left in the wells after boring, Government at present charge 12 annas a foot for all bores, whether successful or not. In order to assist and encourage the public in this direction, they now propose to remit the charge of 12 annas a foot for 2 years. The cost is estimated at Rs. 50,000.

(12) Cinema shows are extremely popular and useful in the Punjab and the public are prepared to pay for attending them. The local Government already possess two touring outfits; three more are required to provide one for each Division and another as a reserve. In addition, more and better films are required for instructional purposes: it is proposed to spend Rs. 36,000 on films of this kind, and Rs. 4,000 on films for entertainment. Two loud-speaker sets will also be provided.

(13) The sheep development scheme will be confined to the 6 districts of the Multan Division. The unit of the scheme will be the flock consisting of 1 ram and 50 ewes. Breeders at selected centres will be provided with one or more such units as the lessees of Government on the understanding that they will carry out the instructions of the Civil Veterinary department, keep no mature rams in their flock unless approved by the department, and only dispose of their surplus animals at prices fixed by the department.

(14) The District Officers' discretionary grants will be used for carrying out petty works of local improvement.

Burma.

	Rs.
(1) Rural development centres .. ..	.. 3,35,000
(2) Deputy Commissioners' discretionary grants ..	.. 50,000
(3) Anti-malarial measures .. .. .	.. 1,15,000
Total ..	.. 5,00,000

(1) The object of the scheme for rural development centres is partly the formation of model village groups from which it is hoped that the idea of rural uplift will gradually spread to surrounding areas, and partly to furnish a means by which each department can experiment in intensive development. It is proposed that four rural development centres should be opened in different parts of Burma. Each centre will comprise a typical group of villages with an area of probably 30 square miles, but varying according to density of population. Within this unit expenditure will be incurred in four principal directions.

(i) *Public Health*.—There will be a dispensary and health centre. Steps will be taken to improve the record of vital statistics, investigation and control of diseases, sanitation, and propaganda and to introduce maternity and child welfare clinics.

(ii) *Education*.—School buildings will be increased and improved. Probably 6 primary schools and one central school with a High department will be required. Compulsory education will be introduced if possible, and special

attention will be paid to the possibilities of technical education. Playing fields will be provided and also a library.

(iii) *Agriculture*.—A farm school will be established if there is not one already in the vicinity, and short courses will be given in practical agriculture to sons of cultivators with special reference to the improvements effected by the Agricultural Department. There will also be a special Agricultural Assistant who will conduct an intensive campaign within the centre in order to demonstrate agricultural improvements, and attempts will also be made to improve the marketing of crops.

(iv) *Veterinary*.—Increased facilities will be provided for inoculation, etc.

General work, such as improvement of tanks, wells, roads, etc., will also be undertaken in each unit. It is intended to use the assistance of the Co-operative Department and various non-official agencies.

It is hoped that as the experiment proceeds, the need for supervision and the cost will decrease, and that eventually the control of the units will be taken over by the local bodies. Until then the estimate of expenditure assumes that the work will continue for 4 years.

Each centre will be under the control of an Executive Officer who will be advised by a local committee consisting of officials and non-officials.

(2) The sum set aside for Deputy Commissioners' discretionary grants will be utilised for the improvement of village wells and tanks, for roads and small bridges, for improving village schools and assisting village libraries, for providing recreation grounds or equipment, for assisting poor communities to start boy scouts or girl guides associations, and to encourage rural industries.

(3) The sum provided for anti-malarial measures will be expended on the extensive issue of cinchona febrifuge over a period of 5 years, and on the general free issue of quinine in schools in areas where malaria is endemic. Larvæ-eating fish will also be bred at certain centres near the malarial areas.

Bihar and Orissa.

	Rs.
(1) Village communications	6,00,000
(2) Rural water-supply	5,00,000
(3) Schemes for draining <i>chaurs</i> and desilting tanks in North Bihar	1,00,000
(4) Village welfare	50,000
	12,50,000

(1) The improvement of village communications is one of the most urgent needs of the province, particularly in order that the cultivator may be able to dispose of his crops more easily and profitably. It is therefore proposed to spend Rs. 6 lakhs on the making or improving of cart tracks which will connect the villages with main roads and so with markets and railways. It is also hoped that this expenditure will further increase the utility of the marketing officers recently appointed by the Local Government. The intention is

that the work should be carried out under the direct control of the District and Sub-divisional Officers, who will invoke the assistance of the leading men in the area where any particular project is undertaken and get them to make themselves responsible for the actual supervision of the work. The villagers themselves will be encouraged to co-operate by making free gifts of the land required for these village roads and by providing labour free or on reduced wages. Preference will in all cases be given to schemes where practical co-operation of this sort is forthcoming.

(2) The need for improved rural water-supply is universally recognised. More wells and more village irrigation dams are required. This work will be carried out on the same lines as the projects for the improvement of village communications, and special attention will be paid to the needs of the depressed classes.

(3) The necessity for draining certain of the *chours* in North Bihar has frequently been pressed on the Local Government for years past. The present is a suitable opportunity to undertake some of the more promising of these schemes through the agency of the Irrigation Department. Part of this provision will also be used for desilting tanks in North Bihar; the expenditure incurred in desilting tanks in other parts of the Province will be met from the allotment for rural water supply.

The choice of the actual schemes to be carried out under heads (1), (2) and (3) will rest with the District Officers after canvassing the views of the local public.

(4) A sum of Rs. 50,000 will be placed at the disposal of the Hon'ble Education Minister for experimental village-welfare schemes. These schemes will not involve any recurring commitments, but they will aim at setting up village organisations which will be capable of self-development in future if the experiments meet with success. The programme of work which these village organisations will set before themselves will include the introduction of improved methods of agriculture, the encouragement of cottage industries, the improvement of village sanitation, the provision of good drinking water, etc.

Central Provinces.

	Rs.
(1) Rural water supply	1,20,000
(2) District Officers' discretionary grants	1,00,000
(3) Welfare of aboriginal tribes in scheduled districts	40,000
(4) Dispensary buildings in villages	15,000
(5) Experiments in poultry farming	10,000
(6) Better bulls for District Councils	30,000
(7) Farm in Mandla district	30,000
(8) 5 additional debt conciliation boards	1,00,000
(9) Cinemas on lorries for demonstration work	20,000
(10) 2 tractors for use in Saugor district	15,000
(11) Storage accommodation for cultivators' produce	20,000
Total	5,00,000

(1) The Local Government report that there is a constant demand for assistance in the provision of proper water-supply in villages, especially in certain tracts of Berar, and that the amount which could be spent for this purpose is almost unlimited.

(2) The discretionary grants placed at District Officers' disposal are for small works of village utility, the carrying out of which will greatly add to the amenities of rural life. Instances of the kind of works contemplated by the Local Government are the construction of small culverts over bad *nala* crossings, repairs to village tanks and wells, construction of fair weather roads and building of village rest houses.

(3) The grant for the welfare of aboriginal tribes will be devoted to the development of certain areas inhabited by backward and aboriginal tribes with special reference to improved water-supply and educational and medical facilities.

(4) 27 cheap plan dispensaries have already been established and a number of schemes are still pending on account of financial stringency. The policy of the Local Government is to give a non-recurring grant equal to half the estimated cost of the dispensary building and to provide an Assistant Medical Officer and a small contribution towards maintenance. The balance of the cost of the buildings and of the recurring charges is met locally. The sum provided will enable more institutions of this kind to be opened.

(5) A scheme has been prepared by the Department of Agriculture for the distribution, free of cost, of pure bred cockerels from Government farms, and the grant proposed is to bring this scheme into effect. It is hoped that particularly in the neighbourhood of large towns an industry subsidiary to agriculture will spring up which will add considerably to the village income.

(6) It is proposed to supply a better class of bull free of cost to the District Councils for breeding purposes. The Councils will be required to keep the animals suitably fed and in good condition.

(7) Large quantities of seed are imported every year into Mandla district. The provision of Rs. 30,000 will cover the non-recurring and recurring expenditure for one year of a seed farm in that district. Thereafter the Local Government will assume responsibility. The scheme was approved by the Board of Agriculture in 1923, but the Local Government have never been able to give effect to it.

(8) A Debt Conciliation Act was passed in this Province in 1933, and the first two debt conciliation boards were established in July, 1933. The Act provides for the conciliation of accumulated debts by a debt conciliation board by means of mutual agreement between debtors and creditors. So far six boards have been at work, and four more are being added during the current year. But for the financial difficulty more boards would have been established. The six boards already at work have reduced a total debt of Rs. 63·57 lakhs to Rs. 36·38 lakhs. 27 to 55 per cent of the original debts has been remitted. Easy instalments, worked out according to the paying capacity of the debtor and generally not exceeding the amount of the annual rent payable by him, have been fixed for the reduced debt. The entire debt is to be repaid in such instalments in periods of 10 to 12 years. The area of operations of a board

generally covers one or two tahsils, and it is expected to complete its work in about 2 years. The annual cost of each board is Rs. 10,000. The cost of one board thus comes to Rs. 20,000.

(9) A lorry and cinema outfit for demonstration purposes was purchased in 1928-29 and the demonstrations given by it have been much appreciated by the public. It is proposed with this grant to purchase three more lorries. These lorries will be accompanied by officers of the Agricultural Department and they will also be used by other departments which are concerned with village uplift.

(10) It is proposed to provide tractors for ploughing up land which has been thrown out of cultivation by the growth of *kans* grass. The land will be ploughed at cost price so that the cultivators may get the benefit of the gift of the tractors from the Government of India.

(11) It is proposed to construct godowns in market towns where cultivators can store their produce temporarily when they are faced with the necessity of disposing of it at disadvantageous rates. One or two experimental godowns will be constructed in the first place. No recurring expenditure is anticipated.

Assam.

	Rs.
(1) Rural water-supply	3,00,000
(2) Village roads	1,00,000
(3) Discretionary grants to Divisional Commissioners	40,000
(4) Village sanitation	40,000
(5) Purchase of pumps for irrigating <i>boro</i> paddy lands	20,000
Total	5,00,000

(1) The improvement of the rural water-supply in Assam is a crying need which has been urged again and again in the local Legislative Council. This is a particularly suitable opportunity for effecting improvements in this direction for which it has hitherto been impossible to find funds. It is proposed to sink wells or (if this proves absolutely necessary owing to the failure of wells) to dig tanks as may be dictated by local conditions. The money will be allotted by the Local Government on conditions approved by the Public Health Department. The recommendations of the District Officers will be made after consultation with *ad hoc* committees constituted in each sub-division. This arrangement will be adopted in connection with village roads and village sanitation also.

(2) The sum allotted for village roads will be distributed by the Divisional Commissioners after consultation with District Officers and local boards. The allotment of money will be conditional on the local boards concerned undertaking to maintain the roads on completion at their own cost.

(3) The discretionary grants will be administered by the Divisional Commissioners for purposes of public utility and works of petty local improvement.

(4) The provision for village sanitation will be given out in the form of grants by Commissioners to village authorities or other suitable agencies.

(5) In certain low-lying areas of the Surma valley the *aman* or long stemmed paddy crop has proved very insecure in recent years owing to recurring floods, and it is expected that the condition of the people will be much improved if they are enabled to grow another (spring) variety of long stemmed paddy, called *boro*, which can be harvested before the flood season. The Agricultural Department has been working on this problem and experiments have shown that one portable pump can irrigate 800 bighas in a month. It is proposed to purchase 10 portable pumps for use in this valley. Experiments with a pump will also be made in suitable areas of the Assam valley. They will be worked under the charge of an Inspector. After the crop has been harvested, it is intended that $1\frac{1}{2}$ maunds of paddy per bigha should be recovered as hire for the use of the pump.

North-West Frontier Province.

	Rs.
(1) Drinking water supply	1,20,000
(2) Discretionary grants to Deputy Commissioners	90,000
(3) Village roads	10,000
(4) Anti-malarial measures including purchase of quinine	15,000
(5) School farms	10,000
(6) Marketing facilities for local industries	3,000
(7) Damming of torrents in D. I. Khan District	10,000
(8) Headworks on the Bara River in Peshawar District	5,000
(9) Industrial shop	7,000
(10) Other miscellaneous schemes	30,000
Total	3,00,000

(1) In certain parts of the province drinking water has to be fetched during the hot season from as far as twelve miles away, and the necessity for improvement in this respect is continually being pressed upon Government. The difficulty is particularly acute between Dera Ismail Khan and Tank, in the sandy Marwat tract in Bannu, in the Khattak country of Kohat District and at Mansehra in the Hazara District.

(2) Of the District Officers' discretionary grants a part will be earmarked for expenditure on schools, and the balance will be spent on providing materials for minor schemes, such as culverts and embankments, for which the villagers themselves are prepared to provide the labour. It has been decided to allot Rs. 15,000 to each district and Mardan sub-division.

(3) This amount will be spent in small sums, distributed as widely as possible throughout the districts on small improvements to existing roads and construction of short tracks to connect villages with main roads. It is intended that this money should be spent on materials only and that labour should be obtained from the villages concerned.

(4) This sum will be earmarked for the purchase of quinine and cinchona febrifuge for distribution among the rural population through hospitals and travelling dispensaries throughout the province.

(5) With the sum of Rs. 10,000 provided for school farms, it is proposed to buy plots of land adjoining schools for the purpose of giving the pupils practical training in agriculture and gardening. This system has given satisfactory results in the adjoining province of the Punjab.

(6) For the improvement of marketing it is proposed to construct small *mandis* at selected places and to encourage the exhibition of locally made articles.

(7) The irrigation scheme in Dera Ismail Khan District is intended to control the flow of flood water in certain hill streams which is at present unmanageable though of vital importance to cultivation.

(8) The scheme on the Bara River is for the purpose of assisting the villagers to make *pucca* distribution heads instead of the existing *kutch* heads.

(9) To encourage and develop minor industries of the province (blanket making, embroidery, basket work, pottery, copper work, etc.) a retail shop has been opened in the Peshawar Cantonment. The buying organisation will comb the province for suitable wares, find the best markets in India, and possibly Europe, and establish direct relations with the producers. The shop is expected to be a self-supporting concern within a period of three to four years. The scheme will be subsidized from provincial revenues as may be necessary in future years.

(10) The Local Government are considering other schemes calculated to benefit the rural areas and no expenditure on these schemes will be incurred till the Government of India have accorded approval.

<i>Coorg.</i>					Rs
(1) Water supply .. .. .	..	..	..	..	32,500
(2) Cattle breeding .. .. .	..	..	..	..	2,500
(3) Discretionary grants .. .. .	..	..	..	..	15,000
Total					50,000

(1) Of the provision for water supply, Rs. 10,000 will be spent on constructing 28 draw-wells to provide drinking water for the villagers in selected villages; the balance of the cost of constructing the wells will be met by subscriptions of the residents.

Rs. 15,800 will be spent on repairing 64 tanks which have silted up and ceased to be useful. These tanks are required for the purpose not only of providing drinking water for men and cattle but for irrigation also. The local people have promised to supply free labour to complete the work.

Rs. 6,700 will be spent on excavating or repairing 12 irrigation channels. Each of these channels is designed to irrigate over 100 acres of wet cultivation. The villagers will supply free labour.

(2) The provision for cattle breeding will be spent in accordance with the recommendations of the Animal Husbandry Expert of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.

(3) The discretionary grant of Rs. 15,000 will be at the disposal of the Commissioner, and is intended for improving village communications, for anti-malarial work and improvements in village sanitation, as well as for assistance to certain occupations subsidiary to agriculture.

Delhi.

	Rs.
(1) Wells (a) repairs	24,000
(b) new	8,000
(2) Re-modelling village	3,000
(3) Roads and communications	10,000
(4) Deputy Commissioner's reserve	5,000
Total	50,000

(1) A survey of wells throughout the rural area administered by the Chief Commissioner of Delhi has been carried out by officers of the Public Health Department. In order to ensure the supply of drinking water, wells which have fallen into disrepair will be repaired and new wells will be constructed where they are urgently required.

(2) The Assistant Director of Public Health has prepared a scheme for re-modelling a small village by the main Delhi-Najafgarh Road. It is hoped to make this village a valuable object-lesson to the public.

(3) It is proposed to repair certain *kutchra* roads which are important arteries of communication in the rural area and which have fallen into such serious disrepair that they are at present of little use.

(4) Rs. 5,000 will be placed at the disposal of the Deputy Commissioner who during his cold weather tour will distribute this sum in supplying urgent necessities in the villages.

Ajmer-Merwara.

	Rs.
(1) Improvement of village roads and construction of small bridges and culverts.	23,000
(2) Propaganda for improvement of agriculture	23,000
(3) Improvement of live-stock	1,000
(4) Discretionary grant at the disposal of the Commissioner	3,000
Total	50,000

(1) Rs. 23,000 will be spent on improving 97 miles of the more important village cart tracks, so as to convert them into ordinary fairweather roads.

(2) For the purpose of agricultural propaganda 3 Agricultural Assistants with 3 demonstrators will be appointed, one for each of the 3 sub-divisions. The function of this staff will be to give practical demonstrations in the cultivators' fields of improved methods of cultivation, and to supervise the distribution of good seed from seed depots to be opened for the purpose.

(3) 20 bulls will be purchased and maintained at different places in the district under the control of the veterinary staff of the district board.

(4) Rs. 3,000 will be placed at the disposal of the Commissioner for petty works of local improvement.

Prof. N. G. Ranga : Is the Honourable Member aware of the fact that in the *Madras Mail* a report has appeared that the Chief Minister of Madras.....

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : I know what is coming ; there is a question down about that. I made inquiries from the Madras Government and received a most categorical denial of the truth of that report.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai : May I know if the statement placed on the table shows for what purpose the money has been raised ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : Certainly, but the Honourable Member can get the statement in two minutes or at any rate in the next half hour, and he will be able to satisfy the whole of his curiosity, I hope.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : With reference to clause (d) of the question, may I know the reason why Government did not ask the Local Governments to seek the co-ordination of the Congress Village Industries Association ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : For several reasons ; partly because they did not think it was necessary, and partly because they did not wish to interfere unduly with the discretion of the Local Governments.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : Have Government watched the working of this Association, and have they any reasons to believe that such co-ordination will be undesirable or unnecessary ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : To be quite honest with the Honourable Member, the information in the possession of Government about the working of this Association is of an extremely sketchy character.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : Have Government put any ban against the Local Governments inviting or utilising their co-operation ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : No, Sir ; the Government of India have been completely passive in the matter.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : With reference to the answers to clauses (a) and (b), have all these schemes been examined by the Finance Member in the light of the tests laid down by him, I think in his Budget speech, as to the manner in which this money should be spent, and is he satisfied that these schemes are all in conformity with those tests ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : Yes, Sir.

Prof. N. G. Ranga : Have Government considered the advisability of setting apart a part of this one crore of rupees for the working of new village post offices ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : No, Sir ; I think I undertook to consider that independently in connection with the general budget, but not in connection with this grant.

LOSSES CAUSED TO GOVERNMENT IN THE QUETTA EARTHQUAKE.

163. ***Seth Haji Abdoola Haroon :** (a) Will Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing separately the approximate figures of losses caused to Government, military and civil buildings in the recent Quetta earthquake disaster ?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state what approximate amount of expenditure they will have to incur if they re-build the Quetta military and civil buildings ?

Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham : (a) The approximate book value of the Government buildings destroyed or damaged by the earthquake is as follows :

	Rs.
Army	2½ crores.
Railways	25½ lakhs.
Posts and Telegraphs	3 lakhs.
Other civil departments (including municipal buildings)	70 lakhs.

(b) The present estimate of the cost of reconstruction, which must necessarily be extremely rough, is between seven and eight crores.

CASUALTIES IN THE QUETTA EARTHQUAKE.

164. ***Seth Haji Abdoola Haroon :** Will Government be pleased to state how many persons died and how many were injured in the Quetta earthquake, giving, separately, the approximate number of Military, Royal Air Force and civil and railway employees ?

Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham : I lay a statement on the table, giving, so far as possible, the figures of casualties among officials and their families.

Statement showing the number of persons killed and injured in the Quetta Earthquake amongst Military, Royal Air Force, and civil and railway employees.

	Killed.	Injured.
(i) Military (including families)	447	127
(ii) Royal Air Force (including families)	120	132
(iii) Civil Department (in some cases families have not been included)	948	362
(iv) Railway employees (including families)	975	813
Total	2,490	1,434

RE-BUILDING OF QUETTA.

165. *Seth Haji Abdoola Haroon : (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether it is their intention to re-build the city of Quetta ?

(b) If the reply to part (a) above be in the affirmative, do Government propose not to invest large amounts in re-building Quetta, and to transfer the Western Command of Quetta to Karachi or some such other place, in view of the speedy means of communication and transportation by Railway, road, and air, nowadays ready at hand for cases of emergency ?

Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham : (a) and (b) The Honourable Member's attention is invited to Chapter VIII of the pamphlet "The Quetta Earthquake, 1935", copies of which were sent to all Members of the House on the 29th August, 1935.

The whole matter is still under consideration.

LOSSES TO CIVIL POPULATION IN QUETTA.

166. *Seth Haji Abdoola Haroon : Will Government be pleased to state the approximate amount of losses to civil population and their movable and immovable properties in Quetta ?

Mr. J. G. Acheson : The Honourable Member is referred to Chapters I and II of the Pamphlet "The Quetta Earthquake, 1935", a copy of which has been sent to him. It is not possible at present to give even an approximate estimate of the amount of the losses to the civil population of Quetta. But some idea of the magnitude of the losses can be gained from the fact that approximately 15,000 shops and houses were destroyed or badly damaged.

CASUALTIES IN THE SUBURBS OF QUETTA.

167. *Seth Haji Abdoola Haroon : (a) Will Government be pleased to state the approximate number of casualties in the suburbs of Quetta in British Baluchistan ?

(b) What was the :

(i) number of casualties, both dead and injured ;

(ii) approximate amount of losses to Government and railway properties ; and

(iii) the approximate amount of losses to civil population ?

Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham : (a) and (b) (i) The Honourable Member's attention is invited to pages 1, 8 and 16 of the pamphlet "The Quetta Earthquake, 1935", a copy of which was sent to him on the 29th August, 1935. He will, however, realise that it is impossible as yet to give accurate figures of deaths among the civil population.

(b) (ii) The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the reply I gave to part (a) of his question No. 163.

(b) (iii) It is impossible even to hazard a guess.

LOSSES IN TRIBAL AREAS IN BALUCHISTAN DUE TO EARTHQUAKE.

168. *Seth Haji Abdoola Haroon : Will Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing detailed particulars of losses experienced in tribal areas in Baluchistan ?

Mr. J. G. Acheson : There were no losses in the tribal areas in Baluchistan.

CERTAIN FACILITIES PROVIDED IN QUETTA AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE.

169. ***Seth Haji Abdoola Haroon** : Will Government be pleased to state what provisions for medical aid, supplying of food, water and clothes and other available resources, were provided by Government in the following territories after the earthquake catastrophe :

- (i) Suburbs of Quetta ; and
- (ii) Quetta City ?

Mr. G. B. F. Tottenham : The Honourable Member's attention is invited to Chapters III, IV and V of the pamphlet " The Quetta Earthquake, 1935 ", a copy of which has been sent to all Members of this House.

APPLICATIONS INVITED FOR POSTS OF ARMY OFFICERS FROM ENGLAND.

170. ***Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar** : (a) Is it a fact that applications have been invited for posts of Army Officers from England ?

(b) Why is it that no similar applications are called for from Indians ?

