

1st September 1926

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

(Official Report)

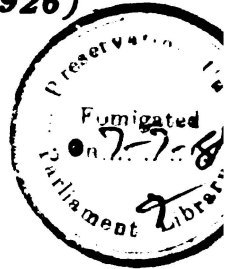
VOLUME VIII

(17th August to 2nd September 1926)

FIFTH SESSION

OF THE

SECOND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,
1926



Legislative Assembly.

The President :

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. J. PATEL.

Deputy President :

DIWAN BAHADUR T. RANGACHARIAR, M.L.A.

Panel of Chairmen :

MR. K. C. NEOGY, M.L.A.
SIR DARCY LINDSAY, M.L.A.
LALA LAJPAT RAI, M.L.A., AND
MR. ABDUL HAYE, M.L.A.

Secretary :

MR. L. GRAHAM, C.I.E., M.L.A.

Assistants of the Secretary :

MR. W. T. M. WRIGHT, C.I.E., I.C.S.
MR. S. C. GUPTA, BAR-AT-LAW.
MR. K. G. HARPER, I.C.S.

Marshal :

CAPTAIN SURAJ SINGH, BAHADUR, I.O.M.

Committee on Public Petitions :

DIWAN BAHADUR T. RANGACHARIAR, M.L.A., *Chairman.*
DIWAN BAHADUR M. RAMACHANDRA RAO, M.L.A.
COLONEL J. D. CRAWFORD, M.L.A.
MR. JAMNADAS M. MEHTA, M.L.A.
MR. ABDUL HAYE, M.L.A.

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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Wednesday, 1st September, 1926.

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

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

ADDITIONAL JUDGES OF THE BOMBAY HIGH COURT.

305. ***Mr. S. C. Ghose** : Will the Government state the names of the persons who acted as Additional Judges of the Bombay High Court during the last five years ?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman : I would refer the Honourable Member to the Bombay Civil Lists, from which the information can be obtained.

CONSTRUCTION OF RAILWAYS IN SIND.

306. ***Khan Bahadur W. M. Hussanally** : (a) With reference to the statement made by H. E. the Viceroy in his speech on the 17th August to the effect that the Railway Board had decided to add 6,000 miles of railway in India during the next 5 years, will Government please state what mileage thereout will be constructed in the Province of Sind and where ?

(b) Will Sind be connected with Bombay by a direct line ? If not will it be connected with Cawnpore on any other station in Upper India ?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons : (a) The following railway lines, about 500 miles in the aggregate, are at present under investigation ; and if it is found that they are likely to prove remunerative, their construction will be undertaken :

1. A middle Sind line from Mahrabpur to Nawabshah, with branches.
2. A line from Sita Road to Kambar with, possibly, branches.
3. Dodapur to Jacobabad.
4. Nawabshah to Khadro.
5. Jhol *viâ* Pithoro to Jhudo.
6. Bombay-Sind Connection Railway.

(b) An officer is being placed on special duty this cold weather to investigate the prospects of a Bombay-Sind through connection. At the moment there is no prospect of a Karachi-Cawnpore connection proving remunerative.

CUSTOMS' SERVICE ASSOCIATION OF ALL-INDIA AND BURMA.

307. ***Mr. N. M. Joshi** : Are Government aware that the Customs' Service Association of All-India and Burma has on its rolls a large number of Indians and Anglo-Indians ?

Mr. B. Rama Rau : Yes.

DISCONTENT IN THE CUSTOMS' SERVICE AT CALCUTTA.

308. ***Mr. N. M. Joshi** : Is it a fact that there is considerable discontent in the Customs' Service at Calcutta due to unredressed accumulated grievances and the alleged severities on the part of the Collector and the Superintendent, Preventive Service, Calcutta ?

Mr. B. Rama Rau : Beyond the representations made by the Customs Association the Government are not aware of any such discontent.

INFRINGEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT SERVANTS' CONDUCT RULES BY THE PRESIDENT AND GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CUSTOMS' SERVICE ASSOCIATION.

309. ***Mr. N. M. Joshi** : (a) Is it a fact that Government have taken objection to the action of the Customs' Service Association in bringing the position to notice in the public Press ?

(b) Is it a fact that Government have brought the Association, as also its President and General Secretary who are not in the active service of Government nor members of the Customs' Service, within the meaning of Rules 17 and 19 of the Government Servants' Conduct Rules ?

(c) If so, will Government be pleased to say what connection there is between the Government Servants' Conduct Rules and the action of the General Secretary, who is not a Government servant, in communicating to the Press the alleged grievances and severities of the Service ?

Mr. B. Rama Rau : (a) and (b). Yes.

