

11th February, 1922

THE
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES
(Official Report)

SECOND SESSION

OF THE
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 1922



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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,

Saturday, 11th February, 1922.

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

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

178. ***Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer**: Will the Government be pleased to state whether steps have been taken to give effect to the Resolution of the Assembly in September last about the administration of the North-West Frontier Province?

Mr. Denys Bray: Government have consulted the Government of the Punjab and the Chief Commissioner on the question of improvements in the judicial system of the North-West Frontier Province and have also been examining the other questions referred to in the Resolution. Other proposals have, however, been before them at the same time, notably a proposal for the establishment of a Legislative Council for the administered districts of the Province. They have therefore decided to appoint a Committee including non-official Members of the Legislature to consider both sets of proposals. It is hoped that the constitution of the Committee and its terms of reference will be announced shortly.

APPOINTMENTS AND QUALIFICATIONS OF MUNSIFFS IN THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

179. ***Mr. P. L. Misra**: Will Government be pleased to state the educational qualifications of the permanent and officiating Munsiffs serving under the North-West Frontier Province, together with their substantive appointments?

Mr. Denys Bray: Of the nine permanent Munsiffs, one is a B. A., one an F. A., six are Matriculates, and one has studied up to the Entrance Standard.

Of the four officiating Munsiffs, one is a B. A., one a Matriculate, one a Matriculate who has read up to the F. A., and one has passed the Middle School examination and read up to the Matriculation. Their permanent appointments are respectively Translator, Divisional Court, Dera Ismail Khan; Muharrir, Judicial Commissioner's Court; Naib Tahsildar; and Reader, Divisional Court, Peshawar.

LAWYERS IN THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

180. ***Mr. P. L. Misra**: (a) What is the number of lawyers practising in the North-West Frontier Province Courts?

(b) Has any recruitment been made from the members of the Bar for the Judicial Service of the Province?

Mr. Denys Bray: (a) 117.

† The Honourable Member being absent, the question was put by Mr. J. P. Cotelingam.

(b) Yes. At present six officers are in the Judicial Service who were recruited from the Bar.

MILITARY EXPENDITURE ON UNREST DURING THE CURRENT FINANCIAL YEAR.

181. * **Mr. K. G. Bagde** : Will the Government be pleased to state the amount of extra military expenditure necessitated up to now during the current financial year to meet the present state of unrest in the country ?

Sir Godfrey Fell : It is regretted that the information asked for is not available, as no separate record has been kept of any extra military expenditure that may have been incurred during the current financial year in connection with the calling out of troops to deal with minor disturbances. As regards the expenditure incurred in connection with the Malabar rebellion, the attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the reply given on the 16th January last by the Honourable Sir William Vincent to part (e) of starred Question No. 76.

INDIANS IN THE INDIAN EDUCATIONAL SERVICE.

182. * **Haji Wajih-ud-din** : (a) Will the Government be pleased to state the total number of Indians in the Indian Educational Service on the 31st December, 1921, showing Moslems, Hindus, Sikhs and Indian Christians, respectively ?

(b) Also the procedure usually followed in recruiting Indians to the Indian Educational Service ?

Mr. H. Sharp : (a) There were 118 Indians in the Indian Educational Service on the 31st December, 1921. Of these, 85 were Hindus, 19 Muhamadans, 6 Parsis, 4 Christians, 3 Sikhs and 1 Burman.

(b) The usual procedure is that the candidate applies to the Local Government of the province to which he belongs. His suitability and that of any other candidates is then considered by a Local Selection Committee. This Committee reports to the Local Government and the Local Government reports to the Government of India. The Government of India, unless they see objection to the recommendation of the Local Government, submit it to the Secretary of State, with whom rests the final power of appointment.

INDIANS IN THE STORES DEPARTMENT.

183. * **Mr. K. C. Neogy** : Will Government be pleased to state the number of appointments that have been created up till now in the Stores Department, which carry an initial salary of Rs. 500 and above per month, and how many of them have been given to Indians ?

Mr. A. C. Chatterjee : The creation of the Indian Stores Department has not yet proceeded very far. The position is that with the sanction of the Secretary of State the Government of India have created three temporary posts. They have appointed a Chief Controller of Stores, whose duty it is to advise the Government of India on the main lines of policy to be adopted and to work out a scheme of organisation. They have also appointed a Chief Inspector and a Director of Purchases and Intelligence to organise the

Department on the inspection and purchasing sides respectively. The only purchasing branch actually in existence is that of textiles which was transferred as a going concern from the Controller of Surplus Stores. The Director of Purchases and Intelligence is in charge of this branch and is assisted by a fourth officer, who holds an existing appointment under the Government of India and who has been transferred for purposes of administrative convenience to work under the Chief Controller of Stores. None of the above officers are Indians.

MOPLAH POPULATION OF MALABAR.

184. * **Mr. Mahmood Schamnad Sahib Bahadur** : Will the Government be pleased to state the respective Moplah population of South Kanara, North Malabar, South Malabar and also of the two disturbed taluqs of Ernad and Walwanad in South Malabar ?

Mr. H. Sharp : The figures of the Moplah population required by the Honourable Member are as follows :

South Kanara	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	130,562
North Malabar	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	249,767
South Malabar	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	706,150
Ernad taluk	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	236,873
Walwanad taluk	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	131,496

LOYALTY OF EDUCATED MOPLAHS.

185. * **Mr. Mahmood Schamnad Sahib Bahadur** : (a) Are the Government aware that the Moplah disturbances have affected only the ignorant Moplahs of Ernad and Walwanad Taluqs, whereas the Moplahs of South Kanara, North Malabar Districts and the remaining taluqs of South Malabar are very loyal and ready to help the Government in every way possible in order to maintain peace ?

(b) Are the Government aware that Khan Bahadur Chekutty, an influential Moplah of Ernad, who was killed by the rioters, was a staunch supporter of the Government and the leading Moplahs of Ernad and Walwanad Taluqs are still co-operating with the Government in restoring order ?

The Honourable Sir William Vincent : (a) The statements made in the question are not correct. The Collector reports that North Malabar and the other taluqs of the south cannot be described as loyal and ready to help. Part of the Ponnani taluq is in an active state of rebellion and until quite recently there were a large number of dacoities and many liquor shops were burnt. These outrages were perpetrated in the name of the Khilafat. In Calicut taluq there were many dacoities and some murders, and some notorious leaders were arrested in this taluq. The Collector reports that he has had no assistance from any Mappilla except in a very few instances in the apprehension of rebel fugitives in Calicut and the northern taluqs. With very few exceptions, the Mappilla population is in sympathy with the rebels.

(b) The part of Ponnani taluq that lies north of the Ponnani river is as much affected by the rebellion as Ernad taluq. The middle part of Ponnani taluq has also been much disturbed. In the southern part of the

taluk conditions are not so bad. In a few ansams in the south-east of the Calicut taluk, there have been a number of dacoities. The rest of the district is passive.

(c) The gentlemen named and a few others have certainly done what they could to help Government and they as well as loyal Mappilla gentlemen of Calicut are generally regarded as Kaffirs on account of their attitude towards the rebellion, a fact which shows that the general sympathy of the Mappillas is with the rebellion.

(d) Government do not consider that the communiqués issued by them are calculated to create the impression suggested, but, as explained above, nearly the whole Mappilla community is or was till recently in sympathy with the rebels.

CONSTRUCTION OF MANGALORE-ARSIKERE LINE IN MALABAR.

186. * **Mr. Mahmood Schamnad Sahib Bahadur:** (a) Is it a fact that there is only one railway line entering Malabar from the East and in consequence of its being damaged by the rioters during the recent disturbances military aid could not be sent to Malabar for some days?

(b) If so, do the Government propose to construct the long proposed Mangalore-Arsikere line at an early date?

Colonel W. D. Waghorn: (a) The reply is in the affirmative. During the recent riots all traffic 'by rail' had to be suspended for some days.

(b) The reply is in the negative. The position of the Mangalore-Arsikere Railway project is as stated in the answer given to the Honourable Member in the Legislative Assembly on 5th March, 1921.

ALLEGED ATROCITIES BY THE POLICE IN MALABAR.

187. * **Mr. Mahmood Schamnad Sahib Bahadur:** Is it a fact that the Reserve Police in the Martial Law area in Malabar have been committing various atrocities and outraging the modesty of Moplah women?

The Honourable Sir William Vincent: The suggestion in the question is entirely untrue. The Collector reports that the Honourable Member in an interview with him suggested a similar unwarrantable allegation against the Indian troops. The Collector asked the Honourable Member whence he got his information, but the Honourable Member was unable to say. He then made no charges against the Police and I regret that he should have made such charges in the present question. The local authorities have not any information of outrages of the kind suggested. On the other hand, they report that they have seen with their own eyes many victims of Moplah cruelty, e.g., children suffering from cuts on the head and from concussion, and in one case a Hindu woman whose chin had been cloven to the tongue. I may say that I myself also saw this unfortunate Nair woman.

SURROUNDING OF TIRURANGADI MOSQUE.

188. * **Mr. Mahmood Schamnad Sahib Bahadur:** (a) Is it true that Tirurangadi Mosque which is in the centre of Ernad Taluk was surrounded

by the Police and military early in the morning between 5 and 10 A.M. on the 20th of August ?

(b) Is it true that the military fired on the same day without warning on the mob, some of whom were sitting in compliance with an order, without suspecting in the least what was going to happen ?

The Honourable Sir William Vincent: (a) There are three mosques in Tirurangadi; only one of these was visited by the police on the morning of the 20th August. It was not surrounded at any time. Houses were searched in its vicinity and the mosque itself was searched for arms by Mapilla police officers, who respected its sacred character.

(b) The suggestion that the troops fired on the mob, when some of the mob were sitting, in compliance with an order, is altogether untrue. The form taken by this atrocious rumour when first started was that orders were given by Mr. Thomas, the Collector, and Mr. Hitchcock of the Indian Police. The rumour was started when it was believed that these two officers were dead and would be unable to deny it. It was first alleged that the firing without warning took place at the court house and later, when it was known that the two officers in question were still alive, the scene was changed and the lie was fathered on two officers who were actually killed.

INSECURITY OF INDIAN PILGRIMS TO HEDJAZ.

189. * **Mr. Mahmood Schamnad Sahib Bahadur:** Is it a fact that Indian pilgrims to Hedjaz were looted and murdered on their way to Medina during the last pilgrim season ?

Mr. H. Sharp: Reports have been received that a number of pilgrims to Medina were looted and killed by Bedouins during the pilgrimage of 1921. Indian pilgrims were not specially molested and there is no specific report to hand of any Indian pilgrims being killed.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

DISSATISFACTION AMONG POSTAL OFFICIALS IN BURMA OWING TO HIGH COST OF LIVING.

256. **Mr. B. H. Jatkar:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state whether a telegram issued by the President, All-India Burma Postmasters' Association, addressed to His Excellency the Viceroy in the month of November, 1921, was received ?

(b) If the answer to (a) above be in the affirmative, has the attention of the Government been drawn to the statement made therein that extreme dissatisfaction prevails among officials in all ranks of the Post Office owing to abnormal increase of cost of living, and, if so, what action the Government proposes to take to allay the dissatisfaction alluded to ?

Colonel Sir S. D'A. Crookshank: (a) Yes.

(b) Dissatisfaction owing to the increase in the cost of living is not confined to the officials of the Post Office and Government are not aware of any special grounds for dissatisfaction among this class of its employees,

whose pay has been recently revised on the lines recommended by a Committee. The question of effecting some improvement in the grading of gazetted Postmasters is under consideration.

CURTAILMENT OF RESERVE STAFF FOR POSTAL DEPARTMENT.

257. **Mr. B. H. Jatkár**: Will the Government be pleased to state the reasons which lead the Government to curtail the creation of a reserve staff for the Postal Department from 20 per cent., as recommended by the Postal Committee of 1920, to 17 per cent. as ultimately sanctioned by the Government?

Colonel Sir S. D'A. Crookshank: The leave reserve sanctioned in the case of telegraphists in the Traffic Branch was 17 per cent. of the total working strength of the establishment, and, in the absence of evidence clearly demonstrating that a similar reserve would not suffice to meet requirements in the case of the clerical establishments in Post Offices and the Railway Mail Service, Government were not prepared to provide a stronger leave reserve for these establishments.

TELEGRAPHISTS TRANSFERRED FROM LOCAL TO GENERAL SCALE.

258. **Mr. B. H. Jatkár**: Will the Government be pleased to state the number of Telegraphists in the Telegraph Department transferred from the local scale to general scale with effect from the 1st May, 1921, showing separately the number of (a) Hindus, (b) Muhammadans, and (c) other nationalities, and percentage of Hindus and Muhammadans to Telegraphists under (c)?

Colonel Sir S. D'A. Crookshank: The following statement gives the particulars asked for:

Total number of Local Service Telegraphists transferred to General Service since May, 1921.	Hindus.	Muhammadians.	Other religions.	Percentage of Hindus and Muhammadans on the total number transferred since May, 1921.
394	276	22	96	75.63

DISSATISFACTION OF POSTAL CLERICAL STAFF IN BURMA WITH REVISED SCALES OF PAY.

259. **Mr. B. H. Jatkár**: (a) Will the Government be pleased to state whether it has received a copy of memorial submitted in December last by the Post Office and Railway Mail Service Clerical Staff of the Burma Postal Circle addressed to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India, pointing out that the introduction of time scales of pay in the Burma Circle benefited the clerical staff very little?

(b) If the answer to (a) above be in the affirmative, will the Government be pleased to state what action it proposes to take in the matter?

(c) Is it a fact that 163 out of 285 clerks in the Rangoon General Post Office and its Town Sub-offices were adversely affected by the revision and they will not be able to get any increase in pay for some years to come ?

(d) Is it a fact that the clerks in Rangoon General Post Office and its Town Sub-offices, by the introduction of the time scales of pay, got in an average, an increase of 2·8 per head while the clerks in Head Offices in other Circles got nearly an increase of 30 per head. If so, how the Government proposes to mete out equal treatment to clerks in the Rangoon Town ?

Colonel Sir S. D'A. Crookshank : (a) and (b). A copy of the memorial in question has been received. The Postmaster-General, Burma, has been asked to submit his recommendations.

(c) The number of men in the Rangoon General Post Office and its Town Sub-offices adversely affected was 61, not 163. They were protected from loss by the grant of personal allowances. Out of these, 4 are women clerks whose case has been met by the introduction of special rates of pay; 42 have since earned increments which have absorbed their personal allowances; the remaining 15 cases are under consideration.

(d) The information has been called for.

BETTER LEAVE RULES FOR POSTAL DEPARTMENT.

260. **Mr. B. H. Jatkan :** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state how many days' casual leave during a year is allowed to the clerical staff of the Civil Departments and how much casual leave an official is entitled to enjoy at a stretch ?

(b) How many days' casual leave during a year is admissible for the staff of Post Office and Railway Mail Service ?

(c) If the number of days of casual leave is the same in Postal Department as in other Civil Departments, what additional concession the Government proposes to give to postal employees to recoup the deficiency of gazetted holidays denied to Postal Department ?

Colonel Sir S. D'A. Crookshank : (a) Casual leave is not recognised as leave earned and is not subject to any rule, the amount granted being left to the discretion of the officers authorised to sanction it. The amounts of casual leave admissible during a year and at one time vary in the various offices of the Government of India and of the Local Governments and ordinarily does not exceed 15 days in any twelve month.

(b) 20 days.

(c) The casual leave allowed in the Post Office is intended to compensate the staff for the loss of some gazetted holidays. No further concession is contemplated.

UNIFORM INCREASE IN RATES OF PAY FOR ALL ACCOUNTS ESTABLISHMENTS.

