

24th March 1930

THE
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES
(Official Report)

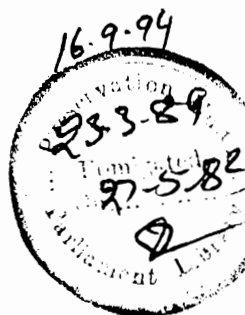
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(21st March to 31st March, 1930)

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OF THE
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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Monday, 24th March, 1930.

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

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF RESULTS OF INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATIONS.

800. *Maulvi Mohammad Shafee Daoodi: (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to a grievance in the Indian Civil Service examination regarding the undue advantage which a candidate from the United Provinces has over those from other Provinces in knowing the result of his examination, as published in the *Pioneer* of October 13, 1929, under the heading, "A Civil Service Examination Grievance" of October 14, 1929, under the heading "Another View", by the *Justice* of Lucknow, of October 18, 1929, under the heading "The Public Services Examinations"?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state whether the result of the Indian Civil Service Examination is announced simultaneously with that of the Provincial Civil Service Examination, so that the candidates from all the Provinces may know the result at one and the same time? If not, will Government explain the reason?

(c) Do Government propose to rectify the oversight, if any, by introducing a system which may not prejudice any examinee from any Province?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: (a), (b) and (c). The attention of the Public Service Commission was drawn to the articles in question and they have taken steps to ensure that in future the results of these two examinations are published simultaneously.

REPORTED THREATENING BEHAVIOUR OF CERTAIN SOLDIERS AT VICTORIA TERMINUS STATION.

801. *Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the incident which took place on the 8th June last at the Victoria Terminus in the Poona Passenger Train leaving that station at 10-45 p. m. in which certain soldiers of the Royal Warwickshire Regiment, 2nd Battalion, were reported to have behaved threateningly towards some Indian fellow passengers of theirs, chucking away the luggage of one of the passengers, taking up the seat that he had occupied previously and threatening to throw another out of the window if he dared to take up any further the cause of the injured passengers? If so, has any complaint been made to the authorities concerned by the aggrieved parties, and what steps have been taken in connection with the same?

(b) Will Government be pleased to make a statement on the subject particularly indicating the steps they propose to adopt in future to avoid the repetition of such outrageous incidents to the Indian travelling public?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the reply given to his question No. 989 on September 26th, 1929. A complaint was made to the military authorities, and enquiries were held both by them and by the railway authorities. A complaint was thereafter filed in September in the Court of the Chief Presidency Magistrate against one of the soldiers. It does not appear to have been proceeded with. I am, however, inquiring how the matter stands and will inform the Honourable Member of the result.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: With reference to the old question of mine mentioned in the reply, may I know on which date that question was put, because I do not remember having put such a question before?

Mr. G. M. Young: 26th September, 1929.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: I did not put any question on that day, Sir.

Mr. G. M. Young: I was not in the House, of course, last September. I have only got a copy of the official record. Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji asked a question No. 989 on the 26th September, 1929, and a reply was given.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: It may be that the question was on the agenda on that day, but I am sure I did not put the question.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member may not have asked that question. But the practice is that unless a Member says that he does not want to put any question, the question and answer are entered in the proceedings.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: Sir, you stopped allowing any further questions that morning about the time my questions were going to be reached and so those questions were not asked at all.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member must read the proceedings. If he reads the proceedings he will find that the question and answer do appear there.

DRAFT INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE TREATMENT OF FOREIGNERS.

802. ***Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji:** Has the opinion of the Government of India been invited on the draft International Convention on the treatment of foreigners? If so, do Government propose to invite the opinions of Indian commercial associations with a view to forwarding them to proper quarters?

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: The draft International Convention on the Treatment of Foreigners was discussed at a Conference held at Paris in November last. The decision arrived at was that the Delegates should submit to their Government for consideration all documents relating to the work of the Conference and ask them to forward to the Secretariat of the League before the 1st June, 1930, any observations and suggestions which they may wish to make with regard to those documents. The

documents are still awaited. When they are received, Government will consider the feasibility of consulting commercial opinion before communicating their views to the Secretariat of the League.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Will the Government consider the advisability of consulting this House on the subject?

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: I am afraid that if the replies have to reach the League of Nations before the 1st of June, there may be no possibility of consulting this House.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Is it necessary that Government must send the replies by the 1st June? In view of the fact that there will be a Simla Session, will it not be advisable for the Government to place this matter before this House and take the opinion of this House on a very important question like this?

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: I do not think it has been the practice of the Government at the stage which this question has reached to bring such questions before the House. It is at the stage between signature and ratification that in certain cases Conventions are brought before the House.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Is the Honourable Member quite sure about the practice in regard to the Washington Convention? Because if I remember aright, it was first raised and discussed by this House before Government took the final action.

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: I should be quite ready to consider whether this is a suitable case in which to take the opinion of this House before sending our own opinion.

CONSULTATION BY THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS *re* MARITIME COASTING TRADE.

803. ***Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Hajt:** (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the consultation proposed to be held by the League of Nations on the subject of maritime coasting trade; if so, when is the consultation going to take place?

(b) Has any questionnaire been issued by the League of Nations in this connection? If so, do Government propose to invite answers from Indian Commercial Associations to the questionnaire?

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: (a) The Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit of the League of Nations has referred to its Permanent Committee on Ports and Maritime Navigation the examination of the meaning which the different States attach to the term "coasting trade" and the law and practices relating thereto. I presume that this is the consultation to which the Honourable Member refers. The Government of India have received no information in regard to any general Conference of the League of Nations on this subject.

(b) In connection with the above enquiry, the Government of India have received a questionnaire from the League of Nations. As the questionnaire only asks for information in regard to the present position of the coasting trade of India under the existing laws and regulations, the Government of India do not propose to consult commercial associations before replying to the questionnaire.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: Would the present position regarding this point include the question of the Coastal Réserve Bill as reported by the Select Committee of this House?

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: That is no part of the existing provisions of the law.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: But, Sir, would the attention of the authorities at Geneva be drawn to the fact that non-official efforts are being made to bring about a change in this matter?

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: I do not think, Sir, that that naturally arises under any question in the questionnaire.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: Would not the whole purpose of the replies of this Government be misleading to the International authorities if their attention was not drawn to the pending legislation?

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: No, Sir. When they ask merely for information as to the present position, I do not think they would naturally expect to receive information as to mere possibilities.

SLOOPS OF THE ROYAL NAVY REFITTED OR REPAIRED IN THE ROYAL INDIAN MARINE DOCKYARD.

804. ***Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji:** Will Government please state the number of sloops of the Royal Navy that have been either refitted or repaired in the Royal Indian Marine Dockyard during the last two years, and if so, what payments have been received for the same?

Mr. G. M. Young: A statement has been called for, and will be communicated to the Honourable Member on receipt.

CONSTRUCTION OF NEW VESSELS BY THE ROYAL INDIAN MARINE DOCKYARD.

805. ***Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji:** (a) Is it possible to use the Royal Indian Marine Dockyard for the construction of new vessels? If so, will Government please state the size of the vessels that could be built there?

(b) Will construction have to be confined only to war vessels, or would it be possible to build mercantile vessels as well? If so, of what tonnage?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) Yes, Sir. Every kind of boat, barge and steam trawler can be constructed in the Royal Indian Marine Dockyard, Bombay. If and when the dockyard is expanded, it will be in a position to undertake the construction of sloops suitable for the Royal Indian Marine up to 2,000 tons.

(b) With expansion of the dockyard it would be quite possible to build ships for the mercantile marine up to probably about 3,000 tons.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: With regard to part (b) of the question, in view of the fact that it would be possible, with the enlargement of the dockyard, to build mercantile vessels, will Government consider the advisability of preparing a scheme under which such vessels could be built in these Government dockyards when they are ready?

Mr. G. M. Young: The Government have that matter under consideration.

ADVERTISING THE WORK OF THE ROYAL INDIAN MARINE (DOCKYARD).

806. *Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: Will Government please state if they take any steps to make the work of the Royal Indian Marine more known than is the case? If not, do they propose to do so?

Mr. G. M. Young: Yes, Sir. It has already been decided to publish the annual Administration Reports of the Royal Indian Marine and of the Marine Survey of India, in future, for general information. The report of the Flag Officer Commanding on the reorganisation of the service was published in an official communiqué, and considerable prominence was given to it in newspapers. Admiral Walwyn has also instituted a practice of visiting ports, other than Bombay, with his ships in order to acquaint the public in those ports with the character and functions of the reorganized force.

Mr. K. C. Roy: May I ask the Honourable Member what is the position as regards the proposed Royal Indian Navy which is to supersede the Royal Indian Marine?

Mr. G. M. Young: If the Honourable Member refers to the Indian Navy Discipline Bill which was introduced in this House two years ago, the position is that Government are waiting for some indication from this House or from the public that the Bill should be proceeded with again.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: Is it not the fact that the public are waiting for some signal from the Government that their policy has changed in the matter and that the Government propose to trust the people of this country as against the orders of the British Cabinet?

Mr. G. M. Young: I am afraid I am unable to answer that question.

Mr. K. C. Roy: May I ask what actually happened to the Bill which was passed by the British Parliament for creating the Royal Indian Navy?

Mr. G. M. Young: It was passed, that was all.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: With reference to the Administration Report of the Royal Indian Marine referred to by the Honourable Member, may I know when it is proposed to publish such an Administration Report?

Mr. G. M. Young: I cannot give the date. I do not remember at what time of the year the Report comes out.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: When does the naval year begin?

Mr. G. M. Young: I think the reports are for the financial year.

CONSTRUCTION OF NEW SHIPS FOR THE ROYAL INDIAN MARINE.

807. *Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: (a) Will Government be pleased to state if any orders for the construction of new ships for the Royal Indian Marine have been placed during the last 18 months?

(b) If the answer to part (a) is in the affirmative will Government be pleased to state whether it is usual to invite tenders before the final orders are placed?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) Yes for one new sloop.

(b) The sloop is being built under the orders of the Admiralty and I am not aware of what their practice is in the matter of inviting tenders.

SEPARATION OF THE ROYAL INDIAN MARINE BUDGET FROM THE MILITARY BUDGET.

808. ***Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji:** Is it a fact that the amount of money annually allotted to the Royal Indian Marine and remaining unspent within a year lapses into the general fund of the Military Budget? If so, have Government considered the advisability of separating the Royal Indian Marine Budget from the Military Budget with a view to enable the Royal Indian Marine to have the full benefit of the amounts allotted to it from year to year?

Mr. G. M. Young: The answer to the first part of the question is in the negative, the second part does not therefore arise. The Royal Indian Marine have the full benefit of savings effected within their separate budget allotment.

RECRUITMENT FOR THE ROYAL INDIAN MARINE.

809. ***Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji:** (a) Will Government please state the parts of India to which recruitment parties are sent in order to secure fresh supplies of men for the ships of the Royal Indian Marine?

(b) Have Government received representations from certain districts or castes to the effect that their claims for recruitment for the Royal Indian Marine are being disregarded by Government? If so, will Government please state the action they propose to take in the matter?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) Recruiting parties were formerly sent regularly to the Ratnagiri district, which used to be practically the sole recruiting ground for the Royal Indian Marine before its reorganization. At the time of reorganization, it was the intention of Government to send recruiting parties to this area only until such time as the Royal Indian Marine was enlarged, when they expected to go further afield. Since the force was reorganized on a combatant basis, and service was made permanent and pensionable, the popularity of the Royal Indian Marine with this community has heavily declined: and the last recruiting party that went to Ratnagiri failed to obtain any good recruits. Attempts were made accordingly to get recruits from elsewhere, and parties have been sent to the Punjab, principally to the districts of the Salt Range, where the service seems to be popular and recruits of an excellent stamp are readily forthcoming.

(b) The only representation of the kind suggested in the question came from the Bhandari community in 1926. I quoted their resolution in answer to Mr. Aney's question No. 824 on the 25th August, 1927. I would add that there is nothing to prevent youths of the Bhandari or any other community from presenting themselves at the Royal Indian Marine Depot for recruitment if they wish.

Mr. K. O. Roy: Will the Honourable Member say whether recruiting parties will be sent to Chittagong?

Mr. G. M. Young: Government have considered the question of recruitment from Chittagong, and I have no doubt they will keep it in mind.

RECRUITMENT OF INDIANS FOR THE ROYAL INDIAN MARINE.

810. *Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: (a) Will Government please state how far the Royal Indian Marine has been reorganised during the last few months?

(b) Is it a fact that the force has been short of the full numbers in the ranks of the executive officers and the engineer officers?

(c) If the answer to part (b) is in the affirmative, are Government prepared to make up the deficiency by recruiting Indians only, with a view to utilise the existing vacancies for the purposes of Indianising these services more rapidly?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) The reorganization may now be considered as complete.

(b) and (c). There has been some shortage, owing mainly to the time it took to introduce the open competitive examination for the service. There does not appear to be any difficulty, however, in obtaining British candidates for either branch of the service. Indian candidates have so far only been forthcoming for the Engineer branch. Two Indian candidates for this branch passed the examination held last November. As I have already informed the House, three executive vacancies are being offered for competition among the cadets of the "Dufferin" at a special examination to be held in May this year. In view of these facts, Government do not propose immediately to increase the proportion of Indian vacancies, but they have that possibility constantly in mind.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: May I ask if any Indian has so far been appointed to the combatant ranks?

Mr. G. M. Young: To the executive branch?

Sir Hari Singh Gour: To the officer's rank.

Mr. G. M. Young: Yes, but to the executive or engineer branch?

Sir Hari Singh Gour: I mean both.

Mr. G. M. Young: I have just said, in answer to the main question, that two cadets have succeeded in entering the Engineer Branch. They have not yet been appointed, but they have gone to England for training.

RECRUITMENT OF SEAMEN.

811. *Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: (a) Will Government be pleased to state the exact method of recruitment of seamen at the major ports of India?

(b) What is the exact manner in which the registers of serangs lascars, firemen, stewards and butlers are maintained at these ports?

(c) Is it a fact that in Bombay the licences for the supply of seamen have been issued to one party only for the last 40 or 50 years?

(d) If the answer to part (c) be in the affirmative, do Government propose to issue licences to other brokers? If not, do they propose to establish a regular Bureau of Employment attached to the shipping office?

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: (a) The large majority of Indian seamen are recruited at the two major ports of Bombay and Calcutta. As regards the method of recruitment at Bombay, I would refer the Honourable Member to the reply I gave to starred question No. 691 asked by Mr. S. C. Mitra on the 23rd September, 1929. At Calcutta the seamen required for vessels belonging to the British India Steam Navigation Company are recruited at the Company's offices by its own officers. In the case of the other shipping companies, the sukhanyas are selected at an open muster held at the Shipping Office. At present the other ratings are recruited largely through the medium of the licensed brokers. Arrangements have, however, recently been made for the introduction of the following alternative methods of recruitment. According to the first method, the shipping companies will maintain registers of the Serangs and Butlers in their regular employ, and these ratings will be selected by the Companies' officers at their own offices the lower ratings being selected by the Companies' officers with the aid of the leading ratings. The second method is intended for those companies who may not find it possible to make the necessary internal arrangements for the recruitment of seamen at their own offices. An employment register of serangs and butlers will be maintained at the Shipping Office and these ratings will be selected by the Companies' officers at an open muster held at the Shipping Office. The lower ratings will be recruited as in the case of the first method by the Companies' officers with the aid of the leading ratings.

(b) Employment registers of Serangs and Butlers are maintained at Bombay and Calcutta. The registers show, *inter alia*, the ship on which the rating has obtained employment and the date on which he signed on.

(c) The three licensed brokers at Bombay are members of the same firm. This firm has held this business for many years.

(d) Government do not propose to issue licences to other persons, nor do they at present contemplate the maintenance at the Bombay Shipping Office of employment registers for lower ratings.

STATEMENTS SHOWING THE NUMBER OF INDIAN OFFICERS HOLDING CERTAIN RANKS IN STATE RAILWAYS.

812. *Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: Will Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the numbers of Indian officers holding the following ranks in each of the State Railways:

- (1) Heads of Departments.
- (2) Deputy Heads of Departments.
- (3) Divisional Operating Superintendents.
- (4) Divisional Traffic Superintendents.
- (5) Executive or Divisional Engineers?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The Honourable Member will find this information in the Classified List of State Railway Establishment, a copy of which is in the Library of the House.

CARRIAGE OF PIECE-GOODS FROM BOMBAY TO CALCUTTA BY RAIL AND STEAMER.

813. *Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the Statement of the Agent of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway that the rate of piece goods from Bombay to Calcutta *via*

Nagpur has been reduced from Rs. 3-8-3 to Rs. 1-8-0 with a view to compete against the carriage of piece-goods from Bombay to Calcutta by steamers?

(b) Has the policy of the Agent of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway been endorsed by the Government of India?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) The answer is in the affirmative except that the rate in question has, I understand, been reduced from Rs. 3-7-3 first to Rs. 2-5-0 and then from Rs. 2-5-0 to Rs. 1-8-0 and Government are not aware that the Agent of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway stated that the rate was reduced from Rs. 3-8-3.

(b) Yes.

POWER SUPPLIED BY THE HYDRO-ELECTRIC CONCERNS FOR THE SUBURBAN SERVICE OF THE GREAT INDIAN PENINSULA RAILWAY.

814. ***Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji:** Will Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing:

- (a) the cost per unit of power supplied by the Hydro-electric concerns for the suburban service of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway;
- (b) the minimum quantity of electric energy in terms of units the authorities of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway have agreed to pay for irrespective of the actual consumption;
- (c) the actual consumption in terms of units supplied by the Hydro-electric concerns to the Great Indian Peninsula Railway month by month during the last 12 months ending 30th June, 1929; and
- (d) the payments made with reference to (c) for the power consumed by the Great Indian Peninsula Railway for their suburban service?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The information is being collected and will be furnished to the Honourable Member when ready. As possibly other Members of the House may be interested, I will lay the statement containing the information on the table of the House as soon as an opportunity occurs.

TRAINING OF INDIANS IN MARINE WIRELESS.

815. ***Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji:** Will Government be pleased to state whether they have taken any action for the training of Indian youths in Marine Wireless as referred to in the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy at the Annual Meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry at Calcutta in December, 1928? If so, will they be pleased to give the details of the scheme they propose to inaugurate?

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: A scheme for the training of wireless operators on the Training Ship "Dufferin" was considered by the Governing Body at their meeting held on the 4th July last. After careful consideration, the Governing Body resolved that they were not in favour of the training of wireless operators on the "Dufferin". The matter is still under consideration.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: May I ask what was the reason for the unfavourable decision of the Governing Body?

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: The difficulty was this, that, if it were merely a question of wireless training, a course of nine months might be sufficient, but the ordinary course is three years on the "Dufferin" and it is not considered desirable to have boys on board under training for so short a period as nine months. I am not yet satisfied that the difficulties might not be overcome, and we are making further inquiries about it.

FELLOWSHIPS OFFERED TO INDIA BY THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATIONS.

816. ***Dr. B. S. Moonje:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) whether any Fellowships were offered to this country by the Rockefeller Foundation either in the year 1928 or 1929, and if so, the date when the offer was received and the number of Fellowships offered;
- (b) whether applications were invited from the different provinces for selection of candidates for the award of these Fellowships, and if so, the last date for receiving the applications;
- (c) the procedure adopted by the Government of India for the selection of candidates to be recommended to the Rockefeller Foundation for the award of the Fellowships;
- (d) the date or dates on which the various Provincial Governments sent in the lists of candidates with their recommendations for the award of the Fellowships;
- (e) the date when the Government of India forwarded their recommendations to the Rockefeller Foundation;
- (f) the names of persons recommended by them for the award of the Fellowships and of the subjects chosen by them; and
- (g) the nature of the reply received from the Rockefeller Foundation with regard to the names recommended by the Government of India?

Sir Frank Noyce: (a) No Fellowships were offered in 1928. In October, 1928, Government enquired from Dr. J. F. Kendrick, who is the representative of the Rockefeller Foundation in India, whether it was proposed to award any Fellowships to India in the near future, and if so, when. Dr. Kendrick replied in January 1929, that the Foundation did not set aside any definite number of Fellowships for Indian students but that if there were deserving men, he had no doubt that Fellowships could be secured for them.

(b) Yes. Local Governments and Administrations were asked to submit their recommendations, if possible, by the 31st March, 1929.

(c) The candidates who are nominated by Local Governments and Administrations and who fulfil the conditions prescribed by the Rockefeller Foundation as to qualifications and prospects of employment are arranged in order of preference by the Scientific Advisory Board of the Indian Research Fund Association and the final selection is made by the Rockefeller International Health Board itself.

(d) The recommendations from Local Governments were received between the 25th March, 1929, and the 5th June, 1929.

(e) The list of candidates drawn up in order of preference by the Scientific Advisory Board was forwarded to Mr. Kendrick on the 6th July, 1929, together with the original applications.

(f) A list showing the names of the applicants and the subjects chosen by them is placed on the table of the House.

(g) Government were informed by Dr. Kendrick on the 31st October, 1929, that the applications had been received in New York only on the 5th September and that all available funds for fellowships in the East had been allotted by then except one which had been ear-marked for an officer in connection with co-operative arrangements for rural health work in Burma. Only one Fellowship was, therefore, awarded to Dr. Fenn who was serving in Burma. Dr. Kendrick, however, added that the applications would be kept on the file of the Executive Committee of the Rockefeller Foundation and would be given due consideration, should funds become available for 1930.

Statement referred to in the reply to part (f) of question No. 316, regarding Rockefeller Foundation Scholarships.

Subjects selected for study.

- | | | | | |
|------------------------------------------|-------------------|---|---|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Dr. Ramaswami Subramanian. | Madras | . | . | Public Health administration, Epidemiology with special reference to Malariology. |
| 2. Dr. Walajanagar Vijayaragava Perumal. | Madras | . | . | System of medical inspection of schools in America and rural sanitation in other countries especially America. |
| 3. Dr. Shankar Kashinath Gokhale. | Bombay | . | . | Chemistry of Vitamin and Nutrition problems. |
| 4. Dr. Mukundraj Ganpat Pandit. | Bombay | . | . | Analytical Chemistry, Bacteriology and preparation of calf lymph. |
| 5. Vasudeo Lakshman Deshpande. | Bombay | . | . | Infectious Diseases with special reference to Public Health. |
| 6. Dr. Ramchandra Govind Dhayagude. | Bombay | . | . | Bacteriology and Tropical Pathology. |
| 7. Dr. Ramkrishna Pandurang Kappikar. | Bombay | . | . | Anatomy and Embryology. |
| 8. Dr. M. O. T. Iyengar | Bengal | . | . | Malaria research, survey and prevention. |
| 9. Dr. Mohammad Yacob | Punjab | . | . | Technique of the preparation of anti-variola vaccine lymph and problems connected with vaccination in United States of America and the United Kingdom. |
| 10. Dr. Samad Shah | Punjab | . | . | Malariology. |
| 11. Dr. Ayodhya Nath Das | United Provinces. | | | Epidemiology and vital statistics as specially applicable to the tropics with a view to obtaining the degree of Doctor of Public Health. |

Subjects selected for study.

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 12. Dr. Beni Madhava Roy | United Provinces. | Public Health and Malariaology. |
| 13. Dr. Victor William Fenn | Burma | Hygiene and Public Health. |
| 14. Dr. S. K. Mallick | Bihar and Orissa. | Public Health and Malariaology. |
| 15. Dr. Surej Narain | Ajmer-Merwara | (i) Pathology and Bacteriology in relation to clinical medicine and public health and (ii) studies in prevention and cure of tuberculousia. |

Dr. B. S. Moonje: Did the Government of India know the date by which the Rockefeller Foundation were to receive applications for scholarships to the Rockefeller Institute?

Sir Frank Noyce: I understand the position is that the Rockefeller Foundation does not lay down any definite date. No definite date was fixed by it for the receipt of applications.

Dr. B. S. Moonje: How is it that, when the Government of India sent their reply in July, it was not received in New York before September?

Sir Frank Noyce: I do not know, Sir. It was sent to Dr. Kendrick on the 5th of July, whose headquarters are in Madras. Why it did not reach New York until the 5th of September, I am unable to say.

Dr. B. S. Moonje: Did the Government of India write and inquire why their reply had not reached New York before the 5th of September?

Sir Frank Noyce: I do not know. I can find out and let the Honourable Member know. The matter is really one for the Rockefeller Foundation, and it is hardly for us to make any inquiry of that nature.

Dr. B. S. Moonje: My point is whether the Government of India's application did reach New York in time or not?

Sir Frank Noyce: I have already said that all the available funds for Fellowship in the East had been allotted by the time our application reached the Foundation.

Dr. B. S. Moonje: And your application reached them in September after the Fellowships were all allotted away?

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Did the Honourable Member know the date by which the Rockefeller Foundation would make the allotments?

Sir Frank Noyce: No, Sir; I have already said that the Rockefeller Foundation do not lay down any definite date.

Dr. B. S. Moonje: Why did not the Government write and find out as to why their application did not reach New York till September when it was sent from here in July? Did they take any action to find out the cause of the delay?

Sir Frank Noyce: It is rather a long post from here to New York.

DELAY IN THE APPLICATION BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA FOR ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION FELLOWSHIPS.

817. ***Dr. B. S. Moonje:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that the Executive Committee of the Rockefeller Foundation received the application sent by the Government of India in 1929 after all

the available funds for the Fellowships in the East had been allotted, and that it was therefore not possible for the Foundation to award any Fellowship to Indians in 1929, except one which had been earmarked for an officer in connection with co-operative arrangements for rural health work in Burma?

(b) If the reply to part (a) is in affirmative, will Government be pleased to state who was responsible for this delay in forwarding the application from India?

(c) What steps do Government intend to take for obviating such delay in the future?

Sir Frank Noyce: (a) Yes.

(b) The circumstances have been explained in the reply just given by me to the Honourable Member's question No. 816.

(c) The Honourable Member will see that so far as the Government of India were concerned, there was no avoidable delay. When a similar occasion again arises the Government of India will impress on Local Governments the necessity for promptitude in submitting their recommendations.

SUBJECTS FOR THE AWARD OF ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION FELLOWSHIPS IN INDIA.

818. ***Dr. B. S. Moonje:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether the Rockefeller Foundation has defined the subjects for the award of the Fellowships in India?

(b) Are these subjects more or less the same for which Fellowships are awarded by the Foundation in other countries such as England, Germany, Czecho-Slovakia?

(c) In case the subjects recommended for the award of Fellowships in India are not the same as those in other countries, have Government considered the question of the advisability of representing to the Rockefeller Foundation the inclusion of the subjects of pure and applied science besides those relating to public health for the award of Fellowships to Indian candidates?

Sir Frank Noyce: (a) The Fellowships awarded by the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation are designed to meet definite needs in public health service.

(b) It would seem from Memorandum No. 7664 of the International Health Board which gives information regarding these Fellowships that the regulations are the same for all countries. A copy of this memorandum has been placed in the Library of the House.

(c) Does not arise.

SELECTION OF CANDIDATES FOR THE AWARD OF ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION FELLOWSHIPS.

819. ***Dr. B. S. Moonje:** Will Government be pleased to state how many Fellows were selected from the different provinces respectively since the award of the Rockefeller Foundation Fellowships came first to be made?

Sir Frank Noyce: The information is contained in the statement which I have placed on the table of the House.

Madras	Dr. R. Adisesahan, L.M.S. Dr. K. V. Krishnan, M.B.B.S.
United Provinces	Dr. H. G. D. Mathur, B.Sc., M.B.B.S. Dr. A. C. Banerjee, M.B.B.S., D.P.H.
Punjab	Dr. A. R. Mehta, M.B.B.S., D.P.H., D.T.M. and H. Dr. Ram Behari Lal, M.B.B.S., D.P.H., D.T.M. and H.
Burma	Dr. V. W. Fenn.
Central Provinces	Dr. C. R. Edibam, M.B.B.S.
North West Frontier Province	Dr. Saranjam Khan, B.S.C., M.B.B.S.
Officer in Military employ	Captain (now Major) S. S. Sokhey, I.M.S.

UTILIZATION IN INDIA OF INDIANS GIVEN FELLOWSHIPS OF THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION.

820. ***Dr. B. S. Moonje:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- How many Fellows who were given the Rockefeller Fellowships have returned to India so far;
- How many of them have been utilized in the Medical Research Department, giving the names of the Fellows and the institutes to which they may be attached and the inquiries that may be entrusted to them for carrying out in each case; and
- How many of them are not utilized in the Medical Research Department stating reasons why they have not been so utilized?

Sir Frank Noyce: (a) Nine. Government have no information about Dr. Fenn who was awarded the Fellowship in 1929.

(b) One, *vis.*, Major S. S. Sokhey, I.M.S., who is serving as an Assistant Director of the Haffkine Institute, Bombay.

(c) Eight, six of whom are employed in suitable appointments in provincial Public Health Departments. The remaining two, *vis.*, Drs. Saranjam Khan and K. V. Krishnan are employed on Bacteriophage and Kala-Azar inquiries, respectively, under the Indian Research Fund Association. The cadre of the Medical Research Department is fixed according to its requirements.

Dr. B. S. Moonje: Are there any who are unemployed?

Sir Frank Noyce: I do not think any of them are unemployed. Fellowships are granted on the distinct understanding that those who hold them are ear-marked for suitable appointments on their return to India.

APPOINTMENT OF A NON-INDIAN JUDGE IN THE PATNA HIGH COURT.

821. ***Munshi Iswar Saran:** (a) Is it a fact that, in the Patna High Court, in place of the Honourable Mr. Justice P. R. Das (resigned), the appointment of a non-Indian is contemplated?

(b) If so, are Government aware that such a step will be regarded by Indians in this country as a reversal of the policy of Indianisation?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: (a) and (b). The question of filling the appointment which, under section 101 of the Government of India Act, is made by His Majesty is still under consideration and I regret I am unable to make any statement on the subject.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: Is it a fact, Sir, that the gentleman who is going to officiate for Mr. Justice P. R. Das is neither an Indian nor a lawyer Judge?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: I must ask for notice of that question.

Munshi Iswar Saran: Why has there been so much delay in making the appointment of the successor of the Honourable Mr. Justice P. R. Das?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: I presume, Sir, in order that the best selection may be made.

Munshi Iswar Saran: Will the Honourable Member kindly tell the House the recommendation made by the Patna High Court?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: The Government of India are not officially consulted in these matters, and I regret that I cannot make a statement.

Munshi Iswar Saran: Will the Honourable Member kindly tell the House what recommendation the Home Member made in regard to this matter.

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: I cannot do that.

Munshi Iswar Saran: Will the Honourable Member convey to the Secretary of State for India the information that the appointment of a non-Indian to a post which has been vacated by an Indian will give rise to much dissatisfaction among Indians?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: I will see that the questions and replies are communicated to the Secretary of State.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: Are Government aware that the prestige of the Patna High Court will suffer if this sort of jobbery is perpetrated?

Mr. President: Order, order.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt: What are the reasons, Sir, for overlooking the claims of the Provincial Judicial Service in giving them a seat on the Patna High Court in the present vacancy?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: As a general proposition, the claims of members of the Provincial Service are duly considered when a suitable vacancy arises.

Munshi Iswar Saran: Is the Honourable Member aware that there are competent lawyers in the Patna High Court as well as in other High Courts who can be appointed to this post?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: I note the Honourable Member's expression of his view on that point.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt: Is it not a fact that a member of the Judicial Service was available to act for this post, and yet a Civilian Judge has been selected?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: It is true that, as a temporary measure, there are two additional Civilian Judges at present.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt: Was not a member of the Provincial Judicial Service available who officiated as High Court Judge in the same Court?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: I must have notice of that.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: May I know whether the Government of India recognise that this is an Indian vacancy and that an Indian should be appointed?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: That question will doubtless be considered by the competent authorities.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Do the Government know that, even if there is no Indian available in this particular province, there are other capable men in other provinces, and will they try and secure an Indian from any part of India if he is available to fill up this post?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: I have no doubt that all the considerations bearing on the matter will be carefully taken into account by the competent authorities. I regret I cannot say anything more at present.

Munshi Iswar Saran: Is it not a fact that there is an Indian gentleman practising in the Patna High Court who, on more than one occasion, has officiated as a Judge of the Patna High Court?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: I believe that is a fact.

INELIGIBILITY OF INDIANS FOR THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE.

822. ***Sir Hari Singh Gour:** With reference to the reply to starred question No. 583 on the 12th March, 1930, regarding the ineligibility of Indians for Diplomatic Service, will Government be pleased to state what action, if any, they propose to take to get the rules amended so as to remove their ineligibility?