(c) The rules apply with exactly the same force to an association composed of Government servants and to Government servants acting as members of an association, as they do to Government servants acting individually. Under Rule 17 of the Government Servants' Conduct Rules, which also governs the provisions of Rule 19, no Government servant can communicate "directly or indirectly" to Government servants belonging to other Departments or to non-official persons or to the Press, any document or any information which has come into his possession in the course of his public duties. The letter was sent to the Press by the Secretary of Customs' Service Association infringing the provisions of the former rule, and this offence was aggravated by the fact that it was written about alleged grievances that had not previously been represented to any higher authority. Moreover, the letter contained an accusation against responsible officers in the Calcutta Custom House which was of a grossly defamatory character.

WITHDRAWAL OF THE OFFICIAL RECOGNITION OF THE CUSTOMS' SERVICE ASSOCIATION.

310. ***Mr. N. M. Joshi** : 1. (a) Is it a fact that the Government have withdrawn official recognition of the Customs' Service Association ?

(b) Is it a fact that the withdrawal is due to particular individuals being the President and the General Secretary ?

(c) Will Government be pleased to explain on what grounds and under what rule they have withdrawn such recognition ?

2. Is it not a fact that Government in the communications (Commerce Department Nos. 120 and 1723, dated the 23rd February and 22nd March 1923, respectively) raised no objection to the holding of office by the present President and the General Secretary of the Association, and undertook not to interfere with the wishes of the members in electing the President and the General Secretary ?

Mr. B. Rama Rau : 1. (a) and (b). Yes.

(c) The recognition rules allow of the presence of outsiders as office holders in associations, but this clearly cannot be taken otherwise than as conditional. If office holders, whether official or non-official, misbehave themselves recognition may be withdrawn. It has, therefore, been impossible in this particular case not to introduce the personal element. The Government are satisfied that the President and the General Secretary of the Association were responsible for the episode that has led to the withdrawal of recognition.

2. Yes ; but as explained above, the recognition was conditional, and under the Articles of Association, the Government have full power to object to the presence of any particular person, whether official or non-official, on the Central Committee of the Association.

INQUIRY INTO THE GRIEVANCES PUT FORWARD BY THE CUSTOMS' SERVICE ASSOCIATION.

311. ***Mr. N. M. Joshi :** Do Government propose to consider the advisability of making a thorough and independent enquiry into the grievances put forward by the Customs' Service Association ?

Mr. B. Rama Rau : No.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar : May I ask whether this action of Government does not restrict the liberty of members to choose their own President and Secretary ?

Mr. B. Rama Rau : To a certain extent it does.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar : Do the Government think it consistent with the interests of this Association that they should so interfere ?

Mr. B. Rama Rau : That is a matter of opinion.

Lt.-Col. H. A. J. Gidney : Will the Honourable Member kindly tell me whether in the action that has been taken by Government the initiative came from the Government Servants' Conduct Rules or the recognition rules ?

Mr. B. Rama Rau : I must ask for notice, Sir.

ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE SUPPLY OF METEOROLOGICAL INFORMATION IN INDIA.

312. ***Mr. K. C. Neogy :** (a) Is it a fact that there are at present two separate organizations for the supply of meteorological information in India ?

(b) If the reply to the above be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state the reasons ?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra : (a) There is to all intents and purposes a single organisation subject to the qualifications that the two meteorological officers at Peshawar and Quetta hold commissions in the Royal Air Force and are paid from Army estimates. For disciplinary purposes they come under the Headquarters Royal Air Force, but for meteorological work they are with the Meteorological Department.

(b) This arrangement was the best that could be devised for rendering improved weather service to the Royal Air Force.

INDIAN METEOROLOGISTS OF THE INDIAN METEOROLOGICAL DEPARTMENTS AND EUROPEAN METEOROLOGISTS ATTACHED TO THE ROYAL AIR FORCE.

313 ***Mr. K. C. Neogy :** Will Government be pleased to lay a statement on the table of this House giving the names, degrees, experience and pay of the Indian personnel of the Indian Meteorological Department and those of the European meteorological officers employed under the Royal Air Force ?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra : A statement giving the required information is laid on the table.

Indian Meteorologists of the Indian Meteorological Departments and European Meteorologists attached to the Royal Air Force.

Name.	Degrees.	Experience.	Pay.
Ra.			
<i>Indians.</i>			
1. S. K. Banerji	M.Sc., D.Sc.	1915 Premchand Raychand Scholar 1916 to 1918 } Assistant Professor of Applied Mathematics, Calcutta University. 1918 to 1922 } Sir Rashbehari Ghose Professor of Applied Mathematics, Calcutta University. Secretary, Calcutta Mathematical Society, and Editor of its Journal, Physical Science Society, of Bengal. Since 1922. Service in the Meteorological Department.	800
2. G. Chatterjee	M.Sc.	1921. Research Scholar. Presidency College, Calcutta. Scientific Assistant, Agra Aerological Observatory. Since 1922. Service in the Department	600
3. V. V. Sohoni	B.A., B.Sc.	1921. Demonstrator, Wilson College, Bombay Since 1922. Service in the Department	600
4. B. N. Banerji	M.Sc., Ph.D.	1919. Assistant to Palit Professor of Physics, Calcutta University. 1920. Assistant Professor of Physics, Calcutta University. 1920 to 1922. } Government of India State Scholar, Cambridge University. Since 1923. Service in the Department	600
5. S. N. Sen	M.Sc., Ph.D.	1917. Attached to the staff of the Caledonian Railway Company (Surveying, Levelling, etc). 1918. Salaried research student in Physics in the College of Technology, Manchester.	600
			In the time scale of Rs. 400—50—1,250.

