

Tuesday, 16th September, 1924

THE

COUNCIL OF STATE DEBATES

(Official Report)

Volume IV, Parts II & III:

(3rd September to 23rd September 1924.)

FOURTH SESSION

OF THE

COUNCIL OF STATE, 1924.



CALCUTTA : GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
CENTRAL PUBLICATION BRANCH
1925

MONDAY, 15TH SEPTEMBER, 1924—

Member Sworn	1031
Questions and Answers	1031—1033
Apology by the Honourable Mr. Haroon Jaffer for non-attendance at the meeting on the 11th instant	1033—1034
Resolution <i>re</i> the recommendations of the Lee Commission—Postponed till the 16th September	1034—1087

TUESDAY, 16TH SEPTEMBER, 1924—

Questions and Answers	1089—1091
Bills as passed by the Legislative Assembly—Laid on the Table	1091
Message from the Legislative Assembly	1091
Resolution <i>re</i> recommendations of the Lee Commission—Adopted	1091—1153
Statement of Business	1153

WEDNESDAY, 17TH SEPTEMBER, 1924—

Death of Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu	1155—1159
Absence from the Council of the Honourable Saiyed Raza Ali	1159
Resolution <i>re</i> contribution by the Government of India to relieve distress caused by the floods in the Madras Presidency—Withdrawn by leave of the Council	1160—1170
Resolution <i>re</i> appointment of a Committee to inquire into the grievances of Haj Pilgrims—Not moved	1170—1171
Resolution <i>re</i> representation of agricultural interests on the Taxation Inquiry Committee—Adopted	1171—1184

FRIDAY, 19TH SEPTEMBER, 1924—

Question and Answer	1185
Indian Post Office (Amendment) Bill—Passed	1185—1186
Imperial Bank of India (Amendment) Bill—Passed	1186—1188
Indian Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill—Passed	1188—1204
Indian Succession (Amendment) Bill—Introduced and referred to Joint Committee	1204—1206
Statement of Business	1206—1208

MONDAY, 22ND SEPTEMBER, 1924—

Questions and Answers	1209—1214
Message from the Legislative Assembly	1214
Bills passed by the Legislative Assembly—Laid on the Table	1214
Resolution <i>re</i> appointment of a competent Indian to the Railway Board—Adopted	1215—1222
Statement of Business	1222—1224

TUESDAY, 23RD SEPTEMBER, 1924—

Questions and Answers	1225—1228
Election to the Court of the Delhi University	1228
Land Customs Bill—Passed	1228—1231
Valedictory speeches in connection with the impending retirement of the Honourable Dr. Mian Sir Muhammad Shafi	1231—1237
Prorogation of Session	1237

COUNCIL OF STATE.

Tuesday, 16th September, 1924.

The Council met in the Council Chamber at Eleven of the Clock, the Honourable the President in the Chair.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

DEATHS AMONG HAJ PILGRIMS IN 1924.

409. THE HONOURABLE MR. YAMIN KHAN: How many Indian pilgrims died on this year's Haj pilgrimage?

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. P. THOMPSON: Government have not been able to secure trustworthy statistics, though they have endeavoured to do so. Fortunately there were few Indian pilgrims included in the caravans which made an unsuccessful attempt to proceed from Mecca to Medina.

ADOPTION OF MEASURES TO ENSURE THE SAFETY OF HAJIS.

410. THE HONOURABLE MR. YAMIN KHAN: What steps, if any, do the Government propose to take to ensure the safety of the Hajis during the pilgrimage?

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. P. THOMPSON: The Hedjaz is an independent State, and no action can be taken except in the form of moving His Majesty's Government to make diplomatic representations.

COMPENSATION PAID BY THE HEDJAZ GOVERNMENT AS COMPENSATION TO INDIAN PILGRIMS FOR LOSSES SUSTAINED BY THEM.

411. THE HONOURABLE MR. YAMIN KHAN: (a) Did the Government of India make any representation to the Hedjaz authorities in connection with the alleged loss of money by Indian pilgrims during last year's Haj?

(b) If so, was any money refunded to the pilgrims in consequence of the representation? If so, how much money?

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. P. THOMPSON: (a) The necessary representations were made by His Majesty's Government at the instance of the Government of India.

(b) As a result of His Majesty's Government's representations the Hedjaz Government paid a sum of £3,300 in compensation for losses suffered by

Indian pilgrims at Khaif, and this sum is now being distributed through the Protector of Pilgrims, Bombay.

**REJECTION OF AN APPLICATION BY LALA GOPAL KRISHNA PIPLANI, PLEADER,
FOR A LICENSE TO PRACTISE IN THE N. W. F. PROVINCE.**

412. **THE HONOURABLE MR. S. VEDAMURTI :** (a) Is it a fact that one Lala Gopal Krishna Piplani, Pleader, Bhakkar, and belonging to Dera Ismail Khan in the North-West Frontier Province, applied for a license to practise in the North-West Frontier Province in the year 1923 ?

(b) Is it a fact that his application was rejected on the ground that he did not belong to the Frontier, though the fact that he belonged to the Frontier was mentioned in the application ?

(c) Is it a fact that, on receipt of the above order, the attention of the Judicial Commissioner was again drawn to the fact that he belonged to the Frontier and again his application was rejected ; if so, why ?

(d) Do the Government propose to instruct the Judicial Commissioner, North-West Frontier Province, to reconsider the application at once if it is resubmitted ?

(e) Is it a fact that such applications are considered only once in the year by the Judicial Commissioner, North-West Frontier Province, and not throughout the year, as is the practice in other High Courts and, if so, do Government propose to order that they should be considered the moment they are submitted ; if not, why ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. CRERAR : The information required is being called for from the Local Government and will be communicated to the Honourable Member when received.

RESTRICTIONS ON THE ENROLMENT OF PLEADERS IN THE N. W. F. PROVINCE.

413. **THE HONOURABLE MR. S. VEDAMURTI :** Is it a fact that the Government of the North-West Frontier Province imposes restrictions on the enrolment of Pleaders ; if so, why ; and are the Government prepared to remove those restrictions ; if not, why ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. CRERAR : The enrolment of pleaders in the North-West Frontier Province is regulated by rules made by the Local Government under section 9 (2) of the North-West Frontier Province Law and Justice Regulation, 1901. In practice the number of licenses granted is limited to the probable requirements of litigants. The objects of this limitation are, firstly, to ensure to every legal practitioner to whom a license is granted a reasonable expectation of earning a living : and, secondly, to prevent touting and the fostering of unnecessary litigation.

**SEGREGATION OF INDIANS DURING SIR ROBERT CROYNDON'S VISIT TO
MOMBASSA.**

414. **THE HONOURABLE MR. S. VEDAMURTI :** (a) Is it a fact that, at the time of His Excellency the Governor, Sir Robert Croyndon's visit to Mombassa, the Resident Commissioner, under written orders, segregated at the station Indians, Arabs and Europeans ?

(b) Is it a fact that, in consequence, the Indians boycotted the Governor's reception ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR NARASIMHA SARMA : (a) and (b). The Government of India have no information apart from what has appeared in the Press.

ALLEGED SEGREGATION OF INDIAN REPORTERS AT THE OPENING OF THE KENYA LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL ON THE 20TH AUGUST 1924.

415. THE HONOURABLE MR. S. VEDAMURTI : Do Government propose to obtain the information sought in my supplementary question to the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's question No. 343 in this Council on the 3rd September 1924, on the subject of the alleged segregation of Indian reporters at the opening of the Kenya Legislative Council on the 20th August ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR NARASIMHA SARMA : The reply is in the affirmative.

BILLS AS PASSED BY THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY LAID ON THE TABLE.

SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL : Sir, in accordance with rule 25 of the Indian Legislative Rules, I lay on the table copies of Bills passed by the Legislative Assembly at its meeting held on Monday, the 15th September, 1924, namely :

A Bill to amend the Imperial Bank of India Act, 1920 ;

A Bill further to amend the Indian Penal Code and Criminal Procedure Code, 1898, for the purpose of affording greater protection to persons under the age of eighteen years.

MESSAGE FROM THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL : A Message has been received from the Legislative Assembly which runs as follows :

" Sir, I am directed to inform you that the Legislative Assembly have at their meeting of the 15th September 1924 agreed without any amendment to the Bill further to amend the Indian Motor Vehicles Act, which was passed by the Council on the 8th September, 1924."

RESOLUTION *Re* RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE LEE COMMISSION—

(*contd.*)

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Before calling on the Honourable Mr. Khaparde to move his amendment to the Resolution moved by the Honourable Mr. Crerar, I wish to explain that I expect Honourable Members to keep strictly in their speeches to the terms of the amendment. I also draw the attention of the Honourable Mr. Vedamurti, with regard to the first part of his amendment, to the fact that, if he wishes to deal with that subject, he should speak on the amendment of the Honourable Mr. Khaparde. He will not be permitted to put the first part of his amendment separately. The same applies to the Honourable Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary in relation to the last part

[The President.]

of his amendment. If he wishes to pursue that subject he will have to move an amendment to the Honourable Mr. Khaparde's amendment, and if he does that, his amendment should be written out and handed in as soon as possible.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. KHAPARDE (Berar : Nominated Non-official) : Sir, I beg to move :

“(a) That for the words and figures from ‘(1) that the following recommendations of the Royal Commission’ down to the end of paragraph (1) (b), the following be substituted, namely :—

(1) That in modification of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services in India on the subject of the recruitment and control of the All-India Services, the following propositions be adopted, namely :—

(a) That every All-India Service, whether operating in the reserved or in the transferred field, should, so far as future recruits are concerned, be appointed and controlled by Local Governments ;

(b) That recruitment for the All-India Services be so conducted as to produce at the earliest possible moment not exceeding ten years, a proportion of Indians to Europeans in each such service in the ratio of 75 to 25 per cent.,

(b) That sub-paragraph.....”

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : The Honourable Member should not move his clause (b) at the present stage.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. KHAPARDE : In dealing with the amendments I take it for granted, and hope that the Honourable Members also will do so; namely, that the Lee Commission was very well composed, that is to say, its personnel was unexceptionable. Its recommendations are also unanimously arrived at, and that both these facts deserve our respect, and we have got to treat them with as much deference as we can. Well, arising out of that circumstance is a circumstance which I wish to mention specially, namely, they being composed of men of great eminence according to our Hindu ideas they were as Brahmins are the best of men. Well, these are the Brahmins of the whole British Empire and such men were sitting together on this Lee Commission. But like Brahmins—the Brahmins are fond of the caste system—and these being the Brahmins, they are also fond of the caste system, and they introduced it here. Brahmins are divided into two parts, which are called Panch Gaud and Panch Saraswat. So they divided the whole Service into two parts, one having a domicile in England and another having a domicile in India. Two Brahmins of two castes : they met together—that is the beauty of our Hindu religion, and it is this that it fits in anywhere. Having made that distinction, they then went on to consider all the matters that were laid before them—in fact it was only one, as will be seen from the earlier part of their Report and the history given there I am not going to mention the rest but only one part of it, namely, the Macdonald Committee. They recommended that the inquiry should be into the case of all the Services and into all the reforms that have been introduced, and the adjustment of both ; there were three subjects, the Services, the Legislature, and the interaction between them, and all these were to be considered. Well, this was a large problem, or, popularly speaking, a large fish, and some would like at once to roast and fry the whole fish, and

others would like to divide it into two parts and take each part and make it into a kind of pastry or some other thing—the Government chose that they should not take the whole problem at once, and they appointed this Lee Commission to take only one part, namely, the Services—not all the Services, only the head of that part. They want to cook each separately. One may not object to that, as a matter of opinion I may differ, but still there it is. So I am now confining myself to that part. Well, how about this Commission? I have praised them, I admit that they were very good men, I admit they worked conscientiously and in the best manner, but, as I said, defects crept in because of their being regarded as Brahmins, as they divided the Services into two parts, namely, those having, if you choose to call it, a non-Indian domicile or European domicile, and the other having an Indian domicile. These are two castes, not two races—I do not want to deal with the racial point at all. It is a caste business. Well, proceeding to that, they confined themselves to the All-India Services, and only incidentally mentioned the others. That is their way. First, there are the Brahmins, then the Khatriyas, then you get the Vaishyas, which is the ordinary serving class, and then the Sudras, the servants. They omit the Khatriyas, they omit the Vaishyas and for the present purposes also the Sudra class, and only deal with the Brahmin caste. In making these recommendations they came to the conclusion that in the first year there would be an increase of cost. Well speaking in round figures in the beginning the costs come to something like Rs. 96 lakhs, and then they go on until they increase to nearly Rs. 1½ crores, and then they begin a decline and then go back—I do not know whether they fall to zero—but I suppose it will go back to 96 lakhs. Where is the money to come from? They did not consider that question at all. With all due respect to this Commission, they never devoted their attention to finding out as to how the increase is to be provided for. That is one of the Brahmin's faults. Then the other thing is that they did not explore any part of the subject so as to find out whether reductions in any direction were possible. That I find was a great defect; and it is no use talking of a defect without supplying the remedy, because I am not a destructive critic, I am what you may call a constructive critic. So I went about to seek a remedy and I said, let us see. There is a schedule of what we used to call listed appointments, they are mentioned, and they are to be given only to members of the Indian Civil Service. Well I find that had these eminent Brahmins looked into that, they would have discovered that there were some fields from which this highest Service is, so to say, excluded, or rather what I say is that they should not be employed in those posts at all. There is a list given. I do not think I need give it, everybody is familiar with it. You will find the subject of Education not mentioned in that list. Similarly, commerce is not mentioned there; also finance is not mentioned there. Now we find the members of this highest Service employed in various posts, these highly-trained, most intelligent, carefully selected and nicely and most carefully brought up,—how are they employed in India? They do not confine themselves to their proper sphere, and so we find, one of these civil servants, a very nice, a very able man, superintending a printing press. This I. C. S. gentleman was selected with great care, was brought up with great care, trained with great care, to industrial work and he is employed in looking after the printing press. I say this is bad. Then I find that another highly educated, most nicely brought up member of the Service is put on telegraph

[Mr. G. S. Khaparde.]

duty, post office duty. I think this is rather a bad thing to do. Even in the matter of finance, I suppose my Honourable Colleagues will agree with me, that finance is a technical subject and it requires a long preparation to attain eminence ; so that in that department there should be what are called chartered accountants and people who have made it the business of their life to master all the details of it. We could employ one of them ; what do we do ? We bring out these carefully selected I. C. S. gentlemen, then we give them a training in finance. First we put them on to district duties and let them acquire some knowledge of the country and then we carefully draft the most intelligent of them into the Finance Department, train them there and then bring them to the Secretariat here and they get more training and then they become Finance Members. There is nothing to be objected to, so far as I can see. Some of the best financiers in the world have been produced by Civil Service training in that way. The last I met, I suppose all of us remember, was Sir William Meyer, one of the greatest financiers. The reason is that these are carefully selected people and you can teach them almost anything you like. There is no trouble about it. But in spite of all that, I think that this is a branch for which the general public also train its people as chartered accountants, as financiers. I do not see why our highly trained Civil Servants should be put to this business of finance when we can get an expert financier ready made in the market. As a matter of fact, the Government of India themselves recognise it, and now we have our Finance Member, specially brought out from England, a very able person, a very good man and all the rest of it. Had this Lee Commission looked about this business and seen whether these highly trained persons are necessary or whether they can be spared, I think they would have found that there are a good number of places from which they could have been spared, and to that extent, the cadre could be reduced ; and the expenditure in bringing them up and training them and other things might have been saved. So, that would be one source from which this additional cost could be met. They could have explored these things to secure more revenue or rather to husband the revenue which they already have. The Brahmins are notoriously extravagant and so are these people. But if you husband your resources and manage your gift and use it properly, you can make a decent living out of it. If you reduce the cadre and do not employ them on business not strictly assigned to them, then you would probably find more funds left than there would otherwise be. I did not mention one department and I wish to mention it now, and that is the judicial department. According to the schedule, the posts of District Judges and District Magistrates are reserved for the Civil Service. It might be that in those days when this Service was created, there was not a large class of pleaders. There was not a large class of what you call professional men ; and in those days it was perhaps necessary to bring men and train them in the judicial department. But now the Bar has become overcrowded. I read an article in the " Times of India " which says that pleaders are increasing and litigation is going down. I suppose my Honourable Colleagues will agree that Indians practising at the Bar have a special ambition. They talk of having an Indian Bar, having Indian Inns of Court, and Benchers and all appliances of control. There is a Bill coming

up I believe; at least it is talked about. Now, in Great Britain, the judiciary is entirely taken from people in the profession. Practising barristers rise to eminence, become King's Counsel and in course of time they occupy selected higher judicial appointments, also the lower judicial appointments, namely, County Court Judges and Magistrates. If we could, therefore, spare our Indian Civil Service from going into these judicial appointments, it would be a matter of very great importance and affect much saving. If my countrymen have done well in any department of administration, it is in the judicial department. I could give you illustrious names from Calcutta, and the United Provinces, illustrious names even from the Central Provinces, I think, and Madras, and so on. These people have filled honourable judicial positions with great distinction and some of them have retired with long titles. Therefore, I say now that the circumstances have changed, kindly take the judiciary also out of the sphere of the Civil Service. You can then reduce the cadre, and save the expenses of preparation, training, and all the rest of it, and in that way you save. You also save in another direction. Take them away from these technical posts, then these technical appointments will easily admit of being filled up, so to say, by a system of contract, just as we have got a Finance Member for five years on a certain pay. He goes away after that period and he does not claim pension. You then get another expert. The same is the case with the Department of Commerce. I do not mean to reflect at all on the Civil Service. They have done very well even as commercial men, but still I say that these are technical appointments and should go to the persons of the profession. Many of the minor departments can go to men in the profession and thus expenditure can be saved. Of course you will have to reduce the cadre, but that does not matter. The remaining persons will be very happy and we shall be very glad to give them all that they want. A discontented service is a great misfortune. I want that the Service should be thoroughly contented. In fact, I want each individual member of it to feel that he is very well looked after and he should not want to go out of India. I should like them to settle down here. I want to make their lives very happy. In that way you see that I am not unkind to them at all. In fact, I want to extend their sphere of action in another direction. In England, there is what is called a Parliamentary Secretariat. I suppose the time has come when we should have in India also a Parliamentary Secretariat, where these highly trained members will be highly useful. I thus provide for them another department in which they can be employed. So, I say there should be this exploration. Have you seen how a householder acts? I found I had two thread ceremonies and one marriage to do and it required so many thousand rupees, and I had not the money. I found that the best course was not to have a new coat but to go on with the old coat for one more year, not to buy a horse, but to go on with what I had. In the same way had the gentlemen of the Lee Commission done so and explored these things, this difficulty of 1½ crores would not have appeared so terrible as it appears now, and no new or additional taxation would be required. All that money would have been provided for by exploration of possible savings. Another defect which I found and which I have mentioned is their caste distinction. They have tried to introduce the caste distinction in the Services. They say that gentlemen of non-Indian domicile should be provided with passages and with convenience of doctors and for remitting

[Mr. G. S. Khaparde.]

money. Their reasons for making these distinctions are not convincing. Take the cadre as it is now or as it was three or four years ago (because lately we have taken to examining people for the Civil Service in India too). What was the state of things in the case of an Indian wishing to enter the higher Civil Service? He had to go to England, join some college, live a few years in England, and learn all the subjects he wanted to be examined in, and then he went through a very narrow door called competition, competitive examination. He, however, went there, or his father perhaps borrowed in some cases and in other cases got money somehow and he sent his son to England. He had to maintain his son for four or five years in England to be trained there. Supposing he passed, then he had to be kept there for another few years to learn riding, to go about, see people and make acquaintances, learn English life, and so forth. Then you bring him out here and send him into some district as a supernumerary. He has no particular duty to perform but tries to get generally acquainted with the people and see the country, and so forth. All this is done as training and that is all right. Why should he receive less than a civil servant with a non-Indian domicile? It is a general rule that everybody likes to educate his son at least as well as he himself has been educated. That is a good idea and I accept it. Then, this Indian Civil Servant of the Indian domicile has got a son and generally he has many sons. He wants to bring them up in the same style as he was brought up. He was sent to England, so he has got to send his wife and his son to England. The wife and the son remain in England. The son attends the college and goes through the whole training. The necessity for him to send money to England is thus just the same as it is to the Indian Civil Service officer with an English domicile.

