

15th March, 1921

THE
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES
(Official Report)

FIRST SESSION
OF THE
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 1921



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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Tuesday, 15th March, 1921.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber at Eleven of the Clock. The Honourable the President was in the Chair.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

PREPARATION OF RECORDS IN CIVIL APPEALS.

466. **Babu K. C. Neogy**: Is it a fact that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has recently suggested the adoption of certain methods as regards the system of preparation of the records in civil appeals, as stated by Mr. N. G. A. Edgley, Registrar, in his edition of the Calcutta High Court Rules, Appellate Side? Will Government be pleased to state the purport of the communications that may have been received from the Privy Council or the India Office relating to this subject?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell: The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative. As the Honourable Member is, doubtless, aware, the delays in the prosecution of appeals to the Privy Council have been the subject of much adverse comment by the Judicial Committee for many years. Apart from causes due to the dilatory method in which the various legal steps necessary for the prosecution of an appeal are taken, one of the main causes of delay has been found to be in the printing of the paper books. As regards these, their Lordships of the Privy Council suggested that records in all appeals to Appellate Courts in India, which were likely to come before the Privy Council, should be printed in Privy Council form so as to avoid reprinting the book if the case comes before the Privy Council. Their Lordships pointed out that it was of the utmost importance that the paper book should be accurately prepared, and they, therefore, stated that they considered that they should be prepared under the direct supervision of the Officers of the Appellate Court. They also made several detailed recommendations regarding the binding, the quality of paper, the documents which should be included in the book and the order in which they should be printed and arranged in the record.

A statement of the measures taken to minimise the delays in these appeals was given in the Indian Legislative Council on the 20th of August 1920 by Sir William Vincent when he introduced the Bill to amend the Indian Limitation Act of 1908 and the Code of Civil Procedure, which has since become law as Act No. XXVI of 1920, and this question was then referred to.

RECRUITMENT OF JUDICIAL OFFICERS.

467. **Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha**: (a) Will Government be pleased to state the extent to which, if any, the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Public Services in regard to the recruitment of Judicial Officers direct from the ranks of practising lawyers have been carried out?

(b) Are there any rules on the subject in the various Provinces promulgated by the Government of India or the Local Government? If so, will Government be pleased to lay copies of them on the table? If not, why not?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell: The Honourable Member is referred to the answer given to the similar question asked by Khan Bahadur Saiyid Muhammad Ismail on the 15th February 1921.

The Government of India have issued no rules or orders on the subject beyond those contained in paragraph 11 of the Home Department Resolution No. 2559, dated the 1st December 1920, a* copy of which is laid on the table.

DEPUTY SUPERINTENDENTS OF POLICE.

468. **Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha:** (a) Did not the Police Commission—presided over by the late Sir Andrew Fraser—recommend that the 'Deputy Superintendent . . . should have the same departmental status as assistants' (page 50, paragraph 66) and that 'the Deputy Superintendents should have precisely the same departmental status as assistants' (page 52, paragraph 69), and did not the Government in accepting this recommendation lay it down that 'their functions and their departmental status will be similar to those of Assistant Superintendents'?

(b) If so, have the status and functions of Deputy Superintendents of Police been in practice the same as, or similar to that of, the Assistant Superintendents? If not, why not?

(c) Did not the Government lay down in their Resolution on the Police Commission's Report that Deputy Superintendents 'will furnish the source from which Indian District Superintendents will eventually be drawn' and that they 'will be eligible for promotion to district charges where their fitness is fully established' (page 15)?

(d) If so, are Deputy Superintendents in actual practice eligible to the same extent as the Assistant Superintendents for promotion to the headship of the Police in the district? If not, why not?

(e) Are Government aware that there is very great discontent in the ranks of the Deputy Superintendents owing to the differential treatment meted out to them as compared with that of the Assistant Superintendents in the matter of pay, status, functions and promotion to the headship of the district? If so, what action, if any, do Government propose to take?

(f) Will Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing year by year the number, in each province, of District Superintendents promoted from the ranks of Assistants and Deputies, respectively, since the constitution of these two ranks in the service? If not, why not?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell: (a) The answer is in the affirmative.

(b) Complaints have been made from time to time that important duties on the executive side are allotted to Assistant Superintendents, while Deputy Superintendents are employed to render assistance in office work only. The matter was referred to in the report of the Public Services Commission which sat in 1912. As a result of the consideration of that report Local Governments were requested to give the Deputy Superintendents a fair share of executive duties and responsibilities. The reports received show that effect is being given to these orders.

(c) The answer is in the affirmative, except that the Resolution did not say 'will eventually be drawn,' but 'may eventually be drawn.'

(d) The answer is in the negative. Officers of the Provincial Service are eligible for promotion to a percentage of the superior appointments, but the distinction between the Provincial Service and the Imperial Service has not been abrogated. It is based on a difference in the class of work for which the officers of the two services are recruited.

(e) Memorials have been received from Officers of Provincial Police Services expressing dissatisfaction with certain conditions of their service. The memorials are at present under the consideration of Government.

(f) The information asked for is not available, but I may mention that up to the present year, when the new system of recruitment under which recruitment for 11 per cent. of the superior appointments will be made from the Provincial Service is to come into force, recruitment to the Indian Police Service by promotion of Deputy Superintendents has been limited to 5 per cent. of the total number of superior appointments in each Province. If the Honourable Member wishes, the detailed information for which he asks will be collected from Local Governments.

EXPENDITURE FOR REFORMS SCHEME.

469. **Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha :** (a) Will Government be pleased to state the actual or approximate amount of expenditure to be incurred in connection with the introduction of the Reform Scheme?

(b) Will Government place on the table detailed statements of the said expenditure separately for the Indian Legislatures and the Provincial Legislatures and also for the emoluments of the various office-holders in the Government of India and the Provincial Governments appointed in consequence of the inauguration of the Reforms and of those others appointed in the various departments to enable the Indian and Provincial Governments to cope with the work incidental to, or consequential on, the promulgation of the Reforms?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell : I would refer the Honourable Member to the replies given by the Honourable Sir William Vincent to similar questions* asked in the Council of State on February 14th and 16th, respectively, by the Honourable Raja Promada Nath Roy and the Honourable Mr. G. M. Bhurgri.

Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha : Is the Honourable Member aware that the information supplied in the Council of State could not be complete and up to date as the salaries of several important offices were not settled at the time?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell : I shall have the information brought up to date.

EXPENSES OF GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS.

470. **Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha :** (a) Is it a fact that since 1914 there has been nothing but increase in the expenses of the various departments of the Government of India and of the Provincial Governments?

(b) If the answer be in the negative, will Government be pleased to state the name or names of the department or departments of the Indian or any Provincial Governments in which there has been a decrease?

(c) If the answer to clause (a) be in the affirmative, have Government formulated or in contemplation any scheme for economy and retrenchment? If not, why not?

*Vide pages 39 and 80, respectively, of the Council of State Debates, Volume I, Nos. 3 and 4.

The Honourable Mr. W. M. Hailey: I would suggest that the portion of this question concerning Provincial Governments should be put to those Governments. As to (a) it is a fact that since 1914 the Government of India's own expenditure has increased in each department. With regard to part (c) I would draw the Honourable Member's attention to my answer to question *No. 417 on the 8th March 1921 in this Assembly.

REVISED SCALE OF PAY AND PENSIONS.

471. Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha: (a) Will Government be pleased to state the exact or approximate additional cost involved owing to the revised scale of pay and pensions for both the civil and military services over and above that of Rs. 60,68,60,000 which was mentioned in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 16th of September last in reply to a question of mine?

(b) Which departments, if any, have since received the benefits of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Public Services and which, if any, still remain unbenefited? Why has the case of the latter been so far delayed?

The Honourable Mr. W. M. Hailey: (a) The amount of additional cost given in the answer of 16th September last was Rs. 6,68,60,000. The figure Rs. 60,68,60,000 in the proceedings is a printer's error. As regards the additional cost of the services referred to in Appendix A to that answer about which information was not then available, proposals for the Women's Educational Service involve an additional cost of about Rs. 1,25,000. As regards the remaining services complete information is not available, but an additional cost of Rs. 90,000 has been incurred by revisions of the pay of the Registration Department in Bengal and Madras and Rs. 40,000 for the superior appointments under Salt and Excise in Bombay and the Central Provinces. As regards the Provincial Medical Services, the Local Governments have been left to fix their own scales and have not yet reported the additional cost. The approximate additional cost per annum involved in the revised scales of pay and pension of the services mentioned in part (a) of that answer on which orders have since been passed, is as follows:

<i>Pay.</i>		<i>Ra.</i>
Survey of India Department		92,000
<i>Pension.</i>		
Bengal Pilot Service		72,000

As regards military services, attention is invited to the concluding sentences of the reply given by me to a similar question by Honourable Mr. Bhupatiraju Venkatapatiraju Garu on the 17th February 1921.

(b) The following Departments have received the benefit of the recommendations of the Public Services Commission since 16th September 1920:

<i>Pay.</i>	
Survey of India Department.	
<i>Pension.</i>	
Bengal Pilot Service.	

The following officers still remain unbenefited by those recommendations :

Pay.

Postmasters-General.

Future non-Indian Medical Service entrants to the Bacteriological and Sanitary Departments.

As regards Postmasters-General, the Secretary of State's orders have been received, but orders are still awaited on a point of detail which has recently been referred to him. The pay of non-Indian Medical Service Officers of the Bacteriological Department has been increased by 33½ per cent. as a measure of temporary relief; and Local Governments have been permitted to grant at their discretion similar increases to the non-Indian Medical Service officers in the Provincial Sanitary Departments. The delay in arriving at a final decision regarding the terms and conditions of service of those officers has been due to the uncertainty about the rates of pay which would be finally fixed for officers of the Indian Medical Service in civil employment.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON MEDICAL SERVICES.

472. **Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha:** (a) Are Government aware that several recommendations in the Report of the Committee on Medical Services presided over by Sir Verney Lovett have caused grave dissatisfaction to the Indian public, and that they have been the subject of animadversion in the Resolutions of various public bodies and in the comments of leading organs of Indian public opinion?

(b) Will Government be pleased to vouchsafe the information as to whether they have sent to the Secretary of State any despatch on the recommendations embodied in the said Report? If so, is the despatch going to be published before the final orders are passed on the Report? If not, why not?

Sir Godfrey Fell: (a) Government are aware that certain of the recommendations of the Medical Services Committee have been the subject of adverse comment in the Indian Press. Certain medical associations have been asked for their views on the Report. So far two associations have communicated their views, and when all have been received they will be sent to the Secretary of State for his consideration. Only one Resolution—from a Provincial Medical Services Association—has been received, commenting adversely on the report of the Medical Services Committee.

(b) The answer to the first part is in the affirmative. Government do not propose to publish the despatch. The report was published some months ago and ample time has therefore been given for those interested in the subject to consider it. Government will transmit to the Secretary of State any representations regarding the Report which may be made to them by public bodies, provided that they are received within a reasonable time.

INCREASE OF CRIME IN THE FRONTIER PROVINCE.

473. **Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha:** (a) Is it correct, as alleged in the *Tribune* of Lahore, that 'there has been practically a steady increase of crime in the Frontier Province since the partition of the Punjab', and that

'there was greater security of life and property when the Frontier Province was part of the Punjab than there is now?'

(b) If the answer be in the negative, will Government be pleased to lay on the table statements showing the number of offences committed in the districts now constituting the Frontier Province and also border raids on them and the offences committed in the course of those raids in the ten years previous to the formation of the Province and the years since? If not, why not?

The Honourable Dr. T. B. Sapru: (on behalf of the Honourable Mr. Denys Bray): (a) Government believe the reverse to be the case. The Honourable Member will no doubt appreciate that the conditions during the last 20 months have been abnormal owing to the aftermath of frontier trouble set up by the Afghan war.

(b) As statistics for the ten years previous to the formation of the North-West Frontier Province are not available, a comparative statement cannot be furnished.

OFFICIAL TERMINATION OF WAR.

474. **Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha:** (a) Has the war been officially declared to have come to an end? If so, from what date? If not, when may the declaration of its having ended be expected?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state the name or names of the Act or Acts that will expire in British India after six months from the date of the declaration of the termination of the war?

The Honourable Dr. T. B. Sapru: I would invite the Honourable Member's attention to the reply given by the Honourable Mr. Moncrieff Smith to his question at the Council meeting held in Delhi on the 18th February 1920. The replies to his present question are:

(a) His Majesty in Council has declared that the war as between Great Britain and the undermentioned States terminated on the dates specified:

Germany	.	.	.	.	.	On the 10th January 1920.
Austria	.	.	.	.	.	On the 18th July 1920.
Bulgaria	.	.	.	.	.	On the 9th August 1920.

As far as we know at present the Treaties of Peace with Hungary and Turkey are still unratified. When the last of these unratified Treaties is ratified, it will be possible for His Majesty in Council to declare the date of the termination of the present war, which date will, under section 2 of the Termination of the Present War (Definition) Act, 1919, be treated as the date of termination of the war for the purposes of Indian enactments, and of contracts, deeds or other instruments.

(b) A* list of the enactments which will (unless further continued by legislation) expire at the end of six months from the date of the official termination of the war is laid on the table.

The following enactments will remain in force for a period of six months from the date of the official declaration of the termination of the war:

Acts.

1. The Emergency Legislation Continuance Act, 1915 (I of 1915).

*Will be printed later.

2. The Defence of India (Criminal Law Amendment) Act, 1915 (IV of 1915).
3. The Enemy Trading Act, 1915 (XIV of 1915).
4. The Defence of India (Amendment) Act, 1916 (II of 1916).
5. The Foreigners' (Trial by Court-martial) Act, 1916 (III of 1916).
6. The Enemy Trading Act, 1916 (X of 1916).
7. The Indian Bills of Exchange Act, 1916 (XIV of 1916).
8. The Indian Bills of Exchange (Amendment) Act, 1917 (IX of 1917).
9. The Gold (Import) Act, 1917 (XXII of 1917).
10. The Gold Coinage Act, 1918 (XIV of 1918).
11. The Enemy Trading Orders (Validation) Act, 1918 (XV of 1918).

Ordinances.

12. The Indian Naval and Military News (Emergency) Ordinance, 1914 (I of 1914).
13. The Impressment of Vessels Ordinance, 1914 (II of 1914).
14. The Foreigners Ordinance, 1914 (III of 1914).
15. The Ingress into India Ordinance, 1914 (V of 1914).
16. The Commercial Intercourse with Enemies Ordinance, 1914 (VI of 1914).
17. The Foreigners (Amendment) Ordinance, 1914 (VII of 1914).
18. The Foreigners (Further Amendment) Ordinance, 1914 (VIII of 1914).
19. The Articles of Commerce Ordinance, 1914 (IX of 1914).

PENDING CASES IN HIGH COURTS.

475. **Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha:** (a) Will Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the number of pending cases on the 31st of December 1920, in the various High Courts, filed, during each of the last three years (1918—1920) under the separate heads of first appeals from decrees, execution first appeals, first appeals from orders, second appeals, civil revisions, and civil miscellaneous applications?

(b) Where the subsisting arrears are of 1918, do Government propose to appoint additional Judges to clear them off? If not, why not?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell: A statement giving the information required for the years 1918 and 1919 so far as the Calcutta High Court is concerned is laid on the table. Complete figures for 1920 are not available, but will be obtained from the High Court if the Honourable Member so desires. I may add, however, that the Government of India are already considering certain proposals for clearing off the arrears which have accumulated in the Court. As regards the other High Courts the Government of India are not primarily concerned; and information regarding them should be sought in the local Legislative Council concerned.

Statement showing the number of the pending cases on the 31st December 1919 in the High Court, Calcutta, filed during each of the years 1918 and 1919 under certain heads.

Year.	First appeals from decrees.	Execution first appeals.	First appeals from orders.	Second appeals.	Civil revisions.	Civil miscellaneous applications.	REMARKS.
1918 . .	205	5	16 (a)	1,248	2	20	(a) These include figures in column 3.
1919 . .	295	34	146 (a)	2,178	172	205	

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA SECRETARIAT EMPLOYEES.

476. **Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing separately the total number of Indians, Europeans and Anglo-Indians employed on the 1st of January 1921 in each of the departments of the Government of India Secretariat, drawing a salary of not less than Rs. 25 per mensem, and further showing in the case of the Indian employees the numbers belonging to each province?

(b) Will Government also lay on the table the rules in force relating to employment of the staff in the various departments of the Government of India?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell: (a) A statement giving the information required as regards the staff employed on the 1st January 1920 was laid on the table of the Indian Legislative Council on the 22nd March 1920. I will give the Honourable Member a copy and if he so desires, it will be corrected to 1st January 1921.

(b) Recruitment is effected through the Staff Selection Board recently constituted. The Board hold qualifying examinations and a copy of the rules framed by the Board will be given to the Honourable Member.

TRIBUNE'S APPEAL BEFORE THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

477. **Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha:** (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the proceedings before the Privy Council during the hearing of the appeal of the editor of the *Tribune* of Lahore, in the course of which it is reported to have been stated by the Counsel for the Crown, Sir Erle Richards, in reply to a question of Viscount Cave, that the fine imposed on the appellant 'has been refunded'?

(b) Are Government aware that the said statement of Sir Erle Richards has been challenged by the *Tribune* which has declared that 'neither the editor of the *Tribune* on whose behalf the fine was paid, nor his Counsel through whom it was paid, nor finally the trustees of the *Tribune* who did pay the fine, know anything about the matter'?

(c) Are Government aware that the said statement has formed the subject of adverse comment in the Indian Press as reflecting upon the integrity and airiness of the Crown?

(d) Do Government propose to remove the misapprehension on the subject by a statement as to whether Sir Erle Richards' assurance to Viscount Cave was, at the time it was made, correct or otherwise? If not, why not?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell: (a), (b) and (c). Yes.

(d) The Government of India issued orders to the Government of the Punjab, directing that the fine should be refunded. The Secretary of State was informed of this and the statement before the Privy Council, which implied that the order of refund had been given effect to was no doubt based on the intimation sent to the Secretary of State. Actually the fine was not refunded till a later date because in the interval there was correspondence between the Local Government and the Government of India, which led to delay in the issue of orders for the remission of the fine by the Punjab Government.

THE HONOURS LIST.

478. **Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha:** (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the following editorial observations of the *Times of India* in the course of an article headed 'The Honours List' in its issue of January 4th, 1921:—'If the recently established English practice of stating the reason for which the honour is awarded were to be introduced into India, the public might gain enlightenment on the subject which at present cannot always be given by the Press'?

(b) Is the statement in the above passage about the British Government's practice correct? If so, do Government propose to introduce similar practice here? If not, why not?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell (on behalf of the Honourable Sir John Wood): (a). No.

(b) A reference to the second Supplement to the *London Gazette*, dated Friday, 31st December 1920, shows that the practice in the matter is not uniform, reasons being given in some cases and not in others.

Honours and Orders, except the Indian Titles granted by the Viceroy and Governor General, are granted by the King; and publication of conferments is made primarily by the Central Chancery of the Orders of Knighthood in the *London Gazette*. The entries in that Gazette regarding persons in India are published in the *Gazette of India*. A comparison of the second Supplement to the *London Gazette*, dated Friday, 31st December 1920, with the *Gazette of India Extraordinary*, dated Saturday, 1st January 1921, shows that where reasons for conferment were given in the primary authority, they were repeated in the *Gazette of India*.

It is not proposed to give reasons in the notifications dealing with Indian Titles (e.g., Khan Sahib, Rai Sahib, etc.) conferred by the Viceroy and Governor General and published only in the *Gazette of India*. Owing to the length of the lists reasons could only be given in very general terms such as 'for public service'. Entries of this nature would not materially enlighten persons previously unacquainted with the recipient.

Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju: May I ask, Sir, whether it is not possible to abolish these Honours Lists altogether?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell: The answer is in the negative.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CHIEF INSPECTOR OF MINES.

479. **Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha:** (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the latest annual report by the Chief Inspector of Mines showing that, in 1919, in the mines regulated by the Mines Act, there were 252 fatal incidents which was 43 more than in 1918 and 84 more than the average of the preceding five years—and that they involved a loss of 312 lives, which could have been avoided by closer and more skilled supervision?

(b) Do Government propose to consider the question of more stringent legislation to obviate the chances of accidents in mines? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Thomas Holland: (a) Yes, the figures quoted are correct, but the Chief Inspector of Mines was of opinion that only a portion of the accidents and not all, as suggested in the question, could have been avoided by closer and more-skilled supervision on the part of the Mine officials.

In a paper by Mr. R. R. Simpson on Accidents in Indian Mines and Mining Legislation he classifies the results obtained for the years 1915 to 1919, as follows:

Due to misadventure	50 per cent.
Due to fault of the killed	81 „
Due to fault of fellow workmen	6 „
Due to fault of subordinate officials	4 „
Due to fault of management	9 „

(b) The question of a review of the regulations, that at present govern coal-mining operations, is already being examined. The increasing depth of Indian mines, the more frequent occurrences of fire-damp and the rapidly extending use of power and electrically driven machinery have altered the general position, and the Government of India are considering proposals for so-amending the regulations as to adapt them to modern mining practice. It is believed that new legislation will not be required for this purpose, but that the rule-making power conferred by the present law will be sufficient for introducing necessary amendments.

POLITICAL SECTION OF THE HOME DEPARTMENT.

480. **Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha:** (a) Is there any section in the Home Department known as 'Political'? If so, when was it established, and what is the nature of the business transacted in it?

(b) Is it a fact that it is almost entirely staffed by non-Indians? Will Government be pleased to state the number of the European, Anglo-Indian and Indian clerks in this section of the Home Department?

(c) If the number of Indian clerks be small out of all proportion to the total number of clerks in this section, do Government propose to increase their number? If not, why not?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell: (a) Yes. It was established in 1907 and deals with secret and confidential work of a political nature.

(b) Yes; the total strength is 14 Europeans and Anglo-Indians.

(c) The Honourable Member is referred to the answer given to the question of Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer on the same subject on the 10th instant.

RESIDENT CLERKS.

481. **Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha :** (a) Are clerks in any of the departments of the Government of India known as resident clerks? If so, in which of them? Why are they so called and what are those special duties entrusted to them which differentiate them from other clerks? Do they receive any extra allowances or enjoy privileges not shared by other clerks? If so, what are these? When was the system of employing resident clerks first introduced and why?

(b) Will Government be pleased to place on the table a statement showing the total number of resident clerks in each of the departments, as also the numbers of these posts held respectively by Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indians?

(c) If the number of Indian resident clerks be small out of all proportion to the total number, do Government propose to increase their number? If not, why not?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnell : (a) Resident Clerks are employed in the Home and Foreign and Political Departments. They are called Resident Clerks because they sleep in office and are on night duty. They come on duty at 4-30 p.m. and remain till office reopens next morning. They attend to all urgent and immediate work that comes in between these hours, and decode and encode cipher telegrams received and issued after ordinary office hours. In the Home Department there are two Resident Clerks who take weekly turns of duty. They receive Rs. 5 per night on duty in addition to their pay on the regular staff. During the weeks off duty they are employed in ordinary office work. The system was introduced in June 1918 in order to relieve the Registrar and Superintendent, Political Section. These officers were already overburdened with work by day and could not be expected to do night work in addition. Information regarding the Resident Clerks in the Foreign and Political Department is awaited and for that reason (b) and (c) of the Honourable Member's question cannot be answered now, but full information will be communicated as soon as possible.

The Honourable the President : In order to meet the almost universal desire of Members of this Assembly, and subject to the orders of His Excellency the Governor General, I propose to set down Saturday, the 26th instant, as an extra day for non-official business, that is to say, for dealing with Bills and Resolutions. The day itself will not be a full Session of the Assembly. I hope that Members will realise that to sit from 11 till 5 on every day, as was done during last week and this week, imposes an intolerable strain on the officials of the Legislative Department.

I therefore propose that business be brought to a close at 2 p.m. on that day.

The ballot for Bills and Resolutions will, subject to the same condition, be held in this Chamber on the 19th instant. A circular will be issued to Members informing them fully of the conditions.

THE BUDGET—LIST OF DEMANDS—contd.**SECOND STAGE—contd.***Expenditure from Revenue—contd.*

The Honourable Mr. W. M. Hailey : Sir, I beg to move :

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 23,70,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st March, 1922, in respect of Superannuation Allowances and Pensions.

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Sir Thomas Holland : Sir, I beg to move :

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,49,12,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st March, 1922, in respect of Stationery and Printing.

Sir Frank Carter : Sir, the motion which stands in my name runs as follows :

' That the demand under Printing and Stationery be reduced by Rs. 10,00,000. '

The total Budget estimate voted for the coming year is Rs. 1,49,12,000 in respect of Stationery and Printing. That is a reduction of about Rs. 6,00,000 on the revised estimate of last year. The figures for India are Rs. 1,21,28,000 against Rs. 1,24,67,000 for last year. I see that the amount budgetted for printing is roughly Rs. 38,00,000, which seems to me to be an extremely high figure, and I hope that the Government will be able to make some reduction. The balance, Rs. 83,00,000, is the sum to be expended in stationery only.

