

Tuesday, 16th February, 1932

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**THE  
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES**

(OFFICIAL REPORT)

**VOLUME I, 1932**

*(25th January to 17th February, 1932)*

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**THIRD SESSION**

OF THE

**FOURTH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,  
1932**



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1932

# Legislative Assembly.

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RAI BAHADUR D. DUTT.

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

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SIR ABDULLAH SUHRAWARDY, Kt., M.L.A.

DIWAN BAHADUR HARBILAS SARDA, M.L.A.

MR. B. SITARAMARAJU, M.L.A.

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# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

*Tuesday, 16th February, 1932.*

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

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

### CONTROL AND MAINTENANCE OF RESERVED SUBJECTS OF POLICE, INCOME-TAX, ETC.

374. \***Mr. Badri Lal Rastogi:** (a) Will Government kindly state how the reserved subjects such as Police, Income-tax, Post Office, Railways, etc., are controlled and maintained by the Local Governments?

(b) Do the Local Governments contribute towards or bear the expenses of their maintenance?

(c) How are the accounts of the Local Governments and the Government of India calculated and reconciled at the time of the annual Budget?

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** It appears from the Honourable Member's question that he has not correctly understood the position regarding Central and Provincial finance under the present constitution and the financial relations between the Central and Provincial Governments. It is hardly possible to remove the misunderstanding by means of a question and answer in the House, but I shall be glad to explain the position to the Honourable Member at any time convenient to him.

### APPLICATION OF THE 10 PER CENT. CUT IN PAY TO DUFFRIES AND RECORD SORTERS.

375. \***Mr. D. K. Lahiri Chaudhury:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether duffries and record sorters have been brought under the 10 per cent. cut in pay?

(b) Do these men get the benefits of superior services, e.g., half pension, leave and travelling allowances on the conditions applicable to the latter?

(c) In case duffries are called upon to undergo a sacrifice in pay like higher paid men, do Government propose also to let them have the benefits which the latter enjoy? If not, why not?

(d) How many duffries have been fortunate to reach above Rs. 40 a month, and what is the total number employed?

**The Honourable Sir James Orerar:** (a) and (d). Duffries and Record Sorters are as a class exempt from the cut, but a few Record Sorters who are in receipt of personal pay in addition to the maximum of the grade

are subject under the rules to a cut of half the excess above the exemption limit of Rs. 40. I have not the figures which the Honourable Member requires, but they are being collected.

(b) and (c). These men are eligible for pension equal to half their pay subject to a maximum of Rs. 20. They are treated under the rules as inferior servants and are entitled to the leave and travelling allowances admissible to Government servants of their grade. I see no reason for treating them in the same manner as other Government servants belonging to the superior service in regard to these conditions of service.

**EXEMPTION FROM SURCHARGES IMPOSED BY THE INDIAN FINANCE (SUPPLEMENTARY AND EXTENDING) ACT.**

**376. \*Mr. G. Morgan:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state what exemptions have been granted from the surcharges imposed by the Indian Finance (Supplementary and Extending) Act, 1931?

(b) Do Government propose to embody these exemptions in formal legislation? If so, when?

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** (a) I understand the Honourable Member's question to refer to surcharges on customs duties and to the assurance which I gave in this House on November 14, 1931, in the course of the debate on the Emergency Finance Bill. Three notifications have been issued, exempting—

(1) foreign salt (from the surcharge on the additional import duty only),

(2) cashew nuts, and

(3) cigarettes of a value not exceeding Rs. 6 per thousand.

(b) The exemption relating to salt will come up for separate consideration in connection with the question of extending the life of the Salt (Additional Import Duty) Act. The Government are not yet in a position to submit final recommendations to the Legislature in respect of the other two items. Further they consider that, standing by themselves, they are hardly sufficiently important to justify the preparation of a separate Bill. In these circumstances the Government do not propose to introduce a special Tariff Amending Bill this session.

**Mr. G. Morgan:** Will the Honourable the Finance Member say whether this remission automatically goes on to the 31st March, 1933, without the Legislature having the matter put before them?

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** No, Sir. I do not think the position quite extends to that date. For instance, as regards cigarettes duty exemption, we are watching the effects of the exemption which we have made and it is quite possible that if results indicated certain conclusions, we might come to the House before the 31st March, 1933. I can hardly commit the Government further than that on that subject.

**CONDONATION OF BREAK IN SERVICE OF STATE RAILWAY EMPLOYEES.**

**377. \*Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** (a) Will Government please state the policy underlying condonation of break of service of employees employed on State Railways?

(b) Will Government please state whether it is a fact that the Agents of certain Railways refuse consideration of condonation of break of service till the time of the retirement of the employee concerned?

(c) If the answer to part (a) be in the affirmative, do Government propose to instruct all Agents to discontinue this practice and to inform an employee soon after his re-engagement as to whether his previous services are to be condoned or not?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** (a) to (c). It has been the ordinary practice in the past not to consider questions affecting the gratuity of an employee, such as condonations of breaks of service, until the employee retires or is about to retire. The reason for this practice has been that a premature consideration occupies considerable time, very often with no tangible result. In view, however, of the large number of persons recently discharged to whom it is hoped, when conditions improve, that re-employment will be offered, the Railway Board are considering whether the past practice should not be modified.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** Will the Honourable Member please explain exactly what he means by the word "modify". Am I to understand that the Government intend to alter the policy that is to-day practised regarding condonation of break of service? Or am I to understand that the 1929 Railway Board orders on this matter will be rescinded?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** It is the question of rescinding the Railway Board's orders of 1929, and substituting other orders for them that is now under the Railway Board's consideration. I expect we shall arrive at a conclusion very shortly, probably within a week.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** Arising out of the Honourable Member's reply, and in view of the thousands who have been recently retrenched and who must be re-employed when trade resumes normal conditions, will he please inform the House whether condonation of break of service will *ipso facto* carry with it not only service performed but a claim on all leave and furlough earned during that period of service?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** That, Sir, is a question of which I must obviously have notice.

#### CUTS IN SALARIES OF RAILWAY EMPLOYEES.

378. **\*Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** Will Government please state whether the retrenchment cuts in salaries of Railway employees are made in strict consonance with the statement made by the Finance Member in the Legislative Assembly with particular reference to the 10 per cent. cuts. and the inclusion in it of the surcharge of 25 per cent. in the income and super-tax? If not, why not?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative. The second part therefore does not arise.

#### REVISED RATES OF PAY OF GOVERNMENT SERVANTS.

379. **\*Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** Will Government please state whether the revised rates of pay for the various grades of Government services recommended by the Retrenchment Committee and accepted by the

Government of India will be applied to employees who entered into service before the date of the introduction of these rates when such employees are promoted to the higher grades?

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** The whole question of revised rates of pay, including the subsidiary point raised by the Honourable Member, is still under consideration by the Government of India.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** When do the Government expect to arrive at a decision on this point?

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** I am afraid I am not in a position to prophesy.

#### TERMINATION OF THE SERVICES OF TEMPORARY ENGINEERS ON STATE RAILWAYS.

380. **\*Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** Will Government please state if it is a fact that the orders relating to the retrenchment on State Railways definitely stated that the services of all temporary engineers on the various railways should be terminated?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** The answer is in the negative.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** Arising out of the Honourable Member's reply, will he kindly inform this House whether or not it is a fact that the Railway Board's circular letter of 1931 regarding retrenchment on Railways, which I understand applies to all appointments including the Engineering Department, distinctly lays down that the order of precedence in regard to retrenchment shall be firstly temporary employees, next inefficiency, then least efficiency and so on?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** I believe the Honourable Member has correctly stated the purport of that letter.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** Arising out of that reply, will the Honourable Member inform this House whether or not it is a fact that the Railway Board asked for the recommendation of five temporary engineers to be appointed to the lower gazetted service and that four such temporary engineers have been recommended by the Agent of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway and that two of these temporary engineers, Messrs. Vatcha and Hill, whose agreements expired in October and December, 1931, have been re-employed, and their names are borne on the cadre of the lower gazetted service?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** That again is a question of which I must obviously have notice.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** The Honourable Member admits my statements to be correct, and yet when I ask him about the interpretation of the order . . . . .

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): Is the Honourable Member asking any supplementary question now? The Honourable Members on the Treasury Benches are entitled to ask for notice.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** Well, Sir! Since the Honourable Member cannot reply to that, will he inform this House whether he himself does not consider his own reply unsatisfactory? (Laughter.)

LOWER GAZETTED SERVICE ON STATE RAILWAYS.

**381. \*Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** Will Government please state whether it is a fact that the lower gazetted service of State Railways is reserved for subordinates promoted to official grade?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** As stated in the memorandum placed before the Central Advisory Council, the Lower Gazetted Service is intended essentially for specially selected subordinates, with no outside recruitment.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** Will the Honourable Member kindly inform this House whether or not it is a fact that in the rules promulgated for bringing the lower gazetted staff into existence, it is definitely laid down that no outside recruitment will be made, and that the service will be manned entirely by promoted subordinates?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** To the best of my recollection, Sir, when the service was started, it was contemplated that it would then be recruited partly by the transfer of people already serving in the local traffic or engineering services. It is for that reason that it has not been recruited wholly by the promotion of subordinates.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** Will the Honourable Member inform this House whether or not it is fact that Agents have informed temporary engineers that they cannot be recruited for the lower gazetted service owing to the fact that this service is entirely recruited for? I have got a letter with me from the Chief Engineer, Eastern Bengal Railway, to this effect.

**Sir Alan Parsons:** If the Honourable Member has already got the information, he does not require it from me. In any case I have not got it.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** Will the Honourable Member accept it from me as correct that this is the view held and practised on Railways?

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** May I ask whether in the interests of efficiency it is desirable to have less qualified men promoted from the lower grades and to keep out highly qualified men who want to enter the service?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** This particular service was created mainly for the promotion of qualified subordinates. I do not think therefore that the Honourable Member's question arises.

†382—384.

APPOINTMENT OF ASSISTANT TRAIN CONTROLLERS ON THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

**385. \*Mr. B. V. Jadhav** (on behalf of Mr. S. G. Jog): (a) With reference to the replies given by the Honourable the Railway Member to my starred question No. 1292, on the 13th November, 1931, and Mr. Lalchand

Navalrai's starred questions Nos. 1361 and 1362, on the 18th of the same month, will Government please say whether the information called for from the Agent, North Western Railway, regarding the Assistant Train Controllers has been received by them?

(b) What is the cause of so much delay in replying to these questions?

(c) Are Government aware that these Train Controllers are living in great anxiety to know their eventual fate and do Government intend to relieve them of their present plight? If so, when? If not, why not?

(d) Has there ever been such a parallel in Government offices where men are not confirmed for years together and when once confirmed they are again reduced to a temporary grade and no action taken for months together to re-confirm them or pass orders one way or the other?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** (a) and (b). The information has just been received and replies will be laid on the table shortly.

(c) and (d). I would refer the Honourable Member to my reply to his question No. 1291 on the 13th November, 1931. I understand that the confirmations which were countermanded were not made with the personal approval of the Agent; and that, when the matter eventually came to his notice, the Agent was satisfied that the confirmations had been erroneously made and that the only satisfactory manner of rectifying the position which had arisen was to countermand the confirmations. This was within the competence of the Agent, and Government do not propose to intervene or to search for parallels in Government Offices.

#### TICKET-CHECKING ON THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

386. \***Kunwar Hajee Ismail Ali Khan** (on behalf of Khan Bahadur Haji Wajihuddin): (a) Has the Railway Board seen the circular issued by the Divisional Superintendent, Delhi Division, drawing attention to the following case:

A third class bogie was checked by an officer and inspector and out of 42 passengers in the carriage 35 were travelling without tickets?

(b) Are Government aware that the Railway Board is loosing a considerable amount of money on account of the system of checking tickets now being practised in the North Western Railway?

(c) Is it not a fact that the Railway Board is trying many experiments for checking tickets?

(d) Have Government considered the question of reverting to the old system of checking tickets by a traffic staff at the railway station supplemented by a comparatively better paid staff under audit?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** (a) The Railway Board have not seen the circular referred to, but I understand that a circular was issued in which attention was drawn to this case.

(b) I am not prepared to accept the implication that the system of checking tickets is leading to a loss of considerable revenue.

(c) Various methods of checking tickets are in force on different railways, each necessitated by local conditions. Some of these may be considered as experimental.

(d) Yes. The system referred to was not in force on all railways.

DESPATCH OF BRITISH TROOPS FROM INDIA TO CHINA.

**387. \*Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** Is it a fact that Government have advised the P. & O. Company to keep boats in readiness for the immediate embarkation of British troops from India to China? What troops, if any, have started, or are going to start for China; and for what purpose? How will their expense be met?

**Mr. G. M. Young:** Neither the P. and O. nor any other shipping company has been asked to keep ships in readiness for the transportation of troops to China. No troops have been sent, or are about to be sent to China from the Indian establishment. One battalion of British Infantry, which would in any case be leaving the Indian establishment shortly in the normal course of reliefs, is being sent to China by His Majesty's Government, but this will involve no expense to Indian revenues.

INTERCEPTION OF A TELEGRAM ADDRESSED TO MR. TOM WILLIAMS.

**388. \*Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** (a) Is it a fact that a cable addressed to Mr. Tom Williams, M.P., by Miss Mira Ben, was intercepted and withheld; the money was refunded after many days; and the cable sent by post was delayed? If so, why?

(b) What was the text of the cable; and what was objectionable in it?

(c) Will Government kindly state how many cables sent from India to England were intercepted, or stopped, since November, 1931?

**The Honourable Sir Joseph Bhoré:** (a) A message as described was withheld under the orders of the District Magistrate, under Section 5 (1) (b) of the Indian Telegraph Act, 1885 (Act XIII of 1885). The cost of the telegraph was refunded six days later. Government have no information as to whether a copy sent by post was delayed.

(b) The same considerations which led to the issue of the orders referred to under part (a) preclude me from giving the Honourable Member the information he asks for.

(c) The information is not available.

**Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** The District Magistrate of what place intercepted that cable, Sir?

**The Honourable Sir Joseph Bhoré:** Ahmedabad.

**Mr. N. M. Joshi:** May I ask whether the Government were afraid that there would be an explosion in Great Britain if the cable was allowed to be transmitted?

**The Honourable Sir Joseph Bhoré:** May I point out, Sir, that so far as the Posts and Telegraphs Department was concerned, they merely carried out the instructions issued to them by the District Magistrate under the appropriate section of the law.

**Mr. N. M. Joshi:** May I ask whether this question is not addressed to the Government of India and not to the Postal Department only? We want a reply from the Government of India.

**The Honourable Sir Joseph Bhore:** This is a matter, Sir, which concerns the local provincial administration and not the Government of India.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** May I ask if there is any reason why the information should be withheld from this House since it is required in order to judge whether the District Magistrate exercised his discretion rightly or wrongly?

**The Honourable Sir Joseph Bhore:** May I point out to my Honourable friend that it would be very difficult for me to give publicity to a message the contents of which were considered objectionable and therefore withheld by the District Magistrate.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** May I know if the Government of India consider those contents objectionable even now?

**The Honourable Sir Joseph Bhore:** As Head of the Posts and Telegraphs Department I am not competent, Sir, to express my own opinion in regard to the character of that message.

**Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar:** May I ask whether the Government of India exercise any control in these matters over the District Magistrates?

**The Honourable Sir Joseph Bhore:** No, Sir. The law is perfectly clear on this point, namely, that the officials of the Postal Department must carry out the instructions issued to them by the District Magistrate.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** But what objection can the Honourable Member have to supplying this information to the House now?

**The Honourable Sir Joseph Bhore:** For the same reason that I cannot give publicity to a message the contents of which were considered to be objectionable.

**Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar:** Do I understand the Honourable Member to say that the Government of India have no right to control the actions of District Magistrates?

**The Honourable Sir Joseph Bhore:** I have already pointed out, Sir, that in this matter the Government of India are not concerned. It is the action of a provincial official acting under the orders of the Provincial Government.

**Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar:** We understand the Government of India have supreme control in these matters. We understand the Government of India have general powers of superintendence, direction and control in these matters.

**The Honourable Sir James Crerar:** The position, Mr. President, is this, that the Telegraphs Act gives certain powers which can be exercised statutorily by the Local Government. The Local Government, in exercising those powers, are no doubt subject to the general superintendence, direction and control of the Government of India, but the Government of India

naturally, in exercising their powers of superintendence, direction and control, do not take upon themselves to interfere in every case with the detailed application of the powers by the local authorities.

**Mr. N. M. Joshi:** May I ask whether the Government of India will reconsider their policy of preventing telegrams going to Great Britain, inasmuch as there is absolutely no danger of any explosion taking place in Great Britain. We can understand the plea of a possible explosion as a result of publication in India, but I would like to know why any telegram should be prevented from being published in Great Britain.

**The Honourable Sir James Crerar:** The Honourable Member's question, I think, is one of general policy as to whether the Government of India should in no case retain their statutory power to intercept messages. If so, my answer is in the negative. I do not consider it proper for Government to divest themselves, in the exceptional circumstances prescribed by the law, of that ultimate authority.

**Mr. N. M. Joshi:** I wanted to know the object of that policy, Sir.

**The Honourable Sir James Crerar:** The object of that policy is the 'public interest'.

**Mr. K. Ahmed:** In view of the fact that the Government of India are in full possession of the contents of this telegram to Mr. Tom Williams, M.P., do Government propose, for the benefit of the House, to explain matters in an easy way, so that the House may be convinced and at the same time, it will not infringe the rule so much, as the Honourable Members on the Treasury Benches are probably apprehending?

**The Honourable Sir James Crerar:** I do not think that the course somewhat obscurely hinted at by the Honourable Member would be for the benefit either of the House or of the public.

**Mr. K. Ahmed:** In order that this storm in a tea cup may be removed, there are people who will be quite satisfied, as I might tell the Honourable Member, if the Government follow ways of explaining things in such a way . . . .

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): The Honourable Member has been repeatedly reminded, that he can only ask supplementary questions and not make statement.

**Mr. K. Ahmed:** If you will wait, Sir, I will. That being the case, do Government propose to publish facts for the information of the public? Will it not at the same time serve the purpose of answering supplementary questions by high officials of Government? ,

**Sir Oowasji Jehangir:** May I ask the Honourable the Home Member under what authority do the Government of India exercise their powers of direction and control?

**The Honourable Sir James Crerar:** I will invite the Honourable Member's attention to the prescription of the Act which will be found in the Library.

**Sir Oowasji Jehangir:** The Government of India Act gives the power to the Government of India of direction and control. My question is under what conditions and when do the Government of India exercise those powers? Do they or do they not interfere with the Provincial Governments very often and frequently?

**The Honourable Sir James Crerar:** My answer to the Honourable Member's question is that the conditions would depend on the circumstances of the case.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** Will the Honourable the Home Member be prepared to disclose the contents of the telegram if the galleries are cleared and the Press is sent out?

(No answer was given.)

### FOREGOING EXCESS FARES ON THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY

**389. \*Khan Bahadur Haji Wajihuddin:** (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to paragraph 82 of Messrs. Moody and Ward's Report where they have said:

"This attitude is partly due to their (Accounts Department) traditions, and upbringings which teach them invariably not to refund or forego a single pie of revenue, however strong a claim may be morally, except under legal compulsion."

(b) Will Government please state if the Accounts Department foregoes excess fare and penalty charges or the Chief Commercial Manager, East Indian Railway?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** (a) The remarks quoted by the Honourable Member taken from paragraph 62 (not 82) of the Moody-Ward Committee's Report were made in the course of a discussion as to the authority that should control the ticket-checking staff, East Indian Railway, and has reference only to that point.