Now take the question of passage money. The Englishman must go Home. It is his own country and therefore he likes to go there. The climate of England suits him very well and he goes there to refresh his energy. This Englishman, when he goes to England, kills very many birds with one stone. He goes to his own country. That is very good. He sees his sons and looks after their education. That is also very good. Supposing he is a Judge, he goes and sees some of the Judge's Court. If he is an Engineer, then he goes to some Engineer's place just to refresh his memory and keep himself in contact with the latest ideas on the subject and be as proficient as he can possibly be. That is all right. But the same necessity arises in the case of the Indian Civil Servant of Indian domicile. He wants to go to England to see any of his people there. He has to pay the same passage money. If he is in a profession, he also goes to the places of his profession and tries to increase his knowledge and keep up to date. So, the cases of both these officials are practically the same. In the case of an officer of an Indian domicile, however, the difference is that he is not going to his own country but is taking himself away from his country. That is the disadvantage in his case. Anyhow, the necessity of going over there and spending some money and the inconvenience caused thereby are common to both of them. The third distinction that the Lee Commission have made is rather amusing to me. They say that the officers with a European domicile want themselves to be treated by a European doctor when ill. I said to myself that it was all right. But does not the Indian want to be treated by an Indian doctor? Personally

I do not see why a European should object to be treated by an Indian doctor. When Indians go to England they have to have English doctors. The Commissioners may say that the ladies of these European officers might object. Well, the women are always conservative, whether they are Indian or European. It is a matter of sentiment. The Indian I. M. S. doctor is trained in the same college as the European I. M. S. doctor, he has been to England, and been very carefully examined, he has learnt all that medical science could teach, and then he comes out to India and diagnoses the diseases just as well as any doctor with an English domicile can do. He prescribes the same medicines as are prescribed by European doctors. Supposing he prescribes quinine, I do not think it will lose its property because the doctor who has prescribed it is an Indian doctor. In other words, quinine cannot have one effect if prescribed by an English doctor with an English domicile and another effect if prescribed by an Indian doctor with an Indian domicile. Such a thing is unknown.

So, all these three reasons which have been advanced by the Lee Commission people do not appear to me to be conclusive. I have, therefore, in my amendment proposed that these distinctions should be abolished. Both the Indians and the Europeans are members of the highest Indian Service and in their case no distinction should be made between the allowances, remittance concessions and other things that may be given to the European members of the Service. Then, we go a little bit further and we see

THE HONOURABLE DR. MIAN SIR MUHAMMAD SHAFI (Law Member) : May I be permitted, Sir, to ask the Honourable Member where is that amendment that he is speaking of ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. KHAPARDE : The reply is that this amendment is to be found in clause (a) of my amendment where I say :

“ That every All-India Service, whether operating in the reserved or in the transferred field, should, so far as future recruits are concerned, be appointed and controlled by Local Governments.”

I maintain that the members of the highest Civil Services are included in the All-India Services.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : The Honourable Member is travelling very far from his amendment. I have not interrupted him so far, but I must remind him with regret that he has already exceeded his time limit. I would ask the Honourable Member to bring his remarks to a close.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. KHAPARDE : I bow to the decision and I will close my remarks very shortly. I only want to mention the other heads about which I want to speak. I object to the Lee Commission's Report on the ground that it is unbusinesslike. I do not know any other term. I believe 'unbusinesslike' is not an offensive term. Therefore, I object to their Report.

I want to proceed a little further and say that you should not make any distinction between the members of the All-India Services. It does not matter whether they are Europeans or Indians. I want to provide for that. The principle of my amendment is that all these distinctions should be done away with. All the allowances, such as travelling allowance, etc., should be given on the same scale to all of them, otherwise you cannot have a contented Service. All the existing rights of the members should be maintained.

[Mr. G. S. Khaparde.]

For the future entrants, however, I would say that they will have to come in under one condition which will be laid down hereafter by the Government of India, I hope, in consultation with us. Anyhow, there will be some condition laid down and everybody will then come in under that one condition.

The third thing which I wish to bring in is that it can be said against my amendment that if you want to do away with caste distinction, why do you mention that the Indians must be 75 per cent. and the Europeans must be 25 per cent. The reply is that this distinction I have made has been declared by the 1917 declaration under which this Act of 1919 was enacted and in which the words are "increasing association." I thought then, and I still think so now, that the words ought to have been "increasing assimilation." But they would not agree to my word "assimilation" and they said that it ought to be "association." If the word was "assimilation" then I shall not talk of percentages at all. But since they talk of "association" and recommend in the case of some departments 50 and 50, in the case of others 25 and 75, etc., I have thought it proper to take a flat rate of 75 and 25.

Another thing on which I will lay particular stress is that you should give them increased pay and be done with them. But they say "No." If you give them an increase of Rs. 100 per mensem they will spend it, but I say "why not compel them to contribute towards the Provident Fund out of which they can borrow." In that case, the question of exchange will come up. Sometimes the exchange will be very low, then it will be profitable to give them in rupees. So, I say it is better to give them so much pay in sterling if you like, but give it to all entitled to it without making any distinctions. It will be easy to manage. It will not require an establishment to be kept up to administer the fund. Why not do it in this way? I forgot to mention about the Commissioners in Madras. Why cannot these appointments of Commissioners be abolished all over India? They do not appear to have any special business. However, that is a matter of small importance. It is only one of the ways of exploring how the cost can be reduced.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: My disinclination to stop the Honourable Member is as strong as ever, but my duty compels me to do so. I must really ask him to draw his remarks to a close.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. KHAPARDE: Very well, Sir, with these words I will bring my remarks to a close.

THE HONOURABLE DR. SIR DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY (West Bengal: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, availing myself of the leave which you were good enough to give me yesterday, I propose to put before the House, necessarily in a modified form, the last part of my amendment as appearing in the Agenda, and the modification that I have, after consideration, adopted and submit for your consideration is that:

"For (a) (1) (b) the following words be substituted:

'That all recruitment in England for the various Services be for the present stopped'."

But I just want to say a few words in regard to what has fallen from my Honourable and esteemed friend the Honourable Mr. Khaparde. Like a

good Brahmin he wants to see caste distinctions everywhere. That is the normal Brahmin frame of mind—white or dark. I would like to ask him if he would like to see fairly early marriage introduced among

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I hope the Honourable Member is not going to deal with the subject of early marriage.

THE HONOURABLE DR. SIR DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY: It arises out of the remarks of the Honourable Member and the Lee Recommendations as I will show in a minute. We have in these Recommendations a provision about certain concessions after five years of service. I appeal to all who know to say whether the marriage of young officers from England as a matter of fact takes place at the end of five years or not. A young man coming out at the age of 21 does not marry at the age of 26. I ask whether on the merits therefore it would not be an advantage to put the beginning of the concession period at the seventh or the eighth year of service, if there must be concessions, and not the fifth. Fully four or five lakhs of rupees would thus be saved to Indian revenue, and the desire to see early marriage promoted among the European members of the Services will be gratified. As it is they would be £1,500 or thereabouts better off than the Indian Members at this stage. My friend has referred to other Brahminical matters, one of which may well be that arising out of image or idol worship. Those who know something of the worship of the Goddess Durga in Bengal know that she is ten-handed. The tradition according to the village grand dame is that when the eldest son, Ganesh the God of Wisdom, was ill-advised enough to seek matrimony, the Great Mother spread out ten hands, lest the daughter-in-law should come in and interfere with domestic arrangements and with these ten hands thrown out, she had spread out on a big plantain leaf a rich repast—her last square meal before the daughter-in-law's advent. When Ganesh happened to come back to get something he had forgotten and found the mother with ten hands, and ascertained the reason, he preferred to have the saree-dressed and vermilion painted plantain tree as his wife. And is that what is going to happen because under the Reforms Scheme a different set of things is likely to come and before the interfering power arises, the best that can be had out of the situation should be secured for and by the outgoing power. The ten hands of the powerful Goddess coming out to guard against the likely interference of the daughter-in-law would alarm even the God of Wisdom, nay the God of Valour who elected to remain single.

This brings me to the subject of my amendment. I brought out certain points yesterday in this concern and do not wish to labour those. I shall restrict my observations to-day mainly to those I did not bring out yesterday. The reason why I want recruitment for the present to be stopped—I cannot expressly say for how long—has to a certain extent been brought out by my friend. If the position is already difficult for those who are actually in service, because of the small instalment of Reforms their successor's position will be more difficult when more reforms and more real powers are given, when more subjects are transferred and on the whole a more complicated state of things comes about, even if they had bargained for it. They should come with their eyes open, their minds absolutely clear, and know the terms upon and

[Dr. Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary.]

work for which they have to come to India. We were told that recruitment is an organised matter and cannot be interfered with lightly, and that should we stop recruitment even for a time, we are not likely to get the right kind of material when we reopen recruitment. What we have been getting for the last four years in England is certainly not the type of men that we want. We had not a sufficient number of candidates, whatever the reasons may be. We have to take all we can get and supplement them by military recruits as we had to do in the near past. We do not get the pick of the men for reasons of uncertainty. I am fully convinced, when we have settled our domestic affairs absolutely and to the satisfaction of the parties concerned, there will be no difficulty in getting the type of men we want. Other countries and, as I showed yesterday, other departments of life in this country have no difficulty. May I have your leave and that of the House to refer to three short paragraphs in an article by Lord Winterton in a recent number of the *Asiatic Review*, where he deals with the question of recruitment elsewhere and the hardships of the services there and the possibilities. One extract is as follows :

“ That hard work, difficult conditions and indifferent pay do not of themselves act as a deterrent to the Civil Service overseas is proved by the case of Africa.”

So I take it that conditions of service cannot be more attractive in Africa, East, West or South, than they are even in uncivilised India.

Then his Lordship says :

“ I can scarcely conceive a harder life than that led, say, by a British member of the Soudan Civil Service in the Equatorial Provinces.”

The last paragraph that I shall quote is as follows :

“ It must be remembered how small are the entrances to a livelihood open to the successful University man in the present time of world-wide trade depression, and though no one wishes to see men go into the Indian Civil Services because there is nothing else for them to do, it is legitimate to emphasise the fact that the war has made life in every profession harder than easier.”

Are we sure that middle class employment in England has been so satisfactorily settled that it will be difficult for us to get 45 British youths of the right type, or whatever number is fixed, which the Honourable the Home Member said elsewhere is annually absorbed by any mercantile firm in India.

I submit therefore, Sir, that there is absolutely no ground for apprehension that if, for a short time, recruitment is suspended for reasons that to us appear necessary, when the time comes for reopening recruitment, there will be any real difficulty. On the general question the mind of the House should be absolutely clear that till matters have settled down, as a result of the Reforms Inquiry Committee, till we know where we are, we have no need for taking what we can get nor right to let people come in and be disgruntled more than ever.

THE HONOURABLE SIR MANECKJI DADABHOY (Central Provinces : General) : Sir, I rise to oppose both the amendments. I wish I could possibly accept the proposals enunciated by my friend Dr. Sarvadhikary. The arguments on which he has based his proposal for the total stoppage of all recruitment seem to my mind not only unconvincing, but not feasible, and will, if put

into practice, cause disastrous consequences. My Honourable friend has not realised the other side of the question. His only ground, so far as I have been able to ascertain from his speech, is that the Reform inquiry is pending, and there may be a change in the constitution hereafter, and it would not be fair to new recruits from that point of view, and it would be better to stop recruitment till conditions shape themselves properly. Now, Sir, a policy like that in my humble opinion will have an altogether demoralising effect. If you stop recruitment, it will demoralise, as I say, the educational policy in this way that it will interfere with the education of the university men who are now undergoing training. And please remember that the Civil Service course requires a number of years of training, men go in for that special and methodical training for years together; there are schools and colleges in which that training is imparted to certain classes of students with the idea of fitting them only for this important Service. And what is going to happen if you are going to stop the recruitment? Are you going to shut up all these universities and private classes where to a certain class of people who intend to go in for an Indian career this special training is being given? Will it not be difficult when you again start the process of recruitment, to obtain men to join the classes and schools to prepare for the studies? And what guarantee will there be for universities which impart this class of knowledge and prepare the students for competition in the Civil Service to incur fresh expenditure, what guarantee will they have that once this training is started it will not be interrupted again? It will altogether dislocate things. Further, it is very clear to my mind that, once you stop recruitment, it will be almost impossible to revive it. I feel confident that Honourable Members here who are now preaching the stoppage of recruitment will then stand up and be foremost to oppose the resumption of recruitment. It is not possible that if you now decide on the total stoppage of recruitment, that the Legislative Assembly is going to agree to resume it at a later date, and what would be the result? The result would be the total elimination of the British element from the Service, to which proposition no sane man, looking to the present circumstances of the country, can possibly agree. Does my Honourable friend seriously believe that once the recruitment is stopped, there will be no difficulty in reviving it? (*Dr. Sir Devq Prasad Sarvadhikary*: "I do.") Then he is very much mistaken; he has not appreciated the psychology of the people, and I speak with great caution, but I say this is the thin end of the wedge; this is the thin end of the wedge in this way, that it is the first step which you deliberately propose to take for the total elimination of the British element from the Service, and as such I distinctly and emphatically oppose it. I believe for the safety and well-being of one-fifth of the human race, for the security of 315 millions of our people, it is necessary that we should have the British element in the Service, and we should always and permanently have a certain tangible proportion. I am convinced in this view because of what I see in the country. From the Southern parts of India to the most northern limits, we have now nothing but riots, we have nothing but communal differences, nothing but ravages, plundering, killing and maiming of human beings, and, in these circumstances, I do not think any reasonable and unprejudiced mind could possibly agree to a proposition of this character. There is another factor also to be considered. Have you realised what would be the effect of such a proposal, even if it was adopted?

[Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy.]

Do you realise that, if you stop recruitment altogether for a certain period, say five or ten years, in order to accelerate the local recruitment of the Indian element, what would be the result? After five years in the lower ranks of the Civil Service there will be a gap. You may fill up the top of the gap by promoting juniors; how are you going to fill up the gap in the junior ranks? Where are you going to get the men from? My Honourable friend may say, we will take men from the Provincial Services. All right, we will take men from the Provincial Services and fill up the lower gap, but once that is done and you resume recruitment, what are you going to do with these men who have been put from the Provincial Services into this gap? Are you going to kick them out? Will not that cause discontent, and dislocate the work of the Service altogether? Will you be satisfied with the poor and inadequate training and knowledge of these men; will you prefer them to a highly cultured and equipped class of men? I say to my mind the whole proposition is an altogether impracticable suggestion and could not possibly be adopted.

I will, with your permission, say a couple of words only with reference to my Honourable friend Mr. Khaparde's amendment. My Honourable friend Mr. Khaparde, like Oliver Twist, always wants something more. If he gets something, he says, no I am not satisfied, I must have something more

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. KHAPARDE: Everybody, even the Civil Service, wants something more.

THE HONOURABLE SIR MANECKJI DADABHOY: But there is a limitation to the demand which we can only rationally make. Now what was the position of recruitment in 1920? In 1920 in the Indian Civil Service the recruitment of Indians was fixed at 33 per cent. It was then agreed to raise it by 1½ per cent. annually to 48 per cent. in the year 1930. To-day, which is only 1924, it is nearly 39 per cent. and by the Lee Commission's programme it is settled that the proportion should be 50 to 50 in the cadre of the Indian Civil Service, and after this has been attained, it should be continued until a cadre of 60 Indians to 40 Europeans is reached. Now I must say honestly, Sir, that when I first read the Lee Report this came upon me as a great surprise. I never expected that the Lee Commission would go to this extent and fix a cadre of 60 Indians to 40 Europeans. I do not look without some apprehension and perfect equanimity on this proposal. I hope everything will turn out all right. The promise and pledge of the British Parliament were of an increasing association of Indians in the Services, but it was then distinctly stated that Indians will have to prove their fitness and the Judges of the fitness would be the British Parliament. Here to-day the Lee Commission Report has gone far in advance of the Preamble of the Government of India Act and of Mr. Montagu's scheme and proposals. I think we are very lucky, very fortunate in having this generous proportion given to us. I think we ought to be reasonably satisfied with what is given to us, and during the time when we are attaining this proportion let us show our fitness for administrative work; let us prove our ability and merit and then in the fulness of time ask for a gradual increase in the numbers. I think my Honourable friend will see the propriety of my

12 NOON.

remarks. (*The Honourable Mr. G.S. Khaparde*: "I do not.") There are some people who can never see things in their correct perspective. There are some people who are blind to other views except to their own and who do not know and can never realise what is good for them. We cannot help such people, let them abide by the consequences. In my opinion the arrangement which has been arrived at both in the Indian Civil Service and the cadres of the Indian Police and the Indian Forest Service seems to be just and reasonable and no sane person can quarrel with it. For these reasons, Sir, I cannot see my way to supporting either of these two amendments.

THE HONOURABLE SARDAR JOGENDRA SINGH (Punjab: Sikh): May I confine my remarks, Sir, only to the amendment.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Only to the amendment.

THE HONOURABLE SARDAR JOGENDRA SINGH: I have great pleasure, Sir, in supporting the amendment moved by my friend the Honourable Mr. Khaparde, though I will not go into the matrimonial questions raised by him and by Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary. The Indian members of the Civil Service and the other Imperial Services have joined on the same conditions as the English members, and I certainly feel under present conditions that they should have the same privileges and concessions as have been allowed by the Lee Commission to the English officers. I will not labour the point any more, beyond expressing this opinion, which I think is very largely shared in this House and outside. Regarding the stopping of recruitment proposed by the Honourable Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary I am very sorry I cannot support him. The idea is absolutely impracticable. Once you stop recruitment it is not possible to resume it at a later date, and, as has been pointed out, we need British officials more in the districts than at the headquarters. I do not think it would be wise at the present moment to stop entire recruitment pending the coming of reforms. At the same time, Sir, I must point out that I do not at all share Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy's sub-conscious fear regarding the unfitness of Indians to perform duties which might be entrusted to them. Indians of the right stamp have performed duties of all kinds before now, and I think in the times to come they will continue to do so. All that is required is that the proper stamp of Indian should be selected for the Imperial Services, which I am not sure will be possible through the competitive door alone. (Hear, hear).

This is all I have to say on these amendments. I think the House will be well advised to support the amendment moved by Mr. Khaparde and not to accept the amendment moved by the Honourable Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary.

THE HONOURABLE COLONEL NAWAB SIR UMAR HAYAT KHAN (West Punjab: Muhammadan): Sir, I oppose the Honourable Mr. Khaparde's amendment on a different principle, and that is that if we pay our Indian civilians just as much as the English civilians where would be the economy. What we want to show is that we can do exactly the same work and at the same time at a cheaper rate. If the other principle is once established with more and more Indians coming in the expense would continue to be just as great, and that would not do.

[Col. Nawab Sir Umar Hayat Khan.]

As regards the second amendment, we have a saying that the elephant has one set of teeth for show and another set for eating. In the same way, in another place it has been said that the recruitment of Europeans should stop. Here again we hear the same thing. Though the meaning of this is the same, perhaps the arguments are different. But supposing we did stop recruitment of Englishmen who would come in their place? I think one of the reasons why this claim is made is because the politicians have a grievance. And their grievance is due simply to the fact that they were not consulted, or perhaps because some civilians here in the Government of India have not expedited reforms, etc., for them, and for this reason we are to go against other civilians who have had nothing to do with that question and who are working hard in the districts, so that pressure may be brought to bear upon the civilians in the Government of India. It is really very hard that those who had nothing to do with the reforms should suffer for the sins of their brothers. For that reason too, I think this is a wrong proposition, and I think that recruitment should continue as it has been continuing up to now.