261. **Mr. K. C. Neogy :** (a) Will Government be pleased to state why the percentage increases of salary which were allowed to be drawn by the establishments of Civil Accounts Offices from the 1st April, 1920, was not allowed in the case of the Auditor General's office, Assistant Accounts Officers and the clerical establishments in the offices of the Accountants General, Posts and Telegraphs and Railways ?

(b) Is it a fact (1) that the increases of pay which were sanctioned were granted on account of increase in the cost of living, (2) that the maximum pay of the Subordinate Accounts establishments remained the same before and after the introduction of the time scale rates of pay, (3) that increases amounting to $\frac{1}{3}$ rd, $\frac{1}{4}$ th, $\frac{1}{5}$ th over their former rates of pay were allowed to all officers of the General List and the maximum drawn by these officers have in consequence been increased, and (4) that increases of pay were granted to all other services without reference to the maxima previously existing?

(c) If so, will Government be pleased to reconsider their decision and grant the increase uniformly in all cases irrespective of the maxima?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: (a) The system of percentage increase of salary was adopted only in certain classes of establishments in which the minimum and maximum remained the same as before the revision or were improved only slightly, while the position was not redressed by the grant of any special system of increments. The offices named were not brought under this system as the improvement of pay was considered to be adequate.

(b) The facts are as stated in the first three cases. As regards the fourth point, if the Honourable Member means that in all other services the previous maximum pay was increased at the revision, then the answer is that this was generally the case, though in some cases the pay of the highest posts has remained unchanged.

(c) Government do not at present propose to reconsider their decision on the question of increases at revision.

WAR ALLOWANCES FOR IMPERIAL ESTABLISHMENTS IN DELHI AND THE PUNJAB.

262. **Mr. K. C. Neogy:** (a) Is it a fact that war allowances sanctioned by the Local Government of the Punjab and the Chief Commissioner, Delhi Province, for the provincial establishments under them on account of increase in the cost of living were not allowed to be drawn by the Imperial establishments serving within the geographical limits of those provinces? Is it a fact that no such restriction was placed in respect of Imperial establishments serving in other provinces where similar war allowances were sanctioned for Provincial establishments?

(b) If so, what are the reasons for this distinction?

(c) Will Government be pleased to consider the desirability of permitting men on the Imperial establishments in the Punjab and in the Delhi Province, to draw the allowances up to the date from which the revised rates of pay of the establishments on time scale took effect?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The matter is under investigation, and an answer will be sent to the Honourable Member when complete information has been obtained.

INCREASE IN RATES OF PAY FOR ACCOUNTS ESTABLISHMENT.

263. **Mr. K. C. Neogy:** Have Government received any memorial from members of the establishment of any account and audit offices praying

for an increase in their rates of pay? If so, what action do Government propose to take in the matter?

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey: The memorials have been received and Government are considering the question of affording some relief.

GRIEVANCES OF MENIAL ESTABLISHMENT IN GOVERNMENT OF INDIA SECRETARIAT.

264. **Mr. K. C. Neogy:** (a) Have Government received memorials in December, 1921, and January, 1922, from the Jemadars, Dafadars and Peons employed in the different Departments of the Government of India, praying for a revision of their salaries, for being granted house-rent allowances, and for a revision of their privilege leave and pension rules?

(b) If so, will Government be pleased to state what action is proposed to be taken thereon?

The Honourable Sir William Vincent: (a) The answer is in the affirmative.

(b) The memorials are under consideration.

GOVERNOR GENERAL'S ASSENT TO THE BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY (AMENDMENT) BILL.

Mr. President: I have to announce to the Assembly that His Excellency the Governor General has been pleased to give his assent to the Benares Hindu University (Amendment) Bill passed by the Assembly and the Council of State.

RESOLUTION *RE*: INDIANISATION OF THE SERVICES.

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I rise to move the Resolution that stands on the agenda in my name. It runs thus:

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that, having regard to the Declaration of August, 1917, he be pleased to arrange that, in future, the recruitment for all the All-India Services, excepting those of a technical character, shall be made, as far as possible, in India, and also to take steps to provide in India such educational facilities as would enable Indians to enter these technical Services in larger numbers than is at present possible.'

I think, Sir, it is hardly necessary for me to deal with this Resolution at length over again, in view of the fact that in Simla, when I had the honour of moving this Resolution, I dealt fully with the matter. However, I think, in order to refresh the memory of my Honourable colleagues, it will not be out of place for me to deal as briefly as I can with, especially, the principle underlying my Resolution:

Sir, after I had the honour of moving that Resolution in Simla, I read in one or two papers, to whose views I attach considerable importance, that my Resolution was being interpreted by a certain section of those who belong to the Services and by a good many sympathisers to mean that I wanted to exclude

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the British element from the Services in future. I want to assert here, Sir, emphatically that nothing is further from my mind than that my Resolution should be interpreted to mean that it is my desire that the British element should be totally excluded from the Services. I want to emphasise this fact particularly, that it is impossible for me to associate myself with anything that is based on considerations of race; and it is not with a view to exclude the British element that I have ventured to move this Resolution, but it is with a view to try and remove the bar that at present obtains against Indians that I have thought it proper to move the Assembly in the matter.

Sir, I also want to make it clear that, if this Resolution is accepted by the House and is given effect to by the Government, it does not mean that every European official in this country will have to resign. Even if this Resolution is given effect to by the Government, it will take a long number of years before the Services are thoroughly Indianised.

Sir, this question of the Indianisation of the Services was gone into long ago by a Royal Commission which was appointed for the purpose, but I am sure the House will agree with me that, even when the recommendations were made by the majority of the members of that Commission, they caused a good deal of disappointment throughout the country. That was long ago, in the year 1915. It would be idle to deny that India has made a wonderfully rapid progress since then, and the point of view held on that occasion by the members of the Commission needs considerable revision, and the whole fundamental attitude needs to be changed. Even then, an Indian member of the Commission, Sir Abdur Rahim, pointed out very clearly the difference that existed in the respective points of view held by the majority of the members of the Commission and the minority. He said :

'The points of view from which the majority of the Commissioners and myself have approached the question of employment of Indians are substantially different. The question they have asked themselves is, what are the means to be adopted for extending the employment of Indians? But the proper standpoint, which alone in my opinion furnishes a satisfactory basis to work upon, is that the importation of officials from Europe should be limited to cases of clear necessity, and the question therefore to be asked is, in which Services and to what extent should appointments be made from England. The suggestion involved in the majority's point of view is that special measures are necessary for finding employment for Indians in the administration, and that the practical question, therefore, is how many or how few posts are to be handed over to them. On the other hand, the view which, upon a review of the situation, has forced itself on my conviction, is that if Indians have not established a footing in the higher ranks of administration, it is not through their own fault; it is due to barriers of many sorts that have been raised in their way.'

I want to point out, Sir, to the Government that this is the view long held by Indians belonging to all shades of political opinion. You will remember, Sir, that the majority of the Commission at that time asserted that, in view of the fact that the British character of the administration had to be preserved, they had to make the recommendations that they made. Too much stress was laid, Sir, on the responsibility to the British Parliament and the British character of the administration. As a matter of fact, the declaration of August, 1917, in my opinion, gives up that point of view and recognises the principle that, in view of the fact that Self-Government is to be established in this country, it is necessary that a larger and larger number of Indians should be associated in the administration.

Sir, I do not know if the words 'British character' mean necessarily that men should be imported from Great Britain. My interpretation of the words

'the preservation of the British character of administration' is that the spirit of the administration should remain the same and should be based on those principles of justice, honour, freedom and rule in accordance with the will of the majority, that have been identified with British rule. It would be idle to assert that, in the course of the administration, even Britishers have always stuck to those principles which are identified with British rule; and, whenever there has been a deviation from these principles, it has often been criticised and severely condemned by the ablest men in India, chiefly by the late Dadabhai Naoroji, who called it the un-British character of British rule. It is evident, therefore, Sir, that the British character of the administration does not necessarily imply that it can be maintained only by men who come from Great Britain. What is necessary is the preservation of the spirit, by whatever agency the administration is carried on, and it does not necessarily mean that men should be imported from Great Britain. However, as I pointed out, the whole point of view is now different, and the Secretary of State himself in the declaration of August 20, 1917, recognises the need of associating a larger and larger number of Indians in the administration. In that declaration he has clearly stated that the goal of the British policy is to confer Self-Government on India. Now, it will be admitted that the establishment of Self-Government in India and the organisation of the Services extensively recruited outside the country as a permanent arrangement, are ideals which are both inconsistent and irreconcilable. You cannot have Self-Government in India, and in the same breath have the whole administration run by men who are recruited outside the country. It has often been pointed out by various critics in India that, while it is claimed that every day we are making a fast approach to responsible government, the real facts are that the whole administration is practically run by Civilians who come from Great Britain. There is a good deal of truth in that and that is one of the reasons why, I believe, discontent prevails in this country. Objection is urged to the wholesale recruitment of Indians in India on the ground that the educated-classes, who would take advantage of the Services, do not enjoy the confidence of the masses of the country. I venture to submit that there is absolutely no force in that objection. On the other hand, I believe that the discontent of the educated classes, which has always in the history of every country in the world been at the bottom of all revolutionary movements, will disappear if the doors of these higher posts, which are at present closed against them, are thrown open to the children of the soil. It is a legitimate claim of the people of this country that the affairs of the country should be administered by the children of the soil and if that claim is denied at a time when India is admittedly making rapid strides towards responsible Government, I believe that policy will go a great way towards feeding the revolutionary movement which we see around us. Look at the advantage, Sir, of admitting Indians in large numbers to the administration of the country. They will go amongst the masses of the people; they will identify themselves with the masses of the people; they will live the life that the masses understand; they will naturally, because they are well acquainted with the language of the masses, sympathise with and win the affection of the masses and so eliminate that ignorance of the masses which is exploited by agitators for the purpose of carrying out their revolutionary ideas. I submit, Sir, that, instead of being a danger to the community, the association of a large number of educated Indians in the Services will remove a great difficulty which lies in the way of

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progress in India. Sir, I pointed out in Simla how we were situated at the present moment. In reply to a question put by Mr. Joshi, the Honourable the Home Member laid a statement on the table giving the percentage of Indians in each of the various Departments and the proportion in which Indians are being recruited for them. In that statement I find 13 per cent. Indians in the Indian Civil Service, 5 per cent. in the Police, 14 per cent. in the Forest, nearly 26 per cent. in the Agricultural Service, 38 per cent. in the Indian Educational Service, 38 per cent. in the Engineering Service, 11 per cent. in the Medical and 23 per cent. in the Customs. Turning now to the maximum percentage of posts intended to be given to Indians, I find that the policy of the Government of India is not to give more than 48 per cent. in the Civil Service and 50 per cent. in some of the other Services. In the case of the Civil Service, the rate of recruitment for Indians is 34½ per cent. of the total number of vacancies and will rise to 48 per cent. in the course of the next 9 years. In the case of the other Services, the position is even less satisfactory. For instance, in the Police, no definite ratio is laid down for the filling up of fresh vacancies, and it is impossible to say, according to the Government statement, when the maximum percentage of 33 will be reached from the extraordinarily low figure of 5 per cent. now obtaining. In the case of the various Services in the year 1920, only four Indians, we find, have been offered appointments as against 25 appointments made in England. I do not want to weary the House with elaborate statistics, but I think a reference to the Indian Educational Service will not be out of place. I regard the recruitment to the Indian Educational Service as more important to the future of this country than to any other branch of the administration. Well, what do I find? The Home Member says, 50 per cent. of the entire recruitment is to be Indian, exclusive of Indians promoted from the provincial to the higher service. But the door is shut on Indians at 50 per cent. of the total strength of the Services. Is this a state of affairs that anyone, however modest his aspirations, can view with equanimity? I cannot say on what principle the percentages of recruitment for the various Services have been fixed. A perusal of the percentage that obtains now in all the Services will convince anyone that the present recruitment is absolutely inadequate and absolutely inconsistent with the progress that India is making and has made towards responsible government.

But, Sir, the most important of all the grounds on which I urge the principle of the Indianisation of the Services if based on the cost of administration. It is not necessary for me to point out to this House how public opinion demands that the cost of administration which is very heavy, too heavy for a poor country like India to bear, should undergo a wholesale reduction. A perusal of the proceedings of the provincial Legislative Councils will convince any Member that in almost every province it has been demanded that the Ministers' salaries should be reduced. I would not wonder if, in the course of a few months, this demand for wholesale reduction should crystallise itself into a demand for reduction in the salaries of officers; and that I believe would be a legitimate demand. When Indian public opinion demands wholesale reduction in the expenditure, we have insistently a demand made by the Services that their salaries are inadequate and that further promotion should be given to them. I do not wish to dispute the legitimacy or otherwise of the claims of the Services; but I do submit, Sir, that, however legitimate their demand for increase may be, this country is not in a position, not only

to give an increase but to spend even as much on the Services as it is at present spending. The question of reducing the cost of administration is a question which is most important and, if I urge the Indianisation of the Services, it is mainly on this ground that the Indianisation of the Services will make it possible for us to make the Services, and therefore the administration, cheaper.

There is one more ground on which I urge the Indianisation of the Services. Men who come from England remain here for a number of years, serve this country—if I may say so—faithfully, do hard work, and, at the end of their career, instead of giving the benefit of their ripe experience to this country, they go away to England. That, Sir, is a drain of experience from this country which ought not to be allowed to continue. The experience of men who have been in the Services for a number of years would be undoubtedly valuable to the country, and, if the policy of Indianisation was adopted, I believe this country would continue to have the benefit of the experience of such men.

There is one more ground on which I urge the Indianisation of the Services. The money that in the shape of salary and especially of pensions is at present being paid to those who are employed in the Services goes largely to their countries to be spent there. That also, Sir, constitutes a constant drain on this country. If the principle of Indianisation was recognised, the money earned by these men would remain in the country and would thus be saved to the country itself. Sir, even after the report of the Public Services Commission was submitted by the majority, Lord Islington, who presided over that Commission, speaking on Indian problems in England, clearly stated that he refused to prophesy what, in view of self-governing institutions in India, the composition of these Services may be or ought to be in the course of two or three generations. There is no doubt that, since that report was written and during the period of the War, India has made considerable progress. It is necessary, in the interests of the country, for the purpose of reducing the cost of administration, for the purpose of removing the discontent among the educated classes, for the purpose of winning over the sympathy and affection of the masses, that this principle of Indianisation should be recognised. I venture to submit, Sir, that an action like this at an appropriate moment by the Government would strengthen the ties between Great Britain and India. It would lay solid foundations for the Self-Government of this country, which the goal not only of every Indian but the recognised goal of the British Government. I submit, Sir, that the time has come when a larger and larger number of Indians should be associated in the administration of the country, and for that the principle of complete Indianisation of recruiting for all the All-India Services in India, should be recognised by the Government. I have provided in my Resolution that, for technical Services, men may be brought from other countries; but, Sir, I want to emphasise this fact for which also I have provided in my Resolution—that facilities should be provided in this country for preparing men for those technical Services. I do not want to dilate on that point, but, to give one instance to the House, we have to-day in Delhi itself experts who are engaged in building New Delhi at a heavy cost to the country. While it is useless, at this moment, for us to discuss the merits of the step that was taken, it is open to us to say that, if India is incurring this expenditure, it is but just and fair that Indians should be given the advantage of the presence of experts in this country, and that

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ample opportunity should be provided to Indians to specialise themselves in that Department under the able guidance of experts who have been specially engaged to complete the operations at New Delhi.