Now, Sir, I put it to this House, do they think that amount is excessive? Personally, I am astounded at the figures. I see a heading under 'Stationery'—'Purchased in the country—Rs. 9,800,' but I cannot think that this amount only will be spent on stationery purchased in this country. I would suggest that in preparing these Budget Heads for the House, some consideration should be given to Honourable Members who desire information.

In referring to Appendix B on Stationery and Printing, I see that Rs. 62,90,000 worth is to be bought in India, and Rs. 17,19,000 from England. I would ask the Honourable Member in charge whether so much stationery must be got from England and whether more cannot be purchased in this country. We have had a Stores Committee here and Sir Thomas Holland told us only the other day that the paper manufacturing industry in India is the largest item of stationery expenditure. I may say that that was what I thought it ought to be, but certainly nothing in this Demand No. 45 shows it.

I accept most gratefully the very frank admission of Government as to their desire to effect economy. It is surely obvious that this is a matter which concerns the Government as well as the Assembly, and any proposals that are likely to lead to that end will, I am sure, be welcomed by all of us. As the result of my own experience, extending over 31 years, I am convinced by what I saw in Simla last year and during my six weeks stay in Delhi this year, that there is a great wastage going on in connection with office materials. I am particularly interested in the subject myself because during the last two years

in the firm with which I was connected, we have taken steps to reduce our own expenditure and, I may say, with very great success.

I admit that there is a considerable difference between commercial firms and a Government in connection with general organisation. The size of the Government of India and the fact that there is no continuity of service by officials. Official economy, however, ought to be common to both. Sir Thomas Holland said that measures for securing further economy have been for some months under special examination. I can assure the Government that to leave this question to a Finance Committee—to which, I may say in passing, no European Member has been appointed—is not sufficient, and the necessary economy will not be effected in that way. On this question of Printing and Stationery a sum of one and a half crores is involved. This is even more than the sum under 'Civil Works' for the year. Can the Finance Committee look after the issue of, and effect the control of, such small things as blotting paper, ink, pen-holders, nibs, etc.? I am sure they cannot. May I also ask what steps are being taken to prevent theft? We all know that duffries and such like are very keen on paper and nibs, and they bag them from the office more often than not.

The members of the Finance Committee will probably be the first to admit that they are not sufficiently experienced to enable them to deal efficiently with the details of this subject. It is also obvious that the higher officials of Government have neither the time nor possibly the inclination to give due thought to the subject. Whatever the reasons may be, however, the fact remains that, judging from these figures, effective control is actually wanting. Judging from the statements made by the Finance Member at the close of the proceedings of the 8th instant and the answers given to this Assembly on the same subject, it would appear that the Inspector of Office Procedure is a man of great experience and one who, I think, should be asked to help in reducing the expenditure on Demand No. 45. I do not see why Government should not avail themselves of the services of this officer in this respect. No new expenditure will be involved. The control of all office material should, I think, be placed in his hands. I would also suggest that a certain sum should be allotted for 'printing and stationery to each department, and that each department should be responsible for that sum. In addition, very considerable savings could, I am sure, be effected if single sheets were used instead of double, and cheaper envelopes instead of the thick expensive covers, and the enormously big envelopes which are sent out with very small communications in them. I should like to ask also what is done with the waste paper and the old records. Are these sold to paper mills or are they sent to the incinerator? The incinerator appears to work pretty well all day and most of the night. Both in America and Europe economies have been effected, and in view of the heavy prices of materials at the present time, I certainly think the Government of India ought to establish some system of economy on the lines I have proposed.

The Honourable Sir Thomas Holland: At last, Sir, I understand why my Honourable colleague, the Finance Member, chuckles so much to himself when any demand for a grant is attacked. He tries to make us all work without money: my constant endeavour is to make the departments or Government do work without stationery. Well, neither of us gets the appreciation which, I think, he deserves. I welcome the moral support of this Assembly embodied in the motion just moved by my old friend, Sir

[Sir Thomas Holland.]

Frank Carter, reinforcing my efforts to restrain, not extravagance so much as thoughtlessness in the use of stationery. I fear, however, that we do not reach the real sinner by this motion. I should have preferred something in the form,—if it would be effective,—of a vote of censure on the duffris, the peons and the menial servants. That would do far more, I say,—if it could be effective,—than merely cutting down the estimated demand. Sir Frank Carter has called attention to the fact that we have one item—a small one—‘Stationery purchased in the country’ put down at Rs. 9,800, and he hopes and thinks that we ought to do our best to obtain our principal supplies of stationery in this country. I may explain that that small item is the total amount of stationery that officers have been allowed to buy on their own account. They are limited to purchases of stationery up to very small amounts to meet emergencies, but ordinarily they indent for stationery on the Central Stores, and it is the Central Stores that buys the paper and other forms of stationery for general Government use. Instead of limiting our purchases in this country to Rs. 9,800, I think it is quite safe to say, as regards paper—I cannot give the exact figure with regard to other items,—but as regards paper, we purchase 9-10ths of our total supply in India itself, and paper, among all forms of stationery, is the most important item. The money devoted to paper works out to be just 80 per cent. of the total stationery supplied. So anybody who is gifted with an aptitude for figures can work out what 9-10ths of 80 per cent. is. It is something more than Rs. 9,800 !

The Budget is, Sir Frank Carter says, appalling. I quite agree with him. But it is based on actual consumption, less our purely artificial attempt to reduce the total in the hope that our efforts towards economy may be effective. In 1920 we budgetted roughly for one and a quarter crores and the expenditure actually was, roughly, one and a half crores. Now, judged by last year's expenditure, we shall want for our Central Stores at Calcutta something like Rs. 90,00,000. We have cut down that figure to Rs. 80,00,000, not because we think that merely cutting down the figure does anything, but because we do hope that the methods for enforcing economy which we are contemplating will have a sufficient effect this year to save something like 10 lakhs. Sir Frank Carter wants to cut off another 10 lakhs. So should I if I thought there was any use in doing so. As I told you before, paper is our chief item, covering 80 per cent. of our total stationery requirements, and now, since this Budget has been prepared last December, we have received our tenders for the paper which we hope to purchase in this country. We find that the prices now being asked are something on an average over 30 per cent. of the prices for which we secured paper last year. We are told that this is due to increased cost of production, increased cost of coal, of chemicals, of wages, specially for the collecting of the grass necessary for the manufacture of paper; and consequently these increases bear more on the cost of low class paper than on the higher qualities. Unless we can effect some real economy in consumption, the mere fact that we reduce the budget here will simply mean that I shall have to come back to you in September for a supplementary grant.

So far as this motion and discussion will help us to bring home to officials the necessity for economy, I welcome it. But I want the Assembly to understand very clearly that, in spite of the hope of Honourable Members here, and in spite of my wish, we may not be successful in cutting down the expenses to the figure which Sir Frank Carter desires. When a Department

asks for paper, it is quite impossible for me to say whether it is necessary or not. I have to supply it first and then grumble about it afterwards. It is no use refusing the paper in order to inquire as to the necessity for its use. As I said, our estimates are based on the experience of the past year. We must carry on a campaign of economy in every office in the country even to live within the Budget which we have already put before you. In consequence, as I said, of the increased prices asked for paper, we shall be compelled to enforce economy everywhere, in the hope even of keeping our supplies this year within the Budget as now given in this printed book.

I am now going to make a small confession which, I hope, will receive some support from this House. I have so far, as you all know, done my best to get every possible supply from this country. We have so far been able to get nine-tenths of our paper, and we have thus not only encouraged local industries, but we have also saved considerable sums of money. This year, on a very careful analysis of the tenders, we find that the Indian prices have now in certain special qualities of paper gone above quotations for those qualities which we can get at Home, and I propose to place the order on business lines where we shall be able to save money. That will amount to a relatively small fraction of our total. With regard to the main paper supplies, we still can purchase in India with economy. But I do hope that this very small departure in regard to the special kinds of paper, will act as a spur to the manufacturers in India to reduce their costs and, therefore, their prices. For we want them, as well as the Government officials, to make an effort in economy. I would never dream of going outside this country for a sheet of paper if it can be obtained here at prices comparable to the prices of paper obtainable from abroad. But I do feel that in this particular instance, where I am working on a small scale, we are justified in bringing home to the local manufacturers the necessity of facing the competition of the world.

Now, there are two forms of economy possible. There is, first* of all, the centralised purchase on a large scale; and there is, secondly, the more important form of economy in consumption. With regard to the first point, I think it is safe to say that the present Controller is doing his very best, and we try to help him by every device that we can think of. I have told the Assembly that we are now threatened with higher prices for locally-made materials, and we have reached a stage now when we have to judge between the desirability of encouraging a local industry and the absolute necessity of saving money. What we are doing this year on a small scale I hope we shall never have to do again.

Now, the other forms of waste in which economies might be developed are, as Sir Frank Carter has pointed out, far more important. He has told us that we sometimes send communications requiring an anna stamp where half an anna will be quite sufficient. On that question I am afraid he is looking at it from the point of view of business men, and not from the point of view of Government. It does not cost us any more to make an anna stamp than it does to make a half anna stamp. So the mere postage does not affect the question at all. But I get from business firms communications on extremely good paper, paper specially designed to save postage. It is wise from the point of view of the business firms. But the paper itself costs many times more than the paper that is used by Government officers. I notice that last year I gave an answer to the Honourable the Maharaja of Cossimbazar with regard to the purchase of paper in India, and we worked

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out the results as the average annual consumption of paper to be 75,000 tons, of which 30,000 tons were manufactured in this country; that is to say, that 45,000 tons were imported mainly by private people, business houses mostly, but that the Government supplies of paper were to the extent of nine-tenths purchased in this country. So, in the matter of encouraging local industries, the Government have gone a little bit further forward than some of our business houses.

Now, in this question of economy I can do no more than hope for the co-operation of every serious official. A little thought exercised by all officials will in the total save us lakhs of rupees. Unfortunately, a sheet of paper is a very small thing, and most officers do not stop to think about saving it. It is only one sheet and it does not appear to be much. But in the total, all over the country, the effect is really serious.

The real loss, however, is not in consumption. It is not even due to that thoughtless use of an envelope for making a note, when a scrap of this ordinary paper would be sufficient. It is not that. It is the wicked waste, what Sir Frank Carter calls more bluntly theft, on the part of many ministerial and menial servants. Has anybody ever seen a Government pencil shorter than that (holding up a pencil no more than three-quarters of the length of an ordinary pencil)? I cannot recollect having seen one. What becomes of old Government pencils I do not know. Like ladies, they never seem to grow old. I have never seen in any committee meeting or Government office anything but a very new looking pencil.

Among the methods of reform which we have already attempted to introduce, some are exactly those that have been suggested by Sir Frank Carter. One, for instance, is the attempt to break up the consuming units so as to introduce more careful personal supervision. We want each department to have its own budget. That was a proposal that was suggested early last year by my Honourable colleague Mr. Hailey, and we are now working out budgets for each department in the hope that any unnecessary waste will be brought home to the senior officials responsible for the department. We also propose to establish a small stationery depôt at the Headquarters of Government here and in Simla. At present the departments make indents on the Calcutta Central Stores for the stationery that they expect will be necessary. The result is that each department provides for a little factor of safety, and these factors of safety add to a fairly big total. We hope that by having a small stationery depôt at Headquarters, we shall be able to work on a much smaller factor of safety, and shall, at the same time, have brought home to our own department the consumption being undertaken by the others. I hope too that the Inspector of Office Procedure will detect some sources of waste. Sir Frank Carter thinks that we ought to use him. We have been using him. He has detected various forms of thoughtless waste, I should think in the matter of stationery alone, by his suggestions for saving he has already very well repaid the country the cost of his salary. It is now a matter of extending the methods which he has suggested, so that in all departments, not only in the Central Government, because here we can make ourselves heard, but all through the country out to the very smallest office, some attempt will be made to reduce this enormous bill for stationery and printing.

Then, Sir Frank Carter referred to the very serious way in which the cost of printing is going up. The Government Press is now costing something

like Rs. 38 lakhs this year. A part of that is due to increased wages paid to the men. Whether the wages are extravagant or not is a matter of opinion. I think they are fair, and when the new wages were issued last year the men thought that they were not fair and went on strike. They were on strike in two presses for two months, and in one press for one month. We saved a considerable amount of money then in two ways. We saved the wages, and we brought home to the Government departments the fact that they were demanding printing work that was not always necessary. Every department went through its records with a blue pencil and cut out portions that were unnecessary to be printed. I think that a certain amount of saving was effected temporarily, and I hope permanently, through that strike, by bringing home to offices the necessity of being careful about the matter to be printed.

Then, there is another source of increased expenditure, that is, the increase in the size of our legislative bodies. With legislative bodies there will be extra committees and commissions of all sorts. All these will mean so much more in the way of printing and stationery. This Legislature costs now nearly 30,000 rupees a month, that is to say, the cost for a month of this Legislature is more than the printing bill of the whole Legislative Department in the pre-reform days, when we lived a relatively simple life. The Budget papers that were handed round to you on the day on which Mr. Hailey made his great speech cost about Rs. 15,000, and I estimate that it cost this country just about Rs. 9-8-0 for the Leader of the House to persuade an Honourable member last week that no rivers in the Imperial Public Works Department Division were used for irrigation. We should be very glad indeed if a reduction of the total Budget could in any way result in economies. I would gladly accept this motion if I thought it would lead to a serious saving, but I feel it might not do any good. It is a matter of business. Discussion will do good, because it will bring it home to officers throughout the country that we are going to insist on further economies. To cut money out of the Budget might even embarrass us, because we have now reached a figure that makes it difficult for us to undertake large contracts at favourable rates. I do not wish to get below a figure that I have to say to the Controller 'I cannot accept a contract of more than a certain size because the money has not been voted,' and so far as I estimate in the matter of paper, we are not far off that line now. I think that on the whole, there might be some danger in cutting out another ten lakhs. We have cut out ten lakhs on the estimates based on the consumption last year. So that, if Sir Frank Carter could be content with the explanation given of our attempts at economy, and if he will be content with the lessons that will be learnt as a result of this discussion, I would suggest to him that the mere cutting out of a figure in the Budget will not really add greatly, and possibly might not add at all, to the economies which we hope to effect. I should not like to come back to the Assembly in September to explain that our economies have been insufficiently successful and be forced then to ask you, not for 10 lakhs, but possibly 20 or 30 lakhs more. I should also like the Assembly to notice in the Statement of Demand, that we hope to recover something like 50 to 60 lakhs of this big bill from Local Governments. We supply Local Governments with a great deal of their stationery. We do for them a certain amount of their printing. They, on the other hand, make local purchases for us and occasionally do printing for Imperial offices scattered about India. The bill that looks so enormous is not actually a full charge on the Government of India revenues in that sense. But we have now to realise that

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the Local Governments, under the reformed constitution, have the power to purchase their own stationery and to undertake, as they mostly do now, their own printing. To what extent they will rely on us I am not quite sure. They probably will have to rely on us this year, because they have no organisation to undertake contract work themselves, and I am sorry to say that there are very few firms in India with whom they can deal in the matter of purchase of paper, except by creating a form of artificial competition with the Controller of Printing and Stationery of the Government of India. I am, therefore, completely in sympathy with the object of Sir Frank Carter's motion.

I only hesitate to accept it because I feel that we want to get at this difficulty, this source of waste, in quite other ways and that this is in itself not sufficient. We, as I said before, have already cut down the demands based on last year's consumption by 10 lakhs, and if we go further, well, we shall almost certainly be driven to a supplementary grant. I would therefore leave the judgment of this matter entirely to the House.

Dr. Nand Lal: Sir, according to my humble way, I have gone through the details relating to this demand which is called Demand No. 45, 'Stationery and Printing.' The expenses, I mean to say, the Budget relating to the salary of establishment, I must admit, is a fairly reasonable budget, barring two or three instances which I will venture to point out. For instance, if the Honourable the Official Member will kindly take the trouble of looking at page 219, he will find that on that page under the head '1920-21' the number of incumbencies is 68, whereas for the year under debate, we find 113 and the total cost amounts to Rs. 1,21,160. I am surprised to see such a difference. If some explanation were given here I would not have taken up the valuable time of this Honourable Assembly, but since no explanation has been given, I really feel astonished to see this difference and I submit that this difference, as it has not been explained, seems to be too great to pass. Then you will see further on that for the last year we had 35 copyholders and for the year, under debate, we have got 75. Here too there is no explanation given and my comment is the same. In other cases, relating to establishment as I have already made my admission, I say that the Budget is very reasonable. In regard to Stationery I have got a great complaint. When I go through the items relating to Stationery I feel bound to invite the attention of the Government to this very great expense. Government knows that we are in financial difficulty. The financial situation of the year under debate is a critical one, and this financial embarrassment cannot be removed till we may call upon poor tax-payers to pay us. I think we should try and see that the tax-payers and the rate-payers are not called upon to pay unnecessarily. When I say unnecessarily I mean to say that if by economy we can save something, that saving should in a way be allowed in making a reduction in our demands from the tax-payers. These are the items, and as I have submitted, they seem to be very very large, and there should thus be a reduction. For instance, I would invite the attention of the House to the head 'Stationery purchased for Central Stores' on page 230. I have studied this carefully and I hope the House will kindly accept my suggestion. The accounts for 1919-20 tell us that a sum of Rs. 5,90,103 was spent or required. However, this item which is under the head 'Accounts, 1919-20,' is much less than what is demanded now. What is demanded now is 10 lakhs which is the budget estimate for 1921-22 on page

230, column 1. You will see that the revised estimate was no doubt 15 lakhs, but we have nothing to do with it. Let us examine what was demanded in 1920 and 1921. It was only 9 lakhs. Then we come to this conclusion that this year Government is demanding one lakh more for Central Stores. A greater demand is made because we are in a critical condition? My submission before this House is that this House should request the Government to do their level best to see that as little money is spent on this item as possible. Here a clear reduction of one lakh could be made. If Government was kind enough to save one lakh in 1920-21, we hope Government will be kinder this year and save the same amount, in any case. Then under the same head 'Stationery purchased for Central Stores' you will be surprised to see the amount 11 lakhs under head 'Bombay'. Perhaps this budget means to say that the Bombay Government most probably purchased this for the Central Stores. Since we have got to pay for it, we are fully justified in going into this item of 11 lakhs. In 1920-21, if I rightly follow these figures, it was only 10 lakhs. Here also, we can ask the Government to be kind enough to make some reduction. We can make a reduction of at least 2 lakhs in any case from this demand without injuring the work. This is not a reduction in salary so that the officers or the clerks will suffer. We have got full sympathy with them because prices are very high and we do not propose to make any reduction in their salaries; but, so far as Stationery is concerned, we really request the Government to be more economical and to use this stationery sparingly. We do not require stationery of the highest quality; we do not want to advertise our wealth by using the best quality of paper. This is the head which could be of some assistance to us, so far as our advocacy of the cause of the people is concerned. I shall request my Honourable friends, who were so very earnest about reduction yesterday, I mean Mr. Seshagiri Ayyar, Mr. Rangachariar and Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, to give the benefit of their eloquence to this motion for reduction. Here I will ask them, as a token of their sympathy with the poor tax-payer, to come forward and urge upon the Government the necessity for accepting this motion for retrenchment which speaks for itself.

There are two other points to which I may invite the attention of this House and about which I feel bound to offer some remarks. I find here that the contract work for printing is given or is about to be given by the Government to private contractors, and the difference, which I find between the amount given as payment to the contractors last year and that which is proposed to be given to contractors this year, appears to be too much. When I compare these two items, the difference is a startling one. May I invite your attention to page 222, Head 'Supplies and Services.' Take 'contract for Government printing,' and see what is the amount? Your perusal of this item will clear the point. It is 10 lakhs. And what was it last year? A perusal of this item will tell you that it was Rs. 7,50,000. And what was it in 1919-1920? It was not more than Rs. 9,78,000. And what was it in 1920-1921? It was, as I have already submitted, Rs. 7,50,000. Now, perhaps the Honourable Official Member will explain that there has been a great rise in wages and that, therefore, the contractors would demand a little more. I grant that. There was a great justification for this answer if the difference were a small one. But there should be some limit to this increase. What increase has been allowed? As I have submitted already, may I repeat it, that last year it was Rs. 7,50,000, this year we find it is 10 lakhs. Now, arithmetically, kindly try to find out to what percentage this difference amounts. This is a very very great increase in the amount allotted, and, if this contract has not

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been executed, if an agreement has not been made, then I very earnestly submit that this House should urge upon the Government to see that this contract money may be reduced. If the contract has been made, there is no help for it, but for the future my submission before the Government is that, before giving contracts there should be sufficient publication so that tenders may be invited on a very large scale and that the Government may try to get the best for the money which will be paid to the contractors. Of course, the decency of the printing and the respectability of the contractor should be taken into consideration, but at the same time the Government should try to see that proper publication is made on a larger scale and that all contractors, who have got anything to do with printing, may be invited to give tender.

When I go into the item relating to the purchase of stationery, I again feel very much surprised that stationery was not purchased, on a larger scale, in this country. The object of the Government is—and I must thank Government for that noble idea,—that indigenous industry may be developed. Here is a chance, lakhs and lakhs are spent on the purchase of stationery. Why should not the whole sum be spent in India, if all these articles which are required could be had in India? Of course, in the case of those articles which cannot be had in India, they can be imported.

Then, there is another item to which I feel bound to invite the attention of this Honourable Assembly, namely, 'the printing done in private presses.' When I compare the items relating to the expenditure incurred on account of having those things printed in private presses with the expenditure incurred on having the same things or things of a similar kind printed in Government presses, then I feel bound to submit before this House that the private presses should be encouraged, because this seems to be economical, and I ask the Honourable Official Member to kindly tell us why the private presses were not given a greater chance. If there was a sufficient reason for not doing so this time, I shall place my submission before the Government that in future, I mean to say next year or the year after, greater opportunity may be given to the private presses.

Perhaps this Honourable Assembly may ask why? What will be the use? There will be a number of benefits. In the first place, economically, it will pay the Government. If my calculation and computation of all these figures are correct—I am subject to correction no doubt—then I feel bound to submit, that if work is given to the private presses, it will be less expensive.

The second benefit would be this, that our officials, supervisors, superintendents, foremen and readers, will not be saddled with so much responsibility as they are now

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas: I rise to a point of order, Sir. Is there not a time limit of 15 minutes for speeches?

The Honourable the President: There is no time-limit in the case of speeches on the Budget.

Dr. Nand Lal: Perhaps my friend, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, has not got a good watch.

Thanking the Chair for its ruling, and not thanking Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, I may submit, that this item, or you may call it head, is the proper head in regard to which you can very respectfully ask the Government to make

a considerable reduction, and with these few remarks I support this amendment, *viz.*, the motion for a reduction most strongly.

Mr. E. L. Price : Sir, the fear of the Honourable Member's demise if he were kept in Delhi long, yesterday, I submit, had a marked effect on the result of the division. Members will be glad to see that the climate of Delhi is not so deleterious to the Honourable Member's health, but that his staying powers are remarkable, and that there is no fear of his early death, but rather that his staying powers may prove the death of us.

There is one point I want to put. The Honourable Sir Thomas Holland, I think, has given us a more than adequate reply, but he did not tell us whether the Government's waste paper is destroyed in incinerators or sold.

Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju : Sir, the expenditure on the stationery, as my Honourable friend, Mr. Norton, has said, is not at all stationary, but going up year after year. In his usual and full address the Honourable Sir Thomas Holland has tried to reply to Sir Frank Carter, but I regret to say it is not satisfactory—at least, to some of us, because though he said that 80 per cent. of the paper is purchased in India, that is not the only consideration. When the whole amount is absolutely necessary and the whole amount is utilised for proper purposes, there would be no objection; but Sir Frank Carter and Mr. Price, who are both business men, have pointed out that by utilising waste paper we can realise some amount instead of burning it in incinerators. I may tell you that merchants would purchase most of this waste paper for about one-tenth of the price. We find in every office incinerators burning, if not at night, I have certainly seen during the day vast heaps of waste paper being burnt in this way, which, if we gave up all this redtaphism—unless you want to burn confidential papers—could easily be sold.

I want to mention one or two more facts in connection with this motion. The Honourable Sir Thomas Holland referred to receiving supplies from the Local Governments as well as making supplies to them; but I find from the explanatory note that there is an increase in the outlay on printing (page 54). But we are receiving less from the Local Governments and we are spending more on printing works. Spending more on printing works, I thought, was bringing in extra machinery, but I find it is purely increase of pay to the extent of about 5 lakhs and even for such a small press as the Private Secretary's Press we have provided nearly Rs. 36,000. We have so many Government Presses besides the Private Secretary's Press, that this yearly expenditure for the Private Secretary's Press seems too large. I also find under the 'Reading Branch' at page 219 that there is an increase of staff and an increase of expenditure to the extent of one lakh. And curiously at page 218 under 'Contingencies' there is an increase from Rs. 98,000 to Rs. 1,70,000.