THE HONOURABLE MAHARAJA SHOSI KANTA ACHARYYA CHAUDHURI (Bengal: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I support Mr. Khaparde's amendment in so far as the present Services are concerned, the members of which should get all the concessions, passages, etc., recommended. But with regard to the future Services they should be under the control of the Government of India and they should come under such terms as they put down. Recruitment should not be entirely stopped, as Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary recommends, nor restricted to a proportion of 75 to 25.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA SIR RAMPAL SINGH (United Provinces Central: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I desire to make a few observations on the amendment that has been moved by my friend Mr. Khaparde, as well as the other amendment which has been moved by Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary. Sir, as far as I can understand the amendment, it means that every All-India Service should, so far as future recruits are concerned, be appointed and controlled by the Local Government. I do not think there is any amendment of my Honourable friend that the members of the Civil Service, that is Indians and Europeans, should be treated on the same lines and the same concessions should be given to them. The Report of the Lee Commission, as far as the transferred departments are concerned, has recommended that recruits for the All-India Services should be recruited by Local Governments, and I think that that recommendation is in the right direction. At present in the reserved departments the Local Government consists of the Governor in Council who is responsible to the Government of India and the Secretary of State, while in the transferred department the Local Government consists of the Governor acting with the Ministers who are responsible to the local Legislature. Yet we have not obtained provincial autonomy, and unless that stage is reached I think the Resolution of my Honourable friend will not fit in. Now as far as the security services are concerned, I am of opinion that at least the minimum strength of the European members in the All-India Services should be fifty per cent. The present state of the country warrants that this minimum strength should be maintained at least for some years to come, and therefore I would rather oppose the Honourable Member's amendment. At the same time, I am not in favour of altogether

stopping future recruitment for the security services, because that will create a gap which it would be very difficult to fill. But, Sir, there is one point on which I would like to draw the attention of the House. I have not been able to make out what is the principle that underlies the recommendation that the new-comers, that is the future British recruits, shall have the option of retiring on proportionate pensions if the Departments, in which they might have to serve, are transferred to popular control. The motive for this recommendation may be to give greater attraction towards Indian service. This is a very artificial attraction, it will prove harmful, and will create a feeling of antagonism and prejudice in the minds of such recruits against any change in the constitution. What I mean to say is that only those young men should be recruited who may be willing to serve with Indians as brother citizens of the British Empire and not those who may be biassed from the very beginning and imbued with the idea that their tenure of service is only as long as the present constitution continues. I therefore oppose both the amendments, and hope that as far as this concession is concerned, it will not be given to the future recruits.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. A. NATESAN (Madras: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I rise to support the amendment moved by my Honourable friend, Dr. Sarvadhikary. My Honourable friend, Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy observed that there are some people who are so blind as not to know what is good for themselves. (*The Honourable Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy*: "Though they cannot see us".) I fear the Honourable speaker belongs to that class. I am one of those who believe that as an Indian I am fit to discharge some of the duties which the Civil Service perform. I am one of those who believe that my countrymen are fit for these things. If my Honourable friend, Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy has doubts about himself and his countrymen, he is quite at liberty to say so, but it is much better that some one who thinks otherwise and who has reason to believe that he is echoing the views of a very large number of his countrymen so far as this is concerned, has at least an opportunity to give expression to that feeling—and that is consistent with the self-respect of Indians. Sir, I certainly have no right to repeat what I said yesterday, but the second part of my speech was directed to pointing out that if further recruitment were stopped for some time, it would to a great extent ease the present difficult situation. Already, as we are aware, many Civilians who entered the Service long before the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Act naturally grumbled at the new and altered conditions they have had to face, and we have had to give them increased allowances and the right to retire on proportionate pension. Now, sooner or later you are bound to have a further instalment of constitutional reforms despite the wishes of some of my countrymen to the contrary. But I know what is going to happen, though I cannot say that I have the power to lift the veil that hides the future. For, a man who has eyes to see, who is already able to some extent to know the views of the Government of India themselves and of the British Cabinet at Home, knows full well that some more radical changes in the constitution of the country are bound to come. May I ask, is it proper that you should tell people in a public document that the conditions of appointment for them when they come over to India and take part in the work of administration will be difficult, tell them also that some new changes are contemplated and they are bound to come sooner or later; at the same time tell them further

[Mr. G. A. Natesan.]

that if you do not like to serve under the altered conditions, you can return any day." Is that a reasonable proposition, is that even a business proposition? I say you have no right to tell young men that "there are difficulties confronting you if you go to India as recruits". You have no right to bring them and subject them to an atmosphere of discontent and uncertainty. It is not fair to the young men, it is not fair to the Service. May I ask my English friends here and my friends elsewhere whether in the Government of any other country this idea of retirement because political changes are made is contemplated? Would anyone tolerate any member of the Civil Service in England at the present day saying: "I shall not serve under this Ramsay MacDonald and therefore I shall retire on a proportionate pension"? You have no right to introduce young men into this country to whose good government and efforts to promote cordiality between Englishmen and Indians you put obstacles, young men before whom you put this very idea that there is likely to be trouble; and I venture to think it is not proper that you should allow or encourage these young men to take service knowing full well that the circumstances will be changed. I will not labour the point further. My only point is that you should not subject these young men to any serious disability. People who have been here long, the members of the Civil Service, have had to keep up some style on account of their prestige which might have been justified in the earlier days of British rule, but which is certainly not justified to the same extent now. You insist that these young men who come here on an initial pay of nearly Rs. 600 will have to keep up the same style as the older members of the Civil Service are obliged to have,—they will have one carriage for themselves and another for their wives; they must be members of the Clubs, of which the senior members of the Service are members; they must have the same society, the same amusements, they must pay the same subscriptions which the older men pay. You bring in these men when you are yourself telling them that the style of living is high, that prices are increasing every day, and that living is costly.

And I know that members of the Civil Service look down upon English Civilians who are married, who have children, who have to make heavy Home remittances, when they travel second class or refuse to adapt themselves to some style which has been fictitiously, in my opinion, created for the Civil Service. I tell my Honourable friend Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy that I am speaking with the consciousness, with the deliberate conviction, and I speak from knowledge of at least two European Civilian friends of mine who grumble at so-called prestige, who grumble that they are obliged to keep up a style, and compelled to go first class. They have been asked for an explanation as to why they travelled in the second class. Are they to be asked to be out of pocket? These young men are bound to get married as most of us have been anxious to get married, they are bound to have children, as most of us know that they are the precious gifts of God. You have no right to ask these people to come to this country on Rs. 600 with political conditions absolutely uncongenial and distasteful to them in every way and compelling them to adopt a style of living which, European Civilians drawing Rs. 1,500, Rs. 2,000 and even more say they are unable to maintain here. If for no other reason, Sir, I would cordially support the amendment of my Honourable friend Sir Deva

Prasad Sarvadhikary. There is no use in unnecessarily lashing ourselves into a fury, and drawing upon our imagination for all sorts of horrors. Suppose, as a matter of fact, that after this temporary stoppage of recruitment, you do not recruit at all. Are my Honourable friends, who take this unduly pessimistic and alarming view, aware that there are already many people, many Britishers, in this country, commercial men, civilians and others, who are employed in other services and there is nothing to prevent us, Sir, from bringing Englishmen here and even inviting them. But it may be perhaps under altered conditions, under different terms. I only ask you not to conjure up all sorts of imaginary difficulties ; but if for nothing else, for the future of these young men, for the good of their parents and for the future of the good-will and cordiality which all people are anxious to have, do not be a party to an encouragement of the system by which you invite these people. I, for one, would be most unwilling, and I do not anticipate any of the catastrophic changes which seem to perpetually obsess my Honourable friend Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy.

THE HONOURABLE SIR ZULFIKAR ALI KHAN (East Punjab : Muhammadan) : Sir, I rise to associate myself with the remarks which have fallen from the Honourable Mr. Kharparde during the course of his speech with regard to the privileges of the Indian members of the Service. Sir, these members of the Indian Civil Service have been recruited under certain conditions, conditions which are common both to them and to the British candidates, and I do not see any reason why these conditions should now be withheld from them. Up to 1923 these conditions were the same and up to that period they should be continued. If after that certain other conditions are framed for future recruitment, well, then, they can accept or refuse according to their own discretion. But there is no reason why there should be any differentiation between them and the European candidates up to 1923.

With regard to the stoppage of recruitment advocated by the Honourable Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary, I would like to oppose that idea. The stoppage of the recruitment will have very evil consequences. As my Honourable friend Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy has eloquently explained in his speech, it would largely eliminate the British element from these Services, and I think in view of the conditions which prevail in the country, the elimination of that element is very unwise. In fact, the conditions in the country dictate the necessity of stiffening the ranks of the Services with this element ; and I therefore oppose the idea of stopping recruitment. I do not yield to anybody in my respect for the capabilities of my people and I do not agree with Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy there, but there is no doubt that the . . .

THE HONOURABLE SIR MANECKJI DADABHOY : I never questioned the capabilities of Indians.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. A. NATESAN : It was the burden of the Honourable Member's song.

THE HONOURABLE SIR MANECKJI DADABHOY : Not a bit.

THE HONOURABLE SIR ZULFIKAR ALI KHAN : The trend of the Honourable Member's speech impressed me with that idea. I do not yield to anybody in that respect, but I must say that with all the capability in the

[SIR Zulfiqar Ali Khan.]

country, special conditions prevailing in a country like India demand the participation of a third element in order to keep the balance straight.

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. P. THOMPSON (Political Secretary): On behalf of the Government of India, Sir, I join in the opposition to both these amendments. It is always a pleasure to hear the Honourable Mr. Khaparde speak and to open the proceedings with a speech from him is rather like getting up on a bright morning after months of mist and rain. The issues before the House, which are raised by his speech, by his amendment and by that moved by Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary, are perfectly clear. The first of them is the demand for further provincialisation. Further provincialisation can be effected by delegation of powers under the Government of India Act. The question that we have to decide is whether we, as a House, should recommend to the Government of India to continue the process further. There are two aspects of this question, first the constitutional and, secondly, the practical. My Honourable friend, the Leader of the House, yesterday explained to us in very lucid and forcible terms the constitutional position. He pointed out that the same logic which makes it necessary to transfer the control of the Services working in the transferred fields to the Local Governments makes it necessary for the Secretary of State to retain control over the All-India Services working in the reserved fields. So long as he retains responsibility, he must retain control. The position is put very clearly in the note by Professor Coupland, which is printed at pages 116 to 123 of the Report of the Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services in India. Let me read to the House what he says about the constitutional position. He is quoting at the outset from the first reforms despatch of the Government of India in paragraph 10 of his note, page 119 :

“ As regards the All-India Services, ‘ we consider that recruitment, whether in England or in India, should be according to the methods laid down by the Secretary of State, and that all persons recruited should be appointed by that authority.’ These proposals were accepted by the Division of Functions Committee and the Secretary of State. They were embodied in the Act in sections 96-B, 96-C and 97 to 100 inclusive. And in the Memorandum he laid before Parliament by way of explanation of the Bill, the Secretary of State declared, in particular, that ‘ members of All-India Services will continue as at present to be appointed by the Secretary of State in Council, and the conditions of their service will be regulated by the same authority, which alone will have power to dismiss them’ .”

He goes on :

“ This decision was dictated by the second of the two cardinal principles of the Reforms. If the one principle was to make Ministers and Legislative Councils responsible in the fullest practical degree for the good government of the transferred field, the other principle was that the Secretary of State and Parliament must remain no less fully responsible for the good government of the reserved field. It was never intended that this reserved responsibility should be diminished or delegated by degrees. The only change contemplated was the single change involved in the transfer, when the time should be ripe, of a subject or subjects in the first instance reserved. As long as such subjects should be reserved, the responsibility of Parliament with regard to them was to remain complete. It follows that the Secretary of State must continue to control the All-India Services operating in the reserved field. Only through the Secretary of State can Parliament's responsibility be fulfilled ; it cannot be fulfilled through any other agency if responsible government is to be interpreted and practised in accordance, not merely with constitutional forms, but with the well-established lessons of political experience. And the Secretary of State on his part can only discharge this duty if he controls the Services concerned.”

That, Sir, is a very clear statement of what has all along been intended and it would, I think, obviously be a breach of these intentions if we were now to transfer control of the All-India Services which are operating in the reserved fields to the Local Governments.

I now come to the practical aspect of the question. There seems to be an idea that the new conditions proposed will in some way work hardly on the Indian members of the Service. Let us just examine that idea. The Indian members of the Service who now draw overseas pay will continue to draw it. They will obtain the remittance privileges if they have a wife and family in England. That, Honourable Members will recollect, is in accordance with the principle which is embodied in the Government of India Act in regard to the pay of members of the Council of India. An Englishman serving on the Council of India is paid at the rate of £1,200 a year. An Indian Member of that Council draws in addition an allowance of £600 a year as a subsistence allowance on the ground that he is residing outside his own country. •

Now I come to the question of passage concessions. I understand these concessions also will be extended to Indian members of the Civil Service drawing overseas allowance now. My Honourable friend Mr. Crerar will correct me if I am wrong in making this statement.

The second practical aspect that I wish to put before the House is one that has been emphasised by many speakers. The speakers have been divided, apparently sharply, into two different schools of thought on this point. That point is that the stoppage of recruitment is going to affect the prospects of recruitment, should it be necessary again to revive it. That comes up in connection with the provincialisation proposals and from the point of view of abandoning the Secretary of State as the recruiter. I believe—and many Honourable Members of this House have expressed their concurrence—that the Secretary of State is the only authority which can recruit for the All-India Services men of the right stamp. The Honourable Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary disagrees. It seems to me, Sir, that the point is quite apparent that once you stop recruiting you cannot resume it on advantageous terms. If you stop recruiting, you break a tradition. You have got to re-create it. Men of the right stamp will not come forward until you have re-created that tradition. May I put this aspect in another way? Who would join the Club which has once closed its doors?

THE HONOURABLE DR. SIR DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY : Even for spring cleaning!

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. P. THOMPSON : The Honourable Member proposes to close the doors much longer than for spring cleaning. What I do say, in spite of Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary's opposition, is that, if we attempt to recruit for the All-India administrative Services—it may be different for the technical Services—through the Local Governments, we shall only get the wastage of England. We shall not get men of the stamp we desire.

Thirdly, Sir, this is a matter in which the Government of India and we in the Central Legislatures are greatly interested. The Government of India draw from the Provincial cadres of the All-India Services the cadres which

•

[Mr. J. P. Thompson.]

they need for their own secretariat and for other appointments under their own control. The convenience of the Legislatures depends, to some extent at any rate, on the efficiency of the Government of India Secretariat. Is it right, is it reasonable, that the Government of India and the Central Legislatures in this respect should be at the mercy of provincial standards?

I now pass on, Sir, to the question which has been raised by the second part of the Honourable Mr. Kharparde's amendment. He proposes that recruitment should be so arranged that at the end of ten years there shall be left in the service of India a residuum of 25 per cent. of British officers.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. KHAPARDE: I did not urge that point here, anyhow. I have it in my amendment, but I did not urge it here.

THE HONOURABLE SIR MANECKJI DADABHOY: Does my Honourable friend propose to abandon that part of his amendment?

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. KHAPARDE: If I did not urge a ground, it is supposed to be given up.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I think the House is entitled to have a clear indication on this point. Do I understand that the Honourable Member wants to withdraw sub-clause (b) of his amendment?

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. KHAPARDE: I would withdraw the words "not exceeding ten years". I withdraw those words because I did not urge this proposition here.

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. P. THOMPSON: Then the position is, I take it, that the Honourable Member requires that we shall work up to a percentage of 25 of British officers in the Services after some wholly indeterminate period of years. Is that the case?

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. KHAPARDE: I believe the expression used is "at the earliest possible moment".

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I must point out that the amendment, as it stands, is before the House. If any words are to be removed, it can only be by process of amendment. Pending their removal, the Honourable Mr. Thompson is quite justified in commenting upon any words contained in the amendment.

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. P. THOMPSON: I think, as the Honourable Member is not going to withdraw them, it will be as well for me to make some comments on this proposal just in order to show the House how difficult these problems of recruitment and percentages are.

The Honourable Member proposes that we should work up to a percentage of 25 after a period of ten years. Let me give the House some figures. In paragraph 6 of the Report it is shown that there are at present 1,290 members in the Indian Civil Service. Of these, 165 are Indians. That leaves 1,125 Europeans. Now what we call in recruitment cases the casualty rate, that is to say, the average number of losses by retirement and death which may be expected every year is, I believe, 4.19 per cent. Let us put it at 5 per cent. That means to say that in ten years' time we should have got rid of

50 per cent. of the Europeans now in the Service. That would bring down the number to 560, so that even if there is no European recruitment for the next ten years, we shall still have at the end of that period not less than 43 per cent. of British officers in the Indian Civil Service in India. I thought it possible that the Honourable Member was going to unfold some scheme for offering particularly liberal terms in order to induce men to retire! That would I fear prove very expensive, but if he is unable to stimulate retirement, the only other way of bringing about what he desires is to stimulate the other kind of casualties. I hope he will provide us with some very simple and painless method. All he will have to do is to get rid of about 24 members of the Indian Civil Service each year, over and above the normal losses from deaths and retirement.

I now, Sir, come to the larger questions. The question of the rate of Indianisation and the complementary question of the need for a British element are, of course, largely matters of opinion. I know of no exact method of determining the percentage of Europeans in the Government of India, in the administration of India, which will give us the best results. But Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary whose proposal would amount in reality to an entire stoppage of European recruitment for India raises the whole question of the need for British officers in this country. Now, this is a subject, Sir, on which it is easy to strike sparks, and I intend to strike none. But the need is a need which is based on facts deep-seated in human nature, and if Honourable Members have studied the works of those who have written on this question, which is after all largely a question of the effect of climate on civilization, they will have realised that this question is in reality a question for India of insurance, and it is simply and solely from the point of view of the advantage to India that it is admissible to discuss it. Just as every clime has its own fauna and its own flora, so every clime produces its own human character. England and France are separated by less than 30 miles of water, hardly more than the breadth of some Indian rivers in flood time, and yet look at the difference between the characters of the English and the French. It used to be a commonplace among Indians in India when the French bulked more largely in India than they do now to contract the characters of the British and of the French. Their comments were not always, I regret to say, to the advantage of the Englishman, but it was we who stood and the French who fell. Character, after all, is destiny. The main question for us to decide is whether India wants, whether India needs the British. I think there is hardly a man here who would seriously contest that India does want, and probably will always want, British soldiers and British administrators. Let us consider for a moment what the peculiar features are which make this desirable. It is not very difficult to explain. The only consideration is the dangers to which this country is exposed. Look at the map, the long coast line, the exposed ports, the frailty of sea-borne commerce. Then the long land frontier, with its many openings into the fold, all safely closed now. And without—we can hear even now the howling—just of the mountain-winds. And within—the daily telegrams are daily reminders, they will not let us forget it. Some Honourable Members may seek to minimise the danger, and this is not the only one; but as for this Hindn-Moslem business let me see if I can put it in a new light to some

[Mr. J. P. Thompson.]

Honourable Members. To what is due this growing bitterness? To my mind it is the Nemesis of religion profaned. Religious feelings have been stirred up, not to turn the people from evil and to incline them towards good, but to rouse up hatred for political ends. The hatred is recoiling on the heads of those who roused it and the people have become a prey. What is the remedy? Each man's conscience can find it. Teach religion because it is good, because it is right, and not because it will lead you to pomp, popularity and power,—the single aim, the single eye, sincerity of heart and a grand tolerance. If those who are inaugurating this new campaign for Hindu-Moslem unity will bear that in mind, a blessing will rest on their labours. Otherwise once more will it be written :

“Welcome light

Dawns in the East but dawns to disappear,

And mock us with a day that ripens not

• Into the perfect morning.”

Sir, I have been led to speak warmly on a subject on which I feel deeply. The point from which I started was the need for British assistance in this country, and the view that this was not the time to attempt drastic reductions. After all what we are now asked to approve is a transitional measure. Things may be brighter in 1929 when it is bound to come under review. The Royal Commission have weighed the question from all points of view. There was evidence before them of many schools of thought, and after weighing it they have come to certain conclusions. And I suggest that this House cannot do better than endorse and accept those conclusions. But though I am convinced that these proposals of the Commission are as good as we shall get from any other body, yet at the same time I recognise that the decision as to whether these proposals are going to effect the end at which they are aimed rests, not with this House, not with the Government of India, not even with the Secretary of State; it rests with the youth of England, and unless a change comes over their attitude, we shall not get men of the stamp we desire. If that is so, the vanity of human forecasts may defeat us yet, and the Honourable Sir Deva Prasad may some day have the satisfaction of feeling that, though he was defeated on his amendment to-day, yet after all destiny was on his side.