But this is only an instance. This principle can be extended to all Departments which require the help of technical experts. If this is done, I have no doubt that, in the course of a few years, we shall have institutions in India which will provide sufficient facilities to Indians for technical education, and we shall not have to draw on other countries for experts also. I believe, Sir, that I have made out a case for the Indianisation of the Services and, before I conclude my remarks, I want once more to say, not merely in the shape of empty words, but what I feel is the feeling of all sensible Indians in this country, that we owe a debt of gratitude to the Indian Civil Service, that it is they who have made it possible for a democratic system of government to come into existence, that whatever their faults—and at present when they are coming in for a good deal of criticism I consider it our duty to pay a warm tribute to them—whatever their faults, it is to them that we owe a model system of efficiency in the administration of this country. I do not want to be ungrateful to them at all when I venture to bring this Resolution before this House. At the same time, the object with which I bring this Resolution is not to exclude them, but to provide for the removal of barriers that stand to-day against my own countrymen. The object of the Resolution is not to give any special advantage to any community but to throw open the doors equally for all communities; and, while I am entirely free from the considerations of race when I bring forward this Resolution, I should like to be permitted, Sir, to make an appeal to those who have given notices of amendments to the effect that communal interests should be safeguarded in dealing with this Resolution. Let us neither bring the racial question in the forefront nor the question of different communities. It cannot do good to India on the whole. Provided the doors are thrown open to all communities, irrespective of their caste or creed, I am sure that the day will come when, without our providing for the safeguarding of the interests of the communities, posts will go to members of all communities provided they have the merit to deserve them. I have no doubt that every community in India to-day can produce men who are fit to take their place in the highest Services. It is useless, it seems to me, it can serve no useful purpose, to bring in amendments which would specially provide for safeguarding communal interests. At the same time, a proposal like that, in my humble opinion, is likely to do harm to the cause that we all have at heart. With these words, Sir, I hope that the Government will accept the Resolution and that the House will accord their support to it.

Mr. W. M. Hussanally (Sind : Muhammadan Rural) : Sir, I heartily support the Resolution brought forward by my Honourable friend, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas. The reasons, I believe, are as apparent as can be. Indianisation of the Services is a prelude to a further instalment of reforms and the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report held the same view when they said :

‘ If responsible Government is to be established in India, there will be a far greater need than is even dreamt of at present for persons to take part in public affairs in the Legislative Assemblies and elsewhere; and for this reason, the more Indians we can employ in the Public Services the better. Moreover, it would lessen the burden of Imperial responsibilities if a

body of capable Indian administrators could be produced: we regard it as necessary, therefore, that recruitment of a largely increased proportion of Indians should be begun at once.'

Further, in the words of the father of the Indian National Congress, the late lamented Dadabhai Naoroji, India, being the poorest country, has to maintain at present the costliest administration in the world. But, Sir, so long as India was not sufficiently educated to meet her demand for executive and administrative officers, there was no controversy in regard to the recruitment of her officers from abroad; but I venture to submit that, with the advent of the twentieth century, things in India have greatly changed. Government have, I believe, for some years past found amongst the sons of the soil not a few but many capable administrators of the highest rank possible. It would be odious to mention names, but I cannot resist the temptation of mentioning the name of Lord Sinha, whose name will glorify the pages of history as one of the best administrators of the western or eastern countries. I cannot resist mentioning, further, that there have been not a few but many Ali Imams and Boses, Shafis and Banerjeas, Saprus and Sarmas, Dutts and Guptas, Nairs and Ayars, who can very well be compared with any of the best administrators of other countries. There are several Universities in India producing distinguished scholars and graduates every year in every branch of study and knowledge, and it should not be difficult for the Government to find capable men for all the branches of the Imperial Service.

Sir, I believe the Indianisation of the Services does not only require direct recruitment in India for the Imperial Services, but also requires that the best men of the Provincial Services should also be promoted to the Imperial Services in larger numbers than has hitherto been done. I cannot deny the fact that a few of my countrymen have been taken into the various branches of the Public Services in the past, though grudgingly and sparingly, yet the fact remains that by far the greater majority of these gentlemen are debarred from attaining responsible administrative and executive positions for which they are pronounced unfit without being tried. I will quote only one instance in support of what I say. It will be remembered by my Honourable colleagues that, in the first Session of this Assembly last year, I had the privilege of moving a Resolution that a larger number of listed appointments be thrown open to capable men of the Provincial Service, and, though that Resolution was stoutly opposed by the Government and the Home Secretary said:

'The Provincial Service is recruited to fill the minor charges in the civil administration. It is perfectly true that members of the Indian Civil Service are during the earlier years of their service employed in appointments of a similar character; but they are so employed only for a limited period and for purposes of training. On the other hand, officers of the Provincial Civil Service are recruited definitely for the minor posts in the administration.'

Yet I am glad to say that my Honourable colleagues supported the Resolution, which was ultimately carried. But what do we find? In answer to questions put by several Honourable Members of this House at the Simla Session, the only reply that was vouchsafed by the Government was that the matter had been referred to the Provincial Governments to see if they could find their way to give a few more crumbs to these hungry wolves; but, Sir, I beg to be pardoned if I say that the Government of India have acted in that matter in an entirely half-hearted manner, as is usual with them, with the result that we are not aware what action has been taken by the Local Government.

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Sir, may I say that there is a very considerable amount of discontent existing amongst the Indian officers of almost every Department and Service, in consequence of the undue preference which is shown to Europeans over them. This is one of the causes, and perhaps the main cause, I think, of the present unrest in the country, and I will not be far wrong when I say that at least 50 per cent., if not more, of the Indian officers and employees of Government have sympathy with that unrest in one shape or other. The passing of the Resolution will remove one of the principal causes of the present unrest, at least from amongst the intelligentsia. And by this Indianisation of the Services we shall be more or less approaching Swaraj, however, undefined that term may be, if a sufficiently large proportion of the sons of the soil are engaged in carrying on the administration and the government of the country, to which they are legitimately and as a matter of birth-right entitled.

Sir, another very potent argument in favour of this Resolution is that the present administration is condemned from all Indian quarters and from all political parties existing in India as being extremely top heavy. It was only the other day that my Honourable friend, Dr. Gour, criticised the innumerable highly-paid appointments in the Government of India Secretariat and Attached Offices, on the Resolution for the appointment of a Retrenchment Committee. But, Sir, Indianisation of the Services will by itself work a retrenchment though slowly but surely, inasmuch as the pay of Indians will, and ought necessarily to, be much smaller than what the European employees are in receipt of. Just at the present moment, when bankruptcy and insolvency is facing the Government of India, it is time to economise in the cost of administration of India, as far as economy can go.

In some of the provincial Legislative Councils recently, very heated discussions took place in regard to the salaries to be paid to the new Ministers. Opinion was divided as to whether they should have the same emoluments as Members of the Executive Councils or less. In nearly all of them it was decided that they should get the same pay as their confreres, mainly on the ground that, if they got less, their status and prestige would suffer. Well, the pay of the Executive Councillors was fixed years ago in more prosperous times on account of different considerations. The Indianisation of the Services will not by itself reduce the heavy cost of administration from which we are suffering at the present moment, but I venture to submit that, if advantage is taken to introduce the Indian element largely into the various Services in the near future, the pay of these Services would be fixed on a lower scale than heretofore.

Sir, when the whole country has been demanding the Indianisation of the Services for nearly a decade, I deplore to find that in the official Benches of this House, out of the Government of India Service Members, only one is an Indian. Am I to believe and understand from it that there are no other Indians available for the administrative posts of the Government of India? Am I to believe and understand that Indian members of the Civil Service who are capable of being Secretaries to High Commissioners, who are capable of being Chairmen of important Municipal Corporations, men who are capable of being Divisional Commissioners, are not capable of being Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of the Government of India Secretariats, or Service Members of the Executive Council? I

venture to think that Government cannot answer in the negative. But, Sir, why should these appointments be necessarily reserved for the members of the Civil and other Imperial Services? Are there not men capable enough, outside the Indian Civil Service and other Imperial Services, who would do honour to such posts? I submit, if an effort were made to find capable Indians outside the Services, Government would not be disappointed.

Lastly, Sir, I believe that the larger the number of Indians in the Services, the greater will be the benefit derived by India indirectly. A time will come when all these officials of talent and ability after their retirement will be available to uplift the masses and further their political education and the country will be proud to claim these veteran retired administrators to be its political leaders. By this process, after a few years, we may expect that veteran legislators who have experienced the difficulties of administration will be forthcoming in large numbers for the provincial Councils as well as for this Assembly.

Mr. T. A. H. Way (United Provinces : Nominated Official) : Sir, I am sure we are all in sympathy with this Resolution (Hear, hear), especially those of us who have earned our pensions (Laughter.) I must confess that I looked at the list of amendments on the paper with some anxiety, but I was relieved to find that there was no amendment proposing the Indianisation of pensions. Sir, for the last hundred years or more, the aim of British rule in India has been to fit Indians for Self-government, and, I am sure, that British administrators ought to be proud to feel that they have done their work so well that they are no longer wanted. Sir, no school-master wants to go on teaching his boys all their lives, and even the fondest mother does not wish to wash her son's face and brush his hair until his face is covered with a grey beard and his hair has all fallen off. But, at the same time, it seems to me that a necessary preliminary to the complete Indianisation of the civil administration of India is the Indianisation of the Army and the Navy. I believe it is the ideal of some Indian politicians to have a completely Indian civil administration with British troops to protect them. (*Voices* : 'No, no'.) (*Another Voice* : 'Indianisation of the Army also.')

What I mean is that the Indianisation of the Army should come first. It seems to me an impossible position to have a completely Indian civil administration with a British Army and Navy. The difference of mentality between the oriental and western mind is so great that the system would not work. It would be like having an eastern mind in a western body. The western mind may be inclined to believe too much in physical force, but the eastern mind is perhaps inclined to trust too much to the efficacy of soul force, and the result might lead to misunderstanding and confusion. To take an instance. I think it is possible, I do not say it is probable, but it is possible that a completely Indian civil administration might pass a law forbidding the killing of cattle. Then it is possible that lawless people might assemble to defy that law, and an Indian Magistrate might be required to call on British troops to fire on that unlawful assembly because they wish to kill cattle. Well, I think any one who knows anything about the mentality of the British soldier on the subject of beef will realise that that might create a difficult situation. Sir, I am sorry to have brought this discussion down to such a low level as that of beef. In one of Charles Dickens' novels, there is a story of a man who spent his life trying to write a petition, but every time he tried to write, King Charles' head somehow came in. Any

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one with experience of administration in India will sometimes realise that, however much you try to soar up to the higher flights of politics, somehow the awkward question of beef will come in. Sir, if the administration is to become entirely Indian, may I venture to say that Indian administrators and politicians must try to get over that horror of repression of which we have heard so much lately. Repression, apparently, means vigorous action for the maintenance of law and order. You cannot have an omelette without breaking eggs, and you cannot govern without the use of physical force. All of us cannot have liberty to do just what we like. If some of us insist on doing what we like, others have to give up what they like. For instance, if I go to the luncheon room adjacent to this building and sit down with five other men, and there are six cakes on the table, and I say that my right to self-determination, self-expression and self-expansion demands that I should eat all the six cakes, is it reasonable for me to complain of repression because the other five men say that they must each have a cake? In the same way, if I go about the streets of a city and say that my self-expression demands that all the shops must be shut, is it reasonable for me to complain of repression if I am put in jail?

Sir, I support this Resolution, but with the proviso that it seems to me to be necessary that the Indianisation of the Army and the Navy should come before the complete Indianisation of the Civil Services.

The Honourable Sir William Vincent (Home Member): Sir, after what has fallen from the last speaker (Mr. Way), I think it would be a good thing if we tried to get back a little closer to the actual propositions before the House. After all, we are not dealing with many of the questions which the last speaker raised at all. The proposals before us to-day are two. The first of these relates to the recruitment for the All-India Services excepting those of a technical nature, which, according to the Mover, should be made, as far as possible, in India, and the second part of the Resolution deals with the question of educational facilities for certain technical Services. I do not propose to deal with the latter matter at all. There are others here who are much more competent to do so and, indeed, I shall find it difficult to say all I want to say on the first part of the Resolution within the time allotted to me.

In the first place, Sir, I want to explain to this Assembly what the constitutional position in regard to these All-India Services is. The term itself is not very clearly understood by many, I fear. These Services consist of all officers serving under Local Governments who are members of the following Services, namely, the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police Service, the Indian Forest Service, the Indian Educational Service, the Indian Agricultural Service, the Indian Service of Engineers, the Imperial Branch of the Civil Veterinary Department and the Indian Medical Service when the officers are in civil employ. At the same time, it must be admitted, the principle underlying the Mover's Resolution would, I think, apply to many other Services in India excluding, of course, Provincial Services.

Now, an examination of the Government of India Act and the Rules made thereunder will show, I think conclusively, what the intentions of parliament were in regard to these All-India Services. In particular, it will indicate that Parliament has very definitely vested the Secretary of State in Council alone with powers of control over these Services. May I cite

section 96 (B) of the Government of India Act, because it is of importance that we should get the constitutional position clear? Sub-section (2) runs :

'The Secretary of State in Council may make rules for regulating the classification of the Civil Services in India, the methods of their recruitment, their conditions of service, pay and allowances, and discipline and conduct, etc., etc. :

Provided that every person appointed before the commencement of the Government of India Act, 1919, by the Secretary of State in Council to the Civil Service of the Crown in India shall retain all his existing or accruing rights, etc., etc. :

Then, there is a further proviso about pensions. Reading the Rules framed under the Act, Honourable Members will find that all first appointments to an All-India Service, other than appointments made by promotion, shall be made by the Secretary of State in Council. Finally, it is said that every man holds office during His Majesty's pleasure. He may be employed in any manner required and no person may be dismissed by any authority subordinate to that by which he was appointed. I have drawn attention to these citations, because they show to my mind very clearly what the intention of Parliament was. That is, in regard to these Services, His Majesty's Government and His Majesty's Parliament lay a special burden on the Secretary of State. If any one reads, or has read, the debates on the Government of India Bill, he will also find that this has been emphasised by many speakers. Lord Meston, for instance, said on the 16th December, 1919 :

'I do not think that the intention of these words (referring to section 96-B) was for a moment to give Local Legislatures jurisdiction over All-India Services * * * members of that staff and establishment will also undoubtedly be members of All-India Services, but there will be special provisions bringing and maintaining the All-India Services under the control of the Secretary of State in Council.'

I dwell on this point in order to show that neither this Assembly nor the Government of India has really any control over the recruitment of these Services. It is quite true that the Assembly may make recommendations to the Government of India, and it will be the duty of the Government of India to consider them. But the Assembly will realize always that the Government of India cannot possibly make any public pronouncement without a reference to, and save by the instruction of, the Secretary of State on such an important subject. It is quite true that it is a matter to which Indians attach and always have attached great importance. It is also a matter to which, if I may say so, His Majesty's Government and the Houses of Parliament also attach the very greatest weight. And, now, may I refer for one moment to an oft quoted document, the announcement made in August, 1917? What did the Secretary of State say on this subject?

'The policy of His Majesty's Government with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to progressive realization of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire.'