(c) How many posts are vacant, and how many applications have been received ?

(d) Are the posts to be filled up permanently or temporarily ?

Mr. G. B. F. Tottenham : (a) Owing to over-recruitment during the war, and under-recruitment in the years immediately succeeding it, it recently became necessary, in order to make the establishment in each rank correct, to eliminate from the Indian Army a large number of senior officers and take on a smaller number of less senior officers. It is for this latter reason that it was recently decided to revive the practice, which had been held in abeyance for a few years, of allowing transfers from the British service and invite applications from officers of the required seniority.

(b) Because all the Indian officers of the required seniority are already serving in the Indian Army, and there is no other outside source from which they could be procured.

(c) The War Office have agreed to permit up to 100 officers to volunteer for transfer to the Indian Army. Applications may reach the War Office or Army Headquarters, India, up to the 22nd September, 1935.

(d) Permanently.

Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar : Before this, are there any Indian officers who were taken temporarily to these posts and sent away ?

Mr. G. B. F. Tottenham : No, Sir : there are no Indian officers taken temporarily. All the Indian officers that there are, are already employed permanently in the Indian army.

Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar : Have all these posts, for which applications have been invited in England, been held by British officers till now ?

Mr. G. B. F. Tottenham : As I explained, we are just getting rid of about 400 officers practically all of whom are British officers, and we are taking in 100 British officers from the British service to fill up the gaps in the lower ranks.

SELECTION OF *Dufferin* CADETS FROM THE ROYAL INDIAN MARINE.

171. ***Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar :** (a) How many of the students who have received training in the Ship *Dufferin* have been selected for the Royal Indian Marine Force, year after year, during the past seven years, and how many from outside have been appointed in that Force ?

(b) What is the principle of selection, and why have not more men been selected from among the *Dufferin* cadets ?

Mr. G. B. F. Tottenham : (a) Since 1926, 19 Indians have been selected for employment in the commissioned ranks of the Royal Indian Navy. Of these, six came from the Indian Mercantile Marine Training Ship *Dufferin*. I lay on the table a statement showing the recruitment year by year.

(b) The principle of selection is to obtain the best material available, but in putting this principle into effect Government have been influenced by a knowledge that public opinion in this country attaches considerable importance to the retention of the open competitive examination.

Statement showing the recruitment since 1928 of Indian commissioned officers in the Royal Indian Navy.

Year.	No. of candidates recruited.			Total.	Remarks.
	On the results of the open and "Dufferin" examinations.		As direct entries.		
	Open.	Dufferin.			
1928 ..			1	1	
1929 ..	2	..		2	
1930 ..	1			1	
1931 ..		4	1*	5	* Since permitted to resign his commission.
1932 ..	4			4	
1933 ..		1	1	2	
1934 ..	3	1	..	4	

Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar : Besides the six officers who were trained on the *Dufferin*, what are the qualifications of the other thirteen ?

Mr. G. E. F. Tottenham : I could not possibly give a list of the qualifications of all the men who have joined since 1928.

Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar : Is there any other ship besides the *Dufferin* in which naval training is given to Indians ?

Mr. G. E. F. Tottenham : No, Sir ; nor is naval training given in the *Dufferin* which is a Mercantile Marine training ship.

Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar : Besides these six who were trained on the *Dufferin*, can the Honourable Member say whether the other thirteen had any training at all, either mercantile marine or naval ?

Mr. G. E. F. Tottenham : No, Sir ; neither did the six who were taken from the *Dufferin* possess any naval training, i.e., training for work in the Navy. This training they received after passing the examination and being sent to England to be trained in the naval dock-yards there.

Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar : Why were not all of them taken from among those who had the same training on the sea ?

Mr. G. E. F. Tottenham : I have explained that the idea is to throw open to open competition throughout India the officer ranks of the Indian navy, and it is quite impossible to afford sea training of any kind to all the boys in India.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE HILTON-YOUNG CURRENCY COMMISSION.

172. **Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar :** (a) What are the recommendations of the Hilton-Young Currency Commission, which have been given effect to ?

(b) What other recommendations do Government propose adopting during the current year ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : (a) and (b). The recommendations of the Hilton-Young Currency Commission can be divided into three parts :

(i) a recommendation for the establishment of a gold bullion standard ;

(ii) the establishment of a Central Reserve Bank ; and

(iii) the fixation of the ratio of the rupee to gold at 1s. 6d.

(i) and (iii) were put into effect in 1927 but have since been suspended while (ii) was put into effect as from 1st January last.

Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar : When they were put into effect in 1927, what was the amount of gold in the reserve ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : I cannot say off-hand : if the Honourable Member likes to put down a question, I can find it out for him.

Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar : Was any quantity of gold kept in the reserve at all ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : I think the amount of gold in the gold reserve appears in the weekly statement of the Reserve Bank. I cannot remember off-hand the last figure, but I may say that the gold figures in that statement at the old parity, so that it under-estimates or under-represents the amount of the gold reserve at current market values.

Prof. N. G. Ranga : Do Government propose to increase their gold holdings ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : That is a matter for the Reserve Bank now : Government itself is no longer concerned with the custody of the gold reserves of India.

Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar : Why was it suspended in 1927 ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : It was not suspended in 1927, but in 1931 when the United Kingdom left the gold standard.

Prof. N. G. Ranga : In view of the increase in counterfeit rupee coins.....

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : Really, Sir, I do not think that arises.

Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar : Was it in pursuance of that policy that ten crores worth of silver were sold away by the Government of India in the year 1930-31 ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : I think if the Honourable Member wants to discuss silver, he had better put down a question separately : it does not arise directly out of this.

COMPILATION OF STATISTICS FOR AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL WAGES.

173. ***Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar :** (a) Are Government aware that both in the Economic Enquiry Committee Report and the Hilton-Young Commission Report, there is a suggestion that index numbers should be prepared for wages, agricultural and industrial ?

(b) Have Government been compiling such statistics ? If so, for how long ? If not, why not ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : (a) Yes.

(b) No. The compilation of such statistics is properly a function of Local Governments.

Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar : Have the Local Governments prepared such statistics regarding wages, agricultural and industrial ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : I cannot answer that question : I do not know.

Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar : Will Government supply us information regarding this ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : If the Honourable Member desires that an inquiry should be made from Local Governments and this information obtained, and if he puts down a question on the paper, I shall see if it can be obtained.

Prof. N. G. Ranga : Is it not one of the recommendations of the Economic Inquiry Committee that there should be a Central Economic Enquiry Board established by the Central Government here ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : I would require notice of that : it does not arise out of this question.

REVISION OF THE EXCHANGE RATIO.

174. ***Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar :** (a) Are Government aware that in paragraph 190 of the Hilton-Young Commission Report, they state it as an argument for the fixing of the ratio at 1s. 6d. that India's foreign trade had not been adversely affected, after 12 months of the 1s. 6d. ratio till then ?

(b) Are Government aware that India's balance of trade since the Hilton-Young Commission Report, dwindled from nearly 75 crores to nothing ?

(c) Do Government propose to take immediate steps to revise the exchange ratio ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : (a) and (b) India's favourable balance of trade in 1925-26, when the Hilton-Young Commission Report was issued, was Rs. 109,25 lakhs. In the year 1934-35, it was Rs. 78,10 lakhs. Obviously the shrinkage in trade is due to world conditions and not to the ratio. In any case the ratio in 1925-26 was 1s. 6d. gold whereas it is now 1s. 6d. sterling which, expressed in terms of gold, is approximately the equivalent of 11d. only.

(c) Quite definitely, No.

Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar : Does the balance of trade of 78 crores in 1934-35 include export of gold in specie ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : Yes.

Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar : To what extent ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : I believe about two-thirds.

Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar : The balance of trade has, therefore, gone down to 15 crores ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : 15 is wrong : in one year it was 30 and in another year about 23.

Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar : Is it not a fact that in 1924 the balance of trade was 115 crores ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : I am quite prepared to take that from the Honourable Member.

Prof. N. G. Ranga : What steps do the Government of India propose to take in order to improve our position in regard to the balance of trade ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : That is too long a question to be dealt with in answer to a supplementary question.

Prof. N. G. Ranga : Do Government propose to take any action ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : Yes.

MONOPOLY OF SUPPLYING PETROLEUM PRODUCTS IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY HELD BY THE BURMA OIL COMPANY.

175. ***Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar** : (a) Will Government please state whether it is a fact that the Burma Oil Company has the monopoly of supplying petroleum products in the Madras Presidency ?

(b) Was it at least so for some time after the Great War ?

(c) Is it a fact that liquid fuel is largely needed by the agriculturists for their pumping plants, wherever there are no irrigation facilities ?

(d) Was liquid fuel being sold in the Madras Presidency at Rs. 30 to Rs. 40 per ton before the War ?

(e) Is it a fact that the price rose to Rs. 60 per ton during the War and to Rs. 90 per ton after the War ?

(f) Is it a fact that Government are allowing a protective duty of two annas and nine pies to the Burma Oil Company products, while Indian companies who import foreign oils are assessed to a duty of three annas nine pies ?

(g) Do Government propose to fix a fair selling minimum price for all petroleum products and thus protect the agriculturists from abnormally high prices for their needs ?

(h) Is it not a fact that the Burma Oil Company import also Persian, American and Russian petroleum products besides the Burma Oils ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : I feel, Sir, in view of the strictures passed upon me for butting into other people's affairs yesterday, I ought to apologise in advance for answering this question which concerns both the Finance and the Commerce Departments jointly.

(a) No.

(b) No.

(c) Yes : if the pumping plants are worked by oil engines.

(d) and (e). Government have no precise information as to the sale prices of fuel oil at the periods referred to.

(f) No. The duties in question are revenue duties.

(g) Government are not aware that the agriculturists are paying abnormally high prices.

(h) The Burma Oil Company import petroleum products from Persia and America.

Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar : May I know why differential rates should prevail, if this is only a revenue duty and not a protective duty ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : That question has a long history, and it is not possible to deal with it in reply to a supplementary question : if the Honourable Member will put down a question, I will give a considered answer.

Prof. N. G. Ranga : Will Government try to abolish these differential duties ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : I think the Honourable Member had better look at the terms of the Indo-Burma trade agreement.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai : With reference to clause (f), may I know whether the Indian companies and the Burma Oil Company are paying the same import duty ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : That is the question I have answered : the question is whether Government are allowing a protective duty to the Burma Oil Company.

Prof. N. G. Ranga : Am I to understand that there are differential duties ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : They are certainly differential duties.

Prof. N. G. Ranga : May I know how much they are ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : They are given in the question itself in part (f).

Mr. S. Satyamurti : What is the reason for this difference, even if they are revenue duties ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : I have just answered that : I am not prepared to answer that in answer to a supplementary question : if a question is put down, I will give a considered reply.

Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar : With reference to part (g), does the Honourable Member consider the price not high when it is between 86 to 90 rupees a ton nowadays, as compared with Rs. 30 a ton in pre-war days ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : I have some hesitation about dealing with that part of the question which concerns the Commerce Department : I think the Honourable Member had better put down a question separately.

APPOINTMENT OF INDIANS AS TEACHERS IN ENGLAND.

176. ***Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar :** (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to questions and answers in the House of Commons on the 26th March, 1935, regarding the difficulties experienced by English-born Indians seeking appointments as teachers in Great Britain, despite their educational qualifications ?

(b) Will Government state if they have information of any kind regarding the numbers of such Indians employed as teachers in Great Britain ? If not, do they propose to obtain such information as can be available from the India Office or any other such authority in England ?

(c) Are Government prepared to take necessary steps to represent to the Secretary of State for India that not only English-born Indians but Indian-born Indians, who have got the requisite qualifications, obtain a fair chance in applying for teachers' appointments in Great Britain should they desire to do so ?

Sir Gtrja Shankar Bajpai : (a) Yes.

(b) The Board of Education, London, who were consulted in the matter, regret that the information asked for by the Honourable Member is not available.

(c) The appointment of teachers in Great Britain is a matter which is in the hands of local educational authorities or other bodies responsible for the management of the schools. The Board of Education state that they are not aware that any considerations other than the general suitability of the applicants are taken into consideration in making an appointment.

INADEQUACY OF INDIANS EMPLOYED IN THE OFFICES OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

177. *Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar : (a) Are Government aware of the feeling of dissatisfaction prevailing in India as regards the inadequacy of the number of Indians employed in the offices of the League of Nations, and if so, are Government prepared to take suitable action to acquaint the authorities of the League at Geneva of these feelings ?

(b) Are Government prepared to take early action to make representations to the authorities of the League of Nations to so increase the number of Indians employed in its various offices that it may be in proportion to the contribution made by India ?

The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar : (a) The League authorities are fully aware of Indian feeling in this matter and an informal representation on the subject has been very recently addressed to the Secretary General. In these circumstances, and in view of the fact that the League authorities are not, as the Honourable Member appears to suppose, unsympathetic towards Indian feeling, no purpose would be served by a further communication.

(b) I would refer the Honourable Member to the latter part of my reply to part (d) of question No. 121 asked by my Honourable friend, Mr. S. Satyamurti, on the 4th September, 1935.

APPOINTMENT OF AN INDIAN IN PLACE OF THE LATE MR. A. C. CHATTERJEE, A MEMBER OF THE INFORMATION SECTION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS SECRETARIAT.

176. *Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar : (a) Are Government prepared to move the authorities of the League of Nations to appoint an Indian in the place of Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, a member of the Information Section of the League Secretariat who died recently ?

(b) Are there already Indians in the Information Section of the League Secretariat who are qualified to fill the place rendered vacant by the death of Mr. A. C. Chatterjee ?

The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar : (a) Government have already taken steps in this direction and they have been informally assured that an Indian will be appointed.

(b) From the latest Staff List of the League Secretariat it appears that one other Indian, Mr. S. N. Ghose, is employed in the Information Section. Government have no information regarding his qualifications to fill the appointment held by the late Mr. A. C. Chatterjee.

Prof. N. G. Ranga : What is the usual practice followed by the League Secretariat in making these appointments ? Do they consult the Government of India ?

The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar : No, Sir ; but this question I have answered during the last three Sessions about eight times, and I have placed before the House information relating to the number of appointments made, names of the officers appointed, their salaries, and so on, and I have nothing further to add ; but, in making these appointments, the League Secretariat do not consult the Government of India.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : Has this vacancy been filled ?

The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar : To the best of my information, not yet.

ESTABLISHMENT OF RURAL LIBRARIES.

179. ***Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar :** (a) Are Government aware that recently rural libraries have been started in many villages ?

(b) Are Government aware that the various Provincial Governments insist that such rural libraries associations should be registered under the Societies Registration Act XXI of 1860, before grants-in-aid could be sanctioned for such libraries ?

(c) Is it a fact that the said Act requires that a fee of Rs. 50 should be paid as registration fee for registering literary, scientific and charitable societies ?

(d) Are Government aware that almost all the rural libraries have got very slender resources and cannot pay a high registration fee of Rs. 50 ?

(e) If the answer to part (d) above be in the affirmative, are Government prepared to consider the advisability of fixing a nominal fee of Rs. 5 for registration of such rural libraries under section 3 of the Act ?

Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai : (a) and (c) Yes.

(b) and (d) The information asked for by the Honourable Member is not readily available.

(e) It is within the power of Provincial Governments to amend the Act with the previous sanction of the Governor General, if they desire to do so, in order to reduce the registration fee, and the matter will be brought to their notice for such action as they may consider desirable.

Prof. N. G. Ranga : Is it not a fact that it is in the power of the Governor General in Council to amend the rules made under this particular Act in order to bring down the figure of Rs. 50 ?

Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai : I have had that particular point examined, and the information given to me is that this is a matter which can best be dealt with by each Local Government.

Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar : But Societies Registration Act is an All-India Act ?

Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai : It may be an All-India Act, but according to my information, the libraries are provincial libraries.

SALT TRADE OF MADRAS.

180. ***Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar :** (a) Is it a fact that the exports of salt from Madras to Calcutta have been steadily decreasing during recent years ?

(b) Are Government aware that large quantities of foreign salt are being dumped in Calcutta ?

(c) Are Government prepared to take steps to improve the expansion of salt trade from Madras to other places in India by putting adequate duties on foreign salt ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : (a) There was a steady decline in the three years ending with March, 1934, but there was a noticeable revival in the year ending with March, 1935.

(b) No.

(c) The attention of the Honourable Member is drawn to the provisions of the Salt (Additional Import Duty) Act, 1931, which has been extended up to the 30th April, 1936.

FACTORIES WORKING UNDER THE MONOPOLY SYSTEM OF MANUFACTURING SALT IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

181. ***Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar :** (a) Is it a fact that the only factories working under the monopoly system of manufacturing salt in the Madras Presidency are (i) Polavaram, (ii) the Ennore Group and (iii) the Karambalam block ?

(b) Is it a fact that all other factories in the Presidency work under the excise system ?

(c) Are Government prepared to consider the advisability of introducing the excise system uniformly for the factories referred to in part (a) above ?

Mr. A. H. Lloyd : (a) Yes.

(b) All the other factories in the Presidency are worked under either the Excise or the Modified Excise system.

(c) The Central Board of Revenue have issued orders for the closure of the Monopoly factories in the Ennore group with effect from 1st January, 1936, and the existing licensees of these factories have been given the option of taking Modified Excise licenses. The Government will examine the question of the conversion of the remaining Monopoly factories into Excise or Modified Excise factories.

CONCESSION OF COLLECTING OR MAKING SALT IN CERTAIN Taluqs OF THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

182. ***Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar :** (a) What are the specific abuses referred to in paragraph 4 of the Administration Report of the Salt Department, Madras Presidency for 1933-34, which led to the withdrawal of the concession of collecting or making salt in Chingleput taluq ?

(b) Were the local residents in the taluq apprised of the abuses before the concession was withdrawn, and was any enquiry held ? If so, will Government please place the results of the enquiry on the table of the House ?

(c) If the residents were not previously warned, are Government prepared to re-introduce the concessions in that taluq once more on getting an undertaking from them against future abuses ?

(d) Are Government also prepared to allow this concession to the residents of the coastal villages in Ponneri and Saidapat taluqs ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : (a) Salt much in excess of local requirements was removed from swamps in the Chingleput taluq of the Chingleput District. Many cases of removal to distant places by carts and boats were detected.

(b) The villagers in the taluq were given warning to the effect that if the abuse did not cease the concession would be withdrawn. The warning was published in the villages on the 7th, 8th and 9th of September, 1932, but the abuses continued. No formal enquiry was held, but the decision was reached on the basis of continual reports from the salt staff and the results of proceedings in the criminal courts.

(c) Does not arise.

(d) The concession has not yet been withdrawn from the taluqs named in this part of the question.

Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar : Will it not be possible to grant the concession after getting an undertaking from the people ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : I answered a lot of questions in the last Session about the machinery for applying for restoration of these concessions. That machinery still holds good.

POSITION OF INDIANS IN FIJI.

183. ***Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar :** (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to an article by 'Seafarer' in the *Hindustan Times* of the 17th March, 1935, regarding the position of Indians in Fiji ?

(b) Is it a fact that restrictions are placed in the way of Indian settlers getting leases of land from the Fijian landlords for agricultural purposes ?

(c) Are Government prepared to consider the advisability of sending out a Commission to enquire into the question of the land settlement in Fiji ?

Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai : (a) Yes.

(b) and (c) Under the Fiji Native Lands Ordinance of 1905, the consent of the Governor in Council is necessary to the lease of land by Fijian landlords to all non-Fijians, Indian or European. The Regulations relating to the conditions on which such consent is granted contained certain provisions which discriminated against Indians in the matter of area of land and terms of lease, but these were deleted by the Ordinance of 1933. The Government of India have made certain inquiries as to the actual working of the Ordinance and the relevant regulations. The question what further action on their part is necessary will be decided when the result of these inquiries becomes available.

Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar : For how long have these inquiries been going on ?

Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai : The inquiry, Sir, if I remember aright, was addressed to the India Office about six weeks ago.

RE-OPENING OF SALT WORKS IN CERTAIN PLACES IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

184. ***Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar** : (a) Is it a fact that Government have not been allowing the people in Kattur village, Ponneri taluq and Kandadu village in Tindivanam taluq, Madras Presidency, to work on salt pans in those places ?

(b) Are Government aware that the people have been put to heavy loss on account of stoppage of works ?

(c) Do Government propose to allow the people to re-open the salt works in those places ?

Mr. A. H. Lloyd : (a) The Kattur Salt Factory is at present open and is being worked under the Monopoly System. Formal orders for the closure of this factory as a monopoly factory, with effect from 1st January, 1936, have issued but the existing licensees have been given the option to take modified excise licenses. The Kandadu Salt Factory was closed in 1897 as there was no necessity for it.

(b) The people have suffered no recent loss by the closure of the Kandadu Salt Factory which occurred many years ago. Government are now paying compensation in accordance with the provisions of the Madras Salt Act as this was not done at the time of the closure. Compensation admissible under the Act will also be paid to the licensees of the Kattur Salt Factory.

(c) At present there is no necessity to re-open the Kandadu Salt Factory as adjoining factories are overstocked and prices are very low.

Mr. Sami Vencatachelum Ohetty : It is a fact that the compensation now offered is on the basis of the reduced dittam ?

Mr. A. H. Lloyd : The dittam in recent years has been taken into consideration in fixing the compensation.

Mr. Sami Vencatachelum Ohetty : Reduced dittam ?

Mr. A. H. Lloyd : I think the reduction of dittam has been taken into account, but, speaking from memory, the compensation has not been based on the lowest dittam. However, if the Honourable Member will put down a question, I shall try and give him the information.

Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar : Are the Government of India aware that the compensation offered is very inadequate ?

Mr. A. H. Lloyd : I am quite prepared to take it from the Honourable Member that there have been complaints of this.

Prof. N. G. Ranga : For how many years is this compensation to be paid ? Is it paid annually ?

Mr. A. H. Lloyd : It is a lump sum.

OFFICERS IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY.

185. ***Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar** : (a) Will Government please state who are the officers in Archaeological Survey with qualifications in :

(i) Architecture ; and

(ii) Archaeology ?

(b) Do Government propose to consider the advisability of restricting the work of officers qualified in Architecture to purposes of conservation and excavation ?

Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai : (a) A statement is laid on the table.

(b) Financial considerations impose limits on the size of the cadre which renders the Honourable Member's suggestion impracticable.

Names of officers in the Archaeological Department with qualifications in (i) Architecture, and (ii) Archaeology.

(i) *Architecture.*

1. Mr. J. F. Blakiston.
2. Mr. G. C. Chandra.
3. Mr. H. H. Khan.

(ii) *Archaeology.*

1. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan.
2. Mr. K. N. Dikshit.
3. Mr. Mya.
4. Mr. M. S. Vats.
5. Mr. M. H. Kuraishi.
6. Mr. N. G. Majumdar.
7. Dr. M. Nazim.
8. Mr. H. L. Srivastava.
9. Mr. Q. M. Moneer.

COUNTRIES WITH BANNED OR RESTRICTED IMPORTS FROM INDIA.

186. ***Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar :** (a) Will Government please state the names of countries which have either banned or restricted the import of Indian goods into their countries ?

(b) What is the amount of loss of trade caused to India by each of such countries ?

(c) What steps have Government taken in regard to this matter ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : (a) and (c). The Honourable Member is referred to the reply given by me to parts (a), (c) and (d) of Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar's starred question No. 6 on the 2nd September, 1935.