(b) As the Accounts Department does not control the ticket-checking staff on the East Indian Railway the question of that department foregoing excess fare and penalty charges does not arise, the power resting with the Divisional Superintendents under the control of the Chief Operating Superintendent.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** Will the Honourable Member inform the House whether or not the Government subscribe to the recommendations of the Moody-Ward Report?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** The recommendations contained in the Moody-Ward Report have been adopted on the East Indian Railway.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** Are you prepared to adopt them on any other railways or have they reasons to reject them?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** We are not certainly prepared to adopt them on other railways without due consideration, for conditions may differ.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** If the recommendations are good they ought to be adopted everywhere and if they are not good, they ought not to be adopted on the East Indian Railway also.

**Sir Alan Parsons:** I do not agree with the Honourable Member that because a particular system is found to be good on one particular railway

it should therefore be adopted on other railways where conditions are different.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING IN THE ARMY.

390. \*Sardar G. N. Mujumdar: Will Government be pleased to state, in connection with the vocational training in the Army:

- (a) whether soldiers are sent to the vocational training centres and schools in England; if so, to what institutions and what their annual number is;
- (b) whether they are sent to any factories, training centres or workshops in England;
- (c) what the annual budget in detail is regarding vocational training in the Army;
- (d) whether the soldiers are given leave with pay or are deputed on duty;
- (e) the fees which are required to be paid for the instruction of each soldier;
- (f) whether it is a fact that in certain courses soldiers as well as their wives get a chance of learning a vocation which will be useful and helpful to them after the soldiers retire on pension;
- (g) whether the soldier gets his full pay while he attends the course;
- (h) whether the soldier gets all the allowances such as messing and kit equipment, military proficiency, educational, etc., while attending the vocational course of instruction;
- (i) whether the soldier gets his passage both ways from the Government; if so, what the cost is of a return passage;
- (j) in case the soldier's wife accompanies him to attend the course suitable to her, who pays the passage and fees for her;
- (k) whether there is any institution in England such as dairy farms, etc., wherein arrangements are made to receive soldiers' wives as well for a vocational course;
- (l) whether the soldiers take any course in India preliminary to fit themselves up when they go to England for a vocational course;
- (m) if so, what the centres, firms, factories, workshops and industrial institutions in India are where they go for such preliminary training (extra-regimentally);
- (n) the figures, for the last ten years, of the soldiers who attended such courses, etc., for vocational training in India, together with their period of service and ranks;
- (o) whether they were given leave or deputed on duty then;
- (p) whether they received their pay and allowance too;
- (q) whether arrangement is made for vocational training for soldiers regimentally; and
- (r) whether Indian soldiers are given any opportunities to train themselves for a vocation to fit themselves up in their after-life when they retire on pension?

**Mr. G. M. Young:** As this question is a very long one, I lay on the table a statement giving the information desired by the Honourable Member.

*Statement.*

(a) and (b). Yes. About 500 soldiers due for discharge or transfer to the Reserve are sent annually to vocational training centres at Chisleton, Aldershot and Hounslow.

(c) A sum of Rs. 20,620 is being provided in the budget for 1932-33. This provision consists almost entirely of the pay and allowances of the staff maintained at Army Headquarters to deal with the administration of vocational training. As stated in my reply to Mr. A. Das's starred question No. 82 of the current session, the cost of the actual training is borne by the men themselves.

(d) They are on duty.

(e) Fees are paid by the soldiers. In India, warrant officers and sergeants pay Rs. 2 a week and corporals and privates Rs. 1-8-0 a week. The fees in England vary from 5 shillings to 10 shillings a week, according to the rank of the soldier.

(f) and (k). Soldiers preparing for independent settlement on their own farms are allowed to take their wives and families to the Chisleton Centre at their own expense. The women and elder children are also given instruction in certain subjects.

(g) and (h). Yes, Sir.

(i) and (j). Soldiers are sent for vocational training to England six months before they are due to complete their term of service in India. They and their wives travel home at State expense; but this involves no extra cost to Government, as they would in any case have to be sent home at State expense six months later. Wives of soldiers accompanying their husbands to a vocational training centre pay their own expenses while at the training centre.

(l) No, Sir. Soldiers who are given vocational training in India are not given a course in England.

(m) Does not arise.

(n) Vocational training in India was started in 1924. The following statement shows the number of soldiers trained annually in India and in England. It is not now possible to state their period of service and the ranks they held.

	Trained in the United Kingdom.	Trained in India.
1924	..	350
1925		400
1926		500
1927	97	723
1928	250	897
1929	450	1,200
1930	500	1,135
1931	500	1,377

(o) They were on duty.

(p) Yes.

(q) Some soldiers are trained in technical units other than their own.

(r) No, Sir. It has not yet been found feasible to do so.

ORDERS FOR WIRELESS APPARATUS FOR RAILWAY CENTRES IN INDIA.

391. \***Mr. Nabakumar Sing Dudhoria:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether the Railway Board has recently placed orders abroad for four sets of Marconi short wave apparatus for installation in important railway centres in India providing an alternative when there is interference with the normal lines?

(b) If the answer to part (a) is in the affirmative, will Government please state:

- (i) the date on which the said order was sent out;
- (ii) the firm with which the order has been placed;
- (iii) the time by which the sets will arrive in this country;
- (iv) the time by which the apparatus will be set up and put into operations;
- (v) the estimated cost of the four sets;
- (vi) the probable cost for setting up the four apparatuses;
- (vii) whether the Standing Public Finance Committee was consulted in the matter of purchase of the apparatus; and
- (viii) the names of places in the United Kingdom of Great Britain where the railways have set up such apparatus with the same purpose as the Railway Board has in view?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** (a) Yes.

(b) (i) 3rd November, 1931.

(ii) The Indian Radio Telegraph Company, Limited, Bombay,

(iii) The sets have already arrived in the country.

(iv) By the end of March, 1932.

(v) Rs. 1,17,040.

(vi) This is not yet known.

(vii) No. The expenditure was not of that magnitude to require a reference to the Standing Finance Committee for Railways.

(viii) Not so far as the Railway Board are aware.

ADVERTISING OF THE *Magh Mela* OF ALLAHABAD.

392. \***Mr. Nabakumar Sing Dudhoria:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) whether publicity was given by the East Indian Railway Administration to advertise the *Magh Mela* of Allahabad for the present year; and if so, in what manner;
- (b) the outlay on such publicity literature;
- (c) the outlay on other additional arrangements to cope with the *Mela* traffic;
- (d) whether the publicity attempts have produced the expected results;
- (e) whether the outlay on publicity and additional arrangements is expected to be recouped; and

- (f) whether the East Indian Railway Administration was cognisant of the distressing agrarian conditions prevailing in the United Provinces in the present year before they started publicity work and underwent expenses for additional arrangements for the *Magh Mela*?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** (a) to (f). I have asked the Agent, East Indian Railway, for the information required by the Honourable Member.

#### RETRENCHMENT IN INDIAN PUBLICITY OFFICES IN LONDON AND NEW YORK.

393. **\*Mr. Nabakumar Sing Dudhoria:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) whether any sort of retrenchment has been effected in the Indian Railway Publicity Offices located in London and New York; and
- (b) if the answer is in the affirmative, the particulars of the retrenchment schemes adopted in both or either of those places?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** (a) and (b). One of the Branches in London has been closed from the 1st February, 1932. On superior post and two subordinate posts out of three superior posts and five subordinate posts have been abolished from that date. The question of retention or otherwise of another superior post is under consideration.

#### ABOLITION OF THE X-RAY INSTITUTE AT DEHRA DUN.

394. **\*Mr. Nabakumar Sing Dudhoria:** Will Government be pleased to state:-

- (a) whether the X-Ray Institute at Dehra Dun has been abolished;
- (b) the reason or reasons for which the said institute was abolished;
- (c) the reason or reasons for which the institute was set up at Dehra Dun;
- (d) the total amount that was spent for the purchase of the plant and machinery in the institute;
- (e) the amount that was spent in setting up the apparatus;
- (f) the amount incurred in building the institute;
- (g) the monthly expenditure on the establishment of the institute;
- (h) whether all the instruments, etc., have been disposed of after the abolition of the institute;
- (i) if the answer to part (h) is in the affirmative, the total amount that the sale has fetched; and
- (j) the party or parties that have purchased the instruments etc., after the institute was abolished?

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

(b) and (c). The Institute was established in 1905 to provide for the systematic study and application of radiography in India, to serve as a

centre of practical instruction and to a limited extent as a clinic for the treatment of patients. It was abolished in 1930 because the position had changed; under the reformed constitution the Central Government have no responsibility for the maintenance of an institution for the purpose of rendering advice and assistance in matters relating to medical administration, which is a provincial transferred subject, or for the treatment of persons from areas under the control of Local Governments.

(d) and (e) It is regretted that the figures are not readily available.

(f) The value of the buildings of the Institute was assessed at Rs. 1,95,934 in 1928, and that of the site at Rs. 45,837.

(g) Rs. 3,887 in the year 1929-30, the last year in which the Institute was fully open.

(h) and (i) Disposal of the stocks at the Institute is still in progress but it is anticipated that it will shortly be completed.

(j) The stocks are being disposed of at the best price obtainable to the Military authorities, civil institutions, Universities and private medical practitioners, or by auction.

**MANUFACTURE OF GALVANISED CORRUGATED SHEETS BY THE TATA IRON AND STEEL COMPANY.**

**395. \*Mr. Nabakumar Sing Dudhoria:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) whether or not an undertaking was given by the Tata Iron and Steel Company, Limited, last year, at the time of the imposition of the duty on galvanised corrugated sheets, to improve and increase their sheet mills during the year;
- (b) if the answer is in the affirmative, what steps the Tatas have since taken to implement this undertaking;
- (c) whether they are aware that a foreign company is being introduced for the purpose of manufacturing corrugated sheets at the expense of the Tatas;
- (d) if the answer to part (c) is in the affirmative, are Government in a position to state the detailed terms on which that company is being introduced;
- (e) if Government have any information as to whether or not the Tatas ascertained that any strictly Indian concern formed with Indian capital was prepared to come to their help in the matter before the foreign company was invited; and
- (f) whether the Government of India was made duly cognisant of this move on the part of the Tatas?

**The Honourable Sir George Rainy:** (a) No such undertaking was given by the Company.

(b) Does not arise.

(c) The answer is in the negative.

(d) to (f). Do not arise.

### APPOINTMENT OF SIKHS TO THE UPPER DIVISION IN CERTAIN GOVERNMENT OFFICES.

396. \*Sardar Sant Singh: (a) Will Government kindly state the number of Upper Division—temporary, officiating and permanent—vacancies which occurred during 1930 and 1931, respectively in the Army, Commerce, Legislative and Legislative Assembly Departments and how many of them were given to (1) departmental men, *e.g.*, by promotion from 2nd Division to Upper Division and how many to (2) outsiders?

(b) Will Government please state the number of Muhammadans, Hindus, Sikhs and other communities taken in the respective Departments under the two categories given in part (a)?

(c) Is it a fact that there is a total absence of the Sikh community in this grade, that the matter has occasionally been brought to the notice of Government, and that no Sikh has so far been given a chance in any of these offices?

(d) In how many cases were the Sikhs superseded in each of these offices and on what grounds?

(e) Do Government propose to see that the Sikhs are given their due share in the Upper Division of these offices? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir James Grerar: (a) to (e). The information asked for is being collected and will be furnished in due course.

### SALE OF MEAT IN PESHAWAR.

397. \*Sardar Sant Singh: Will Government kindly place on the table a copy of the result of the enquiries and the instructions issued by the Government of India, if any, in regard to unstarred question No. 229 answered on the 23rd February, 1931, regarding sale of meat in Peshawar?

Mr. G. M. Young: I lay on the table a copy of my letter dated the 14th March, 1931, to Khan Bahadur Haji Wajihuddin, which contains the answer to his unstarred question No. 229, dated the 23rd February, 1931.

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COPY OF A DEMI-OFFICIAL LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY, ARMY DEPARTMENT, TO KHAN BAHADUR HAJI WAJIHUDDIN, No. 25-Y., DATED THE 14TH MARCH, 1931.

With reference to my reply to your unstarred question No. 229 in the Legislative Assembly on the 23rd February 1931, I give below the information required:—

(1) (a) There is no fortified market in the Peshawar Cantonment. The mutton market for which a Muslim contractor pays only Rs. 506 per mensem as rent is separated from the bazar by the width of a road.

(b) and (c). The Jhatka butchers pay a fee of 4-annas per sheep to the Cantonment Authority for slaughtering in the Cantonment Jhatka slaughter house which is situated in a secluded part of the Cantonment. Before this slaughter house was built sheep were slaughtered in shops in Sadar Bazar. Jhatka meat is being sold at one shop in the Sadar Bazar. It has been sold in the same street for the last 38 years without any complaint from the Muslim community.

(2) Does not arise. Government, however, understand that the Cantonment Board has under consideration a project for the construction of a Cantonment Jhatka shop.

## UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

### PROMOTIONS IN THE RAILWAY DEPARTMENT.

58. **Mr. T. N. Ramakrishna Reddi:** Will Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that the Railway Board sanctioned the promotion of deserving subordinates in the Railway Department to officers' posts under the Indianisation scheme as published in the *Times of India* issue dated 8th July, 1930, and also in the *Railway Times* issue dated 18th April, 1931?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** Government have seen a letter headed "Retrenchment Reductions" which was published in the *Railway Times* of the 18th April, 1931. It is presumed that it is to this that the Honourable Member alludes. Appointments to the Lower Gazetted Service are made in accordance with paragraph 11 of the Railway Board's Memorandum No. 2520-E., dated the 24th February, 1930, which was placed before the Central Advisory Council for Railways at their meeting held on the 4th and 5th July, 1930, in which it was stated that the Lower Gazetted Service was intended essentially for specially selected subordinates with no outside recruitment.

### PROMOTION OF LOWER SUBORDINATE STAFF IN THE ENGINEERING DEPARTMENT OF THE GREAT INDIAN PENINSULA RAILWAY.

59. **Mr. T. N. Ramakrishna Reddi:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state what action has been taken in promoting lower subordinate staff to the upper subordinate or officers' posts in the Engineering Department of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway?

(b) Is it a fact that while the other Railways have given effect to the above recommendation in all departments, the Great Indian Peninsula Railway has not given effect to it in the Engineering Department?

(c) If the answer to part (b) be in the negative, do Government propose to give effect to the Indianisation scheme in the Engineering Department?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** (a) to (c). I am not sure what information is actually wanted by the Honourable Member, but promotions to the Superior Service are made by the Government of India by strict selection. Promotions to the upper subordinate ranks of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway are made by the Agent of the Railway who takes into consideration the merit and seniority of employees in the lower grades. Communal considerations do not influence promotions to either the Superior Services or the upper subordinate ranks.

### PROMOTION OF INDIANS IN THE BRIDGE DEPARTMENT OF THE GREAT INDIAN PENINSULA RAILWAY.

60. **Mr. T. N. Ramakrishna Reddi:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state the various cadres existing in the Bridge Department of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway? And will they be pleased to state how many Anglo-Indians, Hindus, and Muhammadans are employed in each cadre?

(b) If it is found that there is a preponderance of appointments held by the Anglo-Indian community, do Government propose to promote deserving Hindus and Muhammadans from the lower subordinate service in the Engineering Department in the general and Bridge Department in particular to the upper subordinate and officers' posts in the Great Indian Peninsula Railway as vacancies arise until proper representation of various communities is established?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** (a) Government regret that they are not prepared to supply figures of communal representation regarding individual offices or classes of establishments.

(b) I would invite the Honourable Member's attention to my reply to his question No. 59.

#### PROMOTION OF INDIANS IN THE BRIDGE DEPARTMENT OF THE GREAT INDIAN PENINSULA RAILWAY.

**61. Mr. T. N. Ramakrishna Reddi:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state if there are any men in the lower subordinate service in the Bridge Department of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway with good technical qualifications?

(b) If the answer be in the affirmative, do Government propose to promote them to the upper subordinate or officers' grade at the earliest possible opportunity?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** (a) Government are not aware of the qualifications of individuals in this Department.

(b) I would invite the Honourable Member's attention to my reply to his question No. 59.

#### PROMOTION OF INDIANS IN THE BRIDGE DEPARTMENT OF THE GREAT INDIAN PENINSULA RAILWAY.

**62. Mr. T. N. Ramakrishna Reddi:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state if there is any Indian (Hindu, Muhammadan, Parsee or Sikh) apart from Anglo-Indians, appointed and now working as Bridge Inspector in the Bridge Department of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway?

(b) If the answer be in the negative, will Government be pleased to state why they are excluded?

(c) Are there any rules which disqualify persons belonging to those communities from holding that post?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** (a) and (b). Government have no information.

(c) No.

#### TRAINING OF BRIDGE INSPECTORS ON THE GREAT INDIAN PENINSULA RAILWAY.

**63. Mr. T. N. Ramakrishna Reddi:** Is it a fact that the persons to be appointed as Bridge Inspectors in the Great Indian Peninsula Railway have to undergo an apprenticeship course and only Anglo-Indians were permitted to undergo that course and other community members have not so far been permitted to undergo that course? If so, do Government

propose to throw open to other communities the privilege of undergoing this apprenticeship course to enable them to be appointed as Bridge Inspectors?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** No communal discrimination is permitted in recruiting apprentices to the Engineering Department of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway.

**PROMOTION OF ASSISTANT STATION MASTERS IN THE DELHI DIVISION  
OF THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.**

**64. Mr. S. C. Mitra:** Is it a fact that several temporary Assistant Station Masters, since confirmed in the Delhi Division of the North Western Railway, have represented their case for due promotion and admissible seniority since July, 1931, through the Divisional Superintendent, Delhi? If so, what is the result of their representations?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** Government have not received any such representation. The matter is one within the competence of the Agent to deal with.

**PROMOTION OF ASSISTANT STATION MASTERS IN THE DELHI DIVISION OF  
THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.**

**65. Mr. S. C. Mitra:** Is it a fact that no Indian Assistant Station Master is given any post over grade IV, in spite of their satisfactory acting in such posts at big junctions, and are Government aware that such posts are always given to the most junior Anglo-Indian guards? Is it correct that there is no opening for Indian Assistant Station Masters at all?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** With your permission, Sir, I propose to reply to questions Nos. 65, 66 and 67 together. I have called for information from the Agent, North Western Railway, and will communicate with the Honourable Member on its receipt.

**PAY OF ANGLO-INDIAN AND INDIAN ASSISTANT STATION MASTERS AT  
DELHI AND GHAZIABAD.**

**†66. Mr. S. C. Mitra:** Are Government aware that at Delhi Main and Ghaziabad when Anglo-Indians were working as Assistant Station Masters they were paid Rs. 260 to 280, and when Indians are put to work as such they are given only Rs. 95? Is not the responsibility in both cases the same?

**PAY OF THE ASSISTANT STATION MASTER AT SIMLA.**

**†67. Mr. S. C. Mitra:** Are Government aware that the grade of Assistant Station Master at a most important and big station like Simla is only Rs. 45-5-60, while clerks under him are given Rs. 200 or above? Do Government propose to look into the case?

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†For answer to this question, see answer to question No. 65.

### PROMOTION OF GUARDS ON THE GREAT INDIAN PENINSULA RAILWAY.

68. **Mr. S. C. Mitra:** Are Government aware that in the Jubbalpur Division of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway a special lowest branch time-scale has been introduced for goods guards, working on main lines, with the result that most junior guards in Jhansi and other Divisions have superseded senior and qualified guards? Is it a fact that these men have been representing for the last five years for promotion and transfer? Are Government prepared to look into the case of special qualified guards at least?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** Government have no information. The matter is within the competence of the Agent, Great Indian Peninsula Railway, to decide, and I am bringing it to his notice.