Mr. Dworkadas, in his opening speech, asked us to accept the principle which underlies his Resolution. The citation I have read, the reference to the increasing association of Indians in all branches of the administration, I think, is a sufficient answer to him as to the intentions of Government. And, now, I want Members to look at the preamble of the Act, as altered by the Joint Committee. You will see that the reference is there specially made to the

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Services and the Joint Committee give their reason for this reference. I cite a passage from their report :

'Their reason for making this change is that an attempt has been made to distinguish between the parts of this announcement and to attach a different value to each part according to opinion. It has been said, for instance, that whereas the first part is a binding pledge, the latter part is merely an expression of opinion of no importance. The Committee think that it is of the utmost importance, from the very inauguration of these constitutional changes, that Parliament should make it plain that the responsibility for the successive stages of the development of Self-government rests on itself and on itself alone and that it cannot share this responsibility with, much less delegate it to, the newly elected Legislatures of India. They also desire to emphasize the wisdom and justice of an increasing association of Indians with every branch of the administration, *but they wish to make it perfectly clear that His Majesty's Government must remain free to appoint Europeans to those posts for which they are specially required and qualified.*'

At the same time, there is no doubt, however, that it was the intention both of the framers of that Report and of the Secretary of State when he made the previous announcement, that the number of Indians in the higher branches of the Public Services should be materially increased, and I hope to be able to show later how far the Government have gone in giving effect to that principle, but there were always limitations. One of these limitations is described in the following words :

'There must be no such sudden swamping of any Service with any new element that its whole character suffers a rapid alteration. As practical men, we must also recognise that there are essential differences between the various Services and that it is possible to increase the employment of Indians in some more than in others. The solution lies, therefore, in recruiting, year by year, such a number of Indians as the existing members of the Services will be able to train in an adequate manner and to inspire with the spirit of the whole.'

I may also say that Lord Sinha, while speaking in the House of Lords on the Government of India Bill, fully recognised that point and said :

'The Services, my Lords, need no tribute from me. Their work is plain for the world to see, and it is their work in the main, and its great results developing through the years, that have made India fit for this great experiment. But the passage of this Bill does not close the chapter of their ungrudging toil. India still needs, and will long need, men of the type which Great Britain has so long given her.'

It is quite clear from what I have read, firstly, that at that time His Majesty's Government and His Majesty's Parliament thought the retention of an European element in the Services was necessary, and, secondly, that in their judgment it was for them to decide as to the pace at which the Indianisation was to proceed. And, now, Sir, I should like to deal with the suggestion that Indian recruitment has not been actively promoted in fact by the Government of India and I am going to cite certain figures here, because, I think, that some of those cited by Mr. Dwarkadas, although they were given from an official statement, create a wrong impression. The statements read refer largely to the number of Indians actually in the Services and not to recruitment. It must be obvious to every Member here that if you have got a Service recruited on a certain basis, you will not immediately change the character of the Service by a change in recruitment. For instance, if there are a large number of Europeans in the senior ranks of the Indian Civil Service, it follows that, for many years, the number of Europeans in the higher appointments held by that Service will be large. That is the answer to Mr. Hussanally's charges on this point. The actual proportion of Indians now recruited for the Civil Service is 33 per cent. rising to 48. In the Indian

Police Service, it is not five per cent., as one might think, if he misinterpreted what Mr. Dwarkadas said, but 33 per cent. In the Indian Forest Service, 52 per cent., in the Indian Educational Service, 50 per cent., in the Agricultural Service, 50 per cent., in the Service of Engineers, 50 per cent., Civil Veterinary, 50, the Indian Medical Service, although no actual percentage was fixed, 40 per cent. was suggested. I think, these figures will illustrate to the Assembly that since the enunciation of the principle to which the Mover referred, a very great advance has been made by Government. Of course, it will take time for this recruitment to have effect on the full cadre of each Service, but you cannot effect a great change in the cadre of a Service in a moment. Let me take the case of the Indian Civil Service in which recruitment is based largely on a calculation that a man may retire after 25 years' service and that he will obtain a superior post after a specified number of years. Well, making various deductions, the actual recruitment figure is 4.17 of the total establishment of the Service. It must be obvious to any Member of this Assembly that, even if you recruit a very large percentage of Indians now, it must take considerable time before a majority of the men in the senior branches are Indians and, to that extent, Mr. Jamnadas is perfectly right in the statement that he made to the Assembly, for the full effect of recruitment will not be felt for many years, though it will have an increasing influence on the cadre earlier. And, now, I want to show what has been done in fact to secure Indian recruits. I have had a comparative statement made of figures from 1897—1916 to see what the actual number of Indians and Europeans then admitted to the Civil Service were and a similar calculation for a later period. I find that, for the years 1897—1916, in the Indian Civil Service, the total recruitment of Indians was 66 and of others 960. Now, in 1917—1921, the recruitment of Indians was 59 as against 126 Europeans, and in 1921, 37 Indians and 38 others were admitted to the Service. That is, practically up to 50 per cent. This is, I think, practical evidence of what has been done. Now, let me take another Service, the Indian Medical Service. In the six years, between 1910—1915, the number of Indians admitted was 40, others, 112. In the three years, between 1919—1921, the figures are, Indians, 78 and others, 43. The figures show that the proportion is far over 50 per cent. Now, in these circumstances, is it fair to the Government to say that they have closed the door to the recruitment of Indians to these Services? Is it not proved that the Government of India have been strenuously endeavouring to give effect to the policy announced in the declaration of 1917? Another suggestion, which I want to refute at this point, is that Indians do not occupy posts of authority in the various Governments and have no power to influence the policy of Government. If you want evidence to the contrary, it is here. Here, in this Chamber, are three Indians in the Council of the Governor General exercising an influence which no one would venture to underestimate for one moment, and, I dare say, that many will say that influence has been for the greatest good. In the Provinces, is not the state of affairs the same? Are there not Indian Members of Council, Indian Ministers? In the High Courts, is it not the same? In my own Province, there are three Indian Judges out of seven and, can it be said, in the light of these facts, with truth that Government doors are closed to Indians where high appointments are concerned, or that Indians are not allowed to influence Government in its decisions as to policy practically and directly? We have this year, as regards the Indian Civil Service, gone further again in this direction of Indianisation by prescribing a separate

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examination for Indians in India—another great advance in my opinion. It may not be all that Honourable Members wish, but it is an advance inasmuch as up to now the one real avenue of recruitment to the Indian Civil Service was through Great Britain.

I have now tried to explain what the constitutional aspect of the question is, what powers His Majesty's Government have retained and how far we have attempted to give effect to their policy. At the same time, I quite admit, that the situation has now to be reviewed in the light of the Reforms. No one recognises that more than every member of the Services in India. There have been great changes in the conditions of service. Those who, when they came out to serve, thought they were going out to serve under particular authorities and to be vested with certain powers and authority, have to serve under vastly different conditions now. They must recognise it. They have recognised it and that is one of the things that will deprive the Service of much of its attractiveness. It is doubtful if the Indian Civil Service will any more have the same inducements for men of energy and of initiative and anxious to secure efficiency. Individuals of the class may hesitate now before they come out to any Indian Service and we may as well recognise this.

Then, again, there is this undoubted fact of the reduced amenities of this country, amenities of all kinds and particularly social amenities and the amenities of every day work. There is this atmosphere of hostility in which our officers have now to work. (*A voice 'No.'*) Who has the audacity to say 'No' to that in this Assembly? I challenge any Member to deny that every District Officer in present conditions is performing most arduous and most difficult duties under almost intolerable conditions by reason of this hostility. He is often even opposed by men from whom he has a right to expect help and support. Now, these are all matters which must affect recruitment for the Services in this country and, in fact, have done so. I repeat, the District Officer to-day is subjected to incessant worry and harassment, but I must make myself clear on one point. In making this statement, I mean no reflection on the Ministers for, from everything I have heard, the Ministers have, in general, supported officers loyally and generously in the execution of their duties, and I am glad to pay this appreciation to them. But there are other methods of harassing a servant of the Crown and it cannot be denied that officers now-a-days are subjected to constant attacks based on misrepresentation in the Press and on the platform and they are often not unreasonably apprehensive that, in the performance of dangerous and unpleasant duties, they will not get that support from Legislative Councils and the public which they have a right to expect, and this is really a serious factor in the position. They are also not without anxiety as to the security of their pensions in the future. (Laughter.) Honourable Members laugh, but those who come to serve India have, like others, wives and children dependent on them and they cannot overlook the danger of the future; and the future welfare and livelihood of a wife and family is not a matter that any man can overlook. Sir, the feeling generally in the Services is that the conditions of service have been fundamentally changed, that their position is not the same, that efficiency may be sacrificed to political exigencies and that the future is not assured and, it is at least probable that this may affect the number and class of recruits that come

to this country. It is certain that many who, actuated by long family traditions of service in India, would have liked to come out to India, will, in future, avoid this country as one in which to spend their lives. Indeed, I know of few men in the Service now who are anxious that any of their relatives or sons should come out to any Service in India, although they themselves have served for many years. I know that it is customary to speak of Englishmen in this country as birds of passage, with no permanent interest in India or its welfare. Honourable Members will believe me when I say that many Englishmen, including myself, have spent much more of their lives in India than in England and they retain an abiding affection for this country with which they would like, in other conditions, to have seen their sons connected. Who can tell me that I can forget my affections for a country where I spent the best part of my life, where I have made so many good friends and done work of such absorbing interest. And, now, Sir, let me turn to another aspect affecting recruiting—the financial aspect. The advantages of service in India in this respect have also been greatly affected. If you read the Montagu-Chelmsford Report on this point, you will find these remarks :

‘We are, therefore, anxious that the present opportunity should be taken to do something towards restoring the real pay of the existing services to the level which proved attractive 20 years ago.’

Well, I will take one Service which is better paid than the others. Criticism has often been directed to the increase of salaries of the Indian Civil Service and this increase has been estimated to cost 36 lakhs spread over the whole of the country, but if the Home Department calculations are correct (I ought to say they have not been verified by the Finance Department), the increase is 30 lakhs, not 36 lakhs, and owing to fall in exchange, coupled with abolition of Exchange Compensation Allowance, the benefit to officers is still further reduced, because they do not now, save in exceptional cases, get exchange compensation allowance as they used. My own belief is that the increase in the cost of the Civil Service has been more like 20 lakhs than 36, and I do not believe that the average increase of pay throughout the Service has been more than 8 per cent. Now, is that unreasonable having regard to the rise in prices? I 'aid a statement on the Table the other day showing what the pay of the Service at present is, as compared with its pay in 1914, but, after filing it, I was not at all sure as to its accuracy, and I had the figures tested again; and I have now found that it was not correct in that Exchange Compensation Allowance was not reckoned, and, on a calculation, it has been found that actually the increase in the 5th year was Rs. 107, in the 10th year 203 and in the 15th year 186, and in the later years an actual decrease in the pay. I emphasize the point for two reasons, first, because it is generally believed that the Civil Service has secured an unreasonable benefit by the recent readjustments of pay and, secondly, because this fact, taken with the other, affects recruitment very directly. I also want to give reasons though my Honourable friend, the Finance Member, will not agree with me, for my personal belief that the increase recently sanctioned has not effected the object the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report contemplated. Every one knows what the rise in prices out here has been, what the rise in prices has been at Home, and how the cost of passages and educating children has risen. I am sure, Honourable Members will recognize that the financial effects of this rise has been disastrous to all our officers, and if Government has been unable to give more adequate compensation to meet some of

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the difficulties, I refer particularly to passages and the cost of home charges to these men, what has influenced some of us is the fact that it would prove an unreasonable burden on the finances of India in present conditions. The Government of India is faced to-day with a financial position which will be before you shortly, and I do not desire to anticipate anything my Honourable colleague may say, but we know that in many provinces the Budgets show an alarming deficit which certainly makes retrenchment and economy most essential. I have dwelt on all these points, the changes in conditions of service, the financial aspect, and so on, in order to show that in future this question of European recruitment for India is likely to solve itself very largely. I will now illustrate this by some concrete facts. Honourable Members know that we have recently issued the orders regarding premature retirements on proportionate pensions. They will be interested to hear that already about 40 applications have been received under that scheme from officers of two Services alone who want to retire. Again, eight new officers, appointed under the rules, I believe they are called the Transitory Provisions, have resigned their appointments before taking over charge at all and have not come out to India. So doubtful are they as to their future. I may add that, on my information, there are many more who have taken leave preparatory to retirement under the proportionate pension scheme.

Another influence that will, in my judgment, affect recruitment is the increased attractions of the Colonial Service. It has always been supposed that the Indian Civil Service and other Services in India are much better paid than the Services elsewhere. Well, that was true up to a point up to 1917. I remember Mr. Sastri making great play with some figures in this connection in a debate in that year. The position has changed very greatly now. If I were to give you the figures for one or two of the other portions of the Empire outside India, I think, I could prove it conclusively. The increases, for instance, in the Straits Settlements and in Kenya which I have before me, are very large. I do not want to cite them here, because it would take too long a time, but I shall be happy to show the figures to the Honourable Mover of this Resolution or any other Member who will take the trouble to come and see me. I am quite sure, many members of the Services would be interested in an examination of them. In addition to that, these members of the Colonial Services get free quarters and free passages, which are not enjoyed by men in India; and their pay is fixed in sterling.

And, here, I want to advert to another aspect of the question, namely, the responsibility of the Government of India *vis-a-vis* the recruits for the Services. Speaking for myself, I think we are incurring a very grave responsibility indeed if we bring out a large number of young Englishmen to this country whose future is uncertain, unless it is clear that their services will be required and, it was for this reason partly, that I really welcomed this debate. It does seem to me that a man has a right to know whether the people of India want Englishmen to serve here or not. If they do not want them, they can say so, but let them face the consequences. I myself believe that there will be a great need for Englishmen in the Services for many years. Before I deal with that, however, I want to put to the Assembly another indication of the present tendency; to show how the present conditions in India are affecting the recruitment at Home. Now, for the last examination for the India Civil Service there were 86 candidates. Of

these candidates, 26 only were Europeans. There were 16 appointments and 8 Europeans were among the successful candidates and 13 Indians.

All these points show that really what the Honourable Mover seeks to effect is happening automatically; the question is settling itself. There is no need for this Resolution. India will not get Englishmen to come out here at percent rates in the numbers that the Mover anticipates. And, Sir, if I say this, I say it in all sorrow, for I myself believe that it will be a matter of the greatest misfortune to this country. I feel that there are many in India now who do not realise the great benefits that have been conferred upon this country by members of the different European services. (*A Voice*: 'Some do'.) It is not merely a question of material progress of roads and railways and canals and bridges and buildings, but of the much greater moral progress that has been made in the country. It is not then mainly even a question of commerce, of industries, of mills or of factories; it is the inauguration of law and order, the free and equal administration of justice, the right to live a free and civilized life in security, the protection against oppression. These are the really valuable assets which have been secured to India by these services. What was the state of India before the British administration was inaugurated? It is with this thought in their minds that I want Members to consider whether they wish at once, suddenly, to give up the benefits that have been secured to them for so many years by the members of the British services in this country. (*A Voice*: 'No, no'.) I believe the administration of this country will in future become of increasing difficulty, and I believe many an Indian will in future regret that in difficult times, times of great stress and danger, Indians have no European officer to help them in their difficulties or to assist them in the crises that will arise. For myself too, I look at this elimination of the Englishman from the services in India from another point of view which is even more serious, and that is the breaking up of a great bond between this country and Great Britain which few thoughtful men can contemplate with equanimity.

And, here, Sir, I want to deal with a statement of Mr. Wali Mahomed Hussanally who introduced the question of the increased employment of Provincial Services. That is a matter which is deserving of and is receiving attention. But when he accused the Government of not giving effect to his Resolution proposing that 25 per cent. of the superior listed posts should be immediately given to Provincial Service men, then I join issue with him at once. Did this Assembly ever contemplate that we were going to be unjust to men already in the service, that we were going to disregard the claims of men recruited for a certain number of superior posts, to treat them unfairly, merely for the benefit of officers who already had received very considerable additions to their pay and have the chance of obtaining a number of superior posts? I say that there are abundant reasons why Government have not been able to and cannot give effect in full to the Resolution which he proposed. We recruit for our services on the basis of a certain number of superior posts, on the understanding that after a certain number of years senior men will succeed to what are called superior posts. Now, Sir, having recruited a number of men, having let them to believe that they would get these posts after a certain period of time, would it be right for Government, for any Government in the world (*A Voice*, 'No, no'), to say, 'We have now decided not to give you these posts; and you will now get 75 per cent. only of them, the remaining 25 per cent. going to the Provincial Service.' If the case

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had been put to the Assembly in that light, I believe they would never have accepted the Resolution.