Mr. E. B. Howell: The Government of India are in sympathy with the spirit underlying the Honourable Member's question. They have already once made representations upon the subject and are prepared to renew them when a favourable opportunity presents itself.

LACK OF WAITING ROOMS AT BOJRA STATION.

823. *Mr. S. C. Mitra: (a) Is it a fact that there is no waiting room at Bojra Station in the Noakhali Branch of the Assam Bengal Railway either for males or females?

(b) Is it a fact that several representations were made by the local people to the railway authorities for a waiting room?

(c) Are Government aware that passengers are put to great inconvenience and difficulties for the want of such a waiting room or any shade?

(d) Are Government aware that in the absence of any waiting room for ladies, the *pardah* lady passengers are much inconvenienced?

(e) Do Government propose to remove the long-felt grievance of the local people?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Government are not aware of the exact arrangements, but a copy of the question will be sent to the Agent.

QUALIFYING EXAMINATIONS IN THE SECRETARIAT AND ATTACHED OFFICES.

824. *Mr. S. C. Mitra: (a) Are Government aware that the matriculates employed in the Third Division of the Secretariat offices were not allowed to take the First or Second Division (Secretariat) qualifying examination held by the Public Service Commission in November 1929?

(b) Is it a fact that the matriculates employed in the Second Division of the Attached Offices (having previously qualified for the Third Division, i.e., the examination passed by the candidates referred to at (a) above or the Second Division Attached Offices examination) were permitted to take this examination for:

- (i) the First Division Secretariat,
- (ii) the Second Division Secretariat,
- (iii) the First Division Attached Offices,

unlike their fellow colleagues in the Secretariat?

(c) Are Government aware that, under the rules framed by them for admission of candidates to this examination, the matriculate clerks of the Attached Offices were only eligible for the Upper Division of their offices and not for the Second Division of the Secretariat for which category some clerks have been declared successful? How is this anomaly to be explained?

(d) What is the number of such matriculates employed in the Attached Offices who have been declared successful for the Second Division?

(e) Is it a fact that both the classes of clerks referred to at (a) and (b) above are eligible for promotion to the next higher category of their respective offices according to a certain fixed percentage?

(f) If the answer to part (e) is in the affirmative, will Government please state the reasons that led them to make a distinction between the

Attached Office matriculates and the Secretariat matriculates for the purpose of allowing them to take the qualifying examination?

(g) Are Government aware that this distinction caused great discontent among the clerks concerned, and is it a fact that representations were made to Government?

(h) Do Government propose to redress their grievance by affording them an opportunity of appearing at the next examination as Departmental candidates and extending to them the concessions allowed at the November 1929 examination? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir James Crerar: (a) Yes.

(b) Yes, if recommended by the Heads of their Departments.

(c) The position of an Assistant in an attached office is slightly superior to that of a second division clerk in the Secretariat; consequently it was considered that if a clerk was held to be fit for Assistant in an attached office he could properly be held fit for the second division in the Secretariat.

(d) Nine.

(e) Yes.

(f) The second division in attached offices consisted partly of persons who had qualified for the second division and partly of persons qualified as typist and routine clerks. I understand that the Public Service Commission considered it undesirable to distinguish between clerks who were working in the same division in the same office. These conditions did not prevail in the Secretariat.

(g) Certain representations were made in the matter.

(h) There will be no departmental qualifying examinations in future, but under the rules it is open to departments, in cases of exceptional merit, to promote third division clerks to the second division in not more than one of every five vacancies.

EXPENDITURE FROM RAILWAY REVENUE ON THE BAMUNGACHI SHOOTING CASE.

825. ***Pandit Nilakantha Das:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state what amount of expenditure has been incurred from the Railway revenue to conduct the case in connection with the Bamungachi shooting incident to defend the Railway officials?

(b) Will Government be pleased to lay on the table the correspondence that passed between the Railway Board and the Government of Bengal or the Advocate General of Bengal in connection with the Appeal preferred against the acquittal of S_j. Shanti Ram Mondal?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) Information will be obtained and supplied to the Honourable Member on its receipt.

(b) The Honourable Member presumably refers to correspondence between the Government of India and the Bengal Government. Government regret that they are not prepared to lay this correspondence on the table.

RESEARCH IN PLANT PHYSIOLOGY AND SCHOLARSHIPS FOR AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY.

826. *Mr. K. O. Neogy: (a) Are researches in plant physiology conducted at the Agricultural Institute at Pusa? If so, are annual accounts of the results of such researches published, and has any of them received any appreciative notice so far in scientific journals published abroad?

(b) Does the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research intend to encourage better teaching of physiology of plants and research therein? If so, in what manner?

(c) Are Government aware of any institution in India where research is carried on in plant physiology? If so, is the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research considering the question of helping it in any way?

(d) Is there any intention on the part of the said Council or Government to grant scholarships to suitable Indians to qualify themselves in agricultural research and animal husbandry in any foreign country like Denmark which is a leading centre of such research and scientific study?

Sir Frank Noyce: (a) There is no separate section of plant physiology at the Pusa Research Institute and such research in that subject as has been conducted there has been connected with and subsidiary to problems in plant-breeding. The results of the research work carried out at Pusa are published in the Memoirs and Bulletins of the Imperial Department of Agriculture in India and the work done has repeatedly received appreciative references in scientific journals published abroad.

(b) The attention of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research will be invited to this matter.

(c) Research in plant physiology is carried out in several institutions in India which are in receipt of assistance from Government.

It is open to any institution to apply to the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research for a grant for research in any branch of agricultural science.

(d) The question has already been remitted to the Council of Agricultural Research for consideration.

NUMBER OF MEMBERS OF EACH COMMUNITY IN DIFFERENT RANKS OF THE ARMY.

827. *Mr. Mukhtar Singh: (a) Will Government be pleased to state how many Indians have up to now been given King's Commissions and how many of these commissions are honorary?

(b) How many of these commissions are allotted to Hindus, Sikhs, Muhammadans and Christians and untouchables?

(c) How many Indians have been given Viceroy's commissions till now, and how many of these are Hindus, Sikhs, Muhammadans, Christians and so-called untouchables?

(d) How many Indian other ranks and Indian camp followers are there in the Army? How many of them are Hindus, Sikhs, Christians and depressed classes?

Mr. G. M. Young: 78 Indians have hitherto passed out of Sandhurst and have been granted King's Commissions: 29 of these were Hindus, 26 were Muhammadans, 18 were Sikhs, one a Burman and one a Christian. The remainder of the information desired by the Honourable Member is not available, and could only be collected, if at all, by the expenditure of an amount of time and labour, which would be disproportionate to its value result.

MILITARY CONTRACTORS.

828. ***Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** What is the total number of military contractors entered in the register of military authorities and how many of them are Hindus, Sikhs, Mohammadans and belong to the depressed classes?

Mr. G. M. Young: There is no register showing the total number of contractors employed by the various military authorities, nor would it be practicable to compile such a register. I am sorry therefore that I cannot give the information required by my Honourable friend.

REPRESENTATION OF THE ARYA SAMAJ IN THE DELHI UNIVERSITY.

829. ***Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** With reference to my starred questions Nos. 560 and 561 answered in the Legislative Assembly on the 18th February 1929, will Government be pleased to state the conclusions arrived at by Government on the communication received from the Arya Samaj, Delhi?

Sir Frank Noyce: Government were unable to accede to the request made in the communication referred to by the Honourable Member. A representative of the Arya Samaj, Delhi, has however been appointed as a Member of the Court by the Chancellor of the Delhi University.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN LEAVE RULES ON THE BOMBAY BARODA AND CENTRAL INDIA RAILWAY.

830. ***Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda:** (a) Is it a fact that the Indian officers of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway have been representing matters for several years and asking for the removal of racial discrimination against them in the application of leave rules?

(b) Is it a fact that in the same city of Bombay, the old Great Indian Peninsula Railway has made no such racial discrimination in the leave rules against its Indian Officers, while the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway does?

(c) Will Government state if there is any other State-owned railway in India which has such racial discrimination against the Indian officers in the matter of leave regulations?

(d) Is it a fact that the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway Company has recently issued a fresh set of leave rules; but that, even in them, these discriminations have not been removed, and that they are far less favourable than those applicable to the European officers?

(e) Is it a fact that these new leave rules have not been brought into line with those in force on the State Railways?

(f) Is it true that whereas a European officer on the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway can get 22 months' combined leave at a time, the Indian officer is restricted to six months' combined leave only?

(g) Is it true that whereas the European officer earns furlough at the rate of one-fourth of active service rendered, the Indian officer earns it at the rate of one-eleventh only?

(h) Is it true that, whereas the European officer gets one month's sick leave on full pay per year non-cumulative without affecting his other leave and furlough, no such leave is given to the Indian officer though he may be ill?

(i) Is it true that, whereas the European officer can get 22 months' combined leave after retirement, the Indian officer is allowed six months' combined leave only?

(j) Is it true that the European officer can commute his furlough irrespective of his going overseas, whereas the Indian officer can only commute it provided he goes overseas?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) Government believe it to be so.

(b) No; the leave rules of the old Great Indian Peninsula Railway gave greater leave benefits to European officers.

(c) Both the revised leave rules of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway and the revised leave rules applicable to State Railway employees allow a more liberal scale of leave to persons of non-Asiatic domicile, but the increased limits in the B., B. and C. I. rules are much higher.

(d) Yes, except that the discrimination is on domicile and not on race.

(e) Yes, but Government propose to invite the Company to consider a revision of their rules on the basis of the revised leave rules applicable to State Railway employees.

(f), (h) and (i). The answer is in the affirmative if a comparison is made of the privileges applicable to officers of non-Asiatic domicile with those applicable to officers of Asiatic domicile.

(g) Officers of non-Asiatic domicile earn furlough at the rate of a quarter of active service and officers of Asiatic domicile at the rate of 30 days for each calendar year.

(j) Yes, except that an officer of Asiatic domicile can commute furlough on half pay into furlough on full pay up to a maximum of four months on each occasion if the leave is taken on Medical Certificate and spent in India or Ceylon.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN LEAVE RULES ON THE BOMBAY, BARODA AND CENTRAL INDIA RAILWAY.

831. *Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda: (a) Are the new leave rules which are in force on the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway as applicable to the Indian officers also applicable to the Anglo-Indian Officers?

(b) If the answer to part (a) be in the affirmative, what is the date fixed, after which Anglo-Indian officers recruited would be governed by the new leave rules?

(c) What is the number of Indian officers who were in service before the date which may be mentioned in reply to part (b) above?

(d) What is the number of Anglo-Indian officers who were in service before the date mentioned in reply to part (b) above and who are getting the benefit of the old leave rules as applicable to the European officers?

(e) Is it true that even the European subordinates drawing over Rs. 800 per month and in certain cases drawing even Rs. 150 per month, in service before the date mentioned in reply to part (b) above, get the benefit of these old leave rules as applicable to the European officers, and which are denied to the Indian officers?

(f) Will Government state what action they propose to take for the removal of these racial discriminations?

(g) Are Government prepared to advise the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway company to bring its leave rules for Indian Officers into line with those in force on the State managed Railways?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) They are applicable to all officers of Asiatic domicile.

(b) All Anglo-Indian Officers of Indian Domicile appointed after the 1st April 1929, come under the revised leave rules.

(c) and (d). Information will be obtained and supplied to the Honourable member on its receipt.

(e) Yes.

(f) and (g). Attention is invited to the reply given by me to clause (e) of the Honourable Member's previous question.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunru: May I ask the Honourable Member whether he is developing a style of speaking which makes it impossible to follow him?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I hope not.

Mr. President: Every one has his own style.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunru: I thought the Honourable Member was improving.

PURCHASE OF THE BUSINESS OF THE DELHI ELECTRIC SUPPLY AND TRACTION COMPANY BY THE DELHI MUNICIPALITY.

832. ***Mr. B. Das:** (a) With reference to Mr. K. C. Roy's starred questions Nos. 573 and 574 regarding the Delhi Electric Supply and Traction Company, on the 12th March, 1980, will Government be pleased to communicate to the House the reply thereto?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state when the Delhi Electric license of the present licensees will expire?

(c) Have Government obtained the opinion of the local authorities, the Delhi Municipality, as to their intention to purchase the undertaking for the Municipality?

(d) Has the Delhi Municipality asked Government for any loan towards the purchase of Delhi Electric Supply Co.?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) When a reply to Mr. K. C. Roy's questions referred to is furnished to him, a copy thereof will be placed in the Council Library for the information of the House.

(b) and (c). The licence will expire in 1947, and so far as Government are aware no proposal has been made by the Delhi Municipality that they should buy the rights of the Company under the licence, which has been granted by the Chief Commissioner.

(d) No such application has been received.

PURCHASE OF THE BUSINESS OF THE DELHI ELECTRIC SUPPLY AND TRACTION COMPANY BY THE DELHI MUNICIPALITY OR THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

833. *Mr. B. Das: (a) Will Government be pleased to state the present capital value of the Delhi Electric Supply and Traction Co. Ltd.?

(b) Have Government computed the figure that will be paid to the Company in case option of purchase is exercised either by the local authorities or by the Local Government—the Government of India?

(c) Is it a fact that under the Indian Electricity Act the option of purchase evolves on the Government of India—in case local authorities are not in a position to do so?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: The information asked for is being collected and will be supplied to the Honourable Member in due course. }

RATES CHARGED FOR SALT TO TRADESMEN OF THE SAMBALPUR DISTRICT.

834. *Mr. B. Das: (a) Have Government received a petition signed by the salt merchants in Orissa and addressed to the Salt Commissioner of Madras, of which a copy was forwarded to the Honourable the Finance Member?

(b) Is it a fact that salt monopolists at the Ganjam factories charge different prices for different districts?

(c) Is it a fact that traders of Sambalpur District are charged rates varying between seven to nine annas per maund, while traders at Cuttack pay much less?

(d) Is it a fact that the Government rate for sale *ex* factory is four annas per maund?

(e) Do Government propose to see that no unfair rates are charged by salt monopolists to tradesmen of the Sambalpur District?

The Honourable Sir George Schuster: Yes, the Government have received the petition and have already asked for reports on the subject. When the replies are received I shall inform the Honourable Member of the result.

Pandit Nilakantha Das: Is it not the duty of the officials of the Salt Department to see that the price and supply of salt is controlled all over India?

The Honourable Sir George Schuster: The Government of India do not exercise any control over the retail prices of salt.

WITHHOLDING IN THE DELHI TELEGRAPH OFFICE OF A TELEGRAM ABOUT THE SARDA ACT.

835. *Maulvi Sayyid Murtuza Saheb Bahadur: (a) Will Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that a message sent to the Press from the office of the *Jamiatul Ulmaa-e-Hind* regarding the Sarda Act and Mussalman's attitude was withheld by the Telegraph officer of Delhi?

(b) If so, what is the reason?

Mr. H. A. Sams: (a) Yes, a message of the 10th March, 1930, was withheld.

(b) The message was considered objectionable and its transmission was withheld under rule 13 of the Indian Telegraph Rules, 1927.

Maulvi Mohammad Shafee Daoodi: What were the grounds on which it was held objectionable?

Mr. H. A. Sams: I can only say that the telegram was held to be objectionable. That was the ground on which it was withheld.

Mr. K. C. Roy: By the Telegraph Master or by the Local Government?

Mr. H. A. Sams: By a responsible official of the Telegraph Department.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: Will the Honourable Member point out the objectionable passages in the message?

Mr. H. A. Sams: I have not memorised the message and even if I had, I would not be prepared to say what were the objectionable passages. If any gentleman wants to find out what it was about, he can ask the sender.

Mr. Abdul Latif Sahib Farookhi: Were any similar messages withheld?

Mr. H. A. Sams: As far as I am aware, no, Sir.

Maulvi Mohammad Shafee Daoodi: Is the Honourable Member aware that things like that are repeated, recently in another message sent by Maulana Muhammad Ali on the same question?

Mr. H. A. Sams: I have no information.

APPOINTMENT OF MUSLIM ENGINEERS IN THE DELHI PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT.

836. ***Mr. Abdul Latif Sahib Farookhi:** (a) Is it a fact that no Muslim Temporary Engineer was appointed in the Delhi Public Works Department since 1923? If not, why not?

(b) With reference to the reply to question No. 101 in the Council of State on the 17th September, 1928, will Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the names of the registered Muslim candidates for the post of Engineers in the Delhi Public Works Department?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) No.

(b) A statement was furnished to the Honourable Mr. Suhrawardy with Mr. Clow's demi-official letter No. E.-87, dated the 24th October 1928. A copy of the statement is being sent to the Honourable Member separately.

SAFEGUARDING OF MUSLIM CLAIMS IN THE DELHI PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT.

837. ***Mr. Abdul Latif Sahib Farookhi:** Will Government be pleased to state what action has been taken to safeguard the Muslim claims in compliance with Lord Reading's declaration published in the *Statesman* of the 1st January, 1925, and to prevent class monopoly in the Delhi Public Works Department?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: Instructions have been issued to the Chief Engineer, Public Works Department, Delhi, to ensure the adequate representation of minority communities (including Muslims) in the clerical and subordinate technical establishments under his control.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

THE CONNAUGHT PLACE BOOKING OFFICE, NEW DELHI.

315. Pandit Nilakantha Das: (a) Is it a fact that the New Delhi Connaught Place Booking Office was opened for goods traffic about 12 months ago?

(b) Is it a fact that in the last week of October 1929, the Railway authorities at Lahore Junction refused to accept goods for that booking office, on the plea that they were not aware of the booking office?

(c) Is it a fact that the matter was reported by the consignee to the Divisional Superintendent, North Western Railway, Delhi, who forwarded it to the authorities at Lahore *vide* his letter No. 4118-CD/29, dated the 9th December, 1929?

(d) Is it also a fact that the consignee has sent half a dozen reminders to the Railway authorities at Lahore during the last three months but has heard nothing in reply?

(e) What action do Government propose to take in the matter to avoid repetition of such action on the part of Railway officials?

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

(b), (c), (d) and (e). I am obtaining a report and will communicate with the Honourable Member in due course.

INDEBTEDNESS OF GOVERNMENT SERVANTS.

316. Pandit Nilakantha Das: (a) Is it a fact that, under rule 16 of the Government Servants Conduct Rules, Government servants habitually in debt should be dismissed from service?

(b) Is it a fact that action under this rule is not taken against the employees of the Government of India Secretariat and Attached Offices who are reported to the heads of their offices to be in debt?

(c) Is it a fact that, instead of taking disciplinary action, the officers of the Indian Stores Department started a private fund for liquidating the debts of thousands of rupees against a clerk and closed the fund only when it was found that instead of reducing, his debts were further increasing?

(d) How many victims of the extravagance of the clerk have during the last two years verbally or in writing reported to the officers of Indian Stores Department regarding their outstanding claims?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) When a Government servant has been adjudged or declared insolvent, or when a moiety of his salary is constantly being attached, has been continuously under attachment for a period exceeding two years, or is attached for a sum which, in ordinary circumstances, cannot be repaid within a period of two years, he will be considered liable to dismissal under rule 16.

(b) I invite the Honourable Member's attention to the reply given to Mr. Siddheshwar Prasad Sinha's starred question No. 873 on the 25th September, 1929.

(c) No. The question of the indebtedness of the clerk referred to was taken into consideration immediately it assumed serious proportions and the matter has not yet been closed.

The clerk was informed by the Chief Controller of Stores, on the 20th January, 1930, that unless he succeeded within three months in freeing himself from debt or at least in reducing his liabilities to an extent which would permit of their being entirely liquidated in a reasonable period, a recommendation would be made to the Government of India for the termination of his appointment, under rule 16 of the Government Servants' Conduct Rules.

No fund was started by the officers of the Indian Stores Department, for the purpose of liquidating the clerk's debts. One-half of his pay was attached monthly under the orders of the courts for the purpose. As these deductions and also the deductions from his pay to meet Government dues on account of house rent, etc., left him a small sum monthly which was totally inadequate for the maintenance of himself, his wife and four children, some members of the staff contributed, as a purely private arrangement, a small sum monthly for a short period to help him and his family to eke out a bare existence. As, however, it was found that he continued to incur liabilities, this voluntary assistance was withdrawn.

(d) Four.

INDEBTEDNESS OF GOVERNMENT SERVANTS.

317. **Pandit Nilakantha Das:** (a) Is it a fact that a Superintendent in the Wireless Branch of the Director General of Posts and Telegraphs and also a clerk in the Library of the Railway Board are in debt?

(b) If the replies to the above be in the affirmative, will the Government be pleased to state whether any action under the Government Servants' Conduct Rules has been taken against the clerks referred to? If not, why not?

(c) Do Government propose to draw the attention of the heads of the various Departments of the Government of India to the provisions of the Government Servants' Conduct Rules regarding the action that should be taken against those in debt irrespective of their position or nationality?

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

(b) The Superintendent referred to in part (a) has since liquidated practically the whole of his debts. The case of the Librarian of the Railway Board's office does not come under rule 16 of the Government Servants' Conduct Rules and no action has therefore been taken against him.

(c) I invite the Honourable Member's attention to the reply given to part (b) of his previous question.

POSTS IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, SIMLA.

318. Mr. Mukhtar Singh: (a) With reference to the answers to my unstarred questions Nos. 261 to 263 and 274, on the 26th September, 1929, regarding the Government of India Press, Simla, will Government be pleased to state whether they propose to take any action in the matter of the practice in vogue in the Simla Press in giving high responsible posts to persons of inferior education both technical and literary?

(b) Is it a fact that a few learners were sent to England to pick up the work of an Assistant Manager?

(c) If the answer to (b) is in the affirmative, will Government please state whether they have come back? If so, where have they been posted and in what capacity?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) I have nothing to add to the reply given by me to the Honourable Member to his unstarred questions Nos. 261 to 263 and 274 on the 26th September, 1929.

(b) Yes; a few scholars have been sent to England for training in the art of printing and allied trades.

(c) One scholar has returned and has been posted as an overseer in the Calcutta Press.

EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS OF THE ASSISTANT MANAGER OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, SIMLA.

319. Mr. Mukhtar Singh: (a) Will Government be pleased to state the educational qualifications of one Mr. Jawahar Khan, Assistant Manager of the Government of India Press, Simla?

(b) Is it a fact that the office records clearly show that he commits grammatical mistakes, as "why did you went", "why did you done" and "send to time", which are not expected from a person of ordinary education?

(c) If the answer to (b) is in the affirmative, have Government considered the question of the desirability of removing this gentleman from this responsible post and of appointing one of those gentlemen who were specially sent to England for training in this line?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I propose to deal with questions Nos. 319, 320 and 321 together. The Controller of Printing and Stationery is responsible to Government generally for the efficient administration of the Government of India Press and Government do not propose to call for information regarding these administrative details, which are matters for his discretion.

PERSONAL RECORDS OF THE OFFICIATING ASSISTANT MANAGER OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, SIMLA.

320. Mr. Mukhtar Singh: (a) Is it a fact that the personal record of Mr. Jawahar Khan, officiating Assistant Manager of the Government of India Press, Simla, is not good and that he was fined Rs. 5 some time ago?

(b) Is it a fact that he was badly reported upon by Mr. Aylmer, and also by the Controller who too wrote against his work?

†For answer to this question, see answer to unstarred question No. 319.

(c) Are Government aware that his treatment towards his subordinates is anything but satisfactory, and that very often he uses bad language to them?

(d) Is it a fact that some compositors made a representation to the late Manager regarding their legitimate grievances and that, instead of taking any notice of these, departmental action was taken against these people?

(e) If answers to (a), (b), (c) and (d) are in the affirmative, have Government considered the question of the desirability of removing Mr. Jawahar Khan from his present post?

PROMOTIONS IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, SIMLA.

†321. **Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** (a) Is it a fact that one B. Niaz Mohammad, a receipt clerk without experience of the composing work, was promoted to the post of a time-checker? If so, was this gentleman related to Mr. Jawahar Khan?

(b) If so, will Government please state what action they propose to take in the matter?

(c) Is it a fact that consequent on the amalgamation of both the Government Presses, one B. Mushtaq Ahmed, a junior compositor, was served with a notice of being retrenched and of being offered a post of a lino operator?

(d) Is it a fact that, after having worked for a few months on the lino machine, he was promoted as an officiating section holder, although in 1925 Mr. Aylmer found the Lino Section in a hopeless state and consequently reverted him to his former post with the remarks that he should never in future be promoted to the post of a section-holder?

(e) If the answer to part (d) is in the affirmative, will Government please state why this gentleman has again been offered a chance soon after the transfer of Mr. Aylmer?

HOURS IN GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESSES.

322. **Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** Is it a fact that the tiffin time from 1-30 to 2 P.M., given to the employees in the Government of India Presses, is not included in the office time and that the men are made to stay half an hour longer? If so, have Government considered the undesirability of the existing practice and what steps do Government propose to take in order to redress this grievance?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I presume that the Honourable Member refers to the clerical staff. The normal hours of work are from 10 A.M. to 5 P.M. and no clerk is required to remain half an hour longer in office by reason of the fact that he avails himself of a lunch interval of half an hour. The latter part of the question does not arise.

HOURS IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, SIMLA.

323. **Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** (a) Is it a fact that the employees of the Government of India Press, Simla, are compelled to stay overtime? If so, under what rules are they compulsorily booked for overtime?

(b) Is it a fact that a request was made through the Works Committee to reduce the time of the Government of India Press, Simla, specially in the winter months? If so, what action did Government take in the matter?

†For answer to this question, see answer to question No. 319.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) Except in cases of sickness and emergent private affairs, the employees of the Press are expected to work overtime when required. This liability is part of the ordinary conditions of their service.

(b) The Government of India have no record of any such request made through the Works Committee of the Press. The latter part of the question does not arise.

SALARIES OF COMPOSITORS IN GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESSES.

324. Mr. Mukhtar Singh: Is it a fact that the average salary of a compositor in the Government of India Presses is far below the amount which they drew under the old piece system? Did the men draw the attention of the Government of India to this fact, and did they ask for a time-scale of pay? If so, what action do Government propose to take in the matter?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: The Honourable Member apparently refers to certain piece work compositors in the old Government Central Branch Press at Simla, who were, with their consent, placed on fixed rates of pay when that Press was amalgamated with the Monotype Press to form the present Government of India Press at Simla. The men earned higher wages as piece work compositors, but as there was no provision for piece work composition in the reorganized Press, they agreed to be employed on fixed rates of pay corresponding to those fixed for salaried compositors in the old Monotype Press. A petition from these men asking for the substitution of time scales of pay for their present fixed graded scales of pay was received by the Government of India in 1925 and rejected after careful consideration.

PROVIDENT FUND FOR GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESSES.

325. Mr. Mukhtar Singh: Is it a fact that a question was asked in the Legislative Assembly about the Provident Fund for the Government of India Presses and the Government replied that the rules were being considered by the Secretary of State for India? If so, how does the position stand now and when are the new rules to be promulgated?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: Yes. The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the reply given by me in the Legislative Assembly on the 21st March, 1930, to Mr. S. C. Mitra's starred question No. 720.

QUARTERS FOR EMPLOYEES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, SIMLA.

326. Mr. Mukhtar Singh: (a) Is it a fact that the Government Press employees at Simla were promised by the late Board of Industries that they would be provided with quarters near the Press and that to carry out this a site was selected near the Forest Nursery in Tutikandi? Is it a fact that this proposal was subsequently dropped and that the old Monotype Press was enlarged but that no quarters have been built near the Press? Are Government aware that the limited number of quarters on the ground floor of the Babu Barracks on the Cart Road is quite insufficient and too far away from the Press?

(b) Is it also a fact that the quarters at Dhar known as the "quarters for the Press employees" which were vacated by the Foreign and Political Department Press were offered to the Government Press at a high rate of rent? Are Government aware that this rate was too much to meet the pockets of the poorly paid men of the Press?

The Honourable Sir Bhugendra Nath Mitra: (a) The reply is in the affirmative except that the quarters allotted in the Indian Clerks' Barracks to the Press employees are not at a great distance from the Press.

(b) The Dhar quarters were offered to the Press employees on rents based on the cost of building and repairs, but the offer was rejected by the men concerned as they considered that the rents were too high.

PROVISION OF A RAILWAY STATION AT THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE DISTRICT OF FARIDPUR.

327. **Mr. K. O. Neogy:** (a) What action has been taken in the direction of providing a permanent railway station at the headquarters of the District of Faridpur in Eastern Bengal, together with necessary amenities, such as suitable platforms and waiting rooms, etc?

(b) Have responsible railway officials consulted public opinion at Faridpur in regard to the location of the station and other connected matters?

(c) Have the District Board, the Municipality, the People's Association and the Merchants' Association at Faridpur been formally consulted on the subject? If not, why not?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a), (b) and (c). Government have no information, but a copy of the Honourable Member's question will be forwarded to the Agent.

MURDER OF A POSTAL MAIL RUNNER.

328. **Mr. K. O. Neogy:** (a) Are Government aware that a few months ago, a postal mail runner was brutally murdered and a considerable amount of money looted in a place called Kamarhatty, only about three miles from Calcutta?

(b) If so, what special action has been taken since to ensure the safety of mail runners in localities where such murders or robberies have taken place?

Mr. H. A. Sams: (a) Yes. The official was a Cash Overseer.

(b) Arrangements for the conveyance of cash by officials travelling in motor vans are under consideration. In the meantime police escorts have been provided as a temporary measure for the cash overseers who have to work in the mill areas.

REDUCTION OF INTERMEDIATE CLASS FARES OF THE EASTERN BENGAL AND ASSAM BENGAL RAILWAYS.

329. **Mr. K. O. Neogy:** (a) With effect from which date or dates did the Eastern Bengal and Assam Bengal Railways, respectively, carry out the reduction in intermediate class passenger fares in 1929?

(b) Is it a fact that in through bookings from the Assam Bengal Railway and steamer service stations, the reduction in the Eastern Bengal intermediate class fares was not taken account of for about a month? If so, why?

(c) If the answer to the first part of part (b) is in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state the total extra amount that was collected by such excess charge?

(d) Was any application for refund of such excess charge made by any passenger? If so, with what result?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) Inter class passenger fares over the Eastern Bengal and Assam Bengal Railways were not reduced in 1929.

(b), (c) and (d). Do not arise.

SHORT NOTICE QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

COLLISION BETWEEN THE POLICE AND PUBLIC AT RANGOON.

Mr. Jehangir K. Munshi: (a) Will Government be pleased to call for full detailed information from the Government of Burma with regard to the clash between the Police and a section of the public at Rangoon on the 19th of March and the riots which are alleged to have taken place at Rangoon in connection with Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta's trial?

(b) Will Government communicate to this House full information in connection with the matters specified in the last question?

(c) Are Government prepared to issue instructions to the Government of Burma to impress on the police the necessity of non-interference with crowds and restrained behaviour on such occasions?

The Honourable Sir James Ocrar: (a) and (b). The report of the Local Government states that a group of persons persisted in parading up and down the street in front of the District Magistrate's Court House. They were directed on to the pavement by the police, who were keeping the road clear for traffic, but refused to obey. One of their number was then arrested. The crowd thereupon began throwing stones at the police, who cleared the street and the compound opposite the Court, where crowd had collected. About an hour later, the crowd began to re-assemble and were again dispersed. Three members of the crowd were arrested, of whom one is being prosecuted under sections 147 and 150, Indian Penal Code. The latest information shows that 43 persons, including 9 police, attended hospital for injuries. Mr. S. A. S. Tyabji, who attempted to check the stone throwing, was unfortunately struck by a brick. No fire-arms were used and no troops were employed or requisitioned. A force of 125 military police were sent for as a precaution and arrived after order was restored. Fifty military police were also present to assist in preventing the crowd collecting again during the subsequent hearing of the case. No further disturbance is reported.

(c) I do not consider that any instructions are necessary.

Maulvi Sayyid Murtaza Sahab Bahadur: Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the statement made by Mr. S. Tyabji and other gentlemen regarding these disturbances, which has appeared in the *Hindustan Times*?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: I saw a statement in the Press ascribing Mr. Tyabji's injury to some other cause, but my information is that he was hit by a brick thrown by one of the crowd.

Mr. Jehangir K. Munshi: As the statement read out by the Honourable the Home Member is hopelessly inadequate, with your permission, Sir, I shall endeavour to elicit further information by a series of supplementary questions.

Are Government aware that the trouble started by reason of European police sergeants trying to snatch away the national flag from members of the crowd?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: I have no information to that effect.