There are various other items showing an increase of expenditure. The Honourable Sir Thomas Holland says he does not mind accepting this motion, but he will be obliged to come back again in September. Well, I think, Sir, it is far better to give him an opportunity of coming back to us when we grant a smaller amount, saying 'We have spent it and economically spent it and we want more.' Then we shall have an opportunity of scrutinising it. But I respectfully wish to draw the attention of the House to the fact that Dr. Nand Lal is not charitable to our Honourable friends, either to Mr. Rangachariar or to Mr. Seshagiri Aiyer or to Mr. Jamnadas. Perhaps the

[Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju.]

extremes of climate affect our friend, Dr. Nand Lal, sometimes making him happy and sometimes sad; because he at one time says this is extremely unsatisfactory, and then he comes forward when we are asked to spend a crore and a half on the stationery with a statement that it is very reasonable. I cannot understand whether he is joking or is serious. When he says 'That is very reasonable; why should there be any reduction at all?' Sir, in these matters we ought not to be satisfied with a 'muddling through process.' We must try and scrutinise every item, and in doing it we have the help of two such business men as Mr. Price and Sir Frank Carter. We must take advantage of their support and press upon the attention of the Government the need for reducing this item, so that if they find it necessary they can come back to us again in September. Therefore I have great pleasure in supporting Sir Frank Carter's Resolution.

Mr. Eardley Norton : Sir, I rise to ask two questions and to give one answer.

The first question is with regard to the Private Secretary's Press. I do not in the least wish to pry too closely into the doings of that gentleman, for we know he has many and very delicate functions to perform, and possibly some of these include the writing and setting up of speeches which are subsequently delivered by various eminent personages. But I should like to know something more about this Rs. 36,000 provided for the Private Secretary's Press. I should like to know, among other things, to whom that special personal allowance is given, - whether it is to the Private Secretary or to some of his subordinates. (Page 223.)

The other question I wish to ask is with reference to an item printed on page 230 to which allusion has already been made. I mean the item of 10 lakhs of rupees for the cost of stationery supplied to the Presidency of Madras for which I have the honour to sit. I cannot help thinking there must be some *per contra* recovery from Madras with regard to this very large item, and if so, I want to know where I can find it and what that recovery is.

The answer I want to give is this. The Honourable Sir Thomas Holland says he has never seen a Government pencil shorter than the one he held in his hand. I think I have some bowing acquaintance with the pencils furnished to this House outside the precincts of this House. I rather think I have met some in a Bridge room at Raisina, and I suggest to Government that if any real retrenchment is to be made under this head, they should begin by searching the persons of the Honourable gentlemen who leave the House every evening when the House rises.

Mr. J. Chaudhuri : Sir, I rise to give my support to Sir Frank Carter's motion. I am not going to deal with it with my Honourable friend, Dr. Nand Lal's eloquence.

There is not much scope for eloquence dealing with this subject. But I labour under the same difficulty that my Honourable friend, Mr. Venkatapatiraju did. The Honourable Dr. Nand Lal took a full quarter of an hour in making his speech, but barring his eloquence we have not been able to follow what he was drifting at. He dealt with figures and facts which left no impression on my mind. There is a general impression all over Calcutta, and I think all over India, that the Stationery Department of the Government of India is the most extravagant department of the Government, and

I have always heard complaints that they do not favour local tenders and that they do not advertise or call for tenders and people do not know on what principle the department makes its purchases. A further reason for complaint, I find, is that under this head there is a statement 'Stationery purchased for Central Stores Rs. 50,00,000', and out of this the stationery purchased in the country only amounts to Rs. 9,800; that has been explained and corrected and I shall therefore leave that point. Mr. Eardley Norton has complained about pencils. I have known small industries developed in this country which have had the greatest difficulty in obtaining orders from the Stationery Department. I know of a particular pencil factory where the head of this department went and approved of the pencils; then the head of the Commercial Intelligence Department also went and approved of them, as also his assistant Mr. Cotton, and all this was recorded in the book of the company. But when the time for placing orders came, the company applied to the department for a number of years and they did not succeed in getting any orders at all from the Stationery Department. It was the Census people during the last census who obtained these pencils and they never complained about them. We have heard so many times that Government wants to promote indigenous industries, but when industries in this line are started, we find that the Stationery Department is very loath to patronise them; and I would, therefore, ask the Honourable Member in charge of the department to see to this.

I should also like to draw the attention of the Honourable Member to the Printing Department. Every one knows that there was a great strike in the Government press last year, and there were considerable difficulties in bringing about a settlement. Now, when printing presses go on strike, we also who are interested as journalists in printing presses are indirectly hit by it, and it is to our interests that the Government presses should be managed in a thoroughly business-like manner. I understand that the Honourable Sir Thomas Holland appointed a Works Committee superintendent for looking into the grievances of the Government press people at Calcutta; but before I came here, the representatives of the Government press came to see me and wished me to represent to the Government of India that their grievances have not been adequately attended to, and that the Works Committee were not looking after their grievances at all. They say there are two methods of doing work in the press, some people are salaried servants and others do work on the piece-work system. Now it is to the interest of the salaried servants not to give enough work to the workmen who work on the piece system, the object being to get overtime allowances for themselves; and this causes considerable loss of money to the Government.

Then there is another matter of complaint and that is that Lino operators and Mono operators are treated differently at Simla and at Calcutta, and that some uniformity should be observed with regard to workmen in these lines. They say that if all men are employed on the salaried system and their work properly supervised, the work will go on more satisfactorily and greater economy might be effected in the management of the Government presses.

Another grievance is with regard to the pension which men who work on the piece-work system are entitled to after they have served for 25 years. Government has fixed a rule that the pensions should be calculated on the average of their earnings for the last five or six years. Now, these workmen say that the rule is all right with regard to Government servants who are employed in the

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offices, since they go on getting larger and larger income and before they retire get their maximum salary; but that with regard to the piece-workers, whose weekly or monthly earnings, as they grow older and older, fall off instead of going up. The more reasonable way would be to calculate their pension from their average earnings during the 25 years, and that would work more satisfactorily, since under the present rule when they retire they get very little pension indeed. In one instance it was pointed out that a man who used to earn in his younger days Rs. 50 to Rs. 60 per month got a pension of Rs. 3-8-0 only when he retired.

So I bring all these matters to the attention of the Honourable Member in charge of the department for the purpose of looking more closely into the working of the department; and if the Government presses were reorganised and workmen given fixed monthly salaries instead of working on the piece system, I think there will be greater satisfaction amongst the press hands, which always contributes to efficiency of work as well as economy.

Sir Frank Carter: Sir, I am sorry that my little motion has occupied so much of the House's time. I really never intended it should do so. I thank Sir Thomas Holland for his assurance that economies are being effected and will be effected in the future, though I am sorry that he cannot see his way to reduce this demand by Rs. 10 lakhs.

There are just one or two points that I should like to refer to in what he said. I am glad to hear that so much paper has been bought in the country and I quite approve of his giving up the paper mills here if their prices are higher than those which he can obtain in England. He admits that there is no check on the supply of paper. This is rather a tall order, but I think there ought to be some check, especially on the supply of private paper. Then again he refers to 'wicked waste', and what I call 'theft'. It seems to me, Sir, there is a simple remedy against theft of pencils and pens. I presume all Government officers have a writing table with a locked drawer; it is only a small matter to put your pencils and pens into the drawer, lock it every evening before going away; they cannot then be stolen during the night.

There was another reason which Sir Thomas Holland brought forward why he should not reduce this vote, and that is that he would not have sufficient money to pay for the stationery that he had ordered and was necessary. I am afraid from my experience of Government they do not always pay cash. We have been kept months and months before we are paid. However, Sir, under the circumstances I wish to withdraw this Resolution.

Leave was refused.

The Honourable Sir Thomas Holland: May I rise to a point of order, Sir? I was under the impression that the Government Member would, at any rate, have the right of answering the questions that have been put to him for information before the House is allowed to divide.

The Honourable the President: The Honourable Member for Government can reply before the main question is put again. This has happened

several times. I may remind Honourable Members, Members of Government as well as ordinary Members, that they must protect their own right of reply. The Member who moved the reduction rose at once the moment the preceding speaker resumed his seat, and, therefore, I called him. I did not observe Sir Thomas Holland rise at all.

Order, order. The original question was :

'That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,49,12,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charge which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st March 1922, in respect of 'Printing and Stationery'.

Since which an amendment has been moved :

'That the demand under 'Printing and Stationery' be reduced by Rs. 10,00,000.'

The question I have to put is, that that reduction be made.

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Sir Thomas Holland : Mr. President, I merely want to correct one or two statements that have been made by some Honourable Members. I have also been asked by some of the Members to supply information in answer to questions in order, presumably, that they may be entitled or able to make up their minds fairly. I am not opposing this motion at all. I have pointed out to the House that we are attempting to effect economies, that we hope to succeed, and that we have valued our hopes to the extent of Rs. 10 lakhs already ; but I dare not come to this House with anything like a promise of economies to the value of Rs. 20 lakhs, especially because, as I have told the Assembly, since the Budget was prepared, we have learnt that the cost of country-made paper will be very seriously increased, possibly to something like 32 per cent. Therefore, the question before the House is, whether it is worth while cutting a figure out of the Budget if you are practically certain that the Budget will have to be renewed. If the figure is left in the Budget, we shall not necessarily spend it. Our contracts are so made that they run on from week to week on an agreed schedule of prices. If we do not want the material, if the material is not demanded by our departments, we take no supply and we therefore make no corresponding payment. At the end of the year, if we do effect a saving, the money will be returned to Government. Last year, instead of there being a surplus, we had to come up for a supplementary grant. I have told you what I think are the principal forms of consumption. I have also told you the methods we hope to adopt to effect economy. We can do no more than promise to push ahead along those lines. Whether you cut the figure or not is a matter of unconcern to me, seeing that we must meet the stationery demands of the country if these demands are presented to us in a form which shows that they are necessary. Under the rules, theoretically, the Controller has the power to challenge any demand that is made, but it is a very difficult thing for the Controller to say to a Government department 'you do not want any more paper and you shall not have it.' Once the department establishes its claim, it is very difficult indeed for the Controller to enforce that form of economy, and occasionally it might even be a very dangerous thing for anybody to attempt.

Sir Frank Carter has suggested that it would be an easy thing to lock up your pencils and pens before you go home in the evening. Well, as I

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mentioned before, all I want from the officers is in this way a little more thoughtfulness. Thefts occur because of opportunities. Because Mr. Moncrieff Smith does not go round the Assembly hall every evening and pick up the pencils and pads of paper we get a remark made to us like that made by Mr. Eardley Norton as to the pencils being found at Raisina! It might be a thoughtful and useful thing if Mr. Moncrieff Smith would every evening go round to each Member and make him return the pencil that he was supplied with in the morning. Economy, as well as charity, begins at home.

Well, I do agree that a great deal can be done with a little more thoughtfulness on the part of each officer. We try to do so in our own office, and I think every office in the Government of India is really doing its best to think of new forms of economy in the matter of stationery.

Sir Frank Carter says that Government does not pay cash for its stores, does not pay its bills punctually, and therefore it is not liable to be embarrassed merely for want of money. The arrangements we have for our contracts are that we get a saving of something like 5 per cent. on the understanding that our bills are paid within a certain specified time. That we have done, and that we will do. There are some firms, it is true, whose bills require a great deal of examination before the Government can dare to pay them!

Now, Sir, there are one or two minor matters referred to by Dr. Nand Lal. He said that the number of subordinate workers in the press in one case rose from 68 to 113 and from 35 to 75 in another case.

If he adds up the columns, he will find that the actual rise is from 958 last year to 1,142 now. The real reason for that is not that there are more workers, for unfortunately there are less: the reason is that a large number of the men in the old days were engaged as temporary day hands. Some of them, I found, had been for years temporary day wagers, and it was unfair that men of that kind should go on from day to day being merely employed as day-wage men when they were in effect permanent Government officials. They were, therefore, in the course of our examination of the press last year, put on to the permanent scale, and so their service, which has been continuous, will be counted towards pension. That is really the difference: it is a book difference, and I think that every Member of this House will agree with me that it is only fair to these men that they should so be recognised in order that they may establish their claims.

But we have gone a little further than that, and worked out a scheme for a Provident Fund, because a man who earns a pension, as I think Mr. Chaudhuri said, sometimes does not enjoy it for long or get a sufficiently large one because of his recent earnings being on a low scale, whereas if a man is put on a Provident Fund he gets what he earns whenever he leaves Government service; and when he leaves, if he dies afterwards his Provident Fund is at the disposal of his family, whereas a pension dies with him. We have been working out a scheme so that the new employees in the presses may be put on to the provident fund instead of having to work on the old Government pension system.

Then, Dr. Nand Lal raised the question of the purchase for central stores under the head 'Madras' on the last page of this Statement of Demand. He also referred to a similar statement in the case of Bombay. These increases

in Madras and Bombay do not worry us at all. They are purchases made by Madras and Bombay that they have to pay for. They go into our books and are credited in that way, but the Government of India does not pay for these items. On the other hand, the more they increase the better we are pleased in one way, because all the purchases made by Madras and Bombay on behalf of the Central Stores are purchases of locally made articles. They have not the power to make contracts outside India, so that is an index of the way in which local purchases are being made.

Then, the rate has gone up for the contractors for Government printing from Rs. 7½ lakhs to Rs. 10 lakhs,—one of the items referred to by Dr. Nand Lal. He wants the contract to be reviewed and he wants in future that public tenders should be invited. The contract that is recorded this year is a purely temporary extension of a contract that has been in existence for many years. Before we renewed this contract at an appreciated rate, we had a very careful inquiry into the increased cost of printing. We also had inquiries made as to the possibility of any other firm undertaking the work. The work undertaken is that of printing Government forms. These forms are mostly stereotyped and the demands go straight to the firm from the different departments. It is a very large organisation of a special kind and I am not going to blame other printing firms who were unable to make a favourable tender this year. It is because if any other firm made a tender they would have to reorganise the whole of their printing system and establishment. They would have to increase their plant for the production of these special forms and without anything like continuity and certainty of tenure, it would not be worth their while, as it was not worth the while of any firm to make a more favourable tender than we have received. The contract was renewed temporarily because we hope, in the future, to split it into two portions. That is to say, we shall undertake our own storage and distribution and shall then be in a position to accept tenders for the whole or portions of the printing from any firm in India. We are unable to do that this year simply because we do not wish to spend money at once on new buildings, the buildings that would be required for storage accommodation.

I think that it would not be fair for me to go any* further, in a public discussion of this kind, into the details of this contract, because the number of firms affected are so few that anyone could quite well guess to whom I referred if I mentioned any figures. I will, therefore, with the consent of the House, place the full details before the Financial Committee, if the Financial Committee would like to examine them. I leave it, then, to the Financial Committee to judge as to whether we have made a reasonable attempt or not towards economy in the matter of outside contract work.

Dr. Nand Lal then goes on to say, that we ought to increase the work given out to private presses. Well, last year when we had the strike of printers in the three main Government presses, we attempted to give out certain sections of our work to private presses. We called for tenders from different presses in the country, and I have myself not the slightest doubt that the very best tender was distinctly more expensive than the printing done in the Government printing presses. It is not a matter that we can state precisely in figures, because, as you know, in estimating a cost of this sort, certain artificial allowances are made for overcharges; but having made these allowances so far as we can judge them to be fair, we think that we are effecting more

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economies in the Government printing presses by printing ourselves than would be obtained if we contracted our work out to private presses under present conditions in India. It is true that last year most presses were working under difficulties of labour. There were constant strikes and demands for increased wages, the immediate effect of which was to paralyse firms who wished to undertake contracts. They were afraid to undertake contracts at rates that in normal times would have been regarded as safe, because they felt that there was no certainty as to the future demand for wages.

Mr. Price renewed the point in Sir Frank Carter's opening speech with regard to the disposal of waste-paper. I forgot to mention this matter before.

At the same time the collection of waste paper does not come within
 1 P.M. my immediate departmental work. My department buys paper and supplies paper to other departments, but I am not a rag and bone merchant, we do not pick up waste paper. But what is done is this. Each department is responsible for its own waste paper, and in some cases they dispose of it separately. I think that in Bombay - Mr. Percival will probably know—the waste-paper of all Government departments is collected and handed over to the Poona Paper Mills. In many cases, however, it is a very difficult thing to deal with waste-paper in Government offices. So many of the papers are of a confidential nature that it is dangerous to allow them merely to be sold as waste, and in that case, large quantities of paper have to be burnt.

Mr. Venkatapatiraju wants us to take advantage of the suggestions made by a businessman like Sir Frank Carter. Sir Frank Carter knows as well as I do that the same forms of waste go on in business offices. A business office is a small unit and can be more effectively supervised and, consequently, possibly more savings are effected. But as I have already stated, one of our methods will be the division of departments into smaller units for more complete and personal supervision.

I remember the case of a manager of a firm going to Calcutta to inspect his branch there and in the course of his ordinary duties he made it a special point to work out the consumption of stationery and stores. He found that during the past few years, his branch firm at Calcutta had indented on the Home firm for nibs sufficient to supply every man in the office with three nibs a day, and every man meant, every man including the sweepers. That is the way in which waste goes on; and in Government offices and in firms we have waste in the same way.

Mr. Chaudhuri has raised the whole question of the treatment of press workers. We dealt with that question last September in Simla. I think we discussed it very fully then, and it seems to me unnecessary to revive that question now. His principal contention is that our piece-workers ought to be turned into salaried men, and I suppose he suggested that because the aim of this discussion is to effect savings. Now I have never heard of any businessman ever hoping to effect a saving by turning his piece-workers into salaried hands, and as I told the old Imperial Council last September, I should like to see every official who is a salaried officer turned into a piece-worker.

I think I have covered all the points that have been raised in the debate, and I again say that I leave the Budget to the House. We have already cut

off ten lakhs and I do not want to hold out false hopes by suggesting a further reduction in the estimates.

The Honourable the President: The question is:

'That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,39,12,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending 31st March 1922, in respect of Stationery and Printing.'

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Mr. W. M. Hailey: Sir, I beg to move:

Miscellaneous Expenditure. 'That a sum not exceeding Rs. 50,23,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st March 1922, in respect of 'Miscellaneous Expenditure'.'

Mr. A. B. Latthe: Sir, I beg to move:

'That the reserve of Rs. 10,00,000 at the disposal of the Finance Department, be reduced to Rs. 2,00,000.'

You will see that on page 233 it is proposed that the Finance Department should have at their disposal a lump sum of Rs. 10 lakhs for unforeseen expenses, and the explanation in the memorandum which has been supplied to all Members of the House says that this sum is intended for the purpose 'of urgent objects' for which expenditure may have to be incurred 'during the next year before a supplementary vote can be obtained from the Legislative Assembly'.

Now, in deciding whether such a reserve is necessary, the first consideration which would weigh with the Assembly would be whether such a reserve had been of any utility in the preceding years.

This Budget gives the figures for the last year. You will see that Rs. 10 lakhs were provided for a similar purpose last year, but not a pie was spent. The reason is obvious. Those Honourable Members who have looked into the Budget will find that the Budget has been prepared with the greatest detail and care, and almost every imaginable expenditure has been provided for. Under the circumstances, therefore, I do not think there is any probability of any unforeseen occasions arising, except perhaps occasions like an epidemic, which will require the Finance Department to meet expenditure from such a large amount as this. Then there is another consideration which is also of considerable importance. In the ordinary course we find that such a provision is not necessary. It has not been found to be necessary in past years, and if we provide for such a large sum in so indefinite a manner, the only result is that it will not bring any convenience to the Government but will add to the deficit, making it necessary in a year like this to add to our taxation. I therefore submit that the right course for the Government to pursue, in such circumstances, is not to provide for such unforeseen expenditure. I do not mean to say that no unforeseen circumstances will arise requiring expenditure, but if they do the right course for the Government to take is to incur the expenditure and then come to the Assembly for its sanction. If such expenditure is very urgently required, I do not think that the Assembly would at any time refuse its sanction; and if there is time to obtain the sanction beforehand, that may also be done. But if we keep aside a lump sum of 10 lakhs for circumstances which we cannot even imagine, the only result at a time like this would be to increase the taxation unnecessarily. I therefore submit that this sum should be reduced to at least Rs. 2 lakhs.

The Honourable Mr. W. M. Hailey: Sir, I should like to begin by correcting one misapprehension of my Honourable friend. Whereas expenditure has been made against the reserve in previous years, the amount so expended is not shown under this particular head because as soon as the expenditure is incurred, it is passed over to its own definite head of account.

Now, Sir, with regard to our proposal that we should have 10 lakhs in our hands as a reserve. I do not know how long the House desires that we should go on without applying for a supplementary grant, for myself, I should prefer not to apply for a supplementary grant at all, that is to say, that we should carry on until the next Budget, without a further application to the House. But it would perhaps be in any case difficult to do so, for our Budget has been drawn up, as I think Honourable Members will recognise, on the very narrowest lines. Under no head, except I think under the one minor head of Delhi—nowhere have we left any reserve. If, therefore, we are to carry on without coming to the House for a supplementary grant next September or August, as the case may be, I do not think that anybody would deny that 10 lakhs is a very moderate reserve for the purpose of so carrying on. It is impossible to provide for all contingencies. I can think now of many items which we should have to meet from any such reserve as may be provided by the House. Take, for instance, the case of the larger allowances which are now being paid to the Legislative Assembly itself. Then again we have, coming on, in the course of the summer, certain small inquiries such as that regarding the rehabilitation of the 3½ per cents. We know that trouble has arisen in the Post and Telegraph Offices and we have had to appoint a committee to take up certain points that were not touched by the former committee. We may have to make payments there. I do not desire to burden the House with a mass of details of the unforeseen expenditure—technically unforeseen expenditure, which I myself anticipate—but it will be perfectly obvious to the House that there must be many matters for which we have not provided in the Budget but in which we shall have to meet claims. Now, what does the provision we have made amount to? The provision we have made is Rs. 10,00,000, which appears to be—taking the whole of our expenditure in England and India together—·087 of our total expenditure. I put it to any businessman here that a provision of ·087 of your total expenditure for unforeseen contingencies is an extravagant one. I need not add, that if this were left in our hands it would not be used for the purpose of incurring expenditure on any item which has already been cut out by the House. That I think goes without saying.

Nevertheless, I have naturally desired to see how far we can meet the House in this particular point,—for it is the obvious desire of the House that we shall reduce our demands to the very lowest sum possible. The House—if I may put it in this way—has granted us the exact fare for our journey, something for the conveyance of our luggage, and possibly the bare minimum for our food on the road but in every journey it is reasonable to add in some provision for the unforeseen chances and contingencies of the way. We will endeavour if the House will allow us this sum, to carry on with 5 lakhs, thus cutting 5 lakhs out of the Budget. It may be, that on that account, we shall have to come up for a supplementary grant sooner than I could have wished but I am content to run the risk of that. The House has before it a number of motions on this point and I suggest that it should take them all together and fix the sum at 5 lakhs.

The Honourable the President: Does the Honourable Member accept that?

Mr. A. B. Latthe: Yes, Sir.

The Honourable the President: Then I will put the motion in that form. The original motion was :

'That the reserve of 10 lakhs at the disposal of the Finance Department be reduced to 2 lakhs.'

The question I have to put is :

'That in the place of the words 'Rs. 2 lakhs' the words 'Rs. 5 lakhs' be substituted.'

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable the President: The motion now is :

'That the reserve of Rs. 10 lakhs at the disposal of the Finance Department be reduced to Rs. 5 lakhs.'

The motion was adopted.

Sardar Gulab Singh: My Resolution, Sir, is just the same—at least a similar one. It may be worded in the same way. I ask :

'That the demand be cut down to Rs. 5 lakhs.'

The Honourable the President: Order, order. The proposal which the Honourable Member would have made is covered by the amended motion for reduction which has just been carried.

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer: May I ask, Sir, that the House be furnished with some details of the Rs. 41,52,100—charges on account of the visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught—on page 231? I simply ask that the House may be informed as to the details of the expenditure.

The Honourable Mr. W. M. Hailey: Sir, I think the most satisfactory form in which I can supply that information will be, to place on the table of the House the heads of expenditure which we have incurred in connection with the visit of His Royal Highness.

Mr. B. H. B. Jatkari: Sir, I rise to ask one question about an item about which I have some doubt.

I refer to page 236. There is a sum of 25 lakhs for quit-rent to His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. Presumably it refers to Berar. The amount is not votable, but as we all know, this province of Berar has been under the Central Provinces administration and the revenues of Berar are allocated to it. I ask whether this item of expenditure in connection with the quit-rent for Berar payable to His Exalted Highness the Nizam should not be a proper charge to the Central Provinces Government.