(b) No estimate of the loss to India on account of these restrictions can be made.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai : May I know if the Government of India have raised any objection to that ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : I have already replied on the supplementaries to the question to which I have referred.

Mr. M. Ananthaseyanam Ayyangar : What is the answer to clause (c), Sir ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : I said that the Honourable Member is referred to previous replies given by me to Mr. Chettiar's question No. 6 on the 2nd September, 1935.

Prof. N. G. Ranga : Will any attempt be made at all to estimate this loss of trade caused to India ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : It is not possible to make any estimate of the loss of trade caused to India on account of these restrictions owing to the complexity of the factors that enter into the situation.

Prof. N. G. Ranga : In view of the recent establishment of an Industrial Research Bureau, will Government be pleased to refer this question to them for making the necessary estimate ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : Which particular Research Bureau is the Honourable Member referring to ?

Prof. N. G. Ranga : The Honourable the Finance Member will answer it.

Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar : Again and again with reference to answers (a) to (c), it has been said that negotiations are going on. Whenever any other country put an embargo, are we to go on prostrating every time ? Why don't you immediately put a ban on the import of their articles ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : If the implication is that our inquiries and efforts result in nothing, I would draw the attention of the Honourable Member to the case of Roumania.

Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar : What has been the case with regard to Italy ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : I have explained that correspondence started with Italy, and it was expected that the correspondence would lead to negotiations, but owing to the refusal of Italy to start with an initial concession which had been considered as absolutely necessary before negotiations could start, that correspondence is at the present moment in abeyance, and negotiations have not begun.

Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar : Why have not retaliatory measures been taken against Ceylon since 1932, and why has preference been shown to Ceylonese articles ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : How does that arise out of this question ?

Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar : Yes, it does, part (c) of the question.

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : My general answer to that criticism is that, with regard to a large number of these countries, the balance of trade is in favour of India. I need not go on explaining the implications of that. I am sure, Honourable Members will understand that retaliatory measures become impossible under those conditions.

PUBLICATION OF DAILY LISTS OF EXPORTS AND IMPORTS BY CUSTOMS HOUSES.

187. ***Mr. Mathuradas Vissanji :** (a) Will Government be pleased to state, if it is a fact that Calcutta, Madras and Rangoon Custom Houses publish daily lists of exports and imports ? If so, what is the expenditure incurred by each Custom House in this regard, and what is the income received by the respective Custom Houses by way of subscriptions to these lists ?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state whether Bombay and Karachi Custom Houses publish such daily exports and imports lists? If not, why not?

(c) Is it a fact that in Bombay and Karachi, the Bombay Chamber of Commerce and the Karachi Chamber of Commerce publish such daily lists? If so, what facilities do the Bombay and Karachi Custom Houses give to the above-mentioned private agencies for such publications?

(d) Will Government be pleased to place on the table the comparative statements of subscriptions for daily exports and imports lists issued by the Calcutta, Madras and Rangoon Custom Houses and subscriptions charged by the Bombay and Karachi Chambers of Commerce for their daily lists?

(e) Is it a fact that recently the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, approached Government with a request to arrange for publication of such lists by Bombay and Karachi Custom Houses on the lines of the Calcutta, Madras and Rangoon lists? Is it also a fact that Government refused the above request? If so, why?

(f) Are Government prepared to get the lists published by the Bombay and Karachi Custom Houses instead of assigning the same to private agencies?

Mr. A. H. Lloyd : (a) Yes. A statement showing the income and expenditure is laid on the table.

(b) and (c). At Bombay, daily lists are published by the Bombay Chamber of Commerce. At Karachi, in accordance with an agreement reached in 1930, lists dealing mainly with foreign trade are issued by the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, and lists dealing mainly with the coasting trade are issued by the Joint Board of the Karachi Merchants' Association and the Buyers' and Shippers' Chamber, Karachi. Since April, 1935, the Karachi Chamber has discontinued the publication of daily lists of imports and exports but has issued enlarged monthly statements. Clerks deputed by these bodies are allowed to work in the Custom Houses and are given access to the relevant documents.

(d) A statement is laid on the table.

(e) and (f). A representation suggesting that the Bombay lists should be issued by the Bombay Custom House was received from the Indian Merchants' Chamber in December, 1934. Government do not see sufficient reason for altering the existing practice, since they are not satisfied that if the work were undertaken by the Custom Houses they would be able to recover the cost without raising the rates of subscription.

STATEMENT I.

Expenditure incurred by Custom Houses on the publication of daily lists of exports and imports.

	<i>Income.</i>	<i>Expenditure.</i>
	Rs.	Rs.
Calcutta	26,241	28,551
Madras	6,589	6,405
Rangoon	18,446	17,000

Note.—The figures for Calcutta relate to the calendar year 1934 and the figures for Madras and Rangoon relate to the financial year 1934-35.

STATEMENT II.

Annual subscription for Daily Lists of Imports and Exports.

	Rs.
Calcutta—	
Import	100
Export	100
Madras	90
Rangoon—	
First copy	240
Every additional copy	120
Bombay Chamber of Commerce—	
Members	160
Non-members	320
Karachi Chamber of Commerce (monthly statements)	100
Joint Board of the Karachi Indian Merchants Association and the Buyers' and Shippers' Chamber, Karachi	6

EMPLOYMENT OF INDIAN SEAMEN ON BRITISH SHIPS.

158. *Mr. Mathuradas Vissanji : (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the Debate in the House of Commons on the 4th December, 1934, and in the House of Lords on the 12th February, 1935, with regard to subsidies to British Tramp Shipping ?

(b) Is it true that, in the course of the debates, Official Labour Opposition took up an anti-Indian attitude, demanding that no subsidy should be given to any ship which employs Indian seamen, so long as there was unemployment among white British seamen ?

(c) Are Government aware that some Companies owning some of these ships are receiving patronage from the Government of India in Mail subsidies and are also receiving freight on Indian products and on Indian imports, and in virtue thereof there is a general feeling among the public in India that there should be no interference with the scope and employment of Indian seamen ?

(d) Do Government propose to make a representation to the Secretary of State on the subject, pointing out the strong feeling thereon in India ?

(e) Do Government support racial discrimination against Indians in this matter ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : (a) Yes.

(b) Government are aware that certain Members of the Labour Party in the course of the debate advocated that the subsidy should be given only if employment was given by preference to European seamen.

(c) So far as Government are aware, no subsidy has been given to a company having mail contracts with the Government of India.

(d) In view of the statement made in the course of the debate on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the Government of India consider it quite unnecessary to make any representation on the subject.

(e) The question does not arise.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : May I know what is the statement of the Secretary of State ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : The Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade stated :

“ I am asking the Committee to allow me to emphasise the enormous consequences and implications of any suggestion that you can subdivide British nationality and allegiance into different groups. I am content to say at the moment that the vast majority of these Lascars are British subjects, entitled to British passports and to all the advantages of British citizenship to which any Honourable Member of this House is entitled.”

PREPARATIONS IN INDIA FOR A WAR IN EUROPE.

189. ***Mr. S. Satyamurti** : Will Government be pleased to state :

- (a) whether they are preparing for any war in Europe by any arrangements in India ;
- (b) whether it is a fact that military contractors are being sounded about their capacity to supply provisions to the Army in certain eventualities ; and
- (c) whether there is any proposal to increase or re-arrange the distribution of armaments and forces in India ?

Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham : (a), (b) and (c). No.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : May I know, apart from any immediate war, whether any contractors are being sounded in order to test their capacity to supply provisions to the army ?

Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham : No.

GOVERNMENT'S POLICY WITH REGARD TO THE TRIBES ON THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER.

190. ***Mr. S. Satyamurti** : Will Government be pleased to state :

- (a) what their definite policy is with regard to their dealings with the tribes on the North-West Frontier ;
- (b) whether it is a policy of peaceful penetration, or of ultimate conquest ; and
- (c) which tribes are friendly, and which are unfriendly ?

Mr. J. G. Acheson : (a) and (b). The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the reply given on the 12th September, 1933, to Mr. Maswood Ahmad's question No. 880.

(c) The present position is that out of the great transborder tribes for which the Government of India is responsible, the Yusafzai, the Mohmands, the Afridis, the Orakzai, the Wazirs, the Mahsuds, the Baluch, and the Brahui only one small clan on the Hazara border, three of the lesser Mohmand clans, and one of the Wazirs can be described as hostile or unfriendly.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : What is the answer of 1933 please ?

Mr. J. G. Acheson : I have pleasure in reading it out. The answer given by Mr. Glancy was as follows :

“ The policy of the Government of India is to maintain the peace of the border and foster good relations with the tribes in the hope that in time civilisation will spread gradually through the tribal area. For further particulars regarding this policy, I would invite the attention of the Honourable Member to the speech made by Sir Deuys Bray on the 5th March, 1923, in this Assembly.”

Mr. S. Satyamurti : What are the means which the Government of India are pursuing to spread civilisation among these tribes ? Air bombs ?

Mr. J. G. Acheson : No, Sir.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : Then, what are the other means ?

Mr. J. G. Acheson : Mainly the construction of roads.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : But may I know whether they recognise the independent position of these tribes, or whether they consider them semi-independent, whether they consider them hostile or friendly ? What is the exact relationship in the international law between Great Britain in India and these unfortunate tribes ?

Mr. J. G. Acheson : The question contains an innuendo, but I will overlook that. The position is that the tribes are with India, though not with British India, and the Government of India is responsible for them.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : What is meant by India ? Is it an independent state ?

Mr. J. G. Acheson : The question raises difficult legal point with which I am not prepared to deal offhand. The status of the tribal territory has in the past been described as that of Indian States, but I understand that there will be in future an alteration in status as a result of the new Constitution Act.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : Is any attempt being made to make honourable peace with these tribes ?

Mr. J. G. Acheson : Certainly.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : May I know with regard to the answer to clause (b) of the question, whether it is the policy of ultimate conquest of these tribes ?

Mr. J. G. Acheson : I do not think that that inference can be put on the statement of policy which I have made.

Dr. Khan Sahib : Is it a fact that a tribe of the Mohmand Halimzais has been helped by the Government with rifles and money to fight the Upper Mohmands in order to create a feeling of blood feud among them ? Is it for helping or destroying them ?

Mr. J. G. Acheson : It is a fact that the Halimzai Mohmands are in friendly relations with the Government and they have always carried out their relations loyally since they entered into them. They have been helped in repelling attacks upon them by the Upper Mohmands, but the rest of the Honourable Member's statement I cannot admit.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : Is it the policy of the Government to make these tribes fight among themselves, in order to justify the enormous army expenditure on the North-West Frontier ?

Mr. J. G. Acheson : Certainly not. One of the main difficulties is the maintaining of peace among the tribes, and one of our chief roles is that of arbitrator between warring sections.

WOUND RECEIVED BY MR. L. W. B. H. BEST, POLITICAL AGENT IN THE MALAKAND AGENCY.

191. ***Mr. S. Satyamurti :** Will Government be pleased to state :

- (a) the circumstances under which Mr. L. W. B. H. Best of the Indian Civil Service, Political Agent in the Malakand Agency Area, was mortally wounded in action on the 11th of April ;
- (b) the causes which led to this incident ; and
- (c) what the relations are between Government and the Faqir of Alingar ?

Mr. J. G. Acheson : (a) and (b). The information is contained in the Associated Press message from Peshawar, dated the 16th April, 1935, which appeared in the *Civil and Military Gazette* of the 17th April and other newspapers.

(c) The Faqir of Alingar has not entered into relations with Government.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : Is he an enemy of the Government ?

Mr. J. G. Acheson : I think that is a pretty fair description of the person in question.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : Did Government make any enquiry into the causes of this unfortunate incident after the Associated Press message and really satisfy themselves that the telegram sent out was accurate ?

Mr. J. G. Acheson : The facts given in the telegram were substantially correct.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : Did Government investigate and find out whether the facts were accurate ?

Mr. J. G. Acheson : The Government were already aware of the facts.

ARTICLE IN THE *Amrita Bazar Patrika* ABOUT THE FAQIR OF ALINGAR.

192. ***Mr. S. Satyamurti :** Will Government be pleased to state :

- (a) whether their attention has been drawn to an article in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* about the Faqir of Alingar ;
- (b) whether the facts stated therein are correct ; and
- (c) the reasons why this Faqir of Alingar goes on creating trouble ?

Mr. J. G. Acheson : (a) Yes.

(b) No Sir. There has been some confusion of two distinct actions ; but the article is correct in suggesting that the Alingar Faqir is an incorrigible fomenter of armed rebellion in the tribal territory.

(c) His chief motive is believed to be to gain power among the ignorant and turbulent tribesmen.

Dr. Khan Sahib : Is it a fact that on the Frontier there is a rumour that the Faqir of Alingar is bribed by some of the political officers in order to create this trouble ?

Mr. J. G. Acheson : I have never heard the rumour, and I should think it has only to be stated to condemn itself.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : Does this Faqir of Alingar possess a charmed person ?

Mr. J. G. Acheson : I should be very glad if the Honourable Member will give me some information on that point. I have none myself.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : Are Government helpless in this matter ?

PROHIBITION OF CERTAIN IMPORTS FROM PERSIA AND AFGHANISTAN INTO CERTAIN PARTS OF INDIA.

193. ***Mr. S. Satyamurti :** Will Government be pleased to state :

(a) whether it is a fact that the prohibition of certain imports from Persia into British India and into the Baluchistan Agency territories has been extended to imports from Afghanistan as well as into the Political Agencies of the North-West Frontier Province ;

(b) the reasons therefor ; and

(c) what the effect of such prohibition has been ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : (a) Yes.

(b) The protection of the revenues of India.

(c) Imports of the prohibited articles have been checked.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : May I ask for some more elucidation than is contained in the cryptic answer " The protection of the revenues of India " ? How were they going to be adversely affected by these imports from Afghanistan not having been prohibited ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : There is no land customs line there.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : Was there any question of smuggling ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : A great deal.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : To what extent ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : I will try and find out some information.

Mr. A. H. Lloyd : A very large number of articles liable to heavy duties had been landed on the coast of Makran and the eastern part of Iran and were finding their way over this frontier into British India.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : Has the prohibition been effective ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : It has been particularly effective in the case of silver. Owing to the reduction of the import duty last April, the inducement for smuggling is substantially less.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : What about other articles ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : I could not answer that without notice, except in so far as it is covered by my general answer that imports have been checked.

EFFECT OF THE FIXATION OF IMPORT DUTY ON BROKEN RICE.

194. ***Mr. S. Satyamurti :** Will Government be pleased to state :

- (a) the effect of the fixation of the import duty on broken rice, in so far as the imports of rice and paddy into Madras are concerned ;
- (b) whether the import duty has had the desired effect ; and
- (c) whether Government propose to take any further action in the matter ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : (a) and (b). I lay on the table a statement showing imports of rice and paddy from foreign countries into the Madras Presidency up to July, 1935, and also a comparative statement of prices of all qualities of rice at Madras ports in April and July during the three years 1933, 1934 and 1935. It is too early as yet to express an opinion on the effectiveness of the new duty which came into force only on the 13th April, 1935, but prices have generally risen since then and are substantially higher than those prevailing in April and July of 1934 and 1933.

(c) No, Sir.

Imports of rice from foreign countries in o Madras Presidency.

	Rice.	Broken rice.	Paddy.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
August, 1934	4,109	17,713	10,516
September, 1934	7,202	11,426	6,708
October, 1934	2,632	35,402	16,794
November, 1934	3,866	23,591	8,449
December, 1934	4,875	29,073	26,093
January, 1935	1,395	4,396	1,517
February, 1935	3,138	13,213	3,985
March, 1935	6,008	27,758	..
April, 1935	907	4,518	1,442
May, 1935	500	..	10,548
June, 1935	4	..	7,363
July, 1935	506	..	8,484

Statement showing the prices of all qualities of rice at Madras Ports.

Centre and quality.	Year.	Prices in April. (last week).	Prices in July. (as on 19th July).
<i>Madras—</i>			
		(In rupees per maund.)	
Calcutta Nagara Boiled	1933	3.23	3.86
	1934	3.36	3.83
	1935	3.83	4.08
Cocanada Boiled Delta	1933	3.01	3.01
	1934	2.82	2.94
	1935	3.55	3.60
Rangoon Boiled Milchar	1933	2.76	2.88
	1934	2.70	2.82
	1935	3.41	3.54
Rangoon Raw Broken A1	1933	2.55	2.67
	1934	2.18	2.55
	1935	3.21	3.34
<i>Calicut—</i>			
Cocanada Boiled	1933	2.48	2.79
	1934	2.91	3.09
	1935	3.65	3.85
Rangoon Milchar Rice	1933	2.41	2.73
	1934	2.54	2.73
	1935	3.53	3.59
Rangoon Raw Broken	1933	2.55	2.59
	1934	2.25	2.25
	1935	3.04	3.23
<i>Cochin—</i>			
Inferior Milcher Burma II	1933	2.32	2.88
	1934	2.32	2.76
	1935	3.51	3.45
Siam Broken A1	1933	2.12	2.22
	1934	1.93	2.39
	1935	3.24	3.34

Mr. S. Satyamurti : Are Government aware of the fact that, very recently, there have been increased imports of Siamese rice into the Madras Presidency as compared with the period just after the levy of the import duty ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : I think, if I read out a few figures supplementing those in the statement which I have laid on the table, the Honourable Member will be able to see the position quite clearly. In May, 1935, there was import of rice to the extent of 500 tons and the import of paddy was 10,548. In June, 1935, the import of rice was four tons as compared with June, 1934—14,620 tons. Imports of paddy in June, 1935—7,363 tons as compared with June, 1934—15,884

tons. In July, 1935, imports of rice 506 tons as compared with 15,609 tons in the previous year and imports of paddy of 8,484 as compared with 5,600 previously. Honourable Members will see that there has been a slight increase in imports in July, 1935, as against paddy, but the total of paddy and rice imported in July, 1935, is much less than the total of paddy and rice imported in July, 1934.

Mr. Sami Vencatachelam Chetty : Is the Honourable the Commerce Member aware that just before the Act to levy a duty on imported rice, there was a very heavy importation of broken rice and paddy in the Madras Presidency ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : I have laid on the table all the figures for the last twelve months.

Prof. N. G. Ranga : Does this include broken rice ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : The figures I have quoted, namely, 500, 4, and 506 for May, June and July, 1935, are for rice and broken rice together, but up to April, 1935, beginning with August, 1934, in the statement which I have laid on the table, figures are given for rice and broken rice separately.

Mr. Sami Vencatachelam Chetty : Does not the Honourable Member think that the reduction in the imports of rice from May last might have been due partly to the larger imports earlier than May and also to the off-season for importation of rice ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : I have no means of judging at present, but, possibly, a few months hence, a comparison of the figures will enable me to arrive at some conclusion with regard to it.

Mr. Sami Vencatachelam Chetty : Is the Honourable the Commerce Member aware that already complaints are pouring in to the Government of India that imports are increasing ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : Some complaints have been received to that effect, but the figures do not seem to justify them.

Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar : May I know from the Honourable Member that more than 3,000 tons of rice and paddy have been imported into the Madras Presidency in the course of August ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : I have not yet received the August figures.

Dr. T. S. S. Rajan : Has the import duty raised the price of rice and paddy ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : Yes. The figures I have laid on the table justify that conclusion. That is with regard to both broken rice and rice, the price has gone up.

Dr. T. S. S. Rajan : The import duty is only on broken rice ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : Yes.

SENDING OF BRITISH TROOPS TO INDIA.

195. ***Mr. S. Satyamurti** : Will Government be pleased to state :

- (a) whether there has been any change in the practice of sending British troops to India ;
- (b) whether more senior troops are now being drafted for India with resultant increase in cost ; and
- (c) if so, the reasons therefor ?

Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham : (a) and (b). No.

(c) Does not arise.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : May I take it, therefore, that the same practice which prevailed before still continues ?

Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham : That is the meaning of my answer.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : Then the statements in the newspapers on this subject are inaccurate ?

Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham : If there have been any such statements, they must have been inaccurate.

DISABILITIES SUFFERED BY MATCH MANUFACTURERS IN BRITISH INDIA.

196. ***Mr. S. Satyamurti** : Will Government be pleased to state :

- (a) whether their attention has been drawn to a statement by the Association of Indian Match Manufacturers, Bombay, as published by the Associated Press, regarding the disabilities suffered by match manufacturers in British India ;
- (b) whether Government propose to take any steps to remove the disabilities under which the match industry is suffering ; and
- (c) if not, why not ?

Mr. A. H. Lloyd : Government have seen only a press report of the statement to which the Honourable Member refers. Any representation which may be received from the Association of Indian Match Manufacturers or from other representatives of the industry will naturally be carefully considered.

Prof. N. G. Ranga : In view of the large increase in the price of matches, do Government propose to fix the maximum price for a match box ?

Mr. A. H. Lloyd : There is no such proposal before Government.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : Are Government considering the question of the abolition of the excise duty at least on the smaller match factories ?

Mr. A. H. Lloyd : No.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : Why ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : That is a separate question. If the Honourable Member puts down a question, I will give him the usual answer that Government do not give advance notice of their intentions in regard to taxation.

Prof. N. G. Ranga : Is it not because of this excise duty on matches that the demand for matchwood produced by Government in their Andaman forest has gone down ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : I think it is extremely likely that the heavy tax on matches has reduced the consumption. There can be no doubt about that, but I would point out to the Honourable Member that, as far as I remember, the excise duty in itself is no more burden on the consumer than the corresponding customs duty.

STATEMENTS LAID ON THE TABLE.

Information promised in reply to the starred question No. 138 asked by Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad on 19th July, 1934.

TRANSFERS OF THE ASSISTANT COMMISSIONERS OF INCOME-TAX.

The answer is in the negative.

Information promised in reply to unstarred question No. 92 asked by Mr. Bhuput Sing on the 20th August, 1934.

NON-CONFIRMATION OF CERTAIN CLERKS IN THE OFFICES OF THE TELEGRAPH STOREYARD, ALIPORE, CALCUTTA.

(a) The undermentioned five officers are at present located in the Telegraph Storeyard, Alipore :

- (i) Office of the Controller of Telegraph Stores, Alipore,
- (ii) Office of the Electrical Engineer-in-Chief, Alipore,
- (iii) Office of the Superintendent of Telegraph Workshops, Alipore,
- (iv) Office of the Divisional Engineer, Eastern Wireless Division, Alipore,
- (v) Office of the Accounts Officer, Telephone Revenue, Stores and Workshops, Alipore.

Except in the office of the Controller of Telegraph Stores there are no clerks who have been in temporary service for seven or eight years, but in that office there were 23 clerks with temporary service ranging from two to nine years.

(b) The question of the re-organisation of the office of the Controller of Telegraph Stores has been under consideration for some time, but for administrative and financial reasons it was not possible for some time to bring the temporary staff of the office on to the permanent establishment. But in March last, after a decision had been arrived at as to the re-organisation of the office, orders were issued to bring the temporary staff on to the permanent establishment with effect from the 1st April, 1935.

(c) As regards the first part of the question it is a fact that officials appointed on a temporary basis are not eligible for increments. As regards the second part the rules apply to all classes of Government servants and Government do not consider that there is any case for their amendment on the lines suggested by the Honourable Member.

Information promised in reply to starred question No. 163 asked by Mr. V. V. Giri on the 12th February, 1935.

LEAVE RESERVE FOR EACH CATEGORY OF EMPLOYMENT ON STATE RAILWAYS.