Mr. Jehangir K. Munshi: Will Government issue instructions to the Government of Burma that no attempt should be made by their officials to interfere with or to snatch away the national flag or any other flag?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: I cannot undertake to issue any instructions to the Government of Burma which would restrict such action as they think necessary in face of danger or disturbance to peace.

Mr. Jehangir K. Munshi: Will Government tell the House whether they are prepared to interfere with the carrying of the national flag by a non-violent crowd?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: I do not think that question arises out of the Honourable Member's original question.

Mr. Jehangir K. Munshi: Would the Government of India approve of any of the Local Governments, through their police authorities, trying to snatch away the national flag?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: This is entirely a hypothetical question.

Mr. Jehangir K. Munshi: If no violence is created and if there is no danger to law and order, would Government approve the snatching away of the national flag?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: That is an even more hypothetical question.

Mr. Jehangir K. Munshi: Are Government aware that Mr. Tyabji was deliberately assaulted by two European sergeants?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: No, Sir. I have no information to that effect.

Sir Hugh Cocks: Are Government taking any steps to ascertain the person or persons responsible for the rumour that military troops were used or brought to the scene to fire on the mob, and will Government take steps to institute prosecutions against such person or persons if it considers necessary?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: I am not aware who is responsible for this rumour. Perhaps the Honourable Member from Burma, who included that point in his question, may be in a position to reply.

Mr. Jehangir K. Munshi: Sir, there are two inaccuracies, first by my Honourable friend, Sir Hugh Cocke, and second by the Honourable the Home Member, which I wish to correct. The only report which was available to me when I gave notice of these short notice questions and when I gave notice of my Motion for Adjournment was the Associated Press report which said that troops were called out and used in connection with this disturbance; no suggestion has been made either by the Associated Press or by me that the troops fired on the mob. But may I ask the Government of India whether they are aware that the Gurkhas and the Lancers were actually called out and posted at different points outside and near the District Magistrate's Court?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: No, Sir. No troops were either employed or requisitioned, or asked to stand by. No orders were given regarding the movement or disposition of troops.

Mr. Jehangir K. Munshi: Has the Honourable Member satisfied himself whether or not the Gurkhas were posted at different points on the 19th of March?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: No troops of any kind were employed for any purpose in connection with the disturbance.

Mr. W. S. Lamb: Is it not a fact that military police are employed up and down the country in the province on ordinary police duties and they were doing such duties on this occasion also?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: On this occasion, they were merely called as a precaution. They were not employed in the dispersal of the crowd.

Mr. Jehangir K. Munshi: Has the attention of the Government of India been drawn to the news published in the *Hindustan Times* yesterday that U. Ba Pe, M.L.C., the Leader of the Opposition in the Burma Legislative Council, has addressed complaints to the Commissioner of Police, Rangoon, and the Home Member of the Government of Burma, that a number of European sergeants and Indian policemen rushed into the premises of the *Sun Press* and attacked the Burmese and Indian employees and did damage to property?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: I have not seen the article referred to.

Mr. Jehangir K. Munshi: Will Government call for a report from the Government of Burma in connection with U. Ba Pe's complaint and lay it before the House?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: If, as I understand, the communication was made to the local authorities, I see no necessity for taking the course suggested by the Honourable Member.

Mr. Jehangir K. Munshi: Am I to understand that the Government of India refuse to verify the statement made by U. Ba Pe, the Leader of the Opposition in the Burma Legislative Council, and refuse either to admit or to contradict it?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: I think that is really a matter to be taken up in the Burma Legislative Council.

Mr. President: Is the Burma Legislative Council sitting?

Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi: No, Sir.

Mr. Jehangir K. Munshi: Are Government aware that several European sergeants and Indian policemen rushed into the Sangu Valley tea shop and indiscriminately assaulted a number of persons there unconnected with the crowd, and caused considerable damage to property?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: No.

Diwan Chaman Lall: May I ask the Honourable Member if he is prepared to institute an inquiry into the allegations now being made in regard to this matter?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: A case is already pending in the court, and I hope Honourable Members will not ask me questions which might prejudice the issues now under trial.

Diwan Chaman Lall: May I ask the Honourable Member whether the allegations now made by Mr. Munshi on the floor of this House, to which the attention of the Honourable Member has been drawn, are matters pending before any court; whether the charges are that certain assaults were committed on certain citizens in Rangoon, and whether the Honourable Member is prepared to make an inquiry into these allegations or not?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: That is a matter for the Local Government.

Diwan Chaman Lall: May I ask the Honourable Member whether it is not a matter of law and order, for which he ultimately is responsible and the Government of India are ultimately responsible.

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: The Local Government are primarily responsible.

Diwan Chaman Lall: Is the Honourable Member ultimately responsible or not?

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: No.

Diwan Chaman Lall: May I ask for a reply on this question? Whether the Honourable Member-in-charge of law and order and the Government of India are ultimately responsible in this matter or not?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar: The Government of India are certainly responsible for the general policy, but not for the actual incidents of a particular executive action taken in emergent cases which are matters for the local authorities.

Diwan Chaman Lall: May I ask if a wrong had been done in regard to this matter and certain citizens of Rangoon had complained that a wrong had been done, whether the responsibility for finding out whether the allegations are correct or not rests upon the Government of India or not?

The Honourable Sir James Ozerar: To any person aggrieved the courts are open.

Diwan Chaman Lal: May I ask whether the Honourable Member has given this as his considered reply when very serious allegations are made against his officials?

(No answer was given.)

Mr. Jehangir K. Munshi: Are Government aware that the police indulged in indiscriminate acts of hooliganism, entered private premises and assaulted people in different parts of Rangoon, apart from the scene of disturbance?

The Honourable Sir James Ozerar: My information is to the totally contrary effect.

MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT.

COLLISION BETWEEN THE POLICE AND PUBLIC AT RANGOON.

Mr. President: Order, order. I think we must now come to Mr. Munshi's notice of motion for adjournment. Some of the matters proposed to be discussed by that motion are in my opinion more or less *sub judice*, but I was doubtful whether, if troops were called out or used, I should not admit the motion. But now that it has been made quite clear by the Leader of the House that the troops were neither requisitioned nor used, . . .

Mr. Jehangir K. Munshi (Burma: Non-European): Nor posted.

Mr. President: Therefore I am not satisfied that any case has been made out for a motion for adjournment. I must, therefore, rule the motion out of order.

Mr. Jehangir K. Munshi: In this connection, will you permit me, Sir, to refer to the further notice which I gave this morning, amending the original text of my motion for adjournment?

Mr. President: Order, order. The Honourable Member wishes to amend his original motion for adjournment. That motion has already been disposed of. In any case I am not prepared to permit notices of motions for adjournment to be amended from day to day as new situations arise. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Jehangir K. Munshi: Sir, may I request you to treat this as a special case in consideration of the fact that the representatives of Burma in this House are at a serious disadvantage by reason of difficulties in the matter of communications with Burma?

Mr. President: I am sorry.

THE INDIAN FINANCE BILL.

The Honourable Sir George Schuster (Finance Member): Sir, I beg to move that the Finance Bill, 1930-31, as amended, be passed.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That the Finance Bill, 1930-31, as amended, be passed."

(Several Honourable Members rose in their places and said, "We want to speak", and "We want to oppose it".)

Mr. President (to Mr. M. K. Acharya): Did not the Honourable Member speak at the consideration stage?

Mr. M. K. Acharya (South Arcot *cum* Chingleput: Non-Muhammadian Rural): I think we can oppose each motion as-it comes up.

Mr. President: But had the Honourable Member an opportunity to speak at the consideration stage?

Mr. M. K. Acharya: I do not remember, Sir. I am not sure.

Sardar Kartar Singh (East Punjab: Sikh): Sir, I oppose the motion for the passing of the Bill. I would be failing in my duty if I were not to raise my voice in protest against this Bill. Sir, the Honourable the Finance Member has pleaded inability to balance the Budget without having resort to further taxation. Now, Sir, I would be the last person to agree to any further taxation on the poor masses of India unless it was absolutely necessary, and I do not see any necessity for this taxation. My humble submission is that Government have failed to retrench their expenditure and they have been rightly accused by some Honourable Members of this House of financial profligacy. Sir, this Government are maintaining a huge army not for the sake of the defence of India but for Imperial purposes. It is a mere army of occupation and not necessary for the needs of India but for the benefit of the British Empire. It is over-officered, as is clear from the admission of the late Commander-in-Chief, Lord Rawlinson. According to his admission, the services of two thousand British officers can be dispensed with and the remaining officers are quite sufficient for the needs of the Indian Army. These extra officers are paid from the Indian treasury. This money is paid in order to provide employment for the youths of military families in Great Britain. We have not been able so far to induce Government to Indianise the Army. Nothing has been done to give employment to the young men of India. Indians cannot have any career in the Army. All the doors of entry into military services are closed. The recommendations of the Sandhurst Committee are thrown into the waste-paper basket. No steps have been taken to reduce the expenditure either. Sir, our chief difficulty is that the angle of vision of the Government Benches is quite different from that of the elected Members. They are not responsible to us but to their masters, the British people. They are here not for the good of the people of India, in spite of their professions to the contrary, but to exploit India. They have thus faithfully discharged their duty and have succeeded in exploiting India to its utmost. Sir, we are heavily taxed in order to maintain a huge army. We are taxed to pay fat salaries to superior British officers. We are taxed to feed the British manufacturer, and we are taxed to give employment to the British labourer. Sir, India was a golden sparrow which used to lay golden eggs every day for Government. But Government, instead of well nourishing this sparrow, have neglected it, and have famished and underfed it, with the result that it is on the verge of being starved to death and will refuse to lay golden eggs for the British people. Sir, we are so heavily taxed that, after payment of the taxes, nothing is left with the people. This Government are a big money-making machine. They

know how to get money. They have already taxed the people to their utmost capacity, and after the payment of the taxes, practically nothing is left with the people. Let us see if anything is left with the people after payment of taxes to Government. I venture to say that the major portion of the income of the impoverished masses goes into the Government treasury. The system of taxation is so rigid that nothing is left with the people at all. Land revenue, water rates, district board rates and cesses, income-tax, super-tax, profession tax, octroi tax, excise tax, opium tax, import and export tax, salt tax, registration fees, court fees and stamp duties and death duties are some of the various taxes that are levied from the people in addition to other indirect taxes.

Now, Sir, there are 320 million people residing in India whose main occupation is agriculture. Half the net income of the zemindars is taken away by Government in the shape of land revenue; that is, out of every rupee, eight annas are taken as land revenue. Out of the remaining half, two annas are again taken from him as district board cess. In addition to that the rich people out of them who follow some other occupations also are liable to pay income-tax and super-tax. The village artisans are made to pay profession or *Hasiat* tax, and out of the balance the major portion again goes to Government in the shape of excise tax. This Government does not believe in the policy of prohibition. It is not concerned in the least whether the morals of Indians who are addicted to the vice of taking liquor are going down, but its only concern is to get money out of them. The use of opium, bhang, charas, etc., is allowed in order to make money. As a matter of fact the opium-eaters, bhangis, and the persons addicted to the vice of drinking are the chief sources of this Government's revenue. This Government does not care how it gets money so long as it does get the money. Then the people have to pay import and export duties as the farmers are the consumers of most of the articles imported from abroad. Whatever is still left is taken in the shape of salt tax, Sir, have you ever seen any king charging a fee for doing justice? But here in this country no claim can be entertained unless a requisite court fee is paid. If the full court fee is not paid, the plaint will at once be rejected and returned, and unless the deficiency in court fees is made good, it will not be taken into consideration at all. In addition to this, the plaintiff will have to pay the process fee in order to issue summons to the defendant. If the parties have to engage a counsel to prosecute or defend their case, the courts will not recognise him unless the vakalatnama bears a court fee of one rupee. If any suit for the recovery of a debt goes up to the High Court, at least 50 per cent. of the claim is swallowed up in the court fees. Then there are stamp laws. Nobody can enter into any transaction unless he were to pay a fixed share to the State in the shape of stamp duties. If you have to borrow money from some one you will have to write the bond on a stamped paper. The burden of this duty again falls on the poor borrower. Hundis, promissory notes, bills of exchange must all bear requisite stamp, otherwise they will not be recognised. If any one wants to sell or mortgage his land or his house, he must pay to the State a duty in the shape of stamp duty and registration fee. In urban areas the registration fee is 3 per cent. of the sale price and if the same house changes hands 33 times the whole price goes to the State. In addition to all this, we have to pay death duties in the shape of mutation fees and succession certificates. The burden of taxation is already very heavy. We were expecting to get some relief and we are shocked to hear the proposal of further taxation to the extent of 6 crores of rupees.

[Sardar Kartar Singh.]

Sir, the nation as a whole has become poorer. The average income of an Indian is less than two annas a day, and is going down every day. They cannot have two meals a day. The majority of them have to content themselves with one meal a day. The impoverished millions of India are crying for bread, but the Government give them a stone instead. Instead of bettering their condition and making them happy, the Government have come forward with a demand for further taxation. Now, Sir, would this taxation improve their lot in any way or would it impoverish them still more? Would it not deprive them of the scanty food? Would they have not to cut down their meals to pay this enhanced taxation? Sir, every one is suffering from general depression. The sugar industry has practically died out. The Government did nothing to develop this industry nor did they give it any timely help. The cotton and wheat growing industries are in constant danger of being wiped out of existence. The Punjab, United Provinces and Bombay Governments have now begun to realise that their canals will not pay until the sugar industry is revived and wheat and cotton growing industries are helped. The prices of wheat and cotton having gone down, the Government cannot find a purchaser to dispose of the crown waste lands. Illiteracy and ignorance are prevailing among the people. In spite of successive failures of harvests, coupled with a considerable fall in the prices, the poor peasants have not been granted any relief; no remission in land revenue has taken place, no other taxes have been remitted. On the other hand, they are being taxed heavily. There is no tax which does not ultimately fall upon the poor peasant. Go to the villages and find out for yourself what their condition is. You will find them living in miserable huts and suffering from chronic poverty. Sir, the constant drain of money from this country is telling upon the people. Every year, about 300 crores of rupees are drained away from India. Who can bear this drain? Exploitation has been so successfully carried out that the poor peasant is bled white. This Government who have always been eulogising the peasantry class have not moved their little finger to improve his lot.

Sir, we are talking of industrial development of India. Are we going to build our industries at the expense of the impoverished millions of India? Have you developed the agricultural industry? Unless you develop that, unless you better the condition of the poor classes, unless you improve their income and unless you raise their purchasing power, you cannot develop any other kind of industry. Who would purchase your goods or the cotton piece-goods of Bombay mills, unless the people have money to do so?

Instead of exporting sugar, we are now importing sugar, and instead of exporting wheat, which we always used to do, we are importing wheat. Now, what have the Government of India been doing all this time? They have been sleeping, unmindful of their duty to keep a vigilant eye. Sir, we are not organised and so we have not been able to rouse them from slumber. Unless the condition of the tax-payers is bettered, they will not be able to bear the burden of further taxation and it will be the last straw that breaks the camel's back. They would refuse to pay the taxes, because they would have no means to pay. The civil disobedience campaign will receive greater strength on account of this short-sighted policy of the Government.

In the end, I would like to submit that the Government should cease to exploit India any further. They should reduce expenditure and thus give the tax-payer a little relief from his burden. This policy of increased expenditure and increased taxation is leading them as well as India to ruin. But intoxicated with power, they do not open their eyes and see. Nor do they realise the consequences. Why is Mahatma Gandhi's no-tax campaign gaining strength every day? The Government's policy of taxation and exploitation is chiefly responsible for this. Even if the Government wanted to raise any further tax, they could have chosen a less objectionable subject. Why do you not put a heavy import duty on artificial ghee and realise more revenue and at the same time save the public from the injurious effects of this bleached oil? Sir, the Government do not take action in time. They only take action when they require money. A Resolution was passed in the Council of State that the import of this artificial ghee should be stopped. Speeches are made in this House that this ghee is competing with our indigenous ghee and that this artificial ghee is no ghee at all. We asked that this import should be stopped and if Government does not want to stop that, at least let it put a duty of Rs. 40 a maund. By this way they can make 4 crores of rupees, and they need not tax piece-goods, they need not tax sugar and other things which are required by all poor people. If further taxation is to be resorted to and if more money is required, let the Government select some other subject which would be less objectionable. Let the Government consult some of the Honourable Members of this House, and they will be able to tell the Government which commodities ought to be taxed. I submit, Sir, that they have selected cotton piece-goods, because they wanted to win over the millowners. They know that the millowners are a great power in this country. They know that they are organised and they have succeeded in winning them over. They thought that they would be able to carry this Bill in this House and succeed in taxing the people to the extent of 6 crores of rupees. I submit that this policy of theirs is quite short-sighted. Neither the millowners nor the Government will succeed in exploiting the people unless the condition of the masses is improved, and no protection of mill industry can ever succeed. Government never wanted to protect the mill industry, but they simply wanted to raise their revenue and they have played this trick in order to win over these millowners. Therefore, I would submit that we are already overtaxed and we will never agree to pay this further taxation. We know that the Government can retrench if they want. But the will is not there. They do not want to retrench, and they have to carry out the demands of their superior masters, the British people, who would not like the Government to retrench. They would not like them to curtail the Army expenditure. They would not like them to disband the British officers and they would not like them to Indianise.

Sir, only today the question of my friend, Mr. Mukhtar Singh, has been answered and what we find is that, upto this time, only 78 Indian cadets have been given the King's commission. Is this the rate at which you are going to Indianise? Is this the way in which you take away the money of this country and don't leave anything here? You don't take into consideration the fact that the people have become poorer and poorer; you don't take the hint from the speeches of Honourable Members. Why don't you try to better the lot of the poor? Why don't you try to increase their purchasing power so that they may be able to encourage the mill industry? With these remarks, Sir, I would strongly oppose the passing of this Bill because it is highly detrimental to the best interests of India.

Mr. K. C. Roy (Bengal: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I cannot but view with very great regret the impatience exhibited on all sides of the House to rush the Finance Bill through. Sir, you from your experience know that the Finance Bill is the biggest supply Bill of the Government of India. In all countries where parliamentary institutions have been allowed to grow, a good deal of time is given to its discussion; in fact, in the British House of Commons, not only days, but weeks and even months are given to discuss the Bills of supply. I see no cause for impatience on the part of Honourable Members, and if they are impatient, it shows they are not prepared to enjoy what is their privilege. If any Honourable Members have any grievance, they must put it before this House. My Honourable friend, Mr. Acharya, has undoubtedly a great grievance, i.e., the Sarda Bill, and if he wishes to bring it forward today, I think we ought to offer him a chance. There should be no impatience on the part of the Treasury Benches or on the part of those Bombay mill magnates who are anxious to get their Tariff Bill and run away with their bag of money. I think this is unfortunate, and contrary to what we had seen in past years. But, Sir, I shall discharge my duty and I will confine myself to a few items which have cropped up during the second reading of the Bill. The second reading of the Bill was also closed, and the Honourable the Finance Member was not in a fortunate position to give his reply. He made three announcements in asking this House to consider the second reading of the Bill. The first and foremost was that he was going to place a countervailing excise duty on silver; he was going to increase the import duty on silver wire and silver thread. We do not know, even now, the implications of these changes; or how they will affect his Budget. Will they give him more money or will it result in a deficit?

Another announcement he made was that the Governor General in Council was prepared to accept the cut of Rs. 100 proposed by Sir Hugh Cocke in connection with retrenchment. We do not know the Government's view on that point. Is he going to associate two non-official business men with the retrenchment inquiry? The Honourable the Finance Member may kindly consider and give us a reply. Speaking for the House, I think it will be a welcome change; but speaking as an individual Member of this House, I do not believe it will achieve much. What has a business man got to do with the internal machinery of Government? Business men do not know what is required; they have no knowledge of Government Departments. If you like to appoint an *ad hoc* Committee of the House, with the Finance Member as Chairman, that will really assist the Government; but the inclusion of two business men to assist Mr. Jukes who is a very able man and who has served in the Government of India as well as in the Provincial Governments for many years will be of very little use. Sir, as I have already stated before, there is very little room for economy in the civil expenditure of the Government. On the contrary, if we can stabilise the civil expenditure at the present figure, we shall be very lucky indeed, and that should be our major and primary effort. How can we do it? That is the question. There are many checks on the Government of India at the present moment. There is the statutory check by the Secretary of State in Council; there is the check of the Governor General in Council; there is the check by the Standing Finance Committee; and then there is the post-mortem examination by the Public Accounts Committee. I think, Sir, they do their work very well, although I cannot help complaining that there has been some degree of laxity on the part of the Standing Finance Committee in approving grants, many of which some of us had

not contemplated. I hope that future Committees will be careful in the discharge of their duties.

Then, Sir, I come to another announcement which the Honourable the Finance Member made, and that is that His Excellency the Viceroy had restored the big cut in the Demand for the Army Department. This is what we expected. We are within our rights in retrenching in the way we think best; the Governor General is within his rights in restoring what he thinks is necessary for the good government of India. I think, Sir, the Governor General is perfectly right. How is the Army Department to function without clerks, without dufftries, without chaprasis? If it was a mere demonstration cut, it failed to achieve its political object. What is the political object of the cut? The political object of the cut was to impress upon the Government of India the great need of retrenchment in Army expenditure, for which there is ample room. The Honourable the Finance Member has given no indication as to what he is going to do about Army expenditure. Sir Hugh Cocks, in his speech, advocated an *ad hoc* committee. We had a Committee presided over by Sir Charles Innes. What did it achieve? It achieved next to nothing. Sir, frequent references have been made about the Inchcape Committee's recommendations. The Inchcape Committee's Report is as dead as a door nail; it was appointed to tide over the post-war conditions which do not exist today. If there is to be a reduction in the Army expenditure of the Government of India, the question will have to be viewed from the wider standpoint of policy, not only with reference to the obligations in India, but also with reference to the international obligations which we have undertaken. The House ought to know what is our international obligation. Our international obligation is that we are a signatory to the Covenant of the League of Nations, and in that Covenant, Sir, this clause appears. "The members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace"—I want the House to mark the words "maintenance of peace"—"requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest possible minimum consistent with national safety, and this is to be ensured by common action". Sir, this is our international obligation. It has been implemented by the Kellogg Pact. What have we done since then for the last three or four years? At one time your military expenditure stood at 54 crores and some odd lakhs, but today, we find, for the last three years, it has been stationary at 55 crores and 10 lakhs.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Non-Muhamadan Rural): Does the Honourable Member, in view of his observations, want to reject the Finance Bill, lock stock and barrel?

Mr. K. O. Roy: If the Honourable Member is patient, he will hear me on the subject. As I have said, Sir, what have we done to discharge our moral obligation to the League of Nations? Have we done anything? We have done nothing. On the contrary, Sir,—I shall not be so bold as to charge our representative at the League of Nations for making mis-statements—I shall not do that, but I should like to tell the House what Sir Muhammad Habibullah, speaking on military expenditure, said at the League of Nations. This is to my mind a most amazing proposition, but I shall read it for the benefit of the House from the despatch:

"India had experience enough of the effects of the Great War to be able to visualise what those of a new war would be, and she was as anxious as any other country to see peace perpetuated on the basis of disarmament."

[Mr. K. C. Roy.]

Have we had any disarmament? Sir Muhammad Habibullah then goes on to say:

"A glance at the map of India and the frontiers of India would show what the difficulties of India were and so long as they existed, India must be prepared to meet them, subject to this condition which was really an obligation of national safety. India was always ready to play her part in the preservation of peace."

Mr. B. Das (Orissa Division: Non-Muhammadan): You are only quoting from a gramophone repeating his master's voice.

Mr. K. C. Roy: I have nothing to do with that, and I deprecate such an expression of opinion in respect of such a distinguished man as Sir Muhammad Habibullah. We may have differences of opinion, but we could not have a better representative than Sir Muhammad Habibullah. (Cheers.)

Mr. B. Das: You have no recognised rights at the League of Nations. You have only to carry out the orders of the British Government.

Mr. K. C. Roy: You can raise that point yourself. I am not so bold as to say all that. Sir, here is an expression of opinion given on behalf of the Government of India, which I claim is in complete variance with the opinions expressed by the Leaders of the House; it may be my friend Mr. Jinnah, it may be my friend Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and even today Sardar Kartar Singh has spoken in terms that showed he was bitterly opposed to the present scale of military expenditure. The whole thing does not end here.

I shall now turn to the Committee's Report on the reduction of armament. When the question of guarantee came in and a draft convention was under consideration, Sir Muhammad Habibullah's despatch contained the following observations:

"Acting in accordance with the instructions which we had received, Sir Muhammad Habibullah explained that from her geographical position India had much less interest in the scheme than other countries. . . ."

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad (United Provinces Southern Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): Who has written it? Are you quoting from Mr. Bajpai's Report?

Mr. K. C. Roy: I am quoting from a despatch submitted to the Secretary of State for India. I am sorry for the interruptions, Sir.

"Acting in accordance with the instructions which we had received"

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): You ought not to be sorry if you quote Sir Muhammad Habibullah in this House and if you are questioned.

Mr. K. C. Roy: The Honourable gentleman never listens. That is not his virtue. I am quoting actually from the text. If he cannot follow, and if he has no intelligence to follow what I say, it is not my fault.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: No intelligent man would ever care to quote from his speech.

Mr. K. C. Roy: I am quoting textually from the despatch.

"Acting in accordance with the instructions which we had received, Sir Muhammad Habibullah explained that from her geographical position, India had much less interest in the scheme than other countries, but that, being a civilized country, she felt it her duty to accept any general scheme which tended towards the peace of the world."

This is to make clear the first point. Considering India's obligations on the frontier and elsewhere, the Government of India were unable to see eye to eye on the question of disarmament with the other powers. This is how I read the position. Then the despatch proceeds to say that the delegation are prepared to consider the question of accepting the draft convention. Now, let us at this stage find out what is India's position today so far as her neighbours are concerned. What is Afghanistan? Afghanistan is already broken to pieces. Then there is the impotent Persia and there is also the curse of Soviet Russia. If we look for our enemies, Sir, in the Pacific, there may be one or two who might try to disturb the peace of India, but at present I see nothing but peace all round India.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: There can be no peace as long as the Associated Press is in this country. (Laughter.)

Mr. K. C. Roy: Sir, the position is this as explained in the despatch. "The Government of India would have to justify to the Legislature any proposal to give assent to the Convention, and for this purpose it would be necessary to know what other countries had accepted it. Unless and until the Indian Legislature and the Government of India felt convinced that the Convention had been accepted, not merely by a handful of countries or even by the great powers, but by countries representative of the world as a whole, whose participation would be a guarantee of its effective use, India would see no object in signing the Convention or in incurring financial liability in connection with it". Now, this will require some explanation. When the Committee met to discuss Article 6 of the draft Convention which provides for the manner in which the guarantees are to be distributed among the signatories, it was explained to the Committee that India would not be prepared to accept liability, because the guarantee implied financial obligations, and that would require the approval of this House. So much for our military position before the League of Nations.

Now, Sir, if you will permit me, I will turn for a moment to one or two topics which are now before the country. First and foremost, there is the immediate prospect of the Imperial Conference. We must raise this question of military expenditure at the Imperial Conference before we go to any other court. Now it is clear that we can go to the League of Nations with our military burdens, and we shall be able to establish our right that our military burdens should be reduced. I recognise that it is not a problem so much for the Government of India as it is a problem from His Majesty's Government and for the Committee of the Imperial Defence. I am not one of those who, like my friend Sardar Kartar Singh, would say that we should put all the white troops in the ship and send them away to England. They are necessary, and they will be necessary for a good many years to come, but even with them here, there is ample room for reduction of the military expenditure.

Then there is the Economic Conference. We ought to be properly represented there. I should have liked that the Bill granting preference to

[Mr. K. C. Roy.]

British Industries should be tested there. But that has not been done. Of course, I recognise that the Bill is urgently needed in the interests of Bombay, (*Some Honourable Members*: "Question"), and we should do our best to help Bombay in her crisis. At the same time, Sir, I feel that these matters affecting our fiscal system and taxation problems should form the subject of a careful inquiry by a Committee of the Imperial Economic Conference, either here in India or in London before Legislation is undertaken.

Then, Sir, you will forgive me if I turn now for a moment to the Round Table Conference, of which we have heard so much recently. Of that Round Table Conference we have no news at all as to when it is going to be held. Only the other day, when the question was discussed in the other place, a hint was thrown out that it would be summoned at as early a date as possible. What is the early date going to be? This House is going to be dissolved in July. There are going to be elections in October. So how can you, with elections in the Autumn, hold a Conference at that time? And who will go to the Conference? Not the handful of Moderates. They will never be able to deliver the goods. The Government of India will have to wait and see how many Congressmen they can get to go to the Round Table Conference before they can fix a date. If they summon a Round Table Conference without the Congressmen, it will be a repetition of the Irish history; without the Congressmen, it will be a repetition of the Egyptian story. What is the good of calling a Conference without the Congressmen in it? The Government of India might fix a date some time in April next year. By that time many things might happen. What is the good of holding a Conference this year? And so far as I can see, no opportunity has been given to this House to discuss this important problem.

Then, Sir, along with this question comes the question of civil disobedience. We have been hearing a lot on this subject, and perhaps speakers who follow me will have something to say about it. Sir, all I feel is that, as one who has studied the Indian position for many years, I ought to counsel patience to Government. A civil disobedience movement can never grow in India, and if ever it grows, it can never achieve results it claims to achieve. What we want is Dominion Status, and the only way to secure it is by our own methods of constitutional agitation in co-operation with our friends sitting on the Treasury Benches. Sir, I support the Bill, because there can be no justification in opposing it both on economic, political and financial grounds.

Mr. O. S. Ranga Iyer: Sir, I propose to begin my speech where the Honourable the Nominated Member ended.

Mr. B. S. Sarma (Bengal: Nominated Non-Official): On a point of order. Sir. I may point out that all Members of this House owe their seats here to the pleasure of His Excellency the Viceroy after the 31st of December last, when the Viceroy extended the life-time of the Assembly.

(*Several Honourable Members*: "No, no.")

Mr. O. S. Ranga Iyer: Sir, another gentleman who just offered a gratuitous explanation has a constituency which he claims is the Viceregal Lodge. (Laughter.)

Mr. R. S. Sarma: Better than Moradabad.

Mr. O. S. Ranga Iyer: Did the Honourable gentleman say that the Viceregal Lodge was better than Moradabad from where the Deputy President hails?

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: It is quite clear that those who are nominated have not the confidence of the people of the country and therefore they cannot come in here as elected Members.

Mr. O. S. Ranga Iyer: I can quite sympathise with my friend the Nominated Member whose constituency he boasts is the Viceregal Lodge

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: No respectable persons from Moradabad are nominated in this House.

Mr. R. S. Sarma: He would never have withdrawn his candidature from the Haj Committee if he really enjoyed the confidence of at least this House.

Mr. O. S. Ranga Iyer: I am surprised at the absurdities in which the Honourable gentleman who comes from Bengal has been indulging because he feels rather upset that I referred to the Honourable gentleman who preceded me as the Honourable the nominated Member, a description to which at any rate my distinguished friend, Mr. K. C. Roy, did not take any objection, for the simple reason that he knows that he is a nominated Member. He aspires to be an elected Member, an aspiration which may be fulfilled at a future date. I hope a similar aspiration will animate the younger gentleman who felt rather annoyed. It would be sufficient justification if we endeavoured to reject this Finance Bill on the question of the existence in this House of nominated Members.

The first problem before us is, are we a self-governing people with a Parliament which is like the Parliament in Great Britain, or are we a people to be governed through an advisory council consisting of the pet boys and the prize boys of a foreign bureaucracy, called the nominated Members? Sir, this House is described in official publications as "India's Parliament" and we are also supposed to be members of the Empire Parliamentary Association, but, Sir, it is a wrong description altogether. This is no Parliament at all. This is a Parliament which has got nominated Members in it and no Parliament in the world, which can be described as a modern or a democratic Parliament, can have the luxury of nominated Members.

Mr. K. C. Roy: What about the Canadian Senate?

Mr. O. S. Ranga Iyer: The Canadian Senate is not the governing body, and I would ask the Honourable gentleman to go to the Library and refresh his ideas about the Canadian constitution. You might as well refer to the Senate of the Allahabad University, or the governing bodies in Timbuctoo. (Laughter.) The Canadian Senate is not the principal part of the Canadian Parliament, and I am afraid the Honourable gentleman does not know the A B C of the Canadian constitution.