The Honourable Mr. W. M. Hailey: Sir, I shall not make the point about this that it is non-votable expenditure; the Honourable Member is only asking for information and I shall be glad to give it to him. When the Financial Relations Committee conducted its inquiries in the provinces and decided the sum which should be paid by us to them and in return by them to us in the form of contribution, this particular sum was not taken into account for purposes of adjustment. If, therefore, we were now to pass this sum on to the Central Provinces we should have to revise that adjustment and reduce their contribution to us. The effect, therefore, would be much the same to us.

The Honourable the President: The question is :

'That a sum not exceeding Rs. 45,23,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1922 in respect of 'Miscellaneous Expenditure'.'

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Mr. W. M. Hailey: I beg to move, Sir :

'That a sum not exceeding Rs. 62,84,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1922 in respect of 'Adjustments with Provincial Governments'.'

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Dr. T. B. Saprú: Sir, I beg to move :

'That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,43,54,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1922 for the Administration of the North-West Frontier Province.'

Munshi Iswar Saran: Sir, I beg to move :

'That the provision of Rs. 3,20,000 for General Administration (page 288) be reduced by Rs. 20,000.'

Sir, the reason why I have made this motion is that I wish to call attention to the dissatisfaction that exists against the general administration of the North-West Frontier Province. I wish to make it clear, Sir, at once that I do not take objection to any particular item of expenditure. My only object in bringing forward this motion is to raise a debate and to draw the attention of the Assembly to the general administration in the North-West Frontier Province. As this House is aware, the area now known as the North-West Frontier Province formed part of the province of the Punjab, and it was on the 1st of November 1901 that it was formed into a separate province known as the North-West Frontier Province. Opinion is very much divided, I submit, whether this step, taken in Lord Curzon's time, has proved beneficial to the people of that province. We find that last year, in the Indian Legislative Council, Mr. Sinha gave notice of a Resolution that the North-West Frontier Province should be abolished and that the Districts of that Province should be merged in the Province of the Punjab. The Resolution was admitted but, on account of a difference that arose in the Council because Mr. Sastri's Resolution on the question of the Punjab was disallowed by His Excellency the Governor General, Mr. Sinha, as a protest against the disallowance of Mr. Sastri's Resolution, did not move this particular Resolution about the North-West Frontier Province. We find, Sir, that the Resolution of Mr. Sinha gave expression to the dissatisfaction against the general administration of the North-West Frontier Province.

Coming now to our own Assembly, we find that a Resolution was moved by my Honourable friend, Dr. Nand Lal, about the raids in the North-West Frontier Province and he wanted that a Committee be formed in order to investigate this matter. Dr. Nand Lal went into details and made allegations as regards these raids, which unfortunately are too frequent in that unfortunate province, and if I am not mistaken—I hope the Honourable the Law Member will correct me if I am mistaken—in the reply that was given on behalf of Government by the Honourable the Law Member, the statements of fact that were made by Dr. Nand Lal were not challenged. The position of the Government was that having regard to the negotiations that are going on at the present

moment, it is not advisable to form a Committee to go into the subject-matter of the Resolution of Dr. Nand Lal. Again, Sir, we find . . .

The Honourable Dr. T. B. Sapru: I rise to a point of order, Sir. My learned friend is not correct and I do not accept this statement.

Munshi Iswar Saran: Will the Honourable the Law Member do me the favour of speaking up?

The Honourable Dr. T. B. Sapru: I rise to a point of order, Sir. When my Honourable friend says that those statements were not challenged, he is not strictly accurate.

Munshi Iswar Saran: That was my impression. I am sorry that I did not quite appreciate the force and the significance of the reply that was given by the Government on that occasion. But that is how it struck me. I am grateful that the Honourable the Law Member has corrected me.

Then we find, Sir, that there appeared an article in the *Tribune* of Lahore, an important paper in the province of the Punjab, where it was stated that 'there has been practically a steady increase of crime in the Frontier Province since the partition of the Punjab' and that 'there was greater security of life and property when the Frontier Province was part of the Punjab than there is now'. Mr. Sinha put a question about this particular statement contained in the article in the *Tribune* of Lahore, and I do not wish to give the Honourable the Law Member the chance of correcting me again, for I could not very well hear the answer that was given by the Honourable Member on behalf of Government. So, I do not know whether in this particular instance the Government accepted the statement contained in this article of the *Tribune* or denied it.

The Honourable Dr. T. B. Sapru: I rise again to a point of order, Sir. The Government this morning affirmatively denied the statement in the *Tribune*.

Munshi Iswar Saran: I could not hear him. So, in view of all these facts, Sir, I submit that there is dissatisfaction with the general administration of the North-West Frontier Province.

When you leave this part of the case and come to see how the recruitment of officers takes place in the North-West Frontier Province, I think you will agree with me that the system of recruitment is open to serious objection. We find, Sir, I have collected my information from the Quarterly List of Civil Officers serving in the North-West Frontier Province corrected up to the 1st of October 1920—I shall be glad if my Honourable friend will correct me if I make any mistake—that there are 37 European Officers of the Political Department of the Government of India serving in the North-West Frontier Province, and they belong both to the Indian Civil Service and to the Indian Army. Now, when you come to analyse these, what do you find? Two of these are Judges, one is a Divisional and Sessions Judge at Peshawar and the other is an Additional Divisional and Sessions Judge at Peshawar. 4 are Deputy Commissioners. 3 of these Deputy Commissioners belong to the Indian Army and one is a member of the Indian Civil Service. 4 are Assistant Commissioners, 2 of the Army and 2 of the Indian Civil Service. One Indian Army Officer is the City Magistrate at Peshawar.

[Munshi Iswar Saran.]

Sir, even the Census Superintendent is an officer of the Indian Army. The Secretary and Assistant Secretary to the Chief Commissioner are the officers of the Foreign and Political Department. When you look at the list of officers in the Secretariat, you will find that there is not a single Indian in the Secretariat holding any of the most important offices. What is more significant is, that in the Police Department there is not a single Indian who is a Superintendent of Police or even an Assistant Superintendent of Police. There are 15 permanent and officiating appointments of Superintendent of Police and not one Indian is there. There are 5 Assistant Superintendents of Police, and there is not one Indian there, and I find from that list that five posts are kept vacant and have not been filled up. As far as the question of Indians and the Foreign and Political Department is concerned, it is, I am afraid, not open to me, in connection with this debate, to discuss the depth, strength and intensity of feeling that exists about the practical exclusion of Indians from the Foreign and Political Services in this country. What I submit here is, that the system of taking our judges, additional judges, additional sessions judges, city magistrates, assistant commissioners, from the Foreign and Political Department is open to grave objection. We Indians are practically excluded from the Foreign and Political Department and this Department supplies most of the highest officials in the North-West Frontier Province. Little wonder then, that there is so much dissatisfaction with the general administration of the North-West Frontier Province. I submit, Sir, that every Indian feels it, and it is for this reason that I have brought forward this motion, to bring this fact prominently before the attention of this House in the hope that something might be done to remove the legitimate grievances of the people.

As regards the remedy,—I should hesitate to express any definite opinion—it may be that the remedy lies in making the North-West Frontier Province a part of the Punjab, or it may not be so. But I venture to submit with great respect, that there cannot be much doubt that there is a dissatisfaction as regards the general administration of this Province. As regards the recruitment of officers, I am positive that there is a strong feeling that Indians, as such, are excluded from practically all higher posts in that province.

Before I sit down—I do not wish to make a long speech—I desire to remind the Honourable Members of the Declaration of August 1917, where Mr. Montagu speaks of *increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration*. Sir, I submit, that unless some very satisfactory explanation is forthcoming, the House will be justified, it may be reluctantly, in coming to the conclusion that no effort has been made, in the North-West Frontier Province, to carry out the policy laid down in that announcement of August 1917. Surely it should not take from 1917 to 1920, to make deliberations or hold an inquiry to find out the causes. I submit, Sir, looked at from any point of view it is very difficult to uphold the system of recruitment of these officers as it prevails at present in the North-West Frontier Province. It is with the object of drawing the attention of the House to this question that I have moved this proposition, and I do venture to hope that this House will make it perfectly clear as to what it thinks about the practical exclusion of Indians from the highest branches of the administration in the North-West Frontier Province.

Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha : Sir, I rise to support the motion of Mr. Iswar Saran that the amount of Rs. 20,000 be reduced from the provision for the North-West Frontier Province, with a view to convey to the Government our sense of profound dissatisfaction with the administration of that province. Sir, I have taken some interest in the affairs of that province for many years past, and from time to time I have been trying to elicit information which the Government have been, in the first place, loath to give, and in the second place, when they gave the information, it did not redound to their credit. The number of raids which have been committed in that province by the trans-frontier tribes has been nothing short of a scandal. When I agitated the matter many years back, Sir Henry McMahon, who was then Foreign Secretary, declared that as the Hindus in that province formed a rich community, they offered great temptation to the frontier tribes, and so long as they continued to be so, Government would not be in a position to do much to save them from these raids—to which I felt justified in putting the supplementary question, whether the Government proposed to do anything to reduce the wealth of the Hindus so as to make them immune from these raids.

Last year, after a full consideration I tried to bring up a Resolution here that the Frontier Province be abolished and the districts be merged into the Punjab. For reasons which my learned friend, Mr. Iswar Saran, has explained, it could not be moved, but I would not be surprised if, some time later, I or some other Member brings it up in the form of a regular Resolution, as a matter of general public interest.

Here, on this particular occasion, Mr. Iswar Saran has drawn attention to the fact, that in the first place, crime has been on the increase since the province was formed, and that security of life and property has diminished—these are the allegations made by a responsible paper, the *Tribune*. I embodied this statement in the paper in the form of a question and gave the Government this morning a chance either to challenge their accuracy or to deny them. The Honourable the Law Member, who for reasons unknown to me, is in charge of the Foreign Department of the Government of India at the present time, gave some reply which I myself could not hear. He spoke in such soft dulcet tones that I could not catch his words, though I was sitting close to him, and I am not surprised that Mr. Iswar Saran did not hear him at all. He says now that he challenged the statements of the *Tribune* on behalf of the Government. It is all very nice to challenge their accuracy, but that does not satisfy me. I gave Government a further chance by asking whether, if the statements in the *Tribune* be incorrect, the Government would be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the number of offences committed in the districts now constituting the Frontier Province and also border raids, and offences committed in the course of raids, for ten years previous to the formation of the province and since. If the Government had laid the figures on the table and the figures showed that as a matter of fact the number of crimes and raids had diminished, I might have agreed with the Honourable Law Member and held, that as a matter of fact, his challenge and denial were justified. But in the absence of the figures, which the Government have declined to lay on the table on some ground or other, I am not prepared to accept his assurances without any basis for them.

My friend, Mr. Iswar Saran, has also drawn attention to the fact that in this particular province Indians are practically excluded from all the higher

[Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha.]

Public Services. That is a very serious matter and deserves careful consideration.

I do not think I will be justified in detaining this Assembly at this late hour, but I must say that I am strongly of opinion that as a mark of our dissatisfaction we shall be perfectly justified in voting against the motion that the whole of the amount submitted to us be sanctioned, and I think the Government should know that our feeling is so strong that as an indication of it, we propose that Rs. 20,000 be omitted from the Budget.

Dr. Nand Lal: Sir, it was my humble self who on 2nd March raised his humble voice and I believe all Honourable Members were sympathetic with my humble self, but the Honourable Law Member, in his usual eloquent speech, gave some reasons which were accepted by a majority of this House and the unfortunate Resolution met a fate which it ought not to have met.

Let us examine the circumstances and the conditions of the Frontier Province from a logical point of view. Discussing everything with reference to logical canons, is it not a fact that there have been raids constantly? Is it not a fact that a good many women were abducted? Is it not a fact that a good many children were kidnapped? Is it not a fact that there were a number of murders after murders from day to day? Is it not a fact that a number of men residing in that unfortunate province were reduced to poverty simply on account of the diabolical acts of these raiders? Is it not a fact that a number of families were ruined on account of their depredations? Is it not a fact that the Government could not put a stop to these raids? These are all facts. Can the Honourable the Law Member challenge the correctness of these facts? I ventured to narrate the instances, quoting year, place, district and village and in some instances, I took the opportunity of giving the names even. So far as I can recollect, I am open to correction no doubt, the Honourable the Law Member did not say in so many words that the accurate account which was given in that humble speech was incorrect. If I am proud of anything, I am proud of my memory, and that memory encourages me to say that the account given by my humble self was not taken as incorrect. In any case it was not disputed. Now the facts are there and it is difficult for our kind Government to dispute the correctness thereof. Is it too much for the Honourable Mover, who has been touched with sympathy with these poor people, to urge upon the Government that this demand which is being made is excessive and this sum of Rs. 3,20,000 which is claimed should be denied? Why should we allow this sum for this sort of administration? The people are being murdered and killed. They are being reduced to poverty. Depredation after depredation, ravage after ravage and no remedy! We shall be privy to that by allowing this sum. I think we will be deemed to be participants in that crime by allowing this sum. I am in full agreement with the Honourable Mover who has very kindly taken it upon himself to move this motion before the House. This province is very grateful to Mr. Sinha who has on various occasions sympathised with these unfortunate people. Now this province has got to thank the Honourable Mover who has moved his motion before this House and the province entertains a very strong hope that all Members of this Honourable Assembly will be in full sympathy with this motion for reduction. Therefore, with these few words, considering the value of the time of this

Honourable Assembly, I support this Resolution very strongly. I am sorry if I gave the impression as that I was going to finish, but the fact is, that I want to add a few remarks. What was the policy which prompted the Government to separate the North-West Frontier from the Punjab? Well, I have not been able to lay my hand on any literature which may encourage me to say that there was any particular reason for doing so. I am in the dark about it. However, whatever that policy was, the question naturally arises whether that policy has succeeded, and if it has succeeded, to what extent it has. If that policy has failed, then my submission before this House is, that this House should urge upon the Government that this separation which was then effected owing to certain conditions has not proved a success. Therefore, this separation should be abolished and the Frontier Province should be amalgamated with the Punjab and this amalgamation will save us money. Why should we spend extra money in the payment of a certain amount of money to certain officials who are specially appointed on account of the fact that this province is separate from the Punjab. We have got our own Lahore High Court. Why should there be a Judicial Commissioner and why should there be a separate office? Why should there be a Chief Commissioner? Why should we undergo all these unnecessary expense? We would have been very glad to pay them had we got some benefit for it, but when we examine the so-called benefit, we are forced to say that it is nothing. Then shall we be called wise men if we shall allow this demand? If we desire to be called good business men, then we should be in favour of this motion for retrenchment. So far as the complaint in regard to the distribution of appointments to the officials is concerned, I am in full agreement with my learned friend, the Mover.

There ought to be a larger Indian element. We here find that the majority of the officials are from the Military Department. What justice can we expect from them? There should be a greater Indian element so far as the judicial line is concerned, and so far as the administrative line is concerned. None of the members of the Bar at Peshawar have been taken. Is it not peculiar? In other High Courts and other courts which are considered Courts of Judicial Commissioners, we find, that in some cases, the judiciary is recruited from the Bar. This province, *viz.*, the North-West Frontier Province, is the only province where we find that this recruitment is practically denied to the members of the Bar. What is the cause? No cause. The cause is known best to the officers who claim to administer justice there. On all these grounds, I support this motion for retrenchment which speaks for itself, and I strongly submit before this House that they will be in favour of this retrenchment.

The Council then adjourned for Lunch till Ten Minutes to Three of the Clock.

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

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer: Sir, I wish to intervene at this stage of the debate on this question with the object of eliciting some information from the Honourable Member of the Government who is going to reply upon this motion. If the facts stated by the Honourable Mr. Iswar Saran are correct; they certainly seem to merit the sympathetic consideration of the Government. He complains that almost all the higher offices are shut out against Indians,

[Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer.]

and that in the Foreign and Political Department no Indians are allowed. That is a complaint which I would respectfully submit deserves the consideration of Government; and I would also ask the Government to deal with the motion in a broad-minded way, not confining themselves to finical criticisms of the accuracy of the figures which have been furnished by my Honourable friend, but in a liberal and sympathetic spirit.

There are one or two points on which I should like to have some explanation. I do not know what precisely were the reasons which led to the separation of the North-West Frontier Province from the Punjab. It may be, that the unsettled state of the Frontier required an exceptional machinery of administration in certain parts of the North-West Frontier Province, but I do not know whether the whole of the North-West Frontier Province, as it has now been formed, presents any such anomalous features as to call for a special machinery or special method of administration. The facts stated by Dr. Nand Lal and the figures furnished in answer to some of his questions by the Government with regard to crimes in the North-West Frontier Province do not show that there has been any advantage to the province in regard to immunity from crimes of violence or in the matter of security. I should be glad to know whether any special advantages have followed the substitution of this special machinery for the ordinary machinery by which the North-West Frontier Province was governed during the days when it was under the Punjab Government. Have there been any special advantages following the introduction of this machinery? I am quite prepared to believe that by the constitution of a separate province more attention may perhaps be now paid to the wants of the people of that province; but the same amount of attention to their wants can be secured by the adoption of the very same civil machinery that exists in the Punjab. Has there or has there not been any advantage in the substitution of this, what I might call, abnormal, machinery for the usual machinery which was applicable to the province during the days when it remained under the Punjab Government?

Rai Bahadur Pandit J. L. Bhargava: Sir, I strongly support the motion now before the Assembly, not on account of the amount sought to be reduced but on account of the principle of great and vital importance which is involved in connection with it. It is really shocking to find, that very little effect, if at all, has been given to the authoritative announcement of August 1917 so far as the services in the Foreign and Political Department are concerned, though full 3½ years have elapsed since that announcement was made. The natural corollary of this omission has been, as was pointed out by the Honourable Mover, that very few Indians are found holding responsible posts in the North-West Frontier Province. This exclusion of Indians appears to me to be deliberate. I make bold to say, that this unsatisfactory state of affairs is to be much deprecated, and the sooner it is improved the better it will be for the Empire, the Government and people at large. If Indians are given their fair and proportionate share in the Foreign and Political Department, and thus given an opportunity of holding posts of responsibility in the North-West Frontier Province, one of the chief causes of dissatisfaction will be removed and good-will and harmony will prevail which will materially conduce to the public welfare.

The Honourable Dr. T. B. Sapru: Sir, it will be within the recollection of this House that only a few weeks ago a debate was raised by my Honourable

friend, Dr. Nand Lal, over the question of the Frontier raids; and it will also be within the recollection of this House that as a result of the debate the Resolution which he moved before this House was defeated. I do not in the slightest degree take exception to this opportunity having been availed of by my Honourable friend, Mr. Iswar Saran, and his enthusiastic supporter, Mr. Sinha, for raising this question over again before this House. So far as the question of raids is concerned, I do not think I can usefully add anything to what I said on the last occasion. The House will no doubt remember that I pointed out on that occasion that during the last few years Government have taken serious steps to reduce, as far as possible, the frequency and the severity of these raids and I also indicated in the course of my speech various steps which had been taken in that behalf. For instance, it will be within the recollection of the House that I pointed out that arms had been distributed among the villagers on a much larger scale, that the constabulary had been strengthened and that resort was being had much more frequently to motor transport so as to deal with a situation which arose quickly and suddenly at certain places on the frontier. It would be difficult for any one to lay down a hard and fast formula for dealing with these raids, because the conditions, as is well known to those who are acquainted with the North-Western Frontier, vary from point to point. The Government are fully aware of the strong feeling that exists on the subject, and let me assure the House with absolute sincerity that the Government are in entire sympathy with that feeling; and it is not as if the sympathy of the Government begins and ends with a mere profession; they have been taking steps, they are taking steps, and they are determined to take further steps for the protection of their own subjects against these raiders from across the border. If, unfortunately, these raids have been a little more frequent during the last twenty months, it is quite obvious that it is due to the after-math of the war. I pointed out on the last occasion that important negotiations were pending at the present moment in Kabul, and that we expect that the situation would considerably alter for the better as soon as those negotiations were over, and that it would be extremely imprudent for this House to take any steps which might introduce any unnecessary complications. So far, therefore, as the question of raids is concerned, I do not think that those who want to prevent these raids or to provide any effective remedy against these raids will be helping their case by reducing the grant. On the contrary, it seems to me they may defeat the very object they have in view. It seems to me, that probably the main reason which my Honourable friend, Mr. Iswar Saran, had in view in raising this debate, was a question of principle; and that was, that in his opinion it was unjust and unfair that Indians as a body should be excluded from foreign and political service. Now, so far as that is concerned, I have two replies to give. In the first place, I am surprised that my friend, whose utterances are generally characterised by accuracy, should have been so inaccurate and put this case so high as that. I shall rely upon the very document on which he relied, the Civil List of the North-West Frontier Province, corrected up to the 1st October 1920; and if any Honourable Member will care to turn to page 5 of that book, he will find, that there is one Divisional Judge there, namely, Khan Bahadur Muhammad Abdul Karim Khan; there are at least four Indian District Judges there. Then, my Honourable friend said, 'Oh! But look at the Police Department. There is not a single Indian there, occupying the position of Superintendent or Deputy Superintendent . . .'

Munshi Iswar Saran: Assistant Superintendent.

The Honourable Dr. T. B. Sapru: Now allow me to point out that this is not so. If you will only turn to page 49 of this same book, you will find, that the Superintendent of Police of Kohat is a gentleman of the name of Talia Muhammad Rana, and the Deputy Superintendent of the same district is Khan Sahib Muhammad Amir Khan Arbab. So, strictly speaking, my Honourable friend's statement with regard to the exclusion of Indians from the higher appointments in the North-West Frontier Province was not quite accurate. Apart from that, if you will only care to study this book carefully, as I have been studying it, you will find that there are a number of Indians occupying the position of Revenue Assistants, Judicial Extra Assistant Commissioners, Assistant Political Officers, Temporary Judicial Extra Assistant Commissioners, Treasury Officers, Officers on special duty, and so on; I have not actually calculated their number, but the whole page is full of them except for two or four European names. I would also venture to point out, that even in the Secretariat of the North-West Frontier Province, you have an Indian gentleman occupying the position of Assistant Financial Secretary—I am referring to Bhai Sunder Singh. I am only referring to these things with a view to point out, that the impression created on the mind of the House by my Honourable friend's speech ought not to go unchallenged. At the same time I am willing to confess—though unfortunately my Honourable friend did not put this case that way—that it is true, that so far as other branches of the political service are concerned, for instance, the appointments of residents and assistant residents, agents or assistant agents, my Honourable friend may have a legitimate grievance. With regard to that I am authorised to state on behalf of Government, that the principle of taking Indians into those higher appointments in the Political and Foreign service has been conceded by the Government and that a scheme is being prepared which, when it is ready, will, I venture to think, afford every satisfaction to this House and to the outside public. I do not wish to go into the details of that scheme because we are not yet ready with the scheme, but the Assembly may take it from me that so far as the principle is concerned, it has been amply conceded, and my Honourable friends need have no apprehension with regard to that matter. I hope, therefore, that I have succeeded in showing that whatever might have been the position of Indians with regard to the Foreign and Political Department in the past, the position that is going to be assigned to them in the future would be commensurate with the reasonable aspirations and ambitions of my countrymen. I therefore do not wish to elaborate this point any further.

Now, there are just one or two other points to which I would invite the attention of the House.

Now, my Honourable friend, Mr. Sinha, and the Mover himself referred to a question which was put to this House and which I had the honour of replying. I do not blame them, perhaps I am more to blame, if my Honourable friend, Mr. Sinha, who sits close by me and my Honourable friend, Mr. Iswar Saran, did not hear me when answering that question this morning. Well, if they did not hear me, then, I hope, they will allow me to read out that answer to them now, and that is my answer to that part of the criticism which was levelled by my Honourable friend, Mr. Sinha. Referring to a certain article in the *Tribune* and without specifying any particular items to which Mr. Sinha might have invited the attention of the Government, he asked whether it was correct, as was alleged in the *Tribune* of Lahore, that there has been practically a steady increase of crime in the Frontier

Province since the partition of the Punjab, and that there was greater security of life and property when the Frontier Province was part of the Punjab than there is now. The answer that I gave this morning was as follows :

' Government believe the reverse to be the case. The Honourable Member will no doubt appreciate that the conditions during the last twenty months have been abnormal owing to the after-math of frontier troubles set up by the Afghan war.'

Then the second part of my answer was :

' As the statistics for the ten years previous to the formation of the North-West Frontier Province are not available, a comparative statement cannot be furnished.'