Government are informed that it is the practice on State-owned Railways to provide regular leave reserve for certain categories of staff in the different Depart-

ments and to take substitutes in leave vacancies in other categories. The provision of regular leave reserve which depends on local conditions varies considerably. It is not possible to specify percentage of substitutes taken in leave vacancies as the number of such vacancies fluctuates considerably from time to time.

Information promised in reply to starred question No. 751 asked by Sardar Mangal Singh on the 8th March, 1935.

DEMOTIONS AND SUPERSESIONS IN CERTAIN DIVISIONS OF THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

The Agent, East Indian Railway, reports :

(a) If the question relates to the travelling ticket examiner on the Moradabad Division referred to in the answer to question 440 (a) quoted whose former substantive pay prior to the introduction of the Moody-Ward scheme was Rs. 160 per mensem plus Rs. 50 consolidated allowance and who was absorbed as a travelling ticket examiner under the Moody-Ward scheme in the grade Rs. 70—5—95, the position is as follows :—

In accordance with the orders communicated in the Railway Board's letter No. 822-E.G., dated the 22nd December, 1932, to absorb higher paid travelling ticket examiners in posts carrying rates of pay equivalent or as near as possible to the rates of pay drawn by them in their substantive posts prior to their absorption in the Moody-Ward scheme, this travelling ticket examiner was subsequently appointed as assistant head ticket collector (grade Rs. 110—5—140) and was allowed to continue to draw Rs. 160 per mensem but the consolidated allowance was discontinued as the post in which he was appointed involved stationary duties.

(b) and (c). An assistant head ticket collector drawing pay at Rs. 140 in the grade Rs. 110—5—140 was promoted to the grade of junior inspector of tickets in the grade Rs. 150—10—190 when the individual referred to in part (a) to this question was still a travelling ticket examiner in grade Rs. 70—5—95. The former being in a higher grade was senior to the latter.

(d) and (g). I would refer the Honourable Member to the information laid on the table of the House, in reply to question No. 304 asked by Dr. N. B. Khare on the 9th April, 1935.

(e) and (f). Government are unable to make enquiries as the Honourable Member has not quoted specific cases in which supersessions have taken place.

(h) The Agent, East Indian Railway, reports :

The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative, but with this qualification that the restoration was limited to such as were eligible and exercised the option accorded. There are no grades under the Moody-Ward scheme equivalent to old East Indian Railway grades, mentioned in the question.

(i) Absorption of "the holders of the restored substantive grades" in grades in the Moody-Ward scheme commensurate with their pay is a matter dependent not only on the availability of vacancy in such grades, but also on the ability of the men concerned and their qualifications to be considered suitable for holding such grades. There can, therefore, be no rigid direction that all who were restored to their old scales of pay should be absorbed indiscriminately in vacancies within any fixed limit of time.

(j) Copy of Railway Board's letter No. 822-E.G., dated the 22nd December, 1932, to the Agent, East Indian Railway, is attached herewith. It may, however, be mentioned that notwithstanding the option given under certain conditions for the election of old substantive grades the policy is that the holders of such posts should be considered for vacancies in existing higher scales which approximate in value as nearly as possible to the pay drawn by them in the old scales.

Copy of letter No. 888-E.G., dated the 22nd December, 1932, from the Director, Railway Board, to the Agent, East Indian Railway.

TICKET CHECKING STAFF.

With reference to the correspondence ending with your letter No. 157, dated the 25th August, 1932, I am directed to state that, while the Railway Board are convinced that there is no justification for paying the ticket inspecting or examining staff mileage allowance as running staff, they are inclined to think that some consideration should be shown to those employees who now hold the posts of Travelling Ticket Examiners and who, prior to the Crew System, held permanent posts of Travelling Ticket Inspectors in a substantive capacity and drew a mileage or running allowance, in view of the comparatively large reduction in their emoluments. The Governor General has accordingly decided, as an *ex gratia* measure, that with effect from the 1st December, 1932, the following scale of monthly consolidated travelling allowances should be sanctioned to such employees :

	Per mensem.
	Rs.
For staff drawing less than Rs. 100	35
For staff drawing Rs. 100 and over but less than Rs. 200	50
For staff drawing Rs. 200 and over	65

2. I am further to state that the Railway Board have decided that an employee who held a permanent post in a substantive capacity as a Travelling Ticket Inspector prior to the introduction of the Crew System and who on the introduction of the Crew System and who on the introduction of the Moody-Ward Scheme is now assigned duties the same or approximately the same as he discharged prior to the introduction of the Crew System should be allowed the option, with effect from the introduction of the Moody-Ward scheme, of retaining the scale of pay applicable to the permanent post held by him in a substantive capacity prior to the introduction of the Moody-Ward scheme with the benefit of increments therein. With a view to reducing the extra expense arising from the grant of this concession the Board desire that such employees should be considered for promotion to higher posts for which they may be qualified as vacancies occur in such posts.

3. I am to add that the Railway Board do not agree with the recommendation made in paragraph 29 of the 'Report of the Committee appointed to consider the appeals received from the Ticket Checking Staff absorbed in the Moody-Ward Scheme on the East Indian Railway'. The Railway Board are of the opinion that if a mistake has been made it should be rectified and the pay of the staff in question refixed in the manner suggested in paragraph 29 of the Report, *viz.*, in the lower grade of Rs. 37—3—52, the number of posts in this grade being temporarily increased as proposed in paragraph 29 of the Committee's report, the men in question being, however, allowed to retain the rate of pay actually drawn by them at present, and the difference treated as personal pay to be absorbed in future increments. The Board would like you to take steps accordingly unless you have any further representation to make on this point.

Information promised in reply to unstarred question No. 165 asked by Mr. B. B. Varma on the 9th March, 1935.

TREATING OF LOCOMOTIVE ASSISTANT RUNNING SHED FOREMEN AS CONTINUOUS WORKERS ON THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

(a) The Agent, East Indian Railway, reports that the daily duty hours of the Assistant Running Shed Foremen at Bandel, Ondal, Allahabad, and Tundla are 12 and that they are classified as 'Supervisory' and that their classification as such is based on the nature of the duty they perform in accordance with the Hours of Employment Regulations.

(b) The question whether they should continue to be treated as Supervisory staff or should be treated as continuous workers and brought under the Hours of Employment Regulations is under investigation by the Supervisor of Railway Labour. If the conditions of work of these employees justify a reclassification from supervisory to continuous, necessary action will be taken in due course.

Information promised in reply to unstarred question No. 207, asked by Mr. N. M. Joshi, on the 9th March, 1935.

ACTION TAKEN ON THE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE CONFERENCE OF THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' ASSOCIATION.

Government are informed that the Association referred to by the Honourable Member has not, so far, been recognised by the Agent, East Indian Railway, and consequently he is not bound to consider representations which may be made by that Association either direct or by means of resolutions. The Agent, East Indian Railway, reports that he, nevertheless, took action on resolutions which concerned the East Indian Railway Administration. He accepted resolutions Nos. 7, 10 and 19. Resolutions Nos. 4, 9, 11, 11-B, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20 and 21 were not accepted. As regards the matter dealt with in resolution No. 13, orders have since been issued that arrangements should be made for the provision of Box *Khallasies* for the carriage of boxes of all classes of drivers when circumstances render this necessary. The matter referred to in resolution No. 6 is under consideration. As regards resolution No. 5, the Honourable Member is referred to the replies given to starred questions Nos. 1545 and 1546 asked by Bhai Parma Nand in the Legislative Assembly on the 5th April, 1935. It is understood that the statements made in resolutions Nos. 8, 18 and 25 are not based on facts.

Information promised in reply to starred question No. 957 asked by Mr. Sri Prakasa on the 21st March, 1935.

EXAMINATION HELD AT CHANDAUSI FOR THE SELECTION OF CANDIDATES FOR ASSISTANT STATION MASTERS' COURSE.

The Agent, East Indian Railway, reports :

“(a) Yes.

(b), (c) and (d). Requests for application forms together with the fee were required to reach the Divisional Superintendent's office, Moradabad, not later than the 28th December, 1934. Accordingly, application forms were correctly issued up to the 28th December, 1934, afternoon. Candidates who obtained the application forms on payment of Re. 1 up to the 28th December, 1934, were given time to submit their applications up to the 4th January, 1935. Application forms received after the 4th January, 1935, were not considered.

(e) Applicants were required to be qualified in telegraphy with a speed of 20 words per minute in receiving and sending. Several of the candidates who passed the test or were finally selected did not attain a speed of 20 words a minute in telegraphy. The final selection did not necessarily depend only on the speed in telegraphy. Some candidates with higher speed in telegraphy were not selected as the Selection Board did not consider them otherwise suitable.

(f) 96 candidates with better claims and qualifications were selected for the Telegraphy Test, i.e., four times the number required. The fee of Re. 1 was not refunded in terms of the advertisement.

(g) This was due to late arrival of the train by which an officer of the committee was returning to Headquarters. The Selection Board had to sit late in order to avoid inconvenience to candidates who would otherwise have had to remain at Moradabad for another day.

(h) 13.

(i) Six candidates were selected for signallers' posts. Candidates having a higher speed in telegraphy but otherwise considered unsuitable by the Selection Board were not selected.

(j) No. The candidates not selected were not considered suitable for appointment.

Information promised in reply to unstarred question No. 238, asked by Sir Muhammad Yakub on the 25th March, 1935.

CANDIDATES FOR LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ELECTION WHO LOST THEIR SECURITIES.

List of candidates whose deposits were forfeited under rule 12(3) of the Legislative Assembly Electoral Rules in connection with the general election of 1934.

Name.	Constituency.
1. Mr. V. Subrahmanyam	East Godavari, West Godavari <i>cum</i> Kistna (Non-Muhammadan Rural).
2. Mr. T. Kanthimathinatha Pillai	Madura and Ramnad <i>cum</i> Tinnevely (Non-Muhammadan Rural).
3. Mr. P. Varadarajulu Nayudu	Salem and Coimbatore <i>cum</i> North Arcot (Non-Muhammadan Rural).
4. Mr. T. R. Venugopal Chetti	Tanjore <i>cum</i> Trichinopoly (Non-Muhammadan Rural).
5. Kalami Sahib J. A. <i>alias</i> Nawab Sahib	North Madras (Muhammadan).
6. Mr. J. M. Mehta	Bombay City (Non-Muhammadan Urban).
7. Mr. A. O. Koreishi	Bombay Central Division (Muhammadan Rural).
8. Mr. Narayan Ramji Gunjal	} Bombay Central Division (Non-Muhammadan Rural).
9. Mr. Baburao Vishwanatha Batane	
10. Capt. Sardar Bhimrao Nagojirao Patankar.	} Bombay Northern Division (Non-Muhammadan Rural).
11. Mr. Nasservanji Navroji Anklesaria	
12. Mr. Amar Nath Dutt	Burdwan Division (Non-Muhammadan Rural).
13. Mr. Joy Kumar Singh Dudhoria	Presidency Division (Non-Muhammadan Rural).
14. Rai Bahadur Rameshwar Prasad Bagla	Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions (Non-Muhammadan Rural).
15. Mr. Yusuf Imam	} United Provinces Southern Divisions (Muhammadan Rural).
16. Mr. Khayali Ram	
17. Kunwar Gajendra Pal Singh	Agra Division (Non-Muhammadan Rural).
18. Sardar Rajindra Singh	East Punjab (Sikh).
19. Resaldar Anup Singh	West Punjab (Sikh).
20. Mr. Jagat Narain Lal	Patna <i>cum</i> Shahbad (Non-Muhammadan).
21. Mr. Ram Krishna Jha	Darbhanga <i>cum</i> Saran (Non-Muhammadan).
22. Mr. N. K. Chaudhuri	Chota Nagpur Division (Non-Muhammadan).
23. Khan Bahadur H. M. Wilayatullah	Central Provinces (Muhammadan).
24. Mr. Kunjilal Dube	} Central Provinces Hindi Divisions (Non-Muhammadan).
25. Rao Sahib Baburao Ramji	
26. Mr. S. G. Jog	Berar (Non-Muhammadan).
27. Mr. Maganlal	Ajmer-Merwara (General).

Information promised in reply to starred question No. 1012 asked by Mr. C. N. Mathuranga Mudaliar on the 28th March, 1935.

ATTACHED OFFICES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA SECRETARIAT.

STATEMENT.

Offices.	Personnel.			Whether any portion of the office is kept at Delhi during the summer.			Cost of Annual move.	Remarks.
	Officers.	Ministerial Estab-lishment.	Inferior servants.	Officers.	Ministerial Estab-lishment.	Inferior servants.		
Office of the Central Board of Revenue.	7	44	32				Rs. a. p. 24,120 0 0	
Office of the Controller of Printing and Stationery, India.	3	38	19	2	33	14	3,166 0 0	
Office of the Chief Controller of Stores, Indian Stores Department, including the Industrial, Intelligence and Research Bureau.	15	165	64		1	1	67,800 0 0	A considerable portion of the expenditure on the move returns to Government in the shape of railway fare and freight on the N. W. Railway, and the net expenditure is therefore actually much less than the gross expenditure shown under column "cost of annual move."
Office of the Director General, Posts and Telegraphs.	19	182	103	11	172	81	12,625 0 0	
Office of the Director of Civil Aviation.	6	49	24		Nil.		19,484 0 0	
Office of the Chief Engineer, Central Public Works Department.	11	85	71	10	93	67	1,116 0 0	

Offices.	Personnel.			Whether any portion of the office is kept at Delhi during the summer.			Cost of Annual move.	Remarks.
	Officers.	Ministerial Establishment.	Inferior servants.	Officers.	Ministerial Establishment.	Inferior servants.		
							Rs. s. p.	
Office of the Public Service Commission.	6	28	27	..	..	1	13,450 0 0	
Office of the Intelligence Bureau ..	8	39	44	..	..	1	26,597 0 0	
Office of the Director General, Indian Medical Service.	4	37	25		N/A.		18,670 0 0	
Office of the Bureau of Public Information.	2	12	11		N/A.		9,384 0 0	
Office of the Director General of Archaeology.	3	15*	14*		N/A.		11,400 0 0	* 1 clerk and 3 inferior servants are kept at Simla permanently.

A considerable portion of the expenditure on

Office of the Military Accountant General.	6	100	29	Nil.	1,10,984 0 0	1 officer, 13 clerks and 4 inferior servants remain in Simla all the year round.	the move returns to Government in the shape of railway fare and freight on the N. W. Railway, and the net expenditure is therefore actually much less than the gross expenditure shown under column "cost of annual move."
Central Standards Office of Railways.	7	46	21	Nil.	19,220 0 0		
Supervisor of Railway Labour ..	1	3	3	Nil.	2,140 0 0		
Statistical Research Branch of the Commercial Intelligence and Statistics Department.	2	14	10	Nil.	5,257 0 0		
Office of the Agricultural Marketing Adviser to the Government of India.	19	17*	20			This office has been constituted with effect from the 1st January, 1935 and located permanently at Old Delhi. The head of the office will move with the Government of India between Delhi and Simla and two senior officers under him will be permitted to rotate in Simla for not more than two months during the summer each year.	

* One post to be filled up from 1st April 1936.

Information promised in reply to part (b) of starred question No. 1038 asked by Mr. A. K. Fuzul Huq on the 26th March, 1935.

RECOVERY OF HOUSE RENT FROM TICKET COLLECTORS ON THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

(b) Yes. Applications for remission in whole or in part are being considered on the merits of each case.

Information promised in reply to starred question No. 1235 asked by Pandit Sri Krishna Dutta Paliwal on the 30th March, 1935.

HEARING OF APPEALS BY THE DIVISIONAL SUPERINTENDENT OF THE ALLAHABAD DIVISION, EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

(a) The Agent, East Indian Railway, reports that it is not a fact that appeals in the Allahabad Division are always left to be disposed of by the very officers who initiate the punishment. Government do not consider that any useful purpose will be served by collecting statistics of appeals personally enquired into by Divisional Superintendent, Allahabad, in which the orders of subordinate authority were reversed.

(b) Yes, in the cases which are covered by the Rules regulating the discharge and dismissal of State Railway non-gazetted Government servants.

(c) The Chief Operating Superintendent personally reviews all appeals that lie to him under the Rules.

(d) The orders of the Divisional Superintendent are reversed only if the Chief Operating Superintendent on examining the grounds of an appeal which lies to him finds that the orders of the Divisional Superintendent are not justified.

Information promised in reply to starred question No. 1355 asked by Dr. N. B. Khare on the 2nd April, 1935.

APPLICABILITY OF CERTAIN PARAGRAPHS OF THE STATE RAILWAY OPEN LINE CODE, VOLUME II, ON STATE RAILWAYS.

Many of the rules contained in paragraphs 155 to 302, 319 to 384 and 403 and Appendix 8 of State Railway Open Line Code, Volume II, have been superseded by new rules and regulations. An up to date Establishment Manual is under preparation at present, a copy of which will be placed in the Library of the House when ready.

Paragraphs 562 to 589 have been superseded by Volume I of Railway Audit and Account Code.

Appendix 2 of the State Railway Open Line Code, Volume II; has been superseded by Book of Financial Powers.

Appendix 3.—The rules for issue of free passes are at present undergoing revision, a copy of which will be placed in the Library of the House when ready.

Appendix 5 is still operative.

Appendix 6 has been superseded by the State Railway Code (Revised).

Appendix 10 has been amended to some extent by later orders.

ELECTION OF A MEMBER TO THE IMPERIAL COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH AND ITS GOVERNING BODY.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : Order, order.

12 Noon. I have to inform the Assembly that upto 12 noon on

Thursday, the 5th September, 1935, the time fixed for receiving nominations for the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research

and its Governing Body, only one nomination was received. As there is only one vacancy I declare Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali to be duly elected to the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research and its Governing Body.

THE CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : The House will now resume consideration of the following motion moved yesterday by the Honourable Sir Henry Craik :

“ That the Bill to amend the Criminal Law be taken into consideration.”

Mr. K. L. Gauba (East Central Punjab : Muhammadan) : Mr. President, the Honourable the Home Member referred to the triple menace of terrorism, Communism and communalism. I am afraid the Honourable Member forgot a fourth menace, and a much bigger one, namely, an irresponsible executive. “ In 1927 ”, said the Home Member, “ after the Calcutta riots, every Indian newspaper lost its balance.” We would like to know, Sir, how many Provincial Governments, in the intoxication derived from the powers of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1932, kept their balance ! The Home Member referred to the voiceless millions of India. These voiceless millions have had many friends : the *Morning Post* (Laughter), Sir Michael O’Dwyer, and Mr. Winston Churchill ! Perhaps the Home Member does not know the silent prayer of the voiceless millions—“ God save us from our friends ! ”

The picture of India, Sir, which the Honourable the Home Member has painted, is a picture which shows that India is undermined with terroristic activity, that it is overrun by Communists, that communalism is rampant in the country. If these facts are really correct, I am afraid the Honourable Member has come to the wrong shop for the wrong remedy. If these are the necessities of the situation as he has painted it, the proper place for the proper remedy is the Viceregal Lodge for an Ordinance ! But, Sir, we know that the picture is not the picture of the country in substance. Terrorist activity, whatever it was in the past, is certainly not now what it was before,—and Communism is a much too exaggerated danger. It is merely a plea to get powers, which this House might not otherwise be ready to concede. When, Sir, we see officials waxing pathetic over communalism, we are reminded of the fact that even crocodiles can weep !

The Government, Sir, have come here for legislation. If this legislation is to go through, and if this House is to consider that legislation, it must be based on four essential facts : it must be tested by four distinct criteria. Firstly, Government must prove that there is a present and a proximate necessity. Secondly, Government must establish that the ordinary law is insufficient to meet the requirements of the situation. Thirdly, the Government must give a guarantee that the powers which they want under the legislation will not be abused.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra (Presidency Division : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : What is the value of that guarantee ?

Mr. K. L. Gauba : Fourthly, Sir, the objects and terms of the legislation must be clearly and distinctly defined.

[Mr. K. L. Gauba.]

Let us for a moment consider the question of the present necessity. My learned friend referred to a terrorism which was rampant. Of course, in the case of terrorism, we are supposed to accept the statement that terrorism is rampant. That statement is based not on any published facts, but merely on confidential records. I would remind the House of only one thing. In January last, there was a motion for adjournment of this House on the question of the internment of a Member of this Assembly—Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, and the reason for his detention. The reason why he had been prevented from coming to this House was said to be based on confidential information. The Government could not take any of the Leaders of the Parties into confidence over those facts; Government could not even place those facts before three eminent Judges for consideration. Sir, those were allegedly very damaging facts against an Honourable Member of this House. What happens six months after? Government releases Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose! I say, Sir, if that is the test of Government's confidential information, well, we know what value to attach to that confidential information.

Communism is the next of the menaces with which this country is alleged to be faced. Here also we are expected to accept the statement that Communism is rampant. Has the Honourable the Home Member put forward any evidence, whatsoever, before this House to convince this House that Communism is actually rampant in the country? We have had a harrowing picture of communalism in the shape of riots of 1926 and 1927, the outbursts of 1921 and the fierce articles of 1930. Has the Honourable the Home Member made out any case on the ground of communalism in 1935?

The Honourable Sir Henry Craik (Home Member): I thought that was obvious.

Mr. K. L. Gauba: On that point I am ready at any time to join issue with the Honourable the Home Member. Well, Sir, we are told over and over again that India must prove her fitness before she can be given a further measure of responsibility. How has she managed the powers which have already been given to her? Well, so far as the executive is concerned, I think this House is entitled to put the very same test. We entrusted them with certain powers in 1932, and now they have come to us for further powers or for the continuation of those very powers for ever. We are entitled to know and the country is entitled to ask: "You have had three years of these extraordinary powers, and how have you used those powers during that time?" We are entitled to put that question, and, unless we get a definite, proper and convincing answer, we are not prepared to give them any further powers. Sir, we gave them certain powers to meet terrorist activities, Communist activities and communal activities, but we did not give them power to muzzle the press in such matters as the Quetta earthquake. I did not know until last evening, when I was looking at the statement which was laid on the table yesterday, that 15 papers had been penalised for articles about the Quetta earthquake. Well, Sir, if the Government want powers for terrorism, Communism and communalism, the Quetta earthquake does not come within that category.

The Honourable Sir Henry Craik: Have you read those articles?

Mr. K. L. Gauba : You might circulate those articles, and we will consider them on one of these days. Well, Sir, day before yesterday, there was an intimation in the newspapers that the security of the *Ahsan* of Lahore had been forfeited for an article entitled "Government and Shahidganj". I have not seen that particular article, but from the nature indicated by the title of that article it is perfectly clear that that article cannot come within either of the three categories mentioned by my learned friend opposite. The control and censorship of the press during the Shahidganj agitation was not directed towards avoiding so much of the conflict between one community and another.....

The Honourable Sir Henry Craik : Question.

Mr. K. L. Gauba :..... as to conceal the illegal acts, violent acts and unjustifiable acts of the military and the Punjab Government.

The Honourable Sir Henry Craik : Oh, no.

Mr. K. L. Gauba : The Honourable the Home Member may say "Oh, no" over and over again, but he knows it definitely, and every Member of the Punjab Government knows it well, that on the question of Shahidganj they are not prepared to face an inquiry. If that is the case, how can they blame us if we put the worst interpretations on their avoiding of an inquiry.