Now, Sir, I am now directly concerned with the political and the constitutional issue. I regret the absence in this House of my old comrades of the Swaraj Party which had adopted the principle of the rejection of

[Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer.]

the Finance Bill on the question of grievances before supplies. I also regret, owing to his ill-health, the absence of my distinguished leader, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who was responsible for introducing the principle of rejecting the Finance Bill on the question of grievances before supplies. Sir, today our grievances have been accumulating. They have never been so great in any previous year as they are today and it is the accumulation of these grievances that has made our great and distinguished countryman, in my opinion the greatest living man in the world, Mahatma Gandhi, declare war on the British Government. (Nationalist Cheers.) Every Indian who holds the freedom of his country dear, sympathises with Gandhi's declaration of war on the British Government. It is at the same time a declaration for peace if the British Government are willing to grant peace. (Hear, hear.) If they are not willing to grant peace, they must be prepared for war. A war has been started by Mahatma Gandhi in his opinion not prematurely at all though I wish he had waited for the disillusionment of gentlemen who are looking eagerly to the Round Table Conference in the neighbourhood of Whitehall. I do not know why Mahatma Gandhi should not have been given adequate inducement to go to the Round Table Conference. I do not know why high authorities either here or in England should not have agreed to the demands of Mahatma Gandhi. What did he demand? He demanded that the Round Table Conference should draft a constitution of "Dominion Status". If the Viceregal Proclamation means to prepare the country for Dominion Status, as I have no doubt whatever it means, because it is a sincere declaration, then India should henceforward be treated differently. What did Gandhi want? He wanted that we should go to the Round Table Conference and draft a constitution for Dominion Status. That constitution does not mean that you must have Dominion Status within six months or even six years. It means that it should be drafted with provision in it for the full attainment of Dominion Status stage by stage. He himself wrote that in *Young India* before the Lahore Congress declared for Independence. However that may be Independence is Dominion Status as Lord Russell and Lord Birkenhead have told us, and as some Members of the Treasury Bench may, I believe, be feeling. Dominion Status is Independence and Independence is Dominion Status to a country which is not a daughter country of Great Britain, which is entirely different in race and outlook, in colour and aspiration and ideals. An independent India aspires to teach mankind some of the ancient Hindu principles, or rather vedic principles

Mr. R. S. Sarma: If the Honourable Member really believes in the war that Mr. Gandhi is waging, he should be making salt and not speeches.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: I may tell the Honourable gentleman, who seems to have had some salt put on his tail before he came to the House, that I was fighting by the side of Mahatma Gandhi during the non-cooperation movement. I have just come back to this country after nine months' absence. I am carefully studying Gandhi's moves. Gandhi is not aspiring to be a manufacturer of salt. He is manufacturing freedom for this country. (Hear, hear.) Do not unworthily ridicule Gandhi.

Mr. R. S. Sarma: I am ridiculing the Honourable Member more than Gandhi.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: If salt manufacture in defiance of law is a method of preparing the country's freedom, and if I am convinced by my

study of the method, that it will prove efficacious, I will not be seeking admission to this House as a nominated Member. I would ask the Honourable Member not to utter blasphemy in this House against Gandhiji, who is a thousand times better than he, though even that comparison is odious. I was saying, Sir, that Gandhi is not manufacturing salt. He is deliberately disobeying the bureaucratic regulations or laws, and he is disobeying them not for the purpose of supplying salt to the gentleman from Bengal, who gets plenty of salt from Great Britain. (*An Honourable Member*: "Does he not come from your province?") I am afraid even Bengal is ashamed of him. (Laughter.) Gandhiji is therefore not manufacturing salt in order to compete with the British suppliers of salt to Bengal. Gandhiji is deliberately disobeying the salt laws in order to call the attention of this country, of Great Britain and of the whole civilised world to the manner in which India is being treated and the method of administration under which India has been groaning and the way in which India's aspirations are thwarted. That is, Sir, what I understand, and what I believe this House understands, and what I believe Honourable Members seated on the official Benches understand to be the purpose of Mr. Gandhi's mission. They understand that his mission is not to supply salt or to compete with the salt that is imported into this country. He has taken one of the rules or one of the laws of the Government to break with a view to call the attention of the Government to the existing state of things.

Now, Sir, coming again to the question of Dominion Status, I would say that the present campaign of what I may call repression must be withdrawn, and the Government should adhere to the Resolution which was adopted in the House of Commons, according to which the Government of India are not to prosecute people for the expression of opinion, much less suppress the expression of opinion as they had done in one important case in Gujrat, to which I have already referred in this House, and the arguments in regard to which I do not propose to repeat. Now, Sir, I find in another case in Bengal in regard to Mr. Sen Gupta, an old friend of mine, a co-worker, I find that they had launched a prosecution against him for expression of opinion.

An Honourable Member: He has already been sentenced.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: He has already been found guilty. I think the Government who launched this prosecution against him, the party which was responsible for the launching of that prosecution must be realizing by now that they were blundering into displaying what a Governor of a neighbouring province described as the demoniacal spirit, which lies dormant in the Government. I do not think that they should have made an exhibition of this against one of the most level headed leaders of the Congress movement in Bengal. If they think that, by displaying such methods, they can destroy the little spirit of independence that is left in us, if they think that, by taking up that attitude, they can kill the freedom-for-India movement, I may tell them, with all the responsibility attaching to my position, that we will defy the Government's defiance, and we will take the consequences. If, on the other hand, they propose to prepare the atmosphere for the Round Table Conference in the manner in which they have been asked to prepare it, judging from the speeches delivered in the House of Commons, judging from the speeches delivered both on the issue of the Round Table Conference and also on a subsequent Resolution

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advising the Government of India not to disturb the atmosphere of peace and goodwill, if they are willing to prepare the atmosphere in that manner, I should say very gladly that we would come forward to co-operate with the Government. But, I say, Sir, that the Government, day after day, owing to a conspiracy, I should think of a few die-hard officials, are defeating the purpose of the Mother of Parliaments; they are day to day creating an atmosphere of repression, in which it would be utterly impossible for any self-respecting man to think of assisting the powers-that-be who want the Round Table Conference to be a success. I would even now say that they should withdraw all the measures of repression and try to meet Mahatma Gandhi half-way.

Let it be understood clearly that Mr. Gandhi alone can deliver the goods, not Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, nor Dr. Sapru, but Mr. Gandhi alone can deliver the goods; not even, if I may say so with great respect, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya or Pandit Motilal Nehru, but Mr. Gandhi alone can deliver the goods. I made this observation in the Empire Parliamentary Association rooms addressing a meeting when the Right Honourable George Lansbury, a member of the British Cabinet, was presiding. I said that Mr. Gandhi alone could deliver the goods. The Government realise that, but they want that the goods should not be delivered. At any rate not the whole Government but perhaps some Members of the Government, some die-hard officials wanted the goods should not be delivered at all, and that is they have launched this campaign of what I may call suppression of the expression of opinion and prosecution for expression of opinion. Mr. Gandhi, I admit, is courting imprisonment and he is courting imprisonment because he thinks that there is more freedom within the prison walls than there is at present outside. He thinks by so doing he can draw the attention of the world to the manner in which this country is administered. Sir, the time has come when we should say frankly to the Government, even if we are not in a majority, we should tell them most frankly, with all the sincerity at our disposal, with all the frankness at our command, for it is the best symbol of true loyalty to all that we hold dear in our country and of all that is fragrant in the philosophy of the Indo-British connection we must tell the Government that this repression should go. I think with real frankness which is the true symbol of real loyalty, we must tell the Government that we are not snapping the bonds of loyalty. We want to be loyal to Britain, just as we expect Britain to be loyal to us, loyal partners in the Indo-British Commonwealth of Nations, as I should like to call it. It is for them not to goad us into the Independence group. Day after day, week after week, Mr. Gandhi explained, even after the declaration of Independence by the Congress, that Independence was Dominion Status. (Hear, hear.) He has very clearly stated that his object is not to break off all connection with Great Britain, if Great Britain values association with India. Sir, the spirit that animates that little group in Gujrat, like a little cloud no bigger than a man's hand growing larger and larger, will spread all over the land. That little group which is fighting in Gujrat and which is making every Indian worth his salt, think and ponder deeply whether he should throw his weight on the side of Government or on the side of the people, that little group is bound to conquer, it is animated by that noble spirit to which the greatest Viceroy of modern times gave expression, speaking at the Convocation of the Delhi

University on Friday the 21st March, 1980. In his magnificent speech, His Excellency the Viceroy quoted a passage from the memorable speech of Henry V before Agincourt as set in his mouth by the greatest of all English Poets:

"If we are mark'd to die, we are enow
To do our country loss; and if to live,
The fewer men, the greater share of honour."

That is the spirit, Sir, in which the little band has started on a pilgrimage, the pilgrimage of freedom in Gujrat. That is the spirit in which they have started that pilgrimage. That is the spirit that animates them. No Indian can for long support this campaign of what I may call repression, for it is nothing more and nothing less than to deny to us our right to freedom. Every nation, like every man has a right to freedom. I am quite willing to accept the definition of freedom by one of the great English authorities as the equality of restraint. We want to practice that equality of restraint. We do not want that liberty which means licence to attack any nation's throat. We want to live and let live, so long as we are not given the right to live and let live, we cannot grant you a single penny for the carrying on of the administration. You may do it by the power of your votes, which you have got owing to the defection of the leading party in the House, owing to the blundering policy of the Congress politicians, for walk out or resignation was nothing less than a disastrous blunder and a magnificent failure of Congress leadership. I wish they were here today in full force—allowing Mr. Gandhi and others to carry on the fight in the country. I wish they were here to unfold the banner of revolt within this House, for I believe we cannot surrender this House in the hands of those who do not believe in revolt. Every seat in this House will have to be captured, every man in this House will have to be wedded to the principle of fight, fight, fight, until the fight inside and the fight outside inspire the country to continue the fight until victory crowns our efforts. (Hear, hear.) Therefore we will have to fight very hard, but we cannot fight on the old lines. We have to endorse the fight outside. It is not a selfish fight, the fight that is going on outside. It may be that we may not be able even to proceed to the Round Table Conference, if Government do not act with restraint, if Government do not change their tactics, if Government do not court our goodwill, if Government do not release our political prisoners, detenus and internees, if Government do not come forward and shake hands with us, even as they shook hands with Michael Collins and Arthur Griffith. We have not gone yet to the length to which they had gone, and I hope we will not be goaded to go to that length. At any rate so long as Mahatma Gandhi is the leader of this movement, there is no danger of his going to that length. All the more reason why Government should not take advantage of his non-violent programme and ask him to go ahead with his policy of breaking the laws, by declining to listen to him. It is not a cheerful thing for anybody to persist in breaking the laws. Does Mahatma Gandhi break the laws because he likes to break them? Nobody likes to do it. He wants that you should see that the time has come when you should change your old method. He did not ask you to give us Dominion Status tomorrow, but he asked you to draw up a constitution for Dominion Status. Coming to another aspect Pandit Motilal Nehru, the former Leader of the Opposition, served for a while on the Skeen Committee. The Skeen Committee's Report wanted Indianisation of half the officers of the Army by 1952, and Mr. Jinnah

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I suppose in about 12 or 18 years. Both Pandit Motilal Nehru representing the Congress and Mr. Jinnah representing the Mussalman community out in the country wanted Indianisation of the Army. They wanted a definite step forward in the direction of rapid substitution of Indian in place of the European officers of the Army. Why did the Government shelve the Skeen Committee's Report? How can we be responsible for giving money to a Government which shelved the Skeen Committee's Report, a very humble document, a modest document, a document which bears the signature not only of Indians, but also of Englishmen, who were members of that Committee, a document which was endorsed by Sir Andrew Skeen and signed by Mr. Burdon, who was the Army Secretary, and also by the Indian leaders, who were members of that Committee? Why should they shelve it? And then why should the Finance Member come cheerfully to this House and ask us to pay for the continuance of this foreign army of occupation? For it is nothing more than a foreign army of occupation. We do not want this Army, we never wanted it. You want it to carry on the administration, and then you say that Indians are not fit to carry on the administration and much more unfit to work as officers in the Army. It is a ridiculous excuse, ridiculous because we all know what Lord Birkenhead and others have said in writing about the competence and capacity of Indians as soldiers. We all know how, when officer after officer fell in the battle-front, the Indian soldier took up the lead and carried on the fight. And if Indians have become incompetent during the last 150 years, if the race of Sivajis, if the race which fought the battles against the British and fought also for the British to enable them to establish their own rule over us, if the race that produce the heroes is dead, I think that destruction and death has been brought about by these 150 years of foreign rule. Therefore I say that we must immediately get an assurance from the Finance Member that this policy of shelving the Skeen Committee's Report will at once be given up. This is 1980 and I believe it was about this time that an assurance was given that a military college would spring into existence in three years in Dehra Dun. I want an assurance from him straight-away that a military college will be established in India. I myself have never been satisfied with the Skeen Committee's Report. I did not want only one military college for India. Why should England have more than one military college, may I ask? England is a much smaller country, and I do not think Englishmen are the only race of soldiers. I do not think that we cannot have soldiers and competent officers. I do not accept their excuses, ridiculous excuses. If we can produce great judges, great administrators and great sepoys, we can also produce great soldiers. We produced them in the past, and if we do not produce them at the present time, it is because the administration is not our own and the country is ruled by people who are not responsible to the people of this country. Therefore, Sir, I say that this military policy will have to be forthwith revised. Last year I voted against Government even though I was in a minority of one, of which there is no likelihood this year. I think the members of my party will not support the Finance Bill though I even personally wish they would go to the lobby with me for the absolute rejection of it, if the Finance Member does not satisfy us on the question of how they propose to give effect to the Skeen Committee's Report and what measures are going to be taken forthwith to have 50 per cent. of officers of the Army Indianised within the time prescribed by the Skeen Committee. That is a matter which is very important.

Then there are various other reports. We have got for instance the Agricultural Commission's Report reading which we ought to know what measures have to be taken to increase the agricultural prosperity of the people. My friend here tells me that two volumes have been sent to every Member of this House. I do not want only opportunities for Members of this House to read the Reports, which are written in bad English, if not in bad taste, but I want Government to give opportunities to the Members of this House to criticise measures of agricultural improvement, and I want the Finance Member to make provision in his Budget for bringing about an agricultural millenium in this country which was, I believe, the purpose for which the Agricultural Commission was brought into existence.

Mr. K. C. Roy: The Finance Member has made ample provision in the Budget for agricultural improvements.

Mr. O. S. Ranga Iyer: My friend Mr. Roy had got an abundance of faith in the coming of the millenium when the appointment was made of the Agricultural Commission. Does Mr. Roy contend that the Finance Member prophesied the coming of the golden era of agricultural prosperity? I am afraid the Finance Member himself has made no such claim. Mr. K. C. Roy may be left alone in regard to what he thinks the Finance Member is going to do, because I do not think he is so much more in the confidence of the Finance Member than he has chosen to confide, through his Budget, to the Members of this House.

However, these do not go to the root of the present discontents. The Government must withdraw the measures of repression that they have put into force in this country and make a real satisfactory effort to come to terms with Mahatma Gandhi. If they do not come to terms with him, it may be that we will come to this Legislature with our numbers strengthened; but not to help Government. The non-co-operation movement failed on the last occasion, or rather it did not fully succeed, for various reasons, one of which was that the Councils were peopled by men who were as good as nominated Members. We have to make up our minds, to carry on a raging, tearing campaign in the country and to come back to these Councils. We do not want any extension of the life of this Legislature. We want an opportunity to put our case before the people, the case against the continued maladministration by Government. If we are not returned because we do not have the co-operation of the Congress, that may be another matter; but if we are returned, the result will be that we will put up a continued fight against the manner in which Government have been carrying on the administration of this country.

Sir, I do not want to make a longer speech. I would not have made even so long a speech as this, but for the fact that I want to protest strongly against the way in which things have been going on in the country. In Burma force was resorted to to harass an unarmed set of people who came out just to show their admiration of Mr. Sen Gupta, who was snatched away from Bengal for a speech that he made, a most inoffensive speech, which even the presiding officer of the court thought harmless, because Mr. Sen Gupta has been so lightly let off. It is not a matter of generosity. There was no case against him. And yet he was prosecuted. He was removed from his hearth and home; and much fuss and sensation was created. So I say that the Government must revise their policy of unnecessarily arresting people. The best thing for them would be to send for Mahatma Gandhi just as Mr. MacDonald in 1924 sent

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for Zagluul Pasha who had been interned. Zagluul Pasha, the leader of the Egyptian Independence movement was sent for by Mr. MacDonald, the British Prime Minister. The British Government invited the leader of the Egyptian people to negotiate the question of Egyptian independence on equal terms without any reservation whatever, without any conditions explicit or implicit. In these terms was Zagluul Pasha invited, the same Zagluul Pasha, be it remembered, who had rejected the British declaration

of independence of Egypt. Mahatma Gandhi has done nothing of the kind. He accepted the Viceroy's proclamation. He said it was a sincere proclamation, and then he said, now that the proclamation for Dominion Status has been made, let there be a regular preparation of the country for Dominion Status and let those who go to Whitehall draft the constitution of Dominion Status. It does not mean that Great Britain should clear out of this country bag and baggage in one year, in two years, in six years or even in ten years. But it certainly means that a rapid preparation should be made, a steady rapid preparation should be made, for the attainment of complete Dominion Status and when he was not told that such a thing was going to take place at the Round Table Conference, Mahatmaji, in my opinion very hastily, in my opinion very unfortunately, but with the responsibility attaching to his position, in deference to the great following that he has in the country whom he has to take with him, Mahatmaji said, I am not coming to your Conference, and I shall carry on a non-violent fight with a view to make you agree with me. Under these circumstances, Sir, we must absolutely withhold our support to the Finance Bill unless we have an assurance from the Finance Member that the present policy which the Government have set in motion is going to be revised; unless, in regard to military matters we get an assurance that the recommendations of the Skeen Committee's Report will be adopted. It is the least little which the moderate opinion in the country wants—the recommendations of the Skeen Committee have been endorsed even by the Central Committee. Though the Members of the Central Committee have spoken with a babel of tongues on constitutional and other matters, they are united in regard to this military matter. That is why I urge that we are entitled to a definite assurance from the Finance Member as to what he or his Government, what the Government of India, propose to do in regard to this military matter.

Secondly, we want a definite assurance that the present policy of repression, which has been set in motion in this country, will be without delay, reversed.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Sir, serious allegations have no doubt been made against the Government for the manner in which they have handled the finances of the country. There might be some exaggeration in the terms of the allegations which have been made. But there can be no doubt that the Government of India have failed in securing the confidence of a large section of the politicians of this country for the manner in which they are spending the money of the public and for the manner in which they have handled the finances of this country (Hear, hear.) This state of affairs, to my mind, is to a very large extent due to the present constitution of the Government of India. It is, Sir, really surprising that for the administration of a huge country like India for handling the huge finances of a country like India, we have got an Executive

Council of half a dozen Members, while the Cabinet in a small country like Great Britain, which is not even as big as one of the provinces of our country, consists of 26 Members.

Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan (East Central Punjab: Muhammadan): What are the revenues of Great Britain?

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: I will come to that, the defender of the Treasury Benches.

Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan: I am not a defender. I want to test your knowledge.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: I know that the Executive Council has got certain unpaid gentlemen who hold their portfolios in this House. But I wish they would have some patience and listen to what I have got to say about them also. (Hear, hear.) Well, Sir, there is no reason why the Members of the Executive Council of this country should draw fat salaries, as much as Rs. 6,000 and some annas. The salary which the Members of the Executive Council draw in this country is much larger than the salary of even the Prime Minister of England.

Mr. M. S. Aney (Berar Representative): Besides a saloon.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Yes, besides saloons and other amenities. Out of these half a dozen Members of the Executive Council, there are only three gentlemen belonging to my country, while out of the four Europeans, the Commander-in-Chief is mostly concerned with the Army affairs and has got very little to do with the general administration and affairs of the country. The Finance Member is a gentleman who comes as a stranger to this country every five years, he does not know the people of the country. He is unaware of the needs and requirements of the people; he is unaware of the problems of this country; and before he comes to learn anything about this country, the time of his retirement comes and he goes away. Out of the three Indian Members of the Executive Council, there is generally only one gentleman who has some experience of public life. While two of them usually come from the service of the Government and they are as ignorant of the conditions prevailing in the country, they are as ignorant of the real views and opinions of the people of this country, as the European gentlemen sitting on the Treasury Benches. (Applause.) Again, Sir, can we expect that three Indians can give sound advice to the Viceroy? Can we understand that the three Indian Members can be in a position to know the feelings, the sentiments and the administrative problems of such a huge country as India? Again, Sir, out of these three, there is only one gentleman, as the representative of my community, seven crores of Muslims of India. Now, Sir, it is really absurd to think that one solitary Muslim Member of the Executive Council can represent the views of the seven crores of Muslims. Has he got any means of knowing the problems of the Mussalmans of India or their feelings, or can he be aware of the real state of affairs of the Mussalmans? If unfortunately that Member fails to secure the confidence of his co-religionists, or he happens to be an incapable man, or he happens to be a toy in the hands of his Secretary, then the cause of the Mussalmans of India not only remains unrepresented on the Executive Council of the Viceroy, but great harm and injustice is done to the Mussalmans. Now, Sir, if this is the constitution of the administrative machinery of this country, how can we

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expect any efficiency as regards the administration of the finances of the country? It is high time that the Executive Council should be thrown into the melting pot. (Hear, hear and applause.) I do not speak of the individual Members of the Executive Council but I say collectively. The whole Executive Council should be thrown into the melting pot and from that melting pot should emerge a Cabinet of statesmen with breadth of vision, with a strong backbone and with fixed principles and policies. (Hear, hear.) This is one of the great grievances which I have to lay before the Government.

Now, Sir, another grievance, which is special to my community and which has been inflicted this year, is breach of faith on the part of the British Government. When the British Government took over the reins of this country from the Moghul Emperors, we were given an undertaking that no interference would be made in our religious laws. What do we find? We find, Sir, that in the teeth of opposition from all the important sections of the Mussalmans with the exception of a few anglicised Mussalmans, whose exception only proves the rule, Government have trampled upon the religion of the Mussalmans, and by passing the Sarda Act have made a great interference, for which there is so much agitation in the country that only the other day the most important body of Mussalman theologians, namely, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, addressed a letter to His Excellency the Viceroy, nearly in the same terms as the ultimatum which was addressed by Mahatma Gandhi. Now, Sir, although personally I do not like the programme of civil disobedience whether started by Mahatma Gandhi or by Muhammadans—and I consider these movements detrimental to the best interests of the country, but at the same time the fact remains that the Mussalmans are dissatisfied, Mussalmans who never take part in such movements, according to whose religion such movements are not justified, even those Mussalmans have come to this desperate position, that they have sent an ultimatum to the Viceroy. It is high time, Sir, that the Government of India made a declaration on the floor of this House before the 1st of April that they will mend this mistake and that they will satisfy the Mussalmans that the British Government do not mean to interfere in their religion.

Mian Mohammad Shah Nawaz (West Central Punjab: Muhammadan): How are they to mend it?

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: I have already given notice of a Bill. It is very unfortunate that non-official Bills find it very difficult to find a place in the ballot and be discussed in this House. I have shown the method by which the Act can be amended.

Sir Hugh Cocke (Bombay: European): If the Law Member approves.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Another grievance of the Mussalmans against the Government is that they do not fulfil their pledge as regards representation of Mussalmans in the Government services. Now, Sir, so far back as 1925 in replying to an address presented by the Mussalmans of Calcutta, Lord Reading, ex-Viceroy, made the following statement on 1st January, 1925. He said:

"As regards the appointment of Mussalmans to the Services, as you are aware, my Government have accepted the principle that no class or community should predominate in the public services if qualified men were otherwise available, and my Government have been acting upon this unexceptionable proposition in the past. The

recommendations of the Lee Commission as regards Indianisation and for the constitution of a Public Services Commission and other factors have made it necessary to examine this question of the representation of communities in the Services and in central posts under the Government of India more closely, and this question is now under the consideration of my Government. You may be assured that I shall carefully bear in mind the representation you have made upon this subject."

Now, I ask the Government of India what consideration they have given to this question since the 1st January, 1925? How has the position improved since that year? The figures and statistics which were laid on the table of this House by the Treasury Benchers themselves show what improvement they have done in the matter. Is it not a serious breach of the undertaking given by the Viceroy of India? This is due to the inefficiency of the Government of India as constituted at present. Proceeding, Sir, about competitive examinations, Lord Reading said:

"For most of the higher appointments recruitment by the system of competitive examination has been introduced, but even under this system I understand that a special provision has been made to secure that the proportion of appointments to be filled by Mussalmans shall in no case be less than one-third."

Mark the words, "proportion of Mussalmans will not be less than one-third". Now, Sir, in answer to questions in this House we find that the Government of India camouflage that statement. They say, all the minority communities are included in that one-third. May I know, Sir, whether the Government of India want to place seven crores of Mussalmans in the same category and on the same footing as a few thousands of other small communities living in this country? Sir, these are grave and serious charges which are burning in the minds of Mussalmans. The other day when we were discussing the Railway Budget, the Honourable Mr. Hayman gave a solemn undertaking that he would look into the matter of the appointment of Mussalmans in the Railway services, and what is the result of that undertaking? May I inform Honourable Members? Only on the 11th March the Divisional Superintendent of Delhi, under the very nose of the Government of India, selected 75 candidates, out of which only 18 are Mussalmans. This is the result of that solemn undertaking which was given by the Member of the Railway Board. Then we were given undertakings and solemn pledges by other Honourable Members of the Executive Council, but what do we find? We find that when new posts are created or when a post falls vacant in a department in which no Mussalman has ever got a seat up to this time, that post is offered to and accepted by a member of another community. And I assure Government that, for these posts, I am prepared to supply them with members of my community possessing as high qualifications, even higher qualifications, than the qualifications of the gentlemen to whom they want to offer those posts. Now, Sir, if this is the state of affairs, how can it be expected that Mussalmans will be satisfied?

There is one more grievance of mine against the Government, and it is this, that Government, by subsidising the agencies which are creating and spreading agitation in the country, are themselves responsible for this agitation. I want the Honourable the Finance Member to give me an undertaking on the floor of this House that not a single pie out of the revenues of this country will be spent upon those agencies which, in the name of news agencies, are carrying on propaganda work and creating agitation in our country. (*An Honourable Member: "Who are they?"*) I

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need not name them. They are too obvious to the Honourable Members of the House; they know them too well.

Now, Sir, another point was raised as regards the holding of the Round Table Conference, and an Honourable Member has given the advice to the Government of India that they should delay the holding of the Round Table Conference. I would only say to the Government of India, 'Save us from our friends'. I tell the Government that it is advice of friends like these that has created this state of affairs in the country. The healthy atmosphere which was created by the announcement of His Excellency the Viceroy, the hopes that were kindled in the minds of my countrymen after the announcement that the settlement of our constitution is near at hand, those hopes are even now getting dim, and people are beginning to feel hopeless as to the outcome of the Round Table Conference, and if the Government would delay the holding of the Round Table Conference, it would be better not to hold the Conference at all.

Sir, these reasons would have been quite sufficient for me to reject the Finance Bill. But unfortunately I am not an irresponsible Member, like the Members of the Executive Council or like the nominated Members of this House. I have got my responsibility, Sir, and after having passed the Budget and after having allowed the Government to spend crores and crores of rupees, it would be simply illogical and absurd on my part to reject the Finance Bill, and therefore, reluctantly, very reluctantly, I will have to vote for the passing of this Bill.

Mr. W. S. Lamb (Burma: European): Sir, after the lions comes the lamb. (Laughter.) Sir, I rise to support the motion before the House. When speaking on the general discussion of the Budget, I said that, when this time came, I would bless the Finance Member for his proposal to remit 25 per cent. of the rice export duty. U. Tok Kyi unfortunately is not here, and I am sure the House will regret to learn that he is still somewhat of an invalid. In his absence I was very glad to hear Mr. Neogy, whom I have at all times admired for his industry and advocacy of any theme in which he takes an interest. Sir, I do not propose to follow Mr. Neogy into a demonstration of the distressed condition of the rice business in Burma. Honourable Members have heard the appeals from the elected Members from Burma, and I hope they will be good enough to applaud this proposal of the Honourable the Finance Member. Now, Sir, my particular desire in the first place is to thank very heartily our Honourable friend the Finance Member. Thirty lakhs is not a very large sum, of which possibly 25 lakhs would go to Burma: it is not a large sum when we are dealing with crores, but it is very welcome. Now this time I wish to have the assurance from the Honourable the Finance Member for which I had asked in the general discussion of the Budget, namely, that when possible during this year if he gets bumper returns accruing to the Central Government, which many Members think he is going to have, he will, without any delay, remit the remainder of this tax. I have no hesitation in asking for that assurance for, in the Statement of Objects and Reasons to the Bill, there is much less warmth in his reference to this particular proposal than in his speech. Sir, I trust that that difference has no significance.

Now, Sir, Burma is very much in need of a certain sum for meeting the cost of research in rice, and I believe it is possible that, at no distant date, a proposal will come from the Burma Government that they be allowed to put on a rice cess. I trust that, if such a proposal comes to the Government of India, they will give it their approval and sanction without delay. As I mentioned a year or two ago, when I was speaking on the same subject, I understand that the Secretary of State gave his full approval to a tax of this nature, and therefore there should be no delay in sanctioning it.

Now, Sir, I desire to make a few remarks about the oil business. Except his reference, in a small paragraph in his speech, we have heard nothing from the Honourable the Finance Member, and I should like, if possible, to draw from him today a clear statement of sympathy with the small oil companies. In supporting amendments, I have made appeals to the Government, and I have pointed out what a heavy burden this additional taxation is. I said further, that we had every reason to expect that, very shortly, they may suffer very heavy losses owing to a war in the selling rates of kerosene, and in making this further appeal to the Honourable the Finance Member and to the House, I would draw their attention to the fact that, in the Government of India Resolution to the Tariff Board's Report, there is this:

"If, however, the price war had not come to an end it would have been necessary to examine the question whether any steps should be taken on national grounds to safeguarding the two companies which were not within the pool, that is, the Indo Burma Petroleum Company and the Attock Oil Company."

Sir, I trust the Honourable the Commerce Member will keep a close eye on the kerosene market, and that he will bear in mind that it was the Tariff Board, not merely the Oil Companies, who inspired the statement which I have just read.

I come now, Sir, before I sit down, to a duty which I have to perform to myself, to the European Group and to the House. In the debate last week on clause 7, my Honourable friend Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas accused me of some foul deed, and having done so he proceeded to castigate Members of the European Group in language which, I think, the House will agree, was insulting and entirely unworthy of this Honourable House. I put it no more strongly than that. Sir, I have here the official Report of my speech untouched, and I propose to read my remarks to the House

Mr. President: Order, order; I am afraid the Honourable Member is not in order.

Mr. W. S. Lamb: Sir, I think I should have an opportunity of explaining matters.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member should have taken the opportunity at the proper time.

Mr. W. S. Lamb: I had already taken.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member might get up next year and would want to reply to some of the speeches made today.

Mr. W. S. Lamb: Sir, I had already spoken, and I could not get another opportunity.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member could have risen to make a personal explanation.

Mr. W. S. Lamb: Surely, Sir, considering what was said by the Honourable Member, I am entitled to reply to him. He accused me of—I have forgotten his exact words—but he could not possibly have used stronger language than that regarding myself and the Group. I have had no opportunity of meeting his charges.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member had ample opportunity. The Honourable Member is always entitled to rise in his seat to make a personal explanation. The Honourable Member did not do so, and he cannot, after five or six days, come to this House and say that he wants to meet a certain charge made against him.

Mr. W. S. Lamb: Sir, I must bow to your ruling. But I would like to say this. I refrained from attempting to make any statement until I secured the real official copy of my speech. I had certainly no knowledge that I would not be allowed to put before the House what I have to say exactly.

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

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

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh (Muzaffarpur cum Champaran: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, while speaking on the Finance Bill last year, I ventured to point out to Government certain existing anomalies and defects in the Indian income-tax law which operate as hardships upon the assesses, and my present speech is in connection with the same subject; and as the Finance Bill asks this House to grant supplies, I think this is a proper opportunity for me to put my views on record. This subject, Sir, may not be as exciting as the Salt Demand, for instance, which some of us were anxious to reach the other day, as giving an opportunity for strong speeches; but I venture to point out that the grievances of a large class of persons who have to pay income-tax need occasional ventilation in this House, especially now when we are called upon to sanction money to Government under the Finance Bill. Sir, you will recognise that, under the constitution of this House and the Rules of Procedure, it is not easy for private Members successfully to carry through private Bills, especially at the lag end of the life of this Assembly. We have therefore to do our best under the limitations imposed upon us. I shall now proceed to indicate, as briefly as I can, some of my suggestions in this connection. At the outset I must say that I do not approve of piece-meal interference with the Indian income-tax law, as seems to be the practice. My Honourable friend, the Finance Member, while introducing an Income-tax Bill on the 18th February last, thought it proper to offer an apology to this House "for the almost weekly introduction of a new Income-tax amendment Bill". I think it would be more appropriate to bring forward a somewhat comprehensive amendment of the law, a consolidating Bill, and to remedy those defects and ambiguities that may be found to exist, and to remove the genuine grievances of the assesses. I shall now proceed to deal with some of the matters that in my opinion call for revision.