### MEDICAL EXAMINATION OF RAILWAY EMPLOYEES ON THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

69. **Mr. S. C. Mitra:** Are Government aware that the North Western Railway has introduced a new system of medical examination of Railway employees by the letter "C", with the result that hundreds of men are unfitted after long services and those not concerned in train-working are examined and thus turned out?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** The test referred to is in accordance with the vision tests prescribed under the new Regulations, lately issued by Government, for the medical examination of railway employees and the proportion of men who now fail under this test is not greater than formerly.

### PROVISION FOR RAILWAY EMPLOYEES FAILING IN THE MEDICAL EXAMINATION ON THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

70. **Mr. S. C. Mitra:** Is it a fact that those Railway employees on the North Western Railway who failed in the medical examination in class A but were fit for other classes are turned out without being given any chance in any other capacity? Are Government prepared to see that such staff is provided with some job on the same pay or that certain clerical posts are reserved for such failures?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** The regulations on State-managed Railways already provide that where an employee fails due to defective eyesight or any other infirmity, to conform to the standard of physical fitness required by the holder of his post every effort shall be made to find another suitable appointment for him.

### LACK OF WATER TAPS IN RAILWAY QUARTERS AT PAHARGANJ.

71. **Mr. S. C. Mitra:** Are Government aware that Railway staff residing in the big Paharganj railway quarters are suffering great trouble on account of there being no water taps inside the quarters? Is it a fact that wafer taps were sanctioned about two years ago but never introduced? Is it correct that some of the quarters used by the engineering staff had such taps while others had not? Is it a fact that thousands of rupees are spent in building new quarters, while a few hundred rupees are refused for this purpose?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** Government have no information. The matter is one for the Agent to decide, and I am sending him a copy of the Honourable Member's question for consideration if any action is needed.

#### APPOINTMENT OF ASSISTANT TRAIN CONTROLLERS ON THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

**72. Mr. S. C. Mitra:** (a) Will Government kindly refer to starred questions Nos. 1292, 1361 and 1362 of the special Delhi Session of the Legislative Assembly in November, 1931 and say whether it is a fact that the Assistant Train Controllers on the North Western Railway were made permanent a couple of years after their posts were created and then the confirmation was cancelled on certain representations or allegations made in the Agent's office and a plea of rectification of an error was given?

(b) Is there any such parallel in Government of India offices? Will Government please give specific instances, if any?

(c) Are Government aware of the acute state of uncertainty of these men and do they intend to consider their claims early? If not, why not?

(d) Have the Assistant Controllers been re-confirmed by now? If not, what is the cause of a delay of so many months?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** (a) to (d). Certain confirmations as Assistant Train Controllers were made from 1st January, 1931, without the personal approval of the Agent, North Western Railway. When the matter eventually came to his notice, the Agent was satisfied that these confirmations had been made erroneously and that the only satisfactory manner of rectifying the position which had arisen was to countermand the confirmations. This was within the competence of the Agent and Government do not propose to intervene or to search for parallels in Government offices.

#### APPOINTMENTS IN THE INCOME-TAX DEPARTMENT OF BIHAR AND ORISSA.

**73. Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad:** (a) Will Government please state the number of (i) Inspector-accountants, and (ii) clerks recently sanctioned by them for the Income-tax Department of Bihar and Orissa as a result of the lowering of the taxable limit?

(b) Is it a fact that the Commissioner of Income-tax, Bihar and Orissa, empowered his Assistant Commissioners to make the clerical appointments? If so, will Government kindly state whether these appointments were advertised and in which papers?

(c) What was the total number of applicants with the communities to which they belonged separately for (i) inspector-accountants and (ii) clerks?

(d) Will Government kindly state the number of Muslims appointed as (i) inspector-accountants and (ii) clerks by each of the Assistant Commissioners who were empowered to do so out of the total number allotted to each of them?

(e) Will Government please say whether these appointments received the approval of the Income-tax Commissioner?

(f) Have Government satisfied themselves that the Muslims have been taken according to the percentage laid down by the Government of India to prevent the preponderance of any one community in the public services? If not, why not?

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** The information has been asked for and when obtained a complete statement will be laid on the table.

**Mr. Muhammad Muazzam Sahib Bahadur** (North Madras: Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I do not wish to move the Resolution\* that stands in my name.

### RESOLUTION *RE* STABILISATION OF EXCHANGE AND PRICES.

**Mr. President:** The next Resolution stands in the name of Lieutenant Nawab Muhammad Ibrahim Ali Khan, who has authorised Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad to move it on his behalf. Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad** (United Provinces Southern Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I beg to move:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that the Government of India should not expend the resources of the country in their attempt to stabilise exchange, but concentrate their efforts to stabilise prices."

Sir, my object in moving this Resolution is, firstly, to emphasise that it is the duty of the Government of India as currency authority to realise their responsibility and to discharge their duty in stabilising the prices of this country. A few months ago the Finance Member as a representative of the currency authority was invited by the Indian Chamber of Commerce to examine the causes which led to the fall of prices in jute, and redress the grievances of the people of Bengal. But he shoved his responsibility on to the Government of Bengal, and I think his attitude, as a representative of the currency authority, was not correct. My second object is to emphasise the importance of apportioning the responsibility of maintaining the price level between the Provincial Governments and the currency authority. Sir, at one time it was admitted that the prosperity of a country depends upon a favourable balance of trade, and the country which exported more and imported less had the balance of trade in its favour and was more prosperous. But the miseries of Central Europe after the war which had an overwhelming balance of trade in their favour exploded the theory. The accounts of the visible balance of trade are always made up by the accounts of the invisible balance of trade; the favourable balance of visible trade is equalised by unfavourable balance of invisible trade and the two taken together, like the debit and credit accounts in any system of accountancy, balance the accounts. It is now universally admitted that the balance of visible trade, though important is not the only factor in determining the prosperity of a country.

\*"With a view to restoring the normal morale of the public services in this country, this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that at the end of the next 2 years or at such later period when the present national crisis has passed off, Government do repay to Government servants the amount without interest of their respective accumulated cuts in salaries either in one payment or in annual or biennial instalments as the Governor General in Council may deem expedient."

I come to the next false theory which is still dominating the currency policy of our country, I mean the attempt to maintain the stability of exchange, at all costs and at the sacrifice of all other interests. The stability of exchange is the effect and not the cause of the stability of prices. On account of the limited time of half an hour allowed to the proposer of a Resolution, I do not like to take you through the early history of the recommendations of the Fowler Committee of 1898, and the Chamberlain Committee of 1913, but I would like to draw your attention straight to the current problems. We had a stable exchange before the war. The war conditions unsettled the currency here as in every other country. The first serious mistake we made was that we tried to stabilise currency at 2 shillings per rupee, and the loss of gold assets incurred on account of the 2 shillings parity would work out to something like 69 crores. All the countries in the world stabilised their currency at a lower level. France stabilised it at one-fifth of the pre-war value, Italy at a little less than one-third of the pre-war value, whereas we in India went further and stabilised it at 50 per cent. higher than its value before the war. It was formerly 1s. 4d. and we stabilised it at 2 shillings per rupee. We lost thereby 69.36 crores, which was really a gift from our taxpayers to the speculators in exchange. If we look into the figures of exchange from 1920 to 1925, we will see that the exchange never attained 2s. compared with the gold ratio which the Government of India intended it to be. It went on to as much as 1s. 1d. compared with the gold standard:

Year.	Exchange in terms of Sterling.	Exchange in terms of Gold.
	s. d.	s. d.
1920 . . . . .	2 7	1 10
1921 . . . . .	1 3½	1 1
1922 . . . . .	1 3½	1 2½
1923 . . . . .	1 4½	1 3½
1924 . . . . .	1 5	1 3½
1925 . . . . .	1 5½	1 5½

This is the year when England resumed the gold Standard.

From these figures it is quite clear that had the Government stabilised the exchange in 1923 at 1s. 4d. India would have been saved an enormous sum of money which we had to sacrifice at the altar of this exchange. Here I would like to read a passage from the Indian Chamber of Commerce Calcutta, Annual Report for 1930 (p. 197):

"The loss of gold assets between April, 1926 and November, 1930, is thus Rs. 33.94 crores. To this, however, must be added the value of the sterling assets created by the proceeds of silver sold from the reserve in the last three years. The sale proceeds under this head are more than Rs. 10 crores. The total loss of gold and gold assets to the Paper Currency Reserve between 1st April, 1926, and now, therefore, comes to say, Rs. 44 crores. The value of gold assets sacrificed on the altar of 2s. was Rs. 78.02 crores; this figure, however, is based on the valuation of the gold assets

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at 1s. 4d. Revaluing on the basis of 1s. 6d. the loss of gold assets incurred on account of 2s. parity would work out to Rs. 69·36 crores. Summing up the entire position, the Government of India are responsible for frittering away Rs. 113·30 crores of gold assets in the two disastrous ventures they took upon themselves against the unanimous public opinion of this country."

**Sir Hugh Cocke** (Bombay: European): Will the Honourable Member kindly state whose ideas these are?

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad**: I am reading it from the Annual Report of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta.

**Sir Hugh Cocke**: It is in the first person singular. I think it was a personal speech by somebody.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad**: I request the Honourable Member to read page 197 of this book. (Handed over the book.) The steps taken by the Government to maintain the exchange at 1s. 6d. i.e., 12½ per cent. higher than its pre-war value were (1) the contraction of money, (2) raising the rate of interest to a high level, (3) raising loans at high rates of interest, (4) the sale of Reverse Council Bills, and all these four measures contributed to lower the price levels. I am going to take them in turn. The first step which the Government took in order to keep up the exchange at 1s. 6d. was that they had to contract the currency. In March, 1926 we had 193 crores of currency, in December, 1929, 179 crores, on 21st September, 1931, it was 146 crores.

Time.	Currency in crores of rupees.
31st March, 1926	193
December, 1929	179
21st September, 1931	146
31st January, 1931	179·16
Now about	182

**Sir Hugh Cocke**: May I interrupt the Honourable Member so that the House may not be misled? The quotations were from the speech of Mr. D. P. Khaitan, President of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, at a General Meeting held on the 5th March, 1930.

**Mr. S. C. Mitra** (Chittagong and Rajshahi Divisions: Non-Muham-madan Rural): The speech of the President was accepted by the Chamber as a whole.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad**: So long as the facts are correct, it is immaterial whose speech it was. Consider what has been said and not who said it. Now on account of the flight of gold, in January, 1931, it was 179·16 crores, and now it will be about 182 crores. The present expansion of the currency I do not seriously object to. It is the natural outcome of the flight of gold. But what I would like to have an assurance from the Honourable the Finance Member about is how long this inflation will go on and how far does he propose to go on inflating the money? I would like to hear something definite from him now or on the occasion of the Budget debate. We see the flight of gold is still continuing and is

likely to continue for some time, until Government put an embargo on gold. People on account of distress are selling their gold and the Government of India as currency authority giving the people notes printed on paper and silver. (The rupee is a note printed on silver as it does not contain silver even to half its value.)

The second point that I wish to refer to is about the bank rate of exchange, which is seven per cent. at present. This high rate is unjustified and I give only two reasons for it. The first is that the Imperial Bank rate should always be lower than the market rate, and if the Imperial Bank rate is higher than the market rate, then it really means the Government have artificially raised it to achieve certain objects. I notice that in 1929, the Imperial Bank rate was 7 per cent. and the Delhi market rate was 6. In April, 1929 the Imperial Bank rate was 8 and the Delhi rate was 6½. In January, 1930 the Imperial Bank rate was 7 and the Delhi rate was 5½. Next compare our rates of interest with the rates in other countries, and I take the figures from the *Berliner Zeitung*, dated 17th November, 1931. I notice that in Holland the Bank rate is 3, in Belgium, 2½, in London, 6, in New York, 3½ and in France, 2½. I should like to know how far the Bank rate of 7 is justified in view of the facts that I have just mentioned. It is really done to maintain the exchange at its artificial value at 1s. 6d. and at the sacrifice of Commerce and trade.

The third measure which the Government had to adopt was the raising of loans during the last five years.

#### Amount of loans in 1926.

	In crores of Rupees.
Rupee loans . . . . .	539.81
Sterling loans at 1s. 6d. . . . .	456.50
<b>Total</b>	<b>996.36</b>

#### In 1931.

Rupee loans . . . . .	654.95
Sterling . . . . .	517.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,171.96</b>

We have raised our loan from 996.36 crores to 1,171.96 crores, that is an increase of 17 per cent., taking the rupee and the sterling loans together. The last loans were raised at unjustifiable rate of interest at 6½ per cent. The result of this measure is that we have now to pay more interest on the additional loans, which is collected by increased taxation. The extraordinary Finance Bill of November, 1931, is the direct result of the wrong monetary policy of the Government. It also resulted in frittering away cash balances which are now substantially reduced. The cash bullion and security has diminished from 51.96 crores to 35.18 crores during the same period. Time does not permit me to give the figures of treasury bills and reverse bills. During the year we borrowed 159 crores in treasury bills and paid 139.68 crores and thus increased our debt by about 20 crores. These are the facts which I have

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laid before you and which are the outcomes of the exchange policy of the Government of India. I draw your attention to an entirely different side of the question, that is I want to prove that these four measures which the Government have adopted to maintain stability of exchange are just the causes which have unstabilised the prices in this country, in fact we ought to pay our attention to the stabilisation of prices; exchange would look after itself. Sir, attention has been drawn from time to time by the economists about leaving off the puzzle of exchange and concentrating attention on the prices. I quoted last time a Resolution passed by the Brussels International Conference which says that:

"Attempts to limit fluctuations in exchange by imposing artificial control on exchange operations are futile and mischievous."

I maintain that the fall in prices is not so much due to over-production as it is due to the monetary policy of our country. In proof of my statement I would like to give two quotations. One is from Gustav Cassell, the well-known economist. He says:

"Contraction of credit brought about by the central banks of Europe under the pressure of America was the cause in the fall of prices."

The second quotation is from Sir Henry Strakosh who has proved by his graphical statistics that:

"The fall in prices began with the flow of gold to America and France."

He ridicules the idea that over-production can be a self-sufficient cause of depression, as in the absence of saturation all the increased output can well change hands.

Sir, I now wish to prove that the action taken by the Government of India in trying to maintain the stability of exchange has really led to the fall in prices. The first was the fixing of the ratio at a higher level. My Honourable friend, the Finance Member, will not probably agree with my statement and make the elusive remark that I am a Mathematician and not an economist. I will therefore quote from McMillan's Report which everybody will accept as an authority on the subject. The report, is written by a committee consisting of the leading economists of Great Britain. This Report clearly says:

"It is probable that the difficulty of our national problem was much increased by the relative over-valuation of the pound sterling and under-valuation of many other currencies."

If in England it is admitted that the miseries were due to the over-valuation of the pound then it is applied *mutatis mutandis* to India where we actually evaluated our rupee at a premium of 50 per cent. Sir, as I said, the stability of exchange should be the result and not the cause of the stability of prices. The attempt to maintain the stability of exchange is really to give the reins of your horse in the hands of persons who have no sympathy with you. I suppose any person who rides a horse would always like to keep the reins in his own hands and not to give the reins to persons who have no sympathy with him. King Nadir Shah refused to ride an elephant, because the reins were not in his hand. And I say that to make an effort to stabilise prices is just to give the reins of your price level to persons who have no sympathy for you. In this connection I will give two quotations from very reliable

authorities. One is from McMillan's Report referred to above and whose authority cannot be questioned. The Report says in paragraph 220, page 97:

"The Bank rate policy guided and governed by the tendency of gold to move, is a means of maintaining the stability of the exchanges rather than stability of business. It is a means of keeping us in step with the rest of the world; of keeping us, not at a steady pace, but at the same pace as others. Indeed so far from preserving a stability of prices, profits and employment, the maintenance of stable exchanges has the effect of transmitting to our credit system any serious disturbances, of a cyclical character or otherwise, which may be affecting the rest of the world."

This is also supported by the evidence of Sir Basil Blackett who clearly says:

"Once exchange is fixed, of the three factors which have to be considered, international prices, internal prices and exchange, one will be completely out of your control, namely, international prices. The intermediate link, that is, exchange will be fixed, and therefore the remaining factor, internal prices, will be at the mercy of outside movements and it will not be in your power to control the situation."

That is why I say that to fix the exchange is really to hand over the reins of price level in the hands of persons who have no sympathy with us.

Now, Sir, in proof of my proposition that we ought to concentrate our attention on prices, I will give the findings of McMillan's Report, which is really the greatest authority on the subject, and they have conclusively said that we ought to concentrate our attention on the stabilisation of prices. They say in paragraphs 275 and 276:

"Thus our objective should be, so far as lies within the power of this country, to influence the international price level, first of all to raise prices a long way above the present level and then to maintain them at the level thus reached with such stability as can be managed."

We recommend that this objective be accepted as the guiding aim of the monetary policy of this country. The acceptance of such an objective will represent in itself a great and notable change. For before the War scarcely any one considered that the price level could or ought to be the care and preoccupation, far less a main objective of policy, on the part of the Bank of England or any other Central Bank."

In India until the Central Bank is established, the Government as the currency authority take the place of the Bank of England and the Central Bank. If it is admitted that the primary responsibility of the Bank of England is to attempt to maintain the price level, then in India, until the Central Bank is established, it ought to be the duty of the Government of India as the currency authority to take all measures to maintain stability of prices. But the steps which the Government are taking are just the reverse. I am conscious of all the reservations and the difficulties that arise which have been elaborately dealt with by Mr. Keynes in the second volume of his book on "Money" page 351, to which for want of time I cannot refer in detail.

So far, Sir, about the general theory. I will now mention the specific instances of commodity after commodity the prices of which have fallen on account of inertness and wrong action of the Government of India. Our Central Government as the currency authority did not discharge their duties. Had the time been at my disposal I would

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have discussed in greater detail the question of wheat, hides and skins, of jute, of cotton and various other commodities. But I may possibly have time to go into details on some other occasion.

First I will take up wheat. I do not like to take much time over it as we already discussed it the other day, but I should like just to give certain figures which I could not give on that day as the discussion came at a time against my expectations. The pre-war average of production in India was about  $9\frac{1}{2}$  million tons, and we exported  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million tons every year, which left 8 million tons for our home consumption. From 1924 to 1928, the imports and exports were so regulated that we had 8 million tons left for our home consumption, but when we come to the figures of 1929 onwards, we find that the balance is upset, and that was the time when the Government of India ought to have intervened. The Government know that in 1929, we produced about  $10\frac{1}{2}$  million tons of wheat and in 1930 about 9. The Import and Export was as follows: -

Year.	In tons.		
	Import.	Export.	Export to United Kingdom.
1928-29 . . . . .	562,053	168,890	76,418
1929-30 . . . . .	357,158	63,636	6,964
1930-31 . . . . .	232,154	243,414	175,283
Till December, 1931 . . . . .	111,297	52,126	16,775

Position was improved last year on account of large export to United Kingdom. The Wheat Import Act ought to have passed in 1929 and the premium of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. due to exchange ought to have been removed. Of course the Government know that it is easy to maintain prices, but it is not easy to raise the prices in a short time. It requires a long interval, and the present low level will take sometime to rise to its former level. I think the Government have not discharged their duty as currency authority in order to stabilise the price of wheat when they limited the operation of the Wheat Import Bill to one year only. Had Government taken correct and prompt action in 1929, our present miseries would have been minimised.

The next commodity which I should like to take in detail is the question of hides and skins, of which I have already spoken on previous occasions. This particular trade brings in to India an income of between 40 and 50 crores of rupees. Before I give any figures, I would like to make one point quite clear at the outset. It is contained in the letter dated 26th July, 1928, addressed by the Hide and Skin Association to the Finance Member that:

"The Association asserts that the larger percentage of exports consists of inferior grade of hides from animals which have died a natural death, while a greater proportion of the hides of animals which have been slaughtered in slaughter houses are utilised by Indian tanners."