It will be observed that the question which my Honourable friend, Mr. Sinha, framed, was based upon an allegation in the *Tribune*, which wast to the effect, that there was practically a steady increase of crime in the frontier province since the partition of the Punjab. That the Government are not prepared to accept, in that naked form. Again, it would not be fair to compare the conditions of 20 years back with the conditions that prevail at present, conditions which have been complicated by the frontier war and by the general unrest which prevails throughout the world and which has affected even those regions. Unfortunately, as I pointed out in the course of my reply in the morning, the statistics for the ten years previous to the partition of the North-West Frontier Province are not available, and, therefore, so far as the Government are concerned, they have no data on which they can base an affirmative reply. All that they can say, however, of the general conditions prevailing in the North-West Frontier Province is, that they believe the reverse to be the case. If my Honourable friend, Mr. Sinha, had made a reference to any statistics which were available to him and which were not available to Government, or which were available to the *Tribune*, we might possibly have been able to examine them. But every lawyer knows, and my Honourable friend, Mr. Eardley Norton, will bear me out, that there is a good deal of ambiguity about the use of the word 'practically.' I will ask the House again to hear the statement in the *Tribune* which said that 'there has been 'practically' a steady increase of crime in the frontier province on the partition of the Punjab'. The case which this paper put has, to my mind, been considerably weakened by the use of the word 'practically'. Therefore, when you put a case in such ambiguous and vague language, I venture to submit, it is not fair to ask the Government to give an affirmative reply and all that they can say is, that they believe that that is not so or that it is so. In the present case, the Government are persuaded that the statement which has appeared in the *Tribune* has been put too high, and, therefore, they are not prepared to accept it.

Now, so far as my Honourable friend, Dr. Nand Lal, is concerned, without meaning any disrespect to him, I would venture to submit to the House, that while he might have added to the stock of our knowledge on the former occasion, he has not made a substantial contribution to-day by repeating those very things, and, therefore, it is not necessary for me to examine the various statements or allegations which he made this morning.

So far as the general question is concerned, the position that I take on behalf of the Government to-day is exactly the same as I took two weeks ago. But there is only one question which remains for me to answer, and that is a question which was put by my Honourable friend, Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer.

[Dr. T. B. Sapru.]

He asked me as to why it was that the North West Frontier Province was separated from the Punjab. I think I can best answer his question by referring to an important State document which completely answers this question. Dealing with the question of separation of the North-West Frontier Province from the Punjab, it was stated by His Excellency Lord Curzon about that time,—I hope the House will bear with me when I read this paragraph :

‘ Now in India, foreign affairs—while they embrace many intricate and important questions concerning Native States, and while, in the sphere of external policy, they include our relations with China in Yunnan, with Tibet, with Afghanistan, with Muskat, with the Arab tribes in the Aden Protectorate, and with the Persian Gulf—in the main arise out of, or are connected with, the Frontier tribes and problems ; whilst, if we take the whole of the land frontiers of India, from the Shan States on the extreme east to the borders of Persian Baluchistan on the extreme west, the most critical, most anxious, and most explosive section of the entire Frontiers is that between the Swat river and the Gumal valley, or precisely the section which is handed over to the Punjab Government. Upon this stretch of boundary, inhabited by the most numerous, fanatical, and turbulent of the Pathan tribes, the Foreign Minister of India, who is also the Viceroy, cannot issue an order, or make an appointment, except through the medium of the Punjab Government ; nay, he cannot—with certain exceptions, hereafter to be noted,—make an appointment at all. The Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners, the Political Officers and Commandants of Border Police, in whose hands rests the entire local responsibility upon the Frontier, are nominated, not by him, but by the Lieutenant Governor. The Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government, who is the principal adviser of the Lieutenant Governor, is selected, without reference to the Viceroy, by the latter. The Viceroy cannot even remove an indifferent or unsuitable official ; since promotion in the Punjab is regulated by the conditions of a service of which not he, but the Lieutenant Governor, is the efficient head. If a debate arises in Parliament as to a Frontier outbreak, or a tribal expedition, it will be the Viceroy, and the Viceroy alone, who will be held accountable. Public opinion censures him for failure, or congratulates him upon success. To a certain extent, public opinion is right ; since, owing to circumstances to which I shall presently allude, the Local Government ventures upon few steps of any importance without reference to the higher authority. But among those who hold up the head of the Government of India to praise or to blame, how many are there who know that he has been working throughout, not through his own agents, but through those of another Government, that at each stage he has required to carry the assent of a subordinate but withal most influential authority, and that in all probability in the early stages (for most Frontier disturbances spring from small beginnings) he has had neither responsibility, knowledge nor information ? I venture to affirm that there is not another country or Government in the world which adopts a system so irrational in theory, so bizarre in practice, as to interpose between its Foreign Minister and his most important sphere of activity, the barrier, not of a subordinate official, but of a subordinate Government, on the mere geographical plea that the latter resides in closer proximity to the scene of action—a plea which itself breaks down when it is remembered that for five months in the year the Supreme and the Local Governments are both located at the same spot, Simla ’.

I am sure, that the House will be gratified when I say that a further scheme for giving representation to certain portions of the North-West Frontier Province is under consideration, and when that scheme is ready and promulgated, I am sure there will be every occasion for satisfaction with it. It is not open to me to go into the details of that scheme at the present moment ; it is enough for me to say that the Government are giving the utmost possible consideration to the whole question of the administration of the North-West Frontier Province, and if you will only give us some little time, we hope to show that the Government have been very serious about this matter.

There are only one or two more points with which I shall deal before resuming my seat. I am sorry, that I overlooked one fact when I was dealing with the question of the employment of Indians in the North-West Frontier

Province and perhaps you will allow me now to mention that. Only last year one Indian from the North-West Frontier Province was sent up for appointment to the Indian Civil Service with the sole object of employing him in the Indian Civil Service. Then, at least one, if not two Indians are going to be appointed in the North-West Frontier Province and one in Baluchistan in the Police Department as Assistant Superintendents of Police. So, I venture to hope that the House will feel that the Government has not been stationary so far as this matter is concerned.

Now there is only one other point to which I will refer and that is the condition of the North-West Frontier Province in regard to Education. It might be useful to point out that since 1901-02 the number of pupils of schools in the Punjab has increased by 131·3 per cent. while in the North-West Frontier Province the increase is 215·4 per cent. These figures take you up to 1916-17. It will also be interesting to the House to know the percentage of increase in expenditure from the provincial revenues upon education; taking 1911-12 and 1916-17, it is as follows:

Punjab 36·4 per cent.

North-West Frontier Province 191·9 per cent.

So that as far as the educational side of the Province is concerned, I am sure it will be recognised—as it is recognised by everyone interested in education—that the North-West Frontier Province has made considerable strides in regard to education, and it is a factor in the administration of the Province which cannot possibly be ignored, or minimised. I may also state that in the North-West Frontier Province the vernacular education, both primary and middle, is absolutely free. It will thus seem that, so far as the Government are concerned, they have taken the most anxious steps they could in the circumstances existing there. It is perfectly true, that there is a great deal more to be done for the security of our countrymen there; but let me assure you that the Government are fully alive to their responsibility in this matter and are anxious to do what they can with the co-operation of all concerned. It will be within the recollection of this House that on the last occasion when I replied to Dr. Naud Lal, I made a very good offer which was rejected with scorn, and it was criticised as being something in the nature of a Machiavellian design. Now, let me assure the House, it was a most sincere offer and if my friends who are interested in the question of the North-West Frontier Province will again accept that offer, it is there. We are willing to take you into our confidence and to place all our cards on the table and to tell you what steps have been taken and what steps we propose to take for the protection of Indians there. Therefore, I would put it to the House, assuming that the object is that greater protection should be afforded to Indians in the North-West Frontier Province, are you serving that objection by reducing the grant or are you defeating that object? It is not a question of defeating the grant; it is really a question of making the administration more efficient. Therefore, so far from serving that object, I venture to think, that you are defeating it. I will only venture to submit that the whole problem of the North-West Frontier Province is a problem of a financial character. So far from our having spent much money—as is supposed in certain quarters—I venture to think, that if we were to spend a little more we might possibly bring disturbing factors more effectively under control and it is therefore for the House to consider whether it will accept the motion of my Honourable friend, Mr. Iswar Saran,

[Dr. T. B. Sapru.]

in the interests of Indians there, or whether it will reject it. I venture to hope, it will reject it.

Munshi Iswar Saran : Sir, if the House will allow me, I shall make an amendment. What I beg to propose is, that the provision of Rs. 3,20,000 for General Administration be reduced by Rs. 20,000. My object is to concentrate the attention of the House on the question of principle to which I have drawn your attention. I wish, Sir, the House will allow me, to reduce the grant only by Rs. 1,000, so that there may be no doubt with regard to the object I have in view. I do not by any means wish to reduce the amount and to embarrass the administration in the North-West Frontier Province. The House will kindly remember that at the very outset I said that my object was not to reduce the grant but to vindicate a principle. If the House will allow me, I will reduce the demand by Rs. 1,000 only.

The Honourable the President : Will the Honourable Member move that as an amendment to Munshi Iswar Saran's motion ?

Chaudhuri Shahab-ud-Din : Sir, if the House has no objection, that can be put to it. But I stand to oppose his motion. Therefore, I hope, I may be allowed to have my say. I am against the reduction even of a pie.

The Honourable the President : May I ask if the Honourable Member has leave of the House to withdraw his motion in its original form ?

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

The Honourable the President : The motion for reduction then is moved in the amended form :

'That the provision of Rs. 3,20,000 for General Administration be reduced by one thousand rupees.'

Chaudhuri Shahab-ud-Din : Sir, had I addressed this House before its adjournment at about 2 O'clock, very possibly I might have supported the Honourable Munshi Iswar Saran. I have given a very careful consideration to the question of principle, in the name of which the debate was opened by the Honourable Member. When the North-West Frontier Province was separated from the Punjab, every thinking man in the land was of opinion that that was a retrograde step. Ever since the commencement of British rule in India, the North-West Frontier Province or the districts comprising that Province, formed part of the Punjab and remained under one and the same administration. But, since 1901, when the separation took place, the administration was also separated and since then this province has remained under a separate administration. The *prima facie* object of the separation, to all intents and purposes, was to improve the efficiency of the administration of that province and not to place that province under a rule of iron. There were dacoities, there were raids, there were depredations even before the separation was effected, and I must frankly admit, that these raids have not stopped, on the other hand, it is quite possible that they have increased recently. But the question is not whether they have increased. Let us assume for the sake of argument that they have increased. What are the causes of increase ? Dr. Nand Lal proposed the other day in this House that a special or a select committee of a few Members of this House should be appointed to go from place to place to make an inquiry and ascertain the true causes. I think, every man who knows Yaghistan, i.e., the territory beyond the North-West Frontier Province, knows the causes. That long hill tract extending over a length of

about 1,100 miles and ranging in width from 4 to 20 miles does not produce sufficient to maintain the inhabitants of that tract. Thus, poverty is the cause of all these raids. They want food; they want something to eat; their own territory does not yield enough. They are compelled, therefore, to commit the crimes which are attributed to them. I have been to that territory. I have seen a part of it, not the whole of it, not only once but several times. That, to my mind, is the cause. There might be other causes as well, but that is the chief and the main cause. I was opposed to Dr. Nand Lal's Resolution because the causes were known and only the remedy was needed. I presume the Government, with the object of improving the administration of the North-Western Provinces, sought that remedy in the shape of its separation in 1901 from the Punjab and that remedy has been used for so many years. Now, let us see whether that remedy has proved effectual or otherwise. As a Punjabi, I am as much in contact with that province as Dr. Nand Lal or any other Honourable Member who comes from the Punjab. Crime in the North-West Frontier Province has undoubtedly increased of late. But it has increased not only in that province but also increased to a certain extent in the Punjab. I mean crime of a certain kind, such as dacoities. Will Dr. Nand Lal or any other Honourable Member in this House contradict me and say that dacoities and similar offences, which are committed in the North-West Frontier Province, are not now larger in number in the Punjab than before? Economic causes, the consequences of the war, poverty, all these have resulted in the increase of crime. Now, if the Government is directly responsible for the increase of crime, let us certainly vote against Government and suggest some other remedy. But I for one do not think that it is the separation of the North-Western Provinces from the Punjab that has given rise to the present condition. It is due to other causes. If the Government have failed in administering the province efficiently, then, of course, we must vote against Government. But the Government so far as I know have been doing and are doing their very best. I am not one of those who in season and out of season attacks Government solely because they are the Government. Let us be fair to Government. Government are administering the province to the best of their ability. The administration is there. If the complaint is that the Indian element can administer that province better than the European element, that is a definite complaint. Let it be put forward as such and let the Government meet it. If I am not mistaken, one of the highest men in that province, if I remember his name rightly, is Sir Abdul Qayum Khan. He is one of the topmost men in the province and is in the Political Department. I remember only his name, as I happen to know him personally. If Honourable Members were to see that province, they will change their opinion—especially if they see the trans-Frontier Province, that is, the tract beyond the North-West Frontier Province. The inhabitants of that tract do not care for A, B or C. They care either for money or for the bullet. They care for nothing else. Either give them money or give them the bullet. That is the only remedy if you want peace and safety. I do not think there is anything intermediate between these two. So it is with a high hand that the Government have to administer that province. We should not discuss this very serious subject lightly. We should accept the offer which has been made by the Honourable Dr. Sapru of a round table conference. The matter is a serious one. Once I also was of opinion that that province should be amalgamated with the Punjab. But my opinion has changed. Will amalgamation remove the serious condition of crime in that province? I for one do not think so.

[Chaudhuri Shahab-ud-Din.]

Opinions differ. I hold one opinion. Dr. Nand Lal holds another. I may be wrong, but the future will prove whether I am wrong or he is wrong. With these remarks I support the grant as it is, and oppose the amendment made by the Honourable Mr. Iswar Saran.

Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan : When I heard my Honourable Colleague, Mr. Iswar Saran, and my Honourable friend, Mr. Sinha, on the question of Indianisation of services in the Frontier Province, I felt inclined to support them. But having heard the Honourable the Law Member and my Honourable friend, Mr. Chaudhuri Shahab-ud-Din, I am positively of opinion that this amendment should not be accepted. What I say is, that even if this deduction be made, it would not serve any useful purpose. The point for consideration now is, not whether the North-West Frontier Province should be amalgamated with the Punjab or the Government services should be more Indianised there, but whether this demand should be deducted or reduced by any amount, and whether the deduction of 2,000, or 5,000 or 6,000 rupees, or any other amount will minimise the chances of raids, abduction, etc. If that be not the case, what is the use of deduction? Have we come here simply to criticise and make deductions? That should never be. We should criticise Government when there is room for criticism; but should co-operate with it where there is necessity for co-operation. I, therefore, strongly oppose this reduction, and am of opinion that there should be no deduction.

Sardar Bahadur Gajjan Singh : Sir, I rise to oppose the reduction in the demand. There is absolutely no doubt that the problem is very very difficult. There are special circumstances which have been detailed by the Honourable Dr. Sapru. We have been hearing of these raids for a very long time and Government has already been doing their utmost to stop them. I have no doubt that Dr. Nand Lal missed a golden opportunity of discussing this matter at a round table conference as is suggested by the Honourable Law Member. I strongly advise the Mover of this Resolution again to accept the offer and discuss the matter there. We can all offer suggestions of improvement and then see what the Government does. It will again be open to us to move any Resolution condemning the administration of the North-West Frontier Province. But as long as the Government is prepared to do everything in their power to put a stop to these things, I think, we should not harass them or put difficulties in their way. We should strengthen the hands of Government as far as we can. I am strongly of opinion that in politics there is nothing better than compromise. Let us discuss the matter with the Honourable Law Member and the Commander-in-Chief, and then let us see what the Members of Government do to remove the complaints. It appears from the speech of the Honourable Dr. Sapru that the Government of India are more anxious than ourselves to remove the grievances of our fellow-countrymen in the North-West Frontier Province, but the question is, as I have said, difficult. Let us try to compromise again, and disallow this motion.

Mr. N. M. Joshi : I propose, Sir, that the question be now put.

The Honourable the President : The question is :

‘That the question now be put.’

The motion was adopted.

Munshi Iswar Saran : May I have a right of reply ?

The Honourable the President : The debate has gone on at some length, and I think the subject has been pretty well discussed.

Munshi Iswar Saran : I beg you to give me an opportunity of replying particularly in view of the importance of the question that has been raised.

The Honourable the President : The Honourable Member will have a further opportunity, if he wishes to exercise his right, when the main question is put.

(Munshi Iswar Saran again stood up in his place.)

I may point out to the Honourable Member that as the debate was drawing to an end, I did not see him rise in his place.

Munshi Iswar Saran : I shall be sorry to contradict you, but I was standing before the gentleman who proposed that the question be put stood up.

The Honourable the President : I did not observe the Honourable Member rise.

The Honourable the President : The question is :

'That the provision of Rs. 3,20,000 for General Administration be reduced by Rs. 1,000.'

The motion was negatived.

Munshi Iswar Saran : Having regard to the fate that my first motion has met with, I think, not as a matter of compromise or surrender, but on the principle that prudence is the better part of valour, I withdraw my amendment.

The Honourable the President : Does that apply to both the amendments for reduction ?

Munshi Iswar Saran : It applies only to item No. 6.*

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

Munshi Iswar Saran : Sir, I had put down motion No. 7† only with the object of seeking a little information. I find from the Report of the Indian Jails Committee which has been issued to us that there is no convict settlement in the North-West Frontier Province. Now I see there is provision for jails and convict settlements. I just wish to know, if there is no convict settlement there, why is it that we are asked to grant the demand for jails and convict settlements ?

The Honourable Mr. W. M. Hailey : I can give the information ; it is practically an accounts matter. 'Jails and Convict Settlements' is the accounts head under which we put all expenditure on jails and on convict settlements. The only expenditure in the North-West Frontier Province is that on jails, and the 'Convict Settlements' are only added because this is the correct title of the account heading.

Munshi Iswar Saran : May I take it, Sir, that the Report is quite correct in saying that there is no convict settlement in the North-West Frontier Province ?

*No. 6.—'That the provision of Rs. 7,35,000 for 'Administration of Justice' be reduced by Rs. 30,000.'

†No. 7.—'That the provision of Rs. 5,15,000 for 'Jails and Convict Settlements' be reduced by Rs. 50,000.'

The Honourable Mr. W. M. Hailey : Quite so.

Munshi Iswar Saran : Having got this information, I do not wish to press this motion, but with your permission, I would take one or two observations and they are these. I do not know, Sir, if many Members of this House have had an opportunity of studying this bulky report of the Indian Jails Committee which was sent on to us by the Home Department only a few days ago.

The Honourable the President : If the Honourable Member wishes to discuss them, he had better move his motion for reduction.

Munshi Iswar Saran : I move :

'That the provision of Rs. 5,15,000 for Jails and Convict Settlements be reduced by Rs. 50,000.'

As far as this report is concerned, Sir, I venture to think that it is a strong censure of the jail administration throughout India including the North-West Frontier Province. If we turn to page 31 of this Report, this is what we find :

'It is certain that Indian prison administration has somewhat lagged behind on the reformative side of prison work.

'It has failed so far to regard the prisoner as an individual and has conceived of him rather as a unit in the jail administrative machinery. It has a little lost sight of the effect which humanising and civilising influences might have had on the mind of the individual prisoner and has fixed its attention on his material welfare, his diet, health and labour. Little attention has been paid to the possibility of moral or intellectual improvement. In consequence, while the results of the Indian prison treatment are admitted generally to be deterrent, they are not generally regarded as reformatory. Witness after witness from almost every province in India has with singular unanimity declared that Indian Jails do not exercise a good or healthy influence on their inmates, that they tend to harden if not to degrade, and that most men come out of prison worse than they went in.'

The Honourable the President : The general question regarding the administration of jails in India ought to have been taken up under Demand No. 17, when it was put as a specific proposal. In this case, the Honourable Member is bringing in by a side wind a question which affects the general administration of India and not simply the administration of the North-West Frontier Province. If he will confine his remarks to anything the Report has to say about the North-West Frontier Province, he will be in order, but to roam generally, over the question of the administration of Indian Jails, is not in order.

Munshi Iswar Saran : If your ruling is that I am not to discuss upon all those conditions which apply equally to the jails in the North-West Frontier Province in common with the jails in other parts of the country, in that case, I shall not press this motion. If that be your ruling, I shall bow to it.

The Honourable Sir William Vincent : I should be glad of the opportunity of making a statement of the policy of Government in regard to this Jail Commission's Report, if the Honourable Member is in order in moving this motion. I have no objection whatever to his doing so.

The Honourable the President : What I put to the Honourable Member was that the proper occasion for raising any question of principle involved in the administration of Indian jails was under Demand No. 17, a vote which is in charge of the Home Department. In this case he is trying

to introduce a general subject under a particular heading, and that is what I rule as not being in order. I added as a rider to my ruling, that if the Honourable Member finds an application of the principles of that Report to the specific circumstances of the North-West Frontier Province, then he is in order.

Munshi Iswar Saran: In view of your ruling, Sir, I need not press my motion; I withdraw it.

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

Babu J. N. Mukherjee: Sir, I venture to place this motion before the House because the question of the North-West Frontier Province has been before the public for some time. My motion does not relate to the wider question which has been just discussed, but to a part of that question and it is :

‘ That the demand under sub-head forest timber (page 246) amounting to Rs. 3,72,405 under head forest timber be reduced by Rs. 72, 405.’

Now, Sir, my point is that we all here, all Members of this House equally with myself, are labouring under a disadvantage which the Budget in the form in which it has been presented has given rise to, namely, that it is not a balanced account. Certain demands are made for purposes of expenditure, but we do not know in such cases whether the outlay is productive or not, and how much of it is expected to yield or return; if so, to what extent. In the present case, there has been a large increase in the Budget of about a lakh and a quarter upon the figure for the last year.

The last revised estimate under this sub-head was Rs. 2,47,000 and the proposed Budget estimate is Rs. 3,72,000 which gives an increase of a lakh and a quarter, for which however no explanation is to be found.

Now what strikes an outsider is this, that arrangements might have been locally made to ensure the removal of the timber cut, from the forests, without any expenditure on the part of Government. Instead of that we find the Government has gone in for a large outlay of money for such removal. Then, we do not find any thing as regards the sale of the timber cut. Therefore, I want to know, Sir, under what policy and with what expectations Government has been led to increase the expenses under this head from Rs. 2,47,000 to Rs. 3,72,405. It is certainly a striking increase but involves a very simple question to answer. It does not touch any consideration or the larger questions that have been discussed to-day.

The Honourable Mr. W. M. Hailey: Perhaps, Sir, it would be a sufficient answer to the Honourable Member if I gave the exact figures of what we expect to get from the Forests in the North-West Frontier Province. In the revised estimate last year we were to spend Rs. 4,50,000 and get Rs. 3,50,000; but partly owing to the change of system to which the Honourable Member refers, we are expecting in the coming year to spend Rs. 6,98,000 and to receive Rs. 8,02,000. It is, therefore, hoped that the increase of expenditure will be accompanied by a very considerable increase in revenue also.

Babu J. N. Mukherjee: Under these circumstances, Sir, I have no wish to proceed with my amendment, and I beg leave to withdraw it.

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

Mr. Piyari Lal Misra : Sir, my motion is :

'That the provision of Rs. 67,180 (page 246) be reduced by Rs. 25,000.'

I can easily anticipate the result of this motion, because I thoroughly know the atmosphere with which this House is charged. But I am entitled to some information as to why in the year 1919-20 the figure for buildings was about Rs. 7,900 and now within two years it has sprung up to Rs. 67,000, that is, 9 times the amount in 1919-20? Then, I don't know for what purpose these buildings are required. It is not clear whether they are required for the habitation of forest officials or for any other purpose, and at the same time the amount to me appears to be a very heavy one. In 1920-21, the amount was only Rs. 23,000. Now, it is about three times as much. Therefore, Sir, as the reduction I pray for is only Rs. 25,000, there will still be left more than Rs. 40,000 for buildings which may be under construction. I commend the motion to the House.

The Honourable Mr. W. M. Hailey : The expenditure, Sir, of Rs. 67,180 is connected entirely with the measure to which I referred a few minutes ago, namely, the steps which we are taking to bring forest exploitation under our direct management, as I said we thereby expect to receive considerably enhanced profits. It is necessary to put up a certain number of buildings, such as godowns, store-houses and the like, and that expenditure is entirely for that purpose. We may, therefore, regard it as being of a productive nature.

Mr. Piyari Lal Misra : I withdraw my motion, Sir.

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

Babu J. N. Mukherjee : Sir, the next three items* all belong to the same category. We find that under the first head 'Irrigation' (page 249) there is a very large increase on account of establishment. The revised estimate for 1920-21 amounted to Rs. 3,94,000, and the Budget proposes to put it down for next year at Rs. 6,13,000. This large increase in the establishment charges seems to be rather out of proportion to previous figures. Similar conditions exist with reference to the sub-head house-rent and other allowances (page 260) as also under sub-head clothing; and I should very much like to have an official explanation on these points. The three items in question can be dealt with at once and at the same time and I shall be glad with the leave of President to withdraw them upon the assurance which has been given to this House on behalf of Government.