The question of the employment of Indians, including Provincial Service men, for superior posts generally is a separate matter of great importance which must be examined on its merits, but I am anxious that the Assembly should not come to a hasty and ill-considered decision on it. There is a great deal in what Mr. Way said. The future prosperity of India depends very largely on a certain number of British remaining in the civil administration of this country, for you cannot separate entirely military administration and civil administration. They are largely inter-dependent. Industries, European and Indian commerce, the flow of capital to India, the value of Indian securities, all these things too, are equally closely wrapped up with this question of the maintenance of a system of administration in this country in which the public have confidence. At the same time Indianization of the services will proceed, and must proceed. What I deprecate is any decision to swamp the services *uno actu* by recruitment of Indians alone many of whom may possibly not be competent to undertake the duties which will be imposed upon them. I do not want to depreciate the services of the Indians we have in service now. There are many very excellent men, and men will doubtless be forthcoming as time goes on possessing the requisite qualifications, and if the idea is to Indianize the services according to the pronouncement of 1917, we are in fact giving effect to that pronouncement and have increased Indian recruitment very largely. As to the particular proposal before the Assembly, what we propose to do is this. We realise the importance of the subject from every aspect and the keen feelings of Indians on the subject. We appreciate the financial difficulties of most of our officers, the effect of various factors on future recruitment, and the responsibility of Local Governments for a matter which largely affects officers under their control. I have already explained that the All-India services are largely services under the provinces, and it is essential that they should be consulted before we make any proposals to the Secretary of State. We propose, therefore, now to re-examine the whole question in the light of the facts which I have put before you. We will therefore consult Local Governments in the first instance on the subject, and then we propose to address a reasoned despatch to the Secretary of State, taking into consideration the various points which have been raised by the Honourable Mover and other speakers.

I have now tried to put the facts before the Assembly as plainly as I can—dispassionately I hope and fairly—I quite realise that Indians in this country have every right to expect an increasing proportion and a largely increasing proportion of Indians in the public services. It is indeed unthinkable to my mind that a country which has Dominion status should at that time allow its affairs to be controlled entirely by a foreign service and we have to look to the future. At the same time the constitutional position is clear and the final decision of this matter rests with the Secretary of State. Further, the problem is full of difficulties. In the circumstances I want this Assembly to consider whether it would not be wiser to await the reports from Local Governments, whom we are about to consult in the light of the various facts that I have put forward, before deciding a question of such great importance and moment to the whole future of this country. I do not think really Members have now information before them to enable them to decide such an issue correctly.

Sir, I leave it to the Assembly entirely to decide whether, in view of what I have put before them as to what we have done and what we intend to do, it is necessary to press this Resolution. I am not going on this occasion to express sympathy for or against the Resolution. I have attempted to put the facts on both sides clearly, dispassionately and honestly, and I leave the issue to them.

Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Ayyar (Madras : Nominated Non-Official) : Sir, at the outset, I wish to say a word about the services rendered to this country by European officers who have been employed here. I have been associated with them in the Legislative Councils, I have sat with them in Committees, I have worked with them in the High Court, and I think I am justified in saying that these officers bring to the discharge of their duties a high minded devotion, energy and whole-heartedness in the work which is entrusted to them. (Hear, hear.) There is no doubt that they have raised the standard of efficiency in this country in all the offices ; it is, therefore, not with a view to supplant them altogether or to make the work of the administration less efficient that this Resolution has been brought forward, and I certainly do not speak on the Resolution with that object in view. But, Sir, admitting all this, it should not be forgotten that the guiding principle of every Government should be that, everything being equal, the sons of the soil should have a preponderating voice in the administration of their country. I said that everything being equal, it must be the duty of the Government, and specially of an alien Government, to see that the sons of the soil get the largest voice and the largest share in the administration of the country. That must be the object which should be aimed at. Now, Sir, before I proceed to examine the question a little further, let me refer to the constitutional aspect of it which the Honourable the Home Member has referred to. He said that it is the Secretary of State who has the final voice in the appointment of these officers, and therefore the Legislative Assembly cannot be doing its duty properly in usurping those functions. Sir, in another sentence the Honourable the Home Member said that there is nothing to prevent this Assembly from recommending to the Secretary of State what should be done and what the wishes of the people are. It is in this latter aspect of the question that we have ventured to put forward this Resolution. We realise that the ultimate decision rests with the Secretary of State, but we, Sir, who live in the country, we, who know the people of the country very well and their wishes, as their representatives in this Assembly, consider it desirable to bring it to the notice of the Government of India, and, through the Government of India, of the Secretary of State what our wishes in the matter are, not with a view to supplant the Secretary of State and to arrogate to ourselves the function of appointing, but with a view that the matter may be brought to his notice, so that he may see what further steps should be taken to Indianise the Services in this country. Sir, I take it that the function of the Secretary of State is that of a benevolent despot, and as a benevolent despot, he would like to be guided, as far as possible, by the wishes and sentiments of the people over whom he exercises sway. It is with the view of the benevolent despot being acquainted with the wishes and sentiments of the people that this Resolution has been brought forward. Now, Sir, some of the arguments which have been put forward by the Honourable the Home Member, in my humble opinion, go to strengthen largely the Resolution which has been put forward. The Honourable the Home Member has said that, in all the provinces and in the Imperial Executive Council, the

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Indian element has been doing considerable good work. Now, Sir, if that is a true testimony to the capacity and to the intelligence of the Indian Members associated with the Government, is it not desirable, having regard to the principle which I have put forward, *viz.*, that you should, as far as possible, give the sons of the soil a preponderating voice, that more men should be associated with Dr. Sapru, Mr. Sarma and Sir Muhammad Shafi in the administration of the Imperial Government? Is it not desirable that more men should be associated with the present men, who, according to the Honourable the Home Member, have been doing such excellent service?

Lieut.-Col. H. A. J. Gidney (Nominated Anglo-Indian) : Reduce the number.

Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Ayyar : My friend, Colonel Gidney, says that the number might be reduced, but I do not think.

Lieut.-Col. H. A. J. Gidney : The Retrenchment Committee has asked to reduce the number.

Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Ayyar : The Retrenchment Committee does not ask that the Indian element should go. I cannot believe that he will ever get the Legislative Assembly to accede to the proposition that the Indian element should be lessened in the Executive Council. There is no difficulty about that. Now, Sir, if I am right in the view, if the Honourable the Home Member is correct in his estimate of his colleagues' work, I ask, is it not time that more men should be associated with the European officials in the administration of the Executive Councils? Sir, he has referred to the High Court and to various other Departments wherein the work has been efficiently carried on by the Indian Members, and they are very good reasons for the Resolution being accepted by the Government and for the Government taking a step forward, so that there may be more Indians in the administration. One matter has not been specifically referred to either by the Mover or by the Honourable the Home Member, and that is this. Year after year, an increasingly large number of Indians have been recruited to the Civil Service, and I believe the father of the Civil Service among Indians is now in this Assembly, *viz.*, Mr. Chatterjee. These Civil Servants have considerably added to the prestige of the Government. They have worked exceedingly well. They have shown that they can be good Collectors, good Judges, and so on. Under these circumstances, does it not prove that if you associate more Indians in the administration, the country would be all the better for it, the administration would be purer, and there would be more contentment in the country? Therefore, Sir, the reasons which have been adduced by the Honourable the Home Member are the very reasons which go to support the Resolution which has been put forward. Sir, it has been said by the Honourable the Home Member that too much should not be made regarding the cost of the administration. I do not want to say much about it. I think the European Members are rightly paid what they are now paid, but what I do say is this. If the money which is paid to them remains in the country, the country would be greatly benefited. The high salary which we pay to the Members now is taken away from this country, and there is a real drain upon the resources of this country, whereas, if Indians are employed in the same posts, the money will remain in the country and the country would greatly benefit by it. That is another reason why the

Services should be Indianised. Another reason was advanced by the Honourable the Home Member to the effect that the matter will settle itself in course of time, having regard to the difficulty of recruiting the Services by Europeans and having regard to the pronounced opinion of some of these men, who have been selected, not to come here to serve. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary at the present moment to bring forward this Resolution. Sir, that again is another reason why this Resolution should be pressed. If you cannot get good men to come out here, it is very likely that some fifth-rate men will be appointed hereafter. Some good men have come out to this country and rendered valuable services to the country, and made the administration steady and pure. If such men cannot be got at and find it difficult to come to this country, the result will be you will get only a very inferior sort of men; whereas in this country, having regard to the spread of education, to the contact that Indians have had with Europeans, there is a growing body of Indians capable and efficient, who will be able to discharge the duties heretofore discharged by Europeans. That is a very good reason why this Resolution should be pressed and brought to the notice of the Government and the Secretary of State.

Sir, the Honourable the Mover, as well as the Home Member, have referred to the fact that there is great discontent in the country. I do not think it can be gainsaid that the fact that more Indians are not employed in the Services has been one of the causes of the discontent. (Hear, hear.) There can be no doubt that, if you had more Indians, the Indians would be able to go among the people and bring to the notice of the higher authorities what is really at the bottom of the unrest that is prevailing in this country. Europeans, however well situated, cannot be expected to do the work which the Indians in similar positions can do. That is another reason why the Services in the country should be Indianised, so that the higher authorities may have first-hand information regarding the condition of the districts.

Sir, for all these reasons I think the Government would be well advised in accepting the Resolution as it has been moved, and in sending to the Secretary of State a strong recommendation that the Services should be Indianised.

There is only one word which I should like to say with regard to Mr. Way's speech. I cannot understand his reference to cakes. I think that three out of every six cakes should be shared by the Indians. Mr. Way also said: 'How can you expect Europeans to work under Indians?' Apparently, he has been getting the worst and apparently . . . (A voice: 'He did not say so.') He said that the West and the East cannot work together. I am sorry if I have misquoted him. However, I think it desirable to say that what we aim at is that the Army should be Indianised as well, and that there should be no difficulty in getting into the Army more Indians than there are at present. If Mr. Way would consider the history of the Indian Mutiny, he will find that those that saved the country for the British Government were really Indian soldiers, and there is no difficulty in Indians and Europeans working together. If you Indianise the Army, there will be no more difficulty in seeing that the country is safeguarded, and if the Indianisation of the Army comes first, then the other objections raised by Mr. Way will fall to the ground.

For all these reasons, I have great pleasure in supporting the Resolution brought forward by Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas.

Lieut.-Col. H. A. J. Gidney : Sir, I rise to take part in this discussion in rather a peculiar position. Being the representative of the Domiciled Community I seem to be between two stones. (Hear, hear.) I don't or I can't say which one is the bigger. In other words, I seem to occupy a position between the devil and the deep sea. If I say that the entire Services in India should in the future be Indianised, I will be false to the need and aspirations of my community and be cutting adrift from the truth of the saying that 'blood is thicker than water' which I must maintain at all costs but only with honor. If I say that it should not be, I, who have to remain all my life in India—I am not a bird of passage—will most probably in the end suffer from it when the Services are completely Indianised, as they are bound to be in 20 or 30 years' time.

But speaking very candidly on this matter, I consider that the Resolution before us should be viewed in a non-communal light; and therefore I take my position here to-day and address this Honourable House as a citizen of India. (Hear, hear.) Sir, I have received such a lot of sympathy in this House in regard to some of the Resolutions I have brought forward (I don't mean sympathy of Sir Frank Carter's type) that in return I feel I must offer my whole-hearted sympathy to my Honourable friend, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, and his Resolution and, as a citizen of India, I give it my support, but on principle only.

Sir, if we carefully analyse this Resolution, I think you will agree with me that it is about the nicest attempt at non-co-operation with the Britisher that is possible. If one reads Mr. Jamnadas' Resolution, the two parts of it that strike me as needing explanation are 'in future', which means from now on, and 'as far as possible' which is very indefinite. He practically says to the Government and through it to the Secretary of State, 'We want you to do it at once, and again, do it as far as you can 'or as far as is possible.' We do not insist on more than that.' Then, Sir, India must remember that before she can desire she must deserve. Mr. Jamnadas made an astounding statement, which was supported by my friend behind me, *viz.*, that the discontent in India is mainly due to the reservation or the monopoly of the higher appointments by Europeans. I join issue with him on this point, Sir, and say that the discontent which is felt or said to be felt by the ordinary labourer and villager, I mean the uneducated people of India who are being taught civil disobedience and mob rule, is not due to this cause, but is due to a much more serious cause, *i.e.*, the non-co-operation movement. I wonder, if we appointed the self-styled, self-created Dictator, Gandhi, as President of this Assembly, whether discontent would at once cease in India? I don't think!! I wonder, if we had the Government front Benches here occupied entirely by Indians, whether the villagers would be pleased and contented. He cares not a jot about it, for he is not the discontented person and is quite peaceful if left alone to do his work. I do not believe that this is the real cause of discontent in India, and I therefore do not accept this statement of the Mover of this Resolution. Whereas in front of me Mr. Jamnadas, in his able speech, said that the Civil Service has given us a model Government, behind me I hear another Member, who says that all India is discontented with it. Which statement are we to accept as the true belief of Indians? In our desire to get a position in India—and I am one who is trying to get it—for my community, I am afraid we are trying to run before we can walk and bite before we have even cut our milk teeth. I

believe no one will disagree with me that the difference between experienced and immature administrators is the same as that between a Rolls-Royce and a Ford Motor car ; both are cars, but of totally different types. And I submit, with all respect to the aspirations of India, to which I belong, that, if you go too far and too hastily in this movement, you will not only be unjust to those coming after you, but to yourselves, for, mark you, the day is not far distant, owing to the paucity and inferior type of Englishmen who are coming out to join the Services in India to-day, and, as I said in my Medical Committee Resolution, owing to the inferior type of men who are coming out, when India will one fine morning awaken from her sleep, her dream and delusion to find that her one and only true friend, the Britisher, has left her, and the future alone can tell what a terrible awakening that will be. Sir, I agree with what the Honourable the Home Member said when he struck a note of

1 P.M. warning that we should go slowly in this matter. It is a matter that will remedy and settle itself, and I believe it is rapidly remedying itself and working out its own end. Sir, I ask this House to remember that I offered a remedy—my Medical *Swaraj*—to this House the day before yesterday which meant ‘to deserve before you desire’. I say I offered this in my Resolution, but it was rejected by this House who now demands entire Indianisation of all the Services. One Honourable Member asked, why should there be only one Indian as a Secretary in the Government of India? Another Member asked, why should there not be more Indian Members in the Executive Council? Yet we have Indian Members of the provincial Councils crying out and asking that their Provincial Executive Members should be reduced to two. Therefore, I do not understand what some Members do really desire. The Englishman realises, and he is realising it every day, that his presence in India is not wanted. I say, we must have the Englishman here for some considerable time to come. In fact, India cannot do without him, at least not just now and for many years to come. India cannot possibly (she is not capable) take over the reins of Government to the extent of the entire Indianisation of the Services. The Indians are gradually doing it, and no doubt are preparing themselves more rapidly than even the authors of the Reform Scheme anticipated. But I submit, Sir, with all respect to the Honourable the Mover of this Resolution, and in consonance with my own desires and aims, that the time is too premature to demand the entire Indianisation of all the Services. (Cries of ‘Nobody wants it.’) Well, Sir, I am open to correction on that, but this is the ultimate goal aimed at. Does nobody want it?

