

19th March, 1926

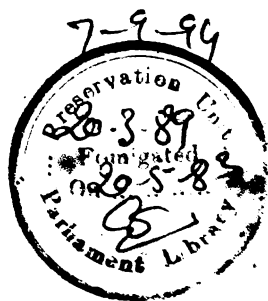
THE
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES
(Official Report) .

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FOURTH SESSION

OF THE

SECOND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 1926



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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Friday, 19th March, 1926.

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

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

LEVY OF OCTROI ON CERTAIN EXCISABLE ARTICLES IN THE BARODA CANTONMENT.

1297. ***Sardar B. A. Dalal:** (a) Is it a fact that the Resident at Baroda has imposed in the Cantonment area octroi from last November, on certain excisable goods and articles paying customs duties, namely, foreign and country liquors, bhang, ganja and opium at twelve rupees per Bengal maund?

(b) Are Government aware that such imposition of octroi on these articles is against the Government of India Resolution of 1888 printed as accompaniment to Government Resolution No. 602, dated 28th January, 1911, and reiterated in a Resolution of the Bombay Government, No. 8992 of 8th December, 1923?

(c) If the answer is in the affirmative, do Government propose to communicate with the Baroda Cantonment authorities regarding the deletion of these articles from the Octroi Schedule?

LEVY OF OCTROI ON PETROLEUM, KEROSENE AND FIREWORKS IN THE BARODA CANTONMENT.

1298. ***Sardar B. A. Dalal:** (a) Are Government aware that the Baroda Cantonment authorities are levying octroi on petroleum, kerosene, and fireworks and that such a levy is in contravention of the Resolution of the Bombay Government, No. 2986-G. D., dated the 18th July, 1924?

(b) If the answer is in the affirmative, do Government propose to communicate their views on the subject to the Baroda Cantonment authorities?

Mr. E. Burdon: Sir, with your permission, I propose to answer questions Nos. 1297 and 1298 together.

Government are making inquiries into the matter, and I will inform the Honourable Member in due course of the result.

AGREEMENT WITH THE NON-PENSIONABLE EMPLOYEES ON THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

1299. ***Khan Bahadur W. M. Hussanally:** (a) Is it a fact that on the North Western Railway an agreement is taken from every employee on the non-pensionable list that he agrees to be discharged at any time with one month's notice or one month's pay in lieu thereof?

(b) If so, how many men have been discharged under this agreement during the last 8 years?

(c) What was the total service of each of these men?

(d) Are such men given a charge sheet against them, and their explanation obtained before their discharge? If not, why not?

(e) While discharging such men, is their long service taken into consideration, as also the fact that such men, who have put in long service, cannot obtain any other service late in life?

(f) Do Government propose to do away with this clause in future and not act upon the same in the case of men who have already executed it?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) Yes. All non-pensionable State Railway subordinate employes recruited in India are required to sign an agreement which provides for a month's notice of resignation or discharge on either side or for pay in lieu of notice of discharge.

(b) and (c). Government have no information.

(d) and (e). Men are generally aware of the reasons of their discharge and the length of their service is taken into consideration.

(f) No.

LOSS INCURRED ON COAL PURCHASED FOR THE STATE RAILWAYS.

1300. ***Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** (a) Has the attention of the Government been drawn to an article published in the *Servant* newspaper, dated the 22nd February, 1926, in which it is stated that:

- (i) Teetulmari and Mudidih coals have been bought at Rs. 5 by the Railway Board, while similar coals which were offered at Rs. 4 and Rs. 4-4 had not been accepted?
- (ii) Jambad and Faridpur coals have been bought at Rs. 4-11 and Rs. 5, while similar coals were offered at Rs. 4?
- (iii) Kusunda and Nayadee coals have been bought in large quantities at Rs. 8-12, while similar coals were offered at Rs. 8?

(b) Is it a fact that the purchase of coal as made by the Chief Mining Engineer has entailed a loss of more than Rs. 15 lakhs on the public exchequer?

(c) Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a detailed list of all tenders received by them, giving the quantities, qualities and prices quoted in the offers for the supply of coal to the State Railways referred to in (a) above?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: As regards (a) and (b), the Honourable Member is referred to the reply given on 15th March, 1926 to questions Nos. 1271 and 1272 of Sir Hari Singh Gour and, as regards (c), to the reply given on 15th February, 1926 to Mr. Neogy's question No. 158 on the same subject.

PAY OF THE TEACHERS OF THE ANGLO-VERNACULAR SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN AJMER-MERWARA.

1301. ***Rai Sahib M. Harbilas Sarda:** (a) Is it a fact that the teachers of the Anglo-vernacular secondary schools in Ajmer-Merwara have to do the same work as those in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh?

(b) Is it a fact that the Government High School, Ajmer, compares very favourably with the best Government High Schools in the United Provinces in the matter of Matriculation and "High School" Examination results and that it topped the list in the High School Examination of 1925?

(c) Is it a fact that the pay and prospects of the Government Anglo-vernacular secondary school teachers in Ajmer-Merwara are low compared with those of their compeers in the United Provinces? If so, will the Government be pleased to give reasons for this disparity?

(d) Is it a fact that the Members of the Medical, the Police, the Engineering, and the Forest services in Ajmer-Merwara draw the same scale of pay as those in the United Provinces?

(e) Is it a fact that the teachers of the Anglo-vernacular secondary schools in Ajmer-Merwara have long been representing their case to their higher officers for the time scale of pay similar to that in the United Provinces?

(f) Is it also a fact that the time scale of pay is about to be or has been sanctioned for the Ajmer Government College staff only, and not for the staff of the Anglo-vernacular secondary schools in Ajmer-Merwara?

(g) Do Government propose to consider the case of the Anglo-vernacular secondary school teachers in Ajmer-Merwara and give them the benefit of the time scale of pay of the United Provinces?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: (a) Yes.

(b) Yes.

(c) The rates of pay of the Government Anglo-vernacular secondary school teachers in Ajmer-Merwara are in many cases lower than those of their compeers in the United Provinces. The rates of pay are fixed with reference to Ajmer-Merwara and not with reference to the United Provinces.

(d) No. The scales of pay differ in some instances.

(e) The teachers employed in the Government Anglo-vernacular secondary schools in Ajmer-Merwara have asked before now for a time scale of pay similar to that in the United Provinces.

(f) A revised scale of pay has been sanctioned for the staff of the Government College, Ajmer. The pay of the staff of the Government Anglo-vernacular secondary schools in Ajmer-Merwara was last revised with effect from 1st March 1921.

(g) Government are not prepared to accept for the teachers of the Government Anglo-vernacular secondary schools in Ajmer-Merwara the time scale of pay in force in the United Provinces.

APPOINTMENT OF AN OUTSIDER FROM ALIGARH TO THE GOVERNMENT NORMAL SCHOOL, AJMER.

1802. ***Rai Sahib M. Harbilas Sarda:** (a) Is it a fact that the Head Master, Government Normal School, Ajmer, has been placed on the retired list?

(b) Are Government aware that the rules and regulations for appointments to the Provincial and Subordinate services in all provinces require a qualification of minimum residence in the Province and will the Government be pleased to state whether these rules have been observed in making recent appointments in the Education Department of Ajmer and Merwara?

(c) Are Government aware that there are many experienced and trained teachers of long standing in the Government High School, Ajmer?

(d) Are Government aware that the field and prospects of the Anglo-vernacular secondary school teachers in Ajmer-Merwara are already limited?

(e) Are Government aware that the appointment of an outsider from Aligarh to the Government Normal School has caused great disappointment and discontent among the officers of the Government?

Mr. J. W. Shore: (a) Yes.

(b) The answer to the first part is "no", the second part does not therefore arise.

(c) Yes.

(d) Yes.

(e) No.

OVERBRIDGES AT SIMULTALA AND MADHUPUR STATIONS ON THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

1903. ***Mr. S. C. Ghose:** 1. Will the Honourable Member in charge of Railways kindly state if it is a fact that:

(a) there is no overbridge at Simultala station of the East Indian Railway?

(b) the overbridge at Madhupur station of the above Railway does not extend over a goods siding on the north side of the station premises and that people having occasion to go to the station have to creep under the wagons when there is a train standing?

(c) a large number of passengers use the trains from the above stations and consequently there is always risk to life?

2. (a) If the answers to the above questions be in the affirmative will the Honourable Member kindly state if there is any proposal to remedy the above shortcomings?

(b) If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Government have no information and would suggest that the matter may be referred to the Agent through the Local Advisory Committee.

SALARY DRAWN BY MR. R. EWBANK WHILE ACTING AS PRIVATE SECRETARY TO H. E. LORD READING IN ENGLAND.

1804. ***Mr. S. C. Ghose:** 1. Will the Government state what was the salary drawn by Mr. R. Ewbank while he acted as Private Secretary to His Excellency Lord Reading in England?

2. Will the Government state who was the special officer appointed in connection with the Southborough Committee in place of Mr. Ewbank while Mr. Ewbank acted as Private Secretary to His Excellency Lord Reading?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: (1) The salary drawn by Mr. R. Ewbank while he acted as Private Secretary to His Excellency Lord Reading in England was 2/3rds of his Indian pay plus a compensatory allowance of 16s. 8d. a day in England. This rate was the same as he drew while on deputation in connection with the Southborough Committee.

(2) No special officer was appointed in place of Mr. R. Ewbank, while he acted as Private Secretary to His Excellency Lord Reading, as the Southborough Committee discontinued its meetings pending the receipt and consideration of the Report of the East Africa Commission.

SALE OF THE BARRACKS AND PARADE GROUNDS AT BARRACKPORE TO
THE ROYAL CALCUTTA TURF CLUB.

1805. ***Mr. S. C. Ghose:** 1. Will the Government state if Indian troops that have been permanently stationed at Barrackpore have been withdrawn?

2. If the answer is in the affirmative will the Government state the reasons for such withdrawal?

3. Will the Government state if the barracks occupied by the Indian soldiers and their parade grounds have all been sold by the Government of India to the Calcutta Turf Club for the purpose of conversion into a Race-course?*

Mr. E. Burdon: (a) and (b). Since early in 1921, no Indian combatant units have been located at Barrackpore. The change was part of the general redistribution of troops in India after the War.

(c) The former Indian troops lines and the parade grounds have been sold to the Royal Calcutta Turf Club. In this connexion, I would invite the attention of the Honourable Member to the reply given on the 14th February, 1924 to starred question No. 308.

EXTENSION OF THE RIGHT TO RETIRE ON PROPORTIONATE PENSION TO
OFFICERS OF THE PROVINCIAL SERVICES.

1806. ***Mr. S. C. Ghose:** 1. With reference to the reply given some months ago in the House of Commons by Earl Winterton to Sir Charles Oman, will the Government state why they intend to consider the cases of individual members of the Provincial Services in respect of retirement on proportionate pension?

2. Will the Government state the names of the members of the Provincial Services who have asked for permission to retire on proportionate pension?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I have been unable to trace the particular question and answer to which the Honourable Member refers. Owing to the proposal to delegate complete control over Provincial Services to Local Governments the position of members of those services, including the extension to them of the right to retire prematurely, has had to be examined. I am not prepared to give the names of any members of those services who have asked for permission to retire prematurely.

REQUEST TO THE ROCKFELLER FOUNDATION FOR A GRANT TO THE MEDICAL
DEPARTMENT OF THE DELHI UNIVERSITY.

1807. ***Mr. S. C. Ghose:** 1. Are Government aware as reported in the *London Times* a few months ago that the Rockefeller Foundation had presented about £44,000 to the Council of King Edward the Seventh College of Medicine at Singapore for the endowment of chairs of Bacteriology and Biochemistry on condition that the Government founds an extra chair of Biology and maintained the three departments?

2. Do Government propose to approach the Rockefeller Foundation for a grant to the Medical Department of the Delhi University?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: 1. No.

2. As the Delhi University has no Medical Department the question does not arise.

INTEREST OF THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES IN THE CALCUTTA MAIDAN.

1308. ***Mr. S. C. Ghose:** 1. Will the Government state if the maidan in Calcutta including that portion adjoining St. Paul's Cathedral is in the possession of the Government of India military authorities?

2. If the answer is in the affirmative, will the Government state if the military authorities have delegated their power to the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, to issue orders and notifications relating to the control of the maidan?

Mr. E. Burdon: 1 and 2. The Calcutta maidan is the property of the Crown and the Government of Bengal exercise certain powers of control over it under authority derived from the Government of India. My Honourable friend is correct in his conjecture that the military authorities have a certain interest in the maidan.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE DECK PASSENGERS' COMMITTEE.

1309. ***Mr. S. C. Ghose:** 1. Will the Government state how long the recommendations of the Deck Passengers' Committee will be under consideration?

2. Will the Government state if it is a fact that the real reason why the recommendations are not being accepted is because they will involve expense to certain British Companies which have a monopoly of the deck passenger traffic?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: 1. As stated in the answer given on the 27th August, 1925 to a question on this subject by Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao, notifications giving effect to most of the recommendations of the Deck Passengers Committee were published in May, June and July last, for public criticism. Suggestions as regards some of these notifications are now being received and final orders will issue after these criticisms have been considered.

2. The Honourable Member will see that it is proposed to accept most of the recommendations.

Mr. K. Ahmed: What was the reason that the Government did not think proper so long to take steps according to the recommendations of the Committee?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: If the Honourable Member had read the Report he would understand that it raises some very difficult questions.

Mr. K. Ahmed: But such a long time is over now and the Department is sitting tight. Are the Government playing the same tricks with the Mercantile Marine Committee's Report? What steps do Government propose to take to expedite the matter?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I will refer the Honourable Member to my answer.

BILL RECENTLY PASSED BY THE SENATE OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA ENFRANCHISING INDIANS IN AUSTRALIA.

1310. ***Mr. S. C. Ghose:** Will the Government state the provisions of the Bill recently passed by the Senate of the Commonwealth of Australia giving natives of India who are resident in Australia electoral rights of citizenship?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: A copy of the Commonwealth Electoral Act No. 20 of 1925 has been placed in the Library of the House.

PUBLICATION OF THE REPORT OF THE FIJI DEPUTATION.

1311. ***Mr. S. C. Ghose:** 1. With reference to the answer given by Earl Winterton in the House of Commons, will the Government state what connection the proposals made by the Colonial Office have with the publication of the Report submitted by the Government of India deputation to Fiji?

2. Will the Government please state the reasons why the Report has not been published for many years?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: 1. and 2. I presume the Honourable Member refers to the reply given by the Under Secretary of State for India to Mr. Scurr's question No. 4, dated the 30th March, 1925. The proposals of the Colonial Office referred to therein are a reply to the representations made to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the Colonies Committee of the Government of India in regard to the more important recommendations contained in the Report of the Fiji deputation and these are still the subject of discussion. Pending the conclusion of the negotiations, no decision can be arrived at regarding the publication of the Fiji Deputation's Report.

NUMBER OF INDIANS EMPLOYED IN THE WIRELESS BRANCH OF THE POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

1312. ***Mr. S. C. Ghose:** 1. Will the Government state if there are any native Indians employed in the wireless branch of the Posts and Telegraphs Department on a salary of over Rs. 200 a month?

2. If the answer is in the affirmative, will the Government state the number of native Indians so employed and the salaries drawn by them?

Mr. H. A. Sams: 1 Yes.

(2) One on Rs. 525 per mensem.

One on Rs. 390.

One on Rs. 350.

One on Rs. 216.

Six on Rs. 206 each per mensem.

REVERSION OF OFFICERS FROM PROPORTIONATE TO ORDINARY PENSION.

1313. ***Mr. S. C. Ghose:** 1. Will the Government state if it is a fact that officers of the superior services who had retired on proportionate pension after the 31st March, 1924, would be allowed to revert to an ordinary pension if the rates of the ordinary pension were more favourable?

2. If the answer is in the affirmative, will the Government state what would be the extra burden imposed on the Indian tax-payer by reason of this additional concession?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: The decision to allow officers who retired under the Premature Retirement Rules after 1st April, 1924, to revert to ordinary pension, if they so desired, was publicly announced in a communiqué, dated 4th May, 1925. The number of officers who have availed themselves of this concession is very small and the extra cost is therefore trifling. Exact figures are not available at present but if the Honourable Member wishes me to obtain them, I shall endeavour to do so.

USE OF THE WORD "ROYAL" BY CLUBS, INSTITUTIONS; SCHOOLS OF MUSIC, ETC.

1814. ***Mr. S. C. Ghose:** Will the Government please state if there are any restrictions as regards the use of the word "Royal" by clubs, institutions, schools of music and dancing academies?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Yes. His Majesty's sanction to the use of the prefix is necessary.

OFFICIAL MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY HOLDING SUBSTANTIVE APPOINTMENTS UNDER THEIR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS.

1815. ***Mr. S. C. Ghose:** Will the Government state how many officials have been nominated to the Legislative Assembly who do not hold substantive appointments?

Mr. L. Graham: It is understood that the question refers to official nominees from the provincial Governments. It is believed that all of them hold substantive appointments under their respective Governments.

PREVENTION OF THE PRACTICE OF ADMINISTERING OPIUM TO CHILDREN.

1816. ***Mr. S. C. Ghose:** With reference to the answer given by Earl Winterton in the House of Commons some months ago about the drugging of children by opium, will the Government state what steps have been taken to remedy the existing disgraceful state of affairs?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The replies of the Local Governments who were consulted some time ago in regard to the practice of administering opium to children have been received, and are now being considered by the Government of India.

SPREAD OF EDUCATION IN INDIA.

1817. ***Mr. S. C. Ghose:** 1. Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the speech of Dr. Hartog, Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University reported in the *London Times* of the 19th June, 1925, in which he stated that in 1921 the London County Council spent on the education of some 4½ million people about £11,000,000 sterling and that the total expenditure on education in British India with its 247 million people was scarcely higher?

2. Will the Government please state what steps they intend to take to spread education in India further?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: 1. Yes.

2. The Government of India are directly responsible only for education in certain minor administrations such as the North West Frontier Province and Delhi. A general survey of the educational requirements of these territories is now being undertaken with a view to the drawing up of a five-year programme of expansion. For further information the Honourable Member is directed to the reports of the provincial Education Departments.

INCONVENIENCES SUFFERED BY PASSENGERS AT BOINCHEE STATION ON THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

1818. ***Mr. S. C. Ghose:** 1. Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the letter written by Babu Pramatha Nath Ghose in the *Amrita Basar Patrika* of the 27th June, 1925, about the inconveniences suffered by passengers at Boinchee station on the East Indian Railway?

2. Do Government propose to take steps to remedy these grievances?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: 1. and 2. The Honourable Member refers to a letter which appeared in the public Press nearly 9 months ago and I have not been able to obtain a copy of it.

MALARIA MORTALITY IN INDIA.

1819. ***Mr. S. C. Ghose:** Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the statement made by Earl Winterton some months ago in the House of Commons that during the five years which ended with 1922, about 80 million people had died in India of fever a large proportion of deaths being due to malaria?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: Yes.

ACTION TAKEN ON THE REPORT SUBMITTED BY KUNWAR MAHARAJ SINGH ON THE CONDITION OF INDIAN LABOURERS IN MAURITIUS.

1820. ***Mr. S. C. Ghose:** Will the Government state what steps have been taken on the report submitted by Kunwar Maharaj Singh on the condition of Indian labourers in Mauritius?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: As I have already informed the House in reply to Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan's question No. 82, the various recommendations made in Kunwar Maharaj Singh's report were commended to the consideration of the Colonial Government. The reply of the Colonial Government has only just been received and is at present under consideration.

Mr. K. Ahmed: How long will the Government take to consider the matter, so that this House may be in a position to know for the benefit of the country their attitude in this matter?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: I cannot tell the Honourable Member how long it will take.

THE PROPOSED SHIMOGA-BHATKAL RAILWAY.

1921. ***Mr. Mahmood Schamnad Sahib Bahadur:** Will the Government be pleased to state the result of the negotiations (or discussions) with the Mysore Government regarding the proposed Shimoga-Bhatkal Railway?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I can add nothing to the reply I gave to the Honourable Member on the 14th February 1924.

CESSION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE ALI RAJAHS OF CANNANORE IN THE LACCADIVE ISLANDS.

1922. ***Mr. Mahmood Schamnad Sahib Bahadur:** 1. Is it a fact that the Laccadive islands were sequestered from their rightful owners, the Ali Rajah of Cannanore on account of arrears of tribute, on condition of rendering accounts annually to the Ruling Rajah and restoring them to the Rajah after the arrears were cleared?

2. (a) Is it a fact that after a time no accounts were rendered at all?

(b) Is it a fact that on the representation of the Ali Rajahs, the Home Government or the Government of India ordered the restoration of the islands?

(c) If so, why were they not restored?

(d) Is it true that after some time the Madras Government got the senior Rajah and some members of his family to sign a document giving up their rights in these islands in return for an annual malikhana of Rs. 28,000?

(e) Is it true that the second Rajah did not sign this document?

(f) Will the Government be pleased to state the full terms of this document and place the same on the table?

Sir Denys Bray: 1. and 2. (a) and (b). No, Sir.

(c) Does not arise.