Well, Sir, one could understand if the Government of India had come to this House and said : "You gave us powers then and they were emergent powers. In 1932, we were desperately in need of legislation and the clauses of the Bill of 1932 were passed in a hurry. We think that those powers are necessary in the interests of the country and in a case of necessity, justice, equity and good conscience may be over-ridden. Now, that necessity has gone but we still want those powers. We have no objection if those powers are put into legal and proper form." But, Sir, Government have done absolutely nothing of the kind. They have put forward the legislation of 1932 and 1931, *mutatis mutandis*, for this House to re-enact in perpetuity. I will refer to only one instance. Take section 7 regarding picketing. Now, what was the case which the Honourable the Home Member made out as regards picketing ? After all, it is a very important provision and great deal of the speech of the Honourable the Home Member was devoted to picketing. What case did he make out of picketing ? He said there had been picketing in the Maclagan Engineering College at Lahore ; there had been picketing in the Technical College of Lahore ; and there had been picketing in a cinema at Amritsar. The Maclagan Engineering College incident is, I think, fresh to most Members of this House. That was not directed against Government but the feelings of the students were outraged by certain remarks which are alleged to have been made by the Principal of that college. The dispute over the Hindu Technical College, Lahore, was more or less of a similar character. As regards the cinema incident, we are entitled to ask whether one cinema incident in Amritsar is a sufficient argument or a sufficient reason to saddle the whole of the country with legislation of this character ? That is the type of argument and reasoning which has been put forward. Sir, I came here yesterday with an absolutely open mind. If Government had made out a clear and convincing case of the necessities of this situation, I think many Members of this House would have been

[Mr. K. L. Gauba.]

ready to give this legislation their best consideration. But so far they have made out no case at all.

Sir, I will refer to the Bill in a very slight detail. Might I draw the attention of the House to section 5 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act? This section refers to the reproduction of certain books, newspapers and documents which have been proscribed. The procedure laid down in the section is, that if Government takes any objection to any reproduction, it will issue a certificate to a Court and that Court must regard that certificate as final in the nature of its being either seditious or otherwise. We are not having emergent legislation now. We are considering an Act which Government want to be permanently placed on the Statute-book. If Government really want a section of this kind, the proper wording for it should be, that if any Court on a prosecution lodged by Government is of the opinion that a particular proscribed passage or seditious passage has been reproduced, the Court having arrived at that decision might convict the offender. If Government is to institute the prosecution, if Government is to be the judge, why shouldn't Government itself pass the sentence. Why shouldn't the Local Government itself issue a warrant of arrest, take the man and lodge him in prison instead of going through the farce of a proceeding in a Court of law. That is one instance of the crude phraseology, the crude provisions of this Act. Look at section 16. Section 16 adds various clauses to the powers given under the Emergency Press Act of 1931. In 1931, it was considered sufficient to control the Press in respect of certain articles about terrorist and those persons who praised murder. If that was the case in 1931, how is the situation in the country worse in 1935 to justify the continuance of section 16.

There is one question on which I think every Honourable Member of this House has a right to demand of Government a frank and straightforward answer. Do the Government want this legislation to meet terrorism, Communism or communalism? Are the Government willing to confine this Act for these three purposes? Or are they taking this Act from us on the pretext of three purposes but in reality to be employed for 50 purposes afterwards. Sir, I think before this House decides whether it is to give this Bill consideration or not, we should have from the Government a clear and frank answer on this subject, namely, whether Government really want this Act to meet these three purposes only or whether they want it for other purposes and whether the Government are prepared to confine the provisions of this Act to the three purposes which the Honourable the Home Member has mentioned.

There is another question which I think the Honourable the Home Member should answer for the benefit of Honourable Members of this House, namely, whether he wants this Bill as it stands, word for word, letter for letter or whether he is prepared to consider here on the floor of the House with the Members of this House fair and proper amendments to this Bill.

The Honourable Sir Henry Craik : Certainly.

Mr. K. L. Gauba : I am very glad to hear from the Honourable the Home Member that he is open to consider proper amendments.

Mr. S. Satyamurti (Madras City : Non-Muhammadan Urban) : Will he accept them ?

The Honourable Sir Henry Craik : I did not say, accept. Obviously I cannot commit myself in advance.

Mr. K. L. Gauba : Neither, Sir, do we commit ourselves to accept the Bill in the final form in which it might appear. (Hear, hear.) The purpose of the Bill has been stated to be to help the new Governments that are coming into force. Well, Sir, I think that the new Governments, like those voiceless millions, can be left to look after themselves. The new Governments have been amply armed. Their armoury is full of defensive weapons, safeguards, Ordinances, individual discretions. If there were any armaments required for the new Governments, I am sure Mr. Winston Churchill would have discovered them. I do not wish to detain the House any longer. All I wish to say is this and I say it frankly and openly to the Honourable the Home Member opposite that so far as the Bill stands in its present form, it is entirely unacceptable (Applause) to every community in this country. (Hear, hear.) In any other form one cannot say, but in its present form, it is an insult to the intelligence of this House (Hear, hear) and it is an insult to the people of this country. (Applause.)

Mr. G. Morgan (Bengal : European) : Mr. President, before I state the views of the European Group on the motion before the House, I desire to congratulate most heartily my Honourable friend, Mr. Griffiths, on his excellent maiden speech. I may say, Sir, that it is the best maiden speech I have ever heard in this House. My Honourable friend showed a complete grasp of the subject, and from what I could see, no one in this Honourable House was more astonished than my Honourable friend, Mr. Satyamurti.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : That he could make such a good case out of a bad one.

Mr. G. Morgan : Sir, I have risen to support the resolution before the House.

My Honourable friend Mr. Satyamurti stated that the Opposition in opposing this resolution were acting under a deep sense of responsibility. Sir, I say that to vote against this resolution would show that one had no conception of what one's responsibility was as a Member of this House, or what was one's duty to India.

My Honourable friend Mr. Satyamurti stated that if his

Mr. Satyamurti : You will always vote with the Government. That is your sense of responsibility.

Mr. G. Morgan : My Honourable friend, Mr. Satyamurti, stated that if his Party were in power they could rule the country without this Bill. He is an optimist. Mr. Satyamurti's points were, in the course of a long speech, three, so far as I could gather :

1. That Government were seeking to rule by executive action without any interference from Courts of law.

[Mr. G. Morgan.]

2. To suppress all journalists who were not friendly to Government.
3. That the ordinary law of the land was quite sufficient to cope with all subversive activities, and objectionable press publications.

Sir, with regard to the first point, no one in their senses could interpret this Bill as meaning what Mr. Satyamurti says it does.

The second point is pure imagination on my friend's part.

The third point, in regard to the press, the House has been assured that the existing Act is an obstructive measure which makes it practically impossible for responsible journalists to carry on their work. The answers to questions recently put in the Bengal Legislative Council reveal that only in an insignificant number of cases have deposits been forfeited, which seems to show that no very great hardship exists. There is no foreign country where the press is so free as in India, as a perusal of the daily papers shows.

Under the Act of 1932, a large number of presses have been started. So it cannot be argued that the Act has been a deterrent to journalists. Can it be said that there has been any misuse of the Act of 1932 ?

The press is at liberty to criticise Government. This legislation is designed not to restrict that freedom, but to prevent open incitement of people to lawlessness, and sympathy with subversive crime. No one in this Honourable House can object to that. No one can say that this legislation interferes with the real liberty of the press. No decently run press has anything to fear. The press is absolutely free to carry on the activities for which the press is intended.

I would refer the Honourable Members to the explanations at the foot of section 16 which is retained.

Sir, when I was taking notes yesterday morning, I put down cinematograph vs. press pamphlets, &c., but my Honourable friend, Mr. Griffiths, has already made the point I had hoped to make.

Sir, Government desire to continue the powers they have at present to curb certain subversive activities, which Government have reiterated, time after time, they cannot do under the ordinary law of the land. My Honourable friend, Mr. Griffiths, has explained this point very clearly. The ordinary law as stated by the Honourable the Home Member has no terror for those who decide on revolutionary activities.

Now, Sir, the opposition say the Bill is unnecessary, because,

- (1) Emergency has gone and the country is now quiet.
- (2) The ordinary law is sufficient.

But in fact though the country is quiet this is only because the Civil Disobedience Movement is quiescent and Congress themselves have emphasised that Civil Disobedience has only been suspended, and not abandoned. But this argument—namely that Civil Disobedience has been suspended and that therefore the Bill is unnecessary—is, as a matter of fact, off the point, because as the Statement of Objects and Reasons shows, the sections of the existing Acts, directed against special features of the

Civil Disobedience Movement, have been dropped in the Bill now before the House.

Sir, I repeat the Bill is a preventive measure designed to fill in gaps in the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code. As the Honourable the Home Member has explained, these are not sufficient under modern conditions to cope with certain forms of subversive or lawless activity.

Sir, the drastic sections 6 and 8 of Act 23 of 1932 have been dropped.

The main provisions of the new Bill are designed :

1. to deal with picketing,
2. to enable Government to take action in connection with premises and funds used for the purpose of unlawful associations,
3. to extend the period of the Indian Press Emergency Powers Act, 1931.

Under section 503 of the I. P. C. the intention is clear that picketing should be unlawful, but as the experience of recent years has shown this form of lawless activity has been and is being used against individuals who do not share the political, social or economic views of the picketers, or (as in some cases) are simply trade rivals. Section 7 of Act 23 of 1932 remains, *therefore*, urgently necessary. Moreover it should not be forgotten that, as a safeguard against its abuse, it only comes into force in areas notified by the Provincial Governments and action can only be taken upon it on reports made by senior police officers.

In regard to section 13 of the Act of 1932 this section remains as necessary today as it was in 1932, to enable Government to deal with unlawful bodies such as communist or terrorist organisations. The Honourable the Home Member has explained fully the reasons for this section and I heartily support him.

Sir, I share with the Honourable the Home Member the desire to make this Bill a permanent Act on the Statute-book.

If it is of a temporary nature, those who are busy with subversive activities will always cherish the hope that the Act may not be renewed. In any case Honourable Members are aware that an Act can always be repealed.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : Today being Friday, I adjourn the House now to 2-15 p.m. The Honourable Member can resume his speech when the House meets again.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till a Quarter Past Two of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at a Quarter Past Two of the Clock, Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) in the Chair.

STATEMENT OF BUSINESS.

The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar (Law Member) : Sir, with your permission, I desire to make a statement as to the probable course of

[Sir Nripendra Sircar.]

Government business in the week beginning Monday, the 9th September. You have already directed, Sir, that in that week the Assembly shall sit for official business on Monday, the 9th, Tuesday, the 10th, Wednesday, the 11th, Thursday, the 12th, and Friday, the 13th.

On Monday, the first item of business will be a motion for the election of a Member to the Standing Advisory Committee for the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department. Leave will then be asked to introduce a Bill to supplement the Central Provinces Courts Act, 1917. Thereafter, the discussion of the motion to take the Criminal Law Amendment Bill into consideration will be resumed. Honourable Members will realise that it is difficult for me to say at this stage how much time will be occupied next week by this Bill. All that I can say is that, if time allows, we shall proceed to dispose of business left unfinished on Tuesday's List, and, thereafter, we shall take the consideration of the Payment of Wages Bill as reported by the Select Committee.

THE CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL—*contd.*

Mr. G. Morgan : Sir, the Honourable the Home Member referred to four things which have to be guarded against, namely, (1) Civil Disobedience, (2) Terrorism, (3) Communism, and (4) Communal Unrest. My friend, Mr. Gauba, mentioned another, I think, and that was the irresponsible executive, but he forgot that the new Government of India Act was legislation to accomplish the very object he had in view. With regard to Nos. 1, 2 and 4, we know more or less where we are, but, with regard to No. 3, Communism, we are in considerable danger. It is a much bigger thing than any of the other three. Communism is in open conflict with the democratic as well as the capitalistic system. In this connection, I would like to quote what the Bulgarian Communist declared at a recent meeting of International Communists in Moscow held early in August. He declared that Communists must remain irreconcilable enemies to every Bourgeois Government. He said that Communists must constantly endeavour to persuade their fellow workers that overthrow of existing Governments and establishment of proletariat *dictatorships* are the only final solution. Those who favour democratic institutions would do well to take note of this fact. The Honourable the Home Member has pointed out that the Congress views would be opposed by Communism. My friend, Mr. Gauba, said that Communism was a much exaggerated thing, that Government could not prove that Communism was rampant in India. That may be so, but we do not want to wait until anything is rampant in the country to pass the necessary laws to enable the Government to deal with any situation which may arise. We should not wait until the danger has got to such a pitch when it can be called rampant and then have to take much more drastic measures than a measure of this description to check it.

Sir, to conclude, we support this resolution, because we feel that it is in the best interests of India. I come from Bengal, and I endorse every word spoken by my friend, Mr. Griffiths. We wish to save the youth of this country from all subversive crime and we wish Government to have all powers that are necessary to achieve their object, and save India from disaster.

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah (Sind Jagirdars and Zamindars : Landholders) : Sir, I will not take much time of this House. I shall make only a few observations. The Honourable the Home Member has in his lucid statement told us the objects of this Bill, and those objects are to check terrorism, Communism, Civil Disobedience and communal unrest. Before I show this House the necessity for this legislation, I will deal with the various objections that have been raised in this House against this measure. I request Honourable Members to consider this measure on its merits. Face the facts as they are, and don't be led away by prejudices or fancies.

Now, Sir, I shall first deal with the objection that was raised by the Opposition, including my friend, Mr. Gauba, whom I don't see here. He said there was no necessity for emergency laws, because we can deal with all these by the ordinary laws. I may remind the House that this is an emergency measure. When the Government find that this cannot deal with some of these evils by the ordinary law, when they find that they cannot adequately and effectively deal with some of the activities or movements which are not covered by any of the existing laws, this must bring forward a measure which can effectively deal with all these evils, and, therefore, they have brought forward this Bill. Take, for instance, terrorism. No doubt, it can be dealt with by the ordinary law, but what has been the result? In most cases, we cannot get evidence. When witnesses come forward to give evidence, what is their fate? They are shot down. Therefore, Sir, special measures are necessary to deal with evils like terrorism. My friend, Mr. Gauba, said that he would not be satisfied till Government had made out a strong case in justification of this measure and proved that terrorism was rampant. I will draw his attention to the debate in this Assembly last March in Delhi, when the Honourable the Leader of the House quoted a catalogue of cases which were the reports of judicial proceedings of Courts and proved that terrorism was rampant, and if my friend likes it, I will make a present of those proceedings to him. Sir, even when Government have these emergency powers, there are the terrorist crimes committed, and the Honourable the Leader of the House had quoted a number of cases that had occurred from 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935 and 1936.....

Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar (Salem and Coimbatore *cum* North Arcot : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : Not 1935 or 1936. 1936 has yet to come. (Loud Laughter from Opposition Benches.)

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah : Sir, I am used to these laughters. When things are unpalatable, you can only laugh. I am quite used to these laughters for the last 14 years. I am used to laughters even at my home, because I have four noisy boys who create laughter..... (Interruptions.)

Pandit Nilakantha Das (Orissa Division : Non-Muhammadan) : Why do you always speak unpalatable things then?

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah : I have very good experience. You never listen to reason. Whenever truth is told to you, you never listen. Everybody must have patience to hear the other side. Afterwards, you may decide the case as you like. I do not like interruptions. Otherwise, I will every time interrupt you, it is hardly fair to a speaker to interrupt him incessantly.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : The Honourable Member can go on. The Chair hopes Honourable Members will not interrupt him.

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah : Otherwise I will also adopt the same tactics. I now come to picketing. On that point I join issue with my Honourable friend, Mr. Satyamurti, that it is an offence under the Indian Penal Code.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : On a point of personal explanation, Sir. I said picketing carried on by unlawful or illegal means is an offence under the ordinary criminal law of the land.

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah : Not picketing by itself. That is my point. And I may tell my Honourable friend, Mr. Gauba, that had he been, as we were, in the thick of the fight in Bombay when there was Civil Disobedience, he would have found in every street and in every market picketing, boycotting and nothing else.

Mr. K. L. Gauba : That is an old story now.

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah : They have suspended it, the Honourable Member should realise they may revive that movement any time. (Interruptions.) I object to all these interruptions.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : The Honourable Member does not like to be interrupted, and the Chair hopes that Honourable Members on the Opposition Benches will give him a chance to speak without being interrupted.

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah : They are talking of the liberty of speech, the liberty of the citizen. Is this not restraining the liberty of speech ? As regards picketing almost all the commercial associations in the City of Bombay, I am speaking from memory, were tired of this picketing. They actually made representations to the Government of Bombay to tighten the law in regard to picketing. I am sorry I do not find my Honourable friends from Bombay.

Some Honourable Members : Here we are, half a dozen are here.

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah : Those who made those representations I mean. How can you know of those representations when they were against you ? Those representations were made, I am speaking from memory, by the Millowners' Association and several other commercial associations.

An Honourable Member : Mainly European.

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah : Indians also. And when Government want to make picketing an offence, my Honourable friends oppose it. Suppose picketing is an offence under the ordinary law, it will not serve the purpose unless, as provided in the Bill, it is made cognisable and non-bailable. Whenever any person has protested against picketing, what has been his fate ? The picketers redouble their efforts to harass him, and they make his life miserable by picketing, by social boycott and other means. Therefore, the object will not be served unless the picketer is at once arrested and is not released on bail. If he is released on bail he will start picketing again and the very object will be frustrated. My Honourable friend, Mr. Satyamurti, says that section 7 will be directed

against temperance and swadeshi movements. I may assure him, if he reads the section carefully, he will find that if those movements are carried on peacefully by mere speeches, by persuasion, by distributing leaflets, they will not come under this section at all. My reading of that section is, that intention to coerce followed by overt acts will be an offence. Therefore, the legitimate activities of temperance and Swadeshi movements cannot be covered by this section.

Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena (Lucknow Division : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : They have been covered.

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah : I do not know.

Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena : I was convicted.

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah : Another point that was made by the Opposition was that public opinion has not supported this Bill. May I ask the opponents of this Bill, have they produced any evidence that any public association has opposed this Bill ?

An Honourable Member : Every association.

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah : Where are they ? What are they ? Who are their leaders ? I have not received any complaint. What is public opinion ? Are not the members of local Legislatures representatives of public opinion ? Have they not passed three years ago supplementary legislation to this legislation, and I assure this House that even supplementary legislation with regard to this present Bill will be passed in all the provinces. They are the representatives of the people. (Interruption.) You may say the press is against these provisions, but I may tell the House that the opinion of the press is divided ; the sober and moderate press is in favour of the measure, only the extremist section is afraid of being affected by this Bill.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : May I know which Indian newspaper has supported this Bill ?

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah : (Interruptions.) We have two Hindu Associations—the Hindu Mahasabha, and the Sind Hindu Association. What is their programme for the new Assembly of Sind ? They say they will oppose the activities of the Congress. Openly they have declared in the press, and I challenge anybody to contradict it.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai (Sind : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : They have not done so yet.

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah : But I know they have done so. Then, the Muhammadans are against these subversive activities, and they form three-fourths of the population of Sind. So, I have popular support at my back in what I say.

An Honourable Member : What is the percentage of people behind you ?

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah : The whole of Sind. I represent the Hindu and Muhammadan Zamindars and Jagirdars of Sind, those who have a stake in the country, and some of them have 15,000 to 20,000 tenants. (Interruption.) The other argument that I heard against this Bill is that it will interfere with the liberty of the citizens. It has been replied to, that every law to a certain extent interferes with the liberty

[Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah.]

of the citizen. Is not picketing and boycotting interference with the liberty of the people? What is this measure going to do? Restoring the liberty of those whose liberty has been restrained by picketing and by boycotting. It will only restrain the liberty of those who wish to restrain the liberty of the ordinary citizen.

Now, Sir, the question was whether this legislation should be made permanent or not. The Honourable the Home Member gave very cogent reasons on that subject. When we have temporary legislation we raise hopes in the minds of people that it will expire and those affected by the legislation will think of renewing their activities. In the meantime, they organise themselves. My friend, Mr. Satyamurti, said that the Congress is not going to withdraw the Civil Disobedience Movement and that confirmed my belief that they want to resort again to their picketing, disobedience and boycott. Therefore, I am convinced that the measure should be made permanent. It seems from their attitude that they will not work the reforms but wreck them, and how can they do it if these emergency laws are on the Statute-book. They do not want the new Ministers should have this additional weapon in their armoury to deal with them. Now, Sir, as regards the temporary legislation, I may quote a case cited by the Leader of the House. He says :

“ I would ask Members of this House to realise the fact that this apparent quiescence for four years did not mean that if pressure were relaxed there was not going to be any further trouble. In this trial, letters written by or to some of these six detenus or six leaders, whatever one might like to call them, were exhibited, from which it appears that one was actually writing to the others that now that the Ordinance has dropped and we are not being watched by the police, this is the time for us to prepare.”

So, Sir, those who oppose this Bill are afraid that if this Act is made permanent, they will have no time for preparation.

Now, I come to terrorism. Is it still in existence or is it dead? The Honourable the Leader of the House had quoted a number of cases. I shall not waste the time of the House by repeating them. Terrorism is still in existence in spite of these laws and but for these laws, it would have been still worse. When terrorism exists, are we not justified in legislating this measure?

I now come to Communism. It is also making rapid strides. The Honourable Members who belong to the Congress know that there is a Communist party in the Congress also but their platform is quite different. I think the day is not far distant when they will capture the Congress and my friends will be a back number. Now, I will quote the reply of the Honourable the Home Member to a question on the 14th August, 1934, by Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh :

“ In its draft platform of action the communist party of India has, amongst others, laid down the following :

- (1) The complete independence of India by the violent overthrow of British rule, (2) the cancellation of all debts, (3) the abolition of the Indian States, (4) the creation of an Indian Federal Workers and Peasant Soviet Republic, (5) the confiscation without compensation of all the lands, forest and other property of landlords, Ruling Princes, Churches, British Government officials and money-lenders and handing them over for the use of the toiling peasantry.

The more important of the stated methods by which the communist party propose to achieve these ends are (1) to develop a general strike and convert into a general

political strike, (2) to develop a spontaneous peasant movement for the non-payment of rent, debts and taxes into an all-India movement directed into channels of agrarian revolution, and (3) to spread revolutionary propaganda among soldiers and police and to explain to them the necessity of their armed insurrection together with the masses of the country, against British rule."

Now, Sir, how can any Government satisfy the communist unless they abdicate? When such a movement exists, is not Government justified in having this emergency Bill?

Now, I come to communal strife. We must all admit to our shame and humiliation that we have not been able to compose our differences. It is no use throwing the blame on the third party.

An Honourable Member : So long as jobs are there.

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah : I have heard the leaders of the Hindu community say "Hindustan is for the Hindus". I did not want to say this, but you are compelling me to speak about it. Those feelings are there. I think, on that matter, the less said the better.

Now, I come to the Civil Disobedience Movement. Had it been withdrawn, there was a case to ask Government to drop certain sections which might be directed against that. What is the past history of the Congress? It might be non-violent in theory but, in practice, I will show you what they have been doing. What is picketing? By boycott and picketing they have sought to destroy the whole trade, commerce and industry of the City of Bombay. Now, Sir, what have they been doing in regard to the various murders committed by the terrorists? What resolutions have they been passing? They have been passing resolutions condemning the murders, but praising the murderers. (Hear, hear.) What have they said of the various murderers? They have eulogized them for their patriotism, for their heroism, and have held them up as martyrs for the country. What is the effect of such resolutions on the impressionable minds of young students? Well, the student will say it is a good thing to be a martyr, to sacrifice one's life for the country. What has the greatest man of India, Mahatma Gandhi, said about these resolutions? He calls them a form of self-deception; he says, these resolutions are against the principles of non-violence. I think there cannot be a greater authority than the Mahatma who has condemned these resolutions of the Congress.