While costs incurred for earning an income are allowed by law to be deducted under sections 10, 11 and 12 of the Income-tax Act, it is anomalous to find that section 8 does not provide for allowing any cost

for collecting interests on securities or on debentures from Treasuries and Banks. In the case of *Forbes v. the Commissioner of Income-tax, Bihar and Orissa*, which was decided by the Patna High Court on the 6th May, 1929, (10 *Patna Law Times*, page 424) the question raised was as to whether the assessee, who had paid to his bankers certain commission for the realisation of interest on the Government securities held by him, is or is not entitled to claim that the amount paid to the bankers by way of commission should be deducted from the interest receivable on those securities, and that the income-tax should be charged only on the sum actually received by him. The view taken by the Income-tax Department was that, under section 8, the tax is payable not on the amount actually received by the assessee, but on the interest receivable by him on the securities held by him. While holding against the assessee on a strict interpretation of the existing law on the point, the High Court Judge was constrained to make the following observation in this judgment which is significant. He said:

"It may however be observed that if the case was to be decided on equitable considerations alone, the petitioner had no doubt a good case; but the case has to be decided with reference to the law in force, and all I can say is that this case brings into prominence one of the obvious deficiencies in the present law."

This is the observation of a High Court Judge, and it ought to carry weight with the Government.

Sir, I come to section 28 of the Income-tax Act, and here I may say that the assesses living mostly in the country side and ignorant of the technicalities of the law are not being properly helped in the matter of filling in their returns. The income-tax officer very often takes advantage of some technical defects and rejects the return and proceeds to make a summary assessment, which cannot be called into question. In my opinion an assessment should be made summarily under section 28 (4) only when the assessee does not file a return at all, or fails to produce accounts and books, or other evidence in support of his return, and not for filing a merely technically invalid return which can easily be remedied in the course of assessment proceedings, such as under section 22 (3) of the Act, and an amendment of the section on these lines appears to be desirable. I need hardly remind Honourable Members that, if under section 23 (4) the income-tax officer makes the assessment "to the best of his judgment" the assessee is deprived of his right of appeal, and this I would submit is unjust. The assessee should not be put in a worse position than one against whom an *ex parte* decree has been passed in a civil court. He should be allowed to challenge the order as bad and erroneous.

I now pass on to section 80 of the Income-tax Act. In my opinion this section presents an anomaly in the case where an assessee denies his liability to be assessed under the Act, such as where an assessee lives outside British India, but the income-tax officer insists on his view that he is a resident in British India. In such a case, I think it is only just and equitable that an appeal should be allowed. But the High Court of Lahore in the case *Dunichand v. Commissioner of Income-tax* reported in *Indian Law Reports*, 1929, Lahore, vol. 10, page 596, remarked that it is for the Legislature to provide a remedy for the cure of this hardship. It is obviously desirable that the remedy should be provided in the Act itself, instead of driving him to the expensive and protracted proceedings of a regular suit.

Section 82 (1) provides that in certain cases mentioned in it an assessee

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"may appeal to the Commissioner within 30 days of the making of such order" by the Assistant Commissioner. But in many cases the dates of the order are not given and very often orders are passed considerably after the arguments are heard and behind the back of the assessee, and also there is no provision in law for communicating the order to the assessee. The result is that by the time he comes to know of the order, the period of 30 days passes away and he is left without a remedy. I would accordingly suggest that, in section 32 (1), it may be provided that the assessee may appeal to the Commissioner "within 30 days of the date on which he is served with the notice of such order". The suggested change will bring the provision of section 32 (1) in line with section 66 (2) in connection with which I had the honour of moving a similar amendment on the 20th February last, which was accepted by my Honourable friend the Finance Member on behalf of the Government. The acceptance of that amendment has removed a genuine grievance of the assesseees for which they are no doubt thankful.

Section 33 (1) provides that the Commissioner may of his own motion call for the record of any proceeding under this Act and so on. I should like to suggest the addition that the Commissioner may, of his own motion, or on being moved by the assessee, call for the record. When an assessee sends an application by post to the Commissioner whose office is far away, it is a real hardship that such application is summarily rejected, without the assessee being heard. The assessee does not expect that the record should be called for in every case, but he should certainly be heard before his application is thrown out. It should accordingly be provided that the Commissioner shall not pass any order prejudicial to an assessee or reject his application without hearing him or giving him a reasonable opportunity of being heard.

I shall now make one observation on section 45. Assesseees often experience great hardship in having to deposit the full amount of tax when their appeals are pending. The appellate authority is reluctant to grant stay of realisation of tax on the plea that no such power is given under the law. I would therefore suggest an amendment in section 45 which would empower the appellate authority or the Commissioner, as the case may be, to order stay of realisation of tax on such terms as may be directed.

Sir, with regard to section 50, I have only one word to say. Why should the Crown plead limitation against an assessee for an amount wrongfully withheld? Or why the period of limitation should not be extended to three years? Or again there should be a provision to set off the sum for later years. Under the Contract Act, a debt barred by limitation can in certain cases be recouped by the creditor out of the amount received when there is no specific direction to appropriate it to a particular debt. Limitation strikes at the remedy, but not the right.

Sir, section 66 of the Income-tax Act is an important section, and I should like to make one or two remarks on it. In the first place I would submit that the fee of Rs. 100 for making a reference to the High Court is too high and it should be reduced to Rs. 10 or Rs. 15. In a rich country like England the fee prescribed is 20 shillings only, (*vide* section 149(c) of the English Act, 1918). It may be replied that the fee is put down at Rs. 100 in order to discourage frivolous applications. But this is absurd. We must take into consideration the assessee's expenses involved in getting the papers printed for the High Court and other big

expenses, which is inevitable in taking a case to the High Court. It may also be argued that section 66 (2) provides a fee of Rs. 100 or such lesser sum as may be prescribed. But no lesser sum has been prescribed under the Act, or any rule made thereunder, at least so far as my province is concerned; and so in practice the maximum fee of Rs. 100 is, I understand, demanded in every case. Again it seems only reasonable that this fee should be deposited only after the Commissioner passes an order accepting the contention of the assessee to make a reference to the High Court. This will save the assessee the trouble and expense of withdrawing the fee if the Commissioner rejects his application.

Here I may also mention that in a great many cases no interest is paid to the assessee for the tax wrongfully realised from him by an assessment which has been modified in appeal or revision. In all fairness interest at the court rate should be allowed. But the law is silent on the point, and in practice no interest is allowed at all in a great many cases.

Another remark which I should like to make on section 66 is this. The present procedure of approaching the High Court and the Commissioner simultaneously is cumbersome, anomalous and in practice works hardship. I think in no other system of law is such a procedure provided. The assessee naturally is under the impression that he would go to the High Court after he has exhausted his remedy before the Commissioner; and in a great many cases, when he obtains the Commissioner's order, and wants to go to the High Court, he finds to his bewilderment that his remedy is barred. I would accordingly suggest the insertion of necessary amendments in this section on the lines indicated above.

Last year, Sir, I suggested that in computing the period of limitation prescribed for an appeal or for an application under section 66 the day on which the order complained of was made and the time requisite for obtaining a copy of such order shall be excluded. I am glad that this has been done, and a source of legitimate complaint on the part of the assessee has been removed.

Sir, these are some of my main suggestions on the Income-tax law, and now I should bring my remarks to a close. But before resuming my seat, I would add one word more. Under the Income-tax law, or more correctly under the Finance Act, an annual income of less than Rs. 2,000 is free from income-tax. Why? Obviously because it is thought that an income of less than Rs. 2,000 is just sufficient for the maintenance of a man and his family, and he is not in a position to spare anything as income-tax. But as soon as his income reaches or exceeds even a little over Rs. 2,000, he is made to pay not only on the excess but on the whole amount including the sum exempted from income-tax. Suppose a person's income is, say, Rs. 2,300, I would suggest that Rs. 2,000 which is intended to be just sufficient for his and his family's maintenance should, on grounds of equity and fair play, be excluded from the income-tax, and the tax should be levied on Rs. 300 only which is deemed to be in excess of his minimum requirements. In England the income-tax is levied on the above principle, and there are shares prescribed for the actual requirements of the family members and dependents, and ~~these~~ ^{these} shares are excluded from the income-tax. I would suggest that some such principle may be introduced in our system also, and a much needed relief be given to the assessee. Sir, this is about all I have got to say now, and

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I hope Government will be pleased to give some indications as to what steps they propose to take to remedy the state of things which I have pointed out.

Mr. M. K. Acharya: Sir, I wish to repeat what my Honourable friend Mr. Ranga Iyer so ably put forward, namely, that this is an occasion on which we ought, on principle, to raise this ground of grievances before supplies. I do not, of course, propose to go in detail into all the many items into which my Honourable friend so eloquently went; but I believe as of late a Member, like him, of a party which once had the honour of being the most important party in this House, as one who had participated in demonstrating concretely that principle in this House, namely, of throwing out the Finance Bill on the general ground of larger grievances of the country being unheeded by the Government, I desire to take this opportunity once more to re-emphasise that principle, and to say that there is a great burden resting upon the shoulders of every one of us here who is an elected Member that he ought, if possible on this occasion, to show not only to the Government, but to the country at large, and also to the whole world, that there are grievances felt by the people of India on a very large scale which would justify, and amply justify, the application of the principle that the Finance Bill ought to be rejected today. I know, Sir, the Government may be feeling in their heart of hearts, "Let these people say what they like, we shall do what we choose, there are plenty of votes at our back and call, and it does not matter what a few of these Members may choose to say on principle". I am not concerned with that aspect of the question, with success or failure well-gotten or ill-gotten; and who can deny that success very often in this House is ill-gotten? But that does not affect me very much. I am here to make my humble appeal to every elected Member who has to go to the country; it is our duty to go to the country and it is our duty to go and tell every one who is an elector and every one who is not an elector, to every one in the country it is our duty to say that we have done all we can, that we have taken every possible step we can, that we have taken every advantage of the new constitution under which we are working to press upon Government the larger grievances of the people, and to say that we will not participate in what I must call the farce of voting away huge sums of money and in granting supplies to a Government that, so far as I can see, do not seem even to care to inquire what exactly are the grievances complained of.

Sir, we are thankful to you for having allowed us to ventilate some of our grievances on the floor of this House; but, Sir, what has been the response on the other side? So far, not one of the major grievances put forth on the floor of this House has been answered seriously. Sir, at the very beginning of the second reading of the Finance Bill, we raised the larger question of the Government's failure to make a satisfactory response to the larger political demands of the country. I wonder whether it was taken seriously, and whether there was any serious reply made to it either by the Finance Member or by the Home Member or by any Member of the Government. I should like to know, first of all, if this is all our business—for us to say what we like and for the Government to do what they please at the end. If that is so, we might as well be spared all this farce; for, I, for one, am not very anxious to hear my own voice in this House. Therefore, unless some major grievances expressed on the floor of this House are being dealt with seriously

by the Departments concerned, unless some serious answer is being given to the questions raised on the floor of this House, it is idle to say that this is an occasion on which each one of us may ventilate all our grievances. Of course, I, for one, should not feel very much aggrieved if for instance difficulties felt by income-tax assesses over the working of a particular section here or of a particular section there are of a serious character. It is a point of detail, which might be remedied elsewhere than probably now and on the floor of the House. But on the larger questions, I repeat, in which verily all, or the bulk of the people are concerned, if Government Members simply hear and pretend to hear, and then do not even condescend to give a reply on the points raised, I do not believe that we are treated fairly or that the constitution is being worked in the manner in which it ought to be worked.

Take this very simple example, namely, this debate as it is called on the Finance Bill. Of course I do not blame any particular individual. In fact I am thankful to you for having allowed us one extra day for discussing this Finance Bill. As originally planned by Government, the discussion of the Finance Bill would probably have come to an end on the 22nd. But I am just raising this general point. There were 12 days given for the whole of this Budget, 2 days for what was called the general discussion of the Budget, 5 days on the voting of Demands for Grants, and 5 days for the passing of the Finance Bill. I put it to you, Sir, in all seriousness, do this Government expect the civilised world, expect any intelligent man to believe that this is anything other than a farce? We are asked to vote away some 180 crores of rupees upon various demands even excluding military expenditure. Nearly a hundred Demands are put forward in the huge book that is placed in the hands of every Member of this House containing the detailed estimates and Demands for Grants. And we know—I do not blame any particular Member of Government—but we know that we have hardly time even to take up one or two Demands and discuss all the motions under them. And I wish the Deputy President were present here now. He said that we passed all the Demands for Grants and voted the expenditure. I do not think that we ever voted the expenditure or anything like it. We know there is an automatic way of passing it all; on the last day the guillotine falls, and then we are forced to go through the farce automatically. Everything is put to the vote, and is declared to have been carried. I do not know if there is any other country in the world where this would be called voting the demands for expenditure made by the Executive Government. There may be some few occasions; I dare say it may be impossible in any legislature under the sun for every demand put forward by the executive to be scrutinised carefully and passed leisurely; but I do not believe that there would be any legislature which has got anything like a responsible machinery working in it, where you will have this kind of thing, where we say what we like on this thing and that thing, and at the end the whole thing is supposed to have been passed. How are we responsible to grant the money for expenditure which has been passed in this way, not by us but by the automatic working of some rule? It is just the same autocracy now as in the old days; though I was not here then and was not connected with the then Budgets of the Government of India. I repeat, it is all an automatic machinery for which we are not responsible. Our views are not heeded; and

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therefore morally speaking—whatever the legal technicality may be—morally speaking I do not grant the proposition that this House has voted the demands for expenditure, and that this House is bound therefore to grant supplies in order to meet that expenditure. Morally, we have not voted the expenditure, and morally therefore we are not bound to pass this Finance Bill. Therefore, on that one ground that we are not given, under the present constitution, ample opportunities either for passing the demands for expenditure or for scrutinising and passing the Finance Bill, on that one ground alone, I think we should be amply justified in rejecting the Finance Bill. That is to say, in so far as we are concerned, we decline to have anything to do with the Finance Bill. I am quite well aware, and everybody knows, that whether we pass the Finance Bill or do not pass it, it will become the Finance Act; that the Governor General is vested with ample powers under the Act to certify and pass this Bill into law. But I am stressing the moral ground that, whatever may be the technical aspect of things, we are morally bound to reject the Bill; we are morally entitled and indeed bound to force the Governor General to certify the Finance Bill and on his sole authority to pass it. Why all this farce of saying that we are parties to it, that the Legislature has been consulted and has approved of the Finance Bill, that, after serious deliberation and approval, all these taxes are imposed? I think, Sir, that it is a travesty of the truth, and I do not see why we should go to the country and make the people believe that we are really responsible for the passing of this Finance Bill.

These, Sir, are some of the passing reflections that came into my mind when I heard the Deputy President say that the grants for expenditure had been voted, and that we must pass the Finance Bill. We did not vote at all the demands for expenditure and we are not morally bound to pass this Finance Bill. By our not passing the Finance Bill it is not going to cease being passed. Now, I repeat that it is our duty

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Repetition is not allowed. Take your second point.

Mr. M. K. Acharya: I repeat that it is our duty to insist on Government giving proper replies to some of our major grievances; and it is our further duty, not having had anything like a proper or satisfactory response from Government, to tell Government, in what telling manner we can tell, that we shall not pass the Finance Bill. That is the only way in which we shall be discharging our duty to our electors. That is the one way in which we shall be acting in a manner which will be worthy of the country whose interests we are supposed to be safeguarding. There are other things besides the larger political questions into which I said I shall not enter today. There are very many other matters also. What has been the action of Government, of this very responsive Government, with regard to the complaints made by Honourable Members here about the trouble to which Indians are put in Ceylon? What has been the action or response of Government with regard to the complaints made about the troubles of Indians settled in South Africa? These are all matters which certainly, at the time of the Budget, at the time when Government come down to us for supplies, ought to receive as careful and as sympathetic a handling from Government as possible.

I do not know if there has been any answer to these questions that have been raised in this House. Even when we do all that we can to get some kind of sympathetic response to the most pressing problems in the country, to the way in which people are arrested for political offences, to the way in which they are tried, to the way in which they are sentenced and so on, nothing in the way of a satisfactory solution to these problems is at hand. The Finance Member may think that his only duty is to tell us how much money is required to carry on the Government of the country during the coming year, and ask us to vote that money. Probably that may be his strict legitimate work. But we look upon him as a Member of Government, as part and parcel of a big Government, and if the whole of that Government fails in its responsibility, I do not think he can have much reason to complain that we do not accede to his wishes or look upon his demands from the purely financial standpoint.

I find Sir Frank Noyce looking hard at me, but I am going to ask him what has happened to the Resolution passed in this House last September in regard to laying the stable foundations upon which responsible Government alone can be established in this country. It has been kicked into the air like a piece of cotton. This House passed the Resolution, saying that this Government should take steps to establish fully autonomous Panchayats all over the country, and thus begin responsible government at the lowest unit, and then develop it into the districts, and then in the provinces and then in the whole of India. It was a Resolution passed by the votes of almost all the elected Members of this House, in spite of the Government using all their strength against that Resolution. What has been done? Has anything been planned? Nothing, I suppose. If this is the way in which the Resolution of this House is treated by the Government, why should we now be asked to vote all this huge sum of money to the Government, and why should we support the Finance Bill at all? That, Sir, is a question for which I should like to have a definite answer from the Government. It is no use saying, money is badly wanted, retrenchment is impossible, and things of that kind. Our question is, why have not certain definite Resolutions of this House been carried out and why have not certain definite grievances been looked into by the Government. If you do not care to look into our grievances and carry out our Resolutions, why do you come to us and ask us to vote any supplies? You can pass the Finance Bill yourself and you can save your trouble and our trouble. We can go home earlier and you can certify. It is very humiliating for us to be told, "You must pass this Bill, we want money at once, so you must pass this in one hour or in one day". It is due entirely to you, Sir, that you have extended the Session by five more days and have given us a little more time to cry out. Ours may be a voice in the wilderness, but it is some consolation that we have got the chance of crying out on behalf of the many, many millions whom we are supposed to represent.

I come now to the Finance Bill itself. There are a few points which I would want to scrutinise. First comes the salt duty. Our old friend is kept on. Government say that, at some time, perhaps at the Greek Kalends, they will remove it. The Honourable Sir George Schuster may not be here then. I was talking till now only of the Finance Member and not Sir George Schuster who, I know, has got a very sweet face, a very sweet tongue, and that is exactly what disarms us, what conceals sometimes the deep thrusts he gives to us. However, Sir George Schuster

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may not be here, but some other Finance Member may be here, and we do not know whether he is going to abolish this salt tax. All that I need say now is that the salt duty is kept on this year exactly where it was last year, in spite of all our protests. We have been saying that the salt monopoly is unjustified, and yet the Government thrusts it on us. What can we do? They say, it is very handy, it gives 6 or 7 crores to them and it is a very paying item in their revenue and they cannot give it up and because the Government find it handy, therefore this tax must be kept on in spite of its iniquity, in spite of the fact that it is a tax on the poorest man. It may be one pie or half a pie. I am not a financier and God forbid that I should ever become one in my life. But whether it is half a pie or quarter of a pie (Interruption)—I wish to live for higher ideals and not care for rupees, annas and pies—why should the poorest man be taxed? This is very repulsive. That may be the ethics of commercialism. I am not enamoured of commercialism; I leave that there.

Sir, the next item I wish to refer to is about the various kinds of duties on silver and other things. They are not even as much as they were last year. They are raised. The duty on silver is raised. The duty on sugar and so many other things is raised; there is now increased taxation and for what? What is the return for this increased taxation. Nobody has told us about it. Government are merely pleased to say that more money is wanted. Then there is the income-tax. Many speakers have already referred to it, and I do not want to go into any detail. So there is no reduction anywhere, except perhaps on what they call the export of rice from India or something like that. But there is an increase in taxation all round. The duty on kerosene is raised. Therefore, if you go into the details of the Bill, the net result is that there is larger taxation this year than there was last year. The Finance Member asks us to agree to larger taxation. Shall we do so, because there is greater repression in the country? There has been nothing gained during the past year, but there is to be larger taxation. Nothing gained or only minus quantity on the side of political privileges and economic advance and things of that kind, and on the other side, there is more expenditure, more taxation. It appears to me, therefore, that, so long as we have no power or responsibility in our hands, I do not see how any elected, or any non-official Member for that matter, should say that the money must be found. I do not understand the word "must" at all. It is for the Government to find the money. We have no responsibility. We do not incur the expenditure. We are not therefore morally bound to find the money. All this "must," I am unable to understand. Sir George Schuster knows how to find the money. Therefore it appears to me that considering the manner in which the Government have treated us, willingly or unwillingly—it does not matter whether deliberately or otherwise—considering the manner in which we have been treated, it does not lie in the mouth of the Government to say, "You are irresponsible people, we ask for more money and you do not give us." I do not believe Government can bring that charge nor that we should be afraid of being told that we are irresponsible. After all, the simple problem is there. We give the money in return for what? Is it in return for the many grievances which my friend Maulvi (Muhammad

Yakub has put forward? He has stated that there is not sufficient Muslim representation in the services and so on. I shall not go into those details. What is the measure of our responsibility? Are we to go down on bended knees and say, "Yes we shall vote all the money that you want, because when meeting in the lobby you will say, I expected better from you"? Supposing some gentleman on the other side says, "I expected better from you," is that a reason why I should fall on bended knees? Surely we all expected better from the Government. In this respect I would take a leaf out of their book and treat with equanimity whatever is said about us. We shall tell them, "Mind your own business and try to find money in your own way and we shall not be in any way responsible for it". It is all very well for any Government Member to meet in the lobby and say, that any one of us has become a bad boy. I say we have a lesson to learn from them. They do not care for what we say and let us not care for what they say. Therefore I would make a strong appeal to all my non-official friends, because we are passing through critical times, because the Honourable the Law Member will not open his eyes, the Honourable the Home Member will not open his eyes and recognise what we want. Considering the attitude, the unyielding attitude of the Government, the unreasonable, obstinate attitude of the Government, towards the most reasonable demands of the most reasonable Members of this House.—should we alone go down on bended knees and say that the Finance Bill must be passed today? If the Finance Bill is not passed, the millowners will suffer; take care, the deluge will flow upon their heads. This is what they say.

And that is another trick to compel some to vote for the Finance Bill. The two things should have been separated; the Tariff Bill should have been brought at some other time or in some other environment. I do not see why the two things should be jumbled together, why we should be asked to pass the Finance Bill today, and then take up the Tariff Bill. I know what is in the minds of many of those who are anxious about the Tariff Bill. The feeling is that Government cannot drop the Finance Bill, but they may drop the Tariff Bill. They are bound to go on with the Finance Bill, and in some way or other, put it on the Statute-book; but the Tariff Bill for the millowners, what will become of it? I consider these are very immoral ways in which various influences are brought to bear upon us. I hope my friends will stand against any such temptation, direct or indirect, and will stick to this one principle that, until we become actually responsible in some measure for this huge expenditure of money, and until we are in a position to tell those whom we represent that we are really safeguarding their interests and we shall act in a manner which will be in the best interests of those who send us here, until we are in a position to say that, I think we ought simply to tell Government, "We thank you for the opportunity given to us for making the speeches we have to make, but the Finance Bill will have to be passed on your own responsibility; you have given us no power and we shall not take upon us the burden you have cast upon our shoulders". I hope my non-official friends will realise this, and not only make this Government understand, but the Government in England understand, so that they can eradicate this anomaly at as early a date as possible. We must make the Government here and the Home Government understand that we have no real constitutional power; when we get true power, we shall exercise it truly, but now when we have not that true responsibility, we do not propose to exercise any;

[Mr. M. K. Acharya.]

and we lay the whole responsibility on the shoulders of the Government. The Finance Bill must be their own responsibility and we have nothing to do with it. Let us either vote against it, or not vote at all. Let them take the full responsibility, for we cannot morally—and is it not also legally—I do not know what the legal aspect of it is—we cannot morally, I am sure, take any responsibility. As the Government, as at present constituted, are indifferent to the best interests of the people, and spend as they please the money voted by this House, and only ask for more and more money, I therefore think that it is the duty of every elected Member, who has got any self-respect, to tell the Government, point blank, that he shall not be a party to this very unfair and immoral transaction.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt (Burdwan Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, we have been asked to give our support to the Finance Bill by the Honourable the Finance Member. Section by section, amendments have been brought forward; they were argued to the best of the ability of the Mover, but they failed to create any impression upon the Members of the Treasury Benches. We have been asked to supply the money that is necessary to carry on the administration. Who are we here? What is our position? Have we real power to deny them the money that they want through this Finance Bill? No, we have not. Then why this mockery? You may say that we have 104 elected Members. No doubt we have, but they include Members belonging to special interests such as the European Group, Chambers of Commerce and Landholders, and if you omit them you will find that the real representatives of the people in this House are an insignificant minority. Forty of them owe their seats to, and have been characterised by my Honourable friend over there, Mr. Ranga Iyer, as having for their constituency the Viceregal Lodge. One such Member was annoyed at the remarks made by my Honourable friend, but the fact remains that these nominated Members owe their seats to the Government. Under the circumstances, would it not have been better for you to ask, when you move for the acceptance of the Finance Bill, to ask the real representatives of the people to abstain from voting? No, under the rules and procedure of this Assembly, every one of us can vote, although in case of the Public Accounts Committee we have a rule that only the elected representatives will vote. But in that case, the Government ask the elected Members only to vote, because, as my Honourable friend Mr. Roy has said that the Public Accounts Committee is nothing but a *post mortem* examination and therefore a very harmless procedure.

Sir, whether we are in a minority or in a majority, we cannot lend our support to the passing of the Finance Bill. And why? Because of the elementary principle of all parliamentary Governments, *viz.*, redress of grievances before supply. And what are our grievances? If I were to relate the grievances of our people I could not possibly relate them within the short time I have at my disposal. (A Voice: "Then go on.") It is not a single legislation or a single act of the Government against which we raise our voice of protest; but a long series of acts of misrule which has accumulated during the period of nearly a century and a half. Sir, if we cannot lend our support to this Finance Bill, it is because we feel that we have not been treated as we ought to have been by the people who happen to rule over us at the present moment. Looking at the history of Councils, we have to go back to the early sixties of the last century when three Indian gentlemen became Members of the Imperial Legislative Council, not by

election, not by a suffrage of the people, but nominated by the Government. They were Raja Sir Dinkar Rao, the Maharaja of Burdwan (*An Honourable Member*: "Was it the present Maharaja of Burdwan?"), and Sir Salar Jung. It went on for some years when some time later on recruitment was made from the High Court Bar for the Imperial Legislative Council and the Indian National Congress from its earlier days began to demand representative institutions for this country. It was at Bombay, Sir, where that great man who would not take the prescribed oath in the House of Commons after being returned at the head of the poll from Northampton, the late Mr. Charles Bradlaugh. It was at Bombay, when Mr. Bradlaugh came there during the National Congress week, that he heard about the real situation in the country, and then, when he returned to England, he carried on an agitation on behalf of India which got us a representative Council as we knew it in the early nineties of the last century. But, Sir, what were their powers? Their powers were practically nil. The Members were merely putting a few interpellations and recording pious wishes just as we are doing today. (*An Honourable Member*: "Not pious.") But I don't see much difference between that Council and the Assembly of the present day because we are also equally helpless in this House. Of course, when that Council was inaugurated, we thought that was the beginning of a new era. Seventeen or eighteen years later, the Government thought that some concession must be made to satisfy the rising aspirations of the people,—I mean some honest Englishmen thought so. But at the same time, there were also certain Englishmen who were bitterly opposed to any measure of reform being granted to this country, and they always tried their best to whittle down reforms to such an extent that, for the first time in the history of this land, we had the inauguration of a so-called reform which made a difference between me and my friend over there, Dr. Suhrawardy, and which during the last 20 years has been responsible for much bitter communal dissensions and which we witness almost every day here. A charge has often been laid at the door of the Indian National Congress for the pact which it devised at Lucknow. It is very convenient to forget the past history of communalism. But who accentuated it? Who brought it here? Can any man with a grain of commonsense think that representation in State services should be according to one's religious faith? I stand here as simply Amar Nath Dutt, a Hindu Member of this House. I cannot be taken into certain services owing to my religious faith. But the moment I accept Islam, the moment I change my name to Azzizudin Ahmad, immediately all the Treasury Benches will have for me a soft corner in their heart; they will say all sorts of things to keep Azzizudin Ahmad away from the doings of those Members like my friend Mr. Kelkar. . . .

Mr. President: Order, order.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt: or my revered leader Pandit Malaviya.

Mr. President: Order, order.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt: These are some of the unhappy things for which the Government are responsible and that is why I want to throw out the Finance Bill. *Divide et impera* has been the policy of the Government in this country because it suited their purpose better. No doubt, Sir, it is very unfortunate that I have to say all these things when the Finance Bill is before us, because that is the only occasion on which we can do it, but I must say that it does not cast any reflection on the Honourable

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the Finance Member, who is hardly responsible for any of the happenings during the time of his predecessors. Sir, I wish that other Members of the Treasury Benches were in their seats, because all these indictments are directed more against another Department, and the Member in charge of that Department hardly listens to what is going on here, thinking that the Finance Bill concerns only the Finance Member. (*An Honourable Member*. "The Law Member is here.") He is of course very regular in listening, but he was sleeping when my friend Mr. Acharya was speaking. Probably he thought that Mr. Acharya would speak about the Sarda Act.

Sir, let me once more say that at least those of us who are on the Standing Finance Committee against which my revered teacher had a fling when delivering his speech. (*An Honourable Member*: "Who is he? Who is your Guru?") (*An Honourable Member*: "Mr. K. C. Roy.") I refuse to mention the name, because modesty forbids me from taking his name. I was under his guardianship in my boyhood and owe a good deal to him for training. (*An Honourable Member*: "It is no compliment to your teacher.") I will not wound other's feelings by uttering hard words; I am always meek and humble. (Laughter.)

Sir, it was said that there are several statutory checks on expenditure, and that the Standing Committee does not do its duty properly. If my friend had been present at least at one or two meetings he would have seen that every one of us tries to do our best. Above all, I may tell the House that Sir George Schuster himself is the most active Member of that body. He has got a very warm heart and is keenly solicitous for India's welfare and tries to curtail expenditure as much as possible to an extent that I never saw before. (Hear, hear.) For that we ought to be grateful to our friend the Finance Member. But, Sir, our indictment is not directed against him as an individual; but our indictment is directed against the whole system of administration. Therefore, Honourable Members should not think that anything that is said here is only directed against the Honourable Member. We have the highest regard and respect for Sir George Schuster, but at the same time we feel that, as representatives of the masses, we can not but oppose this Bill. How can we lend our support to a taxation Bill of this character?

Sir, I have in brief endeavoured to place before you how this constitution grew up. After the Minto-Morley Reforms worked for some time we got this piece of reform with which we are playing here. This reform has been condemned by every one and by the entire politically minded India (*An Honourable Member*: "Except Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtulla"), but he denies it and he also condemns it, because it is no improvement upon the previous reforms when we had men like Raja Sir Dinkar Rao and others. Now, what can we do in these Councils? We can only record our protest. You ask us to pass this Bill in order to enable you to meet your expenses. Now has this deficit been incurred by you?

Mr. President: Order, order.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt: This deficit has been incurred by the Government, because they must have an army of occupation in this land, lest we should drive them out and ask them to clear out bag and baggage. This army of occupation costs no less than 55 crores, or more than half the revenue of the country. You won't reduce.

Mr. President: Order, order.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt: They would not reduce this because it hits so many people of their own race who could not find better employment in their native home. My friend Mr. Howell is not here. He was a bit annoyed but very mildly put it to me one day "May I ask you, Mr. Dutt, is it very necessary to rake up old memories?" when I referred to the aftermath of the Cawnpore massacre? I would refrain from referring to anything which is unpleasant, but the pages of the history of India are full. What do we find from the time of Clive downwards? We Hindus, as the descendants of our ancestors of those days, have the sacred ceremony of *tarpan* in which we take the name of our fathers and offer them oblations. This is a pious duty which a Hindu owes to his ancestors. Every Indian knows how Lord Clive came here and won the battle of Plassey. I sympathise with my Muhammadan friends . . .