(d) and (f). The document is laid on the table.

(e) The document was signed by the head of the family. The signature of the junior members was not required.

For further details I would refer the Honourable Member to the narrative at pages 180-183 in Volume X of Aitchison's Treaties as supplemented by the document now laid on the table.

Articles of Agreement entered into between Adi Raja Imbichi Bibi of Cannanore, Malabar District in the Presidency of Madras in the Empire of India of the one part and the Governor in Council of Fort Saint George acting in pursuance of express orders from the Governor-General of India in Council of the other part.

Whereas in pursuance of an order of the Government of Madras, No. 417-Political, dated the 18th July 1905, the Collector of Malabar by his letter dated the 18th October 1905 made the following offer on behalf of the Government of India to M. R. Ry. Adi Raj Muhammad Ali Raja Avergal of Cannanore, Malabar District, viz., that on condition that the said Muhammad Ali Raja ceded absolutely on behalf of himself his heirs and successors all claims and right whatsoever whether as sovereign or jennmi in and over the Laccadive Islands :—

(i) all arrears of peshkash due by the Adi Raja under the Karar referred to in Article 3 (a) below would be remitted;

(ii) the payment of the Amindivi compensation referred to in Article 2 below would cease;

- (iii) the Government would pay to Adi Raja and to his heirs and successors a malikhana of Rs. 23,000 per annum in equal monthly instalments—one half being paid to him during his life and after his death to the head of the family for the time being as a personal grant for the maintenance of his position and dignity and the other half being paid to him and to his heirs and successors as heads of the family;
- (iv) the Adi Raja and his heirs and successors would be allowed to hold free of all peshkash or assessment those lands on the mainland at Cannanore which were then held under the Karar and in respect of which the Adi Raja had been registered as jenmi during the settlement operations being in area about 1,419½ acres;
- (v) the title of "Sultan" without any territorial addition would be conferred on the Raja and his heirs and successors as a hereditary distinction;
- (vi) the Raja and his heirs and successors would be exempted under section 641 of the Civil Procedure Code from personal attendance in Court:

And Whereas the above offer was accepted by the Adi Raja by his letter to the Collector of Malabar, dated the 17th November 1905, in the following words "in reply to your letter No. Ref. on C.29, Confidential 1905, dated the 18th October 1905, informing me of the recent offer of the Government of India in re Laccadive Islands, I have the honour to inform you that I am willing to accept the offer contained in your letter and to cede absolutely on behalf of myself, my heirs and successors all claims and rights whatsoever as sovereign or as jenmi in and over the Laccadive Islands subject to the terms and conditions contained in your letter under reply;" And Whereas the said Muhammad Ali Raja died on the 5th September 1907, before a formal deed of cession could be executed by him in pursuance of the agreement concluded by the offer and acceptance hereinbefore recited; And Whereas the said Adi Raja Imbichi Bibi succeeded the said Muhammad Ali Raja as the head of the family of the Raja of Cannanore; And Whereas the said Adi Raja Imbichi Bibi recognizes the validity of the agreement concluded between the late Muhammad Ali Raja and the Government of India and her obligation to carry out the same by the execution of a formal deed of cession and is desirous of doing so and thereby securing for herself, her heirs and successors, the benefits of the said agreement:

Now it is hereby agreed and declared as follows:—

Article 1.

The said Adi Raja Imbichi Bibi on behalf of herself, her heirs and successors hereby cedes and makes over in full sovereignty and in perpetuity to His Majesty the Emperor of India to form part of His Majesty's Indian dominions as from the first day of July 1905, the lands and territories inclusive of Pandaram lands comprising the Laccadive Island and Minicoy Island more particularly described in Schedule A hereunder written and all claims therein possessed by or belonging to the said Adi Raja Imbichi Bibi as sovereign of the said Islands.

Article 2.

The said Adi Raja Imbichi Bibi on behalf of herself, her heirs and successors hereby waives and surrenders all past present and future claims if any in respect of the abatement which as a matter of grace was made in the revenue payable to the British Government by the predecessor of the said Adi Raja Imbichi Bibi as compensation for the renunciation by such predecessor of any claim to "the Amini group" of islands.

Article 3.

In consideration of the cession and surrender contained in the above articles the Governor in Council of Fort Saint George makes the following concessions in favour of Adi Raja Imbichi Bibi, her heirs and successors:—

- (a) That all arrears of peshkash now due under the Karar dated 28th October 1796 executed by Beehy Bulia, a predecessor of the said Adi Raja Imbichi Bibi, in favour of the Honourable the East India Company are hereby remitted.
- (b) That the lands situated at and near Cannanore referred to in such Karar which now stand registered in the name of the said M. R. Ry. Muhammad Ali Raja Avergal as the jenmi thereof and which lands are more particularly described in Schedule B hereunder written shall so long as such lands are

held by the said Adi Raja Imbichi Bibi or by the Karnavan for the time being of the family of the said Adi Raja Imbichi Bibi be free from any land revenue payable to the British Government, but shall not be free from liability to pay any cess that may be payable therefor under any enactment for the time being in force.

- (c) That the said Adi Raja Imbichi Bibi or other the Karnavan for the time being of the family of the said Adi Raja Imbichi Bibi shall be paid from the public treasury a pension of Rs. 23,000 per annum commencing from the 1st Day of July 1905 and payable by equal monthly instalments of Rs. 1,916-12-0 on the fifteenth day of every month of which monthly payments one-half shall be considered a personal grant to such Karnavan for the maintenance of his or her position and dignity and the other half shall be received by such Karnavan for the use and benefit of such family.

Article 4.

The foregoing articles of agreement shall be subject to the ratification or rejection of the Governor-General of India in Council.

Signed this 15th day of November 1908 by Adi Raja Imbichi Bibi in the presence of :

ADI RAJA IMBICHI BIBI,

W. Francia, Acting Collector of Malabar.

Rangal Avergal,

J. C. Nunyanakeng, Government Pleader, N. Malabar.

Cannanore.

Th. Mallhui, Acting Tahsildar of Chirakkal.

Signed by Charles James Weir, the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, this 5th day of December 1908.

C. J. WEIR.

Ratified by the Governor-General of India in Council at Fort William in Bengal this 5th day of February 1909.

S. H. BUTLER,

Secretary to the Government of India,

Foreign Department.

Mr. K. Ahmed: In view of the fact that there is a defective title, so far as the Laccadive Islands are concerned, is it desirable to spend money without having any chance of recovery from the Islands?

Sir Denys Bray: The premises are incorrect; the rest of the question I do not understand.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Is my Honourable friend, the Foreign Secretary aware that the Home Member only last week or the week before, when a discussion under Demand No. 28 was brought forward by my Honourable friend Mr. Mahmood Schamnad Sahib Bahadur made certain statements, and does it not appear from those statements that squandering money on the Laccadive Islands will be futile because of defective title?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: There appears to be some geographical confusion in the Honourable Member's mind.

Mr. K. Ahmed: But is it not the opinion of this Assembly on that statement that hope deferred maketh the heart sick? (Laughter.)

RESURVEY OF THE PROPOSED MANGALORE-HASAN RAILWAY.

1823. ***Mr. Mahmood Schammad Sahib Bahadur:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state whether the resurvey of the proposed Mangalore-Hasan Railway has been ordered?

(b) If not, do they propose to sanction the same?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) and (b). The reply is in the negative. In fact the proposal for constructing the line is itself in abeyance, as an examination of the project prepared in 1917 showed that its financial prospects do not justify its construction at present.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE TELlichERRY-NANJONGUD RAILWAY.

1824. ***Mr. Mahmood Schammad Sahib Bahadur:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state whether the Tellicherry-Nanjongud line has been sanctioned?

(b) If so, when will the construction be taken in hand?

(c) If not, will the construction of this line be sanctioned at all?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) No.

(b) Does not arise.

(c) A line from Tellicherry via Manantoddy to Virajpet was surveyed in 1924, its construction, however, was not considered financially justifiable. The question of railway projects in this area is still under consideration.

SUPPLY OF COAL TO TROOPSHIPS AND TRANSPORTS.

1825. ***Khan Bahadur W. M. Hussanally:** With reference to the answer to starred question No. 1099 given on the 8th instant:

- (1) Is it a fact that in spite of this unsatisfactory supply, the contractor has been allowed to make further supplies for Government troopships and transports?
- (2) If so, will Government be pleased to state the reasons which induced them to place further orders with the firm with such an unsatisfactory record?
- (3) Will Government be pleased to state whether they propose to issue instructions to the Department concerned invariably to invite tenders for their future requirements?

Mr. E. Burdon: (1)—(3). Sir, it appears to me that my Honourable friend, before giving notice of his present question, cannot have studied in detail the reply which I gave to his previous question, No. 1099. From the facts given in that reply, it is clear that the firm in question cannot be said to have an unsatisfactory record. I stated also that at the ports to which my Honourable friend's previous question referred, tenders are already invited for the supply of coal to troopships, etc. Accordingly, my Honourable friend's present question does not really arise. The contractor to whom he referred has been allowed to make further supplies to Government, there being no reason why he should not be allowed to do

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

REPORT OF THE REGIMENTAL OFFICERS WHO ATTENDED MEETINGS HELD IN SIMLA IN SEPTEMBER, 1925, IN CONNECTION WITH THE ARMY CANTEEN BOARD (INDIA).

234. **Khan Bahadur W. M. Hussanally:** Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table the reports of the regimental officers who attended a meeting or meetings held at Simla in the month of September, 1925, in connection with the Army Canteen Board and to state whether the opinion of the majority of the officers was in favour or against the organization? What action do the Government propose to take on their report?

Mr. E. Burdon: The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the reply given on the 21st January, 1926, to parts (b) and (c) of starred question No. 91 and to the reply given on the 15th instant to starred question No. 1242. The Government of India are at present considering what their future policy will be as regards the Army Canteen Board (India) with reference to the report of the Committee of Inquiry appointed by Government and with reference to all other available information.

APPOINTMENT OF A MUHAMMADAN AS DEPUTY OR ASSISTANT AUDITOR GENERAL.

235. **Haji Wajihuddin:** Will the Honourable the Finance Member be pleased to state whether it is a fact that no Muhammadan officer has ever been appointed as Deputy or Assistant Auditor General?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The reply is in the affirmative.

MUHAMMADAN ASSISTANT ACCOUNTS OFFICER OR PAY AND ACCOUNTS OFFICER IN ANY ACCOUNT AND AUDIT OFFICE AT DELHI.

236. **Haji Wajihuddin:** (a) Is it a fact that there is no Muhammadan Assistant Accounts Officer or Pay and Accounts Officer in any Account and Audit Office at Delhi?

(b) If the answer is in the affirmative, will the Honourable the Finance Member be pleased to lay on the table a copy of the rules governing the selection of Government servants to fill up those appointments?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a) Yes.

(b) A copy of Article 61 of the Audit Code is placed on the table.

COPY OF ARTICLE 61, AUDIT CODE.

61. Promotions of members of the Subordinate Accounts Service in vacancies amongst Assistant Accounts Officers, other than those caused by absence on leave, are made by the Auditor General. Promotions will, as a general rule, be made by selection from among Senior Accountants. Though due weight will be given to seniority in deciding the claims of subordinates whose qualifications are approximately equal, and to the claims of men in the office in which a vacancy occurs, neither consideration *per se* will be the deciding factor. If in any office there is no subordinate who is considered fully qualified for promotion, the Auditor General may arrange for the promotion of a suitable man from another office.

MUHAMMADANS IN THE SUBORDINATE ACCOUNTS SERVICE IN THE MAIN OFFICE OF THE AUDITOR GENERAL.

287. Haji Wajihuddin: Is it a fact that there is no Muhammadan in the Subordinate Accounts Service in the main office of the Auditor General?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: A Muhammadan probationer has recently been appointed to the Subordinate Accounts Service in the Commercial Branch, which is at present regarded as part of the main office.

DUE REPRESENTATION OF MUHAMMADANS IN THE CLERICAL ESTABLISHMENT OF THE OFFICE OF THE AUDITOR GENERAL.

238. Haji Wajihuddin: Is it a fact that the representation of Muhammadans in the clerical cadre of the Auditor General's Office is very inadequate? If so, what steps have been taken to give Muslims their due representation?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: There are five Muhammadans in the total clerical establishment of 79. The instructions which have recently been issued by Government for securing the appointment of members of minority communities, including Muhammadans, will be followed.

APPOINTMENT OF MUHAMMADAN EXAMINERS FOR THE SUBORDINATE ACCOUNTS SERVICE EXAMINATION.

239. Haji Wajihuddin: Will Government be pleased to state whether any Muhammadan officer has been appointed as Examiner of any paper of the Subordinate Accounts Service Examination for the last five years? If not, why?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: No. I would invite the attention of the Honourable Member to the reply to his unstarred question No. 213 (b), sent to him on the 14th April, 1924.

DUE REPRESENTATION OF MUSLIMS IN THE OFFICE OF THE ACCOUNTANT GENERAL, CENTRAL REVENUES.

240. Haji Wajihuddin: (a) Is it a fact that a big establishment consisting of the appointments of Assistant Accounts Officers, Subordinate Accounts Service, and clerical cadre has been sanctioned for the office of the Accountant General, Central Revenues?

(b) If the answer is in the affirmative, will Government please state what steps if any have been or are proposed to be taken to secure the due representation of the Muslim community?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a) The office of the Accountant General, Central Revenues, consists of an establishment of 11 officers, including six Assistant Accounts Officers, 22 members of the Subordinate Accounts Service and 213 clerks.

(b) I would invite the attention of the Honourable Member to the reply given to his question No. 238.

**MUHAMMADAN REPRESENTATION IN THE SEVERAL ACCOUNTS AND AUDIT
OFFICES UNDER THE AUDITOR GENERAL.**

241. Haji Wajihuddin: (a) Is it a fact that heavy reduction of establishment is under contemplation in several Accounts and Audit Offices under the Auditor General?

(b) If the reply is in the affirmative, are Government prepared to take this opportunity of adjusting the representation of Muhammadans by retaining them in service?

**SAFEGUARDING OF THE INTERESTS OF MUHAMMADANS IN THE OFFICE
OF THE DEPUTY ACCOUNTANT GENERAL, POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.**

242. Haji Wajihuddin: Will the Honourable the Finance Member be pleased to furnish the information asked for in the following sub-clauses in respect of the Office of the Deputy Accountant General, Posts and Telegraphs, Delhi?

(a) Are Government aware of the fact that there is no Muhammadan in the gazetted officers' grade as well as in the Subordinate Accounts Service?

(b) Is it a fact that Muhammadans have had to go through various hardships in securing an appointment in the clerical cadre and retaining it owing to lack of their representation in the higher services?

(c) Is it a fact that the post of the Head Clerk of the Record Department, now called Superintendent, Record, carrying a duty allowance, is filled up by a junior Hindu clerk while there are several senior Muhammadan clerks with better qualifications?

(d) Is it a fact that the number of the Muhammadan clerks in the upper and lower divisions has been reduced by about one-third during the last three years?

(e) If the answers to the above questions are in the affirmative, will the Honourable the Finance Member be pleased to state what steps, if any, have been or will be taken to safeguard the interests of the Muslim community in that office?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: An inquiry is being made from the Auditor General and its result will be communicated to the Honourable Member as soon as a reply is received from him.

MESSAGE FROM HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL.

Mr. President: I have received the following Message from His Excellency the Governor General:

(The Message was received by the Members standing.)

"In pursuance of sub-section (3) of section 63B of the Government of India Act, I, Rufus Daniel, Earl of Reading, hereby require the attendance of the Members of the Legislative Assembly in the Assembly Chamber at Delhi at 11 o'clock on Thursday, the 25th of March, 1926."

(Sd.) **READING,**
Viceroy and Governor General."

ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO THE PANEL OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON EMIGRATION.

Mr. President: I have to inform the Assembly that the number of candidates nominated for election to the Standing Committee on Emigration is equal to the number required, and therefore I announce that the following sixteen Members are declared to be duly elected :

Sir Hari Singh Gour.
Rao Bahadur M. C. Naidu.
Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao.
Mr. B. Venkatapatiraju.
Mr. K. C. Neogy.
Mr. N. M. Joshi.
Sir Darcy Lindsay.
Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar.
Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum.
Maulvi Abul Kasem.
Captain Ajab Khan.
Haji Wajihuddin.
Dr. K. G. Lohokare.
Mr. Abdul Haye.
Khan Bahadur Makhdum Syed Rajan Bakhsh Shah.
Mr. B. Das.

STATEMENT OF BUSINESS.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman (Home Member): Sir, with your permission, I should like to make a statement about the probable course of business for the rest of the Session. In the event of Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh's motion in relation to South Africa not being moved, we shall, on the conclusion of the debate on the North West Frontier Resolution, proceed to Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer's Resolution on the Mercantile Marine. I do not propose to move my motion setting up Standing Committees to deal with the Bills relating to Hindu and Muhammadan law. On the conclusion of the discussion on Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer's Resolution, the business on the Agenda paper will be completed. In addition to that business there will remain a Resolution of which Mr. Bhore has given notice, dealing with the terms on which emigration shall be permitted to British Guiana. You, Sir, have given permission to that Resolution being taken at short notice and we propose to put it down for Monday, the 22nd. In the event of Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh's motion on South Africa not being moved Government have agreed and you, Sir, have given your consent, I understand, to a Resolution on the subject of South Africa being moved by my Honourable friend Mr. Jinnah. We understand that it will meet the convenience of the House if the discussion on the Resolution takes place on Wednesday, the 24th. If to-day's business is concluded to-day and if the Resolution on British Guiana is finished on Monday there will be no meeting on Tuesday the 23rd. Government do not propose to bring forward any further business after the 24th, and Members have already received intimation that His Excellency will address the Members of this House and of the Council of State on the morning of Thursday, the 25th March.

DRAFT NOTIFICATION IN CONNECTION WITH EMIGRATION TO BRITISH GUIANA.

Mr. J. W. Bhore (Secretary, Department of Education, Health and Lands): Sir, I beg to lay on the table a draft notification in connection with emigration to British Guiana which has already been circulated to Honourable Members.

DRAFT NOTIFICATION.

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 10 of the Indian Emigration Act (VII of 1922), hereinafter referred to as the Act, the Governor General in Council is pleased to issue the following notification in the form in which it has been approved by both Chambers of the Indian Legislature :

Emigration to British Guiana for the purpose of unskilled work shall be lawful with effect from such date as the Governor General in Council may with the concurrence of the Governor of British Guiana notify in the Gazette of India on the following terms and conditions, which shall thereupon become operative :—

(1) The family shall be the unit for the purposes of emigration. Not more than 500 families shall be permitted to emigrate and the number of persons included in the said 500 families shall not exceed 1,500.

(2) The emigrants shall either have been recruited by a person licensed for that purpose by and responsible to an officer (hereinafter called the Emigration Commissioner) appointed by the Government of British Guiana, or have applied direct to the Emigration Commissioner for an assisted passage and have been accepted by him.

(3) No part of the cost of his recruitment or subsistence during transport shall be recoverable from any emigrant and all expenses in this connection shall be borne by the Government of British Guiana or met from funds at their disposal.

(4) The Government of British Guiana shall, at any time when so desired by the Governor General in Council, admit and give all facilities to an Agent appointed under section 7 of the Act.

(5) If at any time there is no Agent appointed under section 7 of the Act, or if the Agent is absent or unable to perform his duties, the Government of British Guiana shall at the request of the Governor General in Council appoint a person to perform temporarily the duties of the Agent.

(6) Prior to the arrival of the emigrants a Settlement Commission shall be appointed in British Guiana to select and prepare suitable agricultural land for the emigrants and generally to supervise their employment. The Agent referred to in clause (4) shall, on appointment, be a member of such Commission.

(7) The Government of British Guiana shall offer to each family for its separate enjoyment a holding comprising not less than five acres of suitable agricultural land prepared for cultivation on the terms hereinafter set out in a locality which shall be healthy and shall have an adequate supply of good drinking water. All expenses in connection with the preparation of the holdings shall be borne by the Government of British Guiana and shall in no case be recoverable from an emigrant.

The annual rent of the holding shall be fixed by the Settlement Commission at a rate not exceeding the lowest rate paid in the locality.

After an emigrant has been in occupation of a holding for three years, he shall, provided that he has cultivated a portion of the holding either by himself or through some member of his family, be entitled to a grant of the holding on payment at any time during the ensuing four years of such fees not exceeding 24 dollars as may be fixed by the Settlement Commission.

On the expiry of seven years from the date of the commencement of his occupation of a holding an emigrant shall acquire absolute ownership in the holding provided that he has paid the rent and fees referred to in the foregoing paragraphs of this clause and has brought under cultivation either by himself or by some member of his family half the area of his holding.

(8) An emigrant on arrival in British Guiana shall be housed and maintained without charge by the Government of British Guiana for at least one month.

(9) If any emigrant so requires loans shall be made to him for maintenance, house accommodation, payment of rent and for agricultural purposes generally. Free medical assistance and free skilled supervision shall be provided.

(10) Any emigrant shall be entitled to repatriation at the expense of the Government of British Guiana to the place of his former residence in India on the expiry of 7 years from the date of his arrival in British Guiana.