An Honourable Member : Do you follow him?

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah : Well, wherever his theories are not destructive. (Laughter.)

An Honourable Member : The Deputy Mahatma!

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah : Sir, I will not waste the time of this Honourable House by quoting various cases that were already quoted at one of the meetings of the last Assembly by the Honourable the Leader of the House, showing the connection of some of the members and office-bearers of the Congress with the terrorist movement.

Now, Sir, I come to deal with the various clauses. Objection was taken first to clause 5. Sir, the object of clause 5 is this. Under the Criminal Law Amendment Act the executive Government has the power of proscribing any publication whether it be a book, newspaper or anything else. Now they have under that Act that power already. They are not seeking that power now. They want to make penal the republication

[Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah.]

under this clause. If the Government have the power to proscribe, and they have no power to punish re-publication that power is not effective. Therefore they are seeking this power. Already the Legislature has given the executive the power of proscribing. We should not mis-interpret this clause 5. Then, Sir, clause 7 only punishes " whoever with intent to cause any person to abstain from doing or to do any act which such person has a right to do or to abstain from doing, obstructs or uses violence to or intimidates such person or member of his family or person in his employ, etc., etc."—swadeshi or temperance movement will not be affected by this clause. Again to clause 11, Sir, some objection was raised. Under the Criminal Law Amendment Act Government has already the power of declaring any association illegal ; that is, the executive is already armed with that power, but the further power that they want is to take possession of the place where these subversive activities are being carried on and to confiscate the moveable property and all the funds with which those activities are carried on. So the executive has already the power ; but to make that power effective, these clauses are added. Sir, I do not want to say anything about the Press. It has been dealt with very ably by our new recruit to this Assembly, my Honourable friend, Mr. Griffiths, from Midnapore, the hot-bed of terrorists (Hear, hear) : and I must congratulate him on his very able maiden speech, and on the excellent way in which he has placed the case. (Loud and Prolonged Cheers.) With these remarks, Sir, I support the motion.

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya (Benares and Gorakhpur Divisions : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : Sir, I had no mind to intervene in this debate at this stage. As a matter of fact, I had requested the Honourable the Home Member yesterday to supply me with a proof copy of his speech so that I might be able to refer to it and not rely upon my memory alone. I had planned, Sir, that I would speak on the third or the fourth day of the debate, after having enjoyed the privilege of having listened to the speeches of all the supporters of the Bill and after having heard all that could be urged in favour of this Bill. But, as we know, Sir, in this world of ours, man is a mere creature of circumstances. He proposes, God disposes, and so, inspite of me, the speech of the Honourable Member from Midnapore has driven me to my feet. But, before I take up his speech, I, with your permission, Sir, would like to publicly congratulate him on his very admirable maiden performance. (Loud Applause.) His zeal, his earnestness and the manner in which he defended this outrageously indefensible Bill, in spite of the fact that his was a hostile speech, has won our admiration. I hope, Sir, that in the near future he will one day be sitting on the Front Treasury Benches. (Hear, hear),—for I think these are the essential qualifications which are necessary for the officials of the Front Treasury Benches. So far as he is concerned, Sir, I can only say that his zeal, his earnestness, his great powers of expression were worthy of a better cause. (Hear, hear.)

Coming to his speech, Sir, I must say that his was the outlook of an administrator : he looked at the matter solely from the point of view of a magistrate, and it was only natural for him to overlook the point of view of those who have to suffer the rigours of this lawless law. This Bill is a negation of all laws, and, by one stroke of the pen, it deprives us of even the elementary rights of a man. Sir, I have been a journalist for the last

25 years and more. A magistrate does not and cannot know what we have to suffer from. He cannot even imagine all that. It is only we, poor editors, who know where the shoe pinches, how and where it hurts and how it draws the blood from our bare bodies. I wish I had the ease and the advocacy of the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition. I wish I had the debating skill, the power of repartee and the fluency of my Honourable friend, Mr. Satyamurti. I wish that, for pleading this cause of mine, I had the analytical power of the Leader of my Party, the Honourable Mr. Aney, and I wish I had the choice of language and diction of my Honourable friend, Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai. Sir, I know, I can demolish every argument that has been advanced by the supporters of the Bill. Truth is on my side, justice is on my side, and mine is the cause of righteousness, the defence of the God-given gift of freedom of expression. This tongue would be a useless thing if it did not exert itself in defence of its own birth right. I do not, Sir, remember exactly the name of the person who said it, but it has been said by a great thinker that all the evils of this world would have disappeared had not the man gagged the babbling child from saying his innermost thoughts. This was said in by-gone ages. In our own day, Sir, a great writer, a great thinker, has said that :

“ The man whose tongue is constricted by laws or taboos against free speech, whose pen is constricted by the censorship, whose loves are constricted by an ethic which considers jealousy a better thing than affection, whose childhood has been imprisoned in a code of manners and whose youth has been drilled in a cruel orthodoxy, will feel against the world that hampers him the same rage that is felt by the infant whose arms and legs are held motionless.”

The author of these lines is no less than Bertrand Russell, an illustrious countryman of the Honourable the Home Member. I leave this point here. I will not argue it. It can take care of itself.

Sir, the House had had a glimpse into the life of an administrator through the eyes of the Honourable Member from Midnapore. I beg you, Sir, just to have a glimpse into the life of a poor editor who has to look after the management of the press, the editing of the paper, and also to beg, borrow or steal and find money for the press to make both ends meet. The Honourable Member from Midnapore narrated his own experiences, and I will, with your permission, Sir, narrate mine. My troubles began soon after the Press Act was passed in 1910. Fortunately or unfortunately, I claim a smattering knowledge of international politics and affairs. About the year 1912-13, I began a series of articles in my paper *Abhyudaya*, the title of which was *Sansar-Sankat* or the “ World Crisis ”. In this series I forecasted a world war in the near future. I said, Sir, that England and Germany would fight, that England was itching for a war to annihilate Germany and that Germany was dying to strangle the throat of England. I do not exactly remember at this late date what exactly I had written. But whatever I wrote was the precursor of troubles. I began to be sent for by the magistrates of my town and received warnings and advices. When the war began, I perhaps wrote that if only Sir Edward Grey, may his soul rest in peace, had spoken out his mind and had told Germany that he would make a drastic jump in, there would have been no war and no bloodshed. This was more than the little Mughal could bear, and I was again sent for to be reprimanded, advised and cajoled. The greatest trouble began, Sir, when I advocated the

[Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya.]

cause of Turkey. I am not praising myself, but if the files of the Indian newspapers were to be ransacked, it will be proved that the *Abhyudaya* was, if not the first, the second paper in the country to raise its feeble voice in defence of Turkey. The late lamented Maulana Muhammad Ali of sacred memory, with his big brother, was in internment, and those who were free would not come forward and do something for Turkey. I remember to have gone in vain from door to door begging my Mussalman friends to agree to be, conveners of a public meeting to raise a voice in favour of Turkey. But, by this time, a new Mughal had come to my district, and one of his first acts was to send for me and ask me as to why should I, a Hindu, raise a cry like this when the Mussalmans themselves did not much care. I gave the reply that I would raise a cry on behalf of any country, even England, if I find that England was sinned against and the blood of humanity was going to be shed. The history of such magisterial invitations will be a voluminous document, and I, therefore, will not refer to all of them, but will describe only one of them. I wrote something about Zanzibar, Africa or the Gold Coast of Africa. I was sent for, and a discussion about Africa in general began. I would not yield and the little Nawab was a short-tempered man. He was a very good man otherwise, and I never had an occasion to have any complaint against him. To cut short the story, our voices became louder, we got excited and it was not unlikely that we might have come to blows or have thrown our chairs at each other's heads but for the providential appearance of the lady of the house who took her husband away for tea and thus the interview ended abruptly. The Honourable Member from Midnapore asked whether the Government should allow every Tom, Dick and Harry to seduce innocent youths for terrorist purposes. I wish to ask him, in all humility, through you, Sir, whether it is right and proper that every Tom, Dick and Harry, who does not see beyond his nose and who knows precious little, should have the power to send for us, tender us unsolicited and gratis advice and tell us what is right, what is wrong, what is proper and what is improper. I know, Sir, these Mughals know precious little.

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan (Agra Division : Muhammadan Rural) : Why not say " Brahmins " ?

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya : I do not fight shy of that word but my difficulty is that Brahmins were poor and were never Kings. Well, Sir, these good friends have no time to study and they have not got up-to-date knowledge of anything. I ask, Sir, through you, my Honourable friend, whether invitations and curtain lectures like these hurt or do not hurt our sense of self-respect, whether all this is not an insult to our intelligence and whether the treatment accorded to us is not galling to the extreme. I want to know from the Honourable the Home Member as to what is going on in Bengal today. I crave the indulgence of this House to read a few extracts from an admirable welcome address by Sreejut Mrinala Kanti Bose, the talented editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the address which he delivered as the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the all-India Journalist Conference. Under the heading " Operation of laws ", he says :

" A sum of Rs. 23,200 was provided in the budget and the officer was appointed in 1930. Since then we, in Bengal, particularly those of the Calcutta Press, are being advised by successive Press Officers who have all belonged to what has been

described as the heaven born service, that is the Indian Civil Service. I do not know what your idea about the advice is. We, particularly those among us who are supposed to have long passed the age of *aduloscence* in our mutual relations generally speaking, resent advice that is given gratis or unsolicited. But in this particular case, the Press officer's advice is more often than not given not only gratis but unsolicited. It is not permissible for me to state all that I have come to know of what happens behind the purdah and were I to attempt to do it, you will feel no doubt considerably interested, and I shall run the risk of being hauled up for libel, for though the Indian Journalists Association, instructed practically by all the leading journalists of Calcutta who have the privilege of being constantly advised by the Press officers, requested the latter to give his advice in writing, that request has always been turned down and the officer has chosen to follow the well-known maxim, 'say a hundred things, but do not commit anything to writing'. Thus, the advice is either given on the phone or the Editor is summoned to the office of the Press Officer in the Writers' Buildings where explanations are called for and advice given with varying degrees of earnestness, the precise difficulty of which I shall refrain from saying for the reason just stated. In the course of a note circulated to the Members of the local Legislative Council, and a copy of it was also supplied to the Government, the Indian Journalists Association thus described the *modus operandi* of the Press Officer's direction given almost from day to day. Here they are :

- (1) News that is allowed to be published in the papers of all-India circulation in other provinces is not allowed to be published in Bengal newspapers of similar circulation. It has sometimes happened that provincial newspapers that are sold in Calcutta contain news that the Bengal papers had not been allowed to publish.
- (2) Correct and authenticated news of a particular kind is not allowed to be published and when allowed is mutilated in such a manner as to make the news more misleading.
- (3) Display of news of a certain character is not allowed.
- (4) Detailed directions are given as to the printing types that are to be used in the headings and body of the news and for the exclusion of certain expressions such as arrest of ladies and Muslims from the headings of news.
- (5) Double column headlines of certain news are not allowed.
- (6) Detailed directions are given as to the arrangement and position of columns of news.
- (7) Proceedings of the Indian Legislative Assembly "

—I want the House to please note this,—

“ and of the Bengal Legislative Council are not allowed to be published in full, but are censored.

- (8) Proceedings in law courts of Civil Disobedience cases and of cases involving terrorism are not allowed to be published in full, but in mutilated form and as in the case of the statement of Miss Bina Das accused in the Governor shooting case, *the Statesman* was allowed to publish passages in that statement in regard to which strict directions were given to Indian daily newspapers that they were not to publish them.
- (9) Legitimate criticism of policies and of action of Government and Government officials are even objected to.”

Well, Sir, this is how the Press officers act and how the editors of journals have to suffer under the rigours of the law which is being promulgated. Now, coming back to my own story, in 1915 or thereabouts, the keeper and proprietor of the *Abhyudaya* Press was called upon to deposit a security. The editor who was responsible for writing was not asked, the printer and publisher were not asked, but the proprietor was asked, who knew precious little, of what I was writing. My only fault was that I had written something regarding the soldiers in the Gold Coast of Africa and their treatment by their masters. By a long stretch of imagination, it was argued that I was telling the Indian soldiers that they were not well off, nor well paid, nor well treated by their masters

[Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya.]

in India. I stopped the paper, because I regarded the demand of security as an insult and as an attack upon my personality. A great hue and cry was raised in the country, and, as my good fortune would have it, Lord Hardinge, the good, was then ruling as the Viceroy. He intervened, and I think, for the first and the last time in the history of the Press Act, an order for the deposit of security was withdrawn. In my life, Sir, I have been twice hauled up in the name of sedition, under section 124-A, the prince of repressive laws. Once, while I was in jail and undergoing a sentence of nine months on account of the Civil Disobedience Movement, sometime back a poem had appeared in my paper. Generally I write the editorials and do not see what else is being published in the paper. A poem, a very old one, which was culled out by some one in the office from a book which was selling in the market, appeared in my paper. The trying magistrate gave me another nine months, but he was good enough to write in his judgment that the creed of the paper was non-violence, that in that very issue there was enough evidence to show that non-violence was urged and preached, or some such thing. I was in jail and cannot be sure, but when the matter reached the High Court, a Lordship there came to the conclusion that violence was preached. The trying magistrate was an Indian; he is a good poet himself. He knew the language and arrived at his conclusions by reading the paper himself. But this mighty Judge of the High Court, who was innocent of my language, opined that violence was preached and thus I had to suffer for his ignorance of my language. Once, while I was in jail, Sir, the police pounced upon my press and searched it. The suspicion was that the leaflet which was thrown in this Assembly together with the bomb by Bhagat Singh was printed at my press. Perhaps the Honourable Member is not aware of the fact that in every press there are some police informers and spies. One of the compositors, who was a spy and had been in my press for only a few months, gave the information that he had composed the matter himself. Fortunately for us, the authorities in Allahabad know us well. They know full well that we are as far removed from violence and things of this sort as the Home Member himself. They made inquiries and were convinced that the alleged types in which the leaflet was said to have been printed were received by us only a few months before from the Bombay Gujrati Type Foundry, that Bhagat Singh's (may his soul rest in peace!) leaflet was thrown in the Assembly years before, and so nothing was heard of the affair. A security was demanded at this time or a little before it, and it was only due to the goodness of a few friends of mine that the paper could deposit the security. I had no money and would not have been able to deposit the security.

The Honourable Member thinks that the deposit of security is an easy matter. He does not know our condition. He talks glibly, only because he does not know. May I tell him, Sir, that we are always running into debts? That we can hardly manage to make both ends meet? Speaking for myself, I resent such treatment at the hands of the executive. I know I am an honest man, I will never injure a fly, I will not lie and I will not prevaricate. I will not compromise with truth. I will never disgrace the editorial chair by writing something which I know to be untrue, but Government now compel us to fight shy of naked truths and have recourse to half truths and all that. I feel, Sir, that that editor is not worth his salt who, for the favours of Government or for his own selfish

ends or for saving his skin, writes matter which he knows to be untrue or says things which he knows ought not to be said in the best interests of the country. The editor, according to me, Sir, is the preceptor, the *guru*, he is for the time being above Kings and should only sit on the chair if he is confident that he will be impartial, will say nothing which is untrue or which is not in the best interests of mankind. The Press Act wants us to be dishonest, it wants us to stifle truth, to curb our own thoughts and to be more careful, lest, by blurting out the naked truth, we might become His Majesty's permanent guests. I have at times differed from Mahatmaji. I have differed, at times, from my own uncle, I have differed from the Congress, I have always differed from the Government. But when I differ from my own people, these rulers of ours are happy, but when I criticise them, they think I am committing a crime. I tell you, Sir, that the Press Act has made it impossible for any man to be an honest journalist. To secure safety, one must pass over so many things that happen every day. I will give you an instance. As soon as some security from a paper was demanded in the name of Quetta, I wrote in my paper that the name of Quetta need no more be mentioned in my paper. I also requested my other brother journalists to forget for the time being that there is any such place in this country which is known by the name of Quetta. During the periods of the Civil Disobedience Campaign, I have a standing rule not to publish any editorials, "we" disappears for the time being, only news are published. We would be hauled up every minute, if we were to write what we feel or what we see or know. I ask my Honourable friends here whether they have read in any papers that are being published in this country anything written about Chittagong, about Midnapore, about Dacca and all that has been going on there. This is how things are being suppressed. I will not take up this question; I leave it to my Bengal friends to tell you, Sir, what Black and Tan methods have been tried in those parts of our country. I want to know, why cannot the members of the executive regard us as honest men? Why cannot they trust us? Have we no love for our country? Are we not patriots? Are we not competent enough to be good judges of what is best for our country? Do they think that we will mislead our own youths? What for and why? Are they not our own children? Are they not of the same blood? Have we no feelings for them? Do not we want to better their lot? The Britishers are entitled and justified in taking away their youths from their own universities to fight an unrighteous war in the name of Belgium, but we are not entitled to ask our youths to join us in a non-violent civil fight with these Masters of ours for just securing to us our human rights. One thing in this connection is noteworthy. We who preach these things do not take cover behind the lines; we who preach these things are always in the front.

The Honourable Member from Midnapore said that it was the bounden duty of Government to protect the youths of this country from falling into the hands of terrorists. But he forgets that the duty of Government neither begins nor ends there. May I know, if it is or it is not the duty of the Government to see that these youths have enough to maintain their bodies and souls together? Is it or is it not the duty of this Government to see that these youths are employed? Has it made any arrangement to see that these youths should have sufficient clothing and food and a roof to give them shelter? He talks as if he cares more for the good of these young men than we. He tries to befool us by posing as their benefactor

[Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya.]

and tries to lead us to believe that he is more anxious for the well-being of our youths. We have a proverb which says, Sir, that a woman who says that she loves a child more than its mother is not a woman but a she-demon. I wish to draw the attention of the Honourable Member to what is being done in other countries by their Governments to fight unemployment. What about the doles in England? What about the schemes that are every day being thought of in America? Will the Honourable Member from Midnapore or the Honourable the Home Member tell us, Sir, what their Government have done or are doing to help these educated unemployment young men except driving them to despair, suicides and terrorism? He has talked of terrorists and the Honourable the Home Member has dilated upon three menaces. May I tell him that they are not three menaces, they are only the triplets born of foreign domination? They are the products of their own creation: by their repressive policy and for their own ends they have given birth to them. They are driving our young men to despair, so much so that they take their lives in their own hands and prefer death to this life. Do the Government realize, Sir, that the repression has reached to such heights that it has goaded even our young sisters and daughters to bid goodbye to their ordained lives and join the fray, the end of which cannot but be death and the gallows? Have they ever considered that these terrorists will disappear if the repression was not there? If they had employment to keep them busy and engaged, if they could act up to their ideals and realise their ambitions in life here, these terrorists will become the most responsible members of our society. If we had our own Government, every one of these youths would have risen high both in the civil and military service of our motherland. Those who were in Chittagong, those misguided youths of our country, if they only had been in the army and responsible members of society could have very well led an army and fought on any battle-field with honour and success. You deny them opportunities, you want them to remain hewers of wood and drawers of water in their own land; you do nothing to provide them with a living wage; you do not trust them; you would not make them captains and generals in the Army and the Navy for which they are most fitted; you will take thousands of years to Indianise our Army and, in the meantime, the flowers of our race, our hopes of the future, are withering and dying an unnatural death.

Let those who have eyes to see note that terrorism, communalism and Communism are all fruits of the economic situation—and some of them have been directly fostered by our Masters. Do we not know how communalism is spread, how it has been planted in our own land? Do we not know the history of separate electorates? Do we not know the history of the Communal Award? Does it lie in their mouth, Sir, to talk of communalism?

We are being warned further and a bogey is being set up before us of Communism. May I know if there are not Communists in England? May I know what the British Government is going to do with them or has so far done to them? May I know if the British Government has passed laws like the one which this Government is going to pass in this country? My friend here reminds me, that England has now entered into a treaty with Russia. Why and wherefore then this talk of Communism? But assuming for argument's sake that Communism is a bad thing, I hold no

brief for it, may I know whether democracy has succeeded or whether democracy has failed in Europe ? Will any Honourable Member kindly point out to me whether there is democracy in France, whether there is democracy in Italy, whether there is democracy in Germany, whether there is democracy in Turkey, whether there is democracy in any part of Europe today ? May I tell you, Sir, that in England, Parliament no doubt rules, but these Parliaments are ruled by unaudited Party Funds ? Do our Honourable Members want us to have a Fascist regime here ? Do they want us to have National Socialism here ? Then, why this bogey of Communism ? We know our men : we can sit down, talk and discuss things with them : they are our own kith and kin ; we will settle our differences or even fight amongst ourselves ; but what we are interested in, in the beginning, is to get rid of this foreign domination ; and replace it by a responsible Government, in which they also can have a share, if they want to settle here as fellow citizens, when we have got rid of a third party which magnifies our differences and makes capital out of it, then, Sir, there will be time enough to settle our own domestic quarrels and differences !

While we are talking of terrorism, I am reminded of agents provocateurs. You must have read, Sir, about them, how they induce the youth, egg them on and then give information to their masters. There are cases on record of informers planting bombs in the houses of innocent people and implicating them. I will tell you of cases of which I have personal knowledge or just as good as personal knowledge. One agent provocateur seduced a young boy, and, after some time, gave him a revolver and taught him how to use it. The boy began to move about with the revolver in his pocket and a few days after he began to be shadowed by the police. After all, he was young ; he got terrified and ran to a brother journalist friend of mine and told him his trouble. My friend reprimanded him and asked him to go and deliver the revolver back to the man who gave it to him, and, after he had done that, he took him in his care and saved him from future gallows. I want to inform the Honourable the Home Member that this very same revolver was found in the Lahore Conspiracy case. The Honourable Member should also know that this very journalist friend of mine, a most selfless worker, the honour and pride of our profession, who is unfortunately no more, was no other than Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, the man who worked hard in hot haste that the attempt on Lord Irwin should be foiled. As soon as he somehow got the information he used his personal influence to see that the attempt should not be made. The Honourable Member from Midnapore has nothing but curses for us journalists. I want to tell him that but for us journalists I do not know where this ruthless exploitation of our country and these repressive laws will drive our young men and what will happen in this country.

I will tell you another story. A young man came to me not long ago at dead of night and told me that he was in trouble and wanted my help and advice : he told me that he was a revolutionary that he was being hunted down by the police, that he hid himself in the day and moved about by night, was constantly moving to avoid arrest and never lived in a place for more than a few hours, that he had been asked to attempt the life of so and so on such and such a date, but that he was nervous : he had spent all the money he had in moving about and hiding himself, that he was hungry and badly in need of money. I saw his weapons with my own eyes : he had two of them. I gave him food, gave him money after I had extracted a solemn promise from him that he would desist from the

[Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya.]

path, and instead of proceeding to the appointed place he will go back to his mother and leave his friends who were training him in these ways and leading him astray. He promised with tears in his eyes and went away. If he was a police spy and had been sent to find out my views, the Honourable the Home Member must be aware of this by now, but if he was a genuine misguided revolutionary, I know that he acted up to the promise he gave me as a gentleman. I might, here, as well, refer to the much-maligned admiration of terrorists. I myself plead guilty to the charge; and say, Sir, that one would be less or more than human who would not at times be led away to admire uncommon deeds of self-sacrifice and valour although one may be religiously observing non-violence as a creed, as a supreme faith of life and although temperamentally one may even shudder at the thought of murder or violence. Does the Honourable Member from Midnapore or the Honourable the Home Member know who paid the highest tribute to Kanai Lal Dutt, the man who shot the informer Gossain in the Alipore Jail? May I tell you, Sir, that the man who could not resist admiring was a perfectly honest and most trusted *pucca* Englishman, a cent. per cent. Britisher, I mean the editor of the *Pioneer*. Our difficulty is this....