THE HONOURABLE DR. SIR DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY : I want no satisfaction like that.

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. P. THOMPSON : I fear the Honourable Member might perhaps not regard it as a satisfaction if that time ever came, and that the thought might come to him not as a healing balm, but as wormwood and as gall.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : If the Council wishes to wind up this debate before the adjournment, we should, I think, proceed at once to a decision on the motion now before it. Otherwise the debate will be continued this afternoon.

THE HONOURABLE SIR NARASIMHA SARMA (Member for the Department of Education, Health and Lands) : Sir, I shall deal first with the amendment moved by the Honourable Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary. I realise that

almost all that can be said on this difficult question has been said already on both sides of the House ; but I feel it my duty to show to the House that, whatever may be the difference of view on the question of principle, the proposition that he is urging upon the Government of India is not in any way a practicable proposition so far as the amendment goes. We shall have to treat this amendment with the very greatest respect possible because this is a view that has been urged upon the Government by highly esteemed members of both the Houses. The Honourable Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary, not to mention numerous other names, and a large body of Indian public opinion in the country have been pressing upon the Government of India that a part of the solution of this problem might be reached, for the present at any rate, recruitment in England could be stopped for the All-India Services. The Honourable Mr. Crerar, the Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman and others have given very cogent reasons showing that that is not a practical course, and that it would defeat the purpose which the Government of India have in view. I would urge one other consideration, and that is this. Honourable Members ask that the British recruitment should be stopped for the present. "For the present" is rather a vague term. It has been defined, more particularly in the other House, and I think in the terms of the original amendment, as being confined to the period by which the future constitution of the Government of India can be settled. To take up a more easy answer, when in the Public Works Department, on account of the then existing ratio of British and Indian officers in the service, it was resolved to alter the ratio of recruitment, and to stop in future the recruitment of Indians in England, it was found impossible to stop recruitment at once, or within a short period of years, for the simple reason that there were a number of young men qualifying themselves for these services with a view to enter the field of competition, and it was undesirable, it would have been unjust, to stop recruitment without adequate notice. It may be said, for the same reason, that a number of youths in England, Britishers and Indians, have been training themselves with an eye to an Indian career, and it is but right that the Government of India should do nothing to prevent these youths, British and Indian, now being trained in England, from competing for the Indian Civil Service and for other All-India Services. Therefore, as a practical proposition, on this simple ground of justice and expediency, I think it would not be desirable, it would not be just, to carry out a proposition of this kind. But I shall not rest my contention on that simple ground. The question we will be faced with is this. Even under a reformed system, which we can anticipate, are we going to have British youth in our Civil Service or not ? That is the essentially concrete proposition we shall have to face, and there is no use shirking it. In my conception of the Empire, although I can give no adequate answer having regard to the attitude of some parts of the Empire, in my conception of the Empire, there should be nothing done to prevent all members of the Empire from competing on equal terms for service in India or elsewhere. And if that is to be our conception, and that has been the conception of the Indian National Congress which has been asking for fair and free and equal treatment by means of simultaneous examinations, I do not think it would be right on our part to say that recruitment of British youths should be stopped artificially. I quite grant that these principles are subject to exceptions, and we have in the Lee Report for various considerations an

[Sir Narasimha Sarma.]

exception made. I am not now arguing that question, but I say that as Indians, hoping to live in an Empire where we expect equality of treatment, it would be wrong on our part to take the narrow view and to say that recruitment should be stopped. What we should urge is fair and equal and free play. It has been said then that something has to be done to prevent great inequ-

1 P.M. ty between the members of the two communities in order that there may not be friction between the two constituent parts of the various services or the Services and the Ministers. And that is one of the reasons urged for the stoppage of recruitment. Another reason, and it is a very fair reason, that is urged is that the British youth should not be tempted to come to India only to find that a little later they may be confronted with conditions which at present do not exist. I will take the first. It is to meet the first condition that the Lee Commission have increased the ratio from 37½ to 60. With regard to the second point, namely, that it is unfair to the British youth to bring them out here in this unsettled state of affairs, I join issue. You may quarrel, you may not agree with some of the details of the recommendations. That is a point which is not in issue now. But young men in England who are competing for these Services are not children. They know the conditions they have to face. They are coming or have to come here to help us to achieve self-government. They are going to come here to help us to evolve a constitution which will place us on a solid basis. And therefore I do not see why there should be this undue sympathy for British youth, when we have told them clearly, when the Government of India of 1919 has told them clearly, that changes are possible and probable in the near or distant future, according to the conditions of things, which would and must alter the policy of Government and the basis on which the British youth will have to work in conjunction with the new constitution that may be set up. Therefore to this extent, Indian politicians are correct, namely, that the British youth who come here must come with their eyes open and knowing the possibility of changes to which they will have to adapt themselves. That notice has already been given and is being given, and therefore it is not for us to say, it is not for the Government of India to say, that recruitment should be stopped for the benefit of Britishers who will have to come with their eyes open. But, Sir, I think Honourable Members will on reflection find that the anxiety of the Secretary of State, the anxiety of the Government of India and the anxiety of the Lee Commission in making these recommendations is to secure British recruits of the right type for service in India. I know it has been said that the country is ready to treat existing members of the Services fairly in the matter of emoluments. But I may assure you that some of the recommendations had this distinct object, and correctly too, that they should attract British recruits for the Government of India, and that was the anxiety which actuated partly the appointment of this Commission. Therefore we are not dealing with practical politics in urging upon the Government of India—and I know I shall be making myself unpopular in making this statement—when we ask them to stop recruitment immediately. I may inform Honourable Members that recruitment has been stopped on a competitive basis in the Indian Medical Service, for the simple reason that we have not been able to get recruits, and we have had to get in officers on special terms. And it is in order to prevent a similar breakdown of the competitive system for the other Services that many

of these concessions have been devised. I hope therefore that Honourable Members will see that there is not much use in urging this part of their proposition.

Then, Sir, there is the proposition which has been very strongly pressed, namely, that the Services working in the reserved fields should be appointed by the Local Governments. I think the Honourable Mr. Khaparde will see that, although something can be said for his view, as the amendment stands at present there can be no All-India Service if it be left to each Local Government to make its own arrangements with regard to appointments and control. There cannot be such a thing as an All-India Service operating in the reserved fields so far as future recruits are concerned who we are told are to be appointed by Local Governments on a separate and distinct basis. The Honourable Mr. Khaparde may say that Local Governments may work possibly under a scheme evolved by the Government of India or the Secretary of State. I am reading into his amendment something which is not there ; but even then what does it come to ? It means really the control of the reserved fields of activity by the people rather than control by Parliament in England. If you analyse it it comes to that, and I have myself very great sympathy with the progress of reforms; but if you acutely analyse it there does not seem to be much from the constitutional point of view in favour of the control of the Local Governments. As the constitution stands the Local Governments and the Government of India are subject to the superintendence, direction and control of the Secretary of State.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. KHAPARDE : I think it might save time if I intervene. I did not have time to expound the point in making my speech. I will only indicate that all these young people will be selected by the Secretary of State by competition and the Local Governments can pick from out of them the men they want. That is what I meant.

THE HONOURABLE SIR NARASIMHA SARMA : I may say if the Secretary of State is to make the appointments that is practically what is occurring now. The young men are given a choice in the first instance, subject to some sort of superintendence by the Government. They are then sent to the Local Governments and are hardly ever removed from there. It is only in cases where officers feel that they have been unjustly dealt with that there is an appeal to the Government of India and the Secretary of State. In other respects the Local Governments are practically supreme in respect of the All-India Services. (*The Honourable Mr. G. S. Khaparde* : " That is what I want. ") If that is what you want, it is already there. (*The Honourable Mr. G. S. Khaparde* : " That is the point. It is not there. ") I was thinking that what was wanted is that control, with regard to the power of making appointments and the final right of dismissal, etc., should rest with the Governments in India if the Local Governments are not satisfied with the conduct of officers under them. Well the point I would suggest for the consideration of the House on this subject is, that even if the final authority be the Government of India under the present constitution it can only be subject to the control of the Secretary of State. We will have to obey the behest of the Secretary of State unless there is a devolution of authority, and if he can do a thing, whether he does it through

[Sir Narasimha Sarma.]

us or does it directly does not make much difference in substance. And I hope therefore that it will be recognized that under the existing constitution the Lee Commission were not wrong in recommending what was technically correct, namely, that where the Indian Legislatures are paramount, the Services should be subject to the Legislatures, and where the British Parliament is supreme, the Services should be subject to the control and appointment of the authority who is directly responsible to the British Parliament. There is a good deal of truth in the philosophical and calm statement of facts by the Honourable Mr. Thompson and the importance he attaches to the influence of climate. We must realize that what has made the British administration of India so successful is the vantage point from which they have been able to view the situation and the characteristics which they have been able to display in practical matters. Luckily for India we possess every type of climate, and therefore it will not be impossible for India to evolve the types of character necessary for the proper self-government of India if only we set about in the right manner and in the right direction. What is wanted is education on sound lines; the development of character has been the aim of the educational policy of our British friends, and I hope that with their assistance the country will achieve that measure of progress in the near future and to a time when they can look forward safely to administering their own affairs.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. KHAPARDE : The Honourable Member contemplates the British colonisation of a part of India ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR NARASIMHA SARMA : I do not follow that quite, but we are now practically on a different question, and there is not the slightest doubt that, as far as we can foresee at present, British recruits would be necessary for some time, and the evolution that has been suggested by the Lee Commission is calculated to achieve that end. And let me therefore express the hope that British youth will rise to the occasion and see in India a fair field for their activities in helping their Indian brethren to stand firm and self-reliant and in enabling them to take charge of their affairs in the fulness of time when self-government becomes not merely a possibility but a reality. Meanwhile I submit, Sir, that all that has to be done in a transitional stage must be done, and the remarks which have been made with regard to the Indianisation of the Services and the other points raised will receive the very careful and sympathetic attention of the Government.

THE HONOURABLE DR. SIR DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY : May I be permitted a short word of personal explanation ? My friend, the Honourable Sir Narasimha Sarma, has complained of vagueness in regard to the expression "for the present" in my amendment. What I intended and made clear in my speech was that, "pending action on the Reforms Committee's Report" recruitment should be suspended. But owing to the exigencies of circumstances those qualifying words which had been attached to the amendment of yesterday having been defeated, I could not bring in those very words and that is why I introduce the words "for the present."

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : I think it is unfortunate that the Honourable Member has made this personal explanation, because it suggests that

the whole of his speech was out of order. The House decided yesterday that there should be no such delay as apparently he has in mind, and had I understood that the words "for the present" were meant in the sense now indicated, I would not have allowed him to move his amendment.

I will now put the amendment of the Honourable Mr. Khaparde in two parts. I will put sub-clause (a) first and then sub-clause (b), and before putting (b) I will put the amendment of the Honourable Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary to the Honourable Mr. Khaparde's amendment. In the original Resolution sub-clause (a) runs :

"That while the existing system of appointment and control of the All-India Services should, in present conditions, be maintained in reserved fields, the following Services operating in transferred fields, namely, the Indian Educational Service, the Indian Agricultural Service, the Indian Veterinary Service, the Buildings and Roads Branch of the Indian Service of Engineers in those provinces in which the two branches have been separated, and the Indian Forest Service in Bombay and Burma, should so far as future recruits are concerned be appointed and controlled by Local Governments."

To this an amendment has been moved in the following terms :

"That every All-India Service, whether operating in the reserved or in the transferred field, should so far as future recruits are concerned, be appointed and controlled by Local Governments."

The question I have to put is that that amendment be made.

The motion was negatived.

Sub-clause (b) of the original Resolution runs :

"That recruitment of Indians for the Services in reserved fields should be increased as recommended."

To this an amendment has been moved by the Honourable Mr. Khaparde as follows :

"That recruitment for the All-India Services be so conducted as to produce at the earliest possible moment not exceeding ten years a proportion of Indians to Europeans in each such service in the ratio of 75 to 25 per cent."

To this amendment a further amendment has been moved by the Honourable Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary :

"That for the proposed amendment the following words be substituted :

'that all recruitment in England for the various services be for the present stopped'."

The question I have to put is that the amendment of the Honourable Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary be made.

The motion was negatived.

I now put the amendment of the Honourable Mr. Khaparde :

"That recruitment for the All-India Services be so conducted as to produce at the earliest possible moment not exceeding ten years a proportion of Indians to Europeans in each such service in the ratio of 75 to 25 per cent."

The motion was negatived.

The next amendment on the paper is to clause (2) of the original Resolution and stands in the name of the Honourable Mr. Vedamurti. I do not think that the Honourable Member will.....

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. VEDAMURTI : I can move it in five minutes.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Clause (2) of the Honourable Mr. Crerar's Resolution runs as follows :

"That pay, passage concessions and pensions be granted to the officers of the Superior Civil Services in India approximately on the scale recommended."

To this the Honourable Mr. Vedamurti moves an amendment :

"That for the words 'approximately on the scale recommended' the following words be substituted :

'on the same terms and at the same rates as at present but that the Burma allowance should be discontinued'."

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. VEDAMURTI (Burma: General): Sir, I do not want to detain the House at this stage, because I know what the fate of my amendment is going to be. It will certainly go the way that all the previous non-official Resolutions have gone, but I feel it my duty to move it. As regards the first clause of my amendment, Honourable Members of this House who are of my own way of thinking regard that, in the absence of any evidence before us, they are not willing to acquiesce in the recommendations of the Commission in the matter of pay, passage concessions and pensions. If we are convinced of any hardships suffered by the Superior Services, which at present we are not, we are perfectly willing to recommend relief.

It is on the clause of my amendment regarding the discontinuance of the Burma allowance that I should like to say a word or two. The Commission's recommendation is that, excepting the Indian Civil Service, the basic pay of the other All-India Services should be increased. All the Services are gaining under these recommendations increased emoluments in overseas allowance, exchange, passage and pension. I, for my part, do not understand why a special allowance, known as the "Burma allowance", an antiquated allowance, perhaps that was given when Burma was not opened up, should be perpetuated. Owing to these recommendations, Burma has to bear an additional burden of Rs. 10 lakhs a year, a burden larger than that of any of the Provinces, excepting the United Provinces. Is it fair, I ask, that Burma should bear a burden larger than Madras, Bombay or Bengal, which are advanced Provinces? I ask why the tax-payer in Burma should bear an additional burden in the shape of "Burma allowance." The Commission was perhaps influenced by the presence of Sir Reginald Craddock, the late Lieutenant-Governor of Burma. Increased emoluments, passage and other concessions are given on the ground of the high cost of living, and yet another allowance on the same ground of the high cost of living is granted in the case of the Superior Services serving in Burma. If granted, it would only show that the interests of the tax-payer are being sacrificed to those of the Services. In one breath it is said that Burma is a backward Province needing development in the matter of education, university and technical, for which sufficient money has to be spent but no money is available, while in another breath, you want to impose an additional burden—a burden on a backward Province, a burden greater than that of the other Provinces. If Burma had not a University of its own till four years ago; if the number of Burman graduates of the Calcutta University were only 400 up to the year 1920; if Burma has not even to-day a Medical College and an Engineering College for the training of her sons; if Burma had an Agricultural College opened only the other day; if Burma is

backward in respect of university, technical and professional education, whose fault is it? Is it not the fault of the Government, who had been pleading that they had no money? Still, you are going to saddle the Province with a greater burden, greater than the far advanced Provinces of India. I ask, Sir, is it fair, is it just? In these circumstances, I exhort this House to accept my amendment, which is in the following terms:

- "That in clause (2) for the words 'approximately on the scale recommended' the words 'on the same terms and at the same rates as at present' be substituted, and at the end of clause (2) the words 'but that the Burma allowance should be discontinued,' be added.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I understand that the Government will reply at length. There will, therefore, be an adjournment now till a quarter to three.

The Council then adjourned for Lunch till a Quarter to Three of the Clock.

The Council re-assembled after Lunch at a Quarter to Three of the Clock, the Honourable the President in the Chair.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. C. McWATTERS (Finance Secretary): Sir, I rise to oppose the amendment which was moved before the adjournment by the Honourable Mr. Vedamurti. I shall not detain the House for long, as I have noticed very little, if any, want of sympathy on the part of Members of this House with the financial proposals of the Commission. The Honourable Member himself did not develop his theme to any length except with regard to Burma. But the amendment, as it is worded, raises a clear issue. And, in case there are any Members of the House who are still honestly unconvinced of the justification of the proposals of the Commission on behalf of the Services, and also in view of the fact that certain questions on financial points have been put by various Members in the course of the debate, I wish to answer those questions and to re-emphasise some of the points in connection with these financial recommendations, though I can scarcely hope after four or five days debate on this subject to throw much new light or to add much fresh information. As I said, the amendment puts this matter as a clear issue, and I am very glad that it does so, entirely removed from the consideration of constitutional questions. The great mass of Government servants in this country are not politicians, though some of us occasionally, somewhat to our surprise, find ourselves figuring in the rôle of public speakers. The great body of Government servants are then to carry out policies in the framing of which they have no concern and the question of their remuneration should be considered entirely on its merits.

The Honourable Mr. Crerar pointed out that what is being claimed on behalf of the Services is not that they should be compensated for the whole of the increased rise in prices before the war and during the war. What is claimed is merely that they should be given a remuneration sufficient to keep them free from financial embarrassment and to ensure the flow of recruitment, on a reduced scale, to the Services of the quality which we have had in the past. Now, in my opinion, the claim put forward is overwhelming. The Finance Department is not usually accused of being generous, and if we find the Finance Department honestly supporting these recommendations, it is at any rate a "Bull" point in their favour. The claim is based on the following

[Mr. A. C. McWatters.]

grounds :—Firstly, the admitted increase in prices, particularly for Europeans in this country, both before the war, during the war and since. Secondly, the inadequacy of the revisions which were made in 1919 and 1920 of the pay of the Superior Services and, thirdly, the known facts which constantly come to our notice of actual distress and financial embarrassment.

Now, first of all, with regard to the rise in prices. We all feel it, but it is a little difficult to express in figures. We had, however, before the war, an elaborate inquiry into the rise in prices conducted by Dr. Datta and Mr. Finlay Shirras. Since the war, we have the Bombay index number which shows how the cost of living of Europeans has increased. I admit that prices in Bombay are not the same as elsewhere in India. But that index number is valuable as showing the relative increase in the cost of living among Europeans generally. If you consider the fact that the main items which have contributed to the increase in the cost of living of Europeans are the same for Europeans everywhere in India, you will see that that index number can be applied, within limits, to Europeans living elsewhere than in Bombay. I am referring particularly to the cost of education in England, which is now more than doubled ; to the increased cost of living at Home apart from education for those who have got their wives and children there ; to the increased cost of passages, which my Honourable friend opposite, Mr. Bell, can tell us about ; to the increased cost of all imported stores which are naturally largely used by Europeans ; and the great increase in customs duties. All these items are common to Europeans anywhere in India. Now, when the revision of pay of the Superior Services was taken in hand towards the close of 1919, the Bombay index number was 146, *i.e.*, for October 1919, 100 being the basic number for July 1914, which represents pre-war prices. A year later that number had risen to 158, and the latest figure for July 1924 is 162. It is evident, therefore, that the 1919 revision was undertaken on a basis which was inadequate in view of the increase in prices since, and as the Honourable Mr. Crerar has pointed out, if the increase had been given on a Bonus system the cost to Government would have been very much higher.

The second point I wish to emphasize is that the whole atmosphere at the time of that recommendation was overclouded by the exchange situation. Both Government here and at Home believed at that time that a two-shilling rupee could be maintained. This has been emphasized by speeches made by the then Viceroy and the then Secretary of State ; but I should like to add one extra proof. The Islington Commission recommended that exchange compensation should be done away with ; but they recommended that a compensatory allowance should be given in its place. Now exchange compensation was done away with, but a compensatory allowance was not given. This fact is obscured in the case of officers on the time-scale, inasmuch as there was an increase in rupee pay. In the case of officers above the time-scale, however, the position is clear since the amount given at the revision of 1919-20 was Rs. 140 less than recommended by the Islington Commission. The maximum exchange compensation allowance was Rs. 138, so that there appears to have been a saving of Rs. 2 to the Finance Department.