Any emigrant shall be entitled to repatriation at the expense of the Government of British Guiana to the place of his former residence in India on the expiry of more than 3 and not more than 5 years from the date of his arrival in British Guiana on payment to the Government of British Guiana of half of the cost of his passage from his residence in India to British Guiana.

Any emigrant shall be entitled to repatriation at the expense of the Government of British Guiana to the place of his former residence in India on the expiry of more than 5 and not more than 7 years from the date of his arrival in British Guiana on payment to the Government of British Guiana of quarter of the cost of his passage from his residence in India to British Guiana.

(11) Notwithstanding anything contained in the last preceding clause the Government of British Guiana on the request of an Agent appointed under section 7 of the Act shall repatriate at its own expense and without any payment by or on behalf of the emigrant to the place of his former residence in India any emigrant at any time after his arrival in British Guiana.

(12) An emigrant shall be at liberty at any time after his arrival in British Guiana to take up work or employment other than or in addition to the cultivation of a holding on lease from the Settlement Commission.

(13) The ordinance enjoining compulsory education in British Guiana shall be enforced to the same extent in the case of Indian children as in the case of children belonging to other communities.

(14) Boards of arbitration in regard to wages shall be established before the arrival of the emigrants and Indians shall be adequately represented on such boards.

(15) Any Indian who has emigrated to British Guiana before the date of this notification and under any agreement in force at the date of this notification is entitled to an assisted return passage to India shall not be required to pay more than 25 per cent. of the excess in the cost of his return passage and clothing over the cost of such passages and clothing at the time of his first arrival in the colony.

(16) Any Indian who has emigrated to British Guiana before the date of this notification and has at the date of this notification become or thereafter becomes destitute shall be entitled to be repatriated to India at the expense of the Government of British Guiana without being further required to prove that he has become incapable of labour.

(17) The Government of British Guiana shall furnish such periodical reports and returns as may be required from time to time by the Government of India in respect of the welfare of the persons emigrating to the Colony in accordance with this notification.

RESOLUTION *RE* EXTENSION OF THE REFORMS TO THE NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE—*contd.*

Mr. President: The Assembly will now proceed with the further discussion of the following Resolution moved by Maulvi Sayad Murtuza Sahib Bahadur on the 16th February 1926:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that he be pleased to extend to the North-West Frontier Province the provisions of the Government of India Act which relate to Legislative Councils and the appointment of Ministers, etc., with protection to the minorities."

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman (Home Member): Sir, the debate in which I am now taking part has extended over three days. It was discussed the whole of one afternoon; it was discussed yesterday afternoon, and we are now resuming the debate. I think that in itself is proof positive of the importance which this House attaches to the subject matter under consideration. Sir, to me it has been a debate of absorbing interest.

[Sir Alexander Muddiman.]

not only on account of what has been said but also on account of what has not been said. It was a great advantage that this debate commenced and continued through one long Indian afternoon as on that occasion the Benches that are now vacant were crowded. On that day twelve Members took part in the debate. Of those who spoke six were Moslems, but of the speakers not one belonged to a large group of Members in this House. Sir, I do not think it was that they were not interested; I think they were greatly interested. Their faces showed their keen and almost painful interest, but not a word fell from them. It was a triumph, if I may say so, of party control but it was not in itself helpful to the Government Benches. If the Government's sources of information were confined to the proceedings of this House, the deduction to be drawn from the debate so far as I have listened to it is that the subject is one in which the Hindus of Northern India have no interest with one notable exception. I should conclude this and indeed an uninformed spectator in the gallery could hardly fail to come to that conclusion. On the other hand, he would have come to the conclusion that it was a matter of passionate interest to the Hindus and Brahmins of Southern India. Sir, that deduction would be entirely erroneous and, despite the silence of a body of Members of this House who no longer attend our meetings, we must be cautious in supposing that deliberate suppression of strong views is a ground for neglecting their existence. The debate yesterday shows that the general trend of feeling is on communal lines. Muhammadans are supporting one view and those Hindus who have spoken are supporting another. (*An Honourable Member*: "No, not all".) With one exception I agree—it is clear that, in spite of the great efforts that were made by many speakers to speak in restrained terms—and I congratulate them and I congratulate the House on that it is clear that the division of opinion and thought is largely on the lines of communal severance. It is idle in matters of this importance not to look facts in the face. There are facts that must be looked in the face by this House and the Government must face them, and that indicates the great need that the Government must be very cautious in any action they may take.

Now, if the House will bear with me for a minute, I will examine the debate a little more closely, and I will see if I can separate out and trace some of the individual threads that made the web of the debate. I will not at this moment nor in connection with the present motion pause to examine the larger issues and implications to which the debate undoubtedly gives rise as they are not immediately germane to the matter under discussion, but I may assure the House that they have not escaped my attention; nor do I think they will escape the attention of the Government of India. I want to point out in the first instance that it is evident that many of those who have spoken with great warmth on this debate have little or no personal knowledge of the area whose future they are debating. I do not suppose that even the Mover of the motion would claim that. Their support is based on other grounds, and I think they may well be taken as saying to my Honourable friend Nawab Sir Abdul Qaiyum, the real inspirer of the motion; "By our brotherhood in Islam you called us and we came".

Now I turn to the speech of my Honourable friend the Nawab. May I in the first place congratulate him on the effective way he put forward his case. He pleaded difficulties in expressing himself. Sir, no more effective

appeal could have been made than was made by my Honourable friend the Nawab. The directness of his methods brought a breath into this House of his own grim hills; but it was the speech of a man wise in war and, if I may say so, not unversed in the wiles of the council board. (*Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar*: "Thanks to the Assembly!") I may restate his position in a few words. I take it, it is this: "Government say that the Reforms are a good thing. Well, we are not quite sure but we will take it at that. We know that they were largely given because of the War and of India's services in the War. My people fought and died with your people in that War as we have fought and died in wars that preceded it. We are in every way as fit for reforms as the people of any other province." Sir, here my Honourable friend made a powerful appeal, an appeal that must touch the heart of every Englishman, of every Indian; but he is on less sound ground when he himself doubts the suitability of the Reforms themselves. He, I think, in his heart of hearts, he who knows the local conditions and the local difficulties so well, is not quite so sure, as he would have us believe he is, of the applicability to his province at any rate in their full form of the terms of the Resolution which is before the House. Sir, this is not an issue on which any Member of this House ought to vote lightly. What is there behind it that moves even a man like Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer to such emotion that the rapidity of his speech was a serious obstacle to my appreciation of it? Sir, there must be something that stirs a man of my Honourable friend's judicial training and long executive experience when I felt that his emotion for a moment had mastered his presentation of the case. There are—and it is idle for this House to shut its eyes to the fact—there are reasons which we in the Government know and you in the House know, that have made Government cautious in arriving at final conclusions in this matter. We have been charged with delay in this as in many other matters. But our critics might sometimes remember that it is the Government that have to pick up the pieces after the glass has been broken. It is easy to raise an issue—it is often difficult to solve it in the way the initiator of the issue wishes. There are those to-day in this House who may well say:

"Full many a shaft at random sent
Finds mark the archer little meant."

Now, Sir, it remains for me to state the position of the Government. My Honourable friend, Sir Denys Bray, was a signatory to the Report, and he found himself in the position in which other signatories of other reports have found themselves, and, if I may say so, he managed to protect his dual position with great skill. However, I must make it perfectly clear to the House that Sir Denys Bray, the signatory of the Report, speaks in his own capacity and not in any way representing the Government.

Now, the House is aware that Government have definitely turned down the question of the amalgamation of the North West Frontier Province with the Punjab. That itself is a position that has very definite implications which I trust will not be missed by this House. The North West Frontier Province is to remain a separate province and therefore it must move in due time and in its own way, subject to its own conditions, to its status as a complete province. The question what, and in what direction constitutional advance can be given in the North West Frontier Province has been and is under the consideration of the Government. No definite decision on that point has been arrived at and no definite decision on that point

[Sir Alexander Muddiman.]

will be arrived at or announced till Government are satisfied that they have come to a right conclusion and that the moment for its announcement is ripe.

Therefore, the attitude of the Government towards this Resolution must be one obviously of neutrality. The Government Front Benches will not vote. Those who sit behind me may vote according to their inclination; but they must remember that in exercising their votes they should ask themselves whether they are in a position to express an opinion on the question before the House, and I would add this: There are other Members in this House who have indicated their intention of voting and I would ask them to bear in mind the same considerations that I have urged. This is not a light matter. Votes should not be given lightly; they should be given after due consideration and thought and with a knowledge that the voter has really examined the issues. Such an expression of opinion is possibly unnecessary for me to bring to the notice of the House; but I feel very strongly on the point, and therefore I venture to put it forward in all humility.

I will add that Government must and will give the fullest consideration to the views of this House as expressed in the debate and as expressed in the vote of the House. This is a question which requires for its solution all the wisdom and all the help that we can obtain from whatever quarter.

One more word, Sir, and I have done. Mr. Jinnah, in a speech which was otherwise admirable in tone and bore out his general practice of considering these questions without heat and endeavouring to separate the issues in a logical way and of generating light, not heat, Mr. Jinnah, as I say, in a speech of that character made one statement on which I must make a few observations. He quoted apparently with approval the following passage. He said:

"These Hindu organisations yet find it in their hearts to advocate a continuance of the obscurantist, mediæval principles of Government, bureaucratic high-handedness and policy of *zoolum* for which the Frontier Government has been so often criticised."

Now, Sir, those were not the words of the real inspirer of the Resolution, Nawab Sir Abdul Qaiyum, whose experience of the Frontier Province is certainly unrivalled in this House. What did the Honourable Member say in his speech? He said:

"Sir, it is not lack of confidence in the present administration that moves me to support this Resolution."

He was not prepared at any rate to endorse the views that were expressed in that extract. Now, Sir, I am not a frontier officer and therefore what I have to say is perhaps better said by me than by my Honourable colleague Sir Denys Bray, who has been intimately associated to the great benefit of the Frontier and to his own reputation with that province. Sir, I have visited the Frontier and being a man of peace have been greatly upset at the levity with which miscellaneous cutlery is produced in that province, and I have felt distinct thrills at the way fire-arms appear in the most unexpected places. (Laughter.) Sir, it is a country where life and death are very close together; and I must ask the House to bear this in mind. Whatever the advances that may be given in the future to the North-West Frontier Province, we in the heart of this country, in the heart of India, owe a debt of gratitude to that faithful

band of officers, civil and military,—British and Indian—who have often laid down their lives, and—what may even be worse for some—spent their lives in the protection of those marches of which they have been most faithful wardens. (Applause.)

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar (Madras City: Non-Muhammadian Urban): Sir, I am glad that the Honourable the Home Member has spoken on this most important subject. Although he began in a somewhat jocular fashion, rather attaching importance to the least important part of the question, I am glad to note he has wound up with drawing the attention of the House to the magnitude of the issues involved in this proposition. I crave the indulgence of the House for the few remarks which I feel bound to make.

These issues are of a very important character. They have a political importance and an economic importance for the people of these districts numbering about two millions. They have a political, a constitutional and an economic importance for all India, and probably for the British Empire. Sir, I am afraid the attention of Honourable Members has been rather drawn to the least important part of the issue involved in the case, namely, the communal aspect which has absolutely no bearing on the issue so far as I am able to see it. (Mr. K. Ahmed: "Is that right?") I will not tolerate any interruption of the Honourable interrupter of this House, Mr. Kabeer-ud-Din Ahmed. The issue, Sir, is far too important to be treated in this jocular fashion. Sir, I say it has got also a military importance. I look at it as an Indian. I look at it from the point of view of the welfare of India, which I submit must be the predominant motive in coming to a conclusion on this subject. Sir, I bestowed anxious thought as a member of this Committee on the important issues involved in the case. Since then I have, to use the words of the Government, re-thought this question in deference to my Honourable friends who sit in front of me. I have got the greatest respect for my Moslem friends both inside and outside this House, and I have also re-thought this question in view of some decisions taken by Government on the Report of the Committee and also in view of the recent happenings in that unfortunate province. It was my duty to do so, and revolving it in my mind, I am sorry to say to the disappointment of some of the Honourable Moslem friends opposite that I have seen no reason to change my opinion which I arrived at as a member of that Committee. I consider, Sir, the proposition before the House of my Honourable friend, my family friend, Sayad Murtuza Sahib Bahadur, as constitutionally unsound, politically unwise, financially extravagant and likely to lead to disaster and administratively a useless proposition. (Here Mr. K. Ahmed made a remark which was inaudible). Has my Honourable friend Mr. Ahmed realised the implications of that Resolution? May I draw the Honourable Member's attention to the wording of the Resolution, for it is to that Resolution we are asked to accord our support? What is that Resolution, Sir? It is this:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that he be pleased to extend to the North West Frontier Province the provisions of the Government of India Act which relate to Legislative Councils and the appointment of Ministers, etc., with protection to the minorities."

Mr. K. Ahmed (Rajshahi Division: Muhammadan Rural): Just as you have got.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: What are the provisions of the Government of India Act which relate to Legislative Councils and Ministers, etc.? Sir, Honourable Members who have read the Act will realise at once what it means. Now, the Resolution means to make it, not a Lieutenant-Governor's or Chief Commissioner's Province, but a Governor's or a Deputy Governor's Province

Mr. K. Ahmed: Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: That is really the implication of this Resolution. Do Honourable Members who accord their support realise the full import of that? Now, what does it mean? It means a Legislative Council with 80 per cent. elected Members and not more than 20 per cent. of an official element in that Council. And what does it imply again? It is a case of Government, not of administration as in the case of the Chief Commissioner. In the case of the Chief Commissioner, as Honourable Members will notice from the wording of the Act, the immediate control, the immediate government is in the hands of the Governor General in Council—"On behalf of the Governor General in Council in whom the government is vested, the Chief Commissioner administers", that is the language of the Act. If Honourable Members will carefully follow the language of the sections of the Government of India Act, they will see that in one case it is government by a Governor with the help of the Executive Council in one half, and Government by a Governor with the help of a Minister in the other half, or whatever the portion may be. That is the Resolution before the House, to which we are asked to accord our support.

Sir, in this connection I wish to draw the attention of the House to certain facts, and what may be called frontier axioms as my Honourable friend Sir Denys Bray and his colleagues of the majority would have it. If Honourable Members have done us the courtesy of reading that unfortunately voluminous Report, for we had to bring out the evidence, some of which was given in confidence, and therefore in dealing with the subject we had to be voluminous,—perhaps it was a disqualification, and I rather suspect that many an Honourable Member of this House has not done us the courtesy of reading that Report,—but if they have read that Report, what will they find? May I draw the attention of Honourable Members to certain portions, not of the minority report, but of the majority report? First of all, Sir, turning to page 8 of their Report, Honourable Members will find this proposition stated at the end of the paragraph there. After speaking of the tracts and of the districts,—Honourable Members will remember the difference between the two parts, that is, the independent tract where the tribes live, and the five districts which were once taken away from the Punjab and amalgamated with the North-West Frontier Province—it is said:

"Both were forced to admit that the districts and tracts were two inseparable parts of one organic indivisible whole."

Again, turning to page 5, Honourable Members will find another proposition stated:

"In short, there is no impassable gap or gulf, difficult to cross, between British and Independent territory; the Frontier is in reality only an arbitrary line drawn through the limits of more or less homogeneous population."

Then at page 3, Honourable Members will find what the nature of these tracts is:

"... And in the rest of the vast block of independent territory tribal law—or what we should call lawlessness—was and is the only law, and its ultimate sanction is the rifle in the hands of the individual tribesmen. The only control we could and indeed still can exercise over it is political control exercised in and through the districts or brute force exercised in the last resort by the forcible exclusion of the tribes men"

Again, Sir, at page 9, Honourable Members will find that:

"two and half millions of the trans-frontier people are linked to the cis-frontier people by ties of blood and economic necessity."

Honourable Members will further find that this trans-frontier is a powder magazine. This is stated at page 7.

Now what is it which happened during the last Afghan War? What do my Honourable friends who have signed the majority report say about it? This is what they say:

"There is yet another axiom to be stated, the inseparability of the various parts of the Pathan trans-frontier. If this has bulked less largely in frontier controversies, it is not because it has less validity than the inseparability of trans and cis-frontier, but simply because it has never been seriously questioned by anybody. It is transparently obvious to every frontier officer and to every reader of frontier history. To the former it is brought home by the day's routine. The latter needs no further proof than the events of 1897 when the whole trans-frontier was ablaze from Wano to Buner."

This is rather important having regard to recent history:

"or the third Afghan War which set the whole trans-frontier agog from Wano beyond the Pathan country into Chitral."

Sir Denys Bray (Foreign Secretary): Trans-frontier, not cis-frontier.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: But it is inseparably linked together by ties of blood and economic necessity. That is my point. In fact, it has been said that it is only an arbitrary line which divides the two; there is no real dividing line. They are the same people. The Waziri across the Frontier is the Waziri inside the districts; the Afridi across the Frontier is the Afridi inside the districts, and the same is the case with reference to the other tribes.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qalyum (North-West Frontier Province: Nominated Non-Official): What is the dividing line between your province and Coorg?

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: We will come to it later on. Now, if Honourable Members will refer to pages 39 and 40, they will see this is what is stated there. Sir, in paragraph 10 reference is made to what happened in 1919. I will not read the whole of it. Honourable Members will perhaps have read it.

"The policy advocated by Lord Curzon of withdrawing regular troops to cantonments in the rear and the entrusting of frontier posts to be held by the Militia did not stand the test of the wave of fanaticism which flooded the border in 1919 and at a very critical moment landed us in a very trying position."

Mr. Abdul Haye (East Punjab: Muhammadan): What about the Punjab in 1919?

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: On page 48 Honourable Members will find reference to the state of things there. This is what Colonel James, the Deputy Commissioner, said about the people just across the Frontier. He said that they

"do not deserve any consideration at all at our hands as neighbours. Hit them whenever you can, how you can, and as hard as you can."

[This is what he said to the Committee. There are other passages written by an experienced officer, Mr. Ewart. I do not know if Honourable Members have perused his book, but some portions of it in Chapter V will be found very interesting reading. He is a man on the spot. He is the man in charge of the Criminal Investigation Department in those tracts. He is in actual touch with the people of the districts and of the Frontier and also with the Bolshevik movement and the Afghan movement in that direction. He gave us the benefit of his advice and if Honourable Members will read Chapter V of his book, as to how things stood in 1919, they will realise the importance of it. What is it that is recognised during the German War? We are all congratulating ourselves that the Frontier behaved all right during the German War. Who made it right, Sir?

Sir Denys Bray: Madras!

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: It is, in the words of my Honourable friend, Sir Denys Bray, that sagacious statesman who was then in charge of Afghan affairs, the Amir. But for the firm stand which he took and but for the sound advice which he gave to the tribes, does my Honourable friend think he would have reason to congratulate himself and the Government upon the affairs in the Frontier?

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: Who started trouble in 1919? Was it started on the Frontier?

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: I am not concerned with that. The question now before us is different. What is the tract of country with which we are asked to deal to-day? (At this stage there was an interruption from another Honourable Member) I am not going to be drawn away from my path by these interruptions. The point which I wish to make is this. Here you have a 700 mile land frontier line inhabited on both sides by tribes which are homogeneous in race, which are homogeneous in language, which are homogeneous in tribal laws, and those tribal laws I have described in the words of the majority. Sir, that being so, what is it that my Honourable friends ask? My Honourable friend Mr. Jinnah said when I interjected yesterday "Why not full responsible Government?" that he is prepared to give it. That is a question for all India to consider. It is not a question to be considered merely because our Muhammadan friends want it and we want to oblige them. If it were possible I should have been the first to do it. But in all-India interests, is it safe to isolate them like that? I do not want to deny them the privileges or the rights of citizenship. But, Sir, the question before the House is, having regard to the accepted position which my Honourable friend would not depart from, to isolate it as a small province with 22 lakhs of population and with 78 lakhs of revenue—I am going to deal with the financial aspect later—with such a small area, to give them the position of a major Local Government with an elected Council with an 80 per cent. majority of elected Members and with budget power. To do what, Sir? To administer a population of 22 lakhs, not even half of Tanjore or North Arcot. Take one district, Tanjore, which I come from. Its revenue is more than a crore and its population more than 22 lakhs.

Mr. Mahmood Schamnad Sahib Bahadur (West Coast and Nilgiris: Muhammadan): What is the revenue of Coorg and what is the population of Coorg?

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: We have nothing to do with Coorg. Coorg is not a major Local Government. Coorg does not want a Governor. Coorg does not want Ministers. The proposition before the House is to give these five districts a major Local Government with a Legislative Council and Ministers and an Executive Council Member.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: What are you prepared to give them?