So that the greater quantity of hides and skins exported really comes from animals which have died their natural death, and we should assume that the number of animals which are dying a natural death in India is certainly increasing and not diminishing. I assume that it is increasing with the increase of population.

Now, we find that the export of cow hides since the pre-war days has been reduced by 58 per cent. that is, if it was 100 before the war, it is now only 42. Buffalo hides similarly are reduced by 75 per cent.: the export is only 25 per cent. Sir Charles Innes, considering the bad state into which the trade had fallen, proposed a reduction of the duty to 5 per cent. on the occasion of the Finance Bill on the 20th March, 1923. After the adoption of his recommendations, the export began to improve. But as soon as the exchange was fixed at 18*d*. reaction again followed. The decrease of custom duty was compensated by the premium of 12½ per cent. due to exchange. The diminution in export was not compensated by the quantity tanned in India. I have got before me the figures (see the *Review of the Trade of India*, 1930-31, pages 106-107) which will show that the amount of decrease in the export and the amount of increase in the tanned leather, and I find that the value in the case of exported hides has diminished from 11·69 crores to 5·40 crores. The value of the tanned leather during the same period has increased from 4·22 to 6·27 crores. So the loss in the export of hides is about 6 crores and the gain in the tanned is about 2 crores, that is, there is a definite loss of about 4 crores of rupees on account of this export policy of the Government of India. Considering the quantity that export of raw hide is diminished from 80 to 41 thousand tons a tanned hide increased from 15 to 17. Allowing an increase of 10 per cent. in population, the raw hide now buried in ground is about 45 thousand tons (1 ton = 27½ maunds).

Sir, export duty can be justified only on three grounds: the first is that the exporting country controls the market, second, that the duty falls on the buyer and not on the producer, and third, protection to the home industry. I want to prove that none of these conditions is satisfied in the case of hides and skins. The hides market is controlled by the importing country. India is not the only exporting country: hides are exported by South America, Africa and China. The very fact that exports have fallen by about 65 per cent. shows that India does not control the market. Taking the next point, the export duty falls on the producers primarily, and this is very clear from the letter written by the Hides Association to the Finance Member in its letter dated the 15th April, 1931. There they say that in the case of the hides industry this takes the form of complete strangulation of the source of income of many thousands of the lowest classes of:

"These village-dwellers men who are engaged in the collection of hides from fallen animals and the preparation of such hides for sale in the various markets throughout India, are immediately and particularly unfairly affected by a drop in the exports to foreign countries. The position today is that the prices which shippers can afford to pay for their hides are so low that, by the time the material has been railed to the ports and the profit of the *Beparis* been set aside, there remains for the village slayer a figure so small that it is no longer worth his while to collect the hides and cart them to market. Recent experiences have shown that dead animals have been left without flaying near various villages with the consequence that in the rainy season, they have decayed and have spread disease. They were left unflayed as the price obtainable by the village *Chamar* was only four or eight annas per piece and he did not consider this to be sufficient for the trouble involved. All *Chamars* have been affected by the export duty, some being ruined and if the export duty is still further increased, more of these poor people will be ruined."

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The third point is about the protection of the home industry. I have clearly stated that though there has no doubt been some improvement in the tanning industry, because during the last fifteen years export has improved by about 2 crores, still the loss to the exporters has been about four times as great as the gain by protection. The improvement of the trade will lead to the improvement of cattle breeding. I would like to quote from the Hides and Skins Cess Committee's Report:

"The value to India of this industry taken as a whole is about 40 to 50 crores. It provides employment to large numbers of men and is a factor in the economic well-being of millions of the depressed classes. There is scope for work in order to reduce the national waste. Improvement effected will not only benefit those directly engaged in the industry as a whole but will also react favourably on the peasantry of India. Our proposals have this objective in view, and are, in our opinion, so designed as to achieve it, as far as it is practicable."

The improvement of this trade, Sir, is not only the economic problem of maintenance of the price level, but it is also intimately connected with agricultural research. I wonder that the Imperial Agricultural Research Association has not raised its voice about it.

I have referred to the position of one industry, and I ask, is it or is it not the duty of the Government to come to the relief of the people and stabilise prices in this and other cases? Had they taken timely action, as recommended by the Hides Cess Committee, the present depression would have been avoided and India would not have lost about 8 crores on this one particular commodity. It is really reacting very badly on large numbers of people belonging to the depressed classes who collect the hides from fallen animals.

I have not got time in the half hour at my disposal to discuss in greater detail the other commodities, much as I would have liked to discuss them—particularly the jute industry where Government could have helped but did not.

**An Honourable Member:** Go on.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** My time is up. I shall take some other opportunity to discuss the question of other commodities which the Government could have helped by maintaining prices, but the Government as currency authority did not do it. My last appeal to the Finance Member therefore is that he should not waste the resources of the country in his attempt to stabilise exchange, but that he should concentrate his attention on stabilising prices; once prices are stabilised, the exchange is practically certain to be stabilised, because what is really exchange? It is nothing but the ratio of the price of an article which a person can buy in any other country and import into his own, to the price prevailing in his own country. The other ratios which we have been having are really very artificial due to temporary phenomena and if prices are stabilised these difficulties will be solved automatically. With these words I move the Resolution.

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster** (Finance Member): Sir, I was expecting to have a little more enlightenment on this question before the time came for me to reply, and I am surprised that this subject, which is one of great general interest, has not drawn further speakers or speeches

from the House. I confess that I find it difficult in a short speech to do justice to what has fallen from my Honourable friend. He  
 12 Noon. started talking about currency, but as far as I could follow him, the latter part of his speech dealt rather with the policy of the Commerce Department in this country and questions affecting the hide and skin industry, and I think that his complaint fell in that respect rather on my Honourable colleague the Commerce Member who unfortunately was absent. My Honourable friend cut his speech short at the end, and I must do him the credit of supposing that the best part of what he had to tell us today has remained unsaid. I trust that my friend will not press this motion to a division. I would put it to him that a subject of this kind is not one which can be determined by votes, and I think it is clear from the lack of volunteers to join in this very difficult debate, that the House itself would hardly be desirous of recording publicly an opinion on this subject today.

In certain respects, if this Resolution is to be taken as recommending general principles, as endorsing abstract theory, as indicating the objectives, the ideal objectives for which all currency authorities should work, I could find myself in agreement with it; but if it is intended as a criticism of the particular policy that we are pursuing today, I must of course oppose it. I think, Sir, there will be no dissentient voice, either in this House or anywhere in the world, to the general proposition that the world as a whole has failed miserably to deal with the currency problems which have arisen since the war, and that the world as a whole is suffering terribly today from the fact that the course of prices has been subjected to most violent fluctuations resulting from the attempt to maintain the currencies of the world on a gold basis. It is patent that the old system has very largely broken down. We have seen, to put it in one way, an enormous appreciation of the value of gold in terms of commodities, we have seen, if you put it in the other way, a sensational, a catastrophic fall in the prices of commodities in terms of gold, and the whole world is suffering from that today.

But having admitted that general principle and having joined with my friend in deploring the disaster which has come upon the world owing to the undue fall in prices, I find it difficult to follow him if I have correctly understood what his practical proposals are. Trying if I can to continue my effort to find a measure of agreement with him, I would go on to say that I think all authorities agree,—I certainly would agree with him—that if a system of currency based on gold is to work in the world, then there must be a proper utilisation of the gold resources of the world. If the gold that is available is to be made the basis of currency, if gold is to be the monetary basis, then it must be distributed in such a way that the money available for expenditure in the world for carrying on business expands with the growing production of the world. We know for example that the population of the world is increasing at the rate of about one per cent. per annum. We know also if we follow the course of production in the world that the productive capacity of the world is increasing steadily at a rate somewhere between 3 and 4 per cent.

**Mr. K. Ahmed** (Rajshahi Division: Muhammadan Rural): But the deaths in India are more than in any other country.

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster**: I say we know from statistics that the productive capacity of the world is increasing at the rate of

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something between 3 and 4 per cent. per annum. Now, it is obvious that if that production, if the goods that are produced are to find consumers, the standard of living of the population of the world must improve from year to year so as to make up that difference between one per cent. in the increase of population and 3 to 4 per cent. in the production of goods, and that can only be done if the distribution of wealth in the world is so worked as to enable the money required to buy the increased proportion of goods to come into the hands of those who want those goods. I entirely agree with my friend that there is not in the world today in any true sense over production. That is obvious in a world a large proportion of whose population is living at a standard of life below anything which any of us could regard as satisfactory. The world has not got available for division among its population today too much wheat or too many clothes or too many boots and shoes. They could all find users if we could only arrange our monetary machinery and our methods for the distribution of wealth in such a way, that under the system which is now employed people could have put into their hands the means for making the necessary purchases. But that cannot be arrived at if the monetary system of the world is not working properly and—if gold is to be the basis of currency—unless the gold resources are utilised to the best advantage. Although I myself think that the present state of affairs is due to a multiplicity of causes—and I do not agree with those who put it all down to one cause—yet I would go so far as to agree with my friend in saying that the most important single controllable factor on which we can put our fingers which has contributed to the present misery of the world lies in the monetary policy. My friend quoted at one stage of his most interesting speech from remarks made by a very great friend of mine—Sir Henry Strakosch—and I would recommend to anybody who is interested in this question that he should buy a copy of the Economist of about three or four weeks ago in which there was a special article on the present crisis by Sir Henry Strakosch. That contains most illuminating charts, and he is able to show there by his charts that the present crisis began just at the time when for various reasons the stocks of gold in the world began to leave all the other countries and accumulate in the hands of France and the United States. It is not for me to go into the reasons which led to that accumulation, but one of the reasons certainly, so far as the United States of America were concerned, was that in 1929 they made a distinct change in their policy of granting foreign loans, and as they ceased to grant credits to foreign nations payments which were due to them had to be made in terms of gold. I think that that particular article by Sir Henry Strakosch does justify the conclusion that monetary policy has had a great deal to do with the present crisis, and I think I am not over-stating the case if I say, as I have already said, that it has been the largest single controllable factor in the situation.

Now, if one admits all that, as I think one must, what bearing has it on the policy of the Government of India? The point that I want to put to the House is this. We in this matter are only one very small unit in a very large combination of forces. I quite agree that what happens in India may have some bearing on what happens in the rest of the world. For example, I think that political disturbances in India which might retard a normal recovery in India might be of sufficient importance to react on the rest of the world to an appreciable extent, just as disturbances

in China undoubtedly also are a contributory cause among the whole of the forces that are operating today. But when my Honourable friend suggests that we could have by our currency policy kept India immune from all the evils from which the rest of the world is suffering today—then I do maintain that he is living under an illusion if he really believes that. No single country can by its own policy control world conditions. If, for example, India is unable to find a satisfactory market for her jute, her cotton, her oilseeds, groundnuts and hides and skins,—and if India is to be prosperous she must sell the surplus of production of those goods abroad—if she is unable to find a satisfactory market for those owing to economic depression in the rest of the world, there is nothing that she can do by her own currency policy to overcome those unfortunate results. What a country can do by her own currency policy is to alter the relative position of the various classes of her population. If for example, we were to adopt a currency policy which would mean a reduction of the value of the rupee to one-third of its present value, we should entirely alter the distribution of the annual accretion of wealth in the country as between the various classes in the country. It would mean that everybody who is entitled to fixed money payments would get in real value so much less. Every body who is entitled to fixed interests on his investments; every one who is entitled to fixed payments measured in terms of rupees by way of rent, everybody who is entitled to a fixed daily wage measured in rupees—to take only three classes of the population—would get so much less in real value, whereas those who after meeting their fixed payments had to dispose of goods which had been produced would find that the balance which they had left over for themselves in terms of rupees would be proportionately increased. To that extent a country can by its currency policy affect the situation of its own people, but it cannot increase the total wealth of the country by measures of that kind, and that I think it is a point which my Honourable friend should appreciate,—the limitation of what any single country can do by its own currency policy. In saying this, I leave out of account the effect that our policy might have on the whole of the conditions in the rest of the world, and I admit we might have a small effect on the rest of the world if our policy was such as to increase the demand for certain articles in India. But that effect would hardly be appreciable. That, Sir, is the first point that I want to make—the limitation of anything that we ourselves can do in the face of a world crisis like the present one by our own currency policy, and I do want to put it to the House that the major part of what India is suffering from now is the result of world conditions, and nothing to do with our own policy.

The second point—and I want to confine myself to these two points—that I want to put to the House is this,—supposing you do decide that your policy is to be one of stabilising prices rather than maintaining a stable value of your unit of currency in relation to gold or in relation to the currencies of the rest of the world,—supposing that is your policy, into whose hands are you going to put the control of that policy? Are you satisfied to leave a power of that kind in the hands of any single group? My Honourable friend has called our attention to the very unsatisfactory position of a man who finds himself riding a horse with somebody else taking hold of the reins. I quite agree with him it is a most unsatisfactory position, particularly if the horse is rather an unmanageable one and the man who holds the reins is of a wild and irresponsible character. But I put it to him that if he wants this country to have a system of

[The Honourable Sir George Schuster.]

currency, a managed system of currency, a currency not based on any sort of basis of gold or anything of a fixed and stable nature, but managed entirely according to the brains and ideas of a small group who would have complete power in their hands, I suggest then that he would find himself just in that position which he deplures, and he could hardly put himself and the country into a more dangerous position than that policy would imply. If you are going to attempt a thing of that kind, in the first place, you must have the most reliable statistics, you must be able to follow your index prices for all commodities in which the country is interested. We have nothing of that kind, we have no system of that kind which would enable the currency authority to operate on those lines in India today with any sort of precision and accuracy. Further, you must have not only knowledge of what is going on, but you must have some sort of prophetic vision of the future; otherwise you will be liable to make mistakes, for these things change very quickly. And I would put it to my Honourable friend that what he is really arguing for is a system which is based upon nothing except the ingenuity of a small group of people into whose hands he will place the whole responsibility for management; he is ready to adopt an experiment which I doubt very much if any large body of people in India would follow him in endorsing. That, Sir, is the point that has got to be faced. Either you have to regulate the attempt to maintain your currency values in relation to some fixed standard or you cut right adrift and leave the regulation entirely dependent on the brains and ability of a small group of men. If my Honourable friend is interested in past history, and I have made no attempt to follow him into his examination of past history today, I would ask him to read what was said by all the representatives of Indian commercial bodies in earlier days on that very point, on the suggestion that India should have a managed currency. I think he will find that representatives of the Indian Chambers of Commerce said that that was the very worst thing which could possibly happen.

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir** (Bombay City: Non-Muhamadan Urban): What has England got today?

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** For the moment I was referring to past history and I think that many individuals who make proposals today are inclined to forget the very solid opinion which disclosed itself in India when those earlier suggestions were made.

Now, Sir, the only other thing that I wish to call the attention of the House to is that for the present we are living in very difficult times. As the whole House is aware we had to face a very revolutionary change in September and it is a fact that now our currency is not based on gold but is being regulated in a parity with sterling and in that sense my Honourable friend is quite entitled to say that we are at present ourselves committed to a policy which is based on a managed currency,—seeing that the position of sterling is dependent on the policy of the currency authorities in England. Therefore he can quite well say that we are already facing some of those risks to which I have drawn attention. But I would ask him and the House, if they can take that view, to confine themselves strictly to a practical appreciation of the situation. Let them consider whether in fact what we are now doing is meeting the interests of India. I think that

any impartial observer who considers the dangers and difficulties with which we were faced last September and then reviews how we have been able to get through the months that have passed since then would at least go so far as to say 'Well, you have not done too badly—at least, you might have done very much worse!' And in these difficult times if one can carry on without disaster and with a general improvement in the position of the country I think one may congratulate oneself that one is not entirely off the right road and one may be justified in hesitating to accept the advice of those who say 'Turn from the path on which you are now proceeding with fairly satisfactory progress and make an experiment with some short cut through the jungle'. I for one would certainly not like to follow my Honourable friend, the Mover through the jungle which I think his policy indicates. I prefer to keep along the path on which we are now going, a path of which I confess I cannot see the final end, but a path along which I can see the steps for the next few months sufficiently clearly to satisfy myself that we are moving in the right direction. That, Sir, is the position that I will put to the House—that our policy at present is on broad lines meeting the needs and interests of India, that it is too early yet to say what the final policy is going to be, that we have in spite of a continued fall in gold prices since September been able to see a steady improvement in the internal rupee prices of most of the commodities on which India relies, an improvement which varies according to different commodities, which is particularly striking in regard to cotton where there has been an improvement of something like 40 to 45 per cent. and which extends over the whole range of commodities in which the Indian producer is interested. We have seen that improvement of prices without any corresponding great rise in the cost of living or without any difficulties which might have been expected to be brought about by a sudden change in the currency value of the country. It has been accompanied by a marked improvement in our own position for meeting our foreign obligations and a marked improvement in the general financial position of Government. That, Sir, I submit to the House is a sufficient justification for us in saying that the path on which we are now treading is a path which is adapted to the interests of India. Indeed I do not think that anything that my Honourable friend said was aimed directly as an accusation of our present policy. He contented himself rather with references to the evils which would come on the country from the Government policy in the past. I think, Sir, I have taken sufficient time of the House in dealing with this matter, and I hope I have expressed sufficient agreement with the general principles which my Honourable friend laid down as to persuade him that it would be unwise to press his present Resolution to a division.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** In view of the fact that the Honourable the Finance Member is in general agreement with the policy mentioned in the Resolution and also in view of the fact that no person has taken part in the debate, I certainly would not press for a division, but I would like to point out one or two things in connection with this subject. Sir, I entirely agree with the Finance Member, and I myself emphasised it, that monetary problems cannot always solve the question of prices. The difficulty arises when the monetary system fails to solve satisfactorily the questions which arise on account of non-monetary phenomena. We are now faced with a new situation that gold is gradually finding its way to France and America, and no country has been able to solve this very difficult financial situation. I said clearly that by the exchange problem we cannot altogether solve the

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world conditions, but at the same time it is a weapon which we can use at least partially in coping with our difficulties that have arisen on account of the general depression all over the world. The Honourable the Finance Member spoke of the monetary unit being fixed on account of the desire of the commercial bodies. Now, this reminds me of a story. A person said that he had dreamt a dream. Half of it was true and half of it was not true. He said he saw in a dream that somebody had given him a slap and also a rupee. When he got up he saw that the rupee was not there, but the marks of the slap were there. The same is the case here. The Indian commercial community desired to stabilise the monetary unit of India but they desired to have it stabilised at the pre-war value, but they did not desire it to be stabilised at 12½ per cent. higher than the value it had before the war. They desired to have a stabilised rupee at pre-war parity. They got one but not the other.

Now, I do not want to discuss the question of the flight of gold because we shall have an opportunity of discussing it in detail in connection with the Budget, but certainly I find that this flight of gold, though giving no doubt a temporary great relief, at a time of very great emergency, to the Government of India, is certainly not a solution of the real problem. Though the Government of India may be richer for the time being, but India as a whole, the people of India have become the poorer on account of this flight of gold from India to foreign countries. I say again that this flight of gold will not permanently solve the monetary problem of the world because what would happen is that the gold would ultimately flow into the Bank of France or of the Reserve Bank of America. We are sending gold to England, and it may be used in paying off our debts. England may have temporary relief; we may have temporary benefit thereby, but ultimately the gold will be buried in France and America. Sir, our present policy about the flight of gold is really a gift of gold to France and America. No doubt some relief is there; the Government of India do gain slightly thereby, but it is not a permanent satisfactory solution of the problem. I think, Sir, it is a mistake on the part of the Government of India to adopt methods which, for the sake of temporary relief, permanently impoverish the country and yet do not definitely solve the permanent problem either of India or of England. Sir, my point in bringing forward this Resolution was that Government, as being the custodian of the interests of the people and as currency authority, have got certain obligations towards the people of this country. One of their obligations is to maintain the prices at a certain level, but this is a duty which they have not satisfactorily discharged during the last three years. I can give innumerable illustrations. There is the example of wheat before us. The Bill which was laid before us for the first time in 1931 ought to have been moved three years ago, because in 1929 the Government of India knew full well the state of affairs of the stocks in India and in the world through the periodical returns of the League of Nations, and the Wheat Export Bill ought to have been passed in 1929; and I have a serious complaint that even when they produced the Bill in 1931, they went out of their way and made exemptions for six months for which there is no parallel (as far as I know) in the proceedings of this Assembly since it came into existence.