The Honourable Sir Henry Craik : The editor of the *Pioneer*? Was it Mr. Wilson? What was his name?

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya : I don't remember his name, it is an old story of the year 1908 or thereabout. I think it was Mr. Chesney. I am not speaking of the *Pioneer* of today. I am speaking of the *Pioneer* as it was conducted some years ago, when every single editorial was written by the best I. C. S. people in the land. I am talking of the *Pioneer* when it was at the top of its glory, when it was regarded as the best paper in India. This honest English gentleman, I mean the editor of the *Pioneer*, could not be suspected, he was above suspicion and nobody could dare misunderstand or put a different meaning on his writings but we are suspects, and whatever we may do or say, we will remain suspects, and our ordinary writings will be made to bear meanings which they should not. I will only narrate one case more, that of poor Azad. He is no more. May his soul rest in peace. But may I say, Sir....

The Honourable Sir Henry Craik : Is he another murderer too?

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya : You may call him a murderer, if you so choose. I am only pleading for those who are not here to defend themselves, but please first hear what I have got to say.

The Honourable Sir Henry Craik : Is he also another murderer?

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya : I am speaking of Azad.

The Honourable Sir Henry Craik : Also another murderer?

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya : If you are so anxious and curious to know about him, I shall tell you presently what I have heard about him. I say, Sir, that we Indians could have slept soundly, without caring for the defences of our country, by making him our Commander-in-Chief. A man of valour, a great organizer, a gentleman to the core of his bones, from all that I have heard of him, and one of the best shots that was ever born on this earth. I am sorry I never met him in life, but I want to tell you, Sir, that this Azad was persuaded by some people to give up terrorism.

He had agreed to do so, but the difficulty was that the police was hunting him down ; he would have been arrested, even if he had given up his way of life, and had honestly decided to live like us. If he had been caught, he would have been either transported or hanged. If we were trusted by the Government, if we were in their confidence, I could have gone to the Honourable the Home Member and told him that henceforth this youngman is in my charge, I am responsible for him ; he has given up the life of terrorism, so do not molest him any more, if you find him deviating from the right path, just drop a hint to me, do not harass him, let him settle down in life. This is what I would have told the Home Member. The life of this young man would have been saved, he would have lived a useful life and adorned any place, wherever he may have been, but this is not possible. We ourselves are suspects, what then about those who are recommended by us ? Well, Sir, I heard that Azad had agreed to change his mode of life, and because it was not possible for him to live in safety in this country, some friends decided that he should leave the country and go and settle down somewhere else in a distant place like Japan or America or anywhere else. Where was the money to come from ? Some friends agreed to raise the money, and they raised about Rs. 1,500 or Rs. 1,600 for him. He was paid about Rs. 1,300, and only about Rs. 300 was wanting, and he was sitting in the Alfred Park in Allahabad, because someone had promised him that somebody would give him the balance there. He was sitting there to receive the money. He would have got it within 15 or 20 minutes, and he would have left Allahabad and bid India also good-bye for ever, but some one informed the police, and he was all of a sudden surrounded on all sides unawares. He had no knowledge and he was shot at and maimed, because the police knew him to be the best shot, and no one would approach him even from a distance of say 100 yards. He was shot while he was sitting under a tree talking to some friend, perhaps bidding good-bye to him for ever. He was maimed and lamed before he had any knowledge of the danger. What happened afterwards ? Would you care to know, Sir, he was being shot at from all sides, and he was defending himself all alone ; he could not rise, he could not run, he could not even get up. He was under a tree, in the open, and the defenders of law and order and justice were shooting at him from all sides from behind the trunks of the trees. You will be surprised to learn, Sir, that not one shot of Azad missed the mark. The marks left by the bullets on the trunks of the trees showed that every shot was correct to the point of an inch, was pointed at the heads of the shooters. Whichever side he shot, the marksmanship was perfect. Who can help pitying and admiring this misguided unfortunate youngman, a picture of physical health, in the prime of his life, if you see his photograph, but it is not the admiration.....

The Honourable Sir Henry Craik : I can't admire him.

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya : Will you please bear with me for a little while ?

The Honourable Sir Henry Craik : It is very difficult to be patient.

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya : But, Sir, it is not admiration. We weep and shed tears for the loss of young lives of great promise. I was in jail then. What could I have done even if I had been outside ? But I want to impress upon you, Sir, that the life of this youngman could have been saved if we knew that we enjoyed the confidence of the powers that

[Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya.]

be, if we could only depend upon them and approach them to get pardon for the young man when he was changing his way of life.....

The Honourable Sir Henry Craik : Pardon for a murderer ?

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya : We could have placed him in charge of an Army.

The Honourable Sir Henry Craik : The Army does not take murderers.

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya : The Honourable the Home Member is getting very excited, I beg him not to bring heat in the discussion. I have to plead for those who are not here to plead for themselves, he refuses to see the tragedy of our lives, and I would, therefore, like to talk to him about another Home Member who was adorning the Front Benches in this very House. I tell him there was one Home Member,—may his soul rest in peace. (Interruption by the Honourable the Home Member.) I am sure, my friend, the Home Member, will not be proud of the expression he had used when I tell him that I am referring to no less a person than the late Sir Alexander Muddiman. I am sorry, Sir, he said something about his predecessor which he should never have said.....

The Honourable Sir Henry Craik : I said nothing at all about him.

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya : Well, Sir, Sir Alexander Muddiman died an untimely death, his death is mourned by everybody who knew him. Sir, I was a Member of this House, I was a non-co-operator, and I never mixed with any officials, in fact I remained in this House for a pretty long time without talking to many officials. But, one day, I approached the late Sir Alexander Muddiman, with diffidence. I told him that I was interested in a bomb case prisoner who was under a sentence of transportation for life, that I had never met the man in my life, that I knew nothing about his antecedents, that I by chance happened to meet him while I was in jail, and that he might give him a chance to start his life again. May I tell you, Sir, the reply that I got from him ? He said that he hated keeping these young men in jail. He asked me whether I would be responsible for him, and on my saying yes, he said, your man will be released. He further asked me whether he should write to the Deputy Commissioner of the district to keep an eye upon him and give him a post, and on my saying that I would find him a place somewhere, orders were issued, the man was released, and this Siddique Ahmed, a God-fearing man, is in service now and is enjoying married life in peace and contentment. Government has not lost anything by this act of grace and mercy. The Honourable the Home Member and the Honourable Member from Midnapore know not our difficulties. I must have become a most dangerous suspect even now in the eyes of the Honourable the Home Member. He won't trust us. Let him trust us, let us co-operate with perfect good will and trust and every young man will give up this path of terrorism.

Mr. F. E. James (Madras : European) : May I remind my Honourable friend that the three immediate predecessors of the Member from

Midnapore, most beloved of Englishmen, who were popular with the people, have been murdered by these men ?

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya : My Honourable friend ought to know that I am not defending murders, I am a Brahmin, they are revolting to me, but I will give an answer to that later. Trust begets trust and I will reply to what you have said later, when I have a talk with you outside this House. As I was saying, Sir, I must have become a most dangerous suspect in the eyes of the Honourable the Home Member even now. I may be charged with association with terrorists. I may be charged with hiding and helping suspects having sympathy for them and one thousand and one other things. But very few people realise that these misguided youths are our own kith and kin, of our own blood, and our own countrymen and as you know, Sir, sons may be truants, they may be wayward children, they may be even bad, but a mother is a mother and she loves even her worst son. Who can be more interested in their welfare than ourselves ? We want them to change, but they look to us and are not fed. When they drift we have no knowledge of them, when we know them we cannot help them. Even talking to them is beset with danger. You know not where they are and they will not come to you, even if they do, you know not their inner thoughts. May I tell the Home Member, Sir, that I met a famous revolutionary in a town where I had gone to address a meeting, he was introduced to me under a false name and it is only now, after three or four years that I have come to know who he was ?

[At this stage, Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) vacated the Chair, which was then occupied by Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta).]

Does the Honourable the Home Member know that there is one sitting in this House on my side for whose arrest, alive or dead, this Government of his had announced a prize of Rs. 25,000 ? Does the Honourable the Home Member realise now how good and tame these terrorists are ? Will they even now repent for their mistakes ? Will they change their methods ? Every one of these terrorists would be an M. L. A. and sit with us here and be a most responsible member of our society, only if the police will not hunt them down, will not thirst for their blood but allow them to live in peace the moment they come back to us and solemnly give us a promise that henceforth they will be like us and will have nothing to do with terrorism. After all the terrorists also must have been fed up with the life of hide and seek and constant dangers which at the best cannot bring about much.

While talking about terrorists, I think it would not be amiss if I refer, Sir, to one more matter in this connection. The one great complaint of the Honourable the Home Member and the Member from Midnapore is that why are these terrorists painted and admired as martyrs ? They want to know why these are not condemned as mere simple murderers. My reply to this is, Sir, that they are the loyal subjects of the Crown and imitate their Masters. I am afraid I will have to explain it. I will not say much. I will refer to only one unfortunate incident, and I hope the House and my Mussalman

[Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya.]

friends especially will pardon me for this reference. I am only referring to it as a reply to the Honourable the Home Member. I believe in "Reville not the dead" and I have nothing to say against the departed soul. Does the Honourable the Home Member remember the genesis of the Karachi firing? Was the Government very anxious not to hurt the susceptibilities of my Mussalman friends?

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah : But you did not support us,— your Party.

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya : You know not what you talk. You have not heard what I have said. Were the Government anxious not to hurt the susceptibilities of my Mussalman friends? Were the Government very keen to see that the last honours were duly paid to the departed soul? Am I to understand that the Government regarded the soul departed as a martyr? What Government do in the name of placating the Mussalman friends, we do in the name of humanity, for every controversy ceases with death. I think this answer will satisfy the Honourable the Home Member.

The Honourable Sir Henry Craik : On point of order, Sir. Has this anything on earth to do with the Bill under discussion?

Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta) : The Honourable Member appears to be in order, because he is giving some of his grounds for opposing the Bill.

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya : The Honourable the Member from Midnapore knows not, he professes his love for the youths of this country, he knows not what we, poor and powerless as we are, do. We have no power in our own land, we are not trusted by the Government. If we had the power, if we could only throw open opportunities in life, we would have every young man employed and engaged. The Honourable the Home Member is moving in a vicious circle. He wants to have mango fruits by planting "Babul". He forgets that as you sow, so you reap. He wants to kill and extirpate terrorism which is a bye-product of his own terrorism, by repression and more and more repression. He knows that his Government has not succeeded so far. He had had these laws for years, but they have not proved effective. He knows all this, but still he is for repression more and more. He will not learn that terrorism begets terrorism. His thirst for repression like that of wine leads him to cry for more and more. He will not change his methods, he will not learn, he will not take us into his confidence, he will not trust us. He will not believe us when we tell him that we are as anxious to extirpate terrorism as he, perhaps more because we want to save the lives of our youths. He will not give us power and say, manage your youths and make them responsible citizens. He will not give us a chance even. I want to tell him, Sir, "Trust us, have faith in us, give us power to remove poverty and unemployment. Open out fresh fields and pastures new for our young men" and then this phase of terrorism will fade away like a bad dream. Will he listen to us? Will he be good enough to follow this advice for even a few months?

My friend has talked of picketing. He says it is not peaceful and it cannot remain peaceful. I may or may not agree with the first part but with the latter part I do agree, and why? During the last Civil Disobedience Campaign picketing was going on in the market of Allahabad. Ladies of the most respectable families in Allahabad were picketing a foreign cloth shop. I was sitting at a distance. Some senior man had to remain in the market so long as these sisters and daughters of ours were there. At about noon, one man came and told me that two riff-raffs of the town had been given drinks and had been persuaded to come to the shop for purchases, create trouble and insult the ladies. I at once left my place and went and sat in a neighbouring shop. Within five or ten minutes the drunken riff-raffs arrived and can you imagine, Sir, what they did? Their first act was to rush through the chain of the pickets, abusing them and trying to molest them. I had informed the ladies. They were careful and nothing untoward could happen and the situation was saved. By this time some people assembled. Those who knew the riff-raffs, reprimanded them and they were persuaded to go back. I do not insinuate anything. I blame nobody. I can say for the authorities in Allahabad that they are very civil to us. They have never failed in showing me every courtesy. They have to carry out orders and they carry them out honestly without at the same time bidding good-bye to their good manners and civility. But I ask the Member from Midnapore and the Home Member how can we encourage the use of Swadeshi, how can we carry on a campaign of "Buy Indian goods", how can we protect our key industries? We have not the power to pass a law and protect them. We have not the power to erect high tariff walls around us or ban the imports of foreign goods. We have not these powers and the Government will not pass such laws to help us. What is left to us, then, but picketing, entreating and begging our people not to buy foreign goods or not to go in for liquorshops. If we had the power we could achieve all this by one stroke of the pen. But does the Honourable Member know how his people in England behaved when Indian fabrics were exported in large quantities to England? Those who wore them could be fined, if I mistake not, £75 and the Honourable the Home Member will, I hope, not be surprised if I tell him that ladies wearing Indian fabrics were molested and their clothes torn off in public streets.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi (Dacca cum Mymensingh : Muhamadan Rural) : When and where?

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya : In London, during the times the East India Company was here. It is very good to sermonise and preach where your interests are not at stake, where you do not suffer and where you have to gain all and lose nothing. The truth of the matter in the words of a poet is :

" Ham ah bhi karte hain to hojate hain badnam

VoK Kati bhi karte hain to chareha nahin hota "

Even if we sigh, complain or criticise and say that we are suffering, we are given bad names, while when they commit murders, the news of those murders are not even allowed to be published and they are not known. I would not, Sir, pursue this line of argument any

[Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya.]

further. I would only draw your attention to what the Honourable the President said in this Assembly in 1932 when the Press Law was being passed. The Honourable the President, an Honourable Member as he then was, called it, Sir, a double-faced and deceptive measure, professing to control violent writings but really aimed at taking control of the entire Press. We know, Sir, that we are powerless, the executive is bent upon passing this Bill into a law. We can only say, let them have it, if they so choose, in spite of us. We will not share the responsibility of disfiguring the Statute-book. His Excellency the Viceroy has powers of veto, he has the powers of certification, let His Excellency certify this Bill also and bear the responsibility but, at the same time, Sir, I want to draw the attention of the Honourable the Home Member to a very wholesome principle laid down by his own colleagues in the Repressive Laws Committee Report. They said, Sir, in their report that it is undesirable that any Statutes should remain in force which are regarded with deep and genuine disapproval by a majority of the Members of the Legislatures. The Report of the Press Laws Committee is also before us. The whole question was judged by three tests (1) has it been effective (2) whether an Act like this is necessary for the maintenance of law and order (3) whether on a comparison of the advantages and disadvantages which the retention of this Act will involve, its continuance is desirable and the conclusion at which they arrived at after mature consideration was that the law should be repealed. As the Honourable the Home Member must be aware, these committees were presided over by the Right Honourable Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir William Vincent was a prominent member of these committees. I have nothing more to say. The Home Member, Sir, has not proved his case. He began as if he was going to convince us why the measure was necessary and why the ordinary law of the land was found to be insufficient. I am sorry that he began by assertions, went on with assertions and ended with assertions without proving anything or convincing us. To give this Bill the name of 'law' will be insulting and degrading the word 'law' itself. To me it seems that the best name that we can give to this gravest encroachment that any Government has ever made on the liberty of the Press and the public in times of peace should be "Sir Henry Craik's Boa Constrictor". I want the Honourable the Home Member to tell you, Sir, why this indecent haste, why this hurry to place this enactment on the Statute-book. Will Heavens fall down if the measure does not become law by December, 1935, or 1936? Will the British domination disappear if he does not arm himself with this poisonous gas, the use of which should be tabooed by all civilized Governments. I know, Sir, that constitutional reforms have always been preceded by such Press Acts. We had the Press Act in 1910 when the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were coming. The new Constitution has been passed into law. The executive knows that it has to be thrust upon our heads in spite of us. It knows that the new Constitution has been condemned by every shade of public opinion in this country, that there are people here who are pledged to destroy it, mend it or end it: The bureaucracy is anxious to see, Sir, that it is worked, and they want to have the points of their bayonets raised at us every minute of our lives and to be ready for all emergencies. Their Damocles' sword of this

Bill will be dangling at our heads, so that if we raise our heads even by an inch, if we want to carry on agitation for the rejection of the new Constitution they will be able to draw out blood. I, therefore, say Sir, that this Bill is unfair, unjust and has no moral sanction behind it, and I only end by saying in the words of an Urdu poet :

*" Ham ne dekhi thi ada kal tere diwano ki
Dhajjiyan kuch liye baithe the garibano ki
Aj darband kiye jate hain sindano ke
Aur bigadenge miaz ap ke diwano ke."*

(Loud Applause.)

The Honourable Sir Henry Craik : Go on cheering. He has praised murderers !

Dr. G. V. Deshmukh (Bombay City : Non-Muhammadan Urban) : Mr. President, I must say that I like the Honourable the Home Member's speech better than many of the speeches that I have heard from the other side. Well, Sir, although the Home Member has left the Hall and although he has not himself observed, what he has so very much preached to this side of the House, that is, to keep dispassionate and cool, in spite of all that, I will say that I stick to what I said originally, namely, that I like his speech better than the other speeches I have heard from over there, and I will tell you why. It is for this reason that it has seemed to me to be a little less panicky, and there seemed to be a little more analysis in his speech than in the speeches I have so far heard on the other side. What did we find in Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah ? Sir, he allowed himself to be panicky and nervous and heated, and he was talking about terrorism, Communism and communalism without giving any thought to the subject.

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah : I have given the matter better thought than you.

Dr. G. V. Deshmukh : Sir, I do feel that when the Home Member comes forward before this House in connection with a measure that was passed simply because it was a temporary measure at the time of an emergency, I do think that when it is sought to be put permanently on the Statute-book, there should be something more than the mere desire of their having more and more authority in the hands of the executive. Sir, as is well-known, the appetite grows by eating. You very well know, Sir, and those who have been old Members of the Assembly know, that when this measure first came up before this House, it was considered in its legal aspects, and when it was considered in its legal aspects, it was absolutely demonstrated that this measure violated every principle of law, that it was indeed a misnomer to call it a law, that it must be called a lawless law, that it violated the first principles of jurisprudence, that it adjudged a man guilty when by all the codes of jurisprudence a man ought to be considered innocent till he is proved to be guilty. It took away the right of appeal. It subordinated the powers of the Legislature and of the judiciary to those of the executive, and what is more, it handed over powers to the magistracy which are not given even in ordinary cases. I do not want to deal with this subject from the legal aspect. Sir, the Home Member very adroitly has avoided this aspect in introducing this Bill even though he has suggested that this temporary measure should be

4 P.M.

[Dr. G. V. Deshmukh.]

permanent. I have a shrewd guess as to why he did it. I believe he still finds that there still is that small band of fighters who fought this Bill to the last, especially the Press Emergency Bill when it was managed to be brought up at the fag end of the Session : and perhaps it may be that the Honourable the Home Member might have been frightened and dared not deal with the Bill in its legal aspects in view of the fact that the Honourable gentleman who adorns the Chair today is the Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim of that band of fighters. The Home Member has come up for the sanction of this House to the passage of this Bill on four grounds and they are these. The first ground is the Civil Disobedience Movement—and I will say it to his credit that whereas other speakers merely got panicky over Civil Disobedience, the Home Member qualified his remarks by saying that the Civil Disobedience Movement has nearly disappeared, so that it was a disappearing Civil Disobedience.

As to the second alleged ground, terrorism, the Home Member was good enough to say "reviving terrorism"; he did not say it in the same way as other speakers have done, and he also admitted that there are some signs of "reviving terrorism" only in Northern India—I think I am rightly quoting the Home Member. Then with regard to advancing communalism—the third of the alleged grounds for this measure—we should like to know whether there are any valid grounds at all for this panicky state of things and committing us to putting a piece of legislation on the Statute-book of this country and disgracing it in this fashion. Sir, let me take Civil Disobedience first. The Honourable Member who spoke yesterday afternoon was very pleased when my colleague, Mr. Satyamurti, admitted and admitted frankly and honestly that Civil Disobedience will never be given up.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths (Bengal : Nominated Official) : I was sorry.

Dr. G. V. Deshmukh : After all, what is Civil Disobedience? Civil Disobedience is an idea, and I may assure the Honourable Member who made his speech yesterday that, whether you like it or not, Civil Disobedience has come to stay not only in India but all the world over because once an idea comes into this world, the idea is immortal. And what is Civil Disobedience? The principle of Civil Disobedience is this that when a helpless people has to deal with an oppressive and unjust Government, then Civil Disobedience is the only weapon, is the only non-violent weapon with which you can fight any unjust and oppressive Government. Well, if my Honourable friend is not pleased with this, under the circumstances, what is wrong with the answer that Civil Disobedience can only be suspended and cannot be stopped? I say it can only be suspended and cannot be stopped. May I tell the Honourable gentleman who spoke so much about the Civil Disobedience that his own country, England, is not free from it? What did the waitresses of Regent Street do? Was it not Civil Disobedience? I suppose you think that is too insignificant an illustration. Then, I will refer him to the farmers of Kent. What did they do? Did they not use Civil Disobedience? If you do not call it Civil Disobedience, then what is it? Therefore, I repeat again that it is absolutely impossible that the Civil Disobedience will ever be stopped. Well, Sir, with a very accurate diagnosis of the situation, section 7 seems to have been retained, because the Government of India have diagnosed that if ever the Civil Disobedience Movement is going to be launched again, then it will be by

means of picketing. Now, here, again, my Honourable friend, who spoke yesterday afternoon, said that picketing can never be peaceful. If that is so, then do away with it completely. In that case where is the necessity of the explanation of section 7? You have the section above in which you mention the things which must not be done and then to save your own face, because you are not certain whether picketing really can be considered illegal, to show you are reasonable, you add an explanation saying that for indigenous goods and for temperance purposes it may be used and it will not come under this section. I will refer him again to the history of his own country. Does he mean to tell me that when picketing is done in this fashion in connection with temperance it can ever be peaceful? I will refer him to what happened in England when a certain gentleman came there whose name I forget.

Some Honourable Members : Pussyfoot Johnson.