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: The majority recognise this at page 10. They say distinctly here:

"Whatever the differences between us otherwise, all members of the Committee are agreed that the management of external affairs must vest in the Central Government. And though as matters now stand, we conceive that the Government of India—whatever the difficulties and drawbacks inherent in such an arrangement—might still conduct transfrontier business through the medium of a major Local Government, we all recognise that the difficulties and drawbacks "

—mark the words "difficulties and drawbacks"—

"would increase with the development of the General Reforms Scheme, until with the next definite advance in that scheme, such an arrangement would become unworkable altogether. For a Central Government to entrust responsibility for the conduct of external affairs on its critical land frontier to an autonomous Local Government would be a violation of all constitutional theory and practice."

Now that is what my Honourable friend Mr. Jinnah wants. Mr. Jinnah says that to-day he is prepared to give them even full responsible Government which the majority dread and say it will be a violation of all constitutional theory and practice. They were talking of giving this over to the Punjab Government which in due course will develop into a major Local Government with provincial autonomy. The Honourable Members of the majority report recognise that it is impossible to entrust the administration of these districts to a major Local Government. This proposition asks for a major Local Government.

Mr. Mahmood Schamnad Sahib Bahadur: No.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: The Resolution is there. I have read the words. The Government of India Act Provisions are there, and I ask the House, the intelligent Members of the House, to draw their own inference. Sir, the provisions of the Government of India Act are there. I am not going to tire the House by reading those provisions which must be obvious. They say on page 18 of their Report.

"It is therefore inexpedient—we make bold to say impossible "

—this is what the majority say, not the minority,—

"to transfer the administration of the districts from the Government of India to any major Local Government."

Sir, these are the frontier axioms. These are the accepted facts laid down by the majority. My Honourable friends want to stand by the recommendations of the majority. Let them understand what the majority have recommended and then frame their Resolution. The Resolution before the House is quite contrary to the recommendations of the majority. The majority think it impossible constitutionally, unsafe constitutionally and

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unsound and dangerous to part with the powers of the Central Government to any major Local Government. That is what I ask the House to recognise.

12 NOON. That being so, how can we lend support to a Resolution which goes against the principles accepted by the majority? (*An Honourable Member*: "Are you fit for self-government in Madras?" *Another Honourable Member*: "Certainly not." *A third Honourable Member*: "What about the Malabar Rebellion? Withdraw the Reforms from Madras.") I do not think that these passionate interruptions are going to divert me one bit from the calm reflection which I want to bestow on this question. My Honourable friends may laugh, but he laughs best who laughs last.

The financial position of the country is a matter which we cannot lose sight of. They want a major Local Government. Can they afford a major Local Government? They have to depend on the Government of India. They have to depend upon all India for their daily expenses. (*An Honourable Member*: "No.") My Honourable friend may say, "No," but mere assertions do not constitute facts. Let us closely examine the budget which we passed only the other day for this North West Frontier Province. We have budgetted for an expenditure of Rs. three crores three lakhs. What is the revenue of this province? Rs. 78 lakhs, all told—*income-tax*, opium and land revenue only Rs. 22 lakhs. A province which gets Rs. 22 lakhs land revenue wants a major Local Government! One *taluk* in my district produces more than Rs. 22 lakhs. All revenue put together comes to only Rs. 78 lakhs, and they want a major Local Government! And all India has to pay and somebody else is to order the tune. By all means we agree to pay, but are we going to part with the authority to vote that expenditure? The point is this, those who have got to pay must have a voice in controlling the expenditure; and may I say that there is more need to control this expenditure. What is the past history relating to the expenditure in this province? It has been a sink-pit for all-India revenues, and is this popular Assembly going to lose its control over the expenditure in this province? (At this stage Mr. K. Ahmed interrupted.) Sir, I must ask for the protection of the Chair against this constant interruption. I think my Honourable friend purposely interrupts. . . .

Mr. President: Order, order. The Chair is willing to allow interruptions to a certain limit. Honourable Members exceed that limit and invite the interference of the Chair when they inflict a continuous volley of interruptions on a speaker so as to make it almost impossible for him to continue his speech, as in this case. The Chair trusts that Honourable Members will bear these remarks in mind.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Thank you, Sir. In 1902-03, the whole expenditure including the trans-border and cis-border was only Rs. 74 lakhs and the deficit was Rs. 38 lakhs, that is, in the year this province was formed. In 1913-14, the expenditure went up to Rs. 122 lakhs and the deficit was Rs. 75 lakhs. In 1918-19, the deficit was Rs. 81 lakhs, in 1919-20, it was Rs. 107 lakhs, in 1920-21, Rs. 126 lakhs, and in 1921-22, with an expenditure of Rs. 208 lakhs the deficit was Rs. 140 lakhs. In 1926-27, we have budgetted for a deficit of Rs. 252 lakhs. The province produces Rs. 78 lakhs and we pay out of the general revenues Rs. 252 lakhs, that is to say, we make a present to them of *income-tax* Rs. 8 lakhs, we make a present to them of *excise revenue*,

opium revenue, and we make a present to them of general stamps Rs. 5 lakhs. In addition to that we find Rs. 252 lakhs out of the all-India revenues, and is this Assembly going to lose its control over that expenditure? That is what you are asked to do. You pay Rs. 252 lakhs out of your general revenues and we will go on playing the tune,—that is what the proposal is. Again I may mention that the Retrenchment Committee in 1922-23 advised the North West Frontier Province to restrict its expenditure to Rs. 241 lakhs, and what is it that the province is doing now? We are budgetting for Rs. 303 lakhs, that is, Rs. 60 lakhs more than what the Retrenchment Committee recommended should be the ordinary expenditure. Again the expenditure in certain departments, for instance, the Police, which began with Rs. 5 lakhs in 1902-03 mounted up to Rs. 17 lakhs in 1913-14, Rs. 53 lakhs in 1921-22, and in this year we are budgetting for Rs. 48 lakhs. Political expenditure is Rs. 98 lakhs. I may mention that out of the Rs. 48 lakhs Police, the internal police alone costs about Rs. 22 lakhs, excluding the frontier constabulary. I have made a calculation of what would be the trans-frontier expenses and I may mention that at once because Honourable Members would like to know what it is, as my Honourable friend, Sir Denys Bray, unwittingly, with his usual anxiety to support his recommendation, under-stated the financial burden which will accrue to the Central Government. He contemplates that the deficit will only be Rs. 20 lakhs. How does he arrive at this figure of Rs. 20 lakhs? What is it which he will allow more than I have allowed? Out of the Civil Works expenditure, roads of military importance consume Rs. 20.4 lakhs. I have also allowed for establishment charges. Out of Rs. 6.50 lakhs for establishment I have allowed Rs. 3.25 lakhs to the trans-frontier roads of military importance. Out of the total Civil Works I allow Rs. 23.65 lakhs for trans-frontier expenses. Out of the police expenses I allow Rs. 21.30 lakhs for the trans-frontier. I allow the whole of the political expenditure for the trans-frontier. As regards general administration, out of the Chief Commissioner's establishment, etc., of Rs. 3.5 lakhs I allow Rs. 2 lakhs for trans-frontier charges. Is there any other expenditure which my Honourable friend would like to allow? The total civil works Rs. 24 lakhs nearly, the frontier constabulary Rs. 21 lakhs, political expenditure Rs. 98 lakhs, and out of the general administration I allow Rs. 2 lakhs as the share for the trans-frontier,—all put together comes to Rs. 145 lakhs. How does my Honourable friend say that the deficit will be only Rs. 20 lakhs with a chance of total extinction? I submit it is optimism with a vengeance to say that the deficit in internal administration is only Rs. 20 lakhs when it comes to Rs. 150 lakhs. Not only that. The expenditure is Rs. 150 lakhs, the revenue is only Rs. 78 lakhs, so that the deficit will be Rs. 70 or 72 lakhs for the coming year, 1926-27. for internal administration alone? And is it an elastic revenue? What are the chief sources of revenue in that province? Land revenue. Is it not a fact that the Foreign Department and the Chief Commissioner had to postpone the resettlement which was due in the Peshawar district on two occasions on account of the poverty of the people? Is it not a fact that the land revenue was 17 lakhs in 1902-03 and is now 22 lakhs and odd? Is it such an elastic source of revenue? Where is the money to come from? How is this province going to stand on its own legs for its internal administration? That is the question I ask. How does the Honourable Member hope that this province will ever stand on its own legs for internal administration? I do not see how he can belittle the financial aspect of the administration. By all means as

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watch and ward people we are prepared to help you. But, at the same time, we want to have a voice in the control of the expenditure. But extending the Reforms to this province, you will require an Executive Council and Ministers. What has the Minister to do? Let me again ask a question. Do my Honourable friends realise that you will have a Minister for Registration—in case the Registration Department is transferred—for five districts in four of which there are honorary Sub-Registrars? The whole expenditure in the Registration Department comes to about Rs. 13,000 per annum. Then, again, Sir, how many schools is this Minister to take charge of? How many schools are there? Will my Honourable friends ask themselves this question? There is a Training College. But whom does it train? It trains teachers for primary schools and for secondary schools, not B. A's. and L. T's. and all that. This Training college certainly exists and each student costs about Rs. 3,500 per annum. That is all we are asked to maintain. Sir, every administrator knows that it is only when districts form part of a large province that they can get the benefits of a full administration. You want a Chief Engineer, Executive Engineers, an Inspector General of Irrigation and all that paraphernalia of administration. But there is not one district like the Tanjore district or North Arcot and you want all this paraphernalia. Let me take opium excise. What has the Minister to do? Do my Honourable friends realise the difficulties of opium administration over this 700 miles land border where opium is smuggled according to the Revenue Commissioner's evidence before us? Is the Minister to be in charge of the administration there? Are the Central Government going to part with their authority in that matter? May I ask that question straightaway? Then, what has the Minister to take charge of? Education. What has he to do for money? Where is he to get the money from? Out of the revenue of 78 lakhs, we are spending 15 to 16 lakhs on education. Therefore, they will come to us for money. And we will have to decide what should be given to them having regard to our general requirements and having regard to our deficit or surplus as the case may be. Therefore, how can my Honourable friends representing the tax-payers of all India, who have to find the money for this purpose, blindly say that they will part with it? Sir, the Minister will be ambitious as all Ministers are. If he wants to be popular, he must start new colleges, more schools, more medical institutions and more hospitals for which he will require money. And where is he to get the money from? You will be tied hand and foot and you will be told afterwards, when they come for the money, that you have put a Minister in charge who cannot get on without money. He is unpopular with the people because he has no money to spend. My Honourable friend Mr. Jinnah drew attention to the fact that the extra cost by giving the Executive Council and the Minister will be something like Rs. 1,25,000. That may be so. But what are the implications of that procedure? That is what we have to see. The financial commitments already are large and the financial commitments which must come and which the province cannot bear must be very large indeed in course of time. So, looking at it from that point of view, it is not a negligible factor. On the other hand, I attach the greatest importance to that aspect of the case. We are certainly thankful to them but, so far as finances are concerned, he who pays must have the voice in controlling the expenditure. It will be a generous control, but all the same control must be there.

Now, Sir, I have already adverted to the administrative aspects. You want an Executive Council and once the Executive Council is there, what is the trend? If we have one English Executive Councillor, you must have an Indian Executive Councillor. Can we, the Members of a representative Assembly, who claim Indianisation everywhere have the heart to say: "You shall not have an Indian Executive Councillor."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): In the North-West Frontier Province you can say that.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: I do not know what will be the next step when the pressure comes from all sides. That is what I am apprehensive about. No doubt it is most popular to-day, but can you resist pressure? The Minister will certainly want more money if he wants to develop his business and become popular. What are the departments you are going to entrust to him? Are you going to entrust him with law and order? I have relied on official records and on admissions of responsible gentlemen on the spot. Now, Sir, what is it that the official report of the Judicial Commissioner for the year 1920 says about the people. I will read one passage. The Judicial Commissioner in 1920, which is not an ancient record, said:

"In 1912 the Sessions Judge of Peshawar remarked that there is reason to believe that in many cases the burglar and the thief had many of the Khans and leading Maliks on their side."

Honourable Members who are familiar with the tract know what influence these Khans and local chiefs have in the province. The statement that I have just read is not an extravagant statement of any witness. It is what the Judicial Commissioner has said in his report. On page 48 he further says:

"The hostile attitude of the tribes re-acted on the people as a result of the close ties of kinship which unite the cis and the trans-border tribes."

This was said in 1920 and my Honourable friends ask us to forget facts. How can we forget facts when we know the terror to which the people of those districts, both Hindu and Muhammadan, are subjected? Originally the Hindus formed the prey. But later on, like the man-eater who has succeeded in his first attempt, both the Hindus and the Muhammadans fell a prey to these raiders. And Honourable Members will notice that this remark was made by a Judicial Commissioner and not by an administrative officer. The Judicial Commissioner in 1920 said. (Mr. K. Ahmed made an inaudible interruption.) My Honourable friend should have patience to consider and weigh the fact. The Judicial Commissioner's remark is about the hostile attitude of the tribes. My Honourable friend Sir Denys Bray interrupted me a little while ago about the trans-frontier tribes. This is what the Judicial Commissioner says:

"The hostile attitude of the tribes re-acted on the people as a result of the close ties of kinship which unite the cis and the trans-border tribes."

Mr. K. Ahmed: Just as the non-Brahmin says about the Brahmin.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Sir, I ask the House to pause and consider.

Sir Denys Bray: May I ask the Honourable Member what was the rest of the report? Is the Judicial Commissioner referring to some specific case?

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: I am only reading what the Judicial Commissioner said in 1920 in his report.

Sir Denys Bray: But the Honourable Member is quoting an isolated passage. Will he read out the rest of the passage? These isolated passages are very misleading.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Is it not more than half an hour, Sir, since Mr. Rangachariar has been speaking?

Mr. President: Order, order.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Is there no time limit, may I ask?

Mr. President: Order, order.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Let us not exaggerate the communal aspect of the position. It has nothing whatever to do with the question. There are only 2 or 3 lakhs of Hindus. What does it matter what happens to them? I am concerned in looking at it from all other points of view. Who are these people, what is it that sets the whole frontier ablaze, who is the enemy? Will the officials speak? Have not officials spoken before the Committee? Have they not given evidence as to who the enemy is? Peshawar was the winter capital of Afghanistan for nearly 700 years. These districts formed part of Afghanistan. (*An Honourable Member:* "So did Delhi!") They had their eye on this jewel. My Honourable friend Sir Denys Bray is laughing.

Sir Denys Bray: Personally I would much prefer if the Honourable Member were more discreet in his remarks. I was laughing not at him, but at an interjection that I had just heard.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Let the records speak, not me. Let the records speak as to what their fears were in 1919-20 when that wave of fanaticism spread abroad. I quite agree that it is not tactful perhaps, not politic perhaps, to touch too much upon those aspects of the question. But I want the Honourable Members of the Government Benches to have a look into the military records and I am sure that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will place them at their disposal. I was not speaking of any evidence given, but I will now proceed to refer to what a very responsible and educated Pathan said before the Committee:

"I belong to this Province and am a Pathan. I have experience of Persia. For three years I was in Consular service as Assistant to the Consul in Sistan in Persia. From there I returned as Personal Assistant to the Chief Commissioner, Baluchistan, and I have experience of the whole of Baluchistan. During that period I was Attaché with the Afghan Prince, Inayatulla Khan, and interpreted between Lord Curzon and the Prince . . . Subsequent to that when it was proposed during the Amir's presence in India to send Sirdar Ayub Khan, brother of the *ex*-Amir, who is dead now, to Japan, I was Assistant Political Officer with him. When I returned from there I was Assistant Political Officer with the *ex*-Amir Yaqub Khan. I have experience of the entire Afghan family, besides being an Afghan myself. I know most of the magnates of Kabul. I was British Representative at Kandahar . . . I have experience of Baluchis and Afghans and I know Brahui and Baluchi. In this case not only do I know the Afghan across the border but the people of the independent territory too."

Now, will my Honourable friend listen with patience to what he says?

Sir Denys Bray: No, no.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: You will not listen?

Sir Denys Bray: Not with patience!

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: The House should realise (An Honourable Member: "Never")—the whole of India should recognise (An Honourable Member: "How can they!")—we have to recognise the sentiments of the whole of the three hundred millions in this land. What does he say?

"As far as Islam"

Mr. President: Will the Honourable Member bring his remarks to a close?

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: This is what he says. He says:

"As far as Islam is concerned and the Muhammadan idea of the League of Nations goes, I am against it.

Q.—The idea at the back of your Anjuman is the Pan-Islamic idea, which is that Islam is a league of nations and as such amalgamating this Province with the Punjab will be detrimental, will be prejudicial to that idea. That is the dominant idea at the back of those who think with you? Is it so?

A.—It is so, but I have to add something. Their idea is that the Hindu-Muslim unity will never become a fact, it will never become a *fait accompli*, and they think that this Province should remain separate and a link between Islam and the Britannic Commonwealth. In fact, when I am asked what my opinion is—I, as a member of the Anjuman, am expressing this opinion—we would much rather see the separation of Hindus and Muhammadans, 23 crores of Hindus to the South and 8 crores Muslims to the North. Give the whole portion from Raskumari to Agra to Hindus, and from Agra to Peshawar to Muhammadans, I mean transmigration from one place to the other. This is an idea of exchange. It is not an idea of annihilation. Bolshevism at present does away with the possession of private property. It nationalizes the whole thing and this is an idea which of course appertains to only exchange. This is of course impracticable. But if it were practicable, we would rather want this than the other.

Q.—That is the dominant idea which compels you not to have amalgamation with the Punjab?

A.—Exactly.

Q.—When you referred to the Islamic League of Nations, I believe you had the religious side of it more prominently in your mind than the political side?

A.—Of course, political. Anjuman is a political thing. Initially of course, anything Muhammadan is religious, but of course Anjuman is a political association.

Q.—I am not referring to your Anjuman, but I am referring to the Mussalmans. I want to know what the Mussalmans think of this Islamic League of Nations, what have they most prominently in mind; is it the religious side or the political side?

A.—Islam, as you know, is both religious and political.

Q.—Therefore politics and religion are intermingled?

A.—Yes, certainly."

Here is another witness, a B.A., B.L.:

"As a matter of fact, the Pathan considers himself more to belong to the hills than to India. He has more sympathies with his kith and kin of the trans-border than with the Punjabis or the rest of the Indians. A Pathan would never consent to being called anything less than a 'Pathan'. It is a question whether he can be Indianized at all."

That is the attitude of the people of the district. I respect them for their views, I respect them for their patriotism, I respect them for their faith in their own kith and kin; but, Sir, self-interest demands, self-preservation demands that we should not allow them to be a source of trouble. This frontier has always been a source of trouble. Everyone has admitted that. It is all very well for Sir Abdul Qaiyum. If we had more Abdul Qaiyums there

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: How are the reforms and the suggested Council going to make them worse, and what is your remedy for all that, supposing what you say is correct?

Mr. President: Does the Honourable Member from the Frontier Province want the Honourable Member to continue?

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Far be it from me that you should not have the opportunity for self-government. But what is self-government? I want them to come here or to go to Lahore and mix with the rest of the civilised world and take their civilisation with them. I want more Abdul Qaiyums here so that we may get your manliness, your independence, so that we may impart to you a sense of civilization, a love for culture, and give up your tribal law. Is it good to themselves? You allow Marvars in Madras to meet together, pass laws together. What will they do? How do you expect them to improve themselves? You do not give them a chance of improvement. Go to the Punjab. There is no difficulty in it.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: But the local Council will send better people here than Abdul Qaiyums to help you in the lobby.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: I know that. I do not want more Abdul Qaiyums of that sort to uphold me in the lobby. Once you have got there, your local feuds—I am not speaking of the feuds between Hindus and Muhammadans—but between tribes and tribes who live in fortresses fighting each other.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: But we have more than one lakh of Hindus in that province.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Never mind the Hindus.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: They are there.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: What will happen?

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: There will be many Rangachariars amongst those Hindus.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: I know, they get protection by attaching themselves to the Khans. I know that, the protection afforded to the Hindus is because they attach themselves to particular Khans, and I say they are free to do so. The Khans protect them at the cost of their lives; I have seen it in trans-frontier territory; there are Hindus living there, but each of them is attached to a particular Khan. Therefore, as I have said, we must realise what is the proposition we are asked to support. They want a major Local Government; it is politically unsound, financially disastrous and administratively useless. Sir, I oppose the Resolution.