Now the other thing which they ought to have done and which every Government would have done had it been a Government responsible to the Legislature, is that they would have reduced the freight from the

places where wheat is produced to the places where it is consumed or exported from. For example, all other countries have done the same, but what we find here is that India is exporting wheat from one part, that is Karachi, and importing wheat from another part, that is Calcutta, which wheat finds its way to Bihar and even to the United Provinces. This is a policy which ought to be stopped; and if the Government of India had taken timely action three years ago, probably our troubles would have been minimised to a certain extent. This is my point, then, that the Government of India ought to take timely action to stabilise prices and not concentrate their energies and their thoughts only on the stabilization of exchange. In view of this fact which I have just stated, I beg to ask for leave to withdraw the Resolution.

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

### RESOLUTION RE APPOINTMENT OF A COMMITTEE TO HEAR GRIEVANCES OF RETRENCHED OFFICERS.

**Pandit Satyendra Nath Sen.** (Presidency Division: Non-Muhammādan Rural): Sir, I beg to move the Resolution which stands in my name and which runs as follows:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that a Committee of the Central Legislature be appointed to hear the grievances of the retrenched officers in the Central Government under the recent retrenchment schemes with a view to redress injustices and inequities."

Sir, mine is a noble Resolution and not a controversial one, at least so far as the principle is concerned, and I think I need not make a lengthy speech on the subject. As a result of the worldwide economic depression and also as a result of their colossal extravagance, the Government of India as well as all the Provincial Governments have now got to such a position that they have been compelled to curtail their expenses in all possible ways. The retrenchment of officers is one of these. We are concerned here with the Central Government only. As everyone knows, the Central Government is a huge department, and the retrenchments there must have assumed gigantic proportions. Premature retirement and discharge of officers have been the means of retrenchment, and it is only natural that in dealing with the innumerable cases there have been some cases of injustice and inequity. Sir, on the basis of the various recommendations made by the various Retrenchment Sub-Committees, the Government of India have prepared elaborate rules for retrenchment. Among these there is a pious rule which runs thus:

"The selection of individuals for discharge should be entrusted to Selection Boards specially constituted in each Department or office."

Sir, I am afraid this is on paper only, and as a matter of fact the departmental head is all in all in the matter. At least he has been given ample power for exercising his discretion. But the departmental head is after all a human being not free from attachment and aversion, and it is no wonder that cases of oversight or blunder or even favouritism must have occurred in certain cases. Sir, different principles have been followed in different offices side by side. One of the modes of retrenchment is the discharge of selected officers with less than ten years' service. In some

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offices the departmental head has begun from the bottom of the list and in some offices he has begun from the top. Sir, retrenchment is a very unpopular measure naturally, and the unpopularity has been greatly increased by these injustices and inequities. Sir, the departmental heads may play with these matters, but the retrenched officers know to what position they are pushed by these measures. It is only the wearer who knows where the shoe pinches. We have received lists of grievances from various departments and various individuals. The grievances are manifold. In some cases the charge is that retrenchment is going on communal lines and in others the charge is that there has been differential treatment amongst the members of the various communities. Sir, I am not a communalist and I am one of those Hindus who hold that a starving European is as fit an object of compassion as a starving Hindu or a Muhammadan. Sir, I have no mind to mention individual names in my speech but I will only refer to some cases. At the very outset I should like to remind the Honourable the Finance Member of a case which occurred in the Military Finance Department and which I, in company with my Honourable friend, Mr. S. C. Mitra, brought to his notice. The Honourable Member with his characteristic goodness gave us a patient hearing and with his characteristic suavity and sincerity has promised to go through the papers personally. There are several other cases which have been brought to our notice, and I wish to refer to only a few of them. An officer in the Army Department who was recently promoted to the special grade on account of his efficiency has suddenly become inefficient and has been served with a notice to quit. The next case is that of an officer in the Foreign and Political Department who has put in 35 years of service and has been retained, whereas others with lesser periods of service have been retrenched. Then, a clerk in the office of the Engineer-in-Chief under the Army Department was served with a notice after a meritorious service of 17 years. On receipt of this notice, he fell in and ultimately he died, probably of that shock. Then, again, an officer in A. O., I. S. D., who had put in 10 years' service has been served with a notice whereas others who have been in service for much lesser periods have been retained. These are the vagaries and the irregularities that are being perpetrated in the name of retrenchment. With these experiences and with these cases before us we think that it is only right and proper that their grievances should be heard with proper consideration.

Sir, the right of appeal at least once is an established principle followed by the British Government. It was only the other day that a Resolution was moved by this side of the House for the establishment of a Supreme Court in India as an additional court of appeal. It was very grateful on the part of the Government that that Resolution was not opposed by them. When other people are given chances of appeal twice or thrice it is only reasonable that these unfortunate people should be given at least one chance. I therefore propose that a Committee be formed to hear the grievances of the retrenched officers. With these few words I move my Resolution.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): Resolution moved:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that a Committee of the Central Legislature be appointed to hear the grievances of the retrenched officers in the Central Government under the recent retrenchment schemes with a view to redress injustices and inequities."

To that notice an amendment\* has been received from the Honourable Member Mr. Bhuput Sing. This amendment widens the scope of the resolution and is therefore out of order.

**Mr. Bhuput Sing** (Bihar and Orissa: Landholders): May I ask, Sir, if I can delete those portions?

**Mr. President:** If the widening of the scope is eliminated, then the remainder is practically what the Resolution is. If the Honourable Member will let me have on paper the form of the amendment he wishes to move, I will consider its relevancy.

(Mr. Bhuput Sing then handed to the President his revised amendment.)

The Honourable Member wishes to move the amendment with the only alteration that, instead of the Governor General in Council appointing the Committee, he wishes to provide that the Committee should consist of two-thirds non-official Members to be elected from amongst the non-official Members of the Central Legislature, and one-third officials to be nominated by the Government of India. An amendment in that form is in order and I call upon the Honourable Member to move it.

**Mr. Bhuput Sing:** Sir, I beg to move:

"That for the original the following should be substituted:

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take steps for the appointment of a Committee consisting of two-thirds non-officials to be elected from amongst the non-official Members of the Central Legislature and one-third officials to be nominated by the Government of India to hear the grievances of the retrenched officers in the Central Government under the retrenchment schemes with a view to redress injustices and inequities'."

Sir, the Mover of the original Resolution has asked for a Committee to be appointed for redressing the injustices and inequities of the retrenched men. But I have got my own misgivings about the Committee if its appointment is left in the hands of the Government. So I move this amendment. The Legislature is an elected body and every important statutory committee of the House is elected, and I do not see any reason why the proposed committee cannot be an elected one. Further, as Government are a party to the retrenchment, naturally they should also have their share of the representation in such a committee. I would therefore suggest by way of amplification that the committee proposed by my friend should be an elected one, of which two-thirds are to be elected from amongst the elected Members of the Central Legislature and one-third may be nominated by Government. Sir, it is well known by now as to how the retrenchment recommended by my friends is being given effect to. The Retrenchment Committee was constituted by the Government themselves and it was presided over by no less a person than the Leader of the Independent Party. He was specially fitted to the occasion having

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\*"That for the original Resolution the following be substituted:

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take steps for the appointment of a Committee consisting of two-third non-officials to be elected from amongst the non-official members of the Central Legislature and one-third officials to be nominated by the Government of India to examine how far the recommendations of the Central Retrenchment Advisory Committee and its sub-committees have been given effect to and to hear the grievances of the retrenched officers in the Central Government under the retrenchment schemes with a view to redress injustices and inequities'."

[Mr. Bhuput Singh.]

had the experience of the executive administration as well as for having a judicial temperament. Wherever the Retrenchment Committee recommended the abolition of the post held by Europeans, these posts became so very essential for the administration of the country that the Treasury Benches could not give effect to such recommendations. Nay, in certain cases they went further and created some sinecure posts to keep these retrenched European officers who were once brought into this country under a contract basis even after the expiry of their present contracts. Sir, by way of illustration I may cite the case of two officers by the name of Messrs. Lane and Watt who were brought to India under a contract for five years for the purpose of erecting mooring masts and other necessary works in connection with the landing of the once famous air ship "R. 101" which accidentally was destroyed in the course of its first voyage to India on the coast of France. Since then the scheme for running airships between India and England has been abandoned. But in spite of the contract period of these two men being over, and in spite of the decision of the Government to abandon the running of the State Air Service in India for the time being owing to financial stringency, these two officers are being retained for a further period under renewed contracts in the name of retrenchment and economy. It is not one solitary example of its kind. There are hundreds of cases like this where European Officers are being retained and in lieu, Indian subordinates are being retrenched and sacrificed. By way of further illustration, we may take the recommendation of the Public Works Retrenchment Sub-Committee where they recommended the abolition of the post of the Superintending Engineer and the post of a highly paid newly created post of a Personal Assistant to the Chief Engineer, New Delhi, but in spite of the definite recommendations of the Committee, we find that these two posts are being retained whereas we hear the cases of hundreds of day labourers, carpenters, jamadars and other subordinates and menials are being sacrificed in the name of economy. Sir, may I ask in all humility whether this sort of retrenchment was envisaged in the recommendations of the retrenchment Sub-Committee? Then, Sir, there are cases where men having 25 to 30 years' service and who have earned full pension, are being retained and youngmen with family encumbrances, having service of only two to five years or even ten years at their back are being sacrificed at the altars of economy. All such cases will surely come to light if the proposed committee is appointed, which will be able to scrutinise such cases with fairness as to whether any injustice and unfair treatment has been meted out to these unfortunate axed men.

Sir, it will not be out of place to cite the cases of the retrenched men in the Railway Accounts Offices and the Audit Office of the Indian Stores Department, where men with two to ten years service are being retrenched by retaining men who have put in 25 to 30 years service and have earned full pension. There are innumerable other cases which have been brought to my notice, but which I am not in a position to go through in detail within the short time at my disposal. The more I hear of such cases the more I get convinced that a committee is essential to investigate into these cases of hardship, as otherwise these unfortunate men will have no other means to have their grievances redressed from the administrators of this country. In this connection I think I may mention that the present foreign rulers have so much deteriorated as to forget the even-handed justice their forefathers used to administer in this country a few

decades ago. I would remind once more the Treasury Benches that the injustices that are being meted out either to the masses in the name of law and order or to their own servants in the name of economy are the main causes for increasing the apathy of the whole of India against the present system of administration. I would go further and I will emphatically say that these are the reasons why political upheaval in the country is directed to end this system of foreign bureaucratic administration, as my countrymen have become hopeless of mending it. In conclusion I may add that the appointment of the proposed committee will go a great way in allaying the present discontent and distrust amongst the Government servants who come from the intelligentsia and the middle classes and who form the back bone of the State of every country, be it independent or dependent. Sir, with these words I commend my amendment to the House for support.

**Mr. President:** Amendment proposed:

"That for the original Resolution the following be substituted:

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take steps for the appointment of a Committee consisting of two-third non-officials to be elected from amongst the non-official Members of the Central Legislature and one-third officials to be nominated by the Government of India to hear the grievances of the retrenched officers in the Central Government under the retrenchment schemes with a view to redress injustices and inequities.'

**Mr. N. E. Gunjal** (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural):

\*Sir, I support the amendment proposed by my Honourable friend, Mr. Bhuput Sing, to the Resolution moved by my Honourable friend, Pandit Satyendra Nath Sen. The Honourable Mr. Bhuput Sing has explained in his speech the importance of his amendment. I hope the Honourable Pandit Satyendra Nath Sen will accept it. It is very necessary that Government should consider sympathetically the grievances of the retrenched persons.

**Sardar Sant Singh** (West Punjab: Sikh): I rise to support the amendment proposed by my Honourable friend, Mr. Bhuput Sing. The Mover has made out a strong case for enquiry, and I fully agree with the reasons given. Besides these, I venture to draw the attention of the House to serious infringements of the principles of retrenchment laid down by the high authorities resulting in inequities. I have received many complaints from the members of my community in this respect, particularly from those who were serving in the Railway Department. The Railway Board laid down definite principles for protecting the rights of minority communities when carrying out retrenchment. These principles have not been followed by those who are responsible for carrying out the policy of the Railway Board. We find that most of such officials, especially in the Punjab, have interpreted the expression "minority community" to mean the Muhammadan community alone. While, it is a matter of common knowledge that the Muhammadan community forms a majority in the tract covered by the North Western Railway, the most important minority community in the Punjab is the community to which I have the honour to belong. I have found that when retrenchments have been carried out, the interests of my community have been entirely overlooked. Further on we find that a gentleman from the Muhammadan community has been entrusted with the duty of looking after the interests of the Minorities. Unfortunately for us this official has interpreted the expression "minority com-

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munity" as meaning his own co-religionists. Here on the floor of this House the Honourable Members occupying the Treasury Benches have given assurances several times that the Sikhs are regarded as a minority community in the whole of India. The Sikh interests have thus been sacrificed at the altar of the whims and idiosyncrasies of particular officials. The grievances are so numerous as to call forth a scrutiny of the acts of the subordinate officials by an impartial committee wherein the members of each community are represented. Therefore I take this opportunity of ventilating the grievances of my community and of asking for the appointment of such a committee as proposed by Mr. Bhuput Singh. With these remarks, I support the amendment.

**Rai Bahadur Lala Brij Kishore** (Lucknow Division: Non-Muham-

madan Rural): Sir. I should like to speak a few words on the Resolution

1 P.M.

moved by my Honourable friend, Mr. Sen. The Resolution in my personal opinion, if it gets the full support of the House and is passed, will surely produce a good result both for the Government and the retrenched staff of the Government of India. Due to financial difficulties, the Government have been rather compelled to launch a general campaign of retrenchment to effect possible economies in their expenditure, and they have tried their best to follow the method of retrenchment chalked out by the various Retrenchment Committees. Though the Government with a great care and caution have applied their own judgment while axing their own men, yet nobody can deny the fact that it may be quite possible that the application of the method might have in some cases proved erroneous, as a result of which some persons might have been badly hit. Instances may not be uncommon that those who should not have been at all retrenched have in practice come under this terrible axe. Many have been retrenched in the prime of their service and some in the middle part, while on the other hand many old hands, who have almost earned their full pensions, are retained in their respective posts and their retention is justified under the plea of technicality, that efficiency of work will suffer if old hands go. Today or tomorrow, Sir, the present old hands will surely make room for the men who occupy at present their next rank of service. I am afraid to say whether at that time the efficiency in the Government work will suffer or not perhaps change of time will at that time be a healing balm to cure suddenly the wound of inefficiency.

As a precautionary measure to avoid further criticism the Government may take up a forward policy and appoint a committee consisting of the Members from the Central Legislature in order to revise the methods of retrenchment effected by the Government. The duty of the committee should be to record genuine cases of grievances only, if possible, by taking circumstantial evidence bearing on those cases, and suggest to Government their kind and sympathetic consideration of the same.

In conclusion I may be allowed to say that the consent of Government to form committees of this nature will therefore save the Government from the scandals and criticisms in the Press and platform and safeguard the interests of the unfortunate retrenched staff of the Government who have spent the best part of their energy in serving the Government with hearts full of loyalty and co-operation.

With these words, Sir, I support the Resolution moved by my Honourable friend and I earnestly hope that it will receive a good response from the benign hearts of all the Honourable Members of this House.

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster** (Finance Member): Sir, we on these benches have a great deal of sympathy with some of the views expressed by those who have spoken on this Resolution, but I am afraid that we must oppose the Resolution in its present form and also the amendment. The ground on which we must base our opposition is this, that on broad grounds of principle the selection of officials for retrenchment is essentially a matter for the executive. If the Legislature tries to interfere in details of that kind, I would put it to Honourable Members opposite that both now and in the future they may find it an extremely embarrassing precedent. After all it is the heads of the departments concerned who are responsible in matters of this kind, and I would put it to the House that it is impossible for the Legislature to interfere in details of administration. I would also inform those who have spoken on this Resolution that all these cases have received the most careful consideration. The general practice has been to select the personnel through properly constituted selection boards. Now, when an unpleasant course of this kind has got to be carried out, which we all admit inflicts very great hardship on individuals, it must happen that certain individuals feel that they are aggrieved by the result; and I have no doubt that those who have spoken on this Resolution have spoken with full sincerity and they are convinced that those officials who have approached them have got very hard cases. I am also quite prepared to concede that in many instances their cases are very hard; but what I would put to my Honourable friends is that they have probably only heard one side of the question and that they are not aware of all the balancing considerations which have led the department concerned to make the particular selection that they have done. The Honourable the Mover of the Resolution referred to one particular case and informed the House that he had approached me personally on the matter. That is a very good illustration of the point which I have been making. The official concerned, who approached my Honourable friend together with one or two Members of this House, undoubtedly had a hard case. I should have been only too glad if I could have done anything to meet the views that were put forward by those friends of his in the Assembly who came to see me. But on a careful review of the whole position, when one had to consider who would have had to be selected for discharge if that particular individual had not been selected, I was myself convinced that the right choice had been made and, much as I regretted the result, I had to come to the conclusion that any alternative result would have been worse both as regards justice to the individuals concerned and also as regards the efficiency of the department. My Honourable friend I am sure will give me credit for sincerity in this matter, just as I give him credit for sincerity in putting forward the case. We cannot get away from it. In carrying out the policy of retrenchment, we must create hardship, and the only question is which selection will create the least hardship and which selection will make most for the efficiency of the department.

Now, Sir, although we must take up the stand-point which I have taken, that it would be inappropriate at this stage that any outside committee should be appointed to review all these cases, we all of us—

[Sir George Schuster.]

and I speak for all my colleagues and all heads of departments of the Government of India in this matter—we all of us are prepared to examine cases if our attention is called to special grievances. If any of my Honourable friends opposite comes to me with a case, I shall certainly see that it is carefully examined, and I am sure that all my colleagues will do the same thing. We are just as anxious as anybody in this House to see that this very unpleasant task should be carried out with the minimum of injustice; but if every case of alleged grievance is to be made an occasion for an outside inquiry, I do put it to my Honourable friends who have spoken on behalf of this Resolution that they will achieve no really satisfactory object but they will put an infinity of labour on officials who at present are in these days of retrenchment exceptionally hardworked, and in the long run the public interest will suffer from the precedent created.

Sir, on these broad grounds we must oppose the Resolution.

**Pandit Satyendra Nath Sen:** Sir, I have not much to add to what I have already said. I accept the amendment moved by my Honourable friend, Mr. Bhuput Singh, *viz.*, that on the Committee there should be some members appointed by the Government of India. I am very glad to hear from the Finance Member that he has got every sympathy with this Resolution. But, I am sorry that his sympathy is not deep enough. We have been told that we hear only one side of the case, but I am afraid it is more true in their case than it is in our case, because they also hear the reports of their departmental heads only: the officers retrenched are not allowed any interview and everything is done behind their backs. It has also been suggested that if cases are brought to their notice, they will see that no injustice is done; but we shall not be here for long; and it is not possible that we can bring each and every case to their notice; and if no committee is formed nobody will approach us with their prayer and the purpose may not be served . . . .

**An Honourable Member:** Why?

**Pandit Satyendra Nath Sen:** If there is a committee, then everybody will approach us; otherwise that will not be the case. So I hope that the Honourable Member will yet reconsider his decision and accept the amendment.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

“That for the original Resolution the following be substituted:

‘This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take steps for the appointment of a Committee consisting of two-third non-officials to be elected from amongst the non-official Members of the Central Legislature and one-third officials to be nominated by the Government of India to hear the grievances of the retrenched officers in the Central Government under the retrenchment schemes with a view to redress injustices and inequities.’”