Sir Sydney Crookshank : Sir, I am very grateful indeed to the Honourable Member who has put forward this motion for having drawn my attention to what is apparently a very great increase in the cost of establishment in connection with capital accounts kept for irrigation works in the North-West Frontier Province. The difference between the figures for the Revised Estimate for 1920-21 and the Budget Estimate for 1921-22 he refers to amounts to a net increase of Rs. 2.19 lakhs. But, I would point out to him, that an increase in the expenditure under capital relieves the revenue account of charges which it would otherwise have to bear; and it has so happened in 1920-21; so that if the Honourable Member would kindly refer to Demand No. 52 at page 359, he will find against the item establishment, North-West Frontier Province, that there has been a decrease from Rs. 2,31,000 to Rs. 95,000, that is to say, a decrease of Rs. 1.39 lakhs under

* On the List of Business.

the same headings. An amount of Rs. 1·39 lakhs is, therefore, merely a matter of transfer and of book adjustment. The net difference, however, of Rs. 8 lakh, between the figures Rs. 2·1 lakhs excess at page 249 and Rs. 1·39 lakhs decrease at page 359 can be explained by the fact that there have been re-organisations in the Public Works Departments, consequent on the introduction of the provincial service; and that there have been certain increases in the salaries of officers and subordinates, and as I do not think the increase of Rs. 8 lakh can be altogether justified, I am very glad to have this opportunity to look into the position generally and see what can be done to effect a reduction. It may be, that the establishment employed has grown older and is receiving more pay in consequence and that it may be more profitable to employ less senior officers at lower rates of pay for the execution of the irrigation works in the North-West Frontier Province. If, therefore, the Honourable Member will withdraw his motion on the understanding that I will look into the question from the departmental point of view, I hope he will receive the permission of the House to do so.

Babu J. N. Mukherjee : Sir, under the assurance given by the Honourable Member, I beg to withdraw my motion.

Sardar Gulab Singh : I move, Sir :

‘That the demand under head North-West Frontier Province be reduced by Rs. 5,00,000.’

Sir, as the Honourable the Law Member has fully explained the position and has dealt with the points that I had in mind, I beg leave to withdraw my motion.

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

The Honourable the President : The question is :

‘That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,48,54,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1922 for the administration of the North-West Frontier Province.’

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas : Sir, before this item is put to the vote, I shall be obliged if the Honourable the Finance Member will give me some information on the item under the heading ‘Demand No. 48, North-West Frontier Province’ At page 238, the expenditure on land revenue amounts to Rs. 11,37,000 while on page 14 of the Memorandum explaining the details of the Estimates I find, that the revenue amounts to Rs. 21,32,000. The revenue is 11 lakhs while the expenditure is 21 lakhs, that is the expenditure is more than 50 per cent. of the revenue. Will the Honourable the Finance Member be good enough to give some information on this point?

The Honourable Mr. W. M. Hailey : Sir, we charge the head land revenue a great deal more than is merely concerned in the collection of the revenue itself. There are a large number of so-called revenue officials, such as Tashildars, as they would be in the North-West Frontier Province, Extra Assistant Commissioners, and the like, who discharge functions which are of a miscellaneous nature; they include general executive work, and indeed in many cases also of a minor judicial and magisterial work. Their pay however goes down to the head land revenue. That is the explanation why the expenditure appears so heavy a proportion to the land revenue receipts. In fact, I think, I am right in saying that even the Deputy Commissioners in the province are charged to the head land revenue, if not wholly, at least as regards a very considerable proportion of their pay.

Munshi Iswar Saran : Shall I be in order, Sir, if I reply to the observations that were made by the Honourable the Law Member? If I shall not be in order, I shall not speak.

The Honourable the President : The Honourable Member must know quite well that the whole debate is open on the main question.

Munshi Iswar Saran : Sir, I am exceedingly obliged to the Honourable the Law Member for having paid me the compliment that my speeches are generally accurate, but he says that on the present occasion I have been guilty of an inaccuracy. Sir, I am anxious, I must tell the House, that I should not commit inaccuracies. As regards my facts, I am very particular that I should state them with strict accuracy.

The Honourable Law Member says,—here is a Divisional Judge, there are district judges, and so on. In the first place, this House is aware that a Divisional Judge in the North-West Frontier Province is like a District Judge in other provinces, say in Bengal, the United Provinces, Madras or Bombay. A District Judge, as I understand—I speak subject to correction—is like a first class Subordinate Judge. I hope the Honourable Law Member will be pleased to bear in mind the words I used when I moved my Resolution. I said, that as far as the higher posts were concerned, no Indians were found holding them. Now, Sir, as regards the post of the Khan Bahadur who is shown as a Divisional Judge in the Civil List, if the Honourable Law Member will be pleased to refer to the bottom of the page on which his name appears, he will find that that post is reserved for the Political Department and this House will bear in mind that the Foreign and Political Department is practically closed against us. Am I then not right, Sir, in saying that this gentleman might have been appointed for some reason quite exceptional, recently or for some temporary period, and exceptions do not prove the rule?

As regards District Judges, yes, there are two or three District Judges, there are Extra Assistant Commissioners, there are Assistant Secretaries, etc. All that I do admit, but the gravamen of my charge is, so far as the *higher* posts were concerned, Indians are not appointed to them. Further, the Honourable Law Member says, 'Oh, look, there is one Superintendent of Police'. Sir, if the Honourable Law Member will kindly refer to the list which is given in that Civil List, under the heading 'Graded list of officers in the Police Department,' I do not think he will find the name of this gentleman there. I may say, that the reason why I did not mention his name was, that it was not to be found in the list of Superintendents. I submit, this is not an inaccuracy; but granting that it is, the real position to which I have invited the attention of this House remains true. As far as the *higher* posts in the North-West Frontier Province are concerned, there are practically no Indians amongst them. The Honourable Law Member says, 'Oh, we have sent one man from the North-West Frontier Province to qualify for the Indian Civil Service; this year we may send one or two—' he was not quite sure himself—'one or two men to qualify themselves for the post of Assistant Superintendents of Police.'

The Honourable Dr. T. B. Sapru : I rise to a point of order, Sir. I did not say this year we may send. I said, we have already sent.

Munshi Iswar Saran : I beg your pardon. They have already sent one or two men for the Police Department. What magnificent generosity!

I suppose, on behalf of Government, the Honourable the Law Member expects us to go down on our knees and say 'Oh ! we are filled with gratitude, and admiration for this magnificent generosity of a benevolent Government.' I will tell the Government in clear and emphatic language, that the sending of one man for the Indian Civil Service and one or two for the Police Department is utterly insufficient. If they think, that this will satisfy the growing aspirations of the people, they are sadly mistaken. Sir, this tinkering will not do. One gentleman talks about compromise. Yes, I am sometimes in favour of compromise, but I do make a difference between compromise and surrender. I am against surrender ; but I am for compromise. Where is the reason for compromise when a Member of the Government actually rises and says that one man has been sent to the Indian Civil Service and one or two to the Police Department, and his remark implies that this should satisfy us. If the Honourable Member will look at the list of members in the Foreign and Political Department who are in the public services in the North-West Frontier Province, the injustice against which I am complaining, will become perfectly manifest.

Then, Sir, I was grateful to the Honourable the Law Member when he told the House that the Government were taking steps to take more Indians into the Foreign and Political Services.

The Honourable Dr. T. B. Sapru : May I rise to a point of order, Sir ; what I did say was, that so far as appointments, such as Residents or Assistant Residents were concerned, the Government had conceded the principle. But I want to explain, that it is the usual custom to have District Judges and Divisional Judges of the Foreign and Political Department on the cadre for Political Services. If the Honourable Member will bear that in mind, he will probably not be so eloquent.

Munshi Iswar Saran : Sir, eloquence is a matter of temperament. Moreover, what one man may consider to be a question of a grave character, another man might consider to be of no great consequence. I do submit, that this is a matter of principle—and I submit it most deliberately—that with regard to the admission of Indians into the services of the North-West Frontier Province, a grave injustice has been done to our people against which our people have every right to complain—and complain most bitterly.

Then, Sir, as regards the raids in the North-West Frontier Province, I may at once admit that I have no specific remedies to suggest. My only object is to draw attention to the point. In the speech which the Honourable the Law Member made when my Honourable friend, Dr. Nand Lal, raised this debate, this is what he said. With the permission of the House I will read one or two sentences :

'So far as the Government are concerned, they will always welcome any suggestions which would end or materially reduce these frontier raids. We have heard a very harrowing description from Dr. Nand Lal of the raids that have taken place and I am sure that every one of us, official and non-official, sympathises with the sufferers on the frontier.'

Then he proceeded :

'The officers of Government have been doing the best that they possibly could to meet a very awkward situation, and I am sure, that the House will recognise that the Government feel very keenly that their own subjects required every possible protection.'

Then, again, 'If these considerations did not stand in our way'—he was referring to the negotiations that are going on at Kabul—'we should not

[Munshi Iswar Saran.]

have offered any opposition to this Resolution ; we should have welcomed it though at the same time we realise that the appointment of a committee will not be expedient just at that moment.'

I submit, Sir, there is not a word in that speech which suggests that the facts, as stated by Dr. Nand Lal, were incorrect or that he too like myself was guilty of inaccuracy. The whole burden of the speech of the Honourable the Law Member on behalf of the Government was : ' Yes, here are these facts, we are as anxious to relieve the suffering of the poor people in the North-West Frontier Province as you are, but, having regard to these negotiations, we think that the appointment of a committee is not advisable.' I submit, Sir, that only two weeks ago this was the speech delivered by the Member on behalf of the Government. Sir, having regard to that speech, I am perfectly entitled to say that as far as the facts go, they are not denied. I shall not say they are admitted ; but they are not denied. So, Sir, there are these two points, that there is dissatisfaction with the general administration and that there is strong, very strong dissatisfaction over the exclusion of Indians not from subordinate, but from the higher posts in the North-West Frontier Province.

Mr. E. L. Price : Sir, I do suggest to Members interested in this question that they make a great mistake in not accepting Dr. Sapru's offer. I only wish that some Member of Government would make me as good an offer on any subject in which I am interested. I should fall over myself in my anxiety to accept it. And, Sir, if I make this remark, it is particularly for the reason, that when Chaudhuri Shahab-ud-Din made a statement that the main driving force behind the tribes that committed the raids—the cause of so much complaint—the driving force was economic, I heard murmurs in the House that sounded as if some people were laughing at him. If that were so, Sir, I suggest that the Members who laughed, should first of all consider a few facts of history, for I say, it is so all over the world, and ever has been, that the hungry hillmen swoop on the plains. It was so on the borders of Scotland and England ; it was so on the borders of Wales and England. The very title of nobility ' Marquis ' means ' A defender of the border,' and what can you expect ? You have big, hairy, active hillmen, living under extremely difficult conditions, always short of food, always short of fuel, always short of clothing. They get such arms as they can, they swoop down on the peaceful inhabitants of the plains for loot. And yet when an Honourable Member of this House makes a statement of that fact, a fact which must be absolutely plain to anybody who has read history at all, he is greeted with a slight element of laughter. I protest, Sir, at that laughter, because the Honourable Member was making a valuable point, and because he was laughed at and people do not seem to understand what is one of the main causes of these raids. I the more earnestly suggest that Members interested accept the very generous offer of Dr. Sapru.

The Honourable Mr. Shafi : Sir, perhaps the House will be interested to hear that out of the six Educational Service men in charge of the various appointments which are reserved to that Service in the North-West Frontier Province, three are Indians. Perhaps also the House will be interested to know that at this moment the gentleman in charge of Archaeology in that province is an Indian.

Khan Bahadur Zahir-ud-Din Ahmed : Sir, one word and I will finish. I am informed that the raids on the North-West Frontier Province are being continually raised in this House. I feel equally with Honourable Members on this question. I offer a solution, Sir, if a few copies of the debates of this House are forwarded to the frontier tribesmen, I am certain they will frighten the offenders away.

My further submission to you, Sir, is that those Honourable Members who are so keen about it may be entrusted with the copy of the debates to be handed over to the frontier men. Sir, I wish to know if the Honourable Members will agree to this.

An ounce of experience is better than a ton of theory. Hence I wish to let my Honourable friends, the M. L. A.'s from the different provinces and cities have a little taste of these frontier tribes and no doubt they will return wiser men and satisfied.

Babu K. C. Neogy : Sir, reference has been made to the circumstances in which the North-West Frontier Province was created. Now that about 20 years have elapsed since that day, it will be profitable to turn our attention to a remarkable memorandum which was prepared by the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, Sir Mackworth Young, in which he protested against the creation of this Province. It is interesting to learn that the Punjab Government was not even consulted in regard to this matter before the decision was arrived at to create this territory into a separate Province. I will just draw the attention of the House to the five salient observations in the report which practically summarise the whole thing and which appear to me to be remarkably prophetic in their character. The first is, that the 'severance of the five districts from the Province to which they have been attached since the Sikh times will be unpopular with the Chiefs and the people of the districts concerned.' The second is that 'the military administration which is proposed to be constituted will be much less efficient than that which now exists as part of a large provincial organisation.' And under this, Sir, Sir Mackworth Young criticises the proposal of employing officers of the Foreign and Political Department

The Honourable the President : Order, order. As far as I read this Demand, there is nothing in it providing for past history.

Babu K. C. Neogy : Well, Sir, it will be interesting to note that when the Province was created, it was estimated by the authorities that it would cost no more than Rs. 67,86,344 a year, and I will ask the House to remember that we are going to vote just now about a crore in excess of that amount.

The Honourable the President : The question is :

'That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,43,54,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st March 1922 in respect of the 'North-West Frontier Province'.'

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Mr. W. M. Hailey : Sir, I beg to move :

'That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,07,72,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st March 1922 in respect of Expenditure in England. 'Expenditure in England'.'

PROBATIONERS FOR THE FOREST DEPARTMENT.

Mr. A. B. Latthe: Sir, I beg to move :

'That the sum of Rs. 2,84,000 (Expenses in connection with probationers for the Forest Department) (page 279) be omitted.'

Sir, the reason why I move this amendment is that the principles underlying the allotment of this amount are such that they ought to be discussed in this House at this stage.

From inquiries which I have made of the Honourable Mr. Hullah, I learn that this amount is intended for the expenses of certain probationers who are maintained in England and who, I presume, are intended for the Indian Forest Service. The first question which strikes me in this connection is that Forestry is a subject for the teaching of which ample provision seems to have been made in India, and there is hardly any reason why probationers should be sent to England. Honourable Members will see that the College at Dehra Dun has been recently developed to a very great extent and that we are incurring an expenditure of Rs. 4,97,000 a year on that College. It appears that the requirements of the Indian Forest Service do not go much beyond 50 or 60 men a year, and I should think that the higher education in Forestry which ought to be given to these men ought to be available at the Dehra Dun College which we are maintaining at such a heavy cost and which we are promised is to be capable of giving the best education in that department.

Then the second question which arises, to my mind, is that the Forest Service is one in which there ought to be a very great preponderance of Indians. The present system of recruitment whereby probationers are, I think, to a very large extent taken in England, is a system which puts a handicap on the Indian candidates who aspire to posts in the Forest Service. There is no reason which I can imagine for the Indian Forest Department being manned by so very few Indians. I recognise that in certain other departments there is much force in the contention that there must be an irreducible minimum of British people and beyond that minimum it would not be safe to go. I am one of those who admit the force of that argument in certain departments, but so far as the Forest Department is concerned, I cannot see why it should not be entirely manned by Indians, and, if that is the goal which we have in view, I think the proper course for the Government to follow is to appoint the recruits exclusively in India and to train them in India as far as possible. I think there is no reason why there should be any difficulty in giving the highest education in Forestry in this country. If necessary, those students who complete their course at Dehra Dun might be sent for a tour to Europe and other countries where they might be expected to see the forests on the spot. But there is no reason why we should mainly recruit candidates for the Forest Department in England and why we should think that the College which we are maintaining at such a cost should not be capable of giving instruction which these students are to get in England.

I propose this amendment only with a view to give the Government an opportunity of making a statement on these two questions, and, if the Government makes a statement which will be satisfactory to the House, I do not intend to press my motion.

Mr. J. Hullah: Sir, the Honourable Mover's opinion that the Imperial Forest Service should be manned entirely by Indians agrees with that of the Public Services Commission and the Secretary of State and the Government of India, but the fact is that up to the present we have found that the Forest Service is, for some unknown reason, the most unattractive to Indians of all the services, and until quite lately you could count on the fingers of one hand the number of Indians in the Imperial Branch of the Department. It is not that this branch has been closed to them. It has been open to all Indians, and any Indian who cared to go to England and try for that Service could do so as was the case in regard also to the Indian Civil Service. The Government of India have now decided, under the Secretary of State's instructions, to recruit at once for 40 per cent. of the posts in the Imperial branch of the service by taking in Indians. We made our first attempt at recruitment last year, but for reasons into which I need not go we were only able to obtain four Indians and those have been sent to England. We tried to obtain last year 60 men in all. Owing to the war and various other causes, especially the large increase in the Forest services in the different provinces, all the staffs in the provinces are very short of men and we tried to get last year 60 men, of whom, under the 40 per cent. principle, 24 were to be Indians and 36 Europeans. As a matter of fact, we were successful in getting only 25 Europeans and 4 Indians. This year we shall try again to get 60 men, and in consequence of the failure to obtain men last year, we are putting the Indian recruitment, if we can get the men, above the 40 per cent., that has been accepted as the percentage for the present, and we shall try to get 30 Indians to fill up 30 out of a total of 60 vacancies. They will go to England. Their passages will be paid and they will receive the same allowance as the European candidates in England, namely, £200 a year. Their expenses on the continent where they go for a course of training will also be paid, and these are among the reasons for the provision that appears in the Budget.

The Honourable Member has suggested that the training of Indians for the Forest Department should be in India. He has thus raised, in the course of a Budget discussion, a very big question which has been under the very careful consideration of the Government of India and the Secretary of State for some time past. The Public Services Commission made the same recommendation, but their recommendation was not unanimous; the majority, however, declared in favour of recruitment in India. The Government of India at first were inclined to the same opinion. They consulted the Local Governments, which with only one exception, were distinctly opposed to the proposal. In view of the objections put forward, the Government of India changed their view and considered that it was in the interests of the Indian Forest Service and of Indians themselves, that they should get the best possible training available, and that is only available in England and in the continental forests. The Secretary of State, however, decided in favour of training in India. Shortly after that decision, there was held in England the Imperial Forestry Conference consisting of representatives from all parts of the Empire, and one of the recommendations of that conference was, that there should be a central institute for training students in Forestry from all parts of the Empire, the institute to be located in England. Having regard to that recommendation the Secretary of State re-opened the question and has asked us to consider the Forestry Conference's recommendations, to obtain all kinds of opinion and to let him have the Government of India's final recommendations.

[Mr. J. Hullah.]

We are waiting for the detailed report of a Committee appointed by the Forestry Conference to know exactly what is meant by this central training institution and what the cost to India would be. As soon as we receive that report, we intend to send to all the Local Governments a complete set of the papers and the whole of the correspondence. We shall also publish those papers and we and the Local Governments will obtain such opinion, especially non-official, as we can. The Government of India also intend to give this Legislature a full opportunity of discussing the whole question before it is settled whether training is to be in England or in India.

Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas : I have yet a more cogent answer to give to Mr. Latthe than that given by the Government Member. We have all been anxious and have been agitating for the more extensive employment of Indians in the Indian services. Now that question is entirely apart from our getting training in India. I think, that by making this provision, which will allow of probationers being sent out of India for their training to continental countries, we shall be serving the object of the more extensive employment of Indians, because, thereby, we shall be assisting the machinery, which machinery will enable Indians to be more qualified for service in Forests than they now are.

Therefore, I think that Mr. Latthe is somewhat wrong if he will pardon me for saying so—in supposing that such a motion of reduction is serving the interests of the more extensive employment of Indians in this country. I say, that is a very cogent reason why he should withdraw this motion for reduction. If he does not, he should be opposed.

Rao Bahadur C. S. Subrahmanyam : Sir, Service in the Forest Department has always been considered a close preserve. Well, while Indians are admitted to some of the more important branches of the administration, the Forest Branch is one of those which has always been kept a close preserve, that is Indians were shut out of it. The reason is not obvious to a layman. In the first place, forestry in India is not the same as forestry in England, where the climatic conditions and other conditions are totally different. The fauna of this country and the fauna of the cold and western countries is quite different. Therefore, a young man trained in some forest school in England, when he comes out to India, has practically to unlearn most of the things he learnt there and then begins to learn here at the expense of this Government and makes experiments which often fail.

Now, properly speaking, forests like agriculture, should be very largely manned by Indians. Let them have an English training; it may do them good. The disproportion in numbers which is disclosed in the explanation given by the Honourable gentlemen on behalf of the Government shows that there is good ground for complaint, and the motion which my Honourable friend, Mr. Latthe, has moved in such mild language deserves greater attention at the hands of this Assembly, because the recruitment in England practically means that many a young Indian who might have all the qualifications necessary for the service is handicapped.

The long distance they have to go and all the other drawbacks connected with residence in a foreign country prevent large numbers from going. Therefore, it has on that account become practically a closed service.

So far as the conditions of service go out here, there is also some difference between Europeans and Indians who do the same work but who are designated with the prefix 'Extra.' While a European is called Assistant Conservator, an Indian is called Extra Assistant Conservator, and he gets much less pay. Now this question was very freely agitated by the Indian members of the Forest Service when the Public Services Commission was touring the country.

Now, after all, the training that is received in England, unfortunately is not very much. It is on the Continent, it would appear, that Forestry is better specialised and that an efficient system of training is available—especially in Germany. That is what I have heard, and I believe, that represents the correct state of affairs.

Now as for the Local Governments being in apposition, we all know that after all, in regard to these services, Local Governments never look with favour on the extension of some of these services to Indians. Somehow or other, when a question like this is referred to a Local Government, naturally the men at the head of that particular service have their say and that is reflected by the Government and passed on to the Government of India. Therefore the fact that Local Governments are in opposition is a matter which ought to be scrutinised, discussed, dissected here in this Assembly and not simply taken as having the least *prima facie* value. In view of the correspondence that is going on with the Secretary of State, let us wait till he has fully accepted the recommendations of the Local Governments to limit the number of Indians in the Indian Forest Service. No doubt on this occasion it may not be possible to come to the conclusion that there should be an increase in the number of Indians employed in the Forest Service. But it is a very good thing that the question has been raised. One thing that stands out clearly is that the explanation given by the Honourable gentleman on behalf of the Government is very weak, the weakest we have heard for days past, and that in itself shows that my Honourable friend, Mr. Latthe, has a very good case. I hope that on the next occasion we have of discussing this matter, my Honourable friend will also come prepared to press his case, and not, like my Honourable friend who spoke last, simply say we will accept whatever the Government offers. This Department, like one or two other Departments, has been very badly treated in this respect, and if Forestry in this country is to improve, it can only be by the local knowledge and familiarity with local conditions and terms which an Indian possesses. As for the English training, I do not know, as I have said, that there is much Forestry training to be had in England. There are other countries on the Continent and elsewhere where Forestry has been specialised and developed to a greater extent. Well, Sir, I will only call the attention of the House to the fact that the Forest Service has been kept practically a closed service to Indians.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: Sir, it was stated on the side of the Government that sufficient Indian recruits had not come forward to fill up the vacancies that were created. I should like to know from Government whether they advertised these vacancies as widely and as prominently as they advertised the Government Loan, whether they sent any notices about these vacancies to all the colleges in the country and whether they wrote to the employment bureaux of the different universities. I am quite sure, Sir, if they had taken the same trouble and care which they took in advertising Government loans,

[Mr. N. M. Joshi.]

they would certainly have found more than enough of people to fill up these vacancies.

Mr. Wali Mohamed Hussanally: Sir, I agree with all that my friend, Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas has said on this subject; and I also admit, that the course of professional education at the present moment in the United Kingdom is far superior to what we get in India, and, therefore, I think, that there cannot be the slightest question as to the provision which is now asked for being granted. The Honourable Mr. Hullah has given an explanation which, I think, ought to convince the House of its being very satisfactory. But particularly, I would ask my friend, Mr. Latthe, to withdraw his motion at the present moment by reason of the fact that the whole question is under consideration; and as Mr. Hullah has told us just now, as soon as all the papers come, the question will be referred to the Local Governments and also will be placed before this House for consideration. Therefore, I think, it is inopportune to ask this House not to grant this allotment.

Mr. A. B. Latthe: Just one or two words, Sir. With reference to the first question, we have been assured that the question will be placed before the Assembly at a later date, and, therefore, I need not travel over the ground which my Honourable friend, Mr. Harchandrai, touched.

With regard to the other question, I must frankly confess, that I am not satisfied with the statement made on behalf of the Government. We were told, that the idea is to give 40 per cent. of these probationerships to Indians. Well, I do not see any reason why we should confine ourselves to 40 per cent. As the Honourable Mr. Hullah himself said, the Public Services Commission recommended that the service might be entirely manned by Indians, and I still think, that that should be the ideal before the Government. Of course, in the present circumstances, in view of the fact that the Government could not find even four men out of 30 last year, the suggestion which I am making is only of academic interest. Let us see that the Government secures at least 40 or 50 per cent. this year, and then we may press for more next time. With this intention, I beg the House to permit me to withdraw the motion.

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

GROSVENOR GARDENS.

Mr. Piyari Lal Misra: Sir, the motion standing in my name, is :

'That the item Rs. 1,20,000 (page 280), Alteration to Grosvenor Gardens, be omitted.'