***Khan Sahib M. E. Makan** (Bombay Northern Division: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I have got great sympathy for the North West Frontier Province because I too come from the Eastern Frontier of India. We too, like the people of the North West Frontier are frontier men. Just as in the Frontier Province Muslims are 92 per cent. of the population, exactly so in my province, excluding Sindh, the Hindus may be in about the same

*Translation of the speech made in the vernacular by the Honourable Member.

majority. Although the Muhammadan population is so scanty, we have already got Reforms and the Muhammadans of that province are anxious to have a further instalment of Reforms, in spite of their great numerical weakness. We do not want to be a stumbling block in the way of the Reforms, although we may get so little from them. It is not well to cut your own nose to create a bad omen for another. When the Government have admitted that Swaraj is the ultimate object and it was towards this end that the first instalment of Reforms was extended to India in 1921, I see no reason why the Government should not be prepared to extend it to the North West Frontier Province when the Government recognise it to be an integral part of India. If the North West Frontier Province is a part of India it will be a great injustice if the instalment of Reforms that was given to us in 1921, is not extended to the North West Frontier Province. If you do not recognise the North West Frontier Province as a part of India, you should immediately liberate them so that they may be able to establish a separate government of their own. This will also remove the burden of great expenses from India. I cannot understand why, when the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar are against Reforms on the frontier, my Honourable leader Mr. Jinnah supports further Reforms for the whole of India. When the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya cannot see a Muslim Raj on the Frontier, why does Mr. Jinnah like to see Hindu Raj in Bombay? This shows that Mr. Jinnah has a genuine desire for Swaraj while Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya wants to retard its progress. Admitting for a moment that many dacoities and raids are committed on the Frontier, I cannot understand how the situation will change with the extension of Reforms. On the contrary I think that with Reforms the people of that province will begin to realise their responsibility and they will treat their Hindu brethren better, so that they should not be blamed in future and the gradual progress of Reforms should continue as in other provinces. I hope the Mussalmans of the North West Frontier Province will be successful in the Assembly to-day because the Honourable the Home Member, Sir Alexander Muddiman, and the Honourable Sir Denys Bray are both foresighted and justice-loving and they will, I am sure, never tolerate that the gate-keeper of India should remain dissatisfied and discontented.

With these words, Sir, I support the Resolution moved by Sayad Murfuza Sahib Bahadur and thank the Honourable the President, who I am proud to say, is also from Gujarat, for having given me this opportunity to speak.

Lieutenant-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney (Nominated: Anglo-Indians): Sir, I have but one vote in this House, and after very careful consideration and deliberation on this matter, I have decided to give that vote in favour of this Resolution and to walk into the lobby with my Muhammadan friends in support of it, and I do so, Sir, because I feel that the House has in the main accorded its support to this Resolution. We have the empty Benches in front of us, but I understand that the Leader of that Party has expressed himself in favour of this proposition. Therefore, the opposition to-day consists of a few people, mainly those who reside thousands of miles away from the area under discussion. Sir, I cannot understand why my friends Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer and Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar have so stoutly opposed this Resolution. Sir Sivaswamy

[Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney.]

Aiyer yesterday brought all his cavalry and artillery into action and gave us a charge at break-neck speed on this matter. His speech was delivered at such a speed that I really could not understand what he said. It was so different to his usual slow, studied and deliberate method of addressing this House. He was addressing a large audience than this House—the public and the Press. To-day we have Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar, after having heard all the arguments on the opposite side, bringing in his peculiar line of arguments which are so characteristic of the legal way he deals with such debates especially on the financial aspects, as if he were cross-examining a witness. He has brought forward certain points which I am sure have impressed this House to a certain extent, against the acceptance of this Resolution. But he put forward certain figures which I believe are not quite correct and which he has not explained to this House, because I understand that the expenditure he detailed and used with such force against this Resolution refers to both the Agencies and the settled districts in the North West Frontier Province, and I believe the Agencies are an imperial charge and have no concern whatever with the charge for the settled districts. Moreover, Sir, whatever extra expenditure is involved, I do not think the financial situation is very different to the present position of Assam, which as a Province is just paying its way and which nevertheless still supports all the paraphernalia on which Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar laid so much stress as necessary for a new North West Frontier Province. Sir, I am surprised at the attitude taken up by the opponents in their position either as Nationalists or Independents, for I cannot understand how, with one breath they cry out for a Royal Commission to give a further advance in Reforms to this country, while with the other they decry and oppose the introduction of Reforms for another part of India, the North West Frontier Province. Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar to-day said he dealt with this matter as an Indian, but is he not nullifying that statement by now refusing to the North West Frontier Province an equal measure of self-government to that which he enjoys in his own province? Indeed, Sir, I think that this province, being one that can look after itself and defend itself, is in a more fit condition to receive self-government than one not so qualified. I am familiar with this province, and I consider that the inhabitants of the North West Frontier Province are one of the most manly types of people you could meet in India. They are people who look you straight in the face; they are people who do a straight deal irrespective of the consequences. The Honourable the Home Member asked us to give very serious thought to this Resolution and to give very careful consideration to our votes. The Government have, I think wisely, taken up an attitude of “wait and see” in connection with this Resolution.

Now, what does this Resolution ask for? It asks for the grant of Reforms, and I am sure the Mover of this Resolution would be prepared to accept from the Government whatever nature and extent of Reforms they thought necessary. As to the warning the Home Member gave I think it is very timely, timely for reasons which, as Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar said, are hidden away in the archives of the Political Department. But, Sir, if those records are asked to speak on behalf of the North West Frontier Province, what I ask the Political Secretary, will the records of Bengal say? The Honourable the Home Member said there

was a miscellaneous display of cutlery and a display of arms wherever you went in the North West Frontier Province; but, Sir, those arms and that cutlery were openly seen not hidden from the official gaze. Compare that with the arms and cutlery to be found in another province, a province with which Government are flirting and to which they are very desirous of giving Reforms, namely, Bengal. There Government need the entire police force to find out where a part of that cutlery and arms is hidden. Sir, the positions are not comparable. Since we have given Reforms to other provinces in India, I see no reason why we should not give it to a province which is wanting it. On the one hand we have certain provinces saying "We do not want Reforms" and yet you are forcing reforms on them. On the other hand, you here have a province which says "I am anxious to do what you want the rest of India to do, but what they refuse to do—i.e., to co-operate with your Government in the Reforms" and yet you hesitate and you ask this House to decide and you say you will not vote on the Resolution. Now, Sir, I consider this is a question on which Government should give an opinion, a very decided opinion. It is no use to play a wait and see game and then after we have given our vote to say "I told you so". I want the Government to indicate here very clearly what is their opinion on this important matter? Sir, the Honourable the Home Member in his very wise and cautious speech said every Member of the House must seriously consider the matter before he gives his vote and he made use of a very apt saying:

"Full many a shaft at random sent
Finds mark the archer never meant."

If that is to be applied to the North West Frontier, might I transpose it for another province, where Reforms have been given and failed somewhat like this:

"Full many a shaft the anarchist sent
Finds mark the archer never meant."

Sir, I look upon this Resolution as a touchstone, I look upon it as a pivot and a crucial test of the future relations between Hindus and Muhammadans, an unrivalled opportunity for the Hindus and Muslims to shake hands in mutual trust, faith and confidence. If in other provinces the Muhammadans did not object to the Reforms, I think the Hindus should return the compliment and tell the Muhammadans to-day: "We trust you in the same way as we asked you to trust us, and we do not oppose this Resolution". It seems to me what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. Extra expenditure I know will be involved, but who gets the benefit of it? My friends sitting opposite there who come from thousands of miles away—Madras—forget their provincial safety. The North West Frontier Province is the gateway of India; it is a part of India on the defence of which Government spend crores and crores of rupees. It is a part of India where we have a body of men who have been faithful to us. Then, again, I ask, where do the Government of India get a part of their income but from provincial contributions? What about the Honourable Member's own province? Has he not lived on the charity of the Government of India? I refer to this year's reduction in the provincial contribution from Madras.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: No major province depends upon that.

Lieutenant-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: You seriously allege that India has been emasculated by not being allowed to possess arms, but you object to the Frontier having them.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Who said that? On the other hand I have recommended that arms should be freely distributed.

Lieutenant-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Not you individually, but others who have opposed this Resolution.

Sir, to sum up, it seems to me this is a Resolution that should commend itself very favourably to this House and I am very glad indeed to see my European brethren here have decided to support it. As I said before, I have but one vote and I value that vote on all occasions, but, I assure my Muhammadan brothers here that I will give it to them with pleasure on this occasion.

(Cries of "Let the question be now put.")

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Two of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Two of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

Sir Hari Singh Gour (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhamadan): Sir, I should like to contribute a few words to this discussion. I find that as far back as 1900, when the question of the separation of the North West Frontier Province was mooted by the Government of India, Lord Curzon gave expression to the following views. I read from his official despatch dated the 27th August, 1900. He said:

"It will express and enforce the direct responsibility of the Government for foreign affairs. It will enable the Viceroy to take up the most important business of the department of which he is the personal chief. It will free the management of frontier politics from the delays that are inseparable from a chain of reference whose strength is sacrificed to its length."

And the Secretary of State in accepting his proposal in paragraph 8 of his despatch, wrote as follows:

"In the meanwhile Her Majesty's Government generally approve of your proposal as tending to express and enforce the direct responsibility of your government for frontier affairs and to free the management of frontier politics from the delay inseparable from the present system."

The question of cost was raised in 1900, and this, Sir, is what Her Majesty's Secretary of State wrote on that question. Lord Curzon had said:

"It will not entail any additional burden upon the Imperial revenues."

And the Secretary of State said in paragraph 8:

"If on close examination of the various changes and adaptations inseparable from the constitution of the new Commission apart from the Punjab Government, it is found that they do in fact involve no additional expense, the result will be undoubtedly satisfactory."

Now, Sir, these are the two conditions upon which the Frontier Province was constituted; first, that it will entail no additional cost, and second,

that the frontier policy will be directly in the hands of the Governor General; and I find, Sir, that Colonel Gidney, who seems to have changed his views, gave expression to identical views on the 21st of September, 1921. Speaking on the motion he said:

"The domestic policy pursued in a territory contiguous to the frontier must inevitably react upon foreign policy and upon defence. It is inconceivable that domestic policy in such territory should be directed by any authority other than that which is responsible for foreign policy and defence."

This is nothing but a paraphrase of the views of the Government of India and the Secretary of State. Now, Sir, the question that I wish to ask this House is this. Only two days back, when the Education Secretary asked for a supplementary demand of Rs. 50 lakhs for the purpose of Archaeology, my friend, the Honourable Mr. Jinnah, and other Members of this House rose up in arms against him and said: "This will take away the jurisdiction of this House to grant supplies, and you are withdrawing from the cognisance of this House a large sum of money which will disappear and will be used by trustees which this House cannot tolerate." That, Sir, was the principle that we who are responsible to the tax-payers for the safe use of their money, should also be responsible for voting supplies. I apply that principle to the present case. The Frontier Province is annually a deficit province. The Honourable Mr. Rangachariar has pointed out and I have verified his facts—we find from the current Budget that we have to subscribe no less than Rs. 2½ crores for the maintenance of the Frontier Province. Now, I ask the Honourable Members one short question. This annual sum of money which you vote for the upkeep of the Frontier Province, are you prepared to take it out of your vote and make it over to the Local Government to be distributed? That is the short question.

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan (North Punjab: Muhammadan): It is not necessary.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: My friend the Raja who led the debate says it is not necessary. Very well, Sir. If this House is to vote its supplies every year to the North West Frontier Province, how is it consistent with the constitution and the existence of local autonomy?

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan: For unsettled districts.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Then my friend says, he does not want these Reforms to be given to the whole of the Frontier Province, but he only wants them for the five settled districts. Well, Sir, I will reply to him in the words of the then Law Member, who, speaking on behalf of Government, disposed of that argument in the following words:

"The population of the five settled districts there is intimately connected and associated with the five agency tracts. In fact I am told that there are many among them who have houses on both sides of the Frontier. Their relations are intimate, and it would be, in the opinion of the frontier officers who know the province, extremely dangerous and disastrous to divide control in that part of the country."

That is my answer to the Raja Sahib. You cannot possibly give Reforms to five districts and refuse those reforms to the other five trans-border districts.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum: The conditions are different. I cannot follow the reasoning.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: I have given the reasons.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: I hope the Honourable Member will confine his arguments to the extra expenditure which will be involved in starting the Reforms, and not to the whole expenditure of the Frontier Province. These five districts are already under the administration of a Chief Commissioner. What remedy is there for reducing the present expenditure?

Sir Hari Singh Gour: I have quoted Lord Curzon, and I have quoted the Secretary of State. I have also quoted the Law Member. I wish presently to place the Nawab Sahib in the same distinguished company and in favour of the view which they have expressed. If he will only pause for a minute, I will quote his own words.

Now, Sir, I am dealing with this question first, about the pronouncement made in 1900 by the responsible authorities both in India and in England when the Frontier Province was carved out of Punjab, and I further wish to point out that, so far as this Resolution is concerned, it does not deal with the five settled districts, but it deals with the whole of The North West Frontier Province. Honourable Members will probably say that this Resolution must be read in its spirit and not literally. I am prepared to do that. I am prepared to concede that this Resolution must be understood as meaning that the Reforms are merely to be extended to the five settled districts, in other words, to half of the Frontier Province. Now, Sir, what is the position there? I find, Sir, that about two years ago there was a meeting held by the Revenue Commissioner, Colonel Keane, the present Officiating Chief Commissioner, and he inquired of the people—my friend the Nawab Sahib was present at that meeting,—whether they preferred elections to nominations in the municipalities, and . . .

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: Not in the municipalities, please.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: In the District Boards. I stand corrected—in the District Boards, and they all said that that they did not want elections, they wanted nominations . . .

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: No.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: And I say, Sir, that only two years ago at a representative meeting, when the public opinion of both Hindus and Muhammadans was sounded, they agreed in preferring nominations to elections in the District Boards . . .

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: May I point out, Sir, that we never said that we did not want the election system or Reforms in the Province. What we said was that there was no use of introducing reforms in the District Boards in which there were very few non-Muslims and non-Pakhs, but that we wanted the Reforms to be started right through the whole province first, particularly in the municipalities and, then in the ordinary way, in the District Boards, etc. We said that there was no use of introducing these reforms, first, in the District Boards which were composed of almost one class of people only.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: I am much obliged for this interruption. I find that the Nawab Sahib was fairer than I was. He is perfectly fair. He said that when he went there he said that he did not want the reforms to be introduced in the District Boards. He wanted to introduce the reforms

first, in the municipalities, and then in the District Boards, and then he wanted them to be extended to the whole Province. I say, Sir, that is the language of a statesman, and I congratulate the Honourable Member in giving expression to it here. Now, if I say . . .

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: I wanted the mother to come forward and produce children. It is unnatural that the children should come first and the mother afterwards.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Well, Sir, I leave it to the House. I ask Honourable Members fairly to consider this very short statement which the Nawab Sahib has made. In British India long before the advent of the reforms the municipalities and District Boards had been autonomous . . .

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan: Not all.

Mr. Abdul Haye: Not simultaneously.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: In the first you had municipal elections, then you had elections to the District Boards, and only two years back Sir Abdul Qaiyum opposed elections even to the District Boards. He said he wanted no reforms at the foot of the ladder from which they began under Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty in 1880 in India. That was the preparatory stage here; and when the people realised the value of elections, then further reforms became necessary and were introduced. Now, your spokesman in this House, the inspirer of the Resolution, has himself admitted now . . .

Mr. President: The Honourable Member forgets that the Chair is on this side.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: The Honourable Member has himself admitted that only two years back he was against the introduction of reforms in the constitution of the District Boards, and I will leave it there.

Now, my point is this. We are here dealing with some frontier Districts, not the whole of the Frontier Province, but only a part of it, and the resolution is interpreted as saying, which it does not say, that you must give to only a part of that Frontier Province, I take it, the Reforms provided for in the Government of India Act, which relate to Legislative Councils, the appointment of Ministers, etc. Now, Sir, if you were to introduce ministerial responsibility and a local Legislative Council, I wish to ask, how is it consistent with the declaration of the Secretary of State and of the Government of India of 1900 when this new province was constituted? My second point is, how is the cost to be met? My friend the Raja Sahib says it will come out of the general revenues of India and will be voted by this House . . .

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan: I did not say that.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: It will come out of the revenues of India. Well, Sir, I ask the House, if it is to come out of the revenues of India, it must be placed upon the estimates of this House. And is this House prepared—that is the short question—is this House prepared to abdicate its duties and responsibilities of transferring a large sum of three crores of rupees every year without any control which it exercises by its annual vote on the Budget?

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: I would ask the Honourable Member to confine his arguments to the extra expenditure which will not, be, roughly speaking, more than Rs. 60,000 a year.

Mr. President: That is the function of the President and not of the Honourable Member.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: I am afraid, Sir, there is a little confusion in the Nawab Sahib's mind. The extra expenditure is not the only thing to be considered. You have to run the province with a Budget of its own, and that Budget can either be voted by the Legislative Council or by the Legislative Assembly, and if it is once placed upon the estimates of the local Legislative Council, it follows that the Legislative Assembly will be deprived of the power of vote which it now possesses and which it exercises in respect of the North West Frontier Budget. That, I submit . . .

Mr. Mahmood Schammad Sahib Bahadur: From that Budget, Sir.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: That, I submit, is a deprivation of the power against which this House has almost unanimously protested only 48 hours back.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: What about Burma? What did you do in Burma?

An Honourable Member: What about Railways?

Sir Hari Singh Gour: The House will further remember that the North West Frontier Province was constituted for the purpose of giving a direct hold to the Government of India on its foreign policy, and if my Honourable friends to-day ask the Government of India to use their good offices to extend the reforms to the 5 districts, I ask them why Baluchistan should be excluded from it.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: No, not excluded.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Apparently my friend will say that the Reforms must be extended to Baluchistan . . .

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: Why not? And later on to the tribal area too.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: And to the Santhal Parganas, and in fact to all provinces which are geographically within the limits of British India.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: And form part of the Indian Empire, and are subject to Indian laws.

Mr. K. Ahmed: You can have your Marriage Bill circulated then.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: I wish in this connection to draw the attention of the House to what took place when there was a debate on a very similar motion by my friend Mr. Harbilas Sarda relating to the small province of Ajmer-Merwara. The Government then said: "You are a deficit province. You cannot pay your way, and so long as you remain a deficit province, you cannot have Reforms."

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan: Political importance.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: But what did you and the Swarajists say on this point and where did you vote?

Sir Hari Singh Gour: I submit that that argument applies *a fortiori* to a province where the deficit is as much as in the case of the North West Frontier Province.

Mr. K. Ahmed: How can you say that? Are you speaking for yourself or justifying your return to this Assembly on the Swarajist ticket?

Mr. President: Order, order.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Then, Sir, dealing with the North West Frontier Province, I have no doubt that here again I shall be supported by the Honourable the Nawab who is the foster father of this Resolution. (*An Honourable Member:* "No.") Is it not a fact that there are such things as *para janba* of which a very weak rendering is factions and is it not a fact that these factions are above politics, above religion above all and they are the ripe source of life-long blood-feuds and vendettas unknown anywhere in India

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: I have seen the worst type of "*para janba*" (party feelings) on the floor of this House, worse than in the Frontier Province.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: The fact that they exist elsewhere in India does not minimise the fact that they are there in their pristine vigour and strength. The fundamental principle of every democratic or representative institution is that the representatives of the people should think imperially and think of the good and welfare of the provinces as a whole and not of the small parties to which they belong. I ask, Sir, would it be conducive to the peace and welfare of the provinces as a whole if these Reforms are extended to the North West Frontier Province at this stage?

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: I will say just one word, Sir. If the Reforms are taken away from the Honourable Member's province, namely, the Central Provinces, where the situation is worse in this respect than in the North West Frontier Province, then we will be quite prepared to remain without reforms.

Mr. President: This is neither a personal explanation nor a point of order.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: I wish to point out one other fact . . .

Mr. President: I hope the Honourable Member will now bring his remarks to a close.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: I think, Sir, that the remarks of these Honourable Members (meaning those who had interrupted) have been more than my remarks.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member must understand that the House is getting impatient. He will therefore bring his remarks to a close.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: One more point I wish to bring to the notice of the House. Under the Government of India Act the North West Frontier Province is excluded and it would require an amendment of the Government of India Act to include the North West Frontier Province under the provisions of that Act.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: The Act ought to be amended.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: My friend says that the Government of India Act ought to be amended. I have no doubt, Sir, that when the Government of India Act is amended, these questions will receive consideration.

[Sir Hari Singh Gour.]

and I do entreat the Government of India to give an assurance that if and when the Government of India Act is revised, this question will not be ignored and that it will be taken into consideration along with the further Reforms which the Royal Commission or the Statutory Commission or any other Commission that may be set up may take into consideration.

(Several Honourable Members moved that the question be put.)

Mr. President: The question is that the question be now put.

The motion was adopted.

(Mr. President then called on Maulvi Sayad Murtuza Sahib Bahadur to reply.)

Sir Denys Bray: Sir, before the Honourable Member replies, might I ask for your guidance? Two amendments are, I understand, before the House. Are we to understand that they have been withdrawn?

Mr. President: The amendments have not been withdrawn. The course which the Chair proposes to adopt is this. It will read to the House the original Resolution and the two amendments, but will put the original Resolution to the vote first.