The motion was negatived.

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

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

## THE BAMBOO PAPER INDUSTRY (PROTECTION) BILL.

### PRESENTATION OF THE REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE.

**The Honourable Sir George Rainy** (Member for Commerce and Railways): Sir, I lay on the table the Report of the Select Committee appointed to consider the Bill further to amend the law relating to the fostering and development of the Bamboo Paper Industry in British India.

**Mr. President:** With reference to the next Resolution† standing in the name of Lala Hari Raj Swarup, I should like to point out that legislation has been passed to extend the operation of the Wheat Import Duty Act to the year 1932-33. The only point in the Resolution which remains is in regard to its extension to the year 1933-34. The Chair wishes to know whether the Honourable Member desires to move the Resolution by amending it in some form which will restrict it to the further extension desired by him.

**Lala Hari Raj Swarup** (United Provinces: Landholders): Sir, as the operation of the Bill has already been extended for one year, I trust that the Government will extend it for another year if circumstances demand it. Therefore, I do not think that any useful purpose will be served by my moving the Resolution.

**Mr. President:** You don't wish to move it?

**Lala Hari Raj Swarup:** No, Sir.

**Mr. President:** The next Resolution stands in the name of Kunwar Hajee Ismail Ali Khan. I have received intimation to the effect that Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad is authorised to move it.

(Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad was not in his seat.)

**Mr. K. Ahmed** (Rajshahi Division: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, there is no quorum.

(The Secretary then rang the bell and several Honourable Members as well as Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad came in.)

**Mr. President:** There is a quorum now, and I call upon Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad to move Resolution No. 5.

## RESOLUTION RE THE APPOINTMENT OF A COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad** (United Provinces Southern Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I beg to move:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to appoint in consultation with the Provinces a Committee to suggest suitable modifications in the existing system of education in India in regard to policy, administration, general plan of studies and examinations and the most economic method of spending public funds for education."

† "This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to undertake necessary legislation so as to extend the operation of the Wheat Import Duty Act to the years 1932-33 and 1933-34."

[Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad.]

Sir, at the outset I must confess that I did not know that this Resolution would come up for discussion today, and much less at this hour, and I did not come prepared for the discussion, nor have I brought with me any books of reference from which I would very much have liked to quote.

**Mr. B. Das** (Orissa Division: Non-Muhammadan): You are an authority on the subject of education.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** Sir, we all know that education is a subject which has been engaging the attention of a large number of persons. Everybody is dissatisfied with the existing system of education in India. I have not come across any person, may he be a parent, may he be a student or may he be a legislator or a public officer, who has got a good word to say in favour of the present system of education. Sir, recently a Committee was appointed by the Simon Commission to consider the system of education in this country. That Committee produced a very good document in which they pointed out the defects in the existing system, but unfortunately they made no constructive suggestions, and we all thought that the Simon Commission, on the basis of that Report, would write a chapter in the second volume and make some definite suggestions about improvements in the educational system in this country. I shall give one example as an illustration of what I mean. The Hartog Committee definitely said that most of the students who are now reading in the existing schools and colleges ought to have been in institutions of some other type, but they never pointed out—of what type those institutions ought to be and how they should be brought into existence. Naturally after reading the report we expected that the Simon Commission would review that Report, would make some definite and constructive suggestions, but our disappointment was very great, and at least I was sadly disappointed, when I found that there was not a single chapter in the Simon Report dealing with education relating to the Hartog Committee which gave beyond expectation a remarkable correct picture of the true state of affairs. Ever since we adopted the English system of education, there has never been a committee which reviewed the subject of education as a whole from A to Z and co-ordinated the entire system. The first Commission of importance was really the Hunter Commission of 1882. They reviewed the primary and secondary education; they made certain recommendations on the basis of which the whole Indian policy is shaped. They laid down the policy for secondary education and said that it is not the business of Government to spend its resources on secondary education, but they said that in every district we should have a model school and the Government should encourage, but now I should say discourage, education by means of grants and inspections. Now, this policy has been followed for a long time. Much water has flowed under the bridge during the interval. In 1882 the policy of England was that secondary education should be managed by private enterprise and that it ought to be left to private resources. This was the policy in England, but the policy of France and Germany was the other way. In France not only did the state take the responsibility for secondary education, but they had a monopoly. They made a law that no private institutions should be opened by any private body. This rule existed for a long time till the monopoly was cancelled by the second Republic in 1850. In Germany from the very beginning the state took the

entire responsibility of providing and maintaining all the institutions of every grade. After the War England changed her policy and the state is assuming more and more the responsibility for secondary education. But the policy recommended by the Hunter Commission on the model of England's policy then, is still being followed very rigorously. Therefore this is one of the points into which there should be a thorough enquiry, that is, whether Government should undertake the entire responsibility for secondary education. Government may bring forward the plea of cost. They may say that it will be an expensive course. I know that it will be expensive, but Government have got no funds of its own and all the money comes from our own pockets. Therefore it matters little whether we contribute our money to the managers of the schools or contribute it direct to the Government. The present policy requires thorough revision and should be brought into line with that pursued in the Continent, and which is now being adopted also in England. One very great advantage of reversing the present policy of secondary education would be the solution of communal intricacies. It will be impossible for us to remove communal disaffection unless we get rid of the secondary education policy of the Government. Let me give a definite illustration. Suppose any community wishes to establish a school of its own. The managers will have to give a big dose of communalism to the persons from whom they collect monies, otherwise it will be impossible to collect any money for the proposed institution. The communal spirit is created, and if we allowed it to grow in our educational institutions, it would be very difficult to eradicate it in general economic and political problems. If these communal organisations are encouraged then every community will demand a separate system of education and education will become an *imperium in imperio*, and there will be a Government inside the Government, this can only be avoided by the State assuming the entire responsibility of maintaining secondary schools and institutions of other types. The Committee will have to look into the question whether the time has not yet arrived when the Government should reverse their time-honoured policy enunciated by the Hunter Commission and adopt the policy which is now being pursued in all the civilised countries outside India.

The Committee will have to go into the question of primary education. At present we talk of compulsory education, but some people obstruct on the ground of expense. I pointed out on the floor of this House on 17th March, 1931, that the estimate of 20 crores expenditure per annum made by the Hartog Committee is very much exaggerated. I pointed out and gave my figures to show that 9 crores will suffice, 2 crores for compulsory education in the case of boys and 7 crores in the case of girls. There is one very important thing to which sufficient attention has not been paid, and that is, what should be the subject matter of instruction, and what should be the machinery of administration. The other day there was a Bill in the Bengal Council about imposing a special tax for primary education. Some Members definitely opposed it, but they did not do so on the ground that they were against primary education, but they opposed it on the ground that its administration by the Education Department would not lead them to the desired goal. Therefore they wanted a special committee, a special organisation for the expenditure of the public funds on primary education. People are always willing to contribute for education, but they want to be assured that the money will be spent in the right direction. They are very much afraid that if money is given to the Director of Public Instruction, who is an autocratic officer, it will be spent

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upon inspections, on buildings and on providing apparatus for the schools, and very little on real education, that is, on the salaries of the teachers. Therefore, unless we provide satisfactory machinery and have a definite and sound policy about primary education, as regards administration, as regards curriculum, as regards the system of instruction, as regards the manner of spending money, it will never be popular among the people.

The third point which the Committee will have to inquire into is the curriculum of studies. We all know that the present courses of instruction were designed to produce clerks for Government service. Now we have got an over-production, and the time has come when we should stabilise, speaking in terms of currency, this particular commodity and try to produce some other article which the country needs and which has a stabilised market price. In other words, we ought to introduce some element of technical education in all the schools. This is a very important principle, and unless our educational programme is thoroughly overhauled in order to give a technical bias to liberal education, it will not be possible for us to go a long way. As regards technical education, we have got two distinct methods pursued in two different countries. In Germany technical education is compulsory for all. Every boy and girl over the age of 14 is put in a technical school and he or she has to pass a certain examination before entering life. In England technical education is sandwiched in the general education, and they say that every subject has a cultural and utilitarian value. Take history for example. It is a subject for general culture and is also a bread and butter subject when it is studied for the Civil Service examination. So are carpentry and other vocational subjects. There is an element of culture, and an element of utility. This system of combining liberal and technical education in England, as practised in her central schools, is a thing which we ought to follow and adopt in our institutions. That is one important thing into which the Committee will have to enquire.

Now, coming to examinations, this is really a subject into which a good deal of investigation is necessary. I have just published a book on this topic and it is in the hands of the Members of this Assembly. I have referred in this book to the researches on examinations made by different individuals. I draw attention to the researches made by Mr. Kuppuswami of the Training College, Trivandrum, in which he has shown that by our present system of examination no serious injustice is done, if instead of reading the answer books of candidates, you simply put all the marks in one box and put the roll numbers in another, and draw by lot the number to be given to a particular roll number. People will be horrified to hear this, but it is a fact. (See page 32 of my book on examinations.) Mr. Kuppuswami did not carry on his experiment in a paper on history where a vast variety of opinion is possible, but he took a paper in mathematics and sent it to 42 different examiners, and the marks allotted by those examiners varied from 11 to 37. (*An Honourable Member*: "What about the whim of the examiners?") My Honourable friend makes reference to the whim of the examiners. Here is a problem which can never be put in a mathematical figure. There are certain examination errors which can be codified and expressed in terms of numbers. The whim of the examiners is such that it cannot be expressed in a numerical number. If I had time I could give many illustrations of the whims of examiners. I am talking of experienced examiners, about whose integrity and whose

judgment there can be no question, and who are supposed to have no whims of their own. Experiments were made by Prof. Edgeworth in America which lead us to the same conclusion. Dr. Ballard has given another illustration in his book. A paper in history was examined by six different professors. One of the professors wrote out model answers, but inadvertently his model answers got mixed up with the answer books of the candidates whom he had failed and this was examined by the five other professors. Two definitely failed him, two gave him second division marks and one gave him first division marks. A large number of such illustrations can be quoted. Therefore I ask whether the time has not come to revise the whole system of examinations. Other systems of examinations are being tried in Germany, France and America. The German system is like the old Indian system, but under conditions now prevailing in India I would never advocate it. Under the French system the answer books are open to the public, and the oral examination is conducted in the presence of visitors for whom special seats are provided. The examinations are held twice a year, so that a person who has failed may be re-examined immediately after the long vacation, and the results are announced in a week or ten days. I ask whether the time has not come when we must revise our system and bring it into line with a system where there is no element of chance and where examination errors don't exist.

I shall now say a few words about university education. The Universities of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras were established in 1858 on the model of the London University as it then existed. After the lapse of half a century, as the result of the Haldane Committee's Report, which condemned the affiliating type of university, it was found that the unitary type university was the best. Fortunately or unfortunately the Sadler Commission sat after Lord Haldane's Committee had reported and it adopted their recommendations in principle. Now, what happened in England? Lord Haldane himself changed his opinion, and when addressing the University in Wales, he definitely went against his previous idea. England is now going back more and more to the ideal of an affiliating university. London and other universities have got agricultural colleges outside London. Now, we have got ten years' experience of these universities. They are very expensive institutions, and the time has now come when we should also revise our system of education, because the system is also changing in England. As regards the cost of education in these universities we find the cost of education in Dacca College was less than one-third the cost in Dacca University. The Muir Central College cost about one-third of the education in the Allahabad University. The same is the case with Lucknow, Benares and Aligarh. On account of financial stringency, the time has come when we should also revise our policy which has changed in England during the last few years.

I now come to the side of administration. This was devised by the Hunter Commission in their famous Report of 1882. They created the post of Director of Public Instruction on the lines of *Directeur de l'Instruction Publique* in France. There is no such post in England. At the time when this organisation was recommended, there were very few institutions, and a single individual could manage the whole affair; but now things have changed. Education has become a very important subject and it is now impossible for one person to manage all types of institutions. Sir Philip Hartog's Committee have tabulated the duties of the Director of Public Instruction in their Report. They have omitted about

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half a dozen duties in that Report and the total comes to about 24. I was surprised to see that they did not make any suggestion as to how relief should be given and it is time to reorganise our administrative machinery on the lines of France whom we attempted to follow where they have special directorates for higher education, secondary education, primary education and female education. They also have a Supreme Council to advise the Minister and Directors. No such Council exists in India. The Minister of Education here is not an educational expert and his Secretary, who is a Civilian, is also not an educational expert. In some provinces, the Director of Public Instruction is also the Joint Secretary and he is the only individual on whose expert advice the administration is based. It is now impossible for any one man, however able he may be, to be an expert in every phase of education. A person may be an expert in higher education, but he may know very little about primary education and female education. So a person who poses as an authority on every phase of education is not an expert. Therefore it is time that we split up the different phases of education and had advisory committees as in France for different aspects of education. People are not satisfied with the way the funds are spent by the Director of Public Instruction. If he visits a school and is given a garden party, then that school will get a grant. If any school follows a principle which is not liked by the Director, or he takes a personal dislike to it, then that school will be run down and will not be given the grant which it deserves. In other countries grants are given according to the need of the people. Here they are given in proportion to the wealth you possess. This is just the reverse principle. In other countries they will ask you how much money you need. Here you will be asked how much money you have already got. That means the rich man will get more rich and poor people more poor. The poorer people who need maximum help are not helped by this grant system.

The second respect in which it is wrong is that everywhere the minimum grant is fixed, but here in India the maximum grant is fixed, which is not a correct thing to do. Sir, if any one asks me what is wrong in our system of education, I have a simple reply and I say that everything is wrong from A to Z. If anyone will ask me, "What is the thing which you praise and which you like?", then I shall say, "There is everything which I do not like, and I cannot put my finger upon anything which I should praise and which I should consider to be an ideal for other countries to follow". When dissatisfaction is widespread and everything is wrong, it is high time that the Government of India appointed a committee to look into the affairs of education, and for the purpose of co-ordination the committee should examine education as a whole. So far, committees and commissions have examined only one particular problem of education and no committee since the British system of education was established in this country has ever examined the subject of education as a whole, and in order to have a co-ordination between the different phases of education, it is absolutely necessary and highly desirable that one committee should examine the subject of education as a whole. There is one thing more the consideration of which is very badly needed, and that is the system of training colleges in this country. People will be startled when I say that the training colleges in India in all the provinces are really 50 years' old institutions. They have a subject called the "history of education", but that history ends with Herbert Spencer and all the educational progress which has been made

from the time of Herbert Spencer (*i.e.*, 1875) onwards, all the changes that have been made after the war are unknown to the students of these training colleges. Now how can you expect that when they come back to the country, they will spread enlightenment in the country, they will reform education, since they themselves are more ignorant than the people whom they are expected to teach? Besides, in these training colleges they lay very great stress upon how to teach, but they ignore entirely what to teach, and so the result is that whenever a trained teacher comes and begins to teach in his class, he lays very great stress upon how books are to be kept, how papers are to be folded and such other superfluous things, but when he comes to the subject-matter, one finds that the teacher is not much wiser than the taught, and that is the reason why our whole standard of education is going down. I think it is high time that these training colleges should also, therefore, be revised. Coming to the normal schools : . . . . .

**Mr. President:** The Honourable Member has got only two minutes more.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** Now in the United Provinces and other provinces the system of recruiting candidates for the training colleges is very peculiar. There is no co-ordination between the vernacular instruction and the normal schools. Boys pass at the age of 14 their vernacular middle examination. They are then allowed to graze cattle or to serve in the fields for about 3 or 4 years and afterwards they are sent out to normal schools. During those years they practically forget whatever they have learnt and in those 9 months they are only taught how to teach and not what to teach and consequently they come back from these training classes after forgetting what they had learnt in schools. Have I got one minute more? (*Mr. President:* "Yes.") There is one more point to which I should like to draw the attention of the House and that is that the only constructive proposal made by the Hartog Committee was the establishment of a special Board connected with the Government of India for co-ordination purposes. I wanted to move a motion to that effect and gave notice several times, but unfortunately it was never balloted, and I hope the Government of India would soon start this Board, which does not involve much expenditure. (Applause.)

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney** (Nominated Non-Official): Sir, it is with great pleasure that I rise to support this Resolution. I do not claim to be an educationist like my friend, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, but I do claim to have some practical knowledge on the subject of European education as it affects the Anglo-Indian community and I shall therefore confine my remarks mainly to this aspect of the Resolution and its relevance to the Hartog Committee's Report. Sir, I was not at all surprised to hear the severe criticism and complaints against education in this country considering the fact that the force directing education in this country is in the hands of the Department of Education, Health and Lands, which, for want of a better name, I generally call the "Hotchpotch Department". (Laughter.) Sir, I have every respect for the Honourable Member in charge, and his able Secretary, and I therefore hope the criticisms I intend making today will not be taken amiss. Sir, in dealing with the disinclination of financial support by the Government of India to education, I am reminded of an incident which occurred when years ago the Viceroy's

[Lieut.-Col. Sir Henry Gidney.]

Imperial Council was held in Calcutta and a budget discussion was proceeding on the expenditure on the Army. I believe it was the late Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee whose claim for a few lakhs of rupees for improving the education of India was rejected just after some crores of rupees had been unanimously sanctioned for the Army by this very Council; and he was heard to remark to this effect: "A few minutes ago this Council was asked to pass without demur crores of rupees to improve the military machinery and supply cannon to blow out people's brains and yet you refuse to sanction a few lakhs to improve the people's brains." Sir, it is the same spirit and condition today, as the Honourable the Mover of this Resolution pointed out, of lack of support from the Central Government. I know I am treading on delicate ground when I attempt to criticise and blame the Central Government because I do appreciate the fact that with the reforms came the all but complete transfer of education to the provincial Governments. But notwithstanding this fact the Central Government has an Educational Commissioner who advises the Government and who is expected to be and I am sure is *au fait* with the educational needs of this country. As far as European education is concerned, I can say that the Government of India exercises very little or no control or interest in this matter. European education as this House knows is now a reserved transferred subject under the control of the Provincial Governors in Council. In my opinion the present system of European education as it is taught in our European schools today is completely out of step with the rapidly changing India and our economic needs. I refer to the Senior Cambridge system of examinations imported into European schools and enforced on the Anglo-Indian community at a prohibitive cost and encourages an alienation of the community from Indian universities and other Indian communities. The result is that the education imparted in European schools has been and is today entirely in the hands of European educationists who come out to this country on high salaries and who certainly are inferior to those great educationists who came out years ago, nor are they superior if at all equal to Anglo-Indian teachers trained and recruited in India. The result is that European education in this country for our boys and girls is a most expensive item and what is more our own educationists are denied, except in subordinate positions, the inherent right possessed by all communities, *i.e.*, the right to shape and train its own youth. The entire community resents this denial of its rights and demands it from the Government of India. It demands the right to control and administer its own educational institutions. That, Sir, is the chief complaint I have to make against the present administration of European education. Further, I opine the time has come when the Hartog Committee recommendations on European education should be taken into account and a committee should be appointed to inquire into the very just and reasonable claims made by the Mover of this Resolution regarding the existence of multiple educational curricula in this country, each province having its own system of education. Sir, there is no continuity, no linking up of the educational chain throughout the European schools in India. This is a very serious disadvantage of the present system of European education in this country and demands immediate correction. Another point, to which I wish to refer, is the Government of India's niggardliness in giving educational scholarships. The Mover of the Resolution has touched upon this question and I support him in what he

has said. When you compare the number of educational scholarships given in this country with those given in any other country, it stands to the discredit and shame of the Government of India and every Provincial Government. Indeed it seems as if the last thought the Government gives today is with regard to the education of the people, everything else is put before education. They do not care how much they spend on other departments. For instance, they do not care how much they spend on Lee Concessions, which go by another name in this House, namely, the Lee Loot, and which costs the Indian taxpayer  $2\frac{1}{2}$  crores of rupees per annum. Sir, any serious effort to improve education in this country especially higher education is practically at a standstill and one is compelled to go to Europe and elsewhere for this. I go further and say that every Provincial Government is annually reducing its education grants of all kinds and blaming financial stringency. I say this subject to correction in certain parts. Compare, for instance, the scholarships given in British India with the educational scholarships given in Feudatory India. The Princes are certainly more liberal than the Government. Sir, this starvation of education is one of the main causes why India is advancing so slowly and on such artificial lines when compared with other eastern countries. I further contend that the system and training are so framed as to limit the scope of education in this country so that if higher education is sought the student must go to England and other parts of Europe to be educated before he can enter any of the superior services in this country. India is the only part of the British Empire from which this demand is made, I ask why should this be so? It is true that this European educational cachet is not so much a *sine qua non* today as it was before the Reforms. But still the educational hall-mark of Europe always receives official preference. The reason is that the system of education in this country is so designed that it constitutes itself as nothing more nor less than a stepping-stone or an incubator for subordinate Government service, while for higher employment one must be educated outside his own country. I say this from personal experience as far as European education is concerned. Indeed the curriculum of education in European schools is framed with the object of qualifying its students to enter as subordinates into mercantile offices, railway workshops or Government Departments and offices. That is really the curse of European education as taught in European schools in India today. There is no broad or material outlook in the educational system of schools in this country. Nothing practical—nothing original—it all seems too mechanical—of one pattern which is moulded on an imported system. The Cambridge system of examinations, which should be discontinued at once. Then, Sir, the Honourable the Mover of the Resolution referred to the training colleges in this country. As far as European education is concerned, there is only one such training college in the whole of India for male teachers—at Ghora Gali. The Army Retrenchment Sub-Committee has been kind enough to recommend that the grants to certain military and quasi-military schools should be stopped and the Army Department has accepted this. Furthermore that the Punjab Government, on the recommendation of its Provincial Retrenchment Committee, has agreed to stop its grant to the Training College at Ghora Gali which institution stands in imminent danger of closing down. If this should happen it will be a fatal blow to European education in the Punjab, which, thanks to the late D. P. I. Sir George Anderson, has made such rapid strides. I, therefore, call upon Government to enquire into the matter.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** Shame, shame!