Mr. President: This is too much. Will the Honourable Member come to some recent date?

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt: Well, Sir, in the time of Warren Hastings: . .

Mr. President: Order, order.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt: Do you want me to come to some later date?

Mr. President: Will the Honourable Member come to the Finance Bill?

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt: Yes, Sir, I protest against this Finance Bill. I do not want to lend my support to it, because the Government have treated us so shabbily. Let us begin with recent history. That superior person, Lord Curzon, brought about the dismemberment of our province. This is at the root of many of our grievances. To placate the moderates, they introduced the Minto-Morley Reforms, which brought in communalism, and then things went from bad to worse. Then came the days, when young men, the flower of the youth of the country, were driven to desperation. There were conspiracies and you deported . . .

Mr. President: Order, order. The Honourable Member ought to be very careful. If he is irrelevant, I will ask him to resume his seat.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt: Another reason why I should oppose the Finance Bill is the treatment of political prisoners. I have just read in the papers that two political prisoners have been put on standing handcuffs in the Central Jail at Alipore and they have been locked up in solitary cells. All of them it is understood have resorted to hunger strike as a protest against the maltreatment of the jail authorities. Now, the Jail Committee's Report has been published. It was published on the 19th February. My Honourable friend Mr. Mitra asked the question whether it was going to be applied to Bengal. The Government gave us vague answers and the rules which have been framed are not applied even now. The Kakori prisoners have also gone on hunger strike. Today it is the 46th day, and the Secretary of the Bareilly District Congress Committee wires that the condition of Sachindra and Manmatha, who are on hunger strike in the Bareilly Jail, is very serious and both are on their death bed. The public of Benares are making arrangements for the reception of Sachindra and Manmatha, should the worst happen. These things the Government do

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not take into consideration. And are we to support the Government when things like this are happening? They do not find money to separate the judicial and the executive. Whenever other things are necessary, they find the money. Sir, why the separation of judicial and executive functions is necessary will be seen from an instance which I am giving at the present moment. There was a sedition case at Alipore against Mr. Subash Chandar Bose, Mr. Kiran Shankar Roy and others and they were tried by a Magistrate holding a listed appointment. Now, he knew that his promotion depended upon this. He gave them full one year under section 124-A, and after delivering the judgment, he was appointed permanently as District Magistrate. That is the reason why the judiciary should be separated from the executive for it leads to such undesirable state of things. From the times of Manmohan Ghose, we have been fighting for the separation of the judicial from the executive. In fact the late Manmohan Ghose laid down his life when writing an indictment against the vicious system. Since then the late Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt pointed out the way in which you could separate the judicial and the executive functions. But the Government will not do it. They would find money for many other things, they would find money for luxurious saloons (Hear, hear), but they could not find money for the separation of judicial and executive functions. Money can be found for the army of occupation which did not cost more than 15 crores of rupees in 1900. But within thirty years, it has increased to the dimension of Rs. 55 crores, nearly 40 crores more. Money could be found for all these things, but not for a simple reform like the separation of judicial and executive functions. We have cried ourselves hoarse for free primary education and the late Mr. Gokhale till the date of his death was asking for free primary education. For that they cannot find money. But still they are asking us to vote money for other things, not for the separation of judicial and executive functions, not for free primary education. Besides these two grievances, there are a lot of other grievances at the present moment, which must be redressed before we can be asked to vote for the Finance Bill. I know how eager my Muhammadan friends are for the repeal of the Sarda Act, and in fact I am deeply grateful to them, for they are men of deep convictions and religious faith, and I am quite hopeful that they will support us in our opposition to measures like these against the Government. In fact the Muhammadans are going to launch civil disobedience against the Act. There are two methods of civil disobedience and I do not know which of the methods they are going to adopt. I have also read in the newspapers that unless the Government do something, in fact even the orthodox Hindus also are going to join that movement.

Mr. President: Order, order. This is irrelevant.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt: That is one of the grievances against which we may ask the Government

Mr. President: The Honourable Member must now conclude as soon as possible.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt: As I was submitting, Sir, this House has no real power. Such being the case, we can hardly be asked, consistent with

our dignity, to support this measure of taxation. I feel in the words of the great sage who wrote in the Bhagavat Gita:

Karmanyeba adhikaraste

Ma jalesoo kadachan.

"You have to do your duty without caring for the result."

One other fact I would refer to if the Chair would permit me, and that is with reference to the Round Table Conference, about which something has been said. It has been said by the Honourable Member in his speech that the times are not ordinary. Within a few months the representatives of the Indian people will meet the representatives of Great Britain. Sir, do they expect that, with men like Mr. Subash Chandra Bose and Mr. Sen Gupta in jail, and with the prospect of Mahatma Gandhi being put in jail, surely they do not expect that patriots like Mr. Jinnah and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya will attend the Round Table Conference? I beg to submit that the Government must declare a general amnesty to all the political prisoners before they expect leaders like Mr. Jinnah or Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to attend the Round Table Conference. Even when the question of Ireland was being settled, they reserved five seats for the revolutionary party. If you want to have really a Round Table Conference you must have all sorts of interests and all sorts of thinkers and every point of view placed before you.

One other point about the treatment of political prisoners at the present moment. The motive, they say, is no criterion, but, Sir, what other factors should be, except motive, the criterion to classify political prisoners? There is my Honourable friend Colonel Crawford sitting there. He might have shot down many people . . .

Colonel J. D. Crawford (Bengal: European): Never, Sir.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt: Or some other gallant friend might have shot down many people during a battle. Do you refuse to sit with him? No. Why, because his motive was very high, the honour of England and the freedom of his country was in his mind. I appeal once more, through you, Sir, that all the political prisoners who are the flower of the youth of our country and who are fired by the highest patriotism . . .

An Honourable Member: Idealists.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt: Yes, idealists, no doubt of a very high type, they should be treated as my Honourable friend was pleased to observe, as so many prisoners of war, and they should not be treated like ordinary felons in jail. I appeal seriously to the Treasury Benches, through you, Sir, that they should take into consideration all these things before they can ask us to co-operate with them or side with them in the matter of the Round Table Conference or in taxation Bills like this. They should give a general amnesty to all the political prisoners. Also the Government should not treat the prisoners, in the way they are doing by handcuffing them. What have the Government done for the Kakori prisoners? They are on hunger strike, because these prisoners have been denied the privilege of being classed as "A" class prisoners. As a protest against the Government not introducing this classification, so far as the Kakori prisoners are concerned, those prisoners have gone on hunger strike. I also hear, Sir, that one of the Kakori prisoners was denied any association

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with anybody or permission to see anybody. All these things fall within the province of the Home Member to reply to, not that of the Finance Member. The Honourable the Home Member should see his way to redress some of these grievances before he can set the Honourable the Finance Member upon us to ask us to pass this Finance Bill. I do not wish to take up much of the time of the House by dealing with other grievances. I wish only to touch one point.

Mr. President: Order, order. The Honourable Member must conclude.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt: All right, Sir. Before I sit down, I wish earnestly to appeal, through you, Sir, to the Government to look into every one of these grievances before they come to this House to ask us to pass such taxation Bills.

Colonel J. D. Crawford: Sir, I would like, on behalf of the European Group, to clear up some of the confusion that possibly exists in the minds of the House and of Government as to our attitude towards the Finance Bill. Honourable Members will remember that, during the general discussion, my colleague Sir Hugh Cocke very clearly stated that, as a Group, we considered that the Budget must be balanced and the taxation, in so far as we could see it, was generally well distributed, and the Honourable the Finance Member's Bill would have our support. At a later stage, Sir Hugh Cocke again pressed for retrenchment, not that he intended to move a vote of censure on the Finance Member, who was already undertaking measures of retrenchment, but to point out that to our mind departmental inquiries into retrenchment are not very successful, and that it would be advisable to have associated with the Retrenchment Officer, whose ability we thoroughly recognise, some outside opinion.

The next position which the European Group took up was one with regard to the kerosene oil duty. I think our attitude on that particular measure has not been thoroughly understood. We had two points really to make; that the measure which had been brought in meant a change of policy, which had existed for 25 years, and that change had been introduced without any real consultation with the oil industry as to how the new proposals of Government might affect that industry. We believed, and still believe, that it will affect the industry in two ways, one, that it will hit very hard the small indigenous oil companies, one of which, as the Honourable the Commerce Member pointed out, was of strategic importance to India, the Attock Oil Company. I think it is up to Government to watch very carefully the effects of such a measure on the smaller companies and to give them such aid as may be necessary. The other point was that we felt that the imposition of this duty will, in actual practice, if not tomorrow or even within the next three months, at a later stage fall rather heavily on the consumer; the yellow oil which has been supplied for 25 years at a reasonable rate on an understanding with Government may be withdrawn and further refined for the production of higher priced kerosene and petrol which is more profitable to the companies concerned. Thereby the consumer is likely to find himself without the cheap oil which is his mainstay.

These were the real points and they were never actually refuted in the debate. Arising out of that point, there was an incident which the Group

took rather to heart. The Honourable the Commerce Member, in his reply to Mr. Lamb's speech, suggested that this Group sought to press Government to a favourable treatment of the European interests over Indian interests. That, Sir, has never been the position of the European Group and never will be. All we seek from Government is just treatment. As a Britisher, I am well aware of a trait in the British character which leads them to be rather severe on their own people for fear of being charged with favouritism. That is a position which I meet every day in India and which I believe is incorporated to a certain extent in the present measure and which was given voice to in the remarks of my friend the Commerce Member. We do not want you, in your endeavours, to be impartial, to weigh the scales against the European interests, but simply to do your best to treat all with equality and justice.

Mr. President: Order, order.

Colonel J. D. Crawford: There was one further incident, Sir, which arose during the various discussions on these measures, and with your permission I would like to say how much we regret the incident which arose from my colleague Mr. Lamb's remarks concerning the position of Mr. Birla. I feel sure that if my Honourable friend Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas will read the official report of the debates he will get the impression that there was no insinuation in Mr. Lamb's remarks. In any case no insinuation was intended.

Finally, Sir, I think the Group would like to congratulate the Honourable the Finance Member on the skilful handling of this Bill to the present stage, and to add that we all hope that he will be equally successful in the final stage.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas (Indian Merchants' Chamber; Indian Commerce): Sir, before I commence the very few remarks which I wish to make on this third reading. . . .

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

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I have a few additional remarks to make, Sir.

Mr. President: I thought the Honourable Member wanted to say something in reply to Colonel Crawford.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I am beginning with that, Sir. I wish to deal with what the last speaker wound up his speech. In view of the explanation given on behalf of the European Group by Colonel Crawford, and the assurance that in any case no insinuation was intended against Mr. Birla in the remarks of Mr. Lamb, on the 20th instant, I have no hesitation in stating on the floor of the House, that I would not have made the remarks I did on 21st instant except under that impression and provocation. I regret the incident equally with the European Group, as stated by Colonel Crawford; and in this controversy, if I happen to have hurt the feelings of any of my friends on the European Benches I assure them that I regret it also. (Applause.)

Sir, regarding the Finance Bill proper, I have, as I said, very little to add. I fully realise that, in spite of Government having, during the last few years, carried measures against the popular wishes, this House has

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this year voted extra taxation. The Honourable the Finance Member has held out a hope that the Government of India are formulating a new policy for the economic development of the country and one would, with interest look forward to what the Honourable Member is likely to achieve during the next year or within the next two years. But I feel that the best development of India, under the present circumstances can be by making India self-contained in the sense of utilising her raw materials for the purpose of manufactures which she imports from abroad. I know that this is liable to the construction that a policy of that nature presupposes high tariff. But I would like the Honourable the Finance Member to point out to this House any instance of a country which has vast resources of raw materials which that country does not utilise and which it continues to export, and in return imports articles which she can manufacture within her own boundaries with a little effort on the part of the public and reasonable facilities by Government. As far as the public are concerned, there is not the least question of the public having the necessary enterprise to take to such manufactures. All that is required, to my mind, is a change in the policy of the Government of India as it has been till now. Take the instance of sugar alone. The duty on sugar has been increased to what works out now to 100 per cent. on the present prices. It is quite true that a good deal of research work is being done regarding larger production of sugar, as far as our agriculture is concerned, and I understand that there is a committee sitting for the purpose of investigating how the production of sugar within India can be increased. What I think is immediately necessary is assistance to the manufacturer of sugar in the direction of giving him more finance because during the last three or four years at least most of the sugar manufacturers of India have been working their factories at a loss. I understand that a good deal of facility is required for better and economic transport of sugar-cane from the field to the nearest factory. And I suggest to the Honourable the Finance Member that a part of the increased revenue which he will get from this source may usefully be employed in advances to sugar factory owners on terms which will give them real relief.

I have, Sir, only one more remark to make, and that is regarding what fell from my Honourable friend, Mr. Nilakantha Das, in connection with the Banking Enquiry Committee. In the ordinary course, as an office-bearer of that Committee, it would not be right for me to refer to the work of that Committee, whilst the work of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee can be said to have not even yet commenced. But my friend, Mr. Nilakantha Das, made some remarks in regard to the work of the Provincial Committees, and he particularly referred to the work of the Committee in his province of Bihar and Orissa. I have had the opportunity of seeing the work of that Provincial Committee at comparatively close quarters, when I met the Chairman and the Secretary of that Committee at the Conference which was held in last January at Calcutta. I can assure my friend, Mr. Nilakantha Das, that if any committee that has worked till now in any province is doing useful work, Mr. Nilakantha Das can rest assured that the Provincial Committee he referred to, the Bihar and Orissa Committee, will turn out work which will merit the admiration of even Mr. Nilakantha Das. I cannot help giving credit where, to my mind, it is due and even more than due. The Provincial Committees have worked wholeheartedly and will present a picture of the

economic conditions in the various rural areas of the country in a manner which will be found to be most useful. I feel that I should be failing in my duty to these Committees if I do not make these remarks in view of what fell from Mr. Nilakantha Das which is due more, I think, to want of knowledge of what they are doing than a genuine desire to criticise their methods of work.

Mr. M. S. Aney: Sir, the first and uppermost thought that must have been present to the minds of all the Members of this House today is one of regret at the absence of the Leader of the Opposition, the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya at the discussion of the third reading of the Finance Bill, which has been a day of national indictment in which he has been taking a very prominent part every year. In fact, it may be said that he has been the pioneer of the method of asking this House to reject the Finance Bill. If, as you, Sir, once said in very felicitous terms, the credit of having the Finance Bill presented to this House by the Government was due to the anxiety of your illustrious predecessor to introduce the conventions of the British Parliament in this House, I may say the credit of creating an effective Parliamentary opposition to that Finance Bill is due to the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who, in the year 1924, had come out with the resolve of moving for the rejection of the Finance Bill. And since that time, the third reading of the Finance Bill has become an annual national day of indictment of the Bureaucracy. This has been the feature of the third reading of the Finance Bill and, therefore, it is very natural that most of us, who have been used to hear the most eloquent and fervent appeals from him on those occasions, should feel that today we are missing those eloquent and soul-stirring appeals.

Sir, so far as the attitude of my party is concerned, it has been already declared by my Honourable friend, Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer. We have decided not to support this Bill. That is our attitude. Even if we had gone further, as we had gone sometimes, it would have been perfectly justifiable. What the implications of the motion for the rejection of, or opposition to, the Finance Bill are, have been, in a very learned and eloquent speech, described by my Honourable friend, Mr. N. C. Kelkar. His learned dissertation on the constitutional aspect of this question, as the Honourable Members know, elicited a very friendly but a sarcastic retort from my Honourable friend, Sir George Schuster, that he would like to have some sort of teaching in his class.

The Honourable Sir George Schuster: I assure my Honourable friend that I did not intend to be sarcastic. I intended only to be friendly.

Mr. M. S. Aney: I am very glad to hear it. I thought he was sarcastic. I am only sorry that my friend, Mr. Kelkar, may not find the time to open a class for his benefit. I would not therefore like to go into that question of the implications of an attitude of opposition to the Finance Bill. Sir, this Finance Bill, or rather the third reading of the Finance Bill, naturally opens up a field for discussion to which an individual Member will be unable to do justice within the limited time. My Honourable friend, Mr. Amar Nath Dutt, has just now observed that, if one is allowed to have a full say on the subject before the House, even a year's time will not be sufficient. Some may take it as extravagant, but there can be no question that any adequate discussion of all the questions opened is impossible for any individual Member within the limited time at our

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disposal. Notwithstanding that, we have to summarise our observations in as brief a manner as possible so as not to be a bore to the other Members of this House and also to leave a reasonable margin to other Members for a proper share in the discussion in the course of this debate. Therefore, I will not like to go into all the details of this administrative system and discuss them at length. In fact, I shall try to limit my observations as far as possible to the Finance Bill and the Financial problems or the administrative questions that are closely allied to the proposals in the Finance Bill.

Sir, the present Finance Bill appears to be a Bill of a most challenging nature. I will explain what I mean. In the first place, this Bill is not like an ordinary Finance Bill which we have been used to, by which the Government generally come forward and ask us for supplies on the basis of taxation already existing for a long time. This is a Finance Bill in which the Honourable the Finance Member, for reasons of financial exigencies, which he has explained in his budget speech, comes forward with proposals of fresh taxation to the tune of nearly five crores and a half. This means, in the first place, that he thinks that, notwithstanding the cry regarding the impoverished condition of the people of this country, it is possible for him to recover from the people of this country 5½ crores without causing any inconvenience or without causing any material distress. That is the implication of a Bill like this. Secondly, it also means, notwithstanding the cry of the people that they are not in a mood to co-operate with this Government, there is a spirit of co-operation on which the Finance Member can easily rely for the recovery of this money. These are the two implications in the Bill. In fact, my Honourable friend, Sir George Schuster, in the course of the budget speech, casually referred to a passage in the speech of my Honourable friend, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, made one year ago, in which he observed that the spirit of co-operation was dead partly due to the action of the Government, and so on. The Honourable the Finance Member controverts the allegation and asserts that he has got abundant proof of the spirit of co-operation in this country. I believe that the course of events which have been and are being enacted before our eyes during this fortnight, references to which are being made in bold type in the newspapers, must have disclosed to him certain grounds to revise his opinion. That is what I feel. More than that, I would not like to refer to that matter at this stage. I am sure he is a very shrewd and careful reader of the newspapers, and clever enough to draw proper inferences from the events which he reads. And I am confident that the course of events which are now being reported every day could not have altogether failed to make an impression on him, and he would find therein abundant reason to revise his opinion about the existence of the spirit of co-operation in the country. I say further, whatever little spirit of co-operation there might have been in this country at the time when he presented his budget proposals and introduced his Finance Bill, after the presentation of the Budget and because of the proposals in the Finance Bill itself, that little spirit of co-operation must have become dormant if it has not altogether been killed, and in its place another spirit, a spirit of anti-co-operation or non-co-operation must have been awakened by the striking things that are taking place outside. That is the position today. We are considering this Bill in the midst of circumstances of this nature the gravity of which it is for the Treasury Bench to realise fully before they mean to give a fair trial to the various proposals of taxation that

have been incorporated here. Sir, when I say this, I mean that the Members on the Treasury Benches should make themselves sure of the existence of that abundant spirit of co-operation a belief in which was responsible for the numerous proposals of taxation which my Honourable friend has incorporated in the Finance Bill that he has presented to this House. That hallucination is the basic fact on which he has built up and worked out his proposals. Then he has appealed to us for sympathetic consideration solely relying upon this assumption of the spirit of co-operation, which, I say, is not a fact, but only a fiction. Even if it was a fact, then I assert that the little spirit has been completely washed away by the flood of repressive methods which the Government have since adopted. It is after that he has appealed to us saying that it is on financial consideration alone that he has found it necessary to approach this House to approve his taxation proposals. He is asking us to give supplies, not only the ordinary supplies that he can get under the existing scale of taxation, but additional supplies to the extent of something like Rs 5½ crores according to the new scheme of taxation proposed in the Bill. The reason he has given is that the expenditure has now arrived at a stage which cannot be balanced on the present level of our receipts. What he means by balancing the Budget is this: our receipts are stabilised, expenditure has grown up which cannot be curtailed, and therefore some more sources of income must be explored, and these are the sources which the Finance Member says he could tap. That is the meaning of the taxation proposals which he has placed before the House. Now in the first place, he has made a fervent appeal to the House in his speech calling upon the Members to give him all the assistance they can in scrutinising very carefully the items of expenditure and suggesting means of economy. He particularly referred, when he was dealing with his Budget, to the question of expenditure under civil administration and said that here was something which the Honourable Members of this House should carefully scrutinise and make such suggestions as they can.

Now, Sir, my grievance against the Finance Member is this. Before he made this appeal, he should not have committed himself to certain and fixed positions. My grievance is that, so long as a highly paid foreign Bureaucracy is considered as indispensable for the administration of the country in all Departments and so long as the maintenance of a foreign army of occupation is deemed indispensable and always maintained on a war footing, it is difficult for Members on this side to suggest adequate and effective remedies of economy and retrenchment. That is indeed a very difficult handicap on the critics, but I am prepared to go with him to examine the position of expenditure under Civil Administration itself, because that is the one point on which he laid great emphasis in his speech. I would only draw his attention to this fact as to what is the position of expenditure under Civil Administration itself during the last few years. I will take the figures of net expenditure given in Appendix I to the Explanatory Memorandum which he has supplied, along with the budget papers. Honourable Members on this side of the House will find that this expenditure under Civil Administration has risen from the year 1923-24, from 8 crores 65 lakhs to the year 1928-29, which is the last year for which we have accounts available, to 10 crores 43 lakhs in the revised estimates and in the Budget of 1930-31, the figure is 12 crores 20 lakhs. That is the position. Of course in the speech the Honourable the Finance Member has tried to give some explanation about the increase of expenditure over the revised for the current year. He has given certain

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reasons, but he has asked the attention of this House to be concentrated upon certain items which are mainly responsible for the increase of expenditure under this heading over the revised estimates for the current year. I will deal with the latter if I think it necessary at a later stage of my speech. What I think necessary is to point out that, from the year 1923-24 to the year 1930-31, we find the amount increasing to 12 crores 30 lakhs from 8 crores 65 lakhs; that is, an increase of 3 crores and 65 lakhs in this one item of expenditure alone.

Now let us see what the position of revenue is during these years. Under receipts—the figures of net receipts which are given here—I take the same set of years for comparison—the position as regards net revenue is like this. For the year 1923-24 the net revenue was 85 crores 65 lakhs, and in the account year 1928-29 it was 82 crores 70 lakhs. I would ask Honourable Members to bear in mind that, during all these five or six years, we find only two years in which the position under net receipts has improved, but in all the remaining years it has been a position of gradually reducing receipts. That is the position we find here. Well, during those years, while there was gradual reduction in the receipts, we find the expenditure under this one head increasing to the extent of more than three crores and a half. Now, Sir, I am not inclined to go into the figures of total expenditure for these years, simply because, under certain arrangements, my Honourable friend the Finance Member is already committed in regard to military expenditure up to the year 1932-33; since he has committed himself to that position it is useless for me to go into that position or to say how the military expenditure could be managed with a less amount. This question was alluded to last year in a speech which I made in support of the cut motion on Military demand moved by the Independent Party. What I want particularly to draw the attention of this House to is this. Is the increase accounted for solely on the ground that Government have found it necessary to spend all this money on the nation building departments and thus increase the expenditure under Civil Administration? Any rise in expenditure under Civil Administration could be tolerated by this part of the House only if we found that that increase was mainly due to increased expenditure on what may be described as nation building departments. Now, Sir, for that purpose, I shall draw the attention of the Honourable the Finance Member to certain figures. This expenditure on Civil Administration, according to the budget papers, is made up of more than seven or eight items mentioned in the Budget itself. If we analyse the figures for these items, Honourable Members will find that the expenditure for the Frontier Watch and Ward is included in the expenditure under Civil Administration. Now, for the sake of getting all the figures of expenditure under Frontier Watch and Ward, Honourable Members will have to run over a number of Demands contained in the big volume; it is not found in one place at all. There is one non-votable item, Frontier Watch and Ward. Besides that demand, this expenditure under Frontier Watch and Ward is to be found distributed under North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan and other frontier provinces, and so on. When all these figures are grouped together, I find the position is like this, that this expenditure in the budget year 1930-31, which has been provided for is Rs. 2,78,88,000. That is the position. It was Rs. 2,54,37,000 last year. There is an increase of 24 lakhs in this one item of expenditure alone during this year. Then there is another Demand in which we find an increase. That is the Political Department. I know

there is something said in justification of the increase in the Standing Finance Committee's proceedings about this expenditure, but I am concerned at present in bringing to the notice of this House the increase in the expenditure under Political Department. Now the amount shown in the budget proposals is Rs. 1,74,90,000, while the revised estimates were Rs. 1,58,71,000 in the Political Department. Then there is Aviation where Rs. 31,78,000 have been provided for, while for the same Department last year the provision was only Rs. 5,37,000,—there is an increase of Rs. 26,39,000 under this head. Now, all these expenses put together would by themselves amount to not less than Rs. 65 lakhs, while the increase in the total expenditure on what can properly be described as national-building departments, such as Education, Medicine, Public Health, Agriculture, Industries, and so on, has not been more than Rs. 20 lakhs. This is the very first test by which we can scrutinise the figures for all the five years which I have mentioned and if I had the time I would have scrutinised the figures to prove that the expenditure on the nation-building departments has during this whole period been very meagre. The Government of India has been very miserly in allotting sums for the nation-building department; while during the same period there has been an extravagant increase in all the other departments under civil administration such as the Frontier Watch and Ward, and so on. Notwithstanding some disturbance in Afghanistan which brought about a change of sovereigns, the conditions on the frontier are normal, and it is on that ground I believe that our Honourable friend Sir Abdul Qaiyum suggested that this was the proper time for the introduction of reforms in the North West Frontier Province. That being the case, we should like to know, no explanation having been supplied to us either in the Explanatory Memorandum or in the speech of the Finance Member, as to why expenditure under these heads has been mounting up in this manner. Or is it that the reduction which is alleged to be made in the military expenditure in certain minor details had to be compensated for by an increase in the name of watch and ward by creating another civil army on the frontier? What is the real position? So, Sir, so far as the expenditure of the civil administration itself is concerned, there is considerable room for retrenchment, and that is the main point which I want to bring out.

After that I shall proceed to deal with another point of great importance. Honourable Members will find—of course that is a point which has been worn out in this House—that the total expenditure of the Government of India—I am only speaking about the Central Government—comes to about 134 crores. That is put down at this figure in the Budget, and what is the total amount that is presented to the vote of this House? It is only 40 crores and odd. Out of a total expenditure which they mean to incur during the year to the extent of 134 crores according to their own statements, which are presented to us, this House is entitled to vote on an expenditure of only 40 crores. Similarly if you take the receipts side, what is the exact ratio which is being recovered by way of taxes on the vote of this House? All the amount that is covered by the Finance Bill is the only amount which is recovered by the Government with the consent of this House, and the remaining receipts, which they can recover on the strength of the executive power which they have got, are still there. Even as things as they are, the total amount they recover will come to much more than what is stated in the Budget. For example, in the Railway Department itself, they get revenue to the extent of something like 180 crores; and of this, after making the necessary deductions, only a part is brought

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down by way of contribution and net receipts to the general receipts of the Government of India. So out of the amount realised by the Government in the form of taxes, either direct or indirect, only an infinitesimally small fraction is placed before the House in the form of this Finance Bill and they say, "We have come before you for supplies". I am perfectly sure the Government of India know that not only can they get these supplies, even if the House does not vote for them, but they have got other ways also of getting the major portion of their supplies without the vote of this House. So long as the position is what it is, my friend Mr. Kelkar was perfectly justified in saying that the presentation of the Budget as well as the presentation of the Finance Bill is more or less a formal affair, and if that is a formal affair, our opposition to it is also a formal affair. If that is a solemn affair, then our opposition to it is also solemn and sincere. Sir, this House has been crying to get a right of voting on every pie which the Government of India want to recover by means of taxes and spend in this country. So long as that right is not conceded to us, this House has got a right to record its protest in the only constitutional manner in which it can do so. This year we have decided, Sir, not to support the Finance Bill, and we want the Government to get it passed on their own strength and on the strength of the votes of the official block as well as of such others as are enamoured of this Bill.

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

Then, Sir, the last point which I wish to deal with is this. When the Government of India are proceeding to recover such a huge amount by way of heavy taxes, I want them to understand that the people are not in a mood to pay such heavy taxes, and the recovery of those taxes will cause a ferment in the country; it will cause trouble which may add to the tumult and turmoil already created by so great a man as Mahatma Gandhi. Your taxation proposals will go to aggravate the situation, rather than bring some relief to the people. I have already referred to that point more than once in the course of my speeches in this House, but the point is of such great importance that it deserves to be repeated more than once. I repeat that the Government of India should have been very cautious in framing their taxation proposals this year, particularly when they had sufficient notice that a huge campaign of no-tax was going to be launched. They thought that the promise which they had held out of summoning a Round Table Conference would bring about a complete change of mentality; they thought that it would be a temptation enough to drown the spirit of the people and wean them up from the campaign, to which an impulse has been given by so great a personality as Mahatma Gandhi. I may tell the Government that there are people, and a very large section too, who sincerely feel that Mahatmaji's campaign should prove a success, and if the Government of India do not take to counsels given by very responsible Members and mend their ways in time, I may tell them, notwithstanding their genuine desire to bring about a Round Table Conference to discuss the future constitution, and notwithstanding the honest desire of a certain section of the public to reciprocate in the belief of getting Dominion Status, the whole thing might turn out to be a grand fiasco to the standing discredit of the Government of India and to the entire discomfiture and unutterable woe and distress of the poor tax-ridden and miserable masses of the country. In these circumstances, Sir, I am unable to support the Finance Bill which is before us now.

Sir Darcy Lindsay (Bengal: European): I move, Sir, that the question be now put.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad: Sir, I am not in favour of paralysing the Government, but I have got very genuine grievances against the Government, and I see no alternative but to oppose the present Finance Bill as this is the only method by which I can express my feelings against the Government. Sir, one gentleman the other day remarked that the Finance Member was a heartless being. But to my mind a Finance Member is not void of heart, but he has got two hearts; one of them begins to operate when he looks into the expenditure side, and the other begins to operate when he considers the income side and begins to search the pockets of others. It is just what we find in this Bill. I appealed several times to the Finance Member to provide some money for enforcing primary education in the country. This has been before the Assembly and before the Imperial Council from 1911, but the Government have not given serious attention to the matter. I expected that either the silver or the sugar duty would be ear-marked for the expansion of primary education throughout British India and the money ear-marked for primary education should be given to various provinces according to their requirements.

The second thing about which I appealed several times, but about which I had no response from the Government, is about the change of policy in education. One may say that education is a transferred subject and that the Government of India have nothing to do with it. No doubt the detailed administration is under the provinces, but the general educational policy, I maintain, is and should be in the hands of the Government of India, in the same manner as the agricultural policy is in the hands of the Government of India.

The third grievance about which I have to speak is about the Sarda Act. Some people argue that we Mussalmans on this side of the House are in favour of early marriages. That is not the case. It is the other way round. The Muhammadans never had the practice of early marriages. The important point on which they lay great stress is that the Government have begun to interfere with our Shariat, and that is the point on which we are going to oppose it. It is rather unfortunate that the Government did not have the correct opinion about the feelings of the Muhammadans on this particular point, and it is becoming more and more apparent that the Muhammadans will on no ground tolerate any kind of interference in religious matters. Some people ask, "Why are you opposing the Bill when it is not against the Shariat". In reply I relate a story: A fowl died in the house of a person and he began to cry and weep. When persons in the neighbourhood asked him why he was making such a great howl in regard to such a tiny matter, he said "The Angel Israel has seen my house and I do not know what may happen tomorrow". We oppose this because of a feeling in our mind that we do not know what may happen tomorrow. It is this feeling which urges the Mussalmans to oppose the Bill tooth and nail. We have got the example of the Cawnpore mosque. People at that time said that it was a small matter, why did we make all this trouble about the mosque. Had it not occurred, most of the mosques in New Delhi would have disappeared.