Maulvi Sayad Murtuza Sahib Bahadur (South Madras: Muhammadan): Sir, before availing myself of the right of reply I thank those gentlemen who have supported me wholeheartedly, especially Colonel Crawford and Colonel Gidney, who are the gallant representatives of a gallant race, (*An Honourable Member:* "And Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal") and I value the support of Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal more because he is a member of the Hindu Mahasabha and a member of the Sangathan, and yet he is prepared to espouse the cause which is a righteous one. I also thank the leader of the non-official European party, Sir Darcy Lindsay, for his wholehearted support. Gentlemen, when I say this, it is not meant that I do not thank those that have opposed me. I thank the opposers of this proposition also, especially Sir Hari Singh Gour, the last speaker, who has assured the House, having placed himself in the capacity of the Home Member, that the Frontier people will get this and that when the further consideration of the reforms is taken up by the Government, as if he is in the know of the Government secrets that we are going to get this and that to-morrow or the day after. Till then, he wants the frontier Muhammadans to observe silence, and the silence of the dead. Now, as regards the other three speakers that have opposed me, two are from my own province of Madras, and they are my personal friends. One is my family friend and the other was my colleague in the Madras Legislative Council.

Mr. K. Ahmed: What is his name?

Maulvi Sayad Murtuza Sahib Bahadur: I mean Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer. As regards Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, he is a nationalist and that is recognised by all of us. I cannot question his nationalism. At the same time, he has, at least in this question, introduced communalism. He has been overpowered by a spirit of communalism. Nationalism has given way to communalism when he unnecessarily dragged in the question of Kohat and the question of Peshawar, simply with the object of undermining the spirit of my Resolution. I have to measure myself against these four stalwart politicians who are all vakils. I cannot succeed in that, but I shall try my level best to prove how far the arguments advanced by them

have fallen through. Two speakers from my province laid stress on the voluminous evidence recorded by one of them. But, Sir, when the majority report is before us, who are expected to have discussed and sifted every question, there is no necessity for our going into all the details. As regards my Honourable friend, Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, he is the originator of this debate, as the Committee itself was formed in pursuance of a Resolution moved by him. Before saying something regarding the question itself I have to inform my Honourable friend, the Home Member, that it is not Nawab Sir Abdul Qaiyum who was the inspirer of this Resolution, and at the same time I have to inform my Honourable friend over here that Nawab Sir Abdul Qaiyum is not the father of this Resolution. This Resolution was drafted by us all and the Home Member is not accurate when he says that I am from Madras and am not in touch with the Frontier. In my opening speech I said that I have been to the Frontier. I have seen the intelligentsia of that province; I have discussed with them matters regarding their well-being and as to how the law is being regulated there, what hardships they are being subjected to under the Frontier Crimes Regulation, and so forth. Along with those points this point of Reforms also was taken up. Ever since I had been there, I have had a longing to move this Resolution and I am fortunate to have drawn the ballot in my favour. No doubt, as has been rightly observed by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, I was cautious enough not to import communalism when I handled the question on the 16th February, and the Muslim speakers that followed me also handled it in the same strain, a fact which has been borne out by the Press. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya consciously or unconsciously gave vent to his fury against the furious Pathans of the Frontier when there was no occasion for it at all. All his arguments having been successfully met by the three Punjabi speakers, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Mr. Abdul Haye and Mr. Ghulam Bari, and my Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah, the leader to a party of which the Panditji had been a Member till the 16th

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: I have not spoken on the floor of this House on this Resolution as representing my Party. I spoke entirely in my individual capacity.

Maulvi Sayad Murtuza Sahib Bahadur: The question of keeping the people of the settled districts of the Frontier deprived of such Reforms as were introduced in other Provinces by the Government of India Act of 1919 and in addition denying them the benefits of such penal laws and criminal procedure as are in force in other provinces and were in force in the 5 settled districts of the Frontier also up to 1901, when they were separated from the dissimilar people and region of the Punjab, is one question and the question of amalgamating these five districts with the Punjab or redistributing the areas of the two provinces in any other manner is another question. One or the other may be discussed on its merits, but the two must not be confused. I am prepared to discuss the question of amalgamation or redistribution on the merits, but I submit that when the only question that I am discussing is of the political and civic rights of the people of the Frontier Province it is not fair to begot the issue by importing into the discussion the question of amalgamation or redistribution. It seems to me that a considerable part of the Hindu opposition to the extension of the Reforms to the Frontier Province is based on considerations that are not provincial but are imported into these discussions from other Provinces of India. In no other province are the Hindus in such a minority as in the North West Frontier Province, and being in

[Maulvi Sayad Murtuza Sahib Bahadur.]

most of the provinces in large majorities, in some no less large than the Muslim majority in the Frontier, the most communally-minded Hindu can pose as a nationalist and talk of democracy and mixed territorial representation or at least of joint electorates even if separate representation to the Muslim minorities is conceded. This pose cannot possibly be maintained any longer if the five settled districts of the Frontier not only remained a distinct and separate province but also secured the Reforms asked for in my Resolution. One need not be a prophet to predict that the moment the reforms are granted to these five districts as a distinct and separate province the Hindu minority thereof will begin to clamour as vociferously as the most nervous Mussalman seeking adequate and effective separate communal representation by means of separate electorates. The whole show of nationalism will then be given away if the Hindu minority in the Frontier proves just as anxious, if not more, for all those safeguards as the Muslim minorities elsewhere demand. It is for this reason, and mainly, if not solely, for this reason, that such a large part of the Hindu community is ranged against me to-day. This is the reason why some prominent Hindus of Southern India are even more anxious for the amalgamation of the Frontier Province with the Punjab than the Hindus of the Punjab itself, let alone the Mussalmans who are so emphatically and clearly opposed to it. That is the reason why on the pressure of the Punjab Hindus and their Hindu supporters of other provinces, the leader of the Swaraj Party gave to the Mussalman members of his party nominally two alternatives; amalgamation to-day or Swaraj to-morrow: but in reality it connoted no other alternative but amalgamation, because he allowed to be tacked on to the alternative of Swaraj to-morrow the significant addition "subject to such redistribution of provinces as may be found necessary." It is true that more recently it is pretended that the Hindus of the Punjab too no longer desire amalgamation. What is it that they desire after all? What they desire can be judged from the recent resolution passed by the Mahasabha with only one dissentient voice, which was to the effect that they desire that things should remain as they are. But I shall be charitable enough to believe that the Hindus in the Mahasabha also love freedom too much to be satisfied with the conditions of slavery that prevail to-day in the Frontier. Even though the chief sufferers are the Mussalmans and not the small Hindu minority, I do believe that the Hindu Mahasabha also wants Reforms but on one condition and that condition is that the Mussalman majority in the Frontier must merge itself in the small Muslim majority in the Punjab which has to be content with its 50 per cent. representation. The alternatives offered to the Mussalmans of the Frontier are that they should either remain the slaves of the Bureaucracy or submit to a merger in which the huge majority would be practically unavailable to them. But to make the Mussalmans subject to the merger the Hindu Mahasabha and the Hindus of the Punjab now pretend that they do not like even the merger but must keep the Mussalmans of the Frontier in the existing condition of slavery. This, it is believed by the Mahasabhaists, would bring the Mussalmans to their knees and compel them to beg themselves for amalgamation. This is an old trick and those who habitually drive hard bargains are past masters in playing it. The Persian proverb sums up this mentality which runs as follows:

"Ba margash bigeer ta ba tap razi shawād."

("Demand death and he will agree to fever.")

But the Mussalmans of the Frontier will not agree to fever and as for death they are generally accused of preferring other people's death to their own. This insistence, whether direct or indirect, of amalgamation with the Punjab is nothing short of political blackmail and I trust that every right-thinking Member of this House will help the Frontier Province in resisting it. It will be a vain effort to appeal to the rest of the House even though I am sorry to say the large bulk of this section of the House hails from my own province. It was perhaps on this account that the Providence which presides over the ballot destined it that a Mussalman from the same province should move this Resolution:

*"Asman har-i amanath na tavanisth kasheed,
Khura-i fal ba namai man-i deenana Zadand."*

("The burden of responsibility which could not be borne by Heaven has fallen to my lot.")

I bow to that Providence though I must say that it has involved me in difficulties with the party which had opposed my election, but which I joined after defeating its candidate and which I followed in the walk-out even though it had compelled me to resign. It is a sense of duty alone—a duty the demands of which are more insistent than any party discipline—that has compelled me to be present here to-day only to defend the cause that I championed. So far as I am concerned, Sir, I have no control over the barrier of technicalities and what I realise as my duty I have discharged. A certain charge has been levelled against me by one nationalist paper of Bengal. If my memory does not fail me it was the *Amrita Basar Patrika* which said that it was in a partisan spirit that I moved the Resolution. From the floor of this House I have to inform the editor of that Journal and those that share his views that I am above partisanship and have been so ever since my school and college days. I can easily substantiate my statement and disprove the charge by referring to the fact that it was only on the 24th February, 1925, that I supported a similar Resolution moved by my Honourable friend, Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda, demanding a Legislative Council for the province of Ajmer-Merwara where, as the House is aware, the Mussalmans are in a minority. The peculiarity of that Resolution was that there was not a single word either in the Resolution itself or in the speeches made by the Mover and others about safeguarding the interests of the minorities. My friend, the Mover of that Resolution, will bear me out when I say that his Resolution ran thus:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to be pleased to establish a Legislative Council for Ajmer-Merwara."

The said Resolution was supported not only by me but also by six other Mussalman Members, the total number of supporters of the proposition being 26. So far as my Resolution is concerned, it is cautiously worded making provision for safeguarding the interests of the minority community.

Now, Sir, as regards my friends from my own province, Madras, I have simply to read out to them the opinion held by the majority of the Hindus of my province regarding this question, which will be helpful to others also in forming an opinion about this question. This is from a paper which is the national organ of the non-Brahmin Hindus who form the majority of the population of our province.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): What is the name of the paper?

Maulvi Sayad Murtaza Sahib Bahadur: The name of the paper is *Justice* and it has done justice to this subject.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum: But our opposers are Brahmins.

Maulvi Sayad Murtaza Sahib Bahadur: Out of four who have opposed this Resolution, three are Brahmins.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachandrar: I hope my friend recognises that there is nothing personal to him in it.

Maulvi Sayad Murtaza Sahib Bahadur: I do agree with you there, Sir. *Justice* in its editorial of 18th February, said as follows:

"Although the discussion in the Legislative Assembly on Maulvi Sayad Murtaza's Resolution asking for the extension of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms into the North-West Frontier Province has not yet come to an end, we are not without our own fears that the Assembly would eventually be found to have contributed something of its own towards increasing the bitterness of the already embittered relations between the Hindus and the Muslims in this country."

Our province is free from this charge:

"For example, even a child can foresee that speeches of the type delivered by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya can only have the disastrous effect of inflaming Muslim opinion and rendering it all the more suspicious of the *bona fides* of the Hindus. We do not deny, of course, that the Pandit has some ground for his jeremiads and his lugubrious advocacy of what he supposes as the 'interests' of the Hindus, but, none the less, we are not prepared to agree with him when he says that, simply because there have been some Hindu-Muslim disputes and disturbances in the past, the Muslims of the Frontier Province should be regarded as *dushman*s for ever and denied any part or lot in the Reforms which their brethren elsewhere in India are in unquestioned enjoyment of. In fact, if the occurrence or non-occurrence of communal squabbles and affrays be the criterion for the non-award or award of political reforms well may it be the case that the Pandit's own province—the United Provinces—would not fare any the better as compared with the Frontier Province. For it is well known that, among the provinces in which Hindu-Muslim troubles are almost an every-day occurrence, the United Provinces are one of the most prominent: the Pandit himself will have to admit this when confronted with the statistics of the past few years. It seems to us puerile, therefore, to argue that the Reforms should not be extended to the Frontier Province on the ground that the province is susceptible to inter-communal outbreaks now and then. All the same, we must confess to some sympathy with the feeling that the constitution of a separate province on the frontier in the early years of the present century by the then Viceroy, Lord Curzon, was an unwarranted step and that it has led to consequences that have not been altogether happy. But, in so far as the people of the province concerned are, for the most part, averse to linking their fortunes with those of their neighbouring province, the Punjab, and also in view of the fact that the latter itself has refused to acquiesce . . .

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I claim the protection of the Chair. I invite your attention, Sir, to the fact that the Honourable Member is reading long extracts from newspapers.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member cannot go on reading these long extracts from newspapers. There must be some limit. The Honourable Member will now bring his remarks to a close.

Maulvi Sayad Murtaza Sahib Bahadur: I will just say a word or two. It has been proved that the North West Frontier Province people have a real and genuine desire for Reforms. The fact that so many frontier people have come all the way from the different districts of the province goes to show how keen they are on the subject. There is another fact to be added to it. 69 meetings have been held all over the province and resolutions have been moved. At not a single meeting was there anyone

found to be against the Resolution. The Hindus and the Sikhs are also united, which goes to prove, that so far as the province itself is concerned, there is no animosity as it is depicted to be outside the province by those who are against it. The Raja Sahib and the Leader of the Independent Party have made a passionate appeal to the Honourable the Home Member whose largeheartedness and accommodating tendency are admitted on all hands. I associate myself with them in making the appeal. Will the Jagirdars and Khans who have come all the way have to go away disappointed, I hope not. I trust they will get the Reforms.

With these few words, Sir, I commend my Resolution to the acceptance of the House.

Sir Denys Bray: Sir, it is very pleasant to hear my Honourable friend, the Mover, again. But I wish we had seen him in his accustomed seat, doing something to fill up that ugly gap opposite. He may have thought that he would have felt lonely there. But he spoke with sincerity and conviction as before, and with sincerity and conviction on his side, he is always in very good company.

Those empty Benches opposite recall to my mind the discomfort—almost discomfiture—in which I spoke earlier in the debate. The Benches were not empty then. But they were silent, silent—to borrow a phrase from my Honourable friend, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal,—silent with a silence more eloquent than eloquence. The oracles were dumb. They are dumb no longer. At the eleventh hour the oracle has spoken. It has delivered itself of an oracular utterance worthy of the most ambiguous oracular utterances of the Delphic oracle itself. Let those who can take comfort from that utterance take comfort!

My own contribution to the debate this evening will be confined almost entirely to a defence of the Frontier and of that man than whom I have not known a finer—the man of the Frontier Province. The attack on the Frontier and the frontier man began early. My Honourable friend, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, did not associate himself with the conspiracy of silence. That he faced the issue bravely, that he spoke out boldly what he felt in his heart, we must all admit. And for that, if he will accept it from me let him accept my tribute of admiration. Unfortunately he did not content himself with that. He raked up past history. I am wrong. Had he done that, I should not have referred to the matter now. What he raked up, Sir, were ancient misrepresentations of past history. The impression he left upon the House was that sixteen or seventeen years ago the Muslims of Peshawar, in order, forsooth, to get rid of one British officer and to get back another, made an organised onslaught on the Hindus of Peshawar, looted them of fifty lakhs of property—though some say less—and drove them, sixteen thousand souls—though some say less—into the Punjab, where for a year—though some say less—they remained in exile. And the

3 P.M. facts? They were tragic enough. Tragic enough, one would have thought, to serve any one's purpose without the added horrors of imagination. The cause of that grim tragedy was the clashing of the Hindu festival of vernal merry-making, the *Holi*, with the Muslim festival of mourning, the *Bara Wafat*. There was bloodshed on both sides. Bloodshed was followed by looting; looting by panic; panic by the exodus of many Hindus down-country. The facts were grievous indeed. But the damage done was nothing like 50 lakhs; a committee of Hindus assessed it at 5. Nor did the exodus embrace the whole Hindu population of

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Peshawar; nothing like it. Nor did those Hindus remain in exile for a year; nothing like it. It was a ghastly riot. But not in Peshawar alone do such riots happen. Not on the Frontier alone are such crimes committed in religion's name. And I say now what, interrupting my Honourable friend, I said then, it is to me deplorable—there is another word that trembles on my lips again—that in raking up ancient history, he should rake it up so distorted, ghastly though the truth was. Is it really necessary for me to remind him how easily communal feeling is set ablaze? Small wonder that my Honourable friend Raja Ghazanfar Ali, in an admirable speech, delivered him an admirable rebuke; small wonder too that he provoked from my Honourable friend Mr. Abdul Haya a fierce counter-blast, fiercer I think than he would have dreamt of delivering in this House had it not been for the provocation he had received.

I pass on to my Honourable friend Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer. It is refreshing to turn to his speech. Or rather I feel that it *will* be refreshing when I am able to read that speech in the cold light of print. For I was so pelted with facts and figures that my poor storm-beaten ears were hardly able to take in the argument. Like the Pandit, he spoke with great conviction and force; like the Pandit, he marshalled many facts and figures; unlike the Pandit, he was able to adduce authority for the figures and the facts he quoted—some authority at any rate. Of the use he made of those facts and figures there is, I venture to assert, much room for—(*An Honourable Member*: "Difference of opinion.")—I will put it at that, difference of opinion. And in what he said there was much food (let me address myself to Mr. Jinnah) much food for reflection for men like Mr. Jinnah, who think that in this issue there is no question at all, that everything is so simple, so plain that a decision ought to have been taken months and years ago. But I do feel this of Sir Sivaswamy's speech, and I have felt it more than once as I have listened to him on his pet subject the Frontier: if only he would leave his books, if only he would blow out that midnight lamp, if only he would tear himself away from the satisfying prose of Frontier Administration Reports, and go north to the Frontier itself, and stand in Peshawar and feel the keen, invigorating blasts of wind that come down the Khyber or the Malakand, I am sure he would find many of his cobwebs blown away, and that he would review the Frontier and the frontier problems in a very different and much better perspective. Of one thing I am quite sure. He would revise his opinion of the character of that fine man that lives on the frontier.

I turn to Mr. Rangachariar, who this morning delivered a very powerful speech, which again I commend to the study of my Honourable friend Mr. Jinnah, who finds everything so simple.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: I studied this in the minority report and I also studied the majority report, and I agree with the majority report rather than with the minority report.

Sir Denys Bray: I rise almost again with a blush.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: When did Mr. Jinnah come to that conclusion may I ask?

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: As soon as I studied it.

Sir Denys Bray: I cannot, however, acquit Mr. Rangachariar of introducing heat into the discussion. True, he dissociated himself at an early stage in his speech from any feelings whatsoever of a communal character. But methinks he protested too much!

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Certainly not.

Sir Denys Bray: If he doubts it, I would point to the angry protests that punctuated that speech. Where did they come from?

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: From the conviction of a national issue.

Sir Denys Bray: The protests, Sir, came, as far as I could judge, from almost every Muslim in the House. And it seemed to me the greater pity, for I feel, and again I turn to Mr. Jinnah, that there was a great deal in his speech that not only deserves, but commands, close attention. Even I, who belonged to the majority, who signed the majority report, have recently had to do a great deal of hard thinking and re-thinking on this problem, and many of its difficulties have been put very admirably by Mr. Rangachariar. Unfortunately, he exaggerated. He exaggerated greatly. He treated difficulties as insuperabilities. Out of extracts and fragments he created a Frankenstein monster of a frontier province, a monster of a frontier Pathan.

Mr. K. Ahmed: It is monstrous. (Laughter.)

Sir Denys Bray: Here and there it amused me to listen to him. It amused me to listen to the awe with which he quoted the report of some district officer on the Frontier saying that, in his opinion, the Frontier was not quite ripe for Reforms. Does he listen with the same feeling of sacrosanctity to the opinion of the district officers of Tanjore? Does he listen with awe when the District Collector reports that, in his opinion, Madras is not quite fit yet for that full autonomous provincial government which my Honourable friend has so dearly at heart?

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: We have not a land frontier of 700 miles with fanatic tribes.

Sir Denys Bray: I thank my Honourable friend. He has, though he forgets it, a frontier in Madras infinitely more vulnerable than the land frontier of the North West Frontier Province. And what enables him to forget it? The British Navy. In all India there is no frontier more vulnerable—were it not for the British Navy.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: I do not deny that.

Sir Denys Bray: He forgets it, Sir; he forgets it, and I will prove it to him. He says how can this Frontier Province have its own Reforms? How can this deficit province that cannot pay its way

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Isolated frontier.

Sir Denys Bray: Who pays the mighty bill for the protection of the frontiers of Madras?

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: The Navy.

Sir Denys Bray: Is the British Navy to dictate what form the Reforms in Madras shall take?

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Does the Madras Council pass the Navy's Budget?

Sir Denys Bray: I say again that the Honourable Member has forgotten his own frontiers. And it is not only the British Navy, but also the North West Frontier that enables him to forget these vital factors in India's problem.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: And to argue his cases in the High Court!

An Honourable Member: Who sank the *Emden*?

Sir Denys Bray: I will just turn in passing to one very notable example of the use—may I say the misuse?—he made of his extracts and fragments from his records. He made great play with the evidence produced before us by Mr. Gul Khan. Now I know Mr. Gul Khan well. Twenty or twenty-five years ago I knew him as a youth of great promise. He wrecked his life by what I will charitably call a lapse of an unbalanced mind. During the War he got his opportunity to make good again. Of the use he made of that opportunity I will say nothing. I will only say this: in order to make use of the opportunity offered him, he had to come back from refuge into British India. And to treat the wild outpourings of a man like that—outpourings made under the goad of very skillful cross-examination—to treat such outpourings as representative of the feelings of the great Pathan nation is as wrong as to treat the inflammatory and libellous vituperations of certain Hindus of Dera Ismail Khan in those resolutions and telegrams which have reached us all, as characteristic of that very fine body of men, the old Hindu families of the Frontier.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: I hope you are right.