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** Yes! Shame to the Retrenchment Committee. Sir, if the Government of India is really serious in its desire to encourage and improve education, they should call upon its Education Commissioner to make a report on the effect the recommendations of these various retrenchment committees will have on European education, both Central and Provincial. The Government of India is certainly responsible for the standards of medical education as evidenced by the All-India Medical Council Bill now under review and I do not see how it can disclaim entire responsibility for the standards of general education, although education is a transferred Provincial subject. It should call upon the various Provincial Governments to state what they propose to do to protect the various institutions that stand in the danger of losing their grants. *e.g.*, the Lawrence Schools at Ghora Gali, Sanawar, Mount Abu and Lovedale. Sir, I find it very difficult to be temperate in my feelings of resentment at this contemplated murder of some of our best European schools in India and I do think the Government of India should realise that if the training college for male teachers at Ghora-Gali is closed down, they will be doing a great disservice to European education and the Anglo-Indian community who deserve better treatment at the hands of a Government it has served so well. Another defect in European education is that we concentrate too much, as I said just now, on ordinary academic education and do not give enough attention, as the Mover of the Resolution has remarked, to technical education. I do think that more attention should be given to this. I have just referred to the many educational curricula that exist in various Presidencies in regard to European education. Possibly this House does not realise what these difficulties are and how they prejudice continuity in European education when parents are transferred from one to another Presidency. The Madras Government have a certain standard of education and examination, the Bengal Government have quite a different one and this is the case more or less with all the provinces—in short there is a complete absence of uniformity and the Hartog Committee recommended this to be remedied. Besides, the various Education Departments, *e.g.*, the Directors of Public Instruction and Inspectors of European Schools—I will not say the Government of India—have, if not openly, at least covertly given their entire support and sympathy to the retention of the Senior Cambridge system of examinations. In my opinion the time has come when that system of education and examination should be stopped and European education should be based more and more on national lines. Indeed the time has come when European schools should accept and train for the same examinations and degrees that Indian universities demand and not depend on a Cambridge education syndicate which today controls its examinations at prohibitive fees. Indeed, I would hail the day when all advertisements for teachers and other employments appear in various newspapers with the headline, “None but graduates of Indian Universities need apply”. Sir, I remember I brought this matter up in the Legislative Assembly in 1923 as far as the teaching of surgery and medicine was concerned and asked Government to appoint a committee to inquire into our universities and hospitals so that India would be in a position to supply all her medical needs and to so improve the standard of its universities, medical colleges and hospitals that we would have no need to indent on any other country for our doctors. Be it said to the shame of the Indian

Members, that Resolution, Sir, was turned down by this House. I however hope that the present Resolution will not today meet with the same fate that my Medical Swaraj Resolution did. I hope it will receive the sympathy of every right-minded Member in this House and that we will not only pass it but that Government will give its support and see that something is done to improve education in this country not only Indian education but European education also. I think the House should be grateful to Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad for bringing this matter to our notice. Sir, I support the Resolution and call upon the Government to do its duty even if it be only in an advisory capacity.

**Rai Bahadur Lala Brij Kishore** (Lucknow Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I beg to move the amendment which stands in my name and which reads as follows:

"That for the words 'to appoint in consultation with the Provinces a Committee' the following be substituted:

'to summon a conference of the Educational authorities in India'."

I beg your permission, Sir, to speak a few words explaining the reasons for my giving an amendment to the original Resolution of my Honourable friend from my province Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad. My Honourable friend has asked for a committee to investigate into the system of education that is in vogue in India and to suggest means for the betterment of the same, but in my opinion a conference consisting of the best educational authorities in India which would submit a written memorandum for discussion in the said conference will tend to produce better results than a touring committee. The past is the better teacher, and supplies us with ample evidence that the work of a committee is the production of a booklet or a book. The scope of activities of that book is within the book itself and it is ultimately shelved in the Government or in a public library. When it is published, there appears in newspapers a little criticism on it, pointing out the merits or demerits of the findings of the committee. The newspaper reading public, which is interested in the affair, holds for a short time gossip over the matter. Then everything becomes quiet. The public are silent, the Press is silent and the Government are silent and everybody is silent. The recommendations of the Sadler Commission and the Hartog Committee, which cost Government enormous sums of money, have met the same fate. If this is the fate of the committees, I don't find any reason why any more committees should be appointed on this subject. From my statement made above, it should not be assumed that I disbelieve *in toto* in the efficacy of such committees, but they are very lengthy and cumbersome processes of investigation to reach a certain goal, and moreover it is so expensive that if we take a ratio between the expenditure on such a committee and its outcome, the ratio will be a lakh to one. There are other defects, but I don't like to tire the patience of this House by making a categorical statement of them.

The Educational system in India, its method of teaching, its prescription of text books, its examination system, its administrative policy, and the mode of expenditure concerning it is in such a deplorable condition that it requires overhauling. I have no mind to narrate in detail the defects underlying the several headings I have mentioned. The reports of the commissions and committees on the system of education in India are copious sources, giving ample evidence of the defects of the system.

[Rai Bahadur Lala Brij Kishore.]

To seek a remedy for these defects by the appointment of committee after committee is nothing but ludicrous. So, I most humbly put forward my opinion for the abandonment of any ideas for the appointment of a committee that may give reforms to our present system of education. Sir, we have up to this time, advocated the appointment of committees and we have seen their fruitless result. Now let us resort to the policy of summoning a conference and see if anything will come out of it. In my opinion a conference of this nature should be representative of the best educational brains of the land, brilliant professors, eminent teachers of standing, vice-chancellors of all the universities and Directors of Public Instruction of all the provinces of India should form a representative gathering while they should submit written memoranda suggesting the best means for the reform of the present educational system of India. Each of their opinions will be criticised and the best of the points in which the majority of opinion concurs will be accepted, and they will form the basis of our new system and be taken in the light of the conditions of the country.

Now, Sir, a point may arise as to the question of expenditure on this Conference. I should like to enlighten the Honourable Members of the House with this suggestion, that it should be borne by the provinces and universities whose delegates will be invited to attend the Conference. The aims and objects of all the universities are to further the progress of education.

If by an inter-university gathering, better results can be expected, there is every justification that the universities of India and other institutions will gladly bear their expenses of their respective delegates who will attend the Conference.

With these words, Sir, I commend my amendment for your kind acceptance and the acceptance of all the Honourable Members of this House.

**Mr. President:** Amendment proposed:

"That for the words 'to appoint in consultation with the Provinces a Committee' the following be substituted:

'to summon a conference of the Educational authorities in India'."

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** Will the debate now proceed on the amendment first?

**Mr. President:** Both together.

**Mr. Jagan Nath Aggarwal** (Jullundur Division: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I have much pleasure in supporting the Resolution of my Honourable friend. But whenever a committee is proposed from this side of the House, one would really like to have very strong reasons for supporting it because, as we know, whenever an inconvenient question turns up, the best way of shelving it is to appoint a committee and the committee takes time, spends money, and by the time it reports, the question has lost half its value, and when the report comes, then time is needed for considering it. The finest way of shelving a question is to appoint a committee, but this question is so important and the difficulties of the problem are so great that I think it is just as well if this House accepted this Resolution and appointed a committee to consider this

matter. The reasons why I commend this matter for the acceptance of this House are well known and I will state them shortly. It is rather curious that the Government of India have practically washed their hands of education, and the reason is that it has been transferred to the provinces. One finds in the latest Administration Reports that the Department of Education, Health and Lands is responsible for the education only of the North West Frontier Province, control over the Chiefs' Colleges, the University of Delhi and the denominational Universities of Benares and Aligarh, and in this chapter we find more about kala azar, small-pox and such other things than about education. (*An Honourable Member*: "Hotchpotch".) It is worse than a hotchpotch, because education has very little share in the Report, and therefore the need for such a committee or Conference, if you prefer to call it—I prefer the word committee—is very urgent indeed. What is it that we really wish to bring to the notice of this committee? What are the defects that we would like to remedy in this connection? The first thing that we have to look up to is that education in this country started with the idea of providing clerks and we have not yet got rid of that original taint. It was not education for its own sake, but it was for the sake of providing clerks, and that kind of academic education has continued. Education has been divorced from certain realities of the situation and those defects have not been got rid of. I will just point out to you the defects which I wish to bring out. One is that we have attempted academic education mostly confined to persons who are after liberal education only. Our education has been in the main of a kind which will give a person a smattering of several things and a real knowledge of practically nothing. This academic education has suffered from the defect on the one hand of being carried on in a foreign language and being divorced from the vernaculars and on the other it has been brought only to a limited class of people. Only a few people can take advantage of the education. They go on reading up to higher and higher classes. A man who starts at the matriculation aims at passing out of the university and becoming a graduate or M. A. and he has very little chance of going out to technical or professional lines or taking the benefit of a general education to acquire, so to say, an education which will fit him for a career in life. Now, Sir, with regard to this, you will notice that we have attained to a fair degree of higher education, the numbers are fairly large, as large as you will find in any large country. But what do we find with regard to education of the masses? As regards education of the masses, we find that after nearly a century of British education, the masses are largely illiterate, and seeing the rate at which the country is progressing in the matter of education, it will take a century for illiteracy to disappear from our country. In spite of the fact that the provinces are looking after primary education, our progress in the last decade has been remarkable, but even there, I submit it has not been wholly sufficient. My suggestion, therefore, is that this Committee should look into the question whether primary education and the interest that is being taken in primary education by the various provinces is commensurate with the result being achieved within a reasonable distance of time. We have to see that the general population does receive the benefits of elementary education, that this education is imparted in their vernaculars, and that within a reasonable space of time, illiteracy should be banished from this country. If that is so, then some concentrated efforts on a large scale should be made in each province and the Central Government should take a hand in the matter and should give a lead to the various provinces, and we

[Mr. Jagan Nath Aggarwal.]

should so arrange matters that within a short space of time, say 15 years or 10 years, whichever may be fixed, we may be able to bring up every school-going boy and girl into a school and we may be able to impart education in his or her mother tongue, and then we will have a broad-based system for evolving higher education. For this purpose, it was rather unfortunate that the Bill brought forward by the late lamented Mr. Gokhale was rejected in 1911, and it is time that the Central Government took the matter into its own hands and gave a lead to the Provinces.

That is one aspect of this question which I think this committee may very well look into. Another subject, Sir, which this committee should go into is, as my friend Dr. Ziauddin put it, the sandwiching of technical education with the present liberal education. Some time after the secondary stage, or after the primary stage, you must devise schools in which, alongside of liberal education, you may be able to impart technical education to fit these people who are not prepared to go into the universities with means of earning their livelihood. Technical education in arts and crafts and industry is what is needed most and for that purpose our present system of education is wholly unsuited to the needs of the modern age. We should also aim at having technological colleges for imparting education in higher branches, and these are matters which should be gone into.

So far as higher education is concerned, I am at one with the previous speaker, Sir Henry Gidney, when he pointed out that at present our resources are being frittered away in the search for foreign degrees. It is our misfortune that no man can be equipped for a good many professions and for higher appointments in the Government service unless he has secured a foreign degree. The resources of parents and others are frittered away in this attempt to get a foreign degree, which after all may not be worth much, and it is time that we looked into this question to see that practically all kinds of education are made available for our people in this country. A complaint was made by Sir Henry Gidney that European education is suffering from lack of funds and from various other disadvantages. May I remind him that that is a difficulty from which all kinds of education are suffering? And it will be very good indeed if the community, whose claims he was bringing to the notice of the House, made common cause with the people of this country. Let them be in the same schools, raise up the standard of those schools and be on the same benches and see if the system of education does not make progress within a very short space of time. The difficulty is that everyone wants to have a separate institution, and in having these separate institutions the resources of the State are frittered away. For example what is the use of the Chiefs' Colleges? You educate 10, 20 or 30 people at a cost which would enable you to educate thousands of people. And then look at the output of your Chiefs' Colleges. Have they justified the expenditure that the State is incurring on them? How many people eminent in the arts or sciences have they produced? They have produced Rulers of States but they have not been fitted for their rulership by the Chiefs' Colleges. Their training may have been obtained elsewhere but not in the Chiefs' Colleges. Anyway that will be a matter which will have to be looked into.

Another subject that this committee may look into would be the great waste that is being incurred by the huge number of books that is

being prescribed. All kinds of books are foisted on parents and their boys and nobody has the slightest regard as to how these books are produced or of what use they are. These are matters of urgent concern in which the Central Government may well give a lead, and it should be looked into whether books are not being unnecessarily produced, ephemeral kind of literature, only required for a year or so and then thrown away at the end of the year. These are matters which have got to be looked into. I hope, Sir, that the Department of Education, Health and Lands, looking after other things than education, will turn their attention to these things also and call a meeting or conference or whatever they like with directions to proceed in a business like manner,—not to tour the country, I do not want it—to sit down in the offices of the Government of India, to devise a system, give a lead to the provinces, call any expert they like, to proceed about it—as I said—in a business like manner and not to produce a report at a time when nobody will read it.

**Mr. A. Das** (Benares and Gorakhpur Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, this subject was very ably moved by my Honourable friend Dr. Ziauddin in spite of his not being previously prepared. He has put his case very well and I think we all have to express our regret for the lack of interest, which the greatness of the subject demands, at the hands of the Members of the Assembly. If I may be permitted to say so, I for one think that education, being the backbone of national existence, is one of the most important subjects to which any Government has to direct its attention, and it is a most lamentable thing in this Government that while they are fully alive to the fact that most of the present unrest is due to want of proper education or bad education, they are still not paying its sufficient quota of expenses nor taking sufficient interest in improving the curriculum of education which is given to boys and girls from a tender age up to the college going age. One general defect, which I should like to point out and which has not been so far hinted at, is that the whole system is based on a wrong basis. Formerly we had the system of *mukhtabs* or of *guru* and *chela* in which the teachers and the taught were brought into more close personal touch with each other; and also there was the system of not so much putting into the heads of our boys what is outside them but of drawing out what is latent in them. I think the most recent educationists of Europe are agreed on this point that no child should be made a machine for filling up his brain with the aid of so many papers and books and all that, but the system should rather be on the side of drawing out what is in the boy and pointing out in what direction his natural propensities lie. And after the teacher or the parent has discovered what is the natural inclination of that boy or girl, it is his duty to encourage it and to develop it. It is obvious at once that those of us who are not mathematicians like my friend Dr. Ziauddin find it very difficult even to reach the fifth proposition of Euclid or to pass an examination in ordinary algebra or arithmetic. Some boys take to the arts side more properly and some take to the science side. Therefore I submit, Sir, that the principal defect in education at present is that no general attempt is made to find out for each boy what he should be taught. That is the principle on which all education should be conducted,—it goes to the very root of the educational system. You cannot have one system for the whole class. Each individual boy has to be taken in hand. I know it is difficult, but if you want to build a nation and if you want to bring up proper boys and girls, you have to face the difficulty. Either face the difficulty or leave it alone, but do not have a

[Mr. A. Das.]

half-sided method like this which makes one fit neither for the one nor for the other. Sir, I have been connected with educational institutions for the last 15 or 20 years in my part of the country and it often surprises me how a boy going to school or college is proud to carry, like an ass's burden, so many books and papers, which are so heavy that he cannot carry them. And still he is expected to read them, and with much expense to himself or to his parents he has to pass the examination. I submit that the whole system of education at present, which is based on cramming, is an entirely wrong system, and the sooner it is replaced the better. My friend Mr. Aggarwal has drawn attention very rightly to the fact that this present educational system was introduced by the East India Company at a time when they were in need of clerks, and now they have got too many of them. The same principle was the basis when education was first introduced by Lord Macaulay but it should not be continued now and the time has come when education should not be given merely for making suitable clerks or merely turning out automatons for passing certain degrees and getting certain posts, but should be given really on national lines.

Talking about education on national lines, I am often thwarted in my attempts in the district to introduce books which would teach real patriotism and bring out the national point of view of the boy. How often we are told that in England from the nursery rhymes right up to the time when the boy goes to school or college, children are taught about the heroism of England; even when they are 4 or 5 years old children are taught that England is the ruler of the sea and has been the builder of nations and that England alone stands first; they are taught everything for England first and then for anything else. Now, if a boy in India is taught anything about India's past glory and about national songs and told who are the great heroes of India, it is all tabooed and the teacher who wants to teach them is always put down as a bad and disloyal teacher. What good is it to a boy to be taught as to what was done by Warren Hastings or Lord Clive or by the East India Company? What we want is that they should be taught about the national heroes of India, like Shivaji and various other leaders and of what they did for the country and how others are endeavouring for the future. Therefore I submit that the whole curriculum of education for boys and girls has to be recast in that light.

There are only one or two other observations which I would like to make because I do not wish to take up much of your time. Take the instance of scouting. I am very much interested in scouting myself and take considerable interest in it in my part of the country. Our difficulty is to find funds; and we find difficulty also in dealing with old headmasters who belong to the old type, because they will not encourage this, because they think it is a modern innovation and is of no use. I submit that is a great mistake, and I think it should be the duty of the educational department to make it a rule that scouting should be part of the education of the boy during the recess between school hours and every headmaster should be asked to conform to it.

Another point I would like to make is about the medical examination of students that is being done in each and every public and private school. A doctor is appointed and he comes on an appointed day and holds the wrist of the boy and sees his eyes and takes his weight and writes out a prescription for medicine or for spectacles as the case may be, and after that his work is done. How is the poor boy to get the medicine? What I submit therefore is this—and I have tabled a Resolution also on that point—that out of the game fund or some other fund a small dispensary

should be attached to each school, and every prescription which is given should be dispensed and it should be seen that the boy takes the medicine.