I now come to the document which was mentioned by the Honourable Mr. Karandikar, which was an answer given apparently in the Bombay Legislative Council on the question of increase in cost of the Services after the various revisions. I am not surprised that the Honourable Mr. Karandikar has been misled by that document, as it is not at all easy to understand. I would point out, in the first place, that that document does not deal with the increased pay given to various Services. It deals with the cost of those Services at various dates, and that depends on the number in the service at the time and also on the number of officers on duty and on leave at various dates. Owing to the war the number on duty and the number on leave was completely at variance with ordinary standards. In the second place, as the Bombay Government themselves point out, the figures do not take account of the omission of exchange compensation allowance, and they show themselves that the apparent increase of 17 per cent. for the I. C. S. at the 1919 revision would be reduced to 10 per cent. if account were taken of the abolition of exchange compensation allowance. I do not wish to go into the document in any detail, but I would point out that in the very first item which refers to the Indian Civil Service, a first revision is referred to as in October 1914. There was no revision of I. C. S. pay in October 1914. What the document apparently refers to is the fact that when the whole body of Government servants was re-called to duty on the outbreak of the war—this was before time-scales were introduced—a large number of officers lower down in service found themselves on pay very much below what they would normally have drawn since their pay then depended on the actual appointments held, and a number of comparatively senior officers found themselves acting as Joint and Assistant Magistrates. Therefore, in October 1914, certain minimum rates of pay were guaranteed to officers in certain years of service as a temporary measure during the continuance of the embargo on foreign leave. That apparently is what is referred to as the revision of pay in October 1914. Anyhow, I think the House has heard sufficient to realise that this document has to be read with very considerable qualifications, and I think the House would probably prefer to hear from me what the Government of India's calculations are, for India as a whole and not for one Province only, of the revisions made in 1919-20. The average increase for most Services was between 20 and 30 per cent. In the case of the Indian Police it was higher, something over 30 per cent., and in the case of the Indian Civil Service about 10 per cent.

Coming now to the Lee Commission's proposals, I think the House is probably agreed that those proposals are on the moderate side. They represent after all a compromise. I should like again to give the percentages. If we take the main recommendations of the Commission, that is the additions to pay, remittance concession and concession in regard to passages, the increase recommended works out for the Indian Civil Service at 12 per cent., for other Services 16 per cent., and for the Police 21 per cent. These are the proposals which Government commend to the House. I scarcely think it necessary to elaborate a defence of them in any great detail. The Honourable Mr. Natesan mentioned a comparison with Colonial Civil Services. I have here a voluminous printed document in which that comparison has been worked out, but I do not propose at this stage to trouble the House with details. The result of an examination of

[Mr. A. C. McWatters.]

that document goes to show that in recent years the Colonial Services, in comparison with India, have been much more generous especially with regard to such items as passages for wives and children. They are given practically uniformly now in all Colonial Services.

I should like to turn for a moment to the Honourable Mr. Vedamurti's remarks about the Burma allowance. The Honourable Member spoke of it as if it were some archaic survival from the days of Burma's Kings.

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. VEDAMURTI: I merely said it must have been introduced when Burma was not opened up.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. C. MCWATTERS: It was introduced in the year 1919.

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. VEDAMURTI: I have got the Civil List of 1910 in my hand in which the Burma allowance is mentioned. It rises from Rs. 75 to Rs. 150.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. C. MCWATTERS: I had better give the history of the main scheme for Burma allowances which is now in force. In 1909 a Committee was appointed by the Burma Government to go into this question. That Committee recommended certain scales. Their recommendations were referred to the Government of India, who, as the Islington Commission was about to be appointed, referred them to that Commission. That Commission reduced the scales slightly, but supported generally the views of the Burma Government. The Secretary of State sanctioned the scales for a period of ten years in 1919. They expire in 1929. The main point, however, is that since the Reforms the question of compensatory allowances is one entirely for Local Governments. It is within the power of the Government of Burma to grant those allowances or not, and the Honourable Member's plea should be addressed to them. So far as the officers of the Central Government are concerned, the Government of India are taking up, in connection with paragraph 92 of the Lee Commission's Report the question of house rents and compensatory allowances in expensive centres, which will include Rangoon.

I come now to the general cost of the Commission's recommendations, regarding which the Honourable Mr. Natesan made some pertinent queries. We may take the figures given by the Public Services Commission as approximately correct. They had in fact attached to them an officer of the Finance Department as a statistical expert and the calculations have been verified since. The figures given by them are approximately 98 lakhs, of which 26 lakhs falls upon the Central Government, and a sum of between 9 and 10 lakhs for each of the major Local Governments. The only one where the cost exceeds 10 lakhs is the United Provinces with ten lakhs and eighty thousand, and for the smaller Provinces the figure is less. But it is necessary to make some additions to these figures. They do not include, in the first instance, house rent concessions and medical attendance. For those it is obvious that it is practically impossible at the present time to form any very reliable estimate but relatively speaking they are not likely to constitute a very large figure. In the second place, we have to allow for the fact that the pensions of the Un-covenanted Services, the additional Rs. 1,000 which it is proposed to grant

after 25 years' service, will be an increasing amount. In the first year it will be 1½ lakhs, and it will increase by that amount each year for 14 or 15 years. In the third place, we have to add a sum not exceeding 7 lakhs, if the Government of India's recommendation regarding the additions to pay above the time-scale for officers not drawing more than Rs. 3,000 is accepted. We also have to add some charge for the cost of the Public Services Commission. Now, on the other hand, we have several very important items to set off. The first is connected with exchange. As the Commission's proposals were worded, and also in the form in which they are recommended for acceptance by the Government of India, any advantage when exchange rises above 1s. 4d. comes to Government, and I would point out that if exchange were at its present level of 1-5½, the saving during the year would be 12½ lakhs. In the second place, we have to take account of the effect of Indianisation. This means, even if the basic pay of Indians remains untouched, and if Indianisation proceeds at the pace recommended in the Government Resolution, a progressive saving of something over 2 lakhs increasing by that amount each year, which the House will observe is considerably larger than the corresponding loss under the head of pensions, to which I referred just now, and the gain will continue for longer. In the third place, the proposals before the House contemplate the discontinuance of judicial pay for Indian Civil Service officers, that is, for those who will in the future hold such posts. This will only be a gradual saving, but it will, when it reaches its maximum, amount to a sum of Rs. 3 lakhs. In view of what I have said, it will be realised that, so far as the Provinces are concerned, the figures which I have given are maxima, and will be considerably reduced in course of time. So far as the Central Government is concerned, the position is not so simple because, if the Commission's recommendations are extended to officers on railways, as mentioned by the Honourable Mr. Natesan, there will be an extra charge of 18 lakhs. This, of course, is strictly a charge against Railways, and if railway finance is separated, it will be borne on the railway estimates. We have also to consider the possibility of passages being given to military officers. If this is done, there will be an increased charge of Rs. 12 to 15 lakhs. The Honourable Mr. Natesan referred to army pay, but that question is on a different footing. The quinquennial revision, which became due in July 1924, is being undertaken as a separate matter, and without any direct reference to the recommendations of the Royal Commission. The figures which I have mentioned are certainly not inconsiderable, but I think that if the House agrees that the relief which it is proposed to give is justified on its merits, there are not sufficient grounds for refusing it because of any question of financial stringency. So far as the current year is concerned, I have very little hesitation in saying that we can meet it. So far as the next year is concerned, I am not prepared at the present moment to produce a budget, and even the Honourable Mr. Karandikar's Committee, which he wished to report by the end of 1924, would have found some difficulty in recommending how the cost would be met during the next financial year before the budget or estimates are ready. I cannot do better than use the words of the Finance Member in another place, that we do not think these charges are unmanageable. That is all I have to say on the financial ground. Of course the amendment, if it were accepted, has implications which go much beyond finance. I would, in fact, do as much to destroy the traditions of the Services and that

[Mr. A. C. McWatters.]

machinery of Government as proposals for total cessation of European recruitment.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Clause (2) of the original Resolution runs :

“ That pay, passage concessions and pensions be granted to the officers of the Superior Civil Services in India approximately on the scale recommended.”

To which an amendment has been moved :

“ That in place of the words ‘ approximately on the scale recommended,’ the words ‘ on the same terms and at the same rates as at present, but that the Burma allowance be discontinued ’ be substituted.”

The question I have to put is that that amendment be made.

The motion was negatived.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : I now call upon the Honourable Mr. Yamin Khan to move his amendment that at the end of the Resolution the following clause be added ; namely :

“ 4. That in any scheme of the Indianisation of the Superior Services that may finally be adopted, a provision be made that one-third of such appointments be reserved for Mussalmans in all Provinces except the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province, and that as long as that proportion in each Service is not secured, Mussalmans should be recruited in larger numbers in order to bring their number to a third at an early date.”

THE HONOURABLE MR. YAMIN KHAN (United Provinces West : Muhammadan) : Sir, I beg to move this amendment which stands in my name. Before speaking on the subject, I wish to say a few words to the Honourable House about my motives, that I have not got the slightest intention to encroach upon the rights of the other communities, but what I place before the House is what I think is the right and just claim of my community. My own family have got a tradition, not for a few years but for centuries, that we have enjoyed great confidence with the Hindu public, and we have absolutely kept ourselves aloof from any kind of communal questions. My family has been for many years standing between the Muhammadans and the Hindus on one side, and between the Government and the public on the other side. Whenever there was any disturbance or any kind of bad feeling existing between the communities, we came forward just to have those feelings of any kind removed and good understanding established. We have played the same part between the Government and the public for centuries. So I do not wish that any of my Hindu brethren, or the Government may construe my motives in this respect to be animated by only one object, and that object is that I wish that the bad feeling which exists at present between the communities on the one hand and between the Muslims and the Government on the other to be removed. This is my sole object in putting forward this amendment which is only a communal question at present.

Before going into other details I wish to let the Honourable House know the one precedent which has been established by a great administrator with the help of three nationalist Indians. I refer to the late Governor of the United Provinces, Sir Harcourt Butler. Of course the Government Bench

as well as the people from my Province and perhaps from other Provinces too are well aware of the great administrative capacity of Sir Harcourt Butler, and the wisdom with which he tackled such questions as these whenever they cropped up in the masterful way he had in dealing with these problems. That was the underlying reason of his great popularity and great reputation as an administrator. Of the three Indian gentlemen to whom I have referred one was his Councillor and his name is well known to everybody, the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad. The two others were his Ministers, Mr. Chintamani and Pandit Jagat Narain. And this communal question was settled by Sir Harcourt and these Indian gentlemen once for all and in a spirit which has never been in any way disputed. Everybody is perfectly satisfied with the scheme which he introduced and put into execution. This question in its acutest shape was prevailing previously in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, where the Moslem population is very small as compared with the non-Moslems. But it was always claimed by the Moslems of the U. P. that their claims were not based only on numerical strength, but also on their importance and on other grounds as well; and this claim has been conceded in the very able solution which was adopted, which was, that out of every 12 appointments nine were filled by competitive examination, but the papers of the Moslems were collected separately and the three best Moslems were given appointments and six of the best non-Moslems. The remaining three appointments were reserved to be filled by nomination by the Governor, and with the aid of this power of nomination he was able to redress the grievances of any other communities who had not sufficient representation or were being excluded by the competitive examination. The result of this was that the acute feelings and grievances which had existed previously were removed and everybody, as regards this matter, seems to be quite contented. This was a remarkable solution of the problem, and in case Honourable Members do not remember reading in the papers of 1921-1922, I would draw their attention to the fact that at that time probably no Governor was more popular in the whole of India than Sir Harcourt Butler. The secret that underlay the great success of his administration was that he kept the hearts of everybody in his hand. And that is what is required from the Government. We wish Government to be strong, and strength comes simply by looking into the grievances of different communities living under the Government, who look to the Government and seek their help and assistance in different matters. At the same time I have every confidence that my non-Moslem Indian Colleagues in this Honourable House will like once for all to decide this matter here in this House. This House has a reputation of its own, the responsibility of seeing and settling matters in a spirit of compromise. People outside are fighting; they have grievances against each other; and we responsible persons who come here and are removed from that and who want these matters and disputes to be settled, would of course naturally like to have these questions settled here in this House under the guidance of this House and not outside. We have to come to a solution somehow or other. Some of the Honourable Members here might have seen the Resolution passed by the Nationalist Party as a whole about standing by the Lucknow Pact. They are considering the same question, whether the same proportion in the All-India Services should be given to Mussulmans or not. They are going to decide this matter. But it is my sincere

[Mr. Yamin Khan.]

desire that this question should be settled on the floor of this House and not outside. I will give only a few figures from an address presented to His Excellency Sir William Marris on the 14th of August at Agra under the guidance and presidentship of one of our esteemed Colleagues Nawab Sir Muzammil-ullah Khan on behalf of the United Provinces Provincial Educational Conference. The figures in that address were of Muhammadans who generally go in for Government service, go in for education and are essentially the people who have for a long time been employed under the Government. The castes as well as the numbers have been very carefully given. The sects are Sheikhs, Saiyid, Moghul, Pathan, Turk, and Kamboh. Their total population comes to 3,637,273 in the whole of the Province. This calculation leaves out altogether those classes which are engaged in menial work or who are employed as weavers, *telis* and other castes which deal in other works, but it gives only the classes who in that Province are getting into Government service. Then, Sir, that deputation has taken the figures of the Hindu classes also who go into Government service. Brahmins, 4,659,738, Vaishya 1,114,029, Kaisthas 471,541, Khattris 41,764, Aryas 85,831 . . . 1,44,701. This whole comes to 6,517,604. (*An Honourable Member*: "What about Rajputs?") They have given the figures of the Hindu and Musalman Rajputs as well, and by this calculation they try to show that these figures correspond to one to two. Then they have given figures to show the population of the people who chiefly reside in the cities and in the big towns. The total population of the Hindus in all the big cities and municipal areas comes to 2,959,661, and the total population of Muhammadans residing in the towns and in the municipal areas comes to 1,860,756. This also of course does not come to one to two, but besides this, the Hindus who are residing in the villages and are practically rich people, also seek Government service. Of course if their figure is taken, about 9 lakhs more, that comes to 38 lakhs. That will be one to two. Sir, I have given this as an example of what they had been urging that it is only a matter that these solutions can be arrived at very easily by giving some and taking some. Of course by my Resolution when I say "fix a proportion of one-third," I know that there will be some Provinces in which the Mussalmans will by their numerical strength and by their importance, as I have mentioned, be quite entitled to get one-third, in some Provinces they might be getting about 35 per cent., in others they might be getting about 20 per cent. (*The Honourable Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy*: "And where do I come in?") I am willing to extend to you the same terms. (*An Honourable Member to Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy*: "You are always safe".) But I would request my Musalman Colleagues to concede the rights of the Hindus as well, where they are in a larger proportion of the population and the Hindus are in a minority, to give them similar treatment. What they ask for themselves they must give to the other side. There are certain Provinces where the Hindus in numerical strength stand at very very low figures, but their importance is such that it demands that certain concessions should be made, and they deserve concessions. Now, Sir, in Eastern Bengal, in Bengal, where the Muhammadan population is in excess of the Hindus, who are far more educated, the Hindus are holding offices in greater numbers, and for this reason I do not propose to treat Bengal on the basis of popu-

lation, but I recognise it a little bit in the same shape as I wish to have it recognised in the other Provinces for the Mussalmans. Now, Sir, where do the Muhammadans stand? In spite of their 900 years of rule in this country, in spite of their having no other profession in this country except being landlords and being Government servants, to what are they reduced at present in the Government services? I have a pamphlet with me prepared by my Honourable Colleague, Maulvi Abdul Karim Sahib, who has given the figures here. It was sent to the Government of India, I believe, in the last winter session, and he has given the figures of all. I shall not thrust the details upon the House, but I shall give the totals of all the figures, — that the Mussalmans, in all these Departments, Railway, Finance and Accounts, Public Works Department, Education, Police, certain Scientific Services, Agriculture, Jails, Medical, Judicial, Indian Civil Service; in all of them together their percentage is 2.9. This is their ratio at present in the All-India Government Services. I ask this Honourable House....

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Order, order. The Honourable Member has exceeded his time and must bring his remarks to a close.

THE HONOURABLE MR. YAMIN KHAN: Now, Sir, I would request this Honourable House that if they will concede this proposition, that the Mussalmans have got really this grievance that they are not represented in a sufficient proportion as they ought to be, if they wish that the differences which are existing to-day between communities and communities should subside and there should be progress on national lines towards self-government, then they must accede to this principle and to this request. Otherwise what will be the result, what will follow? The Mussalmans will remain a backward community, they will not let you go up, they may be dragging you by your feet if you want to rise. This will be the net result of a difference between the communities; and to the Government I say, what will be the result? The result will be that the non-co-operation movement will be strengthened and under circumstances in which the whole blame will be thrown on the Government and the Government will be throwing the blame on the communities. Of course the Swarajist Hindus will get them into their arms, and they will come and embrace them, and their only remedy will be this one. Will this Honourable House, having responsible people on both sides, of public opinion as well as Government, would it like this thing that is going on for some time? I can assure this House on this point but I have got no time to give my reasons. In conclusion, I would draw attention to the fact that it will be a very bad thing if Muhammadans are not allowed to be represented; they would not let the country have any progress.

THE HONOURABLE MAULVI ABDUL KARIM (East Bengal: Muhammadan): Sir, I beg to second the amendment, though I am not quite sure that this important problem can be properly solved by an amendment of the kind that has been moved. As regards the Indianisation of the Services, my community is as keen as any other community in India, but naturally they desire that they should get their legitimate share in the services of the country and Indianisation should not amount practically to non-Muslimisation. I think Honourable Members are not perhaps unaware that the representation of the

[Maulvi Abdul Karim.]

Muslims in Government services has hitherto been most inadequate. In some of the most important Services, they are altogether unrepresented, and in others their representation is far below what their numerical strength, communal importance and administrative capacity entitle them to get. In some of the Services, they are altogether unrepresented, as I have said. In the pamphlet, referred to by my Honourable friend, I have shown that in the Superior Civil Services in India their proportion barely comes up to 3 per cent., while the proportion of non-Muslim Indians comes up to over 20 per cent., and that of the Europeans and Anglo-Indians to over 76 per cent. Such disparity in the number of Government employees belonging to different communities cannot but foster much discontent and ultimately lead to great administrative difficulties. This is a fact, Sir, that should not be lost sight of by any of the parties concerned. It is about two years ago that a Resolution was passed in the Assembly that—

“In making recruitment for the Services under the Central Government, steps should be taken to secure that the Services are not unduly over-weighted with representation of any one community or province and that as far as possible claims of all communities and provinces are considered.”

I believe it was an amended Resolution by my Honourable Colleague in front of me. If prompt action had been taken on this Resolution, there would have been hardly any cause for complaint. As far as I am aware no effect has been given to the Resolution up to this time, and the Muslims now are as conspicuous by their absence in many of the offices under the Government of India as they were before. This had to be admitted by the Honourable Mr. Crerar and other officials who gave answers to my questions on the subject in this House. I do not like to take up the time of this House by citing concrete instances of unjust ignoring of the claims of deserving Muslim candidates. Suffice it to say that there have been to my knowledge many instances of this kind.

So long the excuse for not appointing Muslims was that they did not possess the requisite intellectual qualifications. Now that they have taken University degrees and have qualified themselves in that respect, other excuses are brought forward, and I regret to say, to keep them back. If due credit had been given for strong physique, family traditions, mental calibre, moral stamina, administrative capacity and a sense of honesty and integrity, a combination of all of which makes an ideal officer, I believe my community would not have suffered so much as they have done. I think it would be uncharitable to presume that the descendants of those who ruled India for about seven centuries have so far deteriorated as not to be able to discharge the duties of responsible posts under the present Government.

When such is the position of Muslims in respect of Government service, it is strange that an impression should have gained ground among some of the non-Muslims that Government have been especially favouring the Muslims at their cost. It is hoped that the facts and figures given in the pamphlet referred to by the Mover of this amendment would show that far from any special favour having been shown to the community, justice has not been done to them in the matter of appointments to Government service. It has been noted, however,

with satisfaction that in discussing the recommendations of the Lee Commission, Sir Alexander Muddiman made an announcement in the Legislative Assembly regarding the employment of Muslims and other minority communities. It is hoped that early steps would be taken to remove the grievances of these communities.