Sir Denys Bray: I know I am right.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: I have not got that knowledge.

Sir Denys Bray: I will pass by his remarks on the financial difficulties.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Why?

Sir Denys Bray: Because, Sir, I am modest. I am ill qualified to deal with these high financial matters. But I make bold to believe that if he will go and study the case with our financial advisers, he will find that a much more searching analysis than he gave them is needed before you can separate the figures of the North West Frontier Budget into those which relate purely to provincial matters and those that are of Imperial concern.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: I have done my best.

Sir Denys Bray: I agree, but his best is not quite good enough.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: I do not claim infallibility.

Sir Denys Bray: But when he proceeds to argue, as he seemed to me to argue, that the financial difficulties become quite insuperable, then I for one take my stand for once with Mr. Jinnah. I do wish, and I would like to say it again to both my Honourable friends from Madras, I do wish that they would view this and all other aspects of the frontier problem through spectacles other than those of Madras.

Diwan Bahádur T. Rangachariar: We cannot help it; we were born in Madras.

Sir Denys Bray: There is every excuse for Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer. He has not been to the Frontier. But there is no such excuse for my friend Mr. Rangachariar who has. I wish he would not content himself with that flying visit of ours. Let him go again. Let him go there every time he comes as far north as Delhi.

Diwan Bahádur T. Rangachariar: Provided you escort me.

Sir Denys Bray: I guarantee it will drive away from his mind some of those fumes which seem to possess him, the fumes of the intoxication of large numbers. He compared the population of the Frontier with the population of his own district in Madras. As if the two were in any degree comparable! Let him go again to the Frontier, and he will see there a people homogeneous in a sense in which as far as I know, no people in any province of India is homogeneous.

Diwan Bahádur T. Rangachariar: I do not deny that.

Sir Denys Bray: A people that counts, a people that includes no one that does not count,—no submerged tenths, no untouchables. Let him go to the Frontier and learn a lesson—a Frontier free from untouchability, that most awful example of man's inhumanity to man, that negation, that negation of all that is best in democracy. (Applause.) He will find none of it there. On the frontier every man counts. Every man is called upon there to do a very stern duty.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Do they paint their foreheads there?

Sir Denys Bray: I will pass by much of value in the Honourable Member's speech, commending it again to my Honourable friend Mr. Jinnah whose study of the problem is still incomplete. I will mention one thing only, one argument, one underlying argument only in his speech which jarred on me. He harped again and again on the affinities in race and religion of our fellow-subjects in the districts with our fellow-Indians in the frontier tracts

Diwan Bahádur T. Rangachariar: Indians?

Sir Denys Bray: *Indians* in the frontier tracts and with the citizens of our friendly frontier neighbour Afghanistan. And the conclusion he drew from these affinities is an awful warning against including the Frontier Province within the ordinary purview of Reforms—I had almost said of British India. A devastating argument! Possibly an argument that frightens a Foreign Secretary more than anybody else.

Diwan Bahádur T. Rangachariar: I hope so.

Sir Denys Bray: Does my Honourable friend *really* mean to carry that argument to its logical conclusion? Are the Hindus in districts that abut on an independent Hindu kingdom, are Buddhists in districts that abut upon an independent Buddhist kingdom, are men of Mongolian race that abut upon a Mongolian kingdom, to be outcasted from the Reforms? The thing, Sir, is ludicrous. The argument is not only devastating, it is—I cannot find the word!

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: I did not say that no Reforms should be given at all. I say "Let them have the Reforms with us and not as an isolated bit of India".

Sir Denys Bray: And what is my Honourable friend's constructive contribution to this debate? What indeed! Except the old outworn cry of amalgamation with the Punjab? Again I am wrong. Even that is not his constructive contribution: else he would have introduced his amendment for judicial amalgamation at the very least, which is down on the paper, but over which he has thought fit to keep silent!

Mr. President: The original Resolution was:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that he be pleased to extend to the North West Frontier Province the provisions of the Government of India Act which relate to Legislative Councils and the appointment of Ministers, etc., with protection to the minorities."

Since which the following two amendments have been moved:

"That for the original Resolution the following be substituted:

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that he be pleased to arrange to amalgamate the settled districts of the North West Frontier Province with the Punjab in order to secure for the people of these districts the benefit of the Reforms'."

and

"That for the words 'extend to the North West Frontier Province the provisions of the Government of India Act which relate to Legislative Councils and the appointment of Ministers' the following be substituted:

'introduce in the North West Frontier Province an unitary and autonomous responsible Government with full protection for minorities, subject to the general control and residuary powers of the Central Government in inter-provincial and all-India matters'."

The question is that the original Resolution be adopted.

The motion was adopted.

RESOLUTION *RE* TRAINING OF INDIANS FOR NAUTICAL CAREERS, ETC.

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer (Madras: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I beg to move the following Resolution which stands against my name:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that he will be pleased:

- (a) to recognise the need for the training of Indians for nautical careers, and encouraging the creation of an Indian Mercantile Marine.
- (b) to accept the policy and measures recommended by the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar (Madras City: Non-Muhammadian Urban): May I with your permission, Sir, having regard to the fact that the popular representatives who were present till now in the House have just left the House at the time when a most important issue is being taken up, ask that the debate on this question be adjourned?

Mr. President: Does the Honourable Member move it?

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: I move it. It appears to me disastrous that a national issue of this importance should be debated in an empty House, and therefore I move it.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member has not put the Resolution before the House yet. A motion for adjournment of the debate can only be moved after the Resolution has been formally moved. Let the Honourable Member move his Resolution formally, and then the Honourable Member will be entitled to move the adjournment of the debate.

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer: The Resolution which I beg to move runs as follows:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that he will be pleased:

- (a) to recognise the need for the training of Indians for nautical careers, and encouraging the creation of an Indian Mercantile Marine,
- (b) to accept the policy and measures recommended by the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee,
- (c) to take early steps for the training of Indians in a suitable training ship in Indian waters, for the provision of facilities for their further training as apprentices in mercantile marine ships, and for their employment after completion of training,
- (d) to arrange for the establishment of primary nautical schools in selected maritime stations, and the introduction of Marine Engineering as a subject of instruction in the Engineering College at Sibpur, and
- (e) to announce his intention to adopt in the near future a system of licensing in respect of the coastal trade of India."

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Sir, my Honourable friend having moved his Resolution, I propose that the further proceedings on it be adjourned till the September Session. I move so accordingly, as I find that on an important issue of this character the House is empty practically and Honourable Members who were here now have left it, and I think it is but right that we should adjourn this debate.

Mr. President: Till when?

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Till September: to the Simla Session.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes (Member for Commerce and Railways): May I speak on this motion, Sir? I rise to object to this motion made by my friend, Mr. Rangachariar. I realise the disappointment which has made my friend move his amendment. I should like to point out, however, having been told on all sides that this is a most important question, that the whole country is waiting to hear the position of the Government; and, Sir, I have gone to special pains to obtain from my Honourable friend, the Leader of the House, Government time for the discussion of this Resolution. Moreover, Sir, I am particularly anxious for the decision of the House on the question of the training ship and it would not by any means suit the Government that this Resolution should be adjourned till the September Session. I would have no objection to meet Honourable Members present, if it so pleases you, Sir, by consenting to an adjournment of the debate till Monday, when we can take it up; but, Sir, I must oppose the motion for adjournment till the September Session.

Mr. President: The position is quite clear. The Government are prepared to agree to the adjournment of the debate on this Resolution in so far as it relates to controversial subjects provided they are able to secure the decision of the House to-day on one point which is non-controversial.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: May I explain the position further, Sir?

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: In view of the remarks which fell from the Honourable the Commerce Member I withdraw my motion with your permission, Sir.

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

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer: Sir, the subject matter of this Resolution was referred to a Committee in consequence of a Resolution passed by the Assembly in January, 1922. The terms of reference to the Committee were practically in accordance with the Resolution which I moved in January, 1922. They were to consider what measures could usefully be taken:

- (i) for the liberal recruitment of Indians as Deck or Executive Officers and Engineers in the Royal Indian Marine;
- (ii) for the establishment of a Nautical College in Indian waters for the purpose of training Executive Officers and Engineers of ships;
- (iii) for the creation of an adequate number of State scholarships for providing instruction in the Nautical Colleges and training ships, in England, pending the formation of a Nautical College in India;
- (iv) for the encouragement of ship-building and of the growth of an Indian Mercantile Marine by a system of bounties, subsidies and such other measures as have been adopted in Japan;
- (v) for the acquisition of training ships by gift from the Imperial Government or otherwise; and
- (vi) for the construction of the necessary dockyards and engineering workshops in one or more ports.

The Committee which was appointed more than a year after, in February, 1923, sent in its Report in March 1924, and till now practically no action has been taken upon that Report. This perhaps is another case illustrating the promptitude with which the Government of India are able to move in matters of this sort.

Mr. W. S. J. Wilson (Associated Chambers of Commerce: Nominated Non-Official): Income-tax.

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer: To some extent it has been due to the necessity for getting expert opinion upon some of the matters dealt with in the Report of the Mercantile Marine Committee. That Report goes into all the matters referred to them in the order of reference, and their recommendations are briefly these. They recommended the establishment of a training ship in Indian waters for the purpose of training young men as deck officers, and they recommended the establishment of the ship in

Bombay. But since then expert opinion has been called for by the Government, and Captain Sayer, the expert sent for, has recommended that Karachi should be selected as the place where the training ship should be stationed. In other respects, the recommendations of the Committee were concurred in by him, though he prefers a system of scholarships to the establishment of a training ship. I will briefly refer to the recommendations of the Committee which are scattered throughout the Report. They do not summarise their recommendations at the end of their Report, and I have therefore to refer to the different parts of their Report. In paragraph 15 they say:

"The Secretary of State in Council might be asked to extend the same facilities to selected cadets from the Indian training ship to join the Bengal Pilot Service as is at present extended to cadets from the *Conway*, *Worcester*, and *Pangbourne*."

Then they proceed to consider how employment may be provided for cadets who pass through this training course and pass the necessary examinations, and they deal with it in paragraph 23 of their Report. They say that:

"having provided for the education and training of young Indians for sea life, it is necessary to consider what their prospects should be of obtaining employment."

They made inquiries of various shipping companies and they ascertained that the shipping companies were prepared to employ young Indians as officers on board their ships provided they proved efficient and satisfactory as apprentices and successfully passed the Board of Trade examinations. Then with regard to the question of the subsequent passing of the Board of Trade examinations by these apprentices, they recommended that certain classes for the coaching of officers should be established in the large Government colleges in first class ports. Then again they proceed to consider the question of engineers. They suggested that instruction should be provided in one or other of the engineering colleges in India, and that the subject of Marine Engineering should be included in the course of instruction in some one of these colleges. As to further training they suggested that facilities should be provided for this purpose also by the steamship companies who have expressed their willingness to take Indians as deck officers. As regards the subsequent employment of trained engineers, they hoped that trained Indians would be taken by some of these steamship companies as engineers provided they possessed the necessary qualifications.

Then they proceed to consider the question how an Indian Mercantile Marine should be developed. They considered this subject at length, and they recommend various measures calculated to lead to the establishment of an Indian Mercantile Marine. Among other things, they recommend a system of licensing ships to be allowed to ply along the coast of this country. They adduce several reasons for the introduction of licensing, (1) because it would enable the Government to impose some conditions with regard to the taking of apprentices and the employment of trained Indians as deck officers or as engineers on board their ships, and (2) because it might also enable the Government later on to insist, if they consider it fit, upon the condition that a certain proportion of the capital and management should be in the hands of Indians. They do not suggest any immediate reservation of the coastal trade for Indian ships, but they think that a notification should be issued now by the Government that after a

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certain time the licensing system will be adopted. This notification will have the effect of preventing any vested rights subsequently accruing and interfering with the imposition by the Government at a later stage, should they desire to do so, of restrictions upon shipping companies desirous of engaging in the coastal trade. These are the main recommendations of the Committee. They also make certain proposals for the acquisition of a number of ships from the existing companies with the aid of Government.

Now, the Resolution which I have given notice of merely puts forward those recommendations of the Mercantile Marine Committee which, I thought, were likely to be acceptable. So far as the question of the training of Indians was concerned, I thought there was no likelihood of any objection to that recommendation. As regards the question of a notification in regard to the future introduction of a system of licensing, I consider it personally of great importance. It does not now commit the Government to any intention to reserve the coastal trade, but it merely secures to them freedom of action if they should in future decide upon imposing any restrictions. I do not in my Resolution go into any of the other matters covered by the Report of the Mercantile Marine Committee which might perhaps be considered to be of a controversial character. With regard to the reservation of coastal trade, the Committee was not inclined to express any very positive opinion at present. They referred to the experiment which has been tried in Australia. Since the publication of the Report of the Mercantile Marine Committee, the Report of that Royal Commission in Australia on the effect of the Navigation Act has been published, but it is not possible to say what exactly is the lesson to be derived from the experience of Australia. There are at least three sets of opinions in the Report of the Australian Commission. Two members of the Commission were for repealing the reservation of the coastal trade, three members were for the maintenance of reservation of the coastal trade and two members wanted something else to be substituted in place of the existing reservation with the object of promoting the interests of Australian ships. Therefore, I do not wish to go into the question of the immediate reservation of the coastal trade. All that I ask in this Resolution is that the Government should only announce their intention to adopt in the near future a system of licensing in respect of the coastal trade. I hope that the Government may, if not now, at any rate in the near future, find it possible to accept this part of my Resolution. The Government, I know, have not been altogether sleeping over this question. They have consulted experts as to the courses of training in the training ship and allied matters and I believe they are now prepared to start a training school. What I wish to have also introduced is the provision of a course of Marine Engineering in one or other of the Engineering Colleges, either at Sibpur or Bombay or Karachi. I have suggested Sibpur because here the College is situated on the banks of the Hooghly and Calcutta can perhaps offer greater facilities for the teaching of Marine Engineering than Karachi or Bombay. However, that is a matter of detail. I hope the Government will find it possible to make an early move on the recommendations of the Mercantile Marine Committee not merely in the direction of starting a training ship but also in the direction of introducing the subject of Marine Engineering in one of the Engineering Colleges, and also in the matter of publishing a notification announcing their intention to issue coastal licences. With these words I move my Resolution.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member (addressing the Honourable Sir Charles Innes) will realise that this Resolution involves several subjects of a highly controversial character and, in view of the fact that the opposition Benches are almost empty, Government should agree to adjourn the debate till at least the next Session. The Chair has no objection to the Government taking the decision of the House to-day on such parts of the Resolution as are non-controversial.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Sir, perhaps you will allow me to explain my position in this matter. Ever since the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee's Report came out, there has been a great deal of what I might call propaganda in the country in favour of the reservation of the Indian coasting trade. I feel that so far the country has not been brought into contact with the facts on that subject, and I wish, Sir, to take this opportunity of examining the proposition as dispassionately as I can. I hope, Sir, that you will indulge me so far. It will be quite impossible, I agree, for me to deal with all the points raised in Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer's very comprehensive Resolution, and I have no intention of trying to do so to-night. The objective of Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer as also of the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee is the establishment of an Indian mercantile marine. The Committee made two important sets of recommendations with that object in view. One set of recommendations dealt with training and the other set of recommendations dealt with the reservation of the coasting trade. It is perfectly true that, as Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer has said, the proposed system of licensing was to come in force only on a date to be notified, but the whole principle of that recommendation was reservation. And, Sir, I propose to address myself to these two points only.

I propose first to take up the question of reservation. I should like to say that we on the Government side recognise the reasons behind not only the Mercantile Marine Committee's Report but also behind Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer's Resolution. We recognise that it is perfectly legitimate, perfectly natural, that the people of India should desire to have a mercantile marine of their own. We recognise also that the training of officers for the Indian mercantile marine is a very long process and that men who are trained for that career must have some reasonable prospect of an opening. We recognise further that Indian companies, as things are at present, have difficulty in forcing their way into the coasting trade. Those, Sir, I think, quite briefly are the main reasons behind Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer's Resolution and behind the proposal to reserve the coasting trade. But, Sir, I would point out that the main recommendation of the Mercantile Marine Committee, that recommendation which deals with the reservation of the coasting trade, raises a big question of principle. I am quite prepared to admit that if we admit at all the principle of expropriation, it could not be worked out in a more considerate manner than that suggested by the Committee of which Mr. Rangachariar was so distinguished a member. I am quite prepared to admit that. But, nevertheless, I beg the House to observe that the proposals of the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee in regard to the reservation of the coasting trade do admit the principle of expropriation, and I think everybody will agree that Government must scrutinise that principle with great care, because, once you admit on the Statute-book an Act, which embodies the principle that it is right to squeeze out, or depreciate the property of, those who have built up a trade or industry in order that others may succeed to it, one does not know to what lengths that principle may be carried. I am perfectly

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well aware that it will be said that in the case of the Indian mercantile marine reasons of high national importance justify a course of that kind. But I would point out to the House that not long after the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee's Report had been published, we received from Calcutta a request that steps should be taken similarly to reserve inland water navigation in India. And here again, the same argument of national interest was advanced. Once you admit that principle, what I fear is that it will give rise to similar demands in respect of other industries like oil, coal or whatever it may be, and that is the reason why, as I said, the Government have been compelled to devote a long time to examining this proposal in all its aspects. I am quite aware that other nations have reserved their coasting trade and have thereby admitted the principle of expropriation. Why have they done so? I take it as axiomatic, and I think that nobody will disagree with me, when I say that the reservation of the coasting trade to your own nationals must involve your country in economic loss, even though such loss may be concealed. Why, then, have other countries, other nations, thought it necessary to reserve their coasting trade? It is because they thought that in the long run it would pay them to take that course in the interests of their own safety. They had to take that course because in time of war they might want their own mercantile marine to feed their people and because they wanted that marine as a second line to their own navy. All I need say on that point is this, that India is fortunate in that that overmastering necessity is not present in this country. India's shores are protected for her by the British Navy, and in time of war, she can always rely upon the British Navy, so long as the British Navy commands the seas, to protect her communications and her trade. It might also be said that in the long run it would be in the interests of the Empire that we should have an Indian mercantile marine, and that the Indian mercantile marine would act as an additional second line to our British Navy. I quite see the force of that argument, but there are two points against it. In the first place, reservation introduces a principle new to British law, new, that is to say, in the sense that it has never been acted upon except in war time. For it makes a distinction between ships owned in a country and ships registered in a country. The principle now followed is that the status of a ship, until the contrary is proved, is determined by her registry. That seems a very technical point, but I can assure the House that it is a point to which the highest importance is attached in shipping circles. Then, again, another grave objection to the proposal is that it admits the principle of flag discrimination, that is to say, if it is carried out, it makes a distinction between ships mainly owned in India and mainly owned outside India. That, as I say, is flag discrimination, and it is a fundamental point of Empire policy that flag discrimination should be opposed in every part of the British Empire. I know it will be said that Australia has admitted flag discrimination in its Navigation Act. There is no flag discrimination in the coastal provisions of the Australian Act. Under what are called the coastal provisions of that Act any ship, provided it complies with the Australian regulations regarding wages, manning scales, and the like, is eligible for a license to engage in the Australian coasting trade. But it may be said that this is a matter of such national importance to India that India must take her own line. That brings me to the main point of my speech. If that is the argument, then we have to count the

cost, and we have to balance considerations of national sentiment on the one hand and economic considerations and interests on the other. This is the most difficult part of my task, for I do not suppose that there is any subject in the world which is less understood of the general than shipping economics. That is why I said just now that it was necessary that we should try to get into contact with facts. The Indian Mercantile Marine Committee practically gave up this part of the subject. I do not blame them. It is a very difficult subject, and they were working against time. But I would like to read to the House what they said on the point:

"We do not consider it possible to say at this stage whether reservation of the Indian coasting trade for shipping companies which are predominantly Indian in character is likely to be beneficial to India or not, for the simple reason that there are no data at present on which a satisfactory conclusion can be based."

That is one of the reasons why we in the Commerce Department have taken time over this difficult subject. It is a subject which is literally of vital importance, and we have thought it our duty in the last two years to devote the very closest attention to studying what would be the economic effects on India if we were to adopt this policy of reserving the coasting trade.

Let me give the House very briefly the experience of some other countries. I will take Chili for example. Chili reserved her coasting trade in 1922. I am prepared to admit that she gave only short notice, but the immediate effect was that coasting freights rose by 100 per cent. There were such complaints from the traders that a special Commission was appointed to try to effect an agreement between the shipping companies on the one hand and shippers on the other, and as the result of heroic efforts on the part of that Commission, they did manage to get a reduction of freights. But nevertheless, even after all the labours of that Commission, the freight rates remained 50 per cent. higher than they were before the coasting trade was reserved. It costs, I have seen it stated, 36s. a ton to ship wheat 700 miles round the coast of Chili, and it costs 30s. a ton to ship it 7,900 miles from Chili to the United Kingdom! Then, again, let me take Algiers. France has reserved her coasting trade, and Algiers falls within the ban. The policy in this matter has given rise to much discontent in Algiers, and I have seen complaints ventilated in Algiers to the effect that this policy of France costs the Algerian producers 86 million francs a year. It is also said that it maintains the freight rates at 20 per cent. above the normal. But the most interesting experience of all, because it is the most recent experience, is that of Australia. As I have explained to the House, ships may not operate in the Australian coasting trade unless they comply with the Australian rules and regulations in regard to wages, manning scales, accommodation and the like. This law was passed in 1912. For two reasons, the War being one of them, the law was not put into effect until the 1st July, 1921. The immediate result was an outcry on the part of almost every economic interest in Australia, and only two years later in 1923, a Commission had to be appointed "to inquire into and report upon the effect of the operation of the Act upon Australian trade and industry." My Honourable friend, Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, says that there is not much help to be derived from that report. I disagree entirely. It is perfectly true that the Report is not a unanimous one. There were seven commissioners. Three recommended that, come what may, the coastal provisions of the Act should be retained.