I have only made two or three suggestions because the subject is so wide that one can talk for days together and it is impossible to do justice to a subject like that without taking up each question in detail. But I whole-heartedly support this Resolution and if the expense does not permit of the appointment of a committee, then I submit that at least the modest amendment of my friend Lala Brij Kishore about appointing a conference should be accepted, and I hope that every Member of this Assembly will see the responsibility of imparting good education to our Indian students and will not keep out of the House and thus not vote for it.

**Sir Frank Noyce** (Secretary, Department of Education, Health and Lands): Sir, I have listened to this debate with very deep interest. I must confess, with the last speaker, that I feel somewhat surprised that the discussion of a motion which was put down by some thirty Members has not attracted a fuller House. I cannot claim more than a fragmentary part of the educational experience of my Honourable friend, Dr. Ziauddin. My own experience has been rather that of the taught than of the teacher. Nor have I been able to take that keen and sympathetic interest in European education which my friend, Colonel Sir Henry Gidney, has shown in a practical way on so many occasions in this House. I do not therefore propose to follow them in their critical examination of the defects of the present system of Indian education. Nor do I propose to deal in detail with the numerous and valuable suggestions for its improvement which have been thrown out in the course of this debate. I propose to deal with this Resolution from the extremely practical point of view.

I am prepared to admit at the outset that all is not well with the educational system of India. For that we need go no further than the report of the Hartog Committee, a document to which I attach considerably more importance than I gathered Dr. Ziauddin does. I have here a number of quotations from that report and they entirely support Dr. Ziauddin's view, but I do not propose to inflict them on this House. I will merely quote one or two sentences. The Committee said:

"Throughout the whole educational system there is waste and ineffectiveness."

and that, in the primary system, the waste was appalling. Turning to secondary education, the Committee's conclusion was that there had been an advance in some respects, notably in the average capacity of the body of teachers, in their improved conditions of service and training and in the attempt to widen the general activities of school life. Where the Committee has a good word to say for anything in Indian education, it is as well that this should be emphasised; but, here again, they go on to say:

"There are grave defects of organisation",

and they proceed to detail what they are. Dr. Ziauddin has already dealt with practically . . . . .

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** I think you may give them for the benefit of the House. I have read them; but a good many of us have not.

**Sir Frank Noyce:** If the House is willing, I am prepared to give them. They say:

"The whole system of secondary education is still dominated by the ideal that every boy who enters a secondary school should prepare himself for the university;

[Sir Frank Noyce.]

and the immense numbers of failures at matriculation and in the university examinations indicate a great waste of effort. Such attempts as have been made to provide vocational and industrial training have little contact with the educational system and are therefore largely infructuous. Many of the Universities and Colleges show marked improvements in their methods of teaching and in the amount of original work which they have produced; and in some of them there is undoubtedly a better training for corporate life than formerly. But the theory that a university exists mainly, if not solely, to pass students through examinations still finds too large acceptance in India; and we wish that there were more signs that the universities regarded the training of broad-minded, tolerant and self-reliant citizens as one of their primary functions. They have been hampered in their work by being over-crowded with students who are not fitted by capacity for university education and of whom many would be far more likely to succeed in other careers."

Now, I pass on to some comments which are particularly relevant to the present occasion. The Hartog Committee said that more and more money would be gladly voted for education by the legislatures of India. And here I would interject the remark that Col. Gidney's criticisms on expenditure on education do not seem to me to be altogether justified. Like him I have no correct figures at hand, but I gather that, on a rough estimate, in the larger provinces in the last few years the expenditure has increased from about 65 to 90 lakhs to over 2 crores, in which case, I think, it represents a very considerable advance. The Hartog Committee said:

"Money is no doubt essential, but even more essential is a well-directed policy carried out by effective and competent agencies, determined to eliminate waste of all kinds. We were asked to report on the organisation of education. At almost every point that organisation needs reconsideration and strengthening; and the relations of the bodies responsible for the organisation of education need readjustment."—

—a thesis of which we have had considerable amplification this afternoon. That, Sir, is the picture which was drawn by the Hartog Committee, and that picture has also been the picture which has been drawn in the course of this debate. But it is when I come to the remedy for the present situation that I am compelled to part company with the Mover of this Resolution, and also, though to a very much smaller extent, with the mover of the amendment. I hope to be able to convince the House that the present is not an opportune time for proposing the appointment of a Committee or even for convening a conference of educational experts. Committees, as this House is well aware, cost money in two ways. In the first place, they are very expensive things in themselves, and in the second place, very large funds are required to implement their recommendations. I would draw the special attention of the House to the remarks which the General Purposes Sub-Committee of the Retrenchment Committee have made in Part II of their interim Report in this connection. They point out that nearly a crore and a half of rupees have been spent in the course of the last 10 years on committees and commissions, from which I myself drew no small sums, I think, as I was on several of them. They add the very significant remark that, "These figures tell their own tale". The Honourable the Finance Member dealt with this subject in a very trenchant fashion recently in the course of the debate on a Resolution in this House, and he expressed my own point of view so well that I make no apologies for quoting verbatim from what he said in a recent debate on the Resolution advocating an inquiry into the affairs of the Imperial Bank. He pointed out that a great deal of the subject matter which had been dealt with in the debate and which formed the ground on which the motion

had been moved had been dealt with in the Report of the Central Banking Inquiry Committee. For "Central Banking Inquiry Committee", Sir, I would substitute "Hartog Committee". He then went on to say:

"The second reason which I would put forward just now is that, however, much we try to keep down expenditure, these inquiries do cost a very great deal of money. It is very easy when any point comes up, to say, 'Let us have an enquiry into it', and I myself must confess that I have been rather prone in the past to lend an ear to suggestions of that kind. But I have learned by bitter experience how much these enquiries cost and I am becoming very doubtful in my mind whether that expenditure is always justified. One gets a large number of voluminous reports. By the time they are received the Government is fully occupied with other affairs, the attention of the country is occupied with other affairs, and reports on which so much money has been spent receive but scant consideration. The reports of the Banking Inquiry Committees itself in fact are an instance in point."

Here again, Sir, I would, if I may, substitute the Report of the Hartog Committee:

"I myself do not regret having initiated that inquiry. I believe that in the future the evidence that has been collected by the Provincial Banking Inquiry Committees and the Central Banking Inquiry Committee will prove a store of knowledge of very great value to the country. But I would ask Honourable Members opposite to put it to themselves—how much attention has the result of those labours received from the public just at this time when everybody's mind is turned to big political developments, to the immediate troubles in the country, or to the impending constitutional changes in the near future. Would an inquiry into the Imperial Bank now receive any more attention, and can we, in our present financial stringency, really justify ourselves in spending a great deal of money on a further enquiry?"

May I, Sir, emphasise that every word the Honourable the Finance Member said applies with equal, or perhaps greater force, to an enquiry  
4 P.M. into the existing system of education. It may, of course, be held that education is a matter of great importance,—a point of view which I for a moment would not dispute,—and that considerations of economy should not decide the House for or against the Resolution. It has been argued that at present there is such great waste in education that a Committee of the kind proposed should be able to suggest ways of saving money or at least of putting it to more economic use. This argument, at first sight, appears to have great force, but I venture to think that a closer examination of it shows that it is of a somewhat spacious character. I would urge that our experience shows that the utility of a Committee of the kind that Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad has proposed is more than doubtful. During the last few years we have had in India two Education Committees of great importance. The first was the Sadler Commission, the second, to which I have already referred, is the Hartog Committee. The Sadler Commission was intended to be confined to the investigation of the problems of secondary and higher education in Bengal, but it took on an all-India character. The Hartog Committee covered all branches of education in all provinces. It went deliberately beyond its terms of reference and made constructive suggestions relating to every branch of education. If Honourable Members of the House will read the Report for themselves, I think they will find that this contention is justified . . . .

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** Will you kindly mention half a dozen of their recommendations.

**Sir Frank Noyce:** I would like to mention two very important ones, and I will do so in a minute or two. In addition, the Royal Commission on Agriculture devoted a very important chapter of their Report to education, and I may mention in passing that that chapter received the warmest

[Sir Frank Noyce.]

commendation from Sir Amherst Selby-Bigge, who was also a Member of the Hartog Committee, and is one of the most prominent authorities on education in England. The Royal Commission made some very definite suggestions, and those are given in detail in their Report. Now, what has been the effect of these committees and commissions? The Sadler Commission produced a Report which, with appendices, ran into 13 volumes. That Commission cost over 3½ lakhs of rupees. Whatever may be the merits of the recommendations made by the distinguished educationists who composed it, of whom my friend Dr. Ziauddin was one, the hard fact is that effect has been given to them to a very small extent in the provinces to which they were primarily addressed, and to a limited and conflicting extent in two other provinces only,—the United Provinces and the Punjab. The Hartog Committee was distinctly of an all-India character. The cost of that Committee was slightly over 2 lakhs of rupees. The Report was no doubt of value for the facts it disclosed to the Indian Statutory Commission. But what has been its constructive value? It made several recommendations. I need only quote two of the more important of them—those for the better administration of vernacular education and those for increased facilities for the education of Muslims. No Provincial Government, so far as I am aware, has so far been able to give anything like full effect to these recommendations.

Now, Sir, I turn to another aspect and a very important aspect of this matter. One reason why it appears to me that committees of this kind appointed by an outside authority have failed and must fail in their attempt to direct the educational policy of the provinces is that the provinces, rightly or wrongly, object strongly to outside direction in matters of education, even in the mildest form of recommendation or suggestion. I would remind the House that except to a limited extent in regard to European education in some provinces, not in all provinces,—they have complete self-government in educational matters. They are very jealous of their powers. Their Legislature, as one may judge from their Budget debates—my impression seems to be rather different from that of my Honourable friend Sir Henry Gidney—take more interest in education than in any other subject under their control except perhaps politics. They decline to believe that outsiders, however distinguished, can understand their problems and help them to solve them. They realise, quite rightly I think, that conditions of race, community, language, social customs, administration, finance and educational inheritance differ so radically and widely from province to province that there can be no common solution. In our young days we were all plagued with problems on a mysterious topic described by the symbols G. C. M. (Greatest Common Measure) or H. C. F. (Highest Common Factor). Given certain factors, it was possible by some juggling and little understanding to arrive at a factor which embraced them all, but by the very nature of educational problems, the greatest common measure of our provincial factors must be so vague and general as to be useless as a guide to any of them. The more nearly a statement of educational policy, administration, finance, curricula, and examination represents all-India, the less helpful it must become to particular provinces, for on arriving at an educational greatest common measure, it is necessary to eliminate all that which is peculiarly and distinctively provincial; in other words, to eliminate the very factors which must be taken into account if the solution is to be of any practical value.

Having got thus far, it may be asked what the Government of India propose to do in this matter. I would remind them of another conclusion of the Hartog Committee which has already been mentioned by Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, though he only devoted a few sentences to it at the end of his speech. The Hartog Committee suggested that the Government of India should serve as a centre of educational information to the whole of India and as a means of co-ordinating the educational experiences of the different provinces. That, Sir, is a view which the Government of India accept and on which they are prepared to act. Let me remind the House of what I said in a speech I made when the subject of education was last before this House. I then pointed out that the Hartog Committee had suggested the resuscitation, or rather the revival in a somewhat different form, of the old Bureau of Education, which was abolished in the last era of retrenchment in 1923. The functions of this Bureau would be to give information and advice to provincial administrations and to keep them in close touch with each other. They also recommended the resuscitation of the Central Advisory Board, which was also abolished about the same time. That Board consisted of the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, who was Chairman, an expert from the United Kingdom when required, two Vice-Chancellors of Universities in India, one of whom was a whole-time officer, two Principals of privately managed colleges, four Directors of Public Instruction, and four non-official Members interested in the subject of education. I drew the special attention of the House to the last item in this list, namely, four non-official Members specially interested in the subject of education, for among them was the honoured name of the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri. I explained that the revival of this Board was under the consideration of the Government of India, and added that the question was obviously one on which it would be necessary to consult Local Governments. Some progress has been made since then. We have asked Provincial Governments for their views on the subject. Their replies are still not quite complete—I think there is only one still outstanding—but I am glad to find that the majority of the Local Governments recognise the necessity for the resuscitation of the Advisory Board which will be in a position to advise Provincial Governments and Administrations on all matters of policy, administration, studies, examination and spending of public funds referred to it by the provinces.

That, Sir, is the present position. As soon as financial conditions improve—and may that be very speedily—the Government of India propose to proceed with the establishment of this Board, and this House, will, I have every confidence judging from the tone of the debate this afternoon, willingly vote the funds that are required. When it is revived, the Board should, I venture to think, provide the most useful and economical means of enabling the Government of India and the Provincial Governments to formulate a definite and continuous policy in regard to educational systems in this country and will be a much more practical and far less expensive means of doing so than a committee of the kind which has been suggested in the Resolution.

I trust that what I have said will convince the House that the present is not an opportune time for the setting up of a Committee such as that suggested by the Honourable the Mover, and that, in these circumstances, he will not press his Resolution.

[Sir Frank Noyce.]

I come now to the amendment which has been proposed. With that, as I have already said, I am in a position to sympathise much more than with the original Resolution. But I still hold that at this juncture when Local Governments are occupied by so many more pressing problems, the proposal to convene an educational conference is hardly likely to commend itself to them. I would again reiterate the view of the Hartog Committee that money is essential for any reorganisation of the educational systems in India. That money will not be forthcoming until financial conditions improve. By that time we hope to have our Central Advisory Board for Education once more in being. I would submit for the consideration of my Honourable friend the Mover of the amendment that this Advisory Board meets the object he has in view. Not only so, but it goes much further. He has suggested merely an *ad hoc* conference, which will be summoned once and will then disperse. What we propose to do is to set up a Board which will be permanently in session. I may mention for the information of the House what the constitution of that Board is likely to be, and I should be very glad to send the Honourable the Movers of the Resolution and the amendment and any one else who is interested in the question a copy of the letter which we issued to the Local Governments on the subject. We propose that the Board should consist—provisionally that is—of the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India as Chairman, 10 representatives of the Provincial Governments who would ordinarily be Directors of Public Instructions, 9 non-official representatives of the provinces, and 3 nominees of the Government of India, totalling in all 23.

In conclusion, Sir, I would submit that what we want now is not further committees of enquiry but a body to which the Local Governments as well as the Government of India in regard to its centrally administered areas will turn for advice and assistance in carrying out their schemes for removing the blots on the educational system of this country. We know what is wrong, and we have considerable material on which to base schemes for putting it right. A permanent body of the kind, the constitution of which the Government of India have under consideration, should facilitate development in the right direction. I trust that after this explanation the Honourable the Mover of the Resolution and the Honourable the Mover of the amendment will withdraw their respective motions. (Applause.)

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** I just wish to say one or two words in connection with the points suggested during the debate on this motion. Let me take first of all the question of European education suggested by my Honourable friend Sir Henry Gidney. I wrote a note some time ago and drew the attention of the Education Department in the United Provinces to the fact that as far as the co-ordination of studies is concerned European education is the most mismanaged. If the present state of affairs continued then the domiciled community would be excluded from all share in the administration of the Government after a few years. They have got a system of education and of examination of their own, but it does not fit in with the general plan of education prevailing in the country. Their final examination does not entitle them either to join the university or the training colleges. There must be co-ordination between their plan of studies and the plan existing in the country. I am sorry that no attention was paid to it by the Director of Public Instruction, who thought

he was the all-knowing man, above any suggestions from any intruder. The net result was that nothing was done, and the position remains as pictured by Sir Henry Gidney.

One point was raised by my friend Mr. A. Das from Gorakhpur about the old institutions, the *patshalas* and the *guru* teachers. In this connection I may point out that last time, when I was in Germany, I met one of the greatest educationists there Prof. Sprenger. He pointed out that there was one aspect of education highly developed in India, and whose absence in the German system he deeply regretted and it was the development of the spiritual side in the education of children. In the old system of education in India, the spiritual side was very strongly developed. Unfortunately it is non-existent in the system of education in the West and it is non-existent in India. We should make every effort to restore it.

As regards the amendment proposed by my distinguished friend, Lala Brij Kishore, I am in entire sympathy with him. Whenever the Government do not want to do anything, they appoint a committee and by the time the committee reports, the whole thing is forgotten and no action is taken. He suggests a conference, but I have a difficulty if the members of the conference wrote separate minutes as he suggests, and expressed their opinion, who is to decide as to what is right and what is wrong? Even if you convene a conference, a committee will have to be set up to sift the arguments advanced by different members of the conference.

As regards the suggestion of Sir Frank Noyce, I very much welcome this announcement. In fact, I have been waiting for the last two years to hear an announcement of this kind from the Government Benches, and I am very glad that after all the promise has been made. I sent him a note last year on this point. The excuse of financial stringency is not so acute now. This may have been true about September 1931, but it is not true in February 1932. On account of the flight of gold from this country to England, the financial position of the Government of India has very much improved. I shall discuss this question at the time of the Budget. If the Honourable the Finance Member had been here, I would certainly have asked him whether it is not a fact that, owing to the flight of capital and the inflation of money, the Government have paid one of their loans and therefore we are relieved at least of the interest on that which we would have paid, had not the capital been paid up. I believe the financial position is not bad now. The thing that is wanting is some definite proposal from the Education Department and a sympathetic consideration by the Finance Department, and I am certain that on account of the interest which non-official Members of the Assembly take in matters of education, Government will have the unanimous support of the Finance Committee and the unanimous support of the Assembly.

In this connection I will point out one particular thing. I understand that there is a proposal to do away with the office of the Commissioner of Education. The suggestion was concealed in among the many papers put before the Finance Committee, and just as many officers sign hidden papers without noticing the contents of the papers put up by their clerks, the suggestion was accepted by the Finance Committee. I thought that the subject would come up later on when I would raise my voice of protest. When the Government of India in the Department of Education express any opinion on educational matters, the draft must

[Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad.]

be prepared by a person who commands respect and authority in the minds of the educationists in this country, but the moment it is found out that a particular document was drawn up by a person who is not commanding universal confidence on account of his learning and experience, that document loses all its importance and then the Government of India will lose their position as an educational authority, and they might as well omit the word "Education" from the list of the subjects, or as Sir Henry Gidney said "Hotchpotch" subjects, attached to the Member in charge of this Department. While I welcome the announcement made by Sir Frank Noyce, I still insist that it is not a substitute for the committee of inquiry I proposed. Of course they have got a very good argument, namely, that they have no money. The expenses of the committee may be insignificant, but to carry out their recommendations will cost money. If the flight of gold continues, we do not know what may happen in a few months time. I think the position of the Government will brighten considerably. When I moved this Resolution, I did not mean to suggest that the Committee should be set up immediately, but I do suggest that the matter should be taken up as soon as conditions improve and the necessary funds can be provided for carrying out the recommendations of the Committee. In the meantime I think that Government should set to work on the subject and have the material ready, so that action may be taken as soon as it is possible to do so. With these few words I resume my seat.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That for the words 'to appoint in consultation with the Provinces a Committee' the following be substituted:

'to summon a conference of the Educational authorities in India'."

The motion was negatived.

**Mr. President:** I will now put the main Resolution.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** On a point of order. May I ask you whether it is necessary for Government to reply to the offer made by the Mover of the Resolution.

**Mr. President** (the Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): There is no further reply. If the Member of Government in charge wishes to reply he should ask for the permission of the Chair to do so.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** I want to decide which way to give my vote.

**Mr. President:** The Honourable Member has to decide on the debate as it has taken place.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** Very well.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to appoint in consultation with the Provinces a Committee to suggest suitable modifications in the existing system of education in India in regard to policy, administration, general plan of studies and examinations and the most economic method of spending public funds for education."

The motion was negatived.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, the 17th February, 1932.