Unemployment among the Muslim graduates and under-graduates has been causing for some time in some parts of the country great anxiety. If they join hands with the unemployed graduates and under-graduates of other communities, some of whom, I regret to have to say, have committed regrettable excesses, woe betide the country. I hope and trust that all well-wishers of India will devise means to minimise unemployment among the educated as far as possible.

If I had any hand in the framing of the amendment moved by my Honourable friend, I would have excepted Bengal also from the amendment, because I am not certain that Mussalmans of Bengal will accept the proportion he has fixed. But, as I have said I do not think it is possible for this House to solve this important problem. I think it is a case of mutual understanding between the different communities inhabiting India, and I have reason to hope that the time is soon coming when they will realise the gravity of the situation and will try to come to an amicable settlement.

THE HONOURABLE COLONEL NAWAB SIR UMAR HAYAT KHAN: Sir, though the family of my Honourable friend the Mover has stood as a mediator for all those centuries, I think the bringing forward of this question to-day deprives him of all that. I am thankful to him for having brought this vexed question before this House and I also thank him on behalf of the Muhammadans that I represent here. I am very glad that he has not spoken anything about the Punjab because we are 55 per cent there. And, unless we get our due share, we are not going to be satisfied with one-third or any other proportion. There is one thing that I would like to say now. This amendment is really an acid test. We shall see how our brethren, the Hindus, vote on it. We shall see whether they are going to help us to-day in passing this amendment or not. At the same time, I will ask the officials that as this is a question between us Indians, they should refrain from saying anything in the matter. So, if we, the Muhammadans are for it and if our Hindu brethren help us and if you the officials, do not interfere, we are safe. You have heard, Sir, about our proportion. The difficulties that we have experienced are these. In my part of the country we are mostly agriculturists and live in villages. The first difficulty we have got is that there are no schools. And if there are schools they are only up to the primary standard. Further, if the zamindar has to continue the education of his son, he must send him somewhere far away from his place, which he cannot do on account of financial trouble. If he wants to give a college education to his son, he will have to send him to Lahore or some other place where there are colleges, because there are no colleges in the districts. In that way, we are lagging behind in the matter of education.

As to the proportion, Sir, all of us have a great trouble with our eminent friend, the Honourable Sir Muhammad Shafi, about the Pact which was arrived at in the League held at Lucknow. The Punjabis were against it, because it

[Colonel Nawab Sir Umar Hayat Khan.]

said that where Muhammadans are in the minority they should remain in a minority, but where they were in the majority, i.e. in the Punjab, even there they were brought into a minority. So, we did not gain.

THE HONOURABLE DR. MIAN SIR MUHAMMAD SHAFI: I do not like to interrupt my Honourable friend, but he has perhaps forgotten that at the time when that Pact was being entered into, I was presiding over the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference at Aligarh.

THE HONOURABLE COLONEL NAWAB SIR UMAR HAYAT KHAN: Then, Sir, we have also seen enough about the unity, though there is a great deal of talk about it. In the Punjab we only asked for representation in proportion to our numbers in the municipalities and other local bodies. On this the other party resigned in a body saying that we the Muhammadans should not get our numerical proportion. In the same way when we asked that our sons should be given admission into Government colleges according to their numerical strength, the other communities in the Punjab have gone to the extent of running down the authority who allowed only 40 per cent. whereas it ought to have been 55 per cent. Even 40 per cent is not tolerated there. I wanted to say all this in connection with the general subject; but since this amendment has been moved about the Muhammadans, I thought I had better make these remarks on this occasion. I do hope that my appeal which I put forward in the very beginning about voting will be acceded to.

THE HONOURABLE SARDAR JOGENDRA SINGH: Sir, I feel that I am in an awkward position. I should like to respond to the appeal that has been made by my Honourable friend. I belong to a minority community. Perhaps we are in a hopeless minority not only in the Punjab but throughout the whole of India. (*The Honourable Sir Maneckji Dadabhai*: "Not more than we are.") You beat us. Then, again, Sir, I have absolutely no sectarian feeling. I can worship in a mosque to-morrow and go to a Christian church the day after. I would gladly retire from any position if I were given the option in favour of my Honourable friend on the left. At the same time, Sir, I ask for no preference for my own community. I rely entirely on the fitness of the members of my community to win their way and I would ask my friend also to do the same. When the Mussalmans came to India seven centuries ago and established their Empire here, they did not go out begging for posts. They got them because they deserved them. So, even now, they will get them when they deserve them. I will ask my friend Mr. Yamin Khan to put in force the principle that he has enunciated here to-day in his own estate and establish a proportion of the Hindu and Muhammadan tenants. If he cannot do it there, how can he expect that it can be carried out in the Government of India? (*The Honourable Mr. Yamin Khan*: 99 per cent of my tenants are Hindus.) So, even there you have not maintained the proportion. Then, when fixing a proportion for the whole of India why exclude the Punjab. It seems to me unreasonable, Sir, to ask for an arrangement which means "Heads I win and tails you lose." In a remarkably thoughtful speech which the Honourable Mr. Thompson made not long ago, he enunciated a few aphorisms. One of these was—character is destiny. Let us develop character, let us develop education and we shall win our way to places of power. My Honourable friend here says that there

are only primary schools in the villages. Does he mean that from these primary schools he would translate the candidates right into places of responsibility. Is that possible? We must all remember that we have set our hearts on attaining self-government and that we must keep our eye on the goal. A poet says :

“(My quick-footed friends have captured the bridal camel. We remain still spell bound by the call of the caravan to rise.)”

That is where we stand to-day in discussing the Lee Commission's Report and mixing it up with politics. We have not yet realised that the way is clear before us, if we will only realise how to attain citizenship, and how to march forward in order to secure self-government. If I may apply what the Honourable Sir Muhammad Shafi said the other day I would say “ Turn your faces from Turkistan and set your own house in order.” We should remember that we have a long, long, way to go and that we can do so only by learning to work together. This is the principle which we have adopted in our own estates where there are Hindu and Muhammadan tenants. We have employed in our estates the best men, whether they be Hindus, Muhammadans or Christians, without making any distinction whatsoever. The same rule holds good for Government posts. We must remember that we have got only a few days to work.

“ Oh lamp, thy natural age is only just a night ; You can pass it in laughing or in weeping.”

So, let us try to work together. Sink communal differences, and realise nationality.

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. P. THOMPSON : This debate has been conducted with admirable good humour, if I may say so, but I think it is perhaps time that the attitude of Government towards the amendment was indicated. I do not think it will come as a surprise to the Honourable Mover that Government are unable to accept his amendment. The Honourable Mr. Karandikar, who seconded the amendment, showed that he felt the difficulty of the position in which Government were placed by being confronted with an amendment of this sort. Government cannot obviously accept an amendment of this sort, of this very far-reaching importance without consulting the Provincial Governments concerned. The Honourable Member himself showed that he was conscious of no other defect in his amendment, and that is that the rigid percentage which it is suggested should be applied is one which could hardly be made applicable to the differing circumstances of the various Provinces. At the same time I take it that the Honourable Member was perfectly conscious of the weakness of his position when he put down this amendment, and that really what he wanted was to elicit from Government some indication of their general views. That indication has already been given. The Honourable Maulvie referred to the amendment which was accepted by the Government on the 10th March 1923. That was an amendment to a Resolution in regard to appointments under the Government of India, which was made by the Honourable Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhi-kary. The amendment ran as follows :

“ That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that in making new recruitment for the Services under the control of the Central Government, steps should be taken to secure that the Services are not unduly over-weighted with representatives of any community or province.”

[Mr. J. P. Thompson.]

With reference to that amendment Sir Malcolm Hailey made these remarks :

“ I would therefore ask the House to put aside the main proposition, based on the claims of separate classes and minority communities, and to affirm the wide, the simple and the reasonable policy which I have enunciated. It is recognised in the amendment which Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary read out to the House. That amendment has my whole-hearted support ; the House can adopt it with safety ; and I would urge that it accept it in the cause—I can only put it in this way—of its own dignity and its position as a representative of All-India interests.”

That was announced as the policy of the Government of India, and that is the policy of the Government of India still.

The Honourable Mover asked that effect should be given to that Resolution. He complained that nothing had been done on it. He is not in possession of the facts. A copy of that Resolution was sent to every Department of the Government of India with instructions that it should be given effect to, and the Departments concerned have been recently reminded. That is the position in which the matter now stands. I would earnestly ask the Honourable Mover that, in view of the position that I have explained, he should withdraw his amendment.

THE HONOURABLE MR. R. P. KARANDIKAR (Bombay : Non-Muhammadin) : Sir, before the amendment is withdrawn or put to the vote, I would like to make a certain point clear. An appeal seems to have been made to the Hindu community with reference to their attitude as regards the claims of the Muhammadans. I for one am entirely in favour of the aspirations that are voiced by this amendment, and I was quite willing and am still willing to abide by it. I was wondering why the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province have been excepted, but a little speech from the Honourable Member there solved the problem. There is a larger number they were entitled to according to population there than under the amendment, and they were not willing to reduce the number to that suggested in the amendment. The acidity of the test therefore that he proposed for the Hindus loses much of its property ; if the Muhammadans are not willing to accept the amendment, because it lowers their privileges, it is no wonder that other communities may come in and ask for their share. But I may assure my Honourable friend that the Hindus entirely go with the Muhammadans. The Lucknow compact will be followed. It can never be tolerated that the bureaucracy pull one way and the Muhammadans the other way and the fabric of self-government or Swarajya has to fall through. This unity must be based on a solid foundation and it can only be on the foundation of joint action. My Honourable friend Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy asked where was he. He is perfectly safe in his position between the bureaucracy and the popular side, and indeed his position was made perfectly secure by the recommendation made by the Central Provinces and Berar Association who grouped the Parsis along with the Europeans, and certainly they are more secure. They were pioneers of civilization in my part of the country. It is the Parsis who have been leading us on. Parsis will never be forgotten.

I stood up merely to say that it is my hope and that of every well-wisher of India that Arbitration Boards and Conciliation Committees all over India

will be brought into existence to settle the differences for the purpose of unification of the races.

THE HONOURABLE SAIYED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR (Madras: Muham.madən): Sir, I confess that the unexpected turn that the debate has taken in this House has taken me quite aback. I was shocked not only by the speeches delivered from the non-official benches but also by those made on behalf of the Government. I am not a logician and I am not in a position to make a hair-splitting difference between the acceptance of a principle and the adoption of measures to carry out the principle. It is said, Sir, that the Government are in favour of the principle which lies at the bottom of the suggestion that has been made by my Honourable friend here. My idea was, Sir, before I listened to the debate here, that the amendment was of such a nature that, instead of coming from a non-official Mover, if it had only emanated from the Government benches, it would have come with as much grace, for this amendment is calculated, not only to secure and safeguard the interests of the minority communities in India, but is also calculated to remove much of the difficulty that is now felt in the administration of the country. The fixation of this proportion has been a method, Sir, which has every now and then been resorted to by several Local Governments in the matter of communal representation. Therefore, Sir, I am quite at a loss to see what insurmountable obstacle or what objection on the point of principle there is in the way of Government to the ready acceptance of the amendment. As I said, Sir, I was surprised equally by some of the speeches that have been made by my Honourable non-official Colleagues here. I regret that the suggestion has not been taken in the spirit in which it has been made. Some of the Honourable Members here seem to think that by demanding their just and fair share, by proposing that measures be adopted for the safeguarding of one's own interests, that by claiming their own natural and reasonable right, the Muhammadan community is compromising its position. But I desire to say that, in making this just and right claim, we are not playing the roll of a beggar, but on the other hand we are simply evincing our own moral courage in standing on our own rights. Now, Sir, I would like to say I have also referred to this question yesterday in my speech, and I do not want to traverse the same ground to show how the Muslim community, on account of various reasons, is entitled to the treatment which has been demanded by my Honourable friend who has moved the Resolution. All that I say is this, Sir, that if the Muhammadans wish to secure their own rights, if they are anxious to have measures adopted to obtain their own proper and due share in the government of the country, the Muhammadans have not the least intention of usurping any other's rights, that the other minority communities in the country may rest assured that their interests, far from being jeopardised by an attitude of this sort on the part of the Muhammadans, will only be all the more secure, for the principle, if conceded in the case of one community, will have naturally to be extended to other minority communities. Again, Sir, it has been said that a proposal of this nature is one which is calculated to embitter feelings more in the country; but on the contrary, Sir, I am of opinion that the effect of suggestions like this, that the effect of adopting measures of the nature proposed here, will be quite the reverse, for to my mind it looks as if, far from promoting mutual differences, when once these proportions are fixed, the result of this would only be to remove all grounds of

[Saiyed Mohamed Padshah Sahib Bahadur.]

suspicion, minimise chances of mistrust and jealousy, and in short to create an atmosphere of mutual goodwill and tranquillity. I wish only to state this point that none of us have the least suspicion of any sinister motive on the part of my non-Muslim brethren here. I am quite sure that the heart of my fellow-countrymen is quite sound, that they recognise all this, and are quite prepared to concede what is really due to the Muslim community.

THE HONOURABLE SIR MANECKJI DADABHOY : Sir, I move that the question be now put.

THE HONOURABLE SIR ZULFIKAR ALI KHAN : Sir, I do not intend to take up much time of the Council, as I have already realised that this subject is getting on the nerves of the Honourable Members. But, Sir, representing Eastern Punjab as I do, I cannot entirely keep silent on this question, as it so vitally concerns my countrymen. I realise that it is a delicate subject to discuss in the placid atmosphere of this Council, which has so far kept the ethics of communal interests away from its deliberations, but I do feel that the policy of renunciation on the part of the Muhammadans with regard to this matter will not be tasteful to my people. Sir, a short while ago in the Government of India, taking the Central Government into consideration, there was perhaps only one Muhammadan representing the whole Muhammadan population of India, that is to say the Honourable Dr. Mian Sir Muhammad Shafi was the only Muhammadan representing the 70 million Muhammadans of India, although later on another man was introduced in a very junior capacity. But in spite of the representations made by the Muhammadans, no heed was paid to it. I do not claim any privilege for the Muhammadan community on the exploded idea of communal importance, because, as my friend on my right has said, we must deserve and then claim something. There was a time in the Punjab and elsewhere when the Muhammadans were not highly educated, and therefore their representation in the services was very paltry. But now, Sir, on account of the advance which education has made amongst us we have men intellectually as well equipped as any members of other communities. Therefore, it is inscrutable to my people that in spite of all this preparation and success in academic examinations they are not able to secure that share in the services which is their due. I have no doubt that members of other communities present here will look upon this claim as a just one, because all the Honourable Members of this House are distinguished by wisdom and impartiality and have experience which will guide them in these communal matters. Therefore, Sir, without introducing any acrimonious spirit into the discussion, I would expect the Government, if they cannot accept this Resolution, to keep in mind the sentiments of the Muhammadan community in this matter. That is all I want to say about this matter.

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. CRERAR (Home Secretary) : In view of the remarks which have fallen from my Honourable friend Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, I should like to add only one or two words in supplementation of what was said by the Honourable Mr. Thompson with regard to the attitude of Government in this matter. I should think it deplorable that when the House is addressing itself to issues of the character contained in the main Resolution, that anything in the nature of dissension, or any formal act of dissension, on a

question of this kind should be moved. I should regret that very much, and I should like to remind my Honourable friend the Mover and my Honourable friend Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan of the reference which I made to this question in my opening speech. In doing so I repeated in substance the statement made by the Honourable the Home Member in another place, which was adverted to by my Honourable friend Maulvi Abdul Karim. I said that this question of communal representation had been dealt with at length on a former occasion by Sir Malcolm Hailey. But I added that Government have realized that, if the proposals of the Lee Commission in respect of Indianization are given effect to, that question would necessarily arise in a new and possibly a more acute form. I said that, having regard to the new circumstances which would be created, it would be necessary for Government to reconsider this matter and to examine very closely the expedients which are possible for giving effect to the sentiments expressed so earnestly and so vehemently by Members, not only of the Moslem community but of other communities which are in the position of minorities. As my Honourable friend Mr. Thompson observed, these questions affect closely—and will affect in future under the conditions which we are assuming still more closely—Provincial Governments. It is necessarily a matter on which the Government of India could not commit themselves definitely to any rigid formula without full consultation with them. In view of this further explanation I trust my Honourable friend the Mover will see his way to withdraw the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. YAMIN KHAN (United Provinces West: Muhammadan): In view, Sir, of the views expressed by the Honourable Mr. Cresser and the Honourable Mr. Thompson and the assurance given that the Government will carefully consider this problem under the new circumstances as they arise, I beg to withdraw my amendment.

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

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: All the amendments having been disposed of, the original Resolution is now before the Council.

THE HONOURABLE MR. LALUBHAI SAMALDAS (Bombay: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, as the Lee Commission was appointed although the grant for it was thrown out by the Assembly, the appointment of that Commission was received in the country with a feeling, if not of hostility, at least of suspicion and mistrust. That feeling was seen in the attitude of the majority of the Assembly when they threw out the recommendation. Here we are not going to take up that attitude, and as the Commission was appointed by His Majesty the King Emperor, we will try our best to examine the recommendations made by it with all respect that is due to a Commission appointed by His Majesty. Sir, the Honourable the Leader of the House in the impassioned appeal which he made yesterday for a careful consideration of the Government proposals said that he recommended us to accept it because he thought that unless we accepted all the recommendations we may not be able to get the constitutional reforms as early as we wanted them. He said that our throwing out these proposals might retard the advent of further reforms. I believe that all of us want the constitutional reforms as early as possible, and if I honestly believed, as my Honourable friend the Leader of the House believes, that by not accepting this Resolution as a whole we were putting back the clock of

[Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas.]

constitutional reform, I would be the first man to vote for it. But my reasons for not accepting the Resolution as it stands are first and primarily that the whose aspect of the question is being examined by the Reforms Inquiry Committee, and any action that we may now take may in a way handicap the decision of that Committee. If it does not actually prove a handicap I am sure it will influence to a very great extent the recommendations of that Committee. (*The Honourable Sir Arthur Froom*: "I do not think so.") My Honourable friend Sir Arthur Froom says he does not think so. He is a member of the Committee and he ought to know. However, I believe that human nature being what it is, if the Council accepts the Resolution as it stands, it will affect the decision of the Committee. I will now take the Resolution, the main Resolution. It says:—

"that while the existing system of appointment and control of the All-India Services should, in present conditions, be maintained in reserved fields".

That portion, Sir, makes us accept that portion of the recommendation of the Commission for some time to come, we do not know how long. It is an indefinite period, as indefinite perhaps as Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary's "for the present", was. And if those words are there and we accept them, the Reforms Inquiry Committee may very well say: "the Council of State has by their acceptance of this Resolution given its decision that for the present this system of appointment and recruitment should be continued; let us not therefore tackle that problem." It is for that reason, Sir, that I do not want to give my vote in favour of at least the first portion of the Resolution.

Then my other reason is this. The Honourable Mr. Thompson made the constitutional position quite clear in his speech. He quoted the opinion of an eminent professor of constitutional law. If that is the correct opinion and if that is the opinion which I daresay is accepted by the Government of India, where is the necessity of getting the Council to agree to anything of the kind suggested in the first portion of the Resolution?

Is it not merely repeating what the Government of India Act says or what Professor Coupland has said as to the real constitutional position just now? This very fact shows that the Government themselves may have some doubts, and they want the Council of State's opinion on that portion of their Resolution. If that first sentence were taken off, I for myself am prepared to accept (1) (a), because as my Honourable friend, the Leader of the House said, half a loaf is better than no bread. Here the Commission does give us something. There is no doubt about it that the Services operating in the transferred fields, namely, the Indian Educational Service, the Indian Medical Service and all these are transferred, and that is a real gain; and if the first portion is omitted I am prepared to accept it as it stands. But, Sir, there also the way in which the recommendations of the Commission have been hedged in by, if I may say so, a distrust of the Assembly is not right. Chapter X of the Commission's recommendations, which lays special stress on the guarantees, shows that the Commission as a whole have accepted what in their opinion seems to be the

feeling of some of the members of the Services. The Commission in paragraph 79 said :—

“It is only to be expected that if constitutional changes would lead to uneasiness amongst members of the Services with regard to the effect of these changes and the conditions under which they are to serve, etc.”