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Four other Commissioners recommended that the coastal provisions of the Act should be repealed. Two of those four Commissioners piled up an absolutely overwhelming indictment against the coastal provisions. They said that the Act had curtailed shipping facilities, had resulted in higher freights and had had an injurious effect on industry. The other two gave a much more guarded opinion, but their final conclusion was that there is:

"ample evidence to establish the fact that the coastal provisions of the Navigation Act are to some extent acting detrimentally to the trade, industry and development of Australia."

Then the Commission was sent on to New Guinea and Papua. The coastal provisions of the Act had been extended to those two Islands. They had caused great resentment and discontent in the Islands, and the Commission went on to examine the effect of the coastal provisions there. The significant fact is that Mr. Yates, one of the gentlemen who signed the minority report of the Commission in so far as the Report related to Australia proper, admitted that the policy had imposed a heavy economic burden upon these two Islands, and in the event these two Islands were exempted from the coastal provisions of the Navigation Act. Then, again, one of the most significant features of the Australian experience is the indignation that the coastal provisions of the Navigation Act have caused in Tasmania, and I beg the House to observe in this matter that there might very well be a very close parallel between Tasmania in relation to Australia and Burma in relation to India. At any rate, a separate Committee was appointed to inquire into the various Tasmanian disabilities under the Australian Federation, and I will just quote one extract from the Report of that Committee. They said in regard to the Navigation Act:

"The encouragement of an Australian Mercantile Marine through the Navigation Act policy is a worthy object, but it cannot be carried on without considerable expense. . . . A totally disproportionate share of burden falls on Tasmania."

Then let me refer to the sort of evidence that was placed before this Australian Commission. The most striking part of that evidence was that given by the President of the Australian Tariff Board. The President of the Board of course is charged with the carrying out of the Australian policy for developing Australian industry. Let me read what the President of the Tariff Board said. He said:

"Much of the benefit conceded by the tariff is lost through the additional cost in freight on Australian goods."

Then, again, let me quote to the House an extract from the evidence of the President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of
4 P.M. Australia:

"The effect of the Act has undoubtedly been to diminish facilities for communication and distribution between the States and at this present juncture at any rate this is very detrimental to interests of producers."

The same sort of evidence was given by the representative before the Commission of the Australian Meat Council, and the significant part of his evidence was that, as a result of the working of the coastal provisions

of the Navigation Act, all forward business in meat had become impossible. As I have explained, the greatest opposition to the coastal provisions of the Act is found in Tasmania. In Hobart the Commission found: "not merely an outcry by one section of community but a general feeling of revolt against legislation which threatens their economic welfare."

Now, I think, it may fairly be said that as the result of the experience gained in the few years in which these coastal provisions of the Navigation Act have been in force in Australia, we may arrive at the following conclusions. The general result has been to send up freights on the coast or to maintain them at a high level, to curtail shipping facilities, and to impose disabilities on shippers and producers. Again, one of the complaints most frequently made against the Act is that reservation means Government control and Government control invariably means inelasticity and rigidity; and in the shipping business that is one of the things that you have to fear most.

Now, I have gone briefly through the Australian experience because I think that we have got to try to apply these lessons to India. We have got to try to see how, if we were to reserve the coasting trade in the manner in which it has been proposed to be reserved by the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee, it would affect our own Indian trade, and this is the task which has taken us so much time in the Commerce Department. We began by making a very careful analysis of the volume of the coasting trade in India in 1923-24. We took out from each port the amount of cargo loaded in that port for conveyance to another Indian port, and we found that the total amount of goods loaded in Indian ports in 1923-24 for carriage to other Indian ports amounted to about 8½ million tons. Let us see what the average freight on this 8½ million tons would be. It has been put by one person as high as Rs. 20 a ton. That is too high. I will assume that the average freight is Rs. 10 a ton. Now let us assume that as a result of the reservation of the coasting trade you increase freight rates in India merely and to the same extent as in Algiers, namely by 20 per cent. Mind you, Algerian experience has been favourable in comparison with other parts of the world. But I take a low figure and will assume that the increase will come only to 20 per cent. That means that the direct loss to India on a trade of 8½ million tons a year would amount to 70 lakhs a year. That is what you would have to pay in the shape of increased freights, but it is just the beginning of things.

Then, Sir, I should like the House to consider the origin or rather the distribution of these 8½ million tons. It is as follows: 1,263,000 tons originated in Burmese and Burmese ports; 1,300,000 tons originated in Calcutta and Chittagong. That is to say, two-thirds of your coasting trade originates in Burma and Bengal. The only important shipping company existing at present is in Bombay and the drive for an Indian mercantile marine comes very largely from Bombay. If there is any gain to be got out of it, it will go to Bombay. But the price is going to be paid by Burma and Bengal. Again, Sir, let us examine what the composition of this trade is. I have figures here and they are rather interesting. Oil from Burma accounts for the most part, accounts for 310,000 tons; coal from Calcutta accounts for 950,000 tons; rice from Burma accounts for 300,000 tons; and the food grains account for 300,000 tons. That is to say, out of 8½ million tons 2½ million tons consist of oil, coal, rice and

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other food grains. Those are just the very commodities of which you should do nothing to put up the price. We have heard a lot in recent years about coal. We have been told that coal from Calcutta cannot compete with coal from South Africa in Bombay. Now, at present the coal trade by sea is a free trade. At any time a tramp can come in and take a cargo of coal from Calcutta to Bombay. If this reservation proposal were carried out, that would become impossible. You would place the coal trade of Calcutta at the mercy of a limited number of ships. As I have shown, if we are to trust the experience of other countries, the inevitable result would be an increase of freight. And, Sir, how is the coal trade of Calcutta going to meet the competition from South Africa if that is the result? Oil is an even worse case, an even more difficult case. Mind you, it is kerosene oil from Burma which lights the house of almost every one in India. At present, as is always the case, the Oil Company owns its own fleet of tankers. It is enabled thereby to control the price from the time it brings out the oil from the ground till the time it is sold to the retail shop. Is it seriously suggested that that Oil Company should not be allowed to own its own tankers and that it should have to make over its tanker fleet to a separate company constituted in the way that the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee proposes? If so, then you cut right across the whole of the channel of distribution of the Oil Companies. You take away their control over prices for you place them at the mercy of the company which owns the tankers. Again, I would draw the attention of the House to the fact that apart from oil and coal, the greater part of the coasting trade of India consists of rice and other food grains. I put it to the House: Should we lightly do anything which would put up the cost of rice and food grains?

Again, Sir, I should like the House to consider the effect of this proposal on the smaller ports. Mr. Rangachariar comes from the Madras Presidency. He has been told that more than once to-day. Mr. Rangachariar knows that many of the ports in the Madras Presidency are very small ports. He knows that it is a very common practice, say, for an Asiatic or a B. I. steamer to come to Tuticorin to load, say, a certain amount of cotton for England, then to go to Cochin for a load of copra or ginger or whatever it may be, then to go to Calicut and take on more cargo and then to clear for home. At present these steamers, as they go from coast port to coast port, carry cargo from one port to another. As a rule, this inter-portal cargo is small. One of the features of these small Madras ports is that very often they have quite a considerable foreign trade and quite a small coasting trade. At present the steamers which take their foreign trade also take their coasting trade. If this proposal is carried out that would be impossible. The foreign-going ships coming along would be confined to taking cargo to foreign countries, and the inter-portal cargo would have to remain until a licensed ship came along. You would have two ships doing the work of one. That means waste of economic power, and you have always to pay for waste. If you assume that the average capacity of a coasting steamer is 7,500 tons dead-weight cargo, then a single steamer taking two trips could lift the whole of the coastal cargo offering in a year at each of the three ports, Madras, Mangalore and Tuticorin. Four trips in a year would be sufficient for Calicut, six for Chittagong and eight for Cochin. That shows what an

advantage it is for shippers in these ports who have small lots of cargo to be able to ship it by any ship that comes along, instead of having to wait for a licensed ship.

The coasting trade of India again is largely a seasonal trade. If you exclude the oil trade, we have worked out that for the coasting trade of India you require something like 65 steamers of an average deadweight capacity of 7,500 tons. That is the maximum. But in the slack season the requirements drop to 39 steamers. I should like the House to note the dilemma we should get into. I take it as axiomatic that if you close your coasting trade your ships will be confined to their sheltered waters. If then your licensed fleet was sufficient to cope with the trade in the busy months you would require 65 steamers, but of those 65 steamers, 26 would be laid up in the slack months of the year. Interest charges, overhead charges would still run on, and you would have to pay those interest charges by enhancement of freights.

Mr. W. S. J. Willson: Do the 65 include oil steamers?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: No, excluding oil steamers. Supposing, on the other hand, you have a fleet only big enough to cope with the trade in the slack season. It would not be sufficient to carry traffic in the busy season. At present you have no difficulties of that kind. The large steamship companies which serve the coasting trade of India are not based on India alone. When our coasting trade is slack they move their ships off to East Africa or China or wherever else it may be. When the trade briskens up again, they bring their steamers back to the coast. Thus you get a perfectly elastic system which is exactly suited to India's requirements. If you were to have a fleet of licensed steamers, you would lose this advantage. Either it would be too big for all the year round, which would mean higher freights. Or it would be too small and you would have to get additional help in the busy season. I presume you would have to do what they try to do in Australia. You would have to admit outside ships when necessary by special permit, and that has been one of the greatest difficulties in the Australian Act. A representative of the Australian Meat Council gave very clear evidence on that particular point. He complained that great difficulty was experienced, and that you could never be sure whether you were going to get a permit at all or whether you would get one in time. You had to go to a Government office for the permit and there was always delay in getting it. The result was that in the Australian meat trade the effect of the coastal provisions had been to make forward business absolutely impossible. Just imagine what it would mean, for instance, for the Burma rice trade if Burma merchants could not do forward business, if they could never be sure of shipping their rice in the busy season because they never could be sure whether additional tonnage was going to be supplied under permit.

I have now given the House in outline the result of a perfectly dispassionate, impartial investigation into the problem on the economic side. Viewed as an economic proposition, the result of reservation must be that freights must go up and that the enhanced freights would fall mainly on essential commodities like oil, coal, rice and food grains. There would be a curtailment of shipping facilities which would react with special severity on minor ports, and owing to the seasonal character of India's trade you would be driven to some kind of permit system with the result that forward business would be gravely hampered. The final result is that viewed

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solely as an economic proposition the reservation of our coasting trade would be, as it has been found to be in Australia, bad for India's trade, bad for India's industries and bad for the industrial development of India. The burden would fall mainly on Burma and Bengal. These, Sir, are some of the reasons why after the most careful consideration the Government of India do not think that this proposal to license the coasting trade of India should be accepted. We recognize that there is a good deal of sentiment in favour of facilitating the creation of an Indian mercantile marine, and that the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee proposed reservation as the shortest cut to getting an Indian mercantile marine, but if you think out carefully the economic consequences of the policy proposed you will find that you will place upon your own trade and your own industries a very severe burden. We think that there is no justification for doing that.

What we are prepared to do is that we are prepared to take up the question of the training of Indian officers. I may explain that we have not so far gone very deeply into the question of training engineer officers. We regard that as not so difficult a question as the training of deck officers. As an illustration of what I say I may instance the fact that whereas one company in India has already got quite a number of certificated engineers who are Indian Christians or Parsis, they have only got one Indian deck officer. The House will agree with me that the urgent question is how to train deck officers, and it is a much more difficult question.

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer: But they are not educated engineers, the Parsis.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I would like to explain that we will take that question up with our departmental committee. What I want the decision of the House on to-day is on the question of the training of deck officers. This, as I have said, is a very difficult question. All Honourable Members have no doubt read the report of Captain Sayer's Committee, and Captain Sayer has suggested that the most practical way of starting would be to send boys to the *Worcester* or the *Conway*, but at the same time he has put up a more or less complete scheme for a training ship in Indian waters. The real matter on which I want the decision of the House is whether we should go in for a training ship in Indian waters or adopt the method of sending boys home. If the House wishes to decide in favour of a training ship in Indian waters, I think they ought first to realise what the difficulties are. I will indicate them very briefly. The first point is always that there must be a doubt whether Indian boys of the right class will come forward for training. By the right class I mean boys of the middle class. Everyone knows that Indian lascars are first class seamen, but those lascars have not the necessary education and we do not know whether they have the necessary power of command for deck officers.

Mr. K. Ahmed (Rajshahi Division: Muhammadan Rural): What did I say in my evidence?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I am sorry I did not read the Honourable Member's evidence.

That is the first question whether boys of the right class will come forward. One has got to realize quite clearly what the obstacles in the way are. In the first place life on board ship, as Mr. Willson will tell you, is a rough life. There is rigorous discipline and it is a hard life which demands character. On board ship again, no caste distinctions of any sort are possible. I do not say for a moment that these difficulties will stop Indians from coming forward; all I say is we have to bear them in mind.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Indian seamen and lascars are quite fit and they were congratulated by Government themselves during the War. Look at the War Memorial erected in Calcutta in recognition of their services during the War.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: It is perfectly obvious to me that the Honourable Mr. Kabeer-ud-Din Ahmed does not understand the first thing about the subject I am talking of. Then again, Sir, there is the question of prospects of employment. You cannot expect middle class boys of decent education to come forward to be trained as deck officers unless they have some reasonable prospect of employment. The Indian Mercantile Marine Committee devoted some attention to that particular point. They obtained an assurance from all companies operating in the coasting trade of India, namely, the British India, the Asiatic, the Sindhia and the Moghul Lines, that they would be prepared to take Indians as apprentices and also to employ them as deck officers, provided they were efficient, satisfactory, properly trained and had successfully passed the Board of Trade qualifying examinations. Well, Sir, we have got that assurance, and naturally it will be our business to see that that assurance is worked up to. In addition there are prospects in the Bengal Pilot Service. Therefore, I think that, to begin with at any rate, the prospects are there, but in any case, and it is another point I want the House to realise, there will not be very many vacancies. I do not know whether the House knows how many deck officers in all are employed in ships engaged on the coasts of India. If you take it that there are 80 ships, including all ships engaged in the coastal trade, and if you take it that on cargo ships you require about four deck officers per ship, it means that the total number of deck officers required for the coasting trade of India is not more than 300 or 320, and I suppose the average rate of recruitment for the number of 320 men is not more than 10 or 12 per annum. Therefore, you are not likely to get more than 10 or 12, or possibly 15 vacancies a year even if they all go to Indians. Again, Sir, I want to bring another point out very clearly. As I have said just now, sea life is a hard life, and also I wish to make it perfectly clear that it is a very badly paid life. I have got some information as to the rates of pay of officers on cargo ships; these are cargo ships at home and the rates have been converted from sterling at 1s. 6d. to the rupee. The third officer gets from Rs. 150 to Rs. 180 per month; the second officer gets an average of Rs. 266 to Rs. 320 a month, and the chief officers an average of Rs. 350 to Rs. 400 a month, and the Master, taking ordinary cargo ships, gets from Rs. 533 to Rs. 800 a month, and he only obtains that magnificent salary of Rs. 533 to Rs. 800 after 15 or 16 years' service! That is a point which I think we ought to bear in mind. The pay on cargo ships is small. The chief officer of a ship draws about as much as, say, my shorthand writer. So we have still to solve the question as to whether a well educated Indian boy is likely to come forward for a hard life on the rates of

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pay which I have given. I have just explained that the maximum number of men that we could launch, in the most favourable circumstances, on a sea life could not be more than 12 or 15 a year. We could not maintain a training ship with a three-year course with 36 or 40 boys. We should have to have something like 90 to 100 boys on the ship. Therefore, you would pass out each year some 30 or 40 boys and only a portion of them would be able to get posts at sea. That of course is not an insuperable objection. It is a common experience at home with mercantile marine training ships and also with the Navy training ships that only a proportion of the boys who pass out actually go to sea; the others take shore jobs. And the sort of training you give on a ship of this kind is a training which would be useful to a boy in any walk of life. So, as I say, that is not an insuperable objection. At the same time it makes the cost to Government of the boys that you actually pass out for the sea a very high one, for we anticipate that this training ship will involve an initial outlay of something like three lakhs of rupees, and we anticipate also that if we have a training ship consisting of a three-year course turning out 30 boys a year, it will cost something like 2½ lakhs a year. These are provisional estimates; we shall have to check them more carefully later. If only 10 or 15 boys go to sea, each boy is going to cost us some Rs. 20,000. I have gone into all these details, not because I wish to throw cold water on the scheme but because I wish to make it clear that, if we do start a ship, and if we do I shall see that it is a good one, it is going to be an expensive matter. I do not want to suggest that the boys will not come forward, but there is a risk of that and I want the House to realise what they are letting themselves in for. The advantages of the alternative scheme of sending boys home for training are that, in the first place, you can select your boys at once and send them to England for training either on the *Worcester* or the *Conway*. And there is another great advantage. These boys, when they are trained, and when they become apprentices and officers in cargo ships, will have to mix with English boys, and it would give them a better start if they had been through precisely the same mill as the English boy, namely, through the *Worcester* or *Conway*. Those are the two main considerations I see in favour of Captain Sayer's alternative proposal for sending boys to England. It enables you to start quicker and it will probably give these boys a better start, and it is cheaper. On the other hand we do recognise that there are serious difficulties in the way of sending Indian boys of the age of 14 to England to go through the *Worcester* or *Conway*, and we are quite prepared, in fact we ourselves feel that the right way to set to work to train deck officers is by establishing our own training ship in India, and if the House will support me in this matter, that is what we propose to do. We have the *Dufferin* already and we are informed that, if on the large side, at any rate she will make a very suitable training ship. And so if the House, after counting the cost, is in favour of a training ship in Indian waters, we are quite prepared to take up that matter in earnest. I want the authorisation of the House because, if I get the authorisation of the House, then I hope we shall be able to get ahead in this next year. We shall have to prepare the estimates in rather more detail, but I think in any case we shall be able to make a start in the coming year. As I have explained, Sir, that is the point on which I really want the orders of the House. What I feel about this matter is this. This is the flag end of the Session and I do not suppose

the Assembly really wishes to discuss in any detail at this time of the year a very controversial question like the reservation of the coasting trade, and also I am sure the figures and figures which I have put before them have rather taken them by surprise and that they would like to consider them more at length; but I do want very much a decision from this House on the question of the training ship. I have consulted my friends on the opposite side of the House and all Parties, and they have all agreed with me that, if you would allow it, Sir, probably the best course would be merely for the House to express its opinion on the question of the training ship now and to adjourn the other points mentioned in Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer's Resolution till the September Session. I do not know whether you would allow me actually to move an amendment to that effect. I should like to explain that I have drafted an amendment in consultation with my friends on the opposite side, but I am entirely in your hands.

Mr. President: I understand that, so far as regards the question on which Government want a decision to-day, there is no difference of opinion between the Government and the other side?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: That is my impression.

Mr. President: And so far as the other questions raised by the Resolution are concerned, they are of a controversial character and, therefore, the Government agree to the adjournment of the debate on them.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: That is the idea; may I move?

Mr. President: Yes.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Sir, I beg to move:

"That the debate on all the subjects covered by the Resolution except the proposed training ship be adjourned till the next Session, and that, as regards the training ship, the Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that the scheme for the establishment in Indian waters of a training ship for deck officers should be accepted in principle."

Mr. President: Amendment moved:

"That the debate on all subjects covered by the Resolution except the proposed training ship be adjourned till the next Session, and that, as regards the training ship, the Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that the scheme for the establishment in Indian waters of a training ship for deck officers should be accepted in principle."

(At this point Mr. B. Das rose in his seat.)

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

Mr. K. Ahmed: Some of us want to speak on the motion, Sir. Thereafter it may be adjourned.

Mr. President: I understood from Government that this was a question on which there was no difference of opinion between the Government and the non-officials, and I thought there was going to be no discussion.

Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas (Sind: Non-Muhammadan): May I suggest, Sir, that this proposition in the Honourable Member's amendment, which refers to a question on which there is no difference of opinion, be put first, and then the adjournment question be put afterwards?

Mr. President: It is all the same. If the controversial matter is going to be adjourned, the debate will follow in the next Session or whenever it is taken up. So far as the non-controversial part is concerned, we might close the debate now. I will put the amendment moved by the Honourable Sir Charles Innes.

The motion was adopted.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, the 22nd March, 1926.