That comes under the head 'High Commissioner' I understand, the High Commissioner for India. My motion is more by way of eliciting information on the subject. I should like to know whether this alteration is meant in the residence of the High Commissioner, or whether it is meant for his office, or only by way of luxury. The point is not quite clear and is altogether ambiguous; so unless I have these facts I do not see my way to withdraw this motion.

Mr. C. A. Innes: Sir, I shall try to answer the Honourable Member's questions. The facts of the case are, that when the High Commissionership was created, it was found impossible to continue to accommodate him in the India Office. Accordingly, office accommodation had to be found for him. Now, it was considered very desirable, that that office accommodation should

be found in a suitable locality in London. In the first place it was necessary that it should be near the India Office, and in the second place it was necessary that it should be in the same part of London as the offices of the High Commissioners and Agents-General of the various dominions. It was also necessary that it should be near the Students' Department at Cromwell Road. But in this part of London, which is the West-End, it is not easy to find office accommodation; and Sir William Meyer had considerable difficulty in finding the accommodation he required.

Finally, he was able to secure on very favourable terms two houses in Grosvenor Gardens, but those two houses are private houses, and certain alterations had to be made in order to make those two houses fit for offices. So Mr. Piyari Lal Misra will see that this provision has been made not for Sir William Meyer's private residence, but for the office of the High Commissioner of the Government of India in London.

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer: I wish to know, Sir, whether the Grosvenor Gardens site has been acquired by the Government of India or they are making improvements to other men's property.

Mr. C. A. Innes: The only information I have got on that point is, that Sir William Meyer hoped to be able to get a lease of 35 years for these two buildings.

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer: What is the nature of our present interest?

Mr. C. A. Innes: We have, I understand, a lease with 35 years to run for these two mansions.

Rao Bahadur T. Rangachariar: What is the rent?

Mr. C. A. Innes: I think they have purchased the remainder of the lease for 35 years for £21,000.

The Honourable the President: Does the Honourable Member wish to withdraw the motion.

Mr. Piyari Lal Misra: If the case is as put down by Mr. Innes and if the necessity is inevitable, I beg to withdraw the motion.

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

INDIAN STUDENTS DEPARTMENT.

Munshi Iswar Saran: Sir, before I move my Resolution, I shall be obliged if an explanation is given to me on behalf of Government in regard to one or two points. On page 218, there is an item called 'Indian Students Problem', Rs. 50,000 and on page 281 there is another item 'Indian Students,' Rs. 1,85,000. I should like to know what these two different items are.

The Honourable the President: As a matter of order, the whole discussion regarding Indian students in England should be taken, on one of these three motions.

Mr. H. Sharp: Perhaps it will clear the point if I say, that the entry on page 280 refers to the expenditure in connection with the Indian students department, that is in the office of the High Commissioner now. The entry on the next page 281 under 'Indian Students' refers to expenditure for

[Mr. H. Sharp.]

scholarships and stipends and similar matters of that kind and assistance generally to Indian students in England.

The Honourable the President: Am I to understand that the larger item arises as a matter of administration out of the smaller one?

Mr. H. Sharp: The smaller one is the administrative body. The larger one, Rs. 1,85,000 is payment for scholarships which are awarded in this country to a large number of Indians for study mainly in the United Kingdom. They are quite different items.

The Honourable the President: I put it in a different way. The scholarships, I understand, are awarded in India, and those holding them proceed from India for education in England. When they arrive in England, are they under the general control or supervision of the officer in charge of the Indian Students Department?

Mr. H. Sharp: The State Scholars, as they are called, are all under the control of the Indian Students Department.

The Honourable the President: Then I think it will be convenient to take the whole discussion on the motion for reduction which the Honourable Member is about to move.

Dr. H. S. Gour: I am not willing, Sir, that my motion should merge in that of the Honourable Member, because I have got a different motion altogether and I wish to approach the question from an entirely different standpoint.

Munshi Iswar Saran: Sir, I move:

‘That the provision of Rs. 50,000 for Indian Students Department be reduced by Rs. 1,000.’

I speak subject to correction, but I understand that this Indian Students Department is really the Advisory Committee for Indian Students which has now been placed under the High Commissioner. Am I right?

The Honourable Mr. Shafi: No, I am afraid my Honourable friend is not right. The Indian Students Department was originally a Department of the India Office which has recently been transferred to the control of the High Commissioner for India. In that Department, the High Commissioner for India is assisted by two Indian Secretaries, and I suppose, there is the necessary staff attached to that department in order to enable the High Commissioner and the Secretaries to carry on their duties.

Munshi Iswar Saran: What has become of the Indian Advisory Committee?

The Honourable Mr. Shafi: There was a Resolution moved in the Council of State the other day advocating the appointment of an Advisory Committee to the High Commissioner. I undertook, in the Council of State, to enter into correspondence with the High Commissioner with a view to the formation of an Advisory Committee which shall assist the High Commissioner in the administration of this particular branch of his work, but that Advisory Committee has still to come into existence.

Munshi Iswar Saran : I beg your pardon. There used to be an Advisory Committee of which Dr. Arnold was the head.

The Honourable Mr. Shafi : There was, so far as I am aware, no Advisory Committee. It was the Indian Students Department of the India Office of which Dr. Arnold was in charge.

Mr. Eardley Norton : May I ask, Sir, whether this Rs. 50,000 goes entirely for the pay of the two Secretaries and their staff ?

Mr. H. Sharp : The calculation is made up in the India Office and it is impossible to furnish complete details about it. The money which is put down goes to the pay of the two Secretaries and certain other items of administration. It would be impossible to say exactly how much goes to the Secretaries and exactly how much to others.

Munshi Iswar Saran : Sir, on this question I speak with very great diffidence having regard to the fact that I have never been to England myself; but my submissions will be based on information I have received from many young men who have been to England as well as from a good many of my elderly friends who have visited England. I must concede at once, that as far as the broad question is concerned, I venture to think that there will be a general unanimity that in order to look after Indian students who go from India for purposes of education to England, it is well that there should be an organization in England, to look after their interests and to help them in case of need. The House will find that Indian students go to England generally at about the age of 19 or 20, and at that impressionable age it is very much to their advantage that they should have a committee of friends who are interested in Indian students and are willing to help them. As far as that principle goes, this is my submission, but what I find is, that the Students Department, as existing, has not been popular with the Indian students. I do not undertake to say who is to blame for this unpopularity, I am only stating the fact that this Department is not popular with the majority of Indian students who go there. I also understand from friends who have returned from England, that the report I have received from many students is substantially correct. The grievance of Indian students is, that they get little or no help from that Department. On the other hand, some of them go to the length of saying that instead of giving help it puts obstacles in their path. They further feel, that this Department has really been brought into existence for political purposes. They imagine, as I have already said, although I express no opinion about it, that this Department has been brought into existence in order to keep an eye on them, that it has been created to control or suppress their political opinions and activities and not with the object of helping them. It may be true, it may not be true, I only put it for the consideration of this House.

Now, if there is this want of confidence in the Department, as I am led to think there is—then, my submission is, that it is time for Government to consider this question and to see what changes can be made in order that these grievances of the Indian students may be removed, so that the department may enjoy their confidence. If I am not very much mistaken, I think that two or three years ago, a Resolution was passed by the Indian National Congress advocating the abolition of this Department. From articles that have appeared in the public Press from time to time, the inference that

[Munshi Iswar Saran.]

one is forced to draw is, that this Department is not popular with the Indian students, and has not been able to gain the good-will of even some of the elderly people who have visited England. In these circumstances, I submit, that the matter is one that requires very serious consideration.

I think this House will agree with me when I say that if these Indian students who go to England, and who will continue to go there, come back with feelings embittered towards the Department and the authorities, a serious and complicated situation will arise. I say, arrangements should be made to enable the students to have confidence in the Department and to come back with no other feelings but those of friendliness towards it. It was with the object of drawing attention to these facts, that I have brought forward this motion.

Mr. H. Sharp: Sir, I regret that I am not so well equipped as I could wish to meet this amendment. I am slightly hampered. The responsibility for my embarrassment rests upon an Honourable Member of this Assembly, but the Honourable Member is not Munshi Iswar Saran. It is, strange to say, my Honourable friend, Dr. Gour. The facts, as far as I can ascertain from certain information and partly from surmise, are as follows. Dr. Gour has lower down an amendment following this one. He put it down before I knew that he was going to move it or that I should have to meet it, and it appears that he immediately went off, like a wise man, and got hold of the last report upon the Indian Students Department. Now, it so happens that I have only got one copy of that document here and in the kindness of my heart I placed it in the Library in order that Honourable Members might edify themselves or amuse themselves by perusing it in their leisure hours. The result is, that I cannot get hold of that document myself and Dr. Gour has, so to speak, cut my communications and appropriated my main ammunition column. I do not blame him. In fact, this is merely a proof of what I was mentioning yesterday, namely, the capacity and agility of the non-official Members who have come to the Indian Legislature from a part of India which is sometimes unjustly stigmatised as backward and slow.

Now, to turn to the amendment itself, Munshi Iswar Saran has himself, I think really, apologised very handsomely for the existence of the Indian Students Department. He has fully admitted that there is necessity for some such organisation. We have a very large number now of Indian students in the United Kingdom. How many precisely I cannot say, but doubtless Dr. Gour can give us more up-to-date information than I can. They find themselves among novel surroundings, they find themselves often friendless, in need of advice and exposed to all kinds of troubles and temptations. It is obvious, therefore, that there must be an agency for looking after them and that agency has for a long time been the Indian Students Department which was in the India Office.

What are the kinds of benefits which this Department bestows upon the students? In the first place, the Department takes definitely under its guardianship the State scholars and certain others whose parents wish them to come under the guardianship of the Department. In 1916, that number was 138. In the same year, however, apart from this, one thousand students sought the assistance of the Department. (At this stage the Deputy President took the Chair.)

Another important function of this Department is to deal with and assist those students who go to England either without having made preparation beforehand for getting admitted into any educational institution or who are not fully informed as to the kind of institution which it will be best for them to enter. We have in India 11 Advisory Committees, mainly non-official bodies, which have been instituted for giving this advice. But very often it is found that a student goes off without consulting the appropriate committee and arrives in England with really very little idea as to what he is going to do and with no promise of admission to any institution. There the Department comes in and helps to get him into some institution. In this connection the Department puts the student into correspondence with the Delegacy for Oriental Studies at Oxford and the Inter-collegiate Indian Students' Committee at Cambridge, two purely non-official bodies which have been formed by those Universities for arranging for the admission of Indian students into the various colleges. I should like to make one point about this, and that is, that the Students Department has never thrown itself down the throat of the student. It does not force its guardianship or its help upon anybody. But if parents put their students under it for guardianship, it helps them. It helps them in many other ways also. No. 1 Cromwell Road has already been mentioned. It finds residence for students; it helps in entertainments, it compiles or helps in compiling a very useful handbook of information, and it arranges for passports.

Well, I am perfectly aware, Sir, that there have been grumbles in the past, as Munshi Iswar Saran told us, about the management of this department, and students have come back and talked about it. Those grumbles came to a head and it was thought worth while to answer them. The India Office compiled a Memorandum on the position of Indian students in the United Kingdom in 1918. It is a very informing document and I commend it to the Honourable Member's notice. It will show both where those grumbles were without foundation and also it will show at a very much greater length than I have been able to set forth the object and aims of the department.

We have heard hardly any grumbles lately. In fact, I think I may say that we have heard none, and I think also that in the future we shall hear even less, because the whole institution is being de-officialised. To begin with, the department itself has been made a part of the Office of the High Commissioner. The students are no longer in contact with the India Office. Some thought, doubtless without foundation, that the India Office were spying upon them, whereas it could not have been so, because it was not necessary for the students to go and see the India Office. The High Commissioner, as the Honourable Member for Education has said, has got two Indian Secretaries, namely, Mr. Bhore and Mr. Sen, who are at present doing the work of the department. As the Honourable Member has also said, in connection with a Resolution in the Council of State the other day he gave certain assurances regarding the institution of an advisory committee. I think, that I have said enough to defend the Rs. 50,000 which is put down for this department. But in case anybody thinks that the expenditure is too large, I might mention that it has been decreased—I find in 1919-20 it cost just over Rs. 86,000, and now it costs Rs. 50,000.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: Sir, it seems to me strange that the Government should not be in a position to give details of the sum of Rs. 50,000 when they are actually asking us to sanction it. I do not know whether the details of

[Mr. N. M. Joshi.]

this amount are not with the Government Member here, or are not in India at all.

Sir, as regards the question raised by my friend, Munshi Iswar Saran, I do believe that there is great discontent among the students in England about the working of this Department. Last year when I was in England, I had very good opportunities of knowing the feelings of students in England in this matter. I used to take my meals in an Indian restaurant which used to be crowded by students, and during the course of my conversations with them, and sometimes as a quiet listener, I gathered that this discontent was indeed very great, and I also felt that it was well-grounded.

In the first place, as my Honourable friend, Munshi Iswar Saran, stated, the students regard this Department as a Department which existed not for helping them but for the purpose of espionage. I hardly met any student who gave me a better account of this Department. I met all sorts of students, good and bad. But I did not meet any one of them who really said a good word about this institution. Secondly, I met some of them who said that when they did not go to Cromwell Road House, that is, under the supervision of the Government Department, the Government Department actually came in the way of their getting admission into some of the universities. Then, Sir, some of them also told me that when the Cromwell Road House failed to secure for them admission into the university to which they wanted to go they could secure admission without its help. Many of them also complained that the Cromwell Road House interfered with the ordinary life of the students rather too much, and there was a conscious effort to control the political opinions of the students that go there. On this matter I must state that I never visited the Indian Students Department. My knowledge is solely derived from the students themselves, and for that reason it may be considered as one-sided. What I do feel is this, that there is not the slightest doubt in my mind, from what I saw in England that there is an effort, conscious effort, made on behalf of Government to control the political opinions of the students that go there.

Sir, I do not know much of psychology, but I know this much, that if there is any effort made to control any sort of opinions, that effort is bound to be frustrated and this effort on the part of Government, therefore, meets with no better fate. I also feel sometimes, that although as the Honourable Member for Government said that this department does not thrust itself upon the people, still it looks as if this department is a little bit officious. It looks as if the department is a missionary department, wants people to come under its wings, rather than to remain strictly neutral and this very attitude of the department in many cases creates a kind of suspicion, as there is a kind of suspicion about the Christian missionaries, that instead of helping, the department comes in the way of its real work. Sir, I therefore feel that Government, instead of trying to help the people in an officious manner and trying to control the opinions of the students and to interfere with their ordinary life, should as far as possible, leave the students alone, especially in regard to their political opinions. If they leave the students alone, then, I am quite sure, that at least some of the students will return to India with sane political opinions. Sir, I say this also on account of my experience in another place in London. The Young Men's Christian Association has recently started a Students Home in London which I found to be free to a great extent, from all the defects which are attributed to the House on

Cromwell Road. I therefore feel that Government should try to leave the students alone as far as possible and that if the department is to be maintained, it should take a neutral attitude and should not try to help any student unless the student seeks its help and further that if the Young Men's Christian Association or any other body starts homes in London, Government should be ready to help it in all possible ways. I think that will be a better solution of the problem than spending a large amount of money on this department. Then I should like to ask one question. We have Indian students not only in the United Kingdom but also in the United States. The number of students in the United States can also be counted by hundreds. I do not know why Government does not try to help the students that go to the United States as they try to help the students in the United Kingdom. Sir, I feel that this matter of the students in the United Kingdom as well as in the United States requires close examination and must be handled very sympathetically.

Dr. Nand Lal : Sir, we should not be carried away with the expression 'Indian Students Department'. At the time of allowing this demand we ought to see what benefit the Indian student community in England can derive from this institution. That is the crux of the whole thing. If I am asked and if my humble voice could be heard here, then I will come out with an expression of my opinion and that opinion is this. 'That it is an uncalled for limitation on the legitimate freedom of the students.' Poor Indian students wherever they go have to be under some sort of guardianship, as if they cannot look after themselves. Allow me to submit before this House that the Indian students can look after themselves very adequately. The Honourable the Official Member has very kindly informed us that one thousand students have consulted this august body which has been located in England at this heavy expense. What sort of consultation? I have been to England myself. When I was in England, allow me to say frankly, the voice of the generality of the students there was that this is nothing but a kind of check on their freedom.

This was the opinion which was at least expressed to me by a number of students then. Afterwards, I had the pleasure of seeing a number of students and they themselves had to make this statement before me that this institution is unnecessary. Can we not then make a fairly good deduction that this expenditure of money is not only a waste but also that it produces, as I have said, a kind of uncalled for limitation on the legitimate freedom of our students. This is the best part of their lives, I envy that life myself and wish I could become a student again. They live in a wholesome atmosphere and their very stay there is very educative. Why should they be hampered by an official body to control them? Certainly, there is much justification for the comment which has been made, that this institution has been made to control the political views of the students. Supposing it is an incorrect comment, but the fact remains that the students look upon it in that light. Is it not the duty of the Government to try to remove that idea? Government's intentions may be very good. According to the view of the Government this expenditure may be proper expenditure, but we have got to see what effect it produces on the minds of the students. Their view is 'This institution is not established for our guidance, for assistance to us, but to control us.' And some of them do feel and say 'We are very unfortunate people. Wherever we go, we are pursued by a body which will control us, as if we cannot guide ourselves.' This

[Dr. Nand Lal.]

is the criticism. This criticism may be misplaced, but this is the criticism which has emanated from the minds of these very students. I concede at once that in some cases, say 2 per cent. of cases, this institution might have gone to the length of really helping some students. But is it worth while to spend so much money for that? That is the point before the House. Other speakers have tried to throw a flood of light on this question, and I think I need not reiterate their arguments.

I finish my remarks with this conclusion, that this motion for retrenchment is a very sound one, speaks for itself, and I very strongly support it.

Mr. S. C. Shahani: Sir, are we to sit here every day till 6 O'clock?

The Deputy President: That is not a question for me but for the President to answer.

Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy: Mr. Deputy President, I am afraid, I have no sympathy with the Honourable Mr. Sharp in his complaint that the only book on which he relied had been bagged by Dr. Gour. There seems to be an epidemic of petty larcenies in the Council Chamber. Only this morning . .

Dr. H. S. Gour: I rise to a point of order, Sir. I am in possession of the book, but most legitimately in possession of it. I sent a requisition for that book to the Registrar and he gave it to me.

Mr. H. Sharp: I rise to a point of order. I never used the word 'bagged' about Dr. Gour.

Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy: Well, Sir, only this morning the Honourable Mr. Eardley Norton said, that some of us were taking away pencils from the desks and, if I may be permitted to remind the Honourable Mr. Sharp of what he did yesterday, it is this, that yesterday he took the motto of Bombay and applied it to Calcutta—a city with which we are always on a footing of friendly rivalry.

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas: Sir, I am glad that the motion brought forward by my friend Mr. Iswar Saran, gives us the opportunity of discussing the doings of this department. I do not know what this department is going to be in future. I hope it will be all that Mr. Sharp has very kindly told us it is going to be. I am also glad that the Council of State, by a Resolution, has recommended the appointment of a Committee. I hope that Committee will not be in any way like the Committee that existed in the past but will consist of prominent Indians and sympathetic English men who live in England—men like Sir Sankaran Nair, and Sir M. Bhowanagree.

I claim to have some knowledge of the state of Indian students in England and I do not share the view placed before this House by Dr. Nand Lal, that these students should have no guidance whatsoever in England, that they should be allowed to go from here and should be free to follow their own pursuits without being guided by any other department. I do not think, that would be a desirable thing. It would indeed be a calamity if Indian students were allowed to go from here to a place which is not known to them without any guidance whatsoever, either in India or in England, among other things

as to what course they should adopt with regard to prosecuting their studies in England. But, I do submit, Sir, that I endorse the opinion expressed by my friend, Mr. Joshi, that this department which has existed up to now has entirely failed to offer any guidance to Indian students who have gone to England. Sir, if there is one thing of which we Indians ought to be ashamed, it is the state of Indian students in England. No one who has not been to England, nor any one who has not kept in touch with the condition of Indian students there, can have the slightest idea, even if it were given in the most eloquent speeches, of the miserable state in which Indian students have to live in England. I shall quote Mr. Gokhale who said in 1914, after investigating the condition of Indian students in England, that in his opinion it was criminal to send Indian students to England to receive education in the present circumstances.

Dr. Nand Lal: May I point out, Sir, that Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas levels his attack against the students who are not present here to defend themselves.

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas: My friend, Dr. Nand Lal, is labouring under a misapprehension. Anyone who heard me speak will admit that my attack was not levelled against the students. My attack is levelled against the department which pretended to give guidance to the students but which failed entirely to give any guidance whatsoever to the students. Mr. Joshi has pointed out, and very rightly pointed out, that the one thing this department concentrates upon, is the task of enslaving Indian students. The result is—as the result of an attempt at enslavement always is—that the students go out of the hands not only of those who are trying to enslave them, but they go beyond all bounds of propriety and take all sorts of license, take pride in severely criticising their own parents and their own political leaders, no matter how much they may have sacrificed in the cause of the country and they are full of hatred and bitterness against the nation, I am sorry to say, which they think has ill-treated them. This is the condition, this is the state of affairs in England; and I am quoting the words of a great Englishman, a friend of India, who is now in England and whose sympathies with India and its aspirations can never be brought into question, when I say that he told me once that if there was any hopeless lot in the country at present it was this class of Indian students who come to England; and the fault entirely is of the department which pretended to guide them, but gave them no guidance whatsoever.

Sir, Mr. Sharp made mention of the beautiful residence that is provided to students at Cromwell Road. The less said about 21, Cromwell Road, the better. I wonder Mr. Sharp knows what reputation 21, Cromwell Road has among Englishmen in England. If a respectable gentleman ventures to stand on the foot-path of 21, Cromwell Road or if his car is waiting outside the House, 21, Cromwell Road, he is told by his friends, he is warned not to stand there, otherwise he would no longer be considered respectable. No inmate of 21, Cromwell Road is looked upon as a respectable person by the decent Englishmen in India. And this is the beautiful house which is provided as a residence for Indian students, who suffer because of its past reputation. Sir, after my return from England in 1920, the one advice which I have taken upon myself to give to students who want to go to England was this, that they should not place themselves under this department, that they should not go

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and live in 21, Cromwell Road, that they should rather place themselves under the guidance of a few of those friends of India who stay in England and who would be only too glad to welcome them and give them any help and guidance that is necessary, and I have found that these students are much better off than the students who live in 21, Cromwell Road. Sir, that is with regard to the indifference that is shown to Indian students who go, leaving their parents behind, leaving their families behind, for the purpose of educating themselves in England.

What response do they get in the colleges in the Universities of England ? There, again, I think, I shall bring Mr. Gokhale to my help. He said, that to this date the Universities of Oxford and of Cambridge are averse to admitting freely, and in a sufficiently large number, Indian students into their colleges, because they are afraid the morale of their colleges will suffer if Indian students are freely admitted. Indian students are made to live in a house which has no good reputation ; Indian students are not given the advantage of the best company in England ; Indian students are forced, compelled to mix with the lowest society in England ; their morals do suffer, I am afraid. But I say, that almost the whole blame for this lies on the shoulders of the department which pretends to control and guide, and which does nothing of the sort. I say, Sir, it is high time that this state of affairs should no longer exist, and that it should be improved ; and the best way out of the difficulty is not to abolish the existence of the department, but so to arrange to have its personnel that it may become a source of guidance and happiness to the students and not a continual hindrance. With these words I support the motion.

— The Honourable Mr. Shafi : Sir, with the exception of my Honourable friend, Dr. Nand Lal, Honourable Members who have preceded me have recognised the necessity of a duly constituted agency in London in order to look after the welfare of the Indian students who proceed to that country to prosecute their studies. But they have launched an attack upon the Indian Students Department as it has hitherto existed in order to show that not only has there been considerable discontent against the working of that department, but also that that discontent is in fact fully justified. Well, Sir, I confess that I am not prepared to say that there is no justification for what Honourable Members have said with regard to the working of the Indian Students Department as it existed under the India Office. When I was in public life, I had often heard complaints from students who returned from England against the manner in which the affairs of that department were conducted by a certain officer who was then in charge of that department. But surely Honourable Members, when voting on this motion, should bear in mind this one fact, that while this criticism against the past may to a very large extent be justified, we have now to deal with an entirely different state of things. The Secretary of State for India and his Council, engaged in the performance of the duties and in the exercise of powers concerning the Indian Empire, were probably not able to devote to the Indian Students Department that amount of care and attention which it needed, and in consequence it may be that the complaints which have been made to-day against the working of that department were more or less justified. But it is in order to remove those very complaints, it is in order to see that the affairs of that department are in future conducted solely and exclusively for the benefit of the Indian students in England, that the department has been taken away from the India Office and placed under

the control of our own High Commissioner for India who is under the control of the Government of India in the discharge of his duties, and not under the Secretary of State. I read in the Council of State the other day, when dealing with a motion for the constitution of an Advisory Committee to the High Commissioner for India, extracts from the official communiqué which was issued by the Government of India announcing the appointment of Sir William Meyer as High Commissioner. In that communiqué it was pointed out, that by an Order in Council issued by His Majesty the King Emperor, the High Commissioner for India had, in the performance of his duties, been placed under the control of the Government of India. Well, now, that being the fact, and it being admitted that the existence of a properly constituted agency in England to look after the welfare of the students is necessary in the interest of the students themselves, what, I have no doubt, my Honourable friends have in mind is this, that the Indian Students Department of the future—not of the past, but of the future—which is now to be under the control of the High Commissioner for India, should be free in the discharge of its duties from the defects to which allusion has been made in the speeches to-day. Well, as Education Member, I can assure my Honourable friends, that every care will be taken in future to see that the affairs of the Indian Students Department are conducted on right lines. Sir William Meyer has, as you all know, occupied high and responsible position in India. He is fully conversant with the public feeling in this country on this subject, and I have reason to think, that he is also well aware of the kinds of complaints which have been made against the administration of this department in the past when it was under the control of the India Office.