Sir, we have heard not only in this House but from some of the members of the Services who gave evidence before the Commission that they were prepared to work the reforms in a loyal spirit. I thought, Sir, they would have full confidence in the Legislature that any agreement or any contract that was entered into by the Secretary of State would be observed by the Legislature now and even when full responsible government was granted. This feeling of distrust, Sir, is visible on both sides. I am not going to say how it was created. There is no doubt about it that the Services are suspicious, they are distrustful, of the action that the Central Legislature might take. On the other hand, there is undoubtedly also a feeling among some of the Members of both the Houses that the Services are not going loyally to carry out the constitutional reforms. That feeling has to be set at rest, and it can only be set at rest if we all work together in a spirit of friendliness. And here I want to raise a word of protest against what the Honourable Mr. Thompson said. I do not think he meant, when he referred to the character of the Englishman and the Indian, the superiority of the Britisher over the Indian. I daresay what he meant was that the culture of each was different, and that the character would be according to the culture; I hope I have correctly understood the Honourable Mr. Thompson that he never meant that there was any question of superiority, but merely a difference of culture. If this is so, I have nothing more to say, but unfortunately that speech might create the impression that there is a feeling abroad that the Britisher is necessary because the Britisher as a class is superior in character to the Indians. I am sure the Honourable Mr. Thompson could not have meant that in his remark about the difference of character due to climate. Still I want that position to be made quite clear.

Then, Sir, there is another point on which I want to lay stress. I entirely agree with what the Honourable Mr. Thompson said, with great feeling about Hindu-Muhammadan unity. That is a problem that is disturbing all of us. As he said, if the attempts made by the leaders of both the parties are crowned with success, a great burden will be lifted off the head of the Government and also off the leaders of both the communities. We all expect, Sir, that Government will do their level best to help the leaders of the two communities in coming to an amicable understanding.

As regards the recruitment of the Services in England, I do not think that anybody on this side of the House wants that there should be any cessation or stoppage of that recruitment. We want the advice, the guidance, the friendly advice of English officers. My friend, the Honourable Sir Arthur Froom, told us yesterday that we in Bombay, officials and non-officials, Indians and Englishmen, have always been very friendly and have been working hand in hand for the progress of the reforms. That is so, Sir, because the English officials of my Province—and I can speak about my Province only—have treated non-officials as their equals; there has been no patronizing spirit, there has

[Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas.]

been a spirit of camaraderie, and the same spirit has prevailed between non-official Englishmen and non-official Indians. That is why Bombay— I do not know whether the Honourable Mr. Bell will agree with me—that is why Bombay gives a lead to the rest of the country as regards equality and friendliness between Englishmen and Indians. We in Bombay have no “Clive Street” of Calcutta. But that is by the way. Now, Sir, coming to the details of the recommendation. I hope, Sir, I have not exceeded my time?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: You have four minutes more.

THE HONOURABLE MR. LALUBHAI SAMALDAS: Paragraph 48 refers to the commercial houses having given evidence. No names have been mentioned because it is said they wanted their evidence to be treated as confidential. I do not know whether the commercial houses were all English houses or also Indian houses. If they were Indian houses, most probably they would have given the same replies that have been given by the English houses. There may be some difference here and there, but the main reason why in commercial houses we have to pay higher salaries to our expert advisers is that in the first place there is no pension; then the contracts are for a number of years, and after that period we may renew them or not, as we find them suitable for our work or not. They have no guarantee that their services will be continued. The security services have a security which the commercial services have not, and that is the reason why we have to pay higher salaries. As regards the security services and the Imperial Services, it is very difficult to understand the reasons why the Commission have said that the Imperial Customs, the State Railway Engineers, and the superior Telegraph officers should be officers nominated by the Secretary of State. We want, Sir, to have such power delegated to the Government of India, and we hope that the Reforms Inquiry Committee will insist on the greatest power being delegated to the Government of India so that the Government of India can show by their action, in consultation with the Central Legislature and in co-ordination with them, that they will treat the Services with as great regard and as great confidence as the Secretary of State would ever do. If we have that feeling of mutual confidence created here and outside this House, then I believe we can easily march together to Swaraj.

THE HONOURABLE DR. DWARKANATH MITTER: (West Bengal: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, at the outset, I must congratulate the Honourable Mr. Crerar for the forcible and eloquent and at the same time calm and dispassionate manner in which he has presented the case of the Government. It is a misfortune that the Lee Report, which we are considering, does not satisfy anybody. It has pleased neither its friends, nor its opponents. While on the one hand it is said on behalf of the Services that the recommendations do not suffice to attract a sufficient number of British recruits, that the recommendations do not fully allay the discontent which exists in the Services, on the other hand it has been said on behalf of the people that the recommendations do not satisfy Indian aspirations and impose a financial burden. Even the Honourable the Mover of the Resolution is not prepared to accept the recommendations wholesale, for I think there are three modifications of the Report which are suggested in paragraph 3 of the Resolution. I find also

from page 49 of the correspondence between the Honourable Mr. Crerar and the Local Governments that the Honourable Mr. Crerar finds some traces of confusion in the treatment by the Commission of officers above the time scale. But notwithstanding its imperfections, notwithstanding the criticism to which the Report has been exposed, I feel, Sir, that I cannot reject the recommendations wholesale. When I find, Sir, that 9 members of the Commission, after examining 411 witnesses, some of which evidence was taken in public, have come to a certain conclusion, when I find that amongst the 9 members of the Commission there were four representative Indians, headed by Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, who has laboured all his life for the political advancement of India, I feel it extremely difficult to reject the recommendations altogether. Sir, to the verdict given by such a body if you cannot attach a conclusive effect, you can certainly say that it affords a *prima facie* presumption, to use legal language, as to the accuracy and soundness of its conclusions, and I am prepared to accept those conclusions in the absence of any evidence to rebut the presumption as to its soundness. I have not heard anything said in this House which makes me think that the recommendations, so far as the first part relating to the Services are concerned, are in any way displaced by any contrary evidence that has been brought before the House. The criticisms which my Honourable friend Mr. Karandikar suggested have, I think, been amply met by the Honourable Mr. McWatters. Now, Sir, if, as I take it, we are to take the recommendations with respect to the relief to the Services, I think it should be granted to the Services at once. The reason for my saying so is this. Experience has shown that in all countries, however democratic the country may be, it is one of the essential conditions of good administration that there must be a permanent Civil Service, efficient and contented. I agree entirely with the view with reference to this which has been taken by the Honourable Mr. Crerar. Now, Sir, this leads me to consider the Indian Civil Service, and I must say, and it is practically acknowledged on most hands, if not on all, that that Service has been noted for its efficiency, noted for its high traditions, noted for its integrity and for its honesty. My own conviction is that taking the Service as a whole, it has shown an initiative, resourcefulness, and a driving power which is rare in any of the Services elsewhere. I believe also, Sir, that the Indian Civil Service has an earnest and sincere desire to help India in the progress towards the development of self-government within the Empire—a cause to which the British Government is now committed. I also believe that the Indian Civil Service combines with that desire a determination to deal justly not merely between Indians and Indians, but, what is politically more important, between an Indian and an Englishman when questions of conflicting claims arise, as they constantly do arise, between an Indian and an Englishman. Under such circumstances, Sir, it would not be right to refuse to the Services the relief which has been promised by the Commission and which, it has been represented by the officers, is very urgent and has long been overdue. The object of increasing the emoluments is, I find, two-fold, first to attract to India British recruits of the required stamp and second to allay the discontent and remove the financial embarrassment of those already in service. I have already stated that efficiency is one of the essential conditions required in a Civil Service. But as Lord Salisbury once said, "All efficiency must be relative" that it must take into

[Dr. Dwarkanath Mitter.]

account not merely the requirements but also the resources of the people for whom you are going to secure efficiency ; and this leads me to consider the financial aspect of the recommendations. They impose a financial burden of about 1½ crores, distributed over the Government of India and the different Provinces. Lord Curzon in the debate in the House of Lords said that 1½ crores is nothing for the contentment of the Services when compared with the wastage of money, wastage of crores which is happening with regard to new Delhi. Whether I agree with his Lordship or not I must get an assurance from the Government that no additional taxation would be imposed for the purpose of raising this 1½ crores. In this connection, I feel that relief must be given to the Services, and I am sorry I do not see the Finance Member here—I appeal to the Finance Secretary to find funds for financing this without fresh taxation by a reduction in the military budget of India, which is a heavy burden, and there is a general feeling which is by no means confined to Indians that the whole of it is not properly chargeable to this country. A question has been raised by my friend Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary that in Bengal we are in financial straits. The 63 lakhs which the Government of India have been granting for the last three years will now be stopped, and Bengal's contribution to this additional burden of one crore is about 9 lakhs. I understand from the Honourable Mr. McWatters that it will exceed that amount. When the question with regard to Provincial Contributions arises, I think the Honourable Mr. McWatters who is here will remember that he will have to give Bengal the relief which is needed in this respect. I notice also that the Bengal Government which was addressed in this respect do not represent, at any rate that the Bengal Government will not be able to carry on the scheme of these new recommendations without further financial relief. Now, Sir, I leave the part of the Resolution which deals with the relief to the Services.

I now come to recommendation 1 (b) that the recruitment of the Indians in the reserved fields should be increased as recommended. Treating this question, Sir, as a purely service question and not as a question of constitutional advance, I submit to the House that the recommendations fall short of Indian aspirations. The time seems to be ripe when larger and freer admission of Indians into the higher regions of administrative service has become necessary if there is to be harmony between the Government and the awakened life of India. I have, of course, no objection at present to the Indianisation to the extent of 50 per cent. (I am speaking of the Indian Civil Service). But the period during which we have to attain this half and half proportion is 15 years, which is indeed very slow. We have been assured by the Government elsewhere, and I think the assurance is also given here by the Honourable Mr. Cramer, that the adoption of the Lee Commission's Report would not in any way interfere with further constitutional advance, if such advance is given either by the Reforms Committee which is now presided over by the Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman or by the revision of the constitution in 1929. Of course, we take this assurance of the Government. With regard to the entire stoppage of British recruits, of course, I am not in favour of entire stoppage. For I see the full force of the argument which has been presented by the Government, namely, that if there is an

entire stoppage once, there may be a time when the British element will altogether be eliminated for a period of time, which is perhaps not desirable. I may however submit this that if the speed of Indianisation is to be accelerated I should suggest for the consideration of the Government that instead of there being recruitment at the rate of 40 Europeans to 60 Indians, in the Indian Civil Service let it be in the ratio of 25 Europeans to 75 Indians till the revision of the constitution in 1929. For, after all, we have been assured by the Honourable Mr. Thompson, that this is only a provisional measure. The recommendations are really of a transitory nature and can be taken to have effect up to 1929. Or, even if there is a difficulty to accept that figure of 25 and 75 for this period of 4 years, I would suggest a progressive scale, namely :—

40 to 60 in 1925

35 to 65 in 1926

30 to 70 in 1927

25 to 75 in 1928 till the constitution is revised. It is true, of course, the constitution will be revised and in the meantime some vested interests will be created. But that is a position which cannot be helped. I therefore suggest this amendment and hope that the Government will find their way to accelerate the speed of Indianisation by accepting the figures which I have suggested with regard to the recruitment of the Indian Civil Service. I will conclude only by saying this. The Honourable Mr. Thompson as well as Sir Arthur Froom told us the other day as to whether we desired the entire elimination of the British element. I, for myself, can say that I do not desire the entire elimination of the British element from the Indian Services. What we do want is this that our English friends should not shrink from putting into practice in their dealings with India the principle of partnership in rights and duties on which the British Imperial Commonwealth of Nations has been built up. The British people have enshrined that principle in the Constitutional Charter which they have given to us of their own free will, and I hope and trust that the British element in the Services will carry that principle into practice.

THE HONOURABLE COLONEL NAWAB SIR UMAR HAYHT KHAN: Sir, I strongly support the Resolution and ask the House to vote unanimously for it because the tradition of this House, I hope, would be such as would save the good name of India from what has happened to this Resolution in another place.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: The Honourable Member must not reflect on the action of the other House.

THE HONOURABLE COLONEL NAWAB SIR UMAR HAYAT KHAN: Now, the question is a very simple one. It has been said by nearly every Member that we do want the British element. If we do want them, naturally we want good men. Everyone knows that if we want to purchase a good thing we must pay for it, because good things are always dearer than ordinary things. Therefore, Sir, in order to attract the best men, we will have to pay what is recommended in the Lee Commission's Report. Then, Sir, there are Services and Services. And in my opinion the Civil Service and the Police Service are very essential for our country because there are different religions and different

[Colonel Nawab Sir Umar Hayat Khan.]

castes in this country and India is just as big as Europe. So, even different Provinces have got different ideas about their own affairs. So, I say, Sir, that those who hold the scales even like the British Services are very much needed. They really act as a buffer State between the various communities. Any community which may have a grievance goes to them and they listen to them very sympathetically. One of the ablest men, Sir, when I asked him why so many buffer States are kept on the Frontier, told me that now we do not fight with our Afghan friends because there is a buffer State in between. If that second buffer State of Afghanistan did not exist we would have to fight with perhaps Russia, which was very strong in those days. In the same way, Sir, the Services are very useful. They would keep us from fighting with each other, which would be inevitable if they were not there. I do admit that there are very able men among the Indians, but they have got lots of difficulties. When there are troubles between Hindus and Muhammadans, the position of an Indian official is a very awkward one. If he goes on the side of his own friends and co-religionists, the other party says that he is biased. If he does not take the side of his own party, then he will be called a weak man. Even if he gives a right decision, both the sides will accuse him of one thing or the other. Knowing therefore that he will be accused, he thinks a lot before he comes to any conclusion, and the time so lost is very dangerous. In other Provinces, Sir, when there are troubles, people fight and perhaps pull each other's hair and even tear the clothes or they may even scratch the faces with nails. But unfortunately whenever a Punjabi fights, dozens and even hundreds of heads are cut or split. So, for that reason too the Punjab is a Province where we do want such a service which would come forward at once and decide on the spur of the moment and save us from all this trouble which we have been having lately in the Punjab. This trouble, too, has been caused by the various movements from our very great friends who speak for unity. As to the money, Sir, I think where there is a will there is a way. The Punjab is a Province which can easily get this money because there are certain Services which are not so important. For instance, the Engineers. In the Punjab at the present moment there are two sets of Patwaris. When the irrigation work is in full swing, the people themselves can take charge of it. This experiment is being tried in one of our Divisions, when so many of them will be reduced. Even that money alone could be sufficient for the pay of our Civilians and even of Police officers. Then, Sir, I accused our own House as well as the other politicians for not having sufficient money. To begin with, they have not made any sacrifices for the good of their country. Even now they take travelling and other allowances, etc. They can easily do away with them for the sake of their country. Then, Sir, whenever any man breaks the law, unfortunately there are some of our politicians who want his release. This has been going on time after time. The same men who have been once convicted are tried again and any amount of money is spent on pleaders. We have got hundreds of these in jails. Where does the money come from? The tax-payer who is absolutely innocent suffers for this blunder. Here again there is a great deal of money which can be saved. In the same way we have got certain Utopian ideas about popular things like the salt tax. When the question of its abolition was brought in, I was afraid that something would happen to us. As the salt tax did not come

into operation, we in the Punjab have been visited with the abnormal increase of the water rates even in those districts which have just been assessed. There are lots of ways we can get money, the only thing is that we the legislative bodies will not do it.

In the meantime I put this before the House, that though some politically minded Muhammadans may say we can have union the religious minded people cannot say so. For a very long time to come, we will require the services of the British, because we have had so much trouble in many places in the Punjab. There was a saying in our country before the advent of the British Raj that all we eat and the clothes we wear are ours but the rest goes to Ahmed Shah. Another saying is :—

“Ki Mazdur-i-Khushdil Kunad kar bash”,

“He who gives the best pay his work is good.” Thus we should increase the pay of the Services.

That is all in the way of general remarks that I want to put before the House. My last request again is that we should rise to the occasion and pass this Resolution unanimously.

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. W. A. BELL (Bengal Chamber of Commerce): Sir, if I support the Resolution proposed by my Honourable friend, the Home Secretary, it is not because I am favourably impressed by the Lee Commission's Report—because I am not. In saying this I do not refer so much to the second Chapter which deals, in the first place, with the appointment and control of the Services) in the second place, with the constitution of the Public Services Commission; and, in the third place, with the Indianisation of the Services.

With regard to the first we have heard a good deal to-day on the subject of recruitment and control of the Services, and in this connection I merely say that, owing to the altered conditions in the country, it seems reasonable that the Services operating in transferred fields should be dealt with by Local Governments, and that they should have power to make rules controlling these Services and also the present Provincial Services. I think that this is in conformity with the intention of the Government of India Act. It is equally reasonable—in fact it is absolutely essential—that the Services operating in reserved fields and the Central Services should continue to be recruited and controlled by the Secretary of State. I do not think that there will be much objection in this House to the proposals made under this head.

With regard to the Public Services Commission, this was provided for in one of the sections of the Government of India Act.

5 P.M.

The standard set for the members is very high, so much so that a distinguished *ex-Viceroy* of India, in the House of Lords the other day, expressed some doubt as to whether five gentlemen with suitable qualifications could be found, who would be willing to accept service on this Commission. Similar Commissions at present exist in South Africa, in Canada, and, I think, in Australia, and the experience gained there seems to confirm the opinion expressed by the Lee Commission as to the possible usefulness of such a Commission.

With regard to Indianisation we have heard much on this subject to-day, and I do not, at this late hour, wish to go over ground that has already been

[Mr. J. W. A. Bell.]

covered. It is true that there may be some people who consider that the proposals of the Lee Commission do not go far enough, but there is a very large body of public opinion in the country both Indian and European, who believe that the proposals of the Lee Commission reach—if they do not in fact overstep—the border line of safety. As I say, much has been said on this somewhat difficult subject to-day and I propose to leave it at that.

In this connection, however, there is one matter to which I should like to draw attention, that is, with reference to the proportion of Indians and Europeans in the different Services. The Lee Commission in referring to recruitment for the Indian Civil Service, the Police Service, the Forest Service, the Indian Service of Engineers, and the Political Service, speak of the proportion of "Indians" to be recruited. In speaking of the Imperial Customs Service they refer to the number of "Statutory natives of India" to be recruited. I should like to know the reason for the use of the different terms in these different cases. I do not suppose that it was the intention of the Lee Commission, and I do not think that it will be the practice of the Government of India to exclude from the five Services first named, Anglo-Indians and members of the Domiciled Community. To do so would be to inflict an injustice on two important, although small, Indian communities, which I do not think would be contemplated by the Government of India or by Honourable Members of this House.

I should like some assurance from my Honourable friend, the Home Secretary, that my understanding on this point is correct.

But it was not because proposals for changes in the method of recruitment of the Services, or for the immediate formation of the Public Services Commission, or for the further Indianisation of the Services were urgently called for that the Lee Commission was appointed. It is a matter of common knowledge that for years the Services in India have been inadequately paid, and that this has caused widespread and somewhat justifiable discontent.

The members of the different Services are unable to perform their duties efficiently, as members of any class are unable to perform their duties efficiently, if they are faced by continual financial embarrassment.

When the appointment of the Lee Commission was announced, great hopes were entertained that something very substantial would be done to improve the financial position of the Services, but I am afraid that the proposals made, even if they be adopted in their entirety, will do very little in this direction. That the Lee Commission were informed of the financial position of the Services is indicated in certain parts of their Report. I hesitate at this hour to read extracts from the Report to Honourable Members, but there are two short paragraphs of which I think the House ought to be reminded before coming to a decision upon the Resolution now before it. On page 26, the Commission say:—

"In the course of our inquiry, the Services have placed before us carefully compiled statements of current income and expenditure. We could not examine these figures in such detail as to warrant us in accepting them as a sufficient basis for new scales of pay, but they offer strong evidence that a considerable proportion of married officers now serving are either falling into debt or only avoid doing so by economies which may be detrimental to their contentment and efficiency."