Dr. G. V. Deshmukh : Yes, he was the man. I want to ask you whether those movements in the interests of temperance were ever peaceful. I must say to the credit of my medical colleagues and students of all the hospitals that in London they took a leading part in this movement. In spite of all our activities, I did not see any legislation from the Parliament or from the executive authority of England saying that this is a very bad sign and that if this temperance develops it will again be used for other movements and, therefore, it will lead to disorder; therefore, they must have the concentration of authority into the executive hands. I can understand your attitude if you go the whole hog with it. I can understand you if you say that we will have nothing to do whether picketing is legal or illegal; we want to abolish it. But what is the meaning of the saving clause in this explanation? That only goes to show that you yourself are not certain about what you are doing and that it is only a pretext to concentrate all the authority in your own hands. We were also told yesterday that so far as liberty in this country is concerned, we are very much better off and we were given instances of Russia and Italy. We were told that we were very much better off and we had no reason to grumble. Now, if you take the case of Russia and Italy, then what are the Governments there? Do they pretend that they are democratic Governments? They say downright they are dictatorial Governments. If you are prepared to do that, I will agree with you. But so long as you do not do that, then I say there is such a thing as *noblesse oblige*. If you pride yourself on your parliamentary institutions and if you pride yourself that you are going to rule your vast Empire by means of parliamentary institutions, then I say that in your own interests do not give us instances from these dictatorial countries. It will not help you. If, on the other hand, you say that whatever it may be in England, we are not going to rule in India according to the forms of Government in England, there again I agree with you. I will have no complaint against you if you do that openly and frankly. But, then, you should not have these farces of parliamentary government such as Round Table Conferences, Joint Parliamentary Committee Reports, White Papers and Parliamentary Acts. Wind up all that and say that we want to establish a miniature Mussolini in every district and a hefty Hitler at the centre and we want to rule like a dictatorial and despotic Government. If you do that, I will agree with you. But till such time as you do not do that, then it is either hypocrisy or you want to concentrate all your power into the hands of the executive.

[Dr. G. V. Deshmukh.]

Figures and statistics are very good things and I have to deal with them a great deal but they are only valuable if you look at them in a dry way. But where vital values are concerned, I can tell you that statistics do not mean anything. My friend, the Honourable gentleman from Midnapore, spoke yesterday with earnestness and sincerity and I think I was one of those who congratulated him at the end of his speech. Now, what was the point he made? He said why should Indians grumble so much for, after all, these laws, even if they are repressive laws, are not working so harshly and he gave a few statistics. The statistics were that in this country there are 4,000 odd newspapers and there were only 70 or 80 prosecutions and the proportion of prosecutions was something like 1 to 180. Therefore, we have to accept that the laws here are exercised very mildly. He will pardon me if I give him another illustration. Now, the population of this country is 350 millions and I will not make any difference between the Europeans who are in this country and the Indians who are in this country. I should like to treat the whole lot for my purposes as one. Now, how many terrorist outrages have taken place? I take it that there are about 300.

An Honourable Member : Much more.

Dr. G. V. Deshmukh : I do not mind whatever you say. But what is the proportion that works out? It works out to about one in a million. Does my Honourable friend want me to wait till the proportion comes down to 1 to 180? Does he mean to say that until that time terrorism is exercised very mildly in this country and, therefore, nothing should be done? If that is the kind of argument, I would despise myself as a man. I repeat again that where human values are concerned, it is not the statistics which help us but it is the principle of the thing which is important. I know that Indians, as a class, deplore terrorist crime; they are not fond of terrorist crime. If the principle is bad, then it matters very little to me whether one press has been prosecuted or 100 presses have been prosecuted or whether the proportion comes to 1 in 180 or 1 in 18,000. Now, that I am on the question of figures, I might refer to another thing. We were told by some other speaker that in spite of these repressive laws, the printing presses have gone up in this country. The conclusion drawn was that if these repressive laws had come in the way of the prosperity of the printing presses, then the figure would not have gone up. Now, figures, as I said, are always correct but the interpretations that you can put on them may be different. I do not say that my Honourable friend's interpretation may not be correct, but what I do say is this that there are many other interpretations that can be put. And the interpretation that I am going to put may also be correct and I hope the Honourable Member will do me the justice of saying so. India is a poor country and according to your own estimates there is a large number of educated population. I am not talking about the poor millions resting peacefully in their villages and only wanting to follow their religion. I am not talking about them. I am talking about those discontented graduates, educated persons. What are the avenues left for them? Nothing. Therefore, especially in times of world depression when practically every profession was in distress, then these young men took to small and petty presses, and in opening them up is it not likely that the number may go up? So, I submit that the number of presses does not mean anything. What I would like to know is this. If printing profession or the press

was thriving on account of this law, how many of the big presses were instituted into this country. Until I know that and until I know that the big presses, which were existing in this country before the Press Act, have actually made more profit after that time, I will pay no attention to this figure of 4,000 presses which are existing in this country. Then again about the papers, we were told that there are about 4,000 odd papers. I am taking a little time over this because it does seem to me that an attempt was made to misguide the House by means of statistics and figures. My opinion is that unless you have vital values and human values considered with these figures, these figures do not mean anything. We are told again that there are a large number of papers in this country, as many as 4,000 odd newspapers in this country. What does that mean? That does not mean anything. Does the circulation of all these papers put together come up even to the circulation of a single paper like the *Times*. I am not referring to the *Times of India*, I am talking of the *London Times*. On the one hand you yourself will say, that our masses are very ignorant, that literacy is very poor and, therefore, you must necessarily admit that the circulation of these papers must be very little and that possibly even though a paper might have a circulation of 100, or 200 or even 500 that would be included in your statistics as a newspaper to swell up the number of papers which go on your record. But I say that the circulation of all these papers put together, I doubt very much, whether it will come up to the circulation of one paper like the *Times* of London or the *New York Herald* in the West or in Europe. You cannot have it both ways. You cannot have an argument that the masses of this country are ignorant, illiterate, very apathetic and that they do not care what kind of political Government there is, they pay their taxes, and remain quiet; and at the same time say that the presses somehow or other must be choked, must be throttled, because otherwise they diffuse and spread widespread discontent, that they spread inflammatory material to the public and that it will lead to public danger. I say that this is not a fair argument to apply. I think I have pretty nearly disposed of some of the statistical fallacies connected with the speech of my Honourable friend of yesterday afternoon.

Now, so far as Civil Disobedience is concerned, what are you going to do with it? Are you going to stop Civil Disobedience by means of this Act? The object of this Act any one can see, it does not need very much acumen to find out where it is driving at. It is not so much the Civil Disobedience. You are not frightened by these terrorists. You cannot tell that now to the Indian people. I know that the Britisher is a brave person, he has fought Germany, he is constantly fighting wars on the different frontiers of the Empire. It is not that. I tell you what is the whole idea behind this measure. You want to attack the Press; that is the whole objective behind this game (hear, hear). You are not going to tell me that you, who fought perhaps some of the bravest nations on the face of this earth, that you, are frightened by 100 or 200 terrorists and that you cannot take care of them. I will not believe it. I say that in every measure that you propound there is something quite different behind it. We are no more children in this country to take your measures at their face value. The facade is quite different; there is something inside the house which is entirely different. I will now try my best to prove it to you and to the people who are willing to be convinced by reason that this is the whole and main objective behind all this. In the case of

[Dr. G. V. Deshmukh.]

the Civil Disobedience Movement, in case it is going to be revived, if you admit that it is a principle which has come to stay, how are your press laws, or how is the Criminal Law Amendment Act going to prevent the Civil Disobedience Movement? Therefore, it cannot be prevented.

I will now come down perhaps to the second ground which the Honourable the Home Member has given to the House to authorize him to place this Act on the Statute-book, and that is on account of terrorists. The best thing when one becomes panicky or frightened is to analyse the situation. I believe that that course will not be denied to me by the Opposite Benches. What is terrorism? Is terrorism foreign to our nature, to our culture and to our traditions or is it something that we will take to readily? You have only to look at the traditions and culture of India to realise that terrorism is something that is very foreign to the people of this country. I do not do any injustice by saying this, I do not claim very much more than what has already been granted to the Indian, the mild Hindu if you please. Terrorism is so foreign to his nature that actually it has become a fault of his and the opprobrious name of "mild Hindu" has been applied to him. I am convinced that it will also comfort my Honourable friend, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah, to know that he is not included under very much of a different category to the mild Hindu. Therefore, terrorism is after all against the tradition of the country. Well, then, I am not talking of reviving terrorism of today or the terrorism that was during this preceding period when it was nearly wiped out. I want to be fair to the opponents and I am going to take terrorism in its worst days. On the other side of the Ganges, in Southern India and in the Central India, where were the cases of terrorism? There were none. Mind you, Sir, it is a vast tract of country, perhaps five-sixths of India and with all that, in these, it was not that the papers were not being circulated. I will presently try to explain it in a better way. Where was terrorism? Terrorism was localised to two Provinces, that is the Punjab and Bengal or the north of India. It is merely common sense that when a vast country like this is practically free from terrorism and when only in a few provinces it is localised, then what a good physician or a good doctor will do? How will he diagnose? Will he condemn the whole country or will he be right in saying that this is a local disease and, therefore, when a treatment is to be undertaken it is to be entirely local.

The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar (Leader of the House) : Amputate that portion.

Dr. G. V. Deshmukh : But you do not amputate the whole body. I am glad that the Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar has taken the very words out of my mouth. I am coming to the very argument presently. I am glad that the Honourable Member has anticipated me. I say it is a local disease and if there had been any terrorism in any other part of the country I can assure you that the Honourable the Home Member would have informed us of it, but even yesterday in an apologetic way, he said that terrorism seemed to be reviving in Northern India. Well, Sir, if that is so, what I say is this.

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan : What about the attack on the Bombay Governor?

Dr. G. V. Deshmukh : You are very good, I was not going to forget it; I was going to mention it. It was not an act of terrorism, if you have read the case. That is why I say you are panicky, and, with the names of terrorism and Civil Disobedience, you seem to lose your brains and get panicky (Laughter), and that is how an attempt is being made to stampede you and people of your type into voting for this measure (Laughter). Now, Sir, I say that if the disease is local you must try to find out local remedies for it. Why is it that terrorism does not exist in the rest of India but seems to exist only in the land of the Jallianwalla Bagh and in the land of detenus where detenus are kept in prison without trial, without giving them a chance to defend themselves and without bringing them to trial?

The Honourable Sir Henry Craik : Has there been no terrorism in Bombay?

Dr. G. V. Deshmukh : No, Sir.

The Honourable Sir Henry Craik : What about the attempt to murder Sir Ernest Hotson?

Dr. G. V. Deshmukh : Would you call that an act of terrorism? What is an act of terrorism? If, without warning in the middle of the night, somebody tries to come and kill you, that may be called an act of terrorism. After all, you yourself have never proved that it was an act of terrorism. It might have been a private grievance; I am not here to defend it. But I do deny that that particular act was an act of terrorism. But even supposing for the sake of argument that there was one attempt which fortunately did not result in any loss of life, in the whole of the 56ths of India with a population of about 200 million.....

The Honourable Sir Henry Craik : That is quite inaccurate; there were acts of terrorism in Madras too.

Dr. G. V. Deshmukh : I am absolutely in love with your style of making assertions. What I say is that if there was only an attempt in a vast territory containing about more than 200 million population, would you call that terrorism in the country? When it suits you, you say that India is a big country, it is not a country, but it is a continent; it consists of different races and different provinces. But can you show me a single week in which in the continent of Europe there is not one single act of violence? You see terrorism in the civilised parts of Europe such as France, Germany and England and in other parts but you do not on that account have repressive laws and laws concentrating the whole of the power in the executive authority.

Mr. F. E. James : My Honourable friend is probably not aware that, over a greater part of the continent of Europe, there are such repressive laws as my Honourable friend does not dream of.

Dr. G. V. Deshmukh : My Honourable friend does not seem to have either heard or understood what I said in the earlier part of my speech. If you have a dictatorial and despotic Government here tomorrow, I am with you; I have no complaint against you. But because you make a pretence of democratic and Parliamentary Government, that is why I am coming forward before you, and I say that if you want to keep your prestige as a Parliamentary nation, you must grant us Parliamentary institutions and you must behave in a democratic fashion. And it is no

[Dr. G. V. Deshmukh.]

good your picking up instances from countries which are ruled autocratically and applying those to us and then saying that you are still a Parliamentary nation. That is my complaint ; I hope you are satisfied. (Laughter.)

Well, Sir, coming back to this terrorism, will you penalise the whole country by having a general measure like this ? I say that for a local complaint you can certainly by all means have a local remedy. And you cannot deny that you have plenty of weapons in your armoury. And I do not know why so much fuss is being made about the future Constitution and trying to see that the future Ministers may be left in comparative peace. That does not mean much of a compliment to my own compatriots and countrymen because it is an insidious insult if only my countrymen will look at it. The argument is put forward that they want to give to the future Government these Acts so that their administration may be easy. I suppose the Members of this House well know that the future Constitution is supposed to be provincial autonomy and that all the authorities are supposed to be transferred to Indian hands ; and they have no confidence that my own countrymen, the Indian Ministers, will be able to administer properly under criticism unless from now on they make this preparation that there shall be no criticism by the press. Sir, this is an insidious underground insult to my own countrymen and under the garb of saying that they want to leave the future Constitution safe and smooth to work. This is the insult that is being hurled at my own countrymen. In the case, therefore, of this local terrorism I have no complaint if you have local measures. It is not that even in the future Constitution you are not supplied with the proper remedies. Why, you have the discretion of the Governor ; it is not merely the Governor General in Council but you have his independent judgment. He is responsible for the safety, he can have Ordinances and even Ordinance Acts. With all these powers and with provincial autonomy soon to come in, I fail to see the force of the argument that in the interests of the future Constitution that is coming in, let us have an all-India measure so that the future Constitution may be safe to work. I say that there is something behind this and that something, so far as I can guess, is nothing but attack on the press.

Now, Sir, let me come to the third ground on which the Home Member wants the permission of this House for this Statute, and that is Communism. There again I am not very much frightened of Communism. And after all is said and done, in spite of the lurid picture that was drawn before our eyes so that our hair may stand on end that there will be armed revolution and the fabric of the society will be destroyed, I say here again I am not frightened at all. Can you prevent the principles of Communism coming into this country ? You go round to all the booksellers and their shelves are full of Russian history and the principles of Communism. They are not written in Russian, if you please, but by your own English authors. And they are not revolutionary authors but men like Bertrand Russell and H. G. Wells and others. You will find libraries full of this Russian literature. Therefore, so far as the principles of Communism are concerned you cannot absolutely prevent them ; you cannot prevent the intercourse of nations in these days much

as any tyrant would like to do. It is impossible, the times are not with them.

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya : And there is the judgment of the Calcutta High Court.

Dr. G. V. Deshmukh : Yes, I will come to that.

Then, so far as the principles of Communism are concerned, I do not think anybody can prevent them. And what is more, if you object to those principles, how is the progress of humanity to go on ? It is the glory of England and perhaps the one consolation that we have,—it might be a very poor consolation but it is a consolation and a grievance also,—that a nation which stands so much for free thought and has given shelter to so many persecuted Princes and Governments of Europe should by chance govern us but at the same time deny us the same privileges which they accord, not only to their own people, but particularly to those people whom they have nothing to do with. That is our grievance. All these books you cannot prevent. What is going to happen to your judicial Courts ?

[At this stage, Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) resumed the Chair.]

What is going to happen after the decision in the Calcutta High Court the other day ? For mere designing or planning you cannot put a man in prison. I suppose there again the Government of India will say " We cannot bring these culprits to book and, therefore, let us have new legislation, which will take away the power of the High Courts and put it in the hands of the District Magistrate as has been done in the case of the press in this very Act ". I take it that that is going to be the next step under this democratic parliamentary Government. What are you going to do by having this Press Act ? By preventing papers saying anything about Communism, you cannot prevent the principles being disseminated amongst the intellectuals or amongst the reading public of this country ; and, therefore, you might as well not make the attempt to muzzle the press. If it comes to action which goes against the law of the land or against society, I take it that the Honourable the Home Member will not sleep as he is doing now : we will certainly expect him to stir and sit up and do something—there is sufficient power in the country to prevent that. But in the hope that some day danger might arise you are not going to fetter the country by all kinds of measures at the present time.

But even here, the analysis of Communism does not stop. I might be permitted and excused if I give some of my personal experiences that I have had with the leaders of this Communism. I think that the first real display of the Communistic spirit, that might be said to have occurred in this country, was in 1928—I think it was in connection with the textile strike that took place in Bombay. My friend, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah, will bear me out that I took a considerable part, occupying an important position—the chair of honour in that city, that is the President of the Bombay Municipal Corporation which gave two such illustrious Presidents to this Assembly. (*A Voice* : " You will be the third ") May be. During that time—this strike went on for nearly ten weeks or three months and it was a regular textile strike : I happened to go amongst the majority of men who were prisoners in the

[Dr. G. V. Deshmukh.]

Meerut Conspiracy Case later under the charge of Communism or Bolshevism or something of the sort—I will tell you the genesis of this and that might suggest a remedy to the Government, if they mean to take it up : I say that this Communism in India as everywhere else is nothing but a struggle between the haves and the have-nots : and if the have-nots have not got sufficient to feed themselves and if they are starved and if they have to go and live their lives in misery, then call it Communism or call it Bolshevism or call it capitalism and labour trouble—you are going to have trouble ; and if it has developed further into the so-called Communism I say that the genesis is entirely there, because to my mind when they went on strike it was not so entirely unreasonable : I had conferences with the Millowners' Association—I think my Honourable friend, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah, was in charge of the department of Government which deals with this and what is more, not only was I of the opinion, but here is one who was also of the same opinion. I ask him whether he can deny it : he cannot ; because he had a conference with them at the Secretariat : if he had thought that they were Communists, that they were red-hot Bolsheviks, I take that he would not have conferred with them.....

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah : May I rise to a personal explanation and as the Honourable Member has spoken of me ? At that time I was in charge of Labour and I wanted to settle the strike : therefore, I had to call the leaders whether they were Communists or others ; and I succeeded in settling that dispute.

Dr. G. V. Deshmukh : I am very glad that Sir Ghulam Hussain has given his explanation. The dispute was finally settled by Sir Ghulam Hussain on the last day ; but if you ask those gentlemen themselves they will have to admit that practically all the preparation for it was done by the Bombay Municipal Corporation. I do not grudge Sir Ghulam having the credit—let him have it. If it is for the welfare of my country and people—I do not care who takes the credit—I do not care even if the present Government of India take the credit. What I stand for is the weal and welfare of my people and it is from that point of view that I am discussing all these things. I say if you want to prevent Communism or Bolshevism coming in, it will not be by throttling the press : it will not be by repressive measures ; but it will be by improving the industries of this country. I see the Finance Minister puffing out his cheeks and smiling. (Laughter.) I am glad he has done that. If he had a chance, I am sure he would have quoted some Professor Pegu or somebody or other—he is fond of quoting books. I will ask him very simple questions which perhaps he has neglected to this day : but Indians, like Romesh Chunder Dutt and Mahadev Govind Ranade, found out a long time ago, perhaps 50 years ago, before either the Finance Member or I was born. By the statistics and producing power of this country, they proved conclusively that this country has no hope unless it takes to industries. So long as it sticks only to agriculture, agriculture cannot maintain the population in this country. It is all very well for him to maintain the balance of trade by selling the precious metals : I suppose if in England they had a Finance Minister like this who

kept up the balance of trade by exporting precious metals he would soon have been exported. (Laughter.) I do not know if that is the cause of his being here. (Renewed Laughter.) Here, with no responsibility, with no power of criticism in the people, he can go about preaching his old ancient ideas which do not suit present conditions of the country, quote professors, bully merchants wherever he goes, talk to them what he likes as he did in Bombay and do generally as he likes with the country. But I do not think he could have done it in his or in any other country. (Interruptions and cries of "Go on.") Therefore, the real remedy against this is the industrial regeneration of the country. What country is there on this earth which will on grounds of economy say—where the Commerce Member will be allowed to continue if he uses the arguments: "We can buy our materials outside at a cheaper rate in the case of vital industries." The labourers of that country, the industrial labourers would not make his life as a Commerce Member worth while even for two days: they will soon see to it that he has to vacate his office. We hear all kinds of arguments here. We hear that because it is cheaper to buy some materials from outside,—I do not want to allude personally to anybody, and I hope that nobody will take my remarks as personal,—it is not from the present Commerce Member alone that we hear it but we also heard it from his predecessors,—we hear that because it is cheaper to buy some material from outside we should buy it in preference to the indigenous material. Sir, whoever has heard in regard to commercial policy that when you start thinking of an industry, the deliberations go on for 13 years, and at the end of 13 years you say that it is not profitable to get the material in this country because according to statistics it is cheaper for you to buy that stuff from outside! Sir, I say that all vital industries of the country must first be started irrespective of whether they are profitable or not, because, Sir, besides calculating the return in pounds, shilling and pence, it gives employment to labour, it improves the status, the manhood of the nation, it improves the level of life. It has so many indirect advantages which cannot be calculated in rupees, annas and pies. Therefore, I say that so long as the policy of this country continues to be what it is at present, if vital industries are ignored or neglected, if industries are not started, fostered and developed in this country, what is the industrial labour to do? Your law and order may be all right, peace and tranquillity may be all right, but they are only means to an end. Where the Honourable Member who spoke yesterday and we on this side differ is in this. He wants peace and tranquillity as an end in itself; we want peace and tranquillity as a means to an end. You will have peace and tranquillity when you have the tranquillity of death; we also want the repose, but we want the repose of life. That is the difference between your way of looking at things and our way of looking at things, hence arises all this difference between you and us and the difference in point of view between you and us. That is the vital difference, and, therefore, whatever you may say cannot appeal to us, and I daresay whatever we say cannot and will not appeal to you, because our way of looking at things is quite different from yours. Sir, I think it is Balzac who mentions in one of his novels about somebody's wife crying. He was one of those ultra scientists very fond of facts and figures. His wife happened to be

[Dr. G. V. Deshmukh.]

crying, and he tells her, "Why are you crying? Do you know what your tears mean? They mean 99.94 per cent. of water and perhaps .06 per cent. of sodium chloride". (Laughter.) Whenever our own wife and child cry we realise the pain and feeling, but that realisation cannot be the same when we see the wife and child of somebody else crying. Logic and life cannot go together. You are talking merely of your dry facts and figures, whereas we are vitally concerned in our country's welfare in this question. You are merely concerned with the interests of your office, you are concerned to that extent alone, and no more. As soon as your term of office is over, you take your pay and whatever fortune you make and clear out of this country. And what is still more regrettable, you take away with you the experience that you gain from this country. What we want to do,—and that is what we are trying to do for the welfare of our people,—we want to keep all that talent and experience in this country. Now, we as human beings are not very different from you, but we look at things from different viewpoints, or to use a very common expression, from a different angle of vision. We look at baby's tears as our baby's tears which will move us from an emotional point of view; you look at them from an economist's point of view so far as India is concerned; not that you are incapable of feeling when the emotions are stirred. Why? You saw the attitude and conduct of the Home Member just a little while ago when the passions were stirred. In spite of his advice to us yesterday that we should not introduce bitterness or emotion into the discussion we saw him perturbed and agitated, and he could not hear the speech of my friend, Pandit Malaviya. You may thoroughly dislike it. We hear many things from your side which we thoroughly dislike. I suppose yesterday the Home Member was prominent on that side in shouting 'Order, order', if I am not very much mistaken. I don't say he was wrong; he was perfectly right; and I would do the same on this side. But it is very easy to talk about being dispassionate, being cold and looking at things merely in the light of cold reason and logic when things do not touch you. As soon as things really touch you, not merely in the matter of emotions, but in the matter of interests, then every human being is apt to lose his logic.....

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): If the
5 P.M. Honourable Member has much more to say.....

Dr. G. V. Deshmukh: Sir, I have a great deal more to say, and I shall require a little more time.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Then it is better we adjourn now.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, the 9th September, 1935.