You may rest assured that no efforts will be spared, so far as we are concerned, in order to try and remove the defects of which mention has been made in the debate to-day. I will go a step further. I will send a copy of this debate to Sir William Meyer so that he may know the feelings of this House and the opinions entertained by prominent Members of this House, with regard to the manner in which the Indian Students Department should be run in future. Rs. 50,000 for the expenses of the Indian Students Department is, after all, not a very large sum, so that it is not the sum which matters, but rather, I suppose, what the Honourable Members had in their minds and to which free expression has been given to-day; that is to say, the manner in which the affairs of the Indian Students Department were conducted in the past. I assure Honourable Members, that Sir William Meyer is already fully acquainted with the nature of these complaints, and I, as Education Member and a sincere well-wisher and naturally a sincere well-wisher of Indian students in England, I assure Honourable Members that every step will be taken to see that the affairs of the Indian Students Department in future are run on proper lines.

Mr. S. C. Shahani: Sir, I propose that the question be adjourned.

Mr. A. D. Pickford: Sir, I shall not detain the House for more than a minute, but I did feel that it was desirable in a matter of this kind that a European Member of this House should express his sympathy with the object of the debate that has just taken place. It has been a matter of absolute amazement to me personally for years that though one heard these complaints made on all sides, from all directions and by all classes of men, the whole machinery of Whitehall seemed to be unable to remove these defects. And it is a dreadful indictment against the India Office when the Honourable Member for

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Education has to get up and say that in a matter of this supreme importance, namely, the care of Indian young men in England, the India Office is so busy with other affairs that it cannot attend to so important a duty. I think this Assembly, Sir, should make it perfectly clear to the Government of India that the promise which has been made to *try* and remove these defects must be fulfilled, and that there shall be no question of trying, but that this House will, in a matter affecting the interests of both parents and boys alike, insist that it shall not merely be an attempt, but that the Government of India must, in some way or other, succeed.

Mr. K. G. Bagde : I want to ask the Honourable the Education Member a question, Sir. Will he enlighten the Assembly with regard to the respectability of No. 21, Cromwell Road?

Mr. J. P. Cotelingam : Sir, one word before the debate is brought to a close. I do not think that the Indian Students Department has been able to do for the Indian student in England all that was expected of it. But I do not think that the lurid picture given by Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas of the Indian student in England can be laid entirely at the door of the Indian Students Department. To say that the Indian Students Department has done nothing for the Indian student is not the truth. If it has given that valuable Handbook or Manual for the guidance of students in England, then it has to some extent justified its existence there.

I would only add to what I have already said, that what the Young Men's Christian Association has done for the Indian students, is quite different to what the Indian Students' Department in the India Office has done. The Young Men's Christian Association has recently established a hostel for Indian students which—as most Honourable Members are aware—goes by the name of the 'Shakespeare Hut' and, as I have not received detailed information as to the manner in which that hostel is conducted, I cannot at present suggest that the Indian Students' Department should follow the lines on which the 'Shakespeare Hut' is run by the Young Men's Christian Association.

Munshi Iswar Saran : Sir, in view of the observations which have fallen from the Honourable the Education Member—who practically accepts the criticism made by the non-official Members, and in view of the undertaking given by him that he will send these proceedings to the High Commissioner and also in view of the fact that there has been a change effected by the department being made over to the High Commissioner in whom the Honourable the Education Member has great faith and great confidence, I shall beg the House to allow me to withdraw this motion.

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

Dr. H. S. Gour : Sir, I did not think that at this late hour I should be called upon to move the motion standing in my name and which runs as follows :

'That the provision of Rs. 1,85,000 for Indian students in England be reduced by one lakh.'

As my Honourable friend, Mr. Sharp, has told you, Sir, unwittingly I am in possession of his book—the Encyclopædia—of information which would have

answered all the questions and silenced the whole of this debate which has occupied two or three hours of the time of this Assembly. That was the Pandora's Box of which I am in possession and nobody else is, and, as the proud possessor of that book, I wish to convey to the House the inimitable information which it contains and enshrines. How many students are there in England at the present moment? This book is a review of 4 years' association with the Indian Students' Department.

Mr. H. Sharp: Sir, I rise to a point of order. The Honourable Mover is talking about the provision for State scholarships. I doubt whether he is in order, Sir, in reverting to the question which has just passed by about students in England generally and the Students Department.

Dr. H. S. Gour: My friend will no longer be in doubt the moment he indulges me for five minutes. I am not only attacking the circumference of the subject but the very centre of it, the very pith and marrow of it, the very core of it. This book, Sir, tells us that the total number of students undergoing their studies in England is somewhere near 400, and it points out that 402 students were in touch with the Bureau during the year—the year being 1916. Now, Sir, out of these students a very large number go for the study of law. A smaller number go for the study of engineering; I have no doubt a much larger proportion go for the study of medicine. But of all these students the largest number go for the study of law. And now, the scholarships that are given by the Government of India to students going to England, so far as I am aware, make no limitation, no qualification, no exception against the students who go for the study of law. I happen to know from personal knowledge that students at Oxford and Cambridge who are the Government of India students not only read at the Universities for a degree but they also eat their dinners for the call to the Bar, and I also happen to know that the students are at liberty to follow any course of training in England—all that they are required to do is to pass the examination here and obtain their nomination from the Government of India. Now, I beg to ask you, Sir, is this a satisfactory test of spending money upon students by sending up the students from this country to England to follow any training which they may choose to follow? Now, speaking of the students who read at the Inns of Court, we have the following remarks in this book: 'The Report on the Work of the Indian Students for 1916.' And this is a book published over the signature of Mr. C. E. Mallet, who is the Secretary for Indian Students. Now, I will read to you, Sir, a passage—rather a long one but at the same time a very useful passage which reviews completely the situation, and is, I submit, a complete condemnation of the policy of the Government of India in sending students to Europe for the purpose of prosecuting legal studies. After stating what they do in England for the study at the Bar and reading in Chambers, Mr. Mallet says this:

'But the truth is that the whole system of requiring Indians to come over to England, if they wish to acquire the status of Barristers, is one which may possibly call for reconsideration. The alternative methods of qualifying as an advocate in India involve long and elaborate course of study and are beyond the reach of most students. It cannot be doubted that they have a right and must always have a right to come over if they wish to and to seek admission, like other British subjects, to the Inns of Court. It will not be denied that the traditions of the English Bar are great traditions and that anything which tends to perpetuate in India its spirit and its standards is of real value to all concerned. But the question remains whether the mere fact of coming over to qualify in the United Kingdom if they wish to practise as advocates at the Indian Bar, even with a high level

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for entrance examination and the additional requirement of reading in Chambers, is of substantial value to many. Can Indian students as a whole gain much that is worth having in knowledge, traditions, character or conduct from a system which leads them to spend three or four years in this country at the most critical period of their lives, out off from all the associations and obligations of home, to pass a few examinations, to attend a few lectures, to read in law libraries or under a law coach, to look occasionally into the law courts, to dine so many nights in the halls of their Inns and for the rest of their time to see the world too often from the standpoint of a London lodging?

The fact that many of them work admirably and join Universities and take degrees as well, does not of course touch the point raised here,—the question of the system practically imposed. Can it be shown that this system, involving as it does, a heavy expenditure for many young men of narrow means, is the best way to maintain in India the high traditions of the English Bar, or to send back the students who come over imbued with better standards than their own? On the money question alone, a question which must not be lost sight of, for it often means the difference between success or failure in England—it is melancholy and not uncommon to see a family which can ill afford the cost and perhaps hardly realizes how heavy it will be, raise at some sacrifice the funds necessary to equip and maintain their boy over here, and then find all their labour wasted owing to the risks to which he has been exposed. It is a severe test of character to throw into a new world, out of touch with all restraining influences and without sufficient work to occupy their time, lads of 18 or 19 who may never have had any command of money before. If English boys of the same age were cast adrift in a foreign capital under the same conditions, how many could we reasonably expect to come through the test unscathed? The theory that we are doing good to India or strengthening the character of the Indian Bar by encouraging Indian students to come over to this country, to go through a training which may be worth little and to face risks which we know to be grave, does not dispose of these questions. It is hardly fair to give young men so trained precedence over experienced pleaders who cannot afford to come here. But that is by no means the most serious objection. It may be worth consideration whether the remedy would lie in making provision for Indians to be called to the Bar in their own country, and to secure in India the legal training they require.

Now, Sir, in this connection, I should like to draw the attention of the Honourable Member in charge of Education as to whether his attention has been drawn to this most unqualified condemnation of the Indian students going to England and reading in the Inns of Court for the study of law.

Now, as regards Engineering, this is what Mr. Mallet writes as regards the students going to England for the study of Engineering.

The Honourable Mr. Shafi: May I inquire of my Honourable friend whether he is reading this quotation in order to emphasise his own opinion? Does he himself hold the same opinion?

Dr. H. S. Gour: I have just now, Sir, read a quotation as regards students going to study for the law. I will now read a quotation as regards Engineering, and I shall certainly not deprive my learned friend on the other side, of the testimony of my own personal experience.

Now, Sir, as regards the Engineering Department, this is what Mr. Campion, the Engineering Adviser to the Indian students, says. Mr. Mallet says:

"Mr. J. N. Campion, our Engineering Adviser, while noting a decrease both in his correspondence and in the number of students coming over during the year, reports that 19 new applicants consulted him for the first time in regard to Engineering training, that they came mostly from Bengal and the Punjab, and that the standard of education among them was distinctly higher than in years before. And he emphasizes again the desirability as

regards Civil Engineering of arranging for Indians to study it in India, where the facilities for practical training in it are far more plentiful than here.

I submit, I am entitled to ask the Honourable Member in charge of Education as to whether his attention has been drawn to this oft-repeated advice given by the Educational Engineering Adviser to the Indian Students Department that it is waste of time and waste of money to send students from India to England to prosecute their studies in the Engineering line. I should like further to know as to how much of this Rs. 1,85,000 is spent upon students who prosecute their studies in law and engineering, both of which, I submit, have been condemned by an accredited and responsible agency established under the authority of the Secretary of State for India in Council. I further wish to know as regards the course for Forestry. We have just been told that a large number of students go from this country to England and undergo a course of instruction in Forestry. So far as this book is concerned, it is absolutely silent about it. There is nothing about it at all there, whether there is such a thing as Forestry course. I submit that this Assembly would not feel justified in voting annually large sums of money approximating about two lakhs to enable Indian students to go to Europe, unless it is satisfied that those students who go to Europe profit by their studies. I therefore submit that before we vote this amount we must have an assurance from the Honourable Member in charge of Education as to what extent the Indian students who are given scholarships profit by their studies in England.

While I was reading a quotation from Mr. Mallett's report, my learned friend, the Honourable Mr. Shafi, asked me whether I was prepared to endorse the opinion expressed by Mr. Mallett. As he has invited me to give my opinion I shall do so. When I went to England to prosecute the study of law, I joined the University of Cambridge. As some of my learned friends here have pointed out before that in the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge there is a very great prejudice against the admission of Indian students, I beg to correct them by saying that I experienced no prejudice of any kind whatever, and all schools and colleges were extremely glad to receive me and I had to make my choice of the college which I ultimately entered. Having done that, I found about 65 Indian students prosecuting their studies at Cambridge in my time, and half as many prosecuting their studies in Oxford. We all used to be extremely happy undergraduates, though we were not under the supervision of the India Office. We were all free men, we could do what we liked, lived in our lodgings, and prosecuted our studies and passed our examinations. My acquaintance with the Inns of Court studies is somewhat slender. The University students of Oxford and Cambridge are entitled to certain exemptions. These are, first of all, that instead of eating six dinners they are only required to eat three, and as regards examinations, if you pass your examination in a legal subject at Oxford and Cambridge, that examination need not be passed over again for the study of the Bar.

For my education I had to read in a Barrister's chamber in London and, judging from what I saw of the students there, I am entirely at one with Mr. Mallett that most of the students who went for the study of the Bar and lived in London wasted their time, and I, therefore, submit, that so far as the students going to England for the study of the law who do not undergo university training are concerned, it is a sheer waste

[Dr. H. S. Gour.]

of time. I have attended the lectures of the Inns of Court with the students, not because I was required to do so, but simply because I wanted to see what those lectures were like and I think that those lectures are mere apologies for the lectures that are necessary to impart real legal training in the subjects in which a would-be Barrister should be grounded. Now as regards the students who underwent their university training, I have a very good account to give of them. They were all students who had to study hard before they could pass with honours and after three years they passed their examinations and returned to this country. Now a good many of them were Government of India students who were prosecuting their studies both for the Bar as well as for a degree at the University at Oxford or Cambridge. As I have said before, most of them were Cambridge students. Later on, after taking my degree, I revisited my old University three times and latterly, my son who went to England was placed under the tutelage of the India Office Students Department and he was there for five years. So that I am one of those who are deeply and directly interested in the India Office Students Department and I went to visit 21 Cromwell Road to which allusion has been made by my learned friend. I also visited the Advisory Board's office and I also interviewed the local secretaries appointed by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Well, I can tell the Honourable Member in charge of Education that when he has promised to reform the system of an Advisory Board in England he has done it none too late. The whole system is far too official to be popular. The whole system is far too rigid and officious, I may say, to be popular with students in England and now that this Resolution has been accepted, I would ask him to accept my Resolution which is to the following effect :

'That no student in India should be given any scholarship to prosecute his studies in Europe unless he discloses the subject in which he wishes to prosecute his studies there and if the Educational Department is of opinion that it would be useless to give him a scholarship to go to England to profitably prosecute his studies, scholarships should be withheld from him.'

It is useless to offer a scholarship to all-comers. At present the students who come at the top of the B. A. examination apply for scholarships and then according to the turn of the university to get the scholarship, the students get it. It does not matter after that whether he goes and reads at any of the approved universities and what subject he reads and whether he receives any real instruction which will benefit the people of this country or not. I, therefore, submit, that so far as this question of assisting the promotion of education amongst the people of this country is concerned, the Honourable the Education Member must first assure himself that it will serve that purpose before he utilises that grant for the purpose of offering a scholarship and it is with that object that I have given notice of my Resolution and I hope he will be able to accept it in the terms I have indicated.

The Honourable Mr. Shafi : Sir, When I read the terms of the motion of which my learned friend had given notice, I could hardly imagine that the object which he had in view was the one which he has disclosed towards the end of his speech. I could not help feeling surprised that an Indian gentleman, who had himself received education in England and enjoyed the benefits of that education, should ask the Government to strike out of its Budget the sum which they intend to utilise for conferring scholarships on

Indian students who wish to complete their education in Europe. My Honourable friend has, during the course of his speech, made what I venture to think was too sweeping an attack on Indian students at the English bar in England. (Hear, hear.) My friend gave an example so far as university education is concerned. This was the example of his son. Well, if I may give him an example, 12 members of my family have been educated in England and most of them educated at the Inns of Court. Of course, they have received university education at the same time, but most of them came out as Barristers and I for one can say that I am proud of the fact that these young men who proceeded to England and obtained their education in that country have come out to India and are now useful citizens, discharging their duties as citizens in a manner which certainly has won commendation from the people at Lahore and its neighbourhood. Sweeping condemnations of the kind which my Honourable friend has made to-day against members of the Bar or against Indian students who proceed to England to study for the Bar, unless they are substantiated by anything definite, will, I feel certain, not convince the Assembly of the strength of his position. So far as Indian students who have received education in the universities are concerned, my Honourable friend has himself admitted that their stay in England has been productive of good. Well, in the face of that admission, for him to move as he has done, that this item should be struck out of the Budget is, to say the least, somewhat extraordinary.

Sir, he asks me as Education Member to see that no scholarships are awarded to any Indian students unless, in the first instance, they disclose the particular branch of study which they wish to pursue on their arrival in England. I feel certain that that is a proposition which will not be supported by at least a majority of this House. The Government of India award these scholarships generally to selected Indian graduates in order to enable them to proceed to Europe to receive the benefits of European education. It is for these students to select, on the advice of their relatives or friends, or upon their own judgment, what particular profession or other occupation they intend to adopt. It is not for the Government to thrust upon them the particular line, which, in the opinion of Government, may be useful for them. In fact this would be an unwarranted official interference in the choice of his profession by the Indian student in England. These scholarships are awarded, as I said, mostly to selected Indian graduates, not to school-boys of 12, 13 or 14, or to undergraduates, but to Indian graduates, and invariably to distinguished Indian graduates. Surely, my Honourable friend ought to give these Indian graduates the credit of judging for themselves what is the best profession for them to follow. To impose a condition of this kind would, I submit, be absolutely opposed to all sound principles of selection of careers by the Indian students for themselves. It seems to me, Sir, that in the face of the admission which my Honourable and learned friend has made, that in any case, those who proceed to England and join there Oxford or Cambridge or other university, are really benefited by their stay in England, there is absolutely no leg for the motion which he has placed before this House to stand on, and I therefore ask the House to reject this motion.

Mr. Eardley Norton: Sir, may I ask the Honourable Member whether he can give us any details as to this Rs. 1,85,000 which we are called upon to vote, or whether this also like the demand for Rs. 50,000 is to be taken on trust?

Mr. H. Sharp : Sir, we have no details as to this item. All we know is that it is given for State scholarships, including passages and travelling allowance, and in the case of technical scholarships the fees which are paid by them, and of course any special scholarships which either the Government of India or the Local Governments create for particular persons sent home. And some part of the sum is also given by the High Commissioner to students who are not necessarily scholars, who get into difficulties not through their own fault, or who are doing very well in their studies but just cannot complete them owing to want of funds. The High Commissioner gives sums of money in hard cases of that kind to deserving students.

Mr. Eardley Norton : Will the Department undertake to supply the House with details of this expenditure at a later stage either here or at Simla?

Mr. H. Sharp : Yes ; we will ask for such details.

Mr. Eardley Norton : Well, Mr. President, I have only one word to say and that is this. I do not know where my Honourable friend, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, gets his information regarding the differential treatment of Indian students at Oxford and Cambridge. We have had testimony to-day in the House to that treatment. I would rather not give any myself because I should have to go too far back into the past ; but I want to say this, that when I was at Oxford we had many Indian students there and we were glad to have them. Many of them were our close and honoured friends. One was at my college and shared all our amusements.

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas : How many years ago ?

Mr. Eardley Norton : Do you really want to know? 1870. When we come to a later generation, Dr. Gour has told us that during his stay in Cambridge there was no such differentiation made between the Indian and the Englishman, as Mr. Dwarkadas suggests ; and I may say, that I, who am very much interested in this question, and for the sake of the fair fame of my own University, have constantly kept myself *au courant* with the feeling there with regard to Indian students—I have made inquiries of young men from both Universities, though I am much less interested in Cambridge than in Oxford, and I find the answer to be this. They are perfectly willing to receive any Indian student on terms of equal companionship if the Indian student will not keep himself to himself but will come out and join in the games and associations of Englishmen there. I have no reason to think that my information is not correct. There is, I believe, a strong tendency to-day for Indian students to keep themselves to themselves. They get together into a clique. They will not come out and associate with English boys, and the result is therefore a state of things which at any rate during my 4 years at Oxford—and later - did not exist. If that be true, it suggests that the blame lies very much on the shoulders of the Indian student himself, and I do not think it fair that Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas should stand up here and say what I believe to be contrary to the actual facts of the case, that the Indian boy who goes up to Oxford or Cambridge does not receive the same frank welcome as any English boy who also goes to the same University. If he does not, I can only suggest that he does not wish to receive it. Only the other day when I was at Hyderabad,—to show how welcome Indians are at Cambridge,—I was talking to a young Muhammadan who is in the Nizam's service, whose physique attracted me. And he admitted that

this was the result of his rowing in his college eight. This is not the only instance. My own Bar Library at Calcutta is full of young Bengalee-Indians who have come back from public schools, from Oxford and from Cambridge, many of whom I know have played cricket for their colleges; some of whom have played football and two or three to my certain knowledge have rowed in their college eights. I think with these facts before us that my friend, Mr. Dwarkadas, owes an apology, at least to the University to which I belong, when he suggests that we are not prepared to receive our Indian fellow-students upon terms of perfectly equal reciprocity and perfectly equal toleration.

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas: Mr. President, may I make a personal explanation? I think my friend, Mr. Norton, is labouring under a misapprehension. I spoke about the Indian Students Department. With regard to Oxford and Cambridge Universities I said that their doors were not open to a sufficiently large number of Indian students and that is a complaint that not only I make, but one which Mr. Gokhale made also.

Dr. H. S. Gour: My short complaint, Sir, was this, that the Government of India

Dr. Nand Lal: Before the Honourable Mover is called upon to reply, Sir, I may be given a chance to offer my remarks?

The Honourable the President: The closure has been applied, but I shall not exclude the Honourable Member if he will undertake only to speak for a few moments; in that case I will call him. Will he give me that undertaking?

Dr. H. S. Gour: Well, Sir, a very short reply is necessary on my part. I simply intended to draw the attention of this House and of the Honourable Member in charge of Education that he might be more discriminating in awarding scholarships to students who did not go to prosecute their study of law and engineering. My learned friend says that these students are old enough to judge for themselves. So they are. But I think the Honourable Education Member must also remember that he is endowing these students with scholarships from public funds, and he should see that when they go to Europe they profit from the studies which they are called upon to prosecute. The study of law is a very profitable one; but whether they really get any intellectual training is a question upon which I have addressed this Honourable House. As regards engineering I have already informed the House as to what is the opinion of the expert adviser to the Indian Students Department. I have not the slightest doubt that the Honourable Member in charge of Education will bear these facts in mind in distributing scholarships in future, and in that hope I wish for leave to withdraw my motion.

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

The Honourable the President: Mr. Iswar Saran does not move the next motion. The amendment next to that is only in order if the Government choose to submit it for discussion, as it is a non-votable item. If the Government are prepared to have a discussion on the matter, I would suggest that we should postpone it to to-morrow.

Dr. H. S. Gour: May I explain my position, Sir?

The Honourable the President:—Order, order. The item is non-votable in the estimates here. If the Government are ready for a discussion, then, of course, it can be discussed, but not otherwise.

The Honourable Mr. W. M. Hailey: I think, Sir, that this is a case in which we might give any information which we can to the House; but as it is a non-votable item I suggest, that as a matter of principle, formal amendments on the vote should not be discussed.

The Honourable the President: In that case, the amendment is out of order. Perhaps the Honourable Member had best seek the information by way of question and answer.

Dr. H. S. Gour: Yes, Sir. The first question I wish to put to the Finance Member is

The Honourable the President: The Honourable Member will have to put his questions on the paper.

The question is :

‘That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,07,72,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1922, in respect of ‘Expenditure in England’.

As many as are of that opinion will say ‘Aye’.

Rao Bahadur T. Rangachariar: May I speak, Sir? I shall not detain the House for more than half a second.

The Honourable the President: I think I must put it; I have already put it from the Chair.

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Mr. W. M. Hailey: Sir, I beg to move :

‘That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,82,65,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st March 1922 in respect of Refunds of Revenue.’

The motion was adopted.

Expenditure charged to Capital.

Colonel W. D. Waghorn: Sir, I beg to move :

‘That a sum not exceeding Rs. 17,78,11,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st March 1922 in respect of ‘Railways’.

The Honourable the President: The question is, that a sum not exceeding Rs. 17,78,11,000 be granted.

Mr. T. V. Seahagiri Ayyar: Sir, before you put that motion, may I point out that another Member has given notice of an amendment to this motion who being unwell has been unable to attend to-day. Under those circumstances, and having regard to the lateness of the hour, I move that the House be adjourned now.

The Honourable the President: The question is, that the debate be now adjourned.

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable the President: I have received information that Mr. Darcy Lindsay, who was appointed a member of the House Committee, is too unwell to serve and I am sure the House will receive that information with regret. It is, therefore, proposed to remove his name, and I appoint Mr. Price to take his place.

The Assembly then adjourned till Wednesday, the 16th March 1921.