Dr. H. S. Gour (Nagpur Division : Non-Muhammadan) : You have been corrected.

Lieut.-Col. H. A. J. Gidney : I said, I am open to correction on that matter. Dr. Gour has been so kind as to tell me that I have been corrected; he is the self-created corrector of this Honourable House—at least he thinks so. (Laughter.) Well, Sir, as I say, the speed with which we desire to Indianise the Services is, I think, an attempt to run a race which we are not prepared to finish—at least, finish to the benefit of India. Ardently as I wish to see India governing itself in a sane constitutional way—and I give in to no one in this House in my desire to obtain constitutional and rational *Swaraj*—yet I submit that that time has not come. I submit that we cannot, as was pointed out by Mr. Way, expect to enjoy or obtain complete self-government until we have complete power over all the Services in India,

[Lt.-Col. H. A. J. Gidney.]

and that, as Mr. Way pointed out, cannot possibly be obtained with the present day difference between the control of the Army and the Civil Service. Does India wish to control its entire Civil Services and expect Englishmen to control and run the Army to protect these Civil Services when necessary, I wonder? There is a great danger, I submit, in the speed with which you want to run. I am in sympathy with the Honourable the Mover, but I want this condition to be attained in steady well-developed stages; I ask the Mover to realise that everyone does not think as he thinks or desire to ride for a fall. I realise the racial hostility that exists in India to-day; and no one can deny it. As the Honourable the Home Member so rightly pointed out in his eloquent speech, we live, and every official in India lives, in an atmosphere of racial hostility, engendered and fed by non-co-operators. I do not say the hostility comes so much from the type of Indians who are desirous of obtaining for India a proper *Swaraj*, but from that increasing body of men in India whose one ambition in life seems to be to hate and to get the Englishman out of India as soon as they can; and I warn you the day that happens, considering the present unstable condition of the country, India's doom will be sealed. (Hear, hear.)

In conclusion, Sir, I desire to give, as I have been given myself in such quantities, to the extent almost of *ad nauseam*, my heart-felt and entire sympathy to the principle of this Resolution. I ask the Mover to pause and realise the gravity of the situation in India to-day, as explained by the Honourable the Home Member, to ponder over what this step, this leap in the dark means and must mean to India, and, in his desire to obtain this Indianisation of all the Services, I ask him to go a little warily, not to rush matters too quickly. I ask him in grasping at the shadow not to let go off the substance.

Dr. H. S. Gour: Sir, when I listened to the eloquent words of the Honourable the Home Member, I felt as if he were replying to some Resolution censuring the Indian Services. I can assure the Honourable the Home Member that neither the Honourable the Mover of this Resolution nor anybody who followed him had the slightest desire to under-rate the importance or value of the distinguished Service to which the Honourable the Home Member belongs (Hear, hear) and which he so conspicuously adorns. The sole object of this Resolution was to ask the Government of India to move the responsible authorities in England to Indianise all the Indian Services; and, on that point, the Honourable the Mover of this Resolution has given reasons which I beg to summarise once more, because they are apt to be forgotten. He pointed out, in the first instance, that the substitution of an indigenous agency for a foreign agency would work for economy. The Honourable the Home Member said that the Indianisation of the Services would not cheapen the cost of those Services. But the Honourable the Home Member not only assumed that the Indian Services would be paid at the same rate as the European Services . . .

The Honourable Sir William Vincent: I said nothing of the kind.

Dr. H. S. Gour: Very well, Sir, I am glad that the Honourable the Home Member did not contradict that statement.

We then pass on to the next question. It cannot be denied that the Indianisation of the Services would be popular with the people of this country,

and I submit that that in itself is an asset which the Government of India should value, even if it immediately suffered in efficiency. The Honourable the Home Member was no doubt pleading for the retention of the existing Services in decreasing proportions and he pointed out the difficulties of recruitment and the growing difficulties of obtaining first-rate men. I submit, if that is any reason at all, it is a very good reason for Indianising the Services. If there is difficulty in obtaining the first-rate men who were sent out to this country in the past, if there is a dearth of eligible candidates, it is the very best of all reasons for Indianising the Services.

My friend, the Honourable the Home Member, said that it had been suggested in some of the speeches that, after the members of the Indian Services go home, their services are lost to this country. He asked: 'After long and arduous years of service, can anybody think that these servants on their retirement do not think of India where they have spent the best years of their lives?' I think the Honourable the Mover of the Resolution did not exactly mean to imply that the members of the Indian Services on their retirement do not think of India. What he did say was that the experience and knowledge gained during the active service in this country by the Indian servants of the Crown would be a valuable asset after they settled down in this country.

I do not think, Sir, that the Honourable the Home Member contemplates, on retirement, to settle down in this country and give us the benefit of his valuable and accumulated experience, which we want, and it is that which is lost in the case of European servants who come to this country and retire home on obtaining their pensions. That, I submit, is a factor which cannot be ignored. The Honourable the Home Member will remember that the Indian Services may be grouped into three stages. We have first of all the members of the Military Services who used to discharge civil duties. With the further development of India, we have the Indian Civil Service which has done conspicuous service towards the development and education of the people of this country; but I venture to submit that its work is now done, and what we now require is specialised services for the various branches of Indian administration; and I submit that the work which lies before the Government servant in future is not so much the work of general administration as the management of various specialised Departments. The Honourable the Home Member said that there is a great desire on the part of the Government of India to employ Indian agency in increasing proportions. I have not the slightest doubt that, within recent years, a larger number of Indians have been employed in what I may call the higher administration of this country; but it has invariably been for performing what I may call small jobs. May I ask the Honourable the Home Member, how many Indians have been employed to fill the eight Governorships of Provinces?

The Honourable Sir William Vincent: May I rise to a point of order? Has this anything to do with the All-India Services?

Dr. H. S. Gour: It has to do with my amendment.

Mr. President: If the Honourable Member is moving his amendment, I must call his attention to the fact that we have had a discussion on the question of Governorships, Chief Justices and the holders of other high judicial

[Mr. President.]

and executive offices, and, therefore, his amendment is restricted to limits which are so narrow that I can hardly see what is left.

Dr. H. S. Gour : I ask, apart from the Governorships of Provinces, how many of the highest administrative posts are held at the present moment by Indians, and that is a question about which, I submit, the Honourable the Home Member has given no information.

The Honourable Sir William Vincent : I will answer the Honourable Member at once, if he likes. There are three Members on the Governor General's Council. In the provinces of Madras, Bombay and Bengal, there are three Ministers and two Members of Council, and in every other province there is a preponderance of Indians over Europeans in the Ministry and Council taken together.

Mr. N. M. Samarth (Bombay : Nominated Non-Official) : Except in Bihar ?

The Honourable Sir William Vincent : I think in Bihar also.

Dr. H. S. Gour : I beg to suggest, Sir, that we already know all that the Honourable the Home Member has just told us.

The Honourable Sir William Vincent : Then why did you ask ?

Dr. H. S. Gour : But he knows full well what we are driving at. He is conscious of the popular grievance on the subject of the posts of heads of Departments, of the heads of the Judiciary, of the heads of provinces, all of which are monopolised by Europeans. And I submit, Sir, that the Honourable Mover of this Resolution has made out a very clear case for the Indianisation of the Services.

The Honourable the Home Member raised a question of constitutional law and read to us section 96-B (2) ; but, in the same breath, he pointed out that any opinion that this Assembly records would be transmitted to the Secretary of State for his consideration. I submit, Sir, the question, therefore, is not one of constitutional law at all. It is perfectly within the jurisdiction of this Assembly to record its opinion and ask the Governor General in Council to transmit it to the Secretary of State for consideration, and this I think the Honourable the Home Member suggested, in the later portion of his speech, that he was prepared to do. It is, I submit, for the purpose of voicing the sentiments of the people of this country that this Resolution has been tabled by the Honourable the Mover, and it is for that purpose that, I submit, this Resolution should not be withdrawn but should be persisted in and divided upon, if necessary. I therefore, Sir, support the Resolution and invite the attention of the House to its extremely moderate terms and request the Honourable Members to support it by their votes.

Mr. N. M. Samarth : Sir, I wish to address the House only on the constitutional question which was raised by the Honourable the Home Member in his speech. Section 96-B says

The Honourable Sir William Vincent : May I offer one word of explanation ? It may save the Honourable Member's time. What I emphasized in this connection was the constitutional position of the Government of India there. I never suggested that it was unconstitutional for this

House to make any recommendation, but pointed out that it would be unconstitutional for the Government of India to make a pronouncement, which was within the jurisdiction of the Secretary of State.

Mr. N. M. Samarth : That is true, but I wish to point out another aspect of that constitutional objection. Section 96-B, clause 2, only says this that the Secretary of State in Council may make rules for regulating 'the classification of the Civil Services in India,' which means, whether they are to be Imperial or Provincial, whether they are to be All-India Services or whether they are to be Local Government Services; the classification of the executive services in India, 'the methods of their recruitment,' that is to say, the manner in which they are to be recruited, whether by nomination or examination in England or in India, 'their conditions of service, pay and allowances, discipline and conduct'; but, so far as 'the recruitment of the services and their control' are concerned, the Government of India Act was careful enough to provide other provisions, and those provisions are embodied in section 96-C, which enjoins the Secretary of State in Council to appoint in India a Public Services Commission. The *personnel* of that Commission is given, and then in clause 2 its functions :

'The Public Services Commission shall discharge in regard to the recruitment and control of the Public Services in India such functions as may be assigned thereto by rules made by the Secretary of State in Council.'

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey (Finance Member): By the Secretary of State in Council.

Mr. N. M. Samarth : True. I put specifically a question on that point at Simla to the Government of India. I asked on the 10th September, 1921, the following question :

(a) Will the Government be pleased to state whether rules have been made by the Secretary of State in Council for the establishment in India of a Public Services Commission as enjoined by section 96-C of the Government of India Act ?

(b) If so, will the Government be pleased to place the said rules on the table ?

(c) If not, do the Government of India propose to communicate to the Secretary of State the desirability of expediting the matter ?

The answer given was by the Honourable the Home Member :

(a) and (b). The rules have not yet been finally made.

(c) Government have for some time been in telegraphic communication with the Secretary of State on the subject, and it is expected that the final form of the rules will be approved within a few days.'

That was on the 10th September. I hoped that that period of 'a few days' would have expired, but apparently it has not yet expired. The real remedy, therefore, is in the hands of this House to insist upon the Secretary of State in Council making these rules and appointing a Public Services Commission as enjoined by that section; and it is the Public Services Commission's function to make the recruitment in any way that it likes, in accordance, of course, with the rules made. I see the Honourable the Finance Member indulging in a laugh, but, if he cares to refer to the report of the Joint Committee on this subject, he will find that the laugh will be probably against him. I insist, therefore, that the Government of India should take the necessary steps in the matter and ask for the rules

The Honourable Sir William Vincent : Here is the Joint Committee Report. I should like to have the quotation of which the Honourable Member is talking.

Mr. N. M. Samarth : If I am not wrong, it is in the second report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the draft rules. However, whether it is there or not, the section is there and the statute is there, and I submit it is and will be the function of the Public Services Commission to give effect to the main idea underlying the Resolution now before the House.

Mr. Abdur Rahim (North-West Frontier Province : Nominated Non-Official) : Sir, the amendment which stands in my name runs as follows :

'Insert the following words ' subject to communal representation of different communities ' in the third line of the Resolution after the word ' shall '.

Sir, I have been listening to the speech of the Honourable Mover of the Resolution, and I must say that, before he started this Resolution, he ought to have started with this amendment. We are all aware, Sir, of the noble traditions of this Assembly ; and this Assembly is an Assembly based entirely on communal representation. That being the case, the Honourable Mover should have followed the traditions of the House and should have been the first to have admitted the respect which should be observed for communal rights. No doubt, Sir, I feel sympathy with Indian aspirations ; but I must say that, situated as we are, we must have some regard for my community also ; I must say that my community has been too obliging in this case all along—I mean the Muhammadan community. But, unfortunately, I find that advantage has been taken of this fact and my community cannot any longer be left out of account in matters like these. The thing is that justice must be done. We all know the condition of the Muhammadans. I will say this that, if the Honourable Mover of the Resolution stands on this criterion, *viz.*, the survival of the fittest, then I think there is no meaning in moving this Resolution. Let there be fair competition between the English and the Indian. But he starts his Resolution with this line of distinction that Indians must be given some rights as against the Europeans, and therefore, I think I am perfectly justified, Sir, in standing up and demanding that some rights should be given to all the communities too, because India is not one whole, but is made up of different communities and different races. I would request the Honourable gentleman that he should not think that I am lacking in aspirations as far as India is concerned. I quite agree with him in that spirit. But I must say that I differ from him in this, that, before such a Resolution is passed, there should be some line drawn, as I have said, because I am sure the Honourable gentleman does not mean that there should be this criterion of the survival of the fittest.

Then the Honourable Member said that the administration was very expensive and must be made cheap. I must say that he should know very well that good things are expensive. A Lambardar once went to a Deputy Commissioner and said : ' Will you kindly dismiss the Sub-Inspector of Police ? I will do the work.' The Deputy Commissioner asked him how he could do it. Then the Lambardar said : ' I do not want any pay ; in that way there will be a great saving to Government ; I will take bribes and live on that. The Sub-Inspector does it and I shall do so without taking any pay whatever and Government will be saved a good deal of money.' I hope the Honourable Mover does not mean that officers who occupy big posts should

do that. He must admit that they deserve the pay they get. If they had been in any other walk of life, they would not have got less than anybody else.

Then, some remarks were made by the Honourable the Home Member. I am sure he did not mean that the loyalty of the Muhammadans was in any way less than that of the other communities. The Muhammadans, I must say, have made sacrifices for their faith. I challenge any one to deny this, that our sacrifice has been greater than the sacrifice of other communities. I do not mean that the other communities have been less loyal; no, far from that; but our case deserves special consideration because we had made sacrifices of faith and I wish to bring that point to the notice of the Assembly. Unfortunately, in the case of the Muhammadans, love has been blind, but that does not matter so much, although, hard as it is, in their case fortune too has been blind, but in it there is this consolation that 'fortune favours fools': We are not fools. But what is sad and cruel is that Justice too is going to be proved blind in their (the Muhammadans') case.

Then some reference was made to a sort of uneasiness that the official Members were feeling about the future of the British in India. I think they should be easy about it; they have been our masters and they have been giving us this education and I think it is the whole tradition of the English constitution that they must give in gracefully, ungrudgingly and cheerfully. I may assure the Honourable Member that a good many Indians, the majority of the Indians in fact, love the British and stand for them.

Before I sit down, I shall say one last word and it is this: that it is the sense of justice of the British which demands the respect of all the communities, and, as long as the British stick to that, they need have no fear of anything else.

Khan Bahadur Zahiruddin Ahmed (Dacca Division: Muhammadan Rural) : Sir, I offer this Resolution my sympathy but not my support. Like the *Swaraj* Resolution, I think this Resolution is also premature. The administration of India is a difficult and delicate problem and it is not yet time that all the Britishers or a good number of them can be replaced by Indians. I have got personal knowledge of three Divisions in the province of Bengal, *viz.*, the Presidency, Dacca and Chittagong Divisions; these three Divisions have 11 or 12 districts. In whichever district an Indian, whether Hindu or Mussalman, became District Magistrate or District Superintendent of Police, the efficient administration of the district suffered. If any of my Honourable friends in this Assembly do desire to contradict me, I shall ask him to compare the administration of Chittagong Division with that of the Dacca Division. One is an Indian-manned Division and the other is European-manned. What I am saying is no doubt sad, but it is true.