Sir, the next point I should like to take up is the Skeen Committee. I hope I am not revealing any of the secrets of the Committee when I say that certain Members in that Committee wanted to go much further

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than the recommendations of that Committee, but they withdrew their liberal recommendations simply on the ground that they should present a unanimous Report, as the chances of its acceptance would then be more promising. Had they known beforehand that Government would not take any note even of the unanimous recommendations of the Committee, which was presided over by no less a person than Sir Andrew Skeen, but would shelve the Report, many Members would have written a Minority Report. Some persons said that most of the recommendations of the Skeen Committee have been given effect to. I have read these recommendations once again, and I find that nearly all these recommendations are still in abeyance, and it is surprising that these recommendations, which were unanimous and which had been repeatedly demanded by this Assembly, have not yet been given effect to.

The next thing on which I have a grievance is the reform for the Frontier Province. We carried this particular question without a division, and I am sure that my Honourable friend Nawab Sir Abdul Qaiyum will never get his reforms by always voting with the Government. There may be a chance of getting them by opposition to the Government.

The next point is the protective duties. There are two ways by which one can exercise protection. One is that we impose heavy duties on our imports. The second thing, which is equally important, is to encourage the home industry by giving it some kind of bounty. Taking the case of sugar which has been very much discussed, it is not enough for the encouragement of the sugar industry if we impose duty on Java sugar. It is equally important that we must subsidise the cultivation of sugar-cane in various provinces. If the sugar-cane cultivators are helped, either in the shape of remission of revenues or in cash, then the sugar crop will grow and the sugar industry will develop in various provinces.

I should also like to draw the attention of the Assembly to the exchange ratio of 1s. 6d. This is not the time to raise that particular question, but the finances of India will be relieved if the Government of India reduced the ratio to 1s. 4d.

It is rather unfortunate that one speaker has drawn the attention of the Assembly to the work done by Sir Muhammad Habibullah. I think he has done a great disservice to Sir Muhammad Habibullah by repeating these facts this morning. He would probably be nearer the truth if he had substituted, for the words "Sir Muhammad Habibullah" the words "Mr. Bajpai".

Mr. K. C. Roy: On a point of order. May I say that not a word was meant or even implied against Sir Muhammad Habibullah?

Mr. Deputy President: That is not a point of order, Mr. Roy.

Mr. K. C. Roy: I know some of the rules of the House.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad: I want to leave it at this point. I leave it to the mathematical Members of this Assembly to draw mathematical equations from it.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum (North-West Frontier Province: Nominated Non-Official): What is the formula?

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad: Let us discuss it outside.

I next want to draw the attention of the Government to the communal fights which are going on between the Hindus and Muhammadans. I took the opportunity to examine some of them, and I discovered that, in a majority of cases, the Government officials were in the wrong. (Hear, hear.) Had the Government officials taken the right action at the right moment, then most of the troubles would have been avoided. I wish therefore that, whenever these troubles occur, we should not only bring the Hindu and the Muhammadan culprits before the Court, but some kind of tribunal may be appointed to consider the conduct of the Government officials who will be found to be in the wrong, and if Government officials also are brought to task, then most of the communal troubles, which we hear so much will disappear.

Sir, the next point that I wish to draw attention to is the repeated recommendations made by my Honourable friend Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh about income-tax. I think he has drawn a very good illustration that, if the income of a person is Rs. 1,999, he has to pay no tax, but the moment his pay is increased by Re. 1 to Rs. 2,000, he has not only to pay income-tax on the increase of Re. 1, but also on the entire amount of Rs. 2,000, which is unjust and I hope the Honourable the Finance Member will look into this matter.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: How does that compare with land revenue?

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad: The point I wish to bring to the notice of the Government is that if the income is raised beyond a certain amount, then the tax should be levied on the increased amount and not on the entire income.

Mian Mohammad Shah Nawaz: What about land revenue?

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad: This point I would leave to my Honourable friend to develop.

Now, I come to the Round Table Conference, which has been so much talked about. Sir, there have been different ways of expressing loyalty to the Government at different times, and now the way in which we express loyalty in these days is (1) that we should have full Dominion Status and (2) we thank His Excellency the Viceroy for having invited this Round Table Conference. These are the two formulae by means of which we express our loyalty to the Government. Let me examine rather more closely this proposal of Round Table Conference. First, I take up the Muhammadans. The Muhammadans no doubt have represented their views before the Simon Commission and they stated all they had to say. And whenever they go to the Round Table Conference, the Muhammadans would only say that they have already said it. They may further paraphrase the memorandum which was presented to Sir John Simon and also paraphrase the famous Minute of Dissent of Dr. Suhrawardy, which somehow, in spite of repeated requests and questions to the Honourable the Home Member, has not seen the light of day and no reply is forthcoming. But still as far as the Muhammadans are concerned, they will only repeat what they had already said.

Now, as regards the other side, there is a very substantial opinion not only shared by persons labelled as extremists, but also by moderates. They say that the solution for India's problems lies in India and not in England. This is the opinion expressed to me by Mr. Manchurji Bhownagari when

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I met him in London in 1928. He said "Why do you bring so many deputations to this country?" From his long experience of Indian politics, he was of opinion that India's solution lay in India itself and not in England.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney (Nominated: Anglo-Indians): That was two years ago.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad: I suppose the opinion, which he expressed two years ago, will prove more important after the experience of the last two years. Now the only persons who should be very pleased are those who were tired of the agitation against the Simon Commission and who found a way to come out of it. These are the only persons who ought to be very thankful to the Government and proud of this new situation. At any rate, as far as the Muhammadans are concerned, we will never oppose a movement of this kind. We will always co-operate with the Government, we will co-operate with the All-Parties Conference, we will co-operate with every section of the Indian community, and we will lay our just and genuine demands before them, and try to work out a future constitution for India, which may best suit the people, and a constitution which may benefit not one particular section, but may benefit every section of the people residing in this land.

Mr. Anwar-ul-Azim (Chittagong Division: Muhammadan Rural): I am grateful to you, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to take part in the debate and make a few remarks here in this connection. I will not follow the examples of my Honourable friends who have indulged in diatribes of various kinds and sorts about the ills with which the Government of India are afflicted, but I should confine my observations to one or two matters which have fallen from some of the previous speakers. This morning our Honourable friend, who represents the Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions Non-Muslim constituency in this House, while talking about delivering the goods in connection with Round Table Conference, referred to Mr. Gandhi as the person who can do it, but, Sir, I have my own doubts about it. Mr. Gandhi is a very great man, perhaps one of the greatest Indians living in our time, and there are lots of people who are of his way of thinking. Mr. Ranga Iyer opined that Mr. Gandhi alone would be able to deliver the goods at the Round Table Conference to the British people. I have great doubts about it myself, because, knowing as I do most of the people living here, especially the Muslims, I must say honestly that it will not be possible for Mr. Gandhi to deliver our goods because his creed is different from ours. If the Government have wisdom in selecting our people to represent our story before the Round Table Conference, they will select noblemen like Mr. Jinnah and Nawab Sir S. Abdul Qaiyum Khan of the Frontier Province.

Pandit Nilakantha Das: Do you represent all the Mussalmans in India?

Mr. Anwar-ul-Azim: Yes, I voice their sentiment here. I have the support of the Muslim League behind me.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Do you include all the minorities?

Mr. Anwar-ul-Azim: In India there are two classes alone. Muslims and Non-Muslims. Sir, there is one other matter, rather disconnected with

the purpose of this proposal, and that is the much maligned reformed constitution which has been allowed to work here in this country from 1921. I find, Sir, some, not excepting even responsible men like Mr. Kelkar, committing this folly. They are here as the result of that constitution of 1920. They are here as a result of that open-mindedness, if I may call it so, of the British public and they are here in this House as a result of the constitution that was evolved by the genius of the late Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford. But what do they do here? In season and out of season, we hear condemnation of this constitution. May I pertinently ask my Honourable friends, who have come into this House by that constitution, how they can decry the very constitution which has enabled them to come here, and why, in spite of their decrying it here in season and out of season, the very constitution is growing strong and that with the help of Swarajists and Nationalists?

Mr. N. C. Kelkar (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muhammadian Rural): Is the Honourable Member himself satisfied with the present constitution?

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qalyum: It is the constitution under which you have come to this House.

Mr. Anwar-ul-Azim: Now, Sir, I have no quarrel with anybody, least of all with a man in the position of Mr. Kelkar, because of all
 5 P.M. the people to my right, I think the Responsivist Group have got some vision of judgment in them. That, however, is by the way.

Last year when I was talking on the third reading of the Finance Bill, the Honourable the Finance Member found fault with me, because I dilated a little on the ancient history of the Moghuls. I said that it was the Moghuls who had granted trade facilities to the forerunners of the Honourable the Finance Member here in this country, the East India Company, and as a result of those facilities, were able to kill the Portuguese and Dutch trade in the Gulf of Martaban. My only purpose was to remind Government that, perhaps at one time they were given good treatment by our forefathers and now, when we are fallen on evil days, perhaps the old associations and old memories might help them to come to our just aid and assistance. I remember that, immediately after me, a sigh of relief was heaved by my friend Mr. K. C. Neogy, who said that we were now relieved of this old story and we might go for a second to the Finance Bill. If Mr. Neogy was actually an impartial critic, he would surely have taken exception to our friends on my right, who last year and this year have been indulging in things which are not connected with the Finance Bill. This afternoon, Sir, you will remember that some flings were made at our expense by the Honourable Member from Burdwan. I do not think I can go down to his level of abuse, and I think it will be better if I leave him severely alone at that stage. My purpose is this; it is not that we cry for the moon, it is not that we want anything at the expense of others. What we cry for is this, that our just and legitimate demands in all spheres should be respected and considered.

Now, Sir, coming to the Bill itself, I might pertinently make one observation with regard to the items which form part of it. From the very lucid statement which has been put forward for our consideration by the Honourable the Finance Member, it appears, on the face of it, that perhaps the proposed taxation demanded by him are for purposes for which we have all been clamouring. On a reference to paragraphs 88—89

[Mr. Anwar-ul-Azim.]

onwards, you will find that he has distinctly stated that, out of the revenue that will be accumulated, he expects some surpluses which will be utilised for the coming reforms. My friends on my right have observed that, even they can read between the lines of what the Finance Member said in his budget speech. If these paragraphs are taken impartially, they can easily see that some sort of change is coming on in the administration of the provinces, and for that purpose, some amount of money will be needed. If we cry for being Ministers and Executive Councillors on the one hand, and at the same time decry Government with reasons, plausible or otherwise, I do not see how we can call ourselves consistent. Because you know that we cannot possibly have the cake and eat it at the same time. If you mean to follow the example of England here, you must pay for it. You could not possibly have a panchayat or *baitakkhana* gossip and run the whole administration on those lines. So I say that some of the items of taxation, which have been put forward in the Finance Bill, are justifiable.

I would like to refer to one other matter and that is in connection with one or two remarks which fell from the Honourable the Finance Member in reply to the speeches made during the budget discussion. Referring to the members of the Standing Finance Committee, he said that gentlemen who form the personnel of that Committee should be rather intelligent exponents of the case of Government so far as the financial side is concerned. I think it is a very legitimate demand on his part to make of those Members who are on the Finance Committee. So far as that Committee is concerned, I do not know much. I am sure quite a lot of intelligent gentlemen have been sitting on that Committee, and I am sure they try their level best to grasp the things put before them. But it seems to me that there is some sort of a hide-and-seek policy so far as the formation of these Committees is concerned. If you analyse the past history of the formation of the Railway Finance Committee, you will find that there are many gentlemen who are not only not conversant with the railway side of finance, but are absolutely innocent of any ability to take any part in the proceedings. That is the state of affairs in some of the committees which are formed, and I am sure I need not say very much so far as the selections to other Committees are concerned. They show such a lack of imagination. What about the Banking Enquiry Committee, and others of that kind? In the budget speech of the Finance Member he has very eloquently pleaded the cause of the provinces, and also for their agricultural populations. He says that, for agricultural development lots of things are necessary and they will require lots of money. May I not pertinently ask him whether it should not form a very important matter for discussion whether these provinces should be given some power of original taxation and not rely for the success of their administration on the good graces of the Government of India?

Last of all, I agree with the Deputy President with regard to our general story in all its bearings and spheres. It seems to me that, unless certain cases are thrashed out here on the floor of the House they do not generally draw the attention of the Government of India. I for one should have thought that, if the Government of India, as such, meant business, then they, out of their own initiative, would have looked to things which were likely to be beneficial to all and not have created this annual discussion which sometimes causes acrimony. I do not think, Sir, I shall be justified

in taking any more time, except that I reiterate what I have said on other occasions on the floor of the House, on the cut motion of Mr. Kelkar and on the Demands for Grants. Last of all, I wish to say, without showing any disrespect to you, Sir, I think you were rather hard, while talking this morning, about a Muhammadan gentleman whose name was not mentioned. (*An Honourable Member*: "Nameless".) Yes, but of course he has been found out and he is practically nearing the time to retire and I do not think we shall be right just to let him have an impression that we did not wish him well at the time of retirement. One other matter, which is absolutely personal, but I should like to mention it. So far as Mr. K. C. Roy is concerned, he is a distinguished Honourable colleague of ours.

Mr. Deputy President: Nothing about Mr. K. C. Roy. Personalities are not to be discussed here.

Mr. Anwar-ul-Azim: With these words I close my speech.

Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtulla (Bombay Central Division: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I desire to make a few observations though at this late hour. My reason is that the debate, as I understand, has been wrongly conducted for this reason, that it would be showing a great deal of irresponsibility if we, at this juncture, reject the Finance Bill. The occasion which is given to us should be utilised, to my mind, for two purposes. One is honest criticism of the Government's work during the past year, and the other is useful suggestions for the future. If we can satisfy these two heads during this debate, I think the Honourable the Finance Member and Members of Government would feel very grateful.

Sir, I would like to mention, as regards the first point, that we have, according to my calculation, given more to the Finance Member than what he has actually asked in the shape of taxation. First of all, one point will make this clear, namely an additional duty proposed by Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, from 30 to 38 per cent. on silver thread, silver wire, etc., will certainly give the Finance Member an additional income. I, therefore, think, Sir, that I should draw the attention of the Honourable the Finance Member to this, that if there is surplus, he should not allow other departments as it has been the case in the past, to run extravagant expenditure because there is a surplus and they can spend it in any way they like. The Finance Member has, in his budget speech, on page 50, from paragraph 77 onwards, traced the whole of the present situation regarding the need for taxation, regarding the retrenchment in expenditure and the future outlook in the country, and I, Sir, having regard to his statement, will not allow a single pie to be spent more than what is absolutely necessary. Now, as regards the one point on which I think the Honourable Members here are feeling very dissatisfied, namely the consultation with party leaders, I think I am voicing the opinion of my Honourable friends here when I say that the system which is adopted by the Government of consultation with leaders is a system which has not met with the approval of many Members of this House. (Hear, hear.) Whilst they do not wish to discourage the policy of consulting with leaders, they must make it clear that leaders should not be made to keep strict secrecy about these matters and that they should be allowed to consult their followers. If they would do that, much of the criticism would undoubtedly disappear.

[Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtulla.]

The second point is that the large number of Members in this House at present do not belong to any party whatsoever. Then do I understand that Government desire to deliberately exclude these people from consultation? Or do I draw the inference that, by this system, they want to force every individual from belonging to one party or the other? I hope, Sir, that the Government will consider this aspect of the question. That whilst I have no objection to Government consulting the party leaders in arriving at a settlement satisfactory to every one, they will see that a grievance of this character should never be allowed to remain amongst the Members of this House.

Sir, I would like to congratulate my Honourable friend, Mr. Ranga Iyer, on his very able and brilliant speech this morning. I think, Sir, there is one point to which I take exception in his speech. In his enthusiasm he has told this House that it is only Mahatma Gandhi who can deliver the goods on behalf of India. Whilst I have very great reverence for Mahatma Gandhi and I do not wish to say anything which would directly or indirectly reflect on him, I must say, Sir, that at this juncture, at any rate, he does not enjoy the confidence of the Mussalmans of India. I hope, Sir, that whilst he is concentrating his efforts on the question of civil disobedience, and on the question of forcing Government's hands, he will concentrate on winning the goodwill and co-operation of all the minorities in India. If he were to go from here as the ambassador of India all by himself, with the goodwill and co-operation of all minorities, I have no doubt that with the ability and respect that he commands throughout this country and other countries, he would be able to secure for us a great deal more than any individual who went either in his individual capacity, representative capacity or collective capacity to the Round Table Conference. (Hear. hear.)

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

Sir, a great deal has been made out about the Round Table Conference. I have seen people holding out threats that if such and such a condition is not fulfilled, if such and such a thing does not happen, they will not go to the Round Table Conference. I want to say very clearly that Indians would commit a great blunder in their life if they do not go to the Round Table Conference unconditionally.

Mr. President: Without invitation?

Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtulla: We will be invited at least that is my information. I would like to point out that we have, times out of number in this House, said that the present Government are an irresponsible Government. We have times out of number pointed out that there are grievances of ours which the Cabinet Members either are not in a position to remedy or are prevented from remedying by persons who are not in India but who practically rule the Cabinet of India from England. I therefore think, Sir, that this is an occasion which should be utilised by every Indian for putting forward our views jointly, unitedly and with one voice, if we wish to secure an honourable place for India within the Empire.

Sir, there is one point which my Honourable friend, Maulvi Muhammad Yakub, touched this morning, and it was regarding the services. I should like to mention, Sir, in short, that our grievances in this matter are these,

that whilst Government have given us pledges—and one of these pledges was read out by Maulvi Muhammad Yakub as given by His Excellency Lord Reading, the *ex-Viceroy* of India, that, when there are vacancies, one-third of them should be allotted to the minority communities in India. I think in the case of Mussalmans that is a very wrong thing to do. The point that I wish to make is that every vacancy should be filled by the minorities until one-third of the total number in the services is filled by the minority communities in all the Departments of Government. That is the point at issue. If you go on filling one-third of the vacancies as they occur by the minority communities, you will never be able to satisfy all the minorities, and specially the Mussalmans of India.

Mr. President: Is the Honourable Member not satisfied with Lord Reading's pledge?

Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtulla: That pledge, as I read it, does not say one-third of the vacancies occurring, but one-third of the total number—employed in all the Departments. Another point, Sir, is this—and I think I am voicing the opinion of the minorities here—that the system of examinations that has been introduced in the Departments is merely a farce; it is a device which is deliberately made as an obstruction to the minorities getting employment in the Government Departments and to stifle public agitation. Government should lay down the minimum qualifications required, without any system of examinations, and they should also recognise the degrees of the Universities in this country. If they adopt this system, many of the grievances now prevailing would to my mind disappear.

Pandit Nilakantha Das: My friend proposes abolishing examination in recruitment. But what will happen if there are more than the required number of candidates even from the minority community?

Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtulla: We have more than the number required. Sir, another point that I wish to make is that Government should by no means adopt a policy of repression. This policy, instead of keeping the country quiet, will make the country greatly agitated, and the remedy will be worse than the disease. The only point, to my mind, on which the Government should concentrate their attention is the question of poverty and unemployment in India. They have, I am glad to say, brought forward a measure, namely, the Textile Protection Bill, which will secure employment for a large number of Indians in this country. (*Several Honourable Members:* "Question".) I do not wish to reply to my friends Mr. Das and Mr. Ghuznavi because I reserve my speech on this point for a later occasion when we shall be discussing the Indian Tariff Bill. At that stage my friend Mr. Ghuznavi, who has traced the history of the cotton industry in India, will have to hear something from me, but I do not wish to take up the time of this House at this juncture in discussing the Bill which is coming in a separate form and which is going to be debated on its own merits.

Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi (Dacca Division: Muhammadan Rural): Why do you refer to it then?

Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtulla: I refer to it because it gives employment without allowing the textile industry to be ruined.

Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi: Question.

Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtulla: What is the use of questioning without telling us how you question. It is no use saying simply 'question' and sitting with folded hands. If Mr. Ghuznavi is able to prove that without special protection he will be able to save the industry, I myself will have nothing to complain.

Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi: Even after getting protection you will not be able to save the industry.

Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtulla: My Honourable friend's case is peculiar. He has got some grievance, centuries old, regarding the Bombay mills, and he does not deal with the reality of the situation, and unless he comes to the realities of the situation and leaves his grievances of 1905 aside, I do not think he will be in a position to tackle the merits of the Bill which is coming before this House shortly. Sir, I do not wish to take up the time of this House any longer. I again repeat we would be committing a great mistake if we reject the Finance Bill.

(Mr. Mukhtar Singh rose in his place.)

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

Mr. Mukhtar Singh: Yes, Sir.

Mr. President: How many minutes does the Honourable Member want to take?

Mr. Mukhtar Singh: One hour, Sir.

Mr. President: I am sorry I cannot give the Honourable Member one hour.

Several Honourable Members: The question may be now put.

Mr. Mukhtar Singh: I will finish in 45 minutes, Sir.

Honourable Members: The question may be now put.

Mr. President: If the Honourable Member wishes to speak for fifteen minutes, I will allow him to do so.

Honourable Members: The question may be now put.

Mr. Mukhtar Singh: I will finish within fifteen minutes, Sir.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member cannot finish within fifteen minutes. Mr. Navalrai.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai (Sind: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, in not supporting this Bill, I would like to draw the attention of the House to one or two policies of the Government. I will refer to the salt tax first. With regard to the salt tax, there has been a very grave, I shall say, the greatest resentment in the country. It has led to civil disobedience by Mahatma Gandhi. I would therefore not say anything more with regard to that. But I would draw the attention of the Honourable the Finance Member to a definite question with regard to the grievance of the fisher-folk belonging to the Districts of Malabar and South Canara. Sir, these

fishermen are on the coast and they have been making their living on fish. That fish is being salted, i.e., being cured with salt earth gathered from low lying saline fields. There was no salt tax in this, and these people used to cure their fish without any payment of tax. When the salt tax was introduced, these men also became affected by it; so they agitated and showed their discontent, and the result was that a yard system was created for supplying salt gratis to these people to cure their fish within these yards. Now, Sir, this did not come to the help of all the fishermen on the coast; it benefited only those who live near by these yards. They only could get their fish cured there but since then, they have been deprived of even that convenience by the management of the yards being transferred to the Madras Government, who do not care to take a sufficient interest in these yards. Now, with regard to this, Sir, as there is not much time at this hour of the day, I would only say that this question of the grievance of these fishermen has been hanging fire since a very long time. The policy of the Government has always been to redress even an admitted grievance only when it is too late. Now, this has been pending since a very long time. Regarding it, the Honourable Mr. Ramadas Pantulu moved a Resolution in the Council of State recommending that the management and up-keep of the fish-curing yards in the Madras Presidency be taken up by the Central Government. The debate that took place in the Council of State on the 3rd March, 1927 shows this. Now, though this Resolution was adopted in the Council of State, and though it is now more than three years since that Resolution was passed, Government have not been able to do anything. I would, therefore, draw the attention of the Honourable the Finance Member to this definite grievance of these poor people and ask him to wait no more to come to their relief.

Then, Sir, a word as regards the Public Service Commission. The other day I heard the Honourable Dr. Ziauddin saying that the Public Service Commission should not exist, for the reason that, in the Public Service Commission, the members are not proficient in all subjects, and therefore they cannot recruit for offices of all kinds. Now, Sir, if my Honourable friend had had his attention drawn to what the selection boards or heads of offices are doing with regard to recruitment, I think he would not have referred to the Public Service Commission in the terms he did.

Mr. President: That is not a reason for rejecting the Finance Bill?

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: That shows, Sir, that Government's policy is wrong with regard to that. I would only say, Sir, that the Public Service Commission is doing fairly good work, but that the selection boards require to be greatly improved.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad: I know the working of the Public Service Commission in India and I know the working of the same institutions in England and elsewhere.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: I do not say that the Honourable Member does not know it, but what I meant to draw his attention to was that he should divert his attention to what the Selection Boards are doing. The Selection Boards are sending for hundreds of people, taking so much money on the application forms from them which the Government supply and examining hundreds of candidates, but the result is only that they give preference to some people and select only a few.

[Mr. Lalchand Navalrai.]

Now, Sir, coming to the Finance Bill itself, I submit the policy of the Government with regard to retrenchment has been entirely wrong. I am glad the Finance Member has shown sympathy with regard to the curtailment that he proposes to make. We are told that a Commissioner is going to be appointed for that purpose but, Sir, unless the policy of the Government is changed, no Commissioner, for the matter of that not even a Committee, will be able to do much. In this connection I may submit that the present policy of the Government is not to touch for curtailment from top to toe, but to touch the toe only. Therefore, strict instructions should be given to the Commissioner who may be appointed to consider the pay and emoluments, not only of small officers and subordinates, but he should begin from the top. He should take the office of the Secretary of State for India in hand first, then the salaries of Members of the Executive Council and so on. The other day I heard the Finance Member saying that, even when we get Dominion rule and begin to rule ourselves, we will not be able to keep the Executive Councillors on a lower pay. I submit, Sir, that when Dominion rule is granted to us, we will be cutting our coat according to our cloth; at present the Government wants to cut an English coat, even when there is no sufficient cloth.

In this connection I would like to cite one or two instances to show how retrenchment is being effected, at present. I was reading a pamphlet written by a Professor, Mr. H. R. Bhateja, M.A., who is a Professor of Economics in the Patna University. He has referred to an instance that happened in the Educational Department which supports my view. This is what he says in his pamphlet:

"The pay of the post of the Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University was retrenched, but as the I. E. S. officer had to be provided for somewhere, he reverted to his substantive post, carrying about the same emolument. All officers acting in the chain of his vacancy were removed back until an unfortunate teacher officiating on a small pittance was thrown out of employment."

This is, Sir, what happens with the fate of retrenchment. Now, have we not enough of instances in the Central Government itself? We have an instance in the Central Board of Revenue. Recently, Sir, there arose the question of the appointment of a permanent Secretary to the Board, and what do we find? Since Central Board of Revenue was separated from the Finance Department, a Deputy Secretary, taken from the Finance Department, was working as a Secretary of the Board, and he was doing his work quite satisfactorily. We know Mr. Sundaram, who has been acknowledged to be a very competent man, and he was carrying on very well; yet the Government thought that a permanent Secretary should be appointed and who should he be? I have read the minutes of the Finance Committee, and I find that they wanted to provide for an I. C. S. man with an emolument rising up to Rs. 2,500. That is so far as one of the higher offices of the Central Board of Revenue is concerned, but now let us see what they have been doing in some of the smaller offices. On the one hand, they raised the pay of the Secretary; on the other hand they considered the pay of the peons of the Income-tax Department in Bombay and Sind. There we find, while the Commissioner of Income-tax, Bombay recommended that the peons of Bombay should be put on the same level as other peons in the mofussil, they made an increase of one or two rupees in the pay of these peons, but advocated that the peons of

the Income-tax Department in Sind who had been drawing one rupee more than the peons in other Departments in Sind should be retrenched. This is the way, Sir, in which retrenchment is being carried on, and I say, until the policy of the Government remains unchanged, there will be little or no use in appointing any Commissioner or Committee.

I will now say a word about the sugar tax. My Honourable friend Mr. Abdoola Haroon from Karachi put forward the grievance with regard to sugar tax preference. It related to Kathiawar State. Imperial Preference is strongly opposed in this House and Sir, on the same principle I would ask there should exist no State preference and the differential treatment as to recovery of sugar tax should be done away with as well. With regard to sugar industries, in my own life I saw so much sugar-cane growing in fields and small factories making sugar which have fast disappeared in villages. So these small industries should be reorganized and given the necessary help to revive the sugar industry of this country. If in any case however the tax is being increased greater attention should be paid to the development of the sugar industry.

Coming now to Imperial Preference with regard to cotton piece-goods

Mr. President: You will have an opportunity to speak on it tomorrow.

Mr. Lalchand Navral: Only one word, Sir, with regard to Imperial Preference. I am entirely opposed to it. There has been a great deal of feeling among the public on this question, and the unanimous opinion of the people is that it should not be allowed. I have received certain telegrams from the Karachi Merchants' Association and also from Calcutta, and I will read only one telegram: It says this:

"Karachi Merchants' Association strongly oppose introduction of Imperial Preference in Indian budget in connection with protective duty on cotton piece-goods. Such preference will ultimately cause harm to India by subjecting her fiscal policy to interests of other parts of Empire and will initiate hostile legislation in countries concerned, harm many trades and other interests and strain India's relations with other countries."

Sir, I endorse all this. I will not tire the House any more. I would only say that in not supporting this Bill I will ask Government to take note of their wrong policies.

Mr. W. A. Cosgrave (Assam: Nominated Official): I move, Sir, that the question be now put.

(Mr. Mukhtar Singh rose in his seat.)

Mr. President: I am sure the Honourable Member will be very reasonable. It is already getting too late.

Mr. Mukhtar Singh (Meerut Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Thank you very much, Sir. After all, I have got the chance of speaking on this motion. The main point that I want to discuss today, is that it is an admitted fact.

Mr. Jehangir K. Munshi (Burma: Non-European): Might I suggest, Sir, that you might adjourn now till eleven o'clock tomorrow?

Mr. President: No.

Mr. Jehangir K. Munshi: It is already very late now, Sir.

Mr. President: I must finish the Third Reading today.

Mr. Mukhtar Singh: The only point that I want to make is this. Who is responsible for the poverty of the masses? Is it the monsoon or the excessive rain which, as the Finance Member said, is responsible or is it the Government that is responsible for the poverty of the masses? I shall dismiss the question of the monsoon and the excessive rain within a few minutes by saying that it is not only in India that the rain god is not pleased with the Indians. Such natural calamities do occur in every country of the world. Rather, I should think India is very fortunate in that respect. Even England is affected by floods and frost, Japan is affected by earthquakes. Sir, a country that has perennial rivers flowing and contains any amount of sub-soil water cannot be at a disadvantage as regards want of monsoon. If you refer to the figures, you will be pleased to notice that, in 1890-91, the irrigated area was 21.1 per cent. as compared to the total cropped area. The percentage of irrigated area to the cropped area in 1921, after a lapse of 30 years remains the same, i.e., 21.1 per cent. That clearly shows that the Government have done nothing worth the name in the meantime. They have not tried to increase the facilities for irrigation and now it does not lie in their mouth to complain about the want of monsoon. Besides this, during the short time at my disposal, I shall try to convince the House that the Government are responsible for the poverty of the masses of this country on other scores. The first point is the question of the burden of taxation. In 1911-12, the burden of taxation per head, excluding land revenue, was Rs. 1-7-0. In 1916-17 it rose to Rs. 3-4-2, and in 1926-27 it reached the figure of Rs. 4-8-5, an increase of 291 per cent. If you compare the figure of 1916 to 1926, you will find that, within a period of ten years, the burden of taxation per head has increased by 216 per cent. and still the Government say that they are not responsible for the poverty of the masses. The land revenue in 1907-08 was Rs. 2,99,48,000. It rose in 1927-28 to Rs. 38,52,17,000, an increase of 28.7 per cent., and still we are made to believe that the Government are not responsible for the poverty of the masses. There is one general complaint which I made last year also that Government have taken pretty good care that there should not be a committee or commission to inquire into the economic condition of this country. So far as I am aware, there has not been a single committee or commission which has taken up the question of land revenue, the policy of irrigation, policy of transport, custom, tariff, etc., etc., in order to inquire whether really the poverty of the people is due to Government's policy or it is due to want of monsoon and excessive rain. If complete economic inquiry is made, I am sure it will be found that Government are responsible for the poverty of the masses. People are already convinced about it, but the Government will also be convinced of it if they really want to be convinced. In Great Britain 4.4 men live on a land of 100 acres. In Denmark 5.5, in Germany 6.5, in France 7, in Holland 9, in Belgium 10 and so on live on 100 acres of land. What about India? In India 66 men are living on the same area and this clearly explains why Indians are poor. Every day the pressure on land is increasing. Last year I pointed out that the percentage living on agriculture in 1881 was only 58 per cent. In 1921, it has increased to 78 per cent. That clearly shows how far Government are trying to encourage industries or engage the

people of this country in other pursuits. The Honourable the Finance Member has made his policy quite clear in his budget speech. He says :

"In the first place and above everything else, it is necessary to stimulate and improve the agricultural production of the country, so that they can retain for themselves and enjoy a greater portion of the produce for their own subsistence. In the second place, it is desirable to encourage industrial development, provided it is done in conjunction with and in supplement to the agricultural life of this country."