On the same page they say :—

“ We were informed that a great many officers, particularly in the early years of married life, are at present in debt to an extent which was unknown 20 years ago, and that this is by no means due to extravagance. Insurance policies are pledged as security for advances to a much greater extent than formerly, and in many cases their surrender value taken. In other words, officers are mortgaging or sacrificing the provision made for their families in the event of their death, and only escape from their difficulties, if at all, towards the end of their service.”

In view of these remarks, one would perhaps have expected that the recommendations of the Lee Commission would have been more generous.

With regard to the actual increases proposed, this aspect of the question has been gone into very fully by Honourable Members on the other side of the House, and therefore I do not wish, as I had intended to do, to go into the question in detail. It might be borne in mind, however, that the only increases in basic pay that are recommended are in the cases of the Police Service and the Indian Service of Engineers. In both cases the increases are very small and, as some one speaking on that subject yesterday said, especially in the case of the Police, will not be grudged by any one. The only benefit of any great importance to the other Services is a proposal under which over-seas pay will be increased by Rs. 50 per month and officers, after the 5th year of service will be entitled to remit the whole of their over-seas pay at 2s. to the rupee. That is a very substantial concession.

One proposal which has caused a considerable amount of criticism is that under which it is suggested that free passages should be granted to officers of the different services. The proposal is that, in the course of his service, an officer should receive four free passages from and to his domicile, that his wife should receive the number of passages of which the officer has not availed himself at the time of his marriage, and that each child should receive one free passage Home. This is a concession which will be greatly appreciated, I think by members of the different Services, but it is a concession the importance of which it is very easy to exaggerate. What does it really amount to? Assuming that, on an average, an officer is married after his second furlough Home, the exact financial result,—he will receive four passages, his wife two and each child one and assuming there is a family on an average of two or three—in the case of an officer of 30 years' service is an increase of about Rs. 32 per month in his salary during the course of his service. I think that, when it is realized that the financial benefit to the officer is so small, any opposition to the granting of these free passages at least on the part of Honourable Members of this House, will be abandoned. I do not think that the proposal will receive any opposition, even from so ardent a protagonist of economy as my friend the Honourable Mr. Vedamurti.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : The Honourable Member has two more minutes.

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. W. A. BELL : Generally speaking, looking at the Lee Commission Report from the aspect of the result which its recommendations will have, on the financial position of officers of the different services, the improvement is so very small that one can only feel that the members of the Commission have been influenced by the financial position of

[Mr. J. W. A. Bell.]

the country. One thing is absolutely certain, and that is that the proposals as they stand will do nothing at all to stimulate recruitment at Home. However they do certainly to a certain extent improve the position of the Services. They have apparently been accepted by Government as the best that may be done at present, and they represent the unanimous findings of this Commission, no member of which has submitted a minute of dissent. That being so, I think it would be well for the House to accept the proposals in the same spirit of compromise as that in which they have been formulated. I would therefore appeal to Honourable Members of this House to refrain from embarrassing Government by pressing any small points in respect of which they may feel that the recommendations are defective. If they adopt this attitude, they will dispel any feeling that the proposals for increases in pay and pension which have been made have been approved of by them in any grudging spirit, and by their action they will convey to those directly interested and to the public here and elsewhere, a very desirable indication of their high appreciation of the splendid work that has been done, and that is being done, by the different Services in India, to whom every one of us here is so greatly indebted, and to whom this country owes so very much.

THE HONOURABLE DIWAN BAHADUR V. RAMABHADRA NAIDU (Madras : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, though last, but not least, let me say a few words on this motion from the point of view of the agriculturists however feeble they may be.

In spite of British rule in India for 150 years and more, the condition of the raiyat has not improved substantially. He lives in his poor hut and his surroundings are as miserable as ever. His lot is the same everywhere from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas. Sanitation and health in villages are not very much improved as we expect them to be. Why, the other day, His Excellency Lord Goschen was, during his recent visit to the flood-affected area in Southern India, taken by the raiyats to their homes and shown by them the miserable huts they live in. All day long he is at his plough. Even the bountiful Nature and Heaven above do not smile on him sometimes. He finds it difficult to have for himself and his family, at least a full meal a day. 89 per cent. of the population of India are more or less agriculturists. In spite of the rapid strides we have made in politics, they seem to have no concern in it for the fact that they have got laborious days to live and nothing to spare either in the way of money or time. They are destined to be always tillers of the soil, hewers of wood and drawers of water. We have to depend on them for everything and they are right in saying that they pay for all, the King, the soldier, the clergy and the advocate. Yet we do not bestow on them as much attention as they fully deserve. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief was pleased to present us yesterday with one side of the picture. This is the other side.

Irrigation in India is, in my opinion, the greatest question to be attended to. Any amount of money spent upon it is not a waste. It brings profit to the State and wealth to the raiyat. It may exercise the full energy of my Honourable Andhra friend Sir Narasimha Sarma. Still many rivers require to be harnessed and utilized for irrigation purposes. I would not be satisfied

until and unless the system of irrigation advocated by General Sir A. T. Cotton, R.E., is carried out.

Among the nation-building departments, I would place sanitation and medical aid above education. They are starved for want of funds. Municipalities and Taluk Boards do not, after the Reforms, get any grant from the Government as formerly. In this vast Continent there are hordes of villages that ought to be freed from malaria.

The administration of the Services both Civil and Military is top-heavy. The expenditure on Military in 1913-14 amounted to 39½ crores, while in 1924-25 it is estimated to be 60½ crores. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief would require this amount if we expect from him the efficiency of the Army.

It is only four days ago at the instance of my Honourable friend Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy, we committed ourselves to an important Resolution. The Government also agreed to introduce, at an early date, a considered programme for the reduction of the public debt annually. Our veteran the Honourable Sir Dinshaw Wacha sounded a note of warning that there should be no fresh taxation on that score.

Floods, famine and plague are visiting us every year. My Honourable friends from Rangoon and Madras and Allahabad, Messrs. Vedamurti, Natesan and Saiyid Raza Ali have tabled a Resolution for a free grant of a crore of rupees from the Central Revenues to meet the extraordinary expenditure caused by the unprecedented floods of a great magnitude that occurred in July last in Southern India. I trust the Government would willingly vote the sum prayed for.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I must request the Honourable Member to draw nearer the subject under discussion.

THE HONOURABLE DIWAN BAHADUR V. RAMABHADRA NAIDU: If I remember right, we were asked to agree in 1921 to an additional taxation of 19½ crores of rupees to meet the deficit of the budget. In 1922 it rose up to 29 crores. Before we complete our term of five years, it may come up to about 50 crores. When such is our financial condition, we are asked to approve the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services in India involving an estimated recurring expenditure of a crore and a quarter of rupees required for the relief of superior officers in the way of passage concessions, overseas allowances, pensions, medical attendance, etc. Where is the money to come from? The Services clamour that the relief sought for is already overdue.

In spite of the strong arm of the British Army and the ardent desire for unity between Muhammadans and Hindus, we are sorry to see even now the frequent outbursts of fanaticism among them in some Provinces. At any time there may be a conflagration. It may take many years before their differences are sunk. The millenium is distant. It would take years before we stand on a common platform. It cannot be worked in a year or two as advanced politicians expect it to be. As long as we have our class, communal, racial and religious dissensions, so long it becomes necessary to have the

[Diwan Bahadur V. Ramabhadra Naidu.]

British element to hold the scales even amongst us. We must not grudge paying the costly administrative machinery. Against our wish the Royal Commission was appointed. It has cost us a good deal. On the lines suggested by my Honourable friend Mr. Karandikar, it may cost us a good deal more for the appointment of a fresh Committee of 15. Will it not be wise to stop with further Commissions and Committees? It would be better if we appeal to the good sense of our superior officers not to burden the poor Indian taxpayer. As practical men we may consent to the recurring expenditure of a crore and a quarter of rupees provided they could devise means and ways of finding that sum without further additional taxation.

The famous declaration of 1917 granting the attainment of responsible government to India in course of years has given encouragement to Indians to largely co-operate with the Government in all possible ways in the administration of the country. Advanced politicians wish for further Reforms before 1929. Others expect to get them gradually. Anyhow they are bound to come in a few years. It is impossible to set back the Reforms once granted. In view of the likelihood of constitutional changes in the near future, and the inexpediency of creating vested rights which may retard or interfere with such changes and of raising expectations which may become incapable of fulfilment, we ventured to ask for the stoppage of future recruitment in England to the Superior Civil Services for at least some years to come. But it is feared that once recruitment is stopped, it could not be revived.

After hearing the powerful exhortation of the Honourable the Leader of the House who spoke with the fervour of a true patriot rather than the earnestness of a Government official, many of us had to let go the amendment of the Honourable Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary without our support. Considering the urgency with which we are asked to express our opinion by the Secretary of State and seeing that the political atmosphere is not favourable to us in spite of the Labour Government, we should seriously consider before we reject these recommendations of the Royal Commission.

I entirely agree with the Honourable Sir Charles Innes that the Collector of the District is the representative of the Government. In fact he is, as it were, the Governor of the District which he administers. After the advent of the motor cars for tours instead of horses and the abolition of the responsibility over District Boards and Taluk Boards, now-a-days Collectors are not taking so much abiding interest in the people, in hearing their grievances and inspecting the villages as the old Hailebury gentlemen and others like Sir Vere Levinge, Sir Frederic Nicholson, Sir Leslie Miller and Sir Alexander Cardew did. They come and go like angels without redressing their grievances. As has been rightly observed by His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor, India requires to be ruled with sympathy even now.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Ordinarily I do not approve of keeping the Council sitting after five, but I have done so to-day in the hope of coming to a decision on the whole Resolution this evening. Is it the pleasure of the House to come to a decision? (Cries of "Yes").

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. CRERAR: Mr. President, the hour is so late and I have already had such a long and patient hearing from the House that I

do not now intend to detain it long. We have traversed a great extent of ground, we have examined the principles and details of the Report very fully, and it would be an impossible task for me to attempt to sum up the debate or even to reply fully to the arguments adduced against my Resolution. Having regard to the necessary limits of my speech and the limitations of the speaker, I must, even as it is, with regard to the task I propose to impose upon myself, plead the words of the old prologue :

“ Pardon, Gentles all,

The flat unraised spirits that have dar'd
On this unworthy scaffold to bring forth
So great an object : can this cockpit hold
The vasty fields of France ? or may we cram
Within this wooden O the very casques
That did affright the air at Agincourt ? ”

In my opening speech, Mr. President, I ventured to appeal to the sense of justice and to the statesmanship of the House. I must acknowledge that I have not made that appeal in vain. The principal burden, I think, of the opposition to the Resolution I must take to be that which is most nearly in the form of a direct negative—the amendment of my Honourable and learned friend. And I have a mild impeachment to urge against my Honourable and learned friend, an impeachment of some inconsistency in his attitude. When the Report of the Lee Commission was first laid in the hands of Honourable Members, my Honourable and learned friend was foremost in pressing upon me the demand that the House should be given an opportunity of discussing the recommendations of that Commission. Now if the discussion had been limited to the terms of my Honourable and learned friend's present motion, I venture to point out that the House would have been completely precluded from any full, fair and frank discussion of the merits of these recommendations. And as my Honourable and learned friend's motion was conceived in inconsistency, so also, I venture to suggest, it was brought forth in inconsistency.

THE HONOURABLE DR. SIR DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY : The reforms inquiry came in since.

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. CRERAR : Quite so, but that does not materially affect the justice of my position.

THE HONOURABLE DR. SIR DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY : That is the basis of my amendment and nothing else.

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. CRERAR : I will proceed, Sir, to indicate the other directions in which I consider that my Honourable and learned friend has been somewhat inconsistent. He urged upon us the vital connection between administrative reform and constitutional reform. His conclusion from those premises was that the large and extensive measure of administrative reform which the Lee Commission have proposed should be refused. That point has been adequately replied to by the Honourable the Law Member and Leader of the House and I will not advert further to it. My Honourable and learned friend also—I must say with a distinct sense of acknowledgment—agreed with every other Member of the House, except I think the Honourable

[Mr. J. Crerar.]

Member from Burma, whose local patriotism he permitted to prevail over his sense of perspective—my Honourable and learned friend, arguing with the almost unanimous voice of the House, was prepared to grant relief to the Services. That proposition was promptly followed up by the further proposition that he was not prepared to support financial provision for this purpose. Thirdly, my Honourable and learned friend made some remarks, which I am bound to say seemed to have a good deal of substance in them, in regard to the question of the All-India Services,—a point which I have already adverted to in my opening speech,—but the proposition that the All-India Services should be retained as All-India Services and that their control should nevertheless pass to the Provinces,—these propositions are not only inconsistent but mutually destructive propositions. Then the Honourable Member made on his side an impeachment against me. He said that I showed the assumed modesty of an assured victor. I am very glad that I gave my Honourable and learned friend the impression of modesty. But I regret that he should have supposed that it was assumed. The truth is that I was thinking a great deal more of conviction than victory. At the same time the Honourable gentleman intimated on his own part some premonitions of ill-success. Now, Sir, I can only infer from that one of two things. Either my Honourable and learned friend lacked confidence in the judgment and impartiality of this House, or he was acutely conscious that he had a bad case. Of these two alternatives, I think the second was the correct one.

Now, Sir, I pass to other matters. Much has been urged mainly I think in favour of the Services; something has been urged against them. But there were some things which it is quite impossible for any member of the Services to urge on their behalf. I should therefore like to take this opportunity, on behalf of the All-India Services, to express to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief our deep appreciation of his noble vindication of their records, their traditions and their achievements. We have a legitimate pride that that vindication was made by the son of a very distinguished Indian Civilian. That might perhaps be imputed in part to filial piety. We are proud that it should have been made by the Commander-in-Chief. But some might suppose that he had military prepossessions. We have the most unreserved and the deepest sense of pride and gratification in the fact that the vindication was made by General Sir William Birdwood. And I should like to add a word of appreciation for the words of recognition which also fell from my Honourable and learned friend Dr. Mitter and from other Members of the House.

Now, Sir, as I said, it is an impossible task for me to traverse the whole ground once more. I understood from my Honourable friend Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas that he was on the whole disposed to accept my Resolution with one reservation regarding the maintenance of the existing system of appointment and control of the All-India Services. I point out to my Honourable friend that his apprehension that those words commit the House to anything in the nature of a perpetuity is entirely erroneous; and in the presence of my Honourable friend Sir Arthur Froom I will say nothing on the suggestion that, if the House passes this Resolution, the Reforms Committee of Inquiry—

a body comprising gentlemen of considerable independence of view—could find that their independence of view unduly restricted. I think neither the Honourable Member nor the House need have any apprehensions on that point. My Honourable friend, Mr. Bell, asked me for one word of assurance with regard to the Anglo-Indian community. I have no hesitation in giving it. When, with reference to "Indianisation", we use the term India, we mean by that statutory natives of India, and that term undoubtedly covers the community to which he particularly referred. Now, Sir, I will not detain the House any further. I made one appeal in my opening speech, which, I admit, has been fulfilled. I asked Honourable Members to approach these large questions with a large and open mind. Substantially and from almost all sides, that appeal has been answered. I now confidently ask for the judgment of the House.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Is it the desire of any Member to have the Resolution put in parts ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. LALUBHAI SAMALDAS : I beg to suggest that it might be put in parts, because as regards clause (2) I want to support it. I had no time to say at the end of my speech that I would do so.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : I will put the Resolution in parts and then as a whole, beginning with sub-clause (a) to clause (1). This runs :—

"(a) That while the existing system of appointment and control of the All-India Services should, in present conditions, be maintained in reserved fields, the following Services operating in transferred fields, namely, the Indian Educational Service, the Indian Agricultural Service, the Indian Veterinary Service, the Buildings and Roads Branch of the Indian Service of Engineers in those provinces in which the two branches have been separated, and the Indian Forest Service in Bombay and Burma, should so far as future recruits are concerned be appointed and controlled by Local Governments."

The question is :

"That sub-clause (a) of clause (1) stand part of the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : I think the "Ayes" have it

THE HONOURABLE MR. R. P. KARANDIKAR : If a division is called for, will it be taken after all the matter is put ?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : A division on what ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. R. P. KARANDIKAR : On each item.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : A division, if desired, will be taken on each question which is put to the Council.

THE HONOURABLE MR. R. P. KARANDIKAR : What is the procedure ? Will a division be taken on the whole Resolution or on each item.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : A division can be claimed on each question put. The question I have now to put is that sub-clause (a) of clause (1) stand part of the Resolution. Does the Honourable Member ask for a division on that question ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. R. P. KARANDIKAR : No.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : The "Ayes" have it.

The motion was adopted.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : The question is :

"That sub-clause (b) of clause (1) namely :—

'that recruitment of Indians for the Services in reserved fields should be increased as recommended'

stand part of the Resolution."

The motion was adopted.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : The question is :

"That sub-clause (c) of clause (1), namely :—

'that, having particular regard to recommendation (a), early steps be taken to constitute the Public Service Commission contemplated by section 96-C of the Government of India Act and to enact such legislation as may be necessary'

stand part of the Resolution."

The motion was adopted.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : The question is :

"That clause (2), namely :

'that pay, passage concessions and pensions be granted to the officers of the Superior Civil Services in India approximately on the scale recommended'

stand part of the Resolution."

The motion was adopted.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : The question is :

"That clause (3), namely :

'that the recommendation of the Royal Commission regarding the constitution of Provincial Medical Services in Governors' Provinces be accepted in principle subject to—

- (a) the employment in the provinces of an adequate military reserve ;
- (b) the provision of adequate medical attendance for British officers in the Civil Services and their families ; and
- (c) the further consideration of the conditions necessary to secure an adequate number of British medical recruits for the needs of the army'

stand part of the Resolution."

The motion was adopted.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : I now put the Resolution as a whole. It runs as follows :

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council :—

- (1) that the following recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services in India be in principle approved—
 - (a) that while the existing system of appointment and control of the All-India Services should, in present conditions, be maintained in reserved fields, the following Services operating in transferred fields, namely, the Indian Educational Service, the Indian Agricultural Service, the Indian Veterinary Service, the Buildings and Roads Branch of the Indian Service of Engineers in those provinces in which the two branches have been separated,

and the Indian Forest Service in Bombay and Burma, should so far as future recruits are concerned be appointed and controlled by Local Governments ;

- (b) that recruitment of Indians for the Services in reserved fields should be increased as recommended ;
 - (c) that, having particular regard to recommendation (a), early steps be taken to constitute the Public Service Commission contemplated by section 96-C of the Government of India Act and to enact such legislation as may be necessary ;
- (2) that pay, passage concessions and pensions be granted to the officers of the Superior Civil Services in India approximately on the scale recommended ; and
- (3) that the recommendation of the Royal Commission regarding the constitution of Provincial Medical Services in Governors' Provinces be accepted in principle subject to—
- (a) the employment in the provinces of an adequate military reserve;
 - (b) the provision of adequate medical attendance for British officers in the Civil Services and their families ; and
 - (c) the further consideration of the conditions necessary to secure an adequate number of British medical recruits for the needs of the army."

The question I have to put is that that Resolution be passed.

I think the "Ayes" have it.

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. VEDAMURTI : May I ask for a division ?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Division.

(The division bell rang.)

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : The question is :

"That the Resolution standing in the name of the Honourable Mr. J. C. Crerar, which has just been read to the Council, be passed."

The motion was adopted.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Has the Honourable the Leader of the House any statement to make ?

STATEMENT OF BUSINESS FOR FRIDAY, THE 19TH SEPTEMBER, 1924.

THE HONOURABLE DR. MIAN SIR MUHAMMAD SHAFI (Law Member) : In a statement made on Tuesday last I indicated that on Friday next motions would be made for the consideration and passing of the Indian Post Office (Amendment) Bill and the Imperial Bank of India (Amendment) Bill. I have now to add that similar motions will be made in respect of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Bill which has been laid upon the table to-day. Further, at the conclusion of Government business time will be given to the Honourable Sir Arthur Froom to move for leave to introduce his Indian Succession Amendment Bill, and if he so desires to make a further motion with regard thereto. The business to be placed before the Council on Tuesday, the 23rd September, will depend on the course of events in another place.

The Council then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, the 17th September, 1924.