Mr. W. M. Hussanally : I rise to a point of order; is the Honourable Member in order in going into personalities?

Khan Bahadur Zahiruddin Ahmed : There is no fear of derailment, my friend, the point is *yet* workable and not out of order and I continue. I am confessing to an unpleasant truth, and I have not yet become so civilized as to deny a fact simply because it is against myself or my own countrymen.

[Khan Bahadur Zahiruddin Ahmed.]

Another objection of mine rests on the fact that India has not yet become one country and its peoples have not yet become one nation. The Mussulmans have not yet full confidence in the Hindus and the Hindus have not yet got full confidence in the Mussulmans. I will not be far wrong when I say that one desires for the extermination of the other. I am not against Hindu-Moslem unity but an ardent desirer of it, but I only say that they have not yet become one people. Part of the population of both has united, I admit, but, on a treacherous principle. They have united in their common hatred of the British or in their common treachery to the Government. One is dissatisfied for not getting everything; the other is dissatisfied for not getting anything, *plus* the Khilafat wrongs. That is, they are trying to build an edifice on a treacherous soil of quicksand which can never last. I want a structure on a solid foundation. Let us unite in common co-operation with the Government, in mutual friendship for the British. This is the kind of unity I have striven for, I have wished for, I had desired and longed for and I had prayed for. If there be any Member or Members with this principle in this Assembly, I am prepared to follow his or their lead. As for treacherous friendship, I shun, I hate and I look with horror on it, and I shall never be in it to the last days of my life. If such a Resolution were moved after a unity such as I have described, I will be the first man to second it, but not now. I have been often accused of being an enemy of Hindu-Moslem unity, that is, the black sheep of the fold, a renegade and a traitor. My reply is, I have not been properly understood. One of the foremost and most farsighted statesmen, an Honourable Member of this Assembly, brought in a Bill which, if passed, would have made such unity not only possible but probable, and I was the only Mussulman Member to vote for it. Does it show that I am against Hindu-Moslem unity? For a long time, in my opinion, the cake of cheese must be in the hands of the monkey, to be divided between the two contending cats. I define the kind of division I wish, 2-5ths for the monkey himself, 2-5ths for the big cat and 1-5th for the other, the smaller cat. I believe this will be a just and fair division. If the monkey goes away leaving the cake of cheese between the two contending cats, what I fear is that the result will be the smaller cat may be killed, but it may wound the bigger cat in such a manner that it will be crippled for its whole life. Then, it will be the time for the wolves of Japan, gorillas of the Himalayas, the wild cats of Afghanistan and the tame tigers of the Punjab, I mean the Sikhs, to race for the cake of cheese, on which all four have their eyes. For the last 35 years of my life I have been in the company of these monkeys, and I noticed that they have got a peculiar brain. Half of it is that of a lion and the other half of a fox. The fox's part of the brain made me a coward and I got puzzled. It will be a very very difficult task to get the upperhand of these monkeys, and I must say here that I have never been deceived whenever I had trusted them. I found them just, honest, helpful and most reliable. I must say that unique people are these monkeys. They have given me a treatment which was denied to me by my own countrymen. These monkeys have got the strength of the lion with the ingenuity of the fox. The Honourable Members will get nothing by annoying them, by being rude to them, by rebelling against them, but they will get everything by politeness, by convincing them, by coaxing them, by humouring them and by singing a song to them. If the Indians are so foolish as to question the authority of the monkeys, who are

really lions in disguise, they will hear them roaring, and we Indians will get our spleens burst and occasionally the paws of the lions will be on their necks and these will break as easily as any stick in a match-box.

The Honourable Mover of this Resolution said that the recruitment for the All-India Services should be made in India. In this respect, I may say a few words. I asked an Indian friend of mine, who was in Great Britain for 25 years, if all the sons of that soil are like the members of the Indian Civil Service or like the young men in the commercial line that we get here. The reply that I got from him satisfied me. He said : ' Certainly not. We get only the best brain or the cream of the population of that land '. If the recruitment will take place in India, we will not get these lions' cubs in such numbers as we are getting them now. The Honourable Member has candidly confessed what enormous good these lions' cubs have done to India, and I cannot understand why, after this acknowledgment, he should like to shut the source from which we get these boons. My Honourable friend has said that he does not support the communal interest, and that is the main reason why I do not support him. He wants the whole cake of cheese for the big cat only, but the smaller cats think quite differently. Sir, a little digression please. I am interested in two orphan girls. I, one day, handed an apple to the elder one to divide it with her younger sister. She ran away with the whole apple. Another day, I handed another apple to the younger sister with the same request. She caught the apple with both her hands and put both her hands between her legs, but, as soon as my attention was withdrawn from it, the elder sister came in and took away the apple from her younger sister by force. From that day I began to hand over anything for those infants to their adopted mother who used to divide everything in a just ratio. Such an adopted mother is the Britisher in India. In short, in the interest of a few intelligentsia, the interest of the masses of the populations cannot be sacrificed. With these few words, I oppose the Resolution.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Twenty-Five Minutes past Two of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Twenty-Five Minutes past Two of the Clock. Mr. President was in the Chair.

Mr. K. G. Bagde (Bombay Central Division : Non-Muhammadian Rural) : Sir, I rise to move the amendment which stands in my name. It runs thus :

' Insert the words ' with due regard to the interests of various communities ' in the third line of the Resolution after the word ' shall '.

Sir, at the outset, I would like to tell this House that, ' as far as the principle is concerned, and with the reservation that I make in my amendment, I do not oppose the Resolution moved by my Honourable friend, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarakadas. It is quite natural that, with the political advance of our country, we should expect increased Indianisation of all services. Even now we see that we are slowly achieving what is asked for by the Resolution now under consideration. The Mover of the Resolution wants that the rate of this increase should be accelerated. There are no two opinions about that. I do admit that, excepting those posts for which British incumbents would be inevitably necessary, all other posts should be filled up by Indians. I need not dwell upon the various advantages resulting from such displacement.

[Mr. K. G. Bagde.]

The Honourable the Mover has laid stress on the economic advantages of such a change. Our administration is top-heavy. It is too costly. It presses upon the country heavily in its adverse financial conditions. The only way to remedy this evil is to replace high-paid British officials by Indians. In this remedy we presuppose that Indian officers will be less costly. Though it may not be wrong to make such a supposition, Sir, I must say that, with regard to this point, I am not now as optimistic as I had been before. I once believed that under the new régime of the Reforms, those Indians going into high offices would show the fullest regard for the poverty of their country and offer to serve on at least half the pay they were entitled to. Except in certain cases, we are generally disappointed. Let us hope that the various Legislatures concerned will do their best and set our new officials aright.

Now, Sir, there are many other things to be taken into consideration in Indianising any Service. I admit that, when we are taking vast and fast strides towards our political goal, we should have our Public Services manned by Indians. If there were no other complications in Indian Society, nobody would even think otherwise. But, unfortunately for us all, it is on account of these very social complications that it is necessary to move very cautiously in this direction, I mean in the problem of Indianising Public Services of any kind.

Some of our friends here may not like that I should bring in these social complications at this juncture. I am sorry that my sense of duty forces me to speak out my mind. It is no use blinking plain facts and rigid experience. I am as earnest as anybody else that India should grow into a powerful democracy under the ægis of the British Rule. But, Sir, I submit that we cannot achieve that unless we develop all round. On account of our social differences and difficulties, we are handicapped in every movement. Unless we overcome these difficulties and get rid of these differences, there is very little chance of real success. Nothing can be gained by ignoring these complications. They must be attended to and solutions found. We are not a homogeneous people. Indians are not all so many angels actuated by nothing but their sense of duty towards their nation. There are conflicts of interests between the followers of different religions. There are similar conflicts between people under the fold of one religion but divided into various castes. Wherever and whenever opportunities offer we see many trying to support the claims and interests of their own classes or castes; and it is the first and the foremost duty of those responsible for the peaceful and progressive administration of this country to see that equitable and necessary balance is maintained between all these interests, and that no single interest or few interests get a preponderance over all others and thus hamper the general progress. This is exactly what has been done, and that is why I am obliged to move my amendment.

I do not profess to speak with regard to all provinces. But, as far as the southern portion of the Bombay Presidency is concerned, I say that the preponderance of one community greatly hampers our progress. The gentlemen here are aware that the institution of caste divides Hindus into castes of various degrees of inequality. With the slow progress of education every community is trying to make some headway. There are various movements, religious, social, educational and political, started. But, in every movement, the educationally backward classes meet with staunch and

inequitable opposition at the hands of one Hindu community which is foremost in education and public service in my part of the country. Sir, it is impossible within the limit of time at my disposal to give this House any adequate idea of our sufferings. Sir, even those who fight openly against Government are better off than the Non-Brahmins. The Non-Brahmins are fighting for freedom of conscience, social equality, removal of untouchability, proportionate representation on local Legislatures and the central Legislature and also a proportionate share in the Public Services and other similar objects. But it is exactly for these objects of their movement that they have been ill-treated by those in authority, who belong to the socially privileged classes. Day by day, matters are approaching a crisis, and I would here humbly remind the Government that if proper steps are not immediately taken and this evil remedied, grave consequences may follow at any moment.

Sir, in reply to all that I have said, I may be told that these are provincial matters, and we should move the provincial Governments and seek redress at their hands. To this I reply that we are doing our best. We are holding public meetings, ventilating our grievances, praying the provincial Government to right the wrongs, sending petitions, and interviewing departmental heads, and thus acquainting them with our difficulties. We have been making all possible efforts for the last three or four years. But, Sir, I am sorry to inform this House that we have not achieved any appreciable relief at the hands of our provincial Government. We are intensely dissatisfied with these conditions and it is with a view to bring our grievances and sufferings to the notice of the Central Government, which is the fountain head of all administration, that I am obliged to say all this before this House to-day.

Sir, we want justice; not justice as dealt out at present, but justice of a truly paternal Government. I think I am right when I say that the present system of recruiting for Services is not just. Too much is made of the principles of free competition and efficiency. I do not deny the element of justice underlying these two principles. But, Sir, inconsiderate and wholesale application of these principles, without due attention to the peculiarly complicated social conditions, does result, and, I say, has resulted, in giving rise to serious anomalies. Government have failed to duly understand and take into consideration the social differences in this country. Like the head of a family who looks to the interests of all members concerned, it was the duty of Government to safeguard the interests of all communities. Had Government followed this policy, then the present state of things would not have arisen.

There is another important reason why I press my amendment at this time. The question before us is the Indianisation of All-Indian Services. Supposing that Government accedes to popular demand in this respect, it means that some of the higher posts which are now manned by Englishmen will be manned by Indians, but on my side of the country the word 'Indians', as a matter of experience, in this connection means 'members of advanced classes'. This would render our condition still worse. I know, Sir, that, since the War, many posts which were formerly held by Europeans are now held by Indians. For example, many of the sub-divisional magistrates were formerly Europeans, but now the majority of them are Indians. This increase of Indians, which for us means members of advanced communities as I have said above, has done us great harm. (Hear, hear.) Whatever might be said by others with regard to European officers in this

[Mr. K. G. Bagde.]
country, I, Sir, emphatically say that between Indians and Indians at least we have always found, as a matter of practical experience, that European officers are more just and less prejudiced. (Hear, hear.) There are numerous criminal cases in which one or other of the two parties prays for transfer to the Court of some European Magistrate.

And here I can give the Honourable House a bit of my own experience. Three years ago I had a case from an accused woman who belonged to the depressed classes. She was charged under section 295 of the Indian Penal Code, and the trying magistrate, who was a Brahmin, had convicted her. When I went through the papers of the case I thought it was necessary to have the appeal heard before some European Magistrate. We all know that at that time the district Magistrates were very busy in connection with war duties. I saw the district Magistrate and requested him to have the appeal on his file. I had a conversation with him for full fifteen minutes and I told him of the seriousness of the question involved. He acceded to my request, and fortunately I am glad to tell you that the accused was acquitted. I am sure, had the case come up before any Indian gentleman, be he a Muhammadan, be he a Christian, we would not have got justice in that case, because, as far as religion is concerned, our views are very strong on particular points. We are born in these surroundings and it is very difficult for us to change our views. (*An Honourable Member*: 'Shame'.)

In other departments too, European officers are always approached for fairness and justice. Under these circumstances, if the number of European officers is reduced by Indianising the Public Services, even All-India Public Services, without due regard to the interests of various communities, it would result in graver injustice to the masses of this country, masses who are inarticulate and who look to the British authorities to help them best in their progress.

Sir, I have made a modest proposal. I only request the Government that they should have due regard to the interests of various communities. I do not suggest or mean that efficiency of administration should be sacrificed; but I want to bring to the notice of Government that the claims of the various communities have not been properly attended to, and Government must lay down, as a matter of policy, to give all possible encouragement to the various communities and secure that balance of the claims and interests of various communities which would make it impossible for any one or more communities to hinder the legitimate activities and discourage the just aspirations of other communities. If the Government is not going to adopt this just principle as a matter of policy, Sir, I, as representing the non-Brahmins of the Bombay Deccan, shall have to oppose any proposal for increasing the number of Indians in the higher Services.

Sir, I have now done. I appeal to my friends here to take my amendment in the proper spirit. I am not actuated by any feeling of hatred or envy against this or that community. But, at the same time, I must do my duty and see that our path is not beset with difficulties that are removable. Some say that the British element in our Public Services is an evil. But I submit, Sir, that I emphatically repudiate such an allegation. I firmly believe that we owe much to British administration and are extremely grateful for the

help and inspiration we have derived from it, and it is only with a view that the British character—which I take as a synonym for the truly democratic character—of the administration should be maintained that I put this amendment before this House.

With these few words I respectfully request the House to support my amendment.

The Honourable Sir William Vincent: The amendment moved by Mr. Bagde and that moved just before lunch by Mr. Abdur Rahim Khan are some indication to the Assembly of one of the difficulties which must be considered in connection with this problem. One of the questions which the Government will have to face in connection with the recruitment of the different Services is this communal question. We, the Government of India, have never been oblivious of this fact, at least not in my time, and I have no doubt that the same might be said of my predecessor. The difficulties between Brahmins and Non-Brahmins were not acute, at least in the Bombay Presidency, until recently, but the Muhammadan difficulty has been ever present before our minds, and though on many occasions I have been assured by advanced Muhammadans that we pay too much consideration to it, that the Muhammadans were perfectly ready to take their chance in open competition with the Hindus for any service in India, which may be true of certain advanced individuals of the community, I myself have never found it was safe to accept that view. When there were any appointments to be filled, I have always had put up to me with great insistence the claims of the Muhammadan community to a full share in them. But, so far as this particular point is concerned, the Government of India Act itself provides for it, and I will cite the relevant provision of the Act to show that the authorities have not been negligent in this matter. Section 97, subsection 6 of that Act runs as follows :

‘The Secretary of State may make appointments for the Indian Civil Service of persons domiciled in India in accordance with such rules as may be prescribed by the Secretary of State in Council with the concurrence of the majority of votes at a meeting of the Council.’

Now, this is a provision that admits the difficulty that may arise from any competitive examination and provides, to some extent at any rate, for the securing of the representation of the various provinces and communities. For it is not merely a question of certain communities being backward but of certain provinces being backward. I can understand representatives of particular provinces, or indeed representatives of particular castes in particular provinces, coming forward and saying: ‘We welcome open competitive examinations for every appointment, for we are quite sure that we shall secure in this manner all the appointments there are.’ Such a position has not arisen and we must guard against such a contingency. It is the fear of this, however, that is at the bottom of a good deal of this discussion that has gone on to-day. I can quite understand the support which this Resolution has received from certain Honourable Members of this Assembly

Mr. N. M. Samarth: I am a non-Brahmin and I have supported the Resolution.