What does that mean? It means Sir, that this Government would not encourage anything unless it has something to do with the agriculture of this country. This is why we find Imperial Preference in our textile industry. We saw, year before last, that the Tariff Board recommended a tax on the import of cloth, but the Government imposed a tax on yarn. It clearly shows that the Government do not want the poor people of this country to prosper. I am told, in season and out of season, that improvement in agriculture is the only method by which this poverty can be removed. I want to disabuse the Honourable the Finance Member and his Government of this idea. Improvement in agriculture will not in any way increase prosperity but it will bring in more misfortune. I wanted to press that point when Mr. Sykes put certain questions about the low rates of agricultural produce. I was told by the Honourable the Finance Member and Sir Frank Noyce that stabilisation of prices is beyond the control of any Government and the price is always controlled by the demand and supply of the country. But my Honourable friend will feel convinced if I read a passage from a recent book published in America, "Our Debt and Duty to the Farmer". On page 192, the author of this book says :

"The sufferer from sciatica or similar disease may secure temporary relief from paroxysms of pain by hot fomentations and may lessen the frequency of acute attacks by medicines which stimulate the organs of elimination and have a quieting effect on the nerves. He gets no permanent relief, however, and no assurance against recurring attacks until the cause is discovered and removed. Just so the farmer may find some relief from his economic difficulties by cutting down expenditures, by reducing production costs, by reducing marketing costs through co-operative associations, and by readjusting production. Because of weather conditions he may find his income temporarily increased. In 1924 for example our wheat farmers enjoyed the unique experience of a very large crop and a fairly good price at one and the same time. As a result they were able to meet their interest and tax payments, pay off some of their debt, and make some needed purchases. But they had no assurance that they would receive a profitable price the next year. The fundamental trouble with agriculture is the distorted relationship between prices of what farmers produce and the prices of other commodities, and the large increase that has taken place in his fixed expenses such as labour, interest, transportation, and taxes. Until prices of farm products rise to a fair ratio with price of other things, or prices of other things drop to approximately the level of farm prices, agriculture will continue to suffer economic injustice. Farmers themselves cannot bring about this change except as a sufficient number of them abandon their farms and thus reduce production. This is a most dangerous and unwise policy from the national point of view, for such a process is always carried too far and results in great hardship on consumers before it can be checked. It is also a grossly unjust method because it requires that large numbers must die financially that others may live."

This is the opinion of an American author and it is also the view adopted in England itself. I may tell my Honourable friend the Finance Member and Sir Frank Noyce that, in England, this question was inquired into in 1924. If I am not mistaken, a Committee sat for stabilisation of agricultural prices and they have published a Report Economic Series No. 2—Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries. They found out that agricultural prices may rise or fall in consequence of those causes which bring about a rise or fall in the general level of the prices of all commodities, including

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agricultural products taken together. The prices may be so great as to cause the greatest value of a large crop to be less than the small crop. It has been calculated that American growers of cotton receive more for a crop of nine million bales than for 118 million bales while American producers received more for a crop of three million bushels of wheat than for one million bushels. Further on they say that no one would deny that a favourable season in which there had been plenty of rain and sun and freedom from physical disturbances producing rich and healthy crop should be an advantage to the producer and therefore I should think that he desires nevertheless in the existing conditions of organisation of agricultural industry it is frequently a disadvantage to the production of a thing that he fears. In other words, it is true to say that there is no adequate machinery for the economic distribution and marketing. On account of that it frequently happens that a favourable season, yielding a heavy crop, leads to temporary congestion of the market and thus the farmer has to sell his entire crop at a loss. In spite of the above statement what do we do here? Sir, in this country, we do nothing else, but we try to increase the yield of the crop. The Honourable the Finance Member can very well say that it is a question of demand and supply. But what do they do in England? Do they rely upon the principle of demand and supply? No. They have the Oat Subsidy Act, the Wheat Subsidy Act and quite recently they have the Beet Sugar Subsidy Act. The cultivator is given subsidies for the different crops that he produces and yet even with the help of so many subsidies, the English farmer cannot survive on land and the population on land is decreasing every day. That clearly shows, Sir, that without any sort of protection, you have no right to blame the Indian agriculturists for his poverty. When the Government does not discharge their responsibilities he could not be anything but poor. I may read to you, Sir, a passage written not by an agitator, not by a non-co-operator, but by Mr. W. S. Blunt in his book "India under Ripon". At page 245, he says:

"I believe, it may be stated absolutely, that the whole of peasant indebtedness originally came from the necessity thus imposed of finding coin to pay the land taxes . . . This is the last worst evil which English administration has brought upon the Indian peasantry. . . . We have given the ryot security from death by violence, but we have probably increased his danger of death by starvation."

Sir, this is the condemnation in the words of an English author. What have you done, may I inquire, for the stabilisation of prices? In every country, in America, in Germany, in France and in all other countries, they have revised their customs duty, they have revised their tariff duty and on account of that they have been able to protect their agricultural industry. But in India where the producers have to send all their raw produce to England, nothing is likely to be done. England wants agricultural produce at a very cheap rate and this is why India should remain an agricultural country and the agriculturist should not be protected. And further, according to the Honourable the Finance Member, no industry which is not connected with agriculture should be allowed to survive. If this is the policy, I am afraid a time is coming when in spite of the persecutions, in spite of your repression of the workers in peasants and workers leagues, you will find that the peasantry of this country will realise that it is not God that is responsible, but this Government is responsible for their miserable lot. I have not much time at my disposal, yet I want to

ask my Honourable friends on the Government Benches, how many times their land revenue policy has been enquired into and how many times revised? I may state straightaway the land revenue policy adopted in my province. According to the Tenancy Act of my province a tenant is debarred from filing a suit for the abatement of rent, while a landlord is allowed to bring his suit for enhancement of rent. Why? Because land revenue is assessed on the amount of rent that the zamindar pays. If he gets more, Government gets more. This explains as to why the rent paid today can be increased, but cannot be decreased. If your policy rests upon this vicious principle that no abatement of rent should be allowed but only an enhancement of rent should be allowed, then how can you say, let the tenant improve his condition. In spite of this your main cry is, let him improve his condition. Is that the policy, Sir, by which you can improve his condition? Or make his position better? I was told by Sir Frank Noyce that the Agricultural Research Council will bring prosperity to this country. The Research Council with an amount of ten lakhs and an agricultural council which is not responsible to this Legislature and about which the Government have not got the courage to put the whole scheme before this Legislature? Can that Council be expected to bring about everything? I am sure that if it is to get money for research work, that research work will consist only of how to improve the yield of agriculture. It cannot enter into the question of economy and there is the end of the matter. I was told the other day by a very responsible officer of the Government of India that even Pusa is not responsible for the economic side of agriculture and rightly too. Why should they care for the economic side of agriculture?

If the Honourable Members care to go to Meerut, they will find that a very large area is badly affected by locusts while all the entomologists that Government have at their command at Pusa and in the province are writing slips after slips giving instructions for the destruction of locusts. But cannot the Government spare these experts to remain there on the spot and to show the way by which locusts can be destroyed? They are afraid they cannot do it and they do not know how to do it, and therefore these experts, who are drawing fat salaries, avoid being at the spot. They do not want to get a bad name by their failure. Is that the way in which the agriculturists are going to be helped?

Let me say a few words about the Agricultural Institute at Pusa which is said to be doing great things in the way of improvement of agriculture. I went to Pusa and I stayed there one day more than I was required, and what did I see? The only thing that I saw was that there exists no atmosphere of a research institute. It was not a temple of knowledge, but a temple of discord and heart burnings between Indians and Europeans. If even amongst research workers you cannot arouse feelings of fellowship, comradeship and co-operation, how can you expect to improve the agriculture of the country? Sir, I will refer to one passage in the evidence given before the Royal Commission on Agriculture, in Part I, Volume II, by one Mr. Joshi. He stated in his evidence:

"The marked difference in pay, prospects and status of these services, constituted and officered as they are at present, requires to some extent a readjustment as these differences would ordinarily create an artificial sense of superiority in the members of the higher branch and thereby very often prevent the feeling of comradeship amongst scientific workers which is highly desirable but which is under existing differences hardly attainable."

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This is the evidence given by one of your subordinates and speaks volumes of condemnation. Being a subordinate he could not give his opinion in a more forcible manner; not because he did not feel more strongly, but because he could not express it for fear of persecution. The Indian staff organised an association of all the research workers on behalf of which Mr. Joshi was examined and as soon as this opinion was expressed, the members were forced to resign their membership of this association. The number of members when this evidence was given was 80 and it was reduced within a week to 35. This is the way in which even the Indian research workers are treated. If agriculture is a transferred subject, I would ask Government to transfer this subject to Indians and Indians alone, and if they do not improve the condition of the people, then we shall cease to talk of Indianisation. If the direction given by the superior staff is there, nothing is possible and nothing is achievable. As long as the experts will look to the interests of England alone, nothing is likely to be achieved. I may have stated a number of other things if I would have the time, but I will only refer to one thing which the Honourable the Finance Member said the other day. He told us that if the salt tax was abolished, the eight crores which Punjab got by the cultivation of improved variety of wheat could not have been secured. Let me tell him that. Last year, the Punjab did not get 8 crores, but lost, if not 8 crores, more than 8 crores, because you allowed the Canadian wheat to come into that province and to undersell the Punjab wheat. Canada which was only cultivating about 2 million acres of wheat about 20 years ago is now cultivating 23½ millions. It is a new country whose soil has just been brought under cultivation and it can easily undersell wheat in any other country whose fertility of the soil has decreased by continuous cropping. The Government quietly allowed that wheat to be sold in the Punjab and in United Provinces, and still we are told that the Punjab cultivator has got 8 crores by the improved variety. I may be confronted with the Report . . .

Sir Frank Noyce (Secretary, Department of Education, Health and Lands): Had the climatic conditions in the Punjab nothing to do with the import of foreign wheat?

Sardar Kartar Singh: Their prices are affected by the import of foreign wheat.

Mr. Mukhtar Singh: No, Sir, I was submitting that the method of your reporting is defective and deliberately too. How do you arrive at the figure of 8 crores? I know how you arrive at it. You have no agency by which you can know that this improved variety has really given a profit to the cultivator and if so by how much. What do you do is like this. From the Agricultural Research Institute at Pusa you get a report that the improved variety must give so much more than the ordinary variety. You take for granted that it is so, and then you multiply the area by the figure of profit your experts have calculated and you get the figure of 8 crores as profit. Is that the honest method of writing your reports? Is there any other country which does it like that? I have been studying the Agricultural Year Book issued by the United States of America. I have never found such a thing there. No Government would do it. You know perfectly well the value of your improvements and this is why you take to this method of arbitrary calculation. I hope, Sir, this explains as

to how the Finance Member said that 8 crores have been put into the pockets of the Punjab cultivators. But if he goes to Punjab he will find that the Punjab cultivator has lost a large amount in producing wheat last year.

This is about your improvement. There are two questions more to which I will draw the attention of the Finance Member. This country is poor, not because the agriculturists do not produce sufficient, not because the people of this country are lazy and unintelligent, but because the people of this country have to support themselves and support the whole population of England. Therefore they are poor. Some people draw fat salaries here, and others draw fat dividends from factories the products of which must be sold in the Indian market and the indigenous article produced in this country should be discouraged. I will make it clear to you only by putting two or three instances. We were told that the Government of India have done a lot for the agricultural people by introducing good varieties of manure and fertilisers, and that the Railway Board have been good enough to reduce the rates on fertilisers in order to keep the agriculturists living. Is it so? Potassium nitrate, which has all the elements required by the agriculturists of this country, has been ruined by your excise policy. But you will allow the import of sodium nitrate, which contains sodium, an element injurious to the soil of this country. Yet you will not allow the potassium nitrate manufacturer of this country to live. Potassium nitrate has a handicap even in railway rates to which I drew the attention of the House last year. But here is a very recent instance. The East Indian Railway increased its rates on manures a few months back and at once there was a representation from the manure manufacturers and at once the rates were decreased. (Interruption). Yes, for the sake of foreign manufacturers. I hold in my hand a copy of a letter dated the 5th December, 1929, in which these railway rates were decreased. At the same time, what do we find? On bones, the rates were not decreased in spite of the representation of the people as bones are required to be exported outside India. I shall refer only to a few figures, Sir, which will convince you about the vast difference in rates. The rates now on the East Indian Railway for different foreign manures and fertilisers are:

for 50 miles 7 pies per maund,
 100 miles one anna 2 pies per maund,
 150 miles one anna 9 pies per maund,
 200 miles two annas 8 pies per maund,
 300 miles three annas 2 pies per maund,

and so on.

Now, what about the bones? For 50 miles alone the exporter has to pay one anna eleven pies per maund in comparison to 7 pies in the other case; for 100 miles, he has to pay 2 annas 9 pies, in comparison to one anna 2 pies; for 150 miles he pays 3 annas 7 pies in comparison to one anna 9 pies, for 200 miles 4 annas 8 pies in comparison to 2 annas 9 pies, for 300 miles 5 annas 8 pies in comparison to three annas two pies, and so on. I have got the entire schedule in my hands which will convince you of the policy which is followed by the Government. Now I may be allowed to give another instance of reviving the agriculturist by their railway policy. I refer to the Bombay milk supply. You know, Sir, since a very long time in Bombay, she-buffaloes are used for the purpose of milk and what is done

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with them? They are imported from the Punjab. They are taken there and after one lactation period, all of them are slaughtered. I will give you some startling figures and still the Government sits tight on the question. In 1900-01 the number of she-buffaloes slaughtered in Bombay was 1,198. (Interruption.) They are not slaughtered for meat. I will tell you why? In 1927-28, this number of 1,198 increased to 26,094. In a place which imports cattle from the Punjab, milch cattle are allowed to be slaughtered to the extent of 26,094 in one year. Is it likely that the breed of she-buffaloes will survive?

Mr. President: The Honourable Member must now conclude.

Mr. Mukhtar Singh: Only five minutes, Sir, with your permission. I was submitting, Sir, why they have been slaughtered. It is not because meat was required, as I am told people do not like the meat of a she-buffalo. They were slaughtered because they could not be carried back from Bombay to other mofassil places. Why? Because the Railway Board increased the rates from Rs. 50 a wagon to Rs. 92 a wagon and they will not make any concession for dry buffaloes of a cheaper rate. The milk supply of Calcutta can be met with, because there are different rates at which a season ticket holder can take milk every day from the mofassil to Calcutta at cheap rates. But that is not done in Bombay. Here people cannot take their buffaloes to the mofassil and bring milk to Bombay. The result is that all the people outside Bombay are starving, because they have no industry and they are not allowed to follow dairy industry. Bombay is starving for milk because they cannot keep cattle, and still the Government will say that if they care for anybody, they care for the masses alone. If you really want the masses to be satisfied, make an honest effort to help them. Your hypnotism over the masses is disappearing. In 1921 non-co-operation had clearly broken that hypnotism, and now people are convinced that it is not God alone that brings to them misfortune, but there is something wrong somewhere, and I submit, Sir, it is much better if the Honourable the Finance Member revises his policy. I say that all your railway policy, all your agricultural policy, all your tariff policy, should be revised with only one end in view and that is that India should live and that the people of this country should at least exist. I maintain they have a right to exist and if that right is acceded, they will be satisfied. Even for your own sake, you will have to keep them in existence. I wish, Sir, that the Honourable the Finance Member, economist as he is, financier as he is, should try to go deeper into the matter. I would not have touched this point at all if I had been convinced that these points would be cleared up in the Banking Enquiry Committee. But I know, Sir, that that Committee has nothing to do with all these questions and this is why I have to draw attention to them here. The poverty of India is not due to the factors which you proclaim to be responsible for. But your own policy has brought this ruin and misery and the sooner you wake up, at least in your own interests, the better. (Applause.)

Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar (Madras: Landholders): It is very unfortunate, Sir, when in England the socialist Government has come to power and when in India such excellent gentlemen as our Viceroy and our Finance Member are presiding over the destinies of our affairs, a taxation to the extent of five to six crores of rupees has been levied during this year. Sir, when I entered the Council in 1916, we had only a

taxation of 85 crores or so. Now, it has increased by 50 per cent. in the course of 14 years. Sir, it is the case in all countries that the taxation has been much reduced from the war time Budget. The present day Budget of ours is worse than the war times. Every country has reduced its taxation. But, unfortunately, we have got increased burdens while we were promised during the war a reduction of taxation after wars. Sir, it is said that the reforms were the cause of heavy burdens in India. We wanted reforms only for the purpose of reduction of taxation burdens and not for the name of reforms. The conditions due to reforms seem to be worse than war conditions! Sir, there is no corresponding benefits of the reforms that have been the cause of the heavy financial burdens in India. If the reforms should be the cause of the heavy burdens, I should wish that we go back to the old pre-reform days rather than enjoy the luxury of these reforms.

Sir, the salt tax was the only tax that was taken exception to on behalf of the masses during the pre-reform days, but now, Sir, there is not only one tax, but there are half-a-dozen taxes that on all sides are pressing on the poor man. He has to pay a heavier price for his plough-share, for his spade, for his scythe, and for every kind of tool that the purchases, for the clothing that he wears, for his migration, because the third-class fares have increased, for his sugar and now for kerosene oil, and I say, for his silver also. Sir, some Honourable Members were nodding disapproval when Mr. Birla was saying that silver was a poor man's commodity, but I say that silver is really a poor man's commodity because the richer people have taken to diamonds and gold; for his ornaments for so many other things he has to go in for it.

Sir, ever since the late Sir William Meyer left the Finance Department, I may say a policy of bold taxation has been inaugurated and the goose that was laying golden eggs is being gradually throttled. It is no wonder his purchasing power has vanished and industries in India and abroad that were fed by him are suffering.

Sir, Members on these Benches want more money for agriculture, for irrigation and for so many other things. The Finance Member has to provide for funds for discharging the increased duties placed upon the Government. Sir, I may say that there are ways open to Government for finding money without increasing the taxation at this time. We should not lock up money now by way of railway reserves for some few years—at least so long as trade depression disappears. We should not also lay aside a debt sinking fund. If these two things are done now, at this time when the country is troubled by all sorts of calamities, we can have a Budget without any increased taxation. The Finance Member, Sir, has challenged us and said that whoever may be the Finance Member it would be impossible for him to meet the deficit except by increased taxation. But now, Sir, I have suggested that we should raid the Railway Reserve Fund and should not have the debt sinking fund. I do not congratulate Honourable Members on this side for voting against the Honourable Mr. Neogy's Resolution that we should go back on the convention or agreement in respect of the Railway Reserve Fund that we are adding to every year. Sir, we do not have a reserve fund for anything except Railways. We do not have a reserve fund for the Army; we do not have a reserve fund for loss on opium revenue or customs or any other thing, and it is only want of confidence in this side of the House that made Sir Charles

[Mr. V. K. Rangaswami Ayyangar.]

Innes propose a reserve fund only for railways because he perhaps thought that on account of our having a hardy annual in the debates where irrigation and such other matters were trotted out as requiring more money while the contention of the Government was that the railways wanted more money. Sir, the railways have built up 80 crores for five years and we are laying aside now five crores every year; and for debt sinking fund we may be laying aside two or three crores; so that if we make a temporary raid on these two funds, I think we can have a balanced Budget, and we may resort to the railway reserve fund and the debt sinking fund after the present depression is over.

Sir, one other thing I wanted to say is this. A lot of influential support is given to the question of having a certain percentage of seats in Government services given to different communities, as Hindus, Muslims. Sir, I do not think any community is behind any other community in the matter of passing any competitive examination. When this is admitted and as is proved by our having such eminent men on these Benches hailing from one community or other, I do not think, Sir, that having a certain allotment to particular communities in services will go to enhance the efficiency of the Government. I am opposed to this communal allotment, and I say that if only efficiency should be the guidance in the matter of recruitment to the services and not communal considerations, Government will be more efficient and will be run at a cheaper cost. Sir, it has been admitted by speakers on this communal problem that their community are in no way behind other communities in the matter of efficiency, and when such is the case, where comes the allotment of 80 per cent. or 35 per cent.? Let there be impartial judges and let them judge whether this particular person is more efficient than the other. To say that a certain man, the moment he is converted from Hinduism and became a Christian or Muhammadan, should be given preference over another man is rather a thing that reasonable people cannot understand. The only one subject that requires to be pressed on the attention of the Home Government that means doing justice to India is the doing away of preferences because one belongs to this particular religion or that particular caste.

Sir, if we oppose this taxation and throw out this Bill it would not be like the failure of a Bill in the House of Commons; and I join in the sentiments of some Honourable Members on this side who have said that throwing out the Bill is no impeachment or censure of the Government. What we only say is that we cannot be parties to this high taxation when there should be a considerable reduction from the war burdens.

The Honourable Sir George Schuster: Sir, we have ranged over a very large field both in time and space during the course of this debate. We have been taken back to the period of Plassey by Mr. Amar Nath Dutt, and we have come very near to the present. We have dealt with agriculture, with the Public Service Commission, with the representation of communities, the Round Table Conference, in fact with practically every subject which has interested the public in India during the last year or two. But I must confess, Sir, that the amount of time devoted to the actual proposals of the Budget this year has been singularly small.

It is extremely difficult to reply to this type of debate, and as the time is late, I propose to confine myself to a very few remarks.

The general theme of those who have opposed the Finance Bill has been that, in the words of my Honourable friend Mr. Kelkar, the Finance Bill represents a sort of "consolidated demand of confidence", and Honourable Members who have no confidence in the Government must therefore oppose the Bill. Or perhaps, they may put it in another way, namely, that as at present, they have no responsibility or no power of controlling financial policy, they must, as a protest against this state of affairs, vote against the Finance Bill. No doubt there is a great deal of truth in the last contention, but at the same time I would ask Honourable Members to consider that in fact they do have a great many opportunities for influencing Government's policy. If we consider the position as though we were two opposing armies, it is always interesting for one Commander to attempt to get into the mind of the Commander of the opposing forces. Now I do not mind telling you, as one who represents at the present moment the Commander of one of the opposing forces, that all that is said in this House has a very considerable influence, at least on our financial policy for which I can speak. I think that, if Honourable Members will look at the proposals that have come up in the financial field this year, they will see what great effect the remarks they make from their side have on Government's policy. Further, if they will also consider the possibilities that do exist under the present constitution, I think they will also recognise that there are very considerable opportunities for influencing policy. I was very glad in the speech of my friend, Mr. Amar Nath Dutt, to find some recognition of the work done by the Standing Finance Committee. After all, one should remember this, that all new expenditure does come up before the Standing Finance Committee, and even when it is non-voted expenditure, the matters are brought before the Standing Finance Committee for their information. Therefore, it is open to the unofficial parties in this House at present to exercise a very great influence on the Government's financial policy.

Apart from that general ground for opposing the Finance Bill, a good many points have been made, as they must necessarily be made, in the course of this debate dealing with particular affairs, and as far as my answer is concerned, I wish to take this opportunity of dealing with some of those points. My friend the Deputy President who, I am sorry to say, wished to condemn us as Members of the Executive Council to a somewhat unhappy fate, dealt with a point which was also taken by my friend Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtulla in his,—if I may so describe it—bright and business-like speech, on the question of representation of Mussalmans in the services. That subject has already been dealt with in many questions during the course of this Session, and I can only say that the matter is going to be inquired into again and that the position as it exists now after five years of the policy which was initiated in that letter which my friend the Deputy President read out, is going to be reviewed, and I trust that I shall have the opportunity of discussing it, so far as concerns the Departments coming under my own control, with representatives who are interested in this matter.

Then, Sir, we had some points raised both by my friend Mr. Lamb and Colonel Crawford, and, as Colonel Crawford dealt with the whole of the points in which his Group is interested, I should like to base my remarks on his speech. He explained again what was in the mind of his Group in moving a motion in regard to retrenchment, and there I should like to take this opportunity again to explain our position in this matter.

[Sir George Schuster.]

The view seems to be held by certain groups and parties in this House that a mere inquiry by a departmental officer will not be sufficient. I wish to make it clear that, at the present stage, all that we propose to do is that this officer on special duty should make a careful survey of the whole ground, analysing the reasons for the growth of expenditure, and that, when his Report with a clear analysis is available, it will be again submitted to Members of this Assembly, and that our future line of action will then be decided after I have had an opportunity of discussing the matter with representatives of the Assembly. Therefore, I do not wish the impression to get abroad that this departmental inquiry is necessarily the end of the matter.

Then on the question of our policy with regard to kerosene taxes, there is one point as regards which the Government have been extremely sensible in the course of the discussions which have taken place in the House on this matter. We do feel that as regards the small companies, there is a possibility that this change in the relative levels of import and excise duties may create some hardship, and may affect the finances of those smaller companies, and we recognise that that is a matter which must be very carefully watched. If we are satisfied that a good case has been made out for the relief of any of the smaller companies and that some special relief is needed for them, then I think that means can be found for giving the necessary assistance by powers which the Government already possesses, and without special legislation. The matter requires careful watching, and any claim for special assistance will have to be thoroughly established. It goes without saying that anything that the Government may do in this matter will be reported at the first opportunity to this Assembly, and discussed with them.

Then I should like to refer to the speech, the very interesting speech on points regarding income-tax administration,—which has become almost an annual event from my friend Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh. He will not, I am sure, expect me to reply in detail on all those points, but I can assure him that his speech will be most carefully read, and that all the suggestions he has made will be carefully examined, and taken up if necessary. He recognises the fact in his own speech that some of his suggestions have already been taken up, and I should like to say that I welcome this type of criticism, because it helps us to consider points which might otherwise escape our attention.

My Honourable friend, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, had some remarks to make on the question of sugar, and referred to the special duty that rests on the Government now, in view of the heavy charge which they are taking out of sugar, to take steps to encourage development of the sugar industry in this country. I thought that I had made it quite clear in my budget speech and in my subsequent speeches, that that was the intention of the Government. The special points to which he made reference, the need for some special assistance to manufacturers, possibly in the direction of special transport facilities, special freights and so on, all those are points which will be considered by the appropriate organizations. There is at present a special Sugar Committee considering various points, and, as I stated in the House the other day, it is probable that a Tariff Board inquiry into the same industry will be undertaken in the near future, so that all those points will be taken up.

Then I come to the speech of my friend, Mr. Anwar-ul-Azim, and the point that I wish to refer to in his speech is his reference to the provinces and to the indication which I had given in my own original budget speech, that, supposing a surplus was available at the end of this year, it was our intention that one of the directions in which such surplus should be employed, might be in helping the provinces by way of financial assistance and giving a start possibly to the new constitutional developments. My friend made this point, that it will be better for the Central Government to allow heads of revenue to go to the provinces rather than that the Central Government should itself collect the revenue and distribute it in the form of doles. That, of course, is a pertinent observation, and I can only assure my friend that the whole question of the relation between the Central Government and the provinces and the redistribution of heads of revenue is a question which we know will have to receive most serious consideration in the course of this year and to which already I have given a great deal of preliminary thought. The fact that these new taxes may put us in a position to help the provinces financially does not necessarily mean that that assistance will be given merely in the form of doles. It must be taken that it is likely to put us into an easier position, and the way in which distribution would be made is something which has got to be worked out in the future.

Then, I would like to refer to the speech made by my Honourable friend, Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtulla. He, I am glad to say, made his speech on the lines of what I think he described as "honest criticism and suggestion for the future". That I must say is the type of speech which I like to get. He raised some questions about the additional revenue which we might derive from the increased duty on silver thread and silver ware and from the excise duty on silver, all of which, as he correctly pointed out, were not included in my original budget proposals. The same points were also raised by my Honourable friend Mr. K. C. Roy. I have not yet got detailed estimates of the possible yield on the silver thread duties, but I understand that it may be something in the neighbourhood of one lakh. As regards the excise duty on silver, that I do not treat entirely as an additional windfall. I had based my calculations as to what we should get from the import duty on silver on certain assumptions as to the amount of silver which would be absorbed by the country, and, whether it is produced in the country or imported from outside, whether we get our returns in the form of excise or in the form of import duties, does not necessarily alter the amount. But as my Honourable friend will have noted, I made no secret of the fact that I considered that our estimates of revenue from the silver duty were on the conservative side. Perhaps I may leave it at that, but, as regards the point which was made by my Honourable friend arising out of this possibility of additional revenue, I should like to say that I am entirely in agreement with him. His point was this, that, if the Government find themselves in possession of a surplus, that must not be regarded as an excuse for relaxing the most rigid control of expenditure. I have already told this House that I regard myself as being under a most solemn pledge that we will continue a policy of economy and retrenchment, and that no extravagance will be permitted until this Assembly has had a chance of reviewing the position based on that report to which I have already referred. I recognise that the position of being in possession of a surplus puts a Finance Member under a very great responsibility. I trust that I shall be equal to that responsibility.

[Sir George Schuster.]

Then, lastly I would refer to the long and interesting speech made by my Honourable friend, Mr. Mukhtar Singh. I should like to say to him that all that he said about the general economic condition of the country is a matter in which I take the very greatest interest. I trust that, in various ways, such as the possibility of an Economic Advisory Council to which I have referred, or the Central Council of Agricultural Research on which my Honourable friend serves, or the Banking Inquiry Committee, on which also my Honourable friend serves, we shall be able to work out a constructive economic policy which will give my Honourable friend greater satisfaction than the policy which he has criticised in the past. He himself, owing to his position, has great opportunities now of helping the Government in developing such a policy, and I would only ask him to continue to make that careful study of the subject, which the speech he has made today shows he is already making.

My final remarks will concern themselves with the speech made by my Honourable friend, Mr. Aney. Before I deal with that I should like to express my personal regret that the Honourable the Leader of the Nationalist Party has been unable to be present during these debates owing to illness. His absence has undoubtedly made my own task easier, but for personal reasons I certainly regret it, and I should like to convey to him, through the party, my sympathy in his present illness.

I should like also to congratulate my friend Mr. Aney on the speech which he has made, which, speaking as one who was the subject of criticism, I recognised as most effective. In particular he selected the growth of expenditure and I think that that was the first time, in the course of these debates, that this particular aspect of the question has been closely examined. It is obviously a vulnerable point in our position. There has been a substantial growth in expenditure on civil administration in the last six or seven years, and it is on that particular point that I wish Honourable Members to concentrate their attention when we are able to put before them the Report, to which I have already referred, in the course of the next two or three months. The figures by themselves look much worse than they really are, and, if we had had time to go through, one by one, the various five per cent. cuts given notice of by my Honourable friend, Sir Hari Singh Gour, in connection with the various Departments, I should have been able to show in each case to this House what were the reasons for the growth in expenditure. There was not time for that, and indeed an examination of that kind can be much better pursued by a quiet study of the Reports. I trust that the Report which we shall present will be informative, and I trust that Honourable Members will subject it to their very careful criticism, and help Government to find means of economy where economy can be introduced without endangering the public interest.

Apart from criticising expenditure, my Honourable friend quite naturally criticised our scheme of taxation, and put this on the broad ground that we are taking a very great risk in asking the country now to support an additional burden of about five crores of new taxation. I agree that, stated in this broad way, it does seem a great deal to ask the country to do at present; but the whole case which I have presented in all the speeches which I have made in the course of these debates is that these taxes in themselves are not entirely an evil, if you consider them one by one. Take for instance the tax on silver, I would point out that now, even with

our new tax imposed, any man who wants to buy silver will be able to buy silver in India at a price somewhat lower than that at which he could buy it at this time a year ago. Therefore the burden of that tax will not, I submit, be very heavily felt in the country.

Then again take the case of sugar. I think I am right in saying that the wholesale price of sugar has during the last year fallen by something more than the amount of tax which we are imposing. Now, I do not say that the consumer will not perhaps feel the burden of that tax, for I think one of the points which the Government should inquire into is a point to which my attention was drawn the other day, namely, the wholly disproportionate increase in the retail prices which has been made since the imposition of that duty. In those ways, perhaps the consumer is sometimes made to suffer more than the actual imposition made by the Government justifies.

Of the cotton tax I think I need not say much. The increase of from 11 per cent. to 15 per cent. is, I think, one of those taxes which would be almost universally accepted in this House as an appropriate measure at the present stage. Therefore, I am only left with the income-tax. This has perhaps no special merit about it, and in fact the only merit which I claim for it is that, as I said yesterday, it completes the balance of my scheme and distributes the burden of the new taxes fairly as a whole. It falls on comparatively wealthy people and I do not think it can be said to be a really disastrous burden on the country. For all these reasons I have felt some confidence in proposing my plan of new taxation to this Assembly, and I feel so certain in my own mind that additional revenue is at the present stage required, and will in the long run benefit the country, provided that we attempt no extravagance in ordinary administration, and provided that we concentrate our attention on beneficial and constructive measures, that at the close of these long debates I feel myself unshaken in the ground which I took up at the beginning. Therefore what I would ask this House to do is to give me a chance by passing this measure, and see what comes of it.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: The Honourable Member has not touched the question of reforms for the North-West Frontier Province which was referred to by my Honourable friend, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad. It is a very important question.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That the Finance Bill, as amended, be passed."

The motion was adopted.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, the 25th March, 1930.