The Honourable Sir William Vincent: As I was saying, Sir, this provision in the Government of India Act enables Government to nominate candidates of particular classes or communities in order, when necessary, to avoid anomalies arising out of a purely competitive system, and we hope

[Sir William Vincent.]

very shortly to issue rules in regard to this subject, which, I trust, may meet the requirements of the case. On this occasion, perhaps, we may be more fortunate than on the occasion to which reference was made by my Honourable friend, Mr. Samarth, regarding the Public Services Commission. Sir, there are some occasions on which an accused has to plead guilty, and this is one of them. I was unduly optimistic as to the rate at which we might get on with those rules, for unexpected difficulties have arisen as to the proper formula for the rules and the principles upon which these rules should be based, and this has occasioned delay. I will try to be more careful about prophesying in future. That is the only excuse I can offer.

Turning now, if I may, for one moment to the subject of the main debate, and bearing in mind that we are now sitting on Saturday afternoon when many Members expect a half-holiday, I venture to suggest a possible *via media* which may meet the Honourable Mover and Members of this Assembly. I do not think that, at least on many aspects of this case, there is really any great difference of opinion between us. My main object to-day is to prevent this Assembly from coming to a premature and hasty decision on insufficient information in regard to a matter of the gravest moment; the Honourable Member has not, if I may say so, any very intimate knowledge of the intricate questions now under discussion. What I suggest to the Assembly is that it should take this line. Before we proceed further in this matter, we will ask Government to make an inquiry from Local Governments as to the possibilities of a speedy advance in the direction we advocate and then consider the question again.

I am myself not at all sure whether in the end it will not be necessary to appoint a Commission to examine the whole subject, but that is another matter.

And, Sir, there is another point to which I must refer. It has been suggested that I have pleaded in this Assembly for a definite decision one way or the other. I disclaim that suggestion. What I have attempted to do is to make a plain statement of the arguments on the one side and on the other. I have attempted to make a fairly impartial and detached explanation of the difficulties of the whole case. In such circumstances, the use of the words 'plead' and 'admission' is, I submit, unfair. Now, I think that it will shorten the debate and may meet the Honourable Mover if I suggest the following amendment in his Resolution :

'Inquiries should without delay be inaugurated as to the measures possible to give further effect to the Declaration of August 20th, 1917, in the direction of increased recruitment of Indians for the All-India Services.'

I suggest that these words should be substituted for the passage in the original Resolution beginning 'having regard to' down to 'as far as possible in India.' I want to make my position quite clear on this occasion. That is an amendment which I propose, if it will meet the Honourable Mover.

Mr. President: The original question was :

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that having regard to the Declaration of August, 1917, he be pleased to arrange that, in future, the recruitment for all the All-India Services excepting those of a technical character shall be made, as far as possible, in India and also to take steps to provide in India such educational facilities as would enable Indians to enter these technical Services in larger numbers than is at present possible.'

Since which an amendment has been moved :

'Insert the following words 'subject to communal representation of different communities' in the third line of the Resolution after the word 'shall'.'

The question is that that amendment be made.

The motion was negatived.

Mr. President : Further amendment moved :

'Insert the words 'with due regard to the interests of various communities' in the third line of the Resolution after the word 'shall'.'

The question is that that amendment be made.

The motion was negatived.

Mr. F. McCarthy (Burma : European) : Sir, I want to move an amendment to Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas's Resolution. I will read it :

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that, having regard to the Declaration of August, 1917, he be pleased to arrange that in future the recruitment for the All-India Services shall cease forthwith.'

Mr. President : The Honourable the Home Member has moved an amendment which takes precedence of that. I thought the Honourable Member was rising to discuss the amendment of the Honourable the Home Member.

Further amendment moved :

'After the word 'Council' in line 1, insert :

'that inquiries should be inaugurated without delay as to the measures possible to give further effect to the Declaration of August 20th, 1917, in the direction of increased recruitment of Indians for the All-India Services.'

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas : I rise, Sir, to accept the amendment moved by my Honourable friend, the Home Member. But in doing so, I want to make it clear that it seems to me that there is a consensus of opinion in the country, backed, if I may say so, by the majority in this House, that the All-India Services should be Indianised. If I rise to accept the amendment moved by my Honourable friend, Sir William Vincent, it is only with a view to giving the Government a chance to ascertain the views of the Local Governments and other parties concerned on this all-important question. But I feel certain that this inquiry will be launched almost immediately, and I take it for granted that the result of the inquiry will not be binding either on this House or on any other party. At the same time, I think any Member of this House, including myself, will be at liberty to move a Resolution in the terms in which I have had the honour of moving it to-day, after the result of the inquiry is published. Sir, I take exception to a remark made by my Honourable friend, the Home Member. I think it would not be right for any Member of the House, even if he is in the position of the Leader of the House, to attribute motives to any Member. I find, however, that my Honourable friend said that he could very well understand the *object* of those who supported the Resolution. (*A voice* : 'he is right'). With due deference

The Honourable Sir William Vincent : Sir, I do not think I said 'object'. I said I could understand certain people supporting a particular policy.

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas : It comes to the same thing, Sir. The Honourable the Home Member said that he well understood our supporting . . .

The Honourable Sir William Vincent : I was not referring to the Honourable Member.

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas : I want to ask my Honourable friend, the Home Member, if he can point to any member of my community, the community to which I have the honour to belong, who has ever aspired to be admitted to the Services. Does the Honourable the Home Member think that whenever, or on occasions like this, when a Member brings forward a motion of this character, he does it with the object of securing a benefit to his community? (*A voice :* 'No, no.')

So far as I am concerned, and I think I can speak on behalf of many Members of this House, if they put forward any Resolution, they do it with the sole view of giving the advantage of it not to one particular community or another but to the whole Indian community. (Hear, hear.) (*A voice :* 'It is a matter of opinion.')

And, Sir, not only do I repudiate that suggestion made by my Honourable friend, the Home Member...

The Honourable Sir William Vincent : Sir, may I assure the Honourable Member I did not insinuate anything regarding him at all. I do not know why he is repudiating what was never done. I never made the suggestion he repudiates, but, if I appeared to do so, I regret it; it was not intentional.

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas : I am glad the Honourable Member did not mean to make that suggestion, and, if that is so, I shall not pursue the matter any further. I do, Sir, want to repudiate the suggestion made by my Honourable friend, Mr. Bagde, in urging the claim of various communities before this House. I know that the amendment has been thrown out by the House, but I cannot help saying that the statement that he has made with regard to the preference that the members of certain communities would give to the members of their community is, to my mind, absolutely without foundation. (*Mr. E. L. Price :* 'No, no.')

We, the Members of this House, are concerned with the good of India as a whole; and, if we are securing the good of the whole community of Indians, all the communities that comprise the population of Indians will benefit out of it. To make this suggestion on the ground that certain communities are going to suffer from the carrying out of these reforms is an admission of weakness on the part of various communities which I am not prepared to admit that these communities have. Sir, I accept the amendment moved by my Honourable friend, Sir William Vincent, because I think it goes a great way in meeting the desire that many of us have (Hear, hear), that the whole question should be thrashed out, that an inquiry should be made, and that we should ascertain the views of the Local Governments and other parties concerned as to what is possible, what reforms are possible in this direction. I want again to emphasize this fact, that it is not the desire, either my desire or the desire of any of my supporters, that we should feel in any way, that we should show in any way ingratitude to the members of the Indian Civil Service or other Imperial Services, who have done remarkable service to this country. We shall always welcome the co-operation of men who come from Great Britain, and we look forward to a time when the differences that now exist between the various communities will so far disappear as to make fitness the only test for admission to these Services.

With these words, Sir, I have great pleasure in accepting the amendment moved by my Honourable friend.

Mr. F. McCarthy : Sir, I do not think the proposed inquiry will advance matters one step. We shall spend a good deal of time in asking Local Governments what their opinion is, and I do not see what further information we can have beyond what we have got. I should like to move my amendment to the Resolution of Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, if I am in order now.

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey : I rise to a point of order,—it is to ask you, Sir, for a ruling as to whether the proposed amendment is in order. We started the debate on the question of an increase in the proportion of Indians in the All-India Services. The amendment is to the effect that there should be no further recruitment to the All-India Services, *viz.*, that that should be brought to an end. May I put to you a parallel? If the House has before it the question of increasing the proportion of Indians among the officers of the Indian Army, would it be reasonable to put forward an amendment that the Indian Army be disbanded?

Mr. President : I have not the Honourable Member's amendment before me, but, in any case, the amendment cannot be taken as against the amendment now before the House. If the Honourable Member chooses to address his remarks to the amendment moved by the Home Member, he would be in order.

Mr. F. McCarthy : I am sorry my amendment is not in order. I shall confine myself to the Home Member's amendment. We have heard a great deal to-day about the Indianisation of the Services. I want to say, in the first place, coming from Burma, that we do not want Indian officials and, if the Burmese people are consulted, they will not have any Indian officials, cheap or dear. I hope that this point will be clear to the House and if the Leader of the Democratic party, Mr. Ginwala, were here, he would, I hope, support me. It is the unanimous opinion of Burma. It may be asked, what then is our concern with the Indianisation of the Services? It is just this. It is our misfortune to be here; it is our misfortune to be connected with India, and we must, therefore, do our best for what we think the common good. In his earlier speech, the Honourable the Home Member gave us a lot of facts, with which, I think, we are all familiar. He told us, what we all know to be the fact, that the conditions of service in India are such that you cannot get picked men to come, as was the case in the past. He went on to say that Government had much hesitation in inviting men to come to India. Self-Government, he told us, is irreconcilable with government by outsiders, government by members of another race, and he suggested that Local Governments should be consulted. But what I want is that we should go a step further, and leave practically the whole matter in the hands of the Local Governments by stopping recruitment in England for the All-India Services.

The amendment suggested by the Home Member, and apparently accepted by Mr. Jamnadas, does not carry us far enough. Mr. Jamnadas can hardly object to my amendment. It would, I hope, satisfy his criterion of cheapness, which is apparently the main criterion he applies. The proposal would also mean the abolition in time of the All-India Services, which would become Provincial Services. Every province would then have officers who understand the people, their language, their habits and customs, whereas, Mr. Jamnadas's Resolution would mean the danger of a Sikh or a Punjabi

[Mr. F. McCarthy.]

Muhammadan being posted to Madras, a Madrasi officer to the North-West Frontier Province, a Bengali to the Punjab, and so on. In time, of course, provincial officers would do the work that the Indian Civil Service are doing now. Efficiency might, of course, suffer

The Honourable Sir William Vincent: Is the Honourable Member in order in arguing an amendment which he has not been allowed to move?

Mr. President: He is, I understand, discussing the position of the All-India Services.

Mr. F. McCarthy: My remarks arise from the amendment moved by Sir William Vincent. My point is that the proposed reference to the Local Governments carries us no further, for we cannot obtain from them any information which we do not already possess.

Mr. N. M. Joshi (Nominated : Labour Interests): Although the Leader of the Democratic Party is pressing me to

Mr. President: Order, order. I did not know the Honourable Member wanted to move another amendment.

The original Resolution was :

'That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that, having regard to the Declaration of August, 1917, he be pleased to arrange that, in future, the recruitment for all the All-India Services, excepting those of a technical character, shall be made, as far as possible, in India, and also to take steps to provide in India such educational facilities as would enable Indians to enter these technical Services in larger numbers than is at present possible.'

Since which an amendment has been moved :

'That the words 'inquiries should, without delay, be inaugurated as to the measures possible to give further effect to the Declaration of August 20, 1917, in the direction of increased recruitment of Indians for the All-India Services' be substituted for the words from 'having regard' in the first line down to the words 'in India' in the fourth line where they occur for the first time.'

The question is that that amendment be made.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: As the House is very much tired, I assure the Members that I will not take more than two minutes in proposing my amendment. Moreover, I shall assure the Members on the Government Benches that my amendment will prove to be to their advantage. My amendment is this :

'And that he be further pleased to annually appoint a Committee to inquire into, and report upon, the progress made in the direction of introducing the Indian element into the various services in India, referred to above.'

Mr. President: The Honourable Member will attain the same end by putting the word 'annual' before the Honourable Sir William Vincent's amendment.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: I will explain, Sir, in one or two words what my object is in moving this amendment. Personally, Sir, I believe that the major portion of the unrest that we see in the country is due to the feeling of

the people, especially of the educated classes, that they do not get their proper share of the appointments in the Public Services. I feel that that is a more potent cause of the unrest than anything, for, if the people had really cared for a representative Government, they would not have appointed a Dictator in such a short time. I feel, therefore, very strongly that this question of the appointment of Indians in the various Imperial Services is very important, and I think a report on this question will be very helpful in allaying the unrest. It is, therefore, in the interests of Government that this report should be made. Moreover, when I ask that a report should be made by a Committee of the Legislature, it is also in the interests of the Government. If the report is made by the officers of Government, then certainly it will be condemned as being a report made by those who hold a monopoly of those Services. Therefore, from both the points of view, if a report is submitted entirely by a Committee of the Legislature as to the progress made in Indianising the services, it will be to the advantage of Government and, I think, that it will also prove very advantageous to the people.

With these remarks, Sir, I commend my amendment for the support of the House.

The Honourable Sir William Vincent: Sir, I am glad that in the amendment, as put from the Chair, the Assembly has been saved from adopting the split infinitive which has been our horror in the Secretariat for many years. (Laughter.) On the merits of the proposal, may I say that there are a great many people who take the same view as Mr. Joshi regarding the importance of this question of increasing the number of Indians in the Services, and there are many who believe that, if that had been done, it would really have been a more substantial way of meeting Indian demands than the changes towards responsible Government which have been made. Mr. Joshi is by no means singular in that view; it was one which was held by many experienced officials. But it is perhaps a little too late to retrace our steps in that direction, whatever we might think.

Sir, I referred on previous occasions to the pathetic belief of some of the Members of this Assembly in Committees; but this is the first time that I have heard it solemnly proposed that a Committee should be appointed annually merely to report on the progress made towards the Indianisation of the Services, a matter which can be ascertained at any time from a statement properly prepared. I venture to submit that no Assembly which is not affected with some kind of mania for Committees would think of acceding to such a proposal. After all, all the Honourable Member wants is a return of what is being done, and that return any Member can get from the Government at any time he likes; and if he is not satisfied with the information given, he can put supplementary questions about it, or, if he likes, suggest that Government should issue a quinquennial review of the figures. But the suggestion that Government, in putting forward this report, would not put forward the true facts and that, therefore, you must have a non-official Committee to see that you get the true facts, is a little unworthy of the Mover. I do not think he can have meant it.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: Not at all. I have explained it in your favour.

The Honourable Sir William Vincent: I am always glad of assistance, but there are times when *'Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes'* and I am afraid sometimes even of offers of help.

[Sir William Vincent.]

In any case, I hope the House will not seriously consider a proposal to appoint a Committee for a purpose such as is proposed.

Mr. President: Perhaps the Honourable Member's point is met by what the Honourable the Home Member has just said.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: I beg leave to withdraw the amendment in consideration of the assurance given by the Honourable the Home Member.

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

Mr. President: The question is that the following Resolution, as amended, be accepted :

' That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that inquiries should, without delay, be inaugurated as to the measures possible to give further effect to the Declaration of August 20, 1917, in the direction of increased recruitment of Indians for the All-India Services, and also that steps be taken to provide in India such educational facilities as would enable Indians to enter the technical Services in larger numbers than is at present possible.'

The motion was adopted.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, the 13th February, 1922.

* *Vide* page 2390 *ante*.