Name.	Degrees.	Experience.	Pay.
5. S. N. Sen— <i>contd.</i>	M. Sc., Ph. D.	1918 } to } Senior Professional Assistant, Meteorological Office, London. 1925 } Since 1925. Service in the Department.	Rs. } } 400—50—1,250.
6. K. R. Ramathan.	M.A., D.Sc.	1914 } to } Demonstrator of Physics, Maharaja's College, Trivandrum, and Director of Trivandrum Observatory. 1921 } 1922 } to } Burma Educational Service 1925 } Since 1925. Service in the Department	600
<i>European Meteorological Officers employed under the Royal Air Force.</i>			
1. R. G. Veryard	B.Sc.	1920 } Technical Assistant, Army Services, 1921 } Shooburness, under Meteorological Office, London. 1924 } Junior Professional Assistant, Instruments	1,000
2. R. P. Batty	B.A.	1925 } Division, Meteorological Office, London. 1919 } Member of the Office Staff employed in Meteorological Section R.E., Meteorological Office, London. 1920 } Professional Assistant, Army Services, West Livington, under Meteorological Office, London. 1921 } Senior Professional Assistant, Distributive Station, Calshot, under Meteorological Office, London. 1922 } 1923 } Senior Professional Assistant, Army 1924 } Service, Station, Larkhill, under 1925 } Meteorological Office, London.	1,000

EUROPEAN METEOROLOGISTS ATTACHED TO THE ROYAL AIR FORCE, ETC.

314. *Mr. K. C. Neogy : (a) Is it a fact that European meteorologists are appointed by the Royal Air Force at a much higher rate of pay in preference to qualified Indians ? If so, why so ?

(b) Do Government propose to appoint European officers for the Civil Airship Scheme ? If so, will Government be pleased to state the reasons for departing from their declared policy of Indianisation ?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra : (a) The meteorologists employed for the supply of weather information to the Royal Air Force belong to the British Meteorological Service and are on a normal tour of service in India for five years. They hold *pro forma* commissions in the Royal Air Force and their pay is debitable to the Army estimates. The question of their employment in preference to Indians does not therefore arise.

(b) The scheme for the supply of meteorological information in connection with the proposed airship service to India is still under the consideration of the Government of India and no decision has yet been arrived at with regard to the recruitment of the necessary staff.

Mr. K. C. Neogy : Do I take it that the Honourable Member has nothing to do with the fixing of the scales of salary admissible to these European meteorologists ?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra : As I have said, they are on a tour of service and their rates of pay are based on their English rates of pay.

APPOINTMENT OF A MUSLIM OFFICER IN THE LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT IN CONNECTION WITH THE REVISION OF THE INDIAN CONTRACT ACT.

315. ***Mr. K. Ahmed :** (a) Are Government aware that during the last session at Delhi the Honourable the Home Member promised to make a selection from amongst suitable Muslims for appointment in the Legislative Department in reply to questions put by Khan Bahadur Alimuzzaman Chaudhry, M.L.A. ?

(b) Do Government propose to appoint a Muslim as an officer in the Legislative Department in connection with the revision of the Indian Contract Act ?

Mr. L. Graham : (a) It is presumed that the Honourable Member is referring to the answers given by the Honourable the Home Member to certain questions put by Khan Bahadur Alimuzzaman Chaudhry on the 2nd February of this year. I have read those answers and I do not find that they contain any promise of the kind stated in the question.

(b) The reply is in the negative.

Mr. K. Ahmed : Do Government realise that in reply to a question by Khan Bahadur Alimuzzaman Chaudhry, the Honourable the Home Member said that when a vacancy arises in the Department, it will be given to a Muslim ?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman : The Honourable the Home Member never said anything of the sort.

Mr. K. Ahmed : May I, with your permission, Sir, refer the Honourable Member to the answer given by him to question 584 (c) on the 2nd February last ?

SCHEME FOR THE RECRUITMENT IN INDIA OF OFFICERS IN THE TRAFFIC AND OTHER DEPARTMENTS OF STATE RAILWAYS.

316. ***Mr. K. C. Neogy :** With reference to the scheme for the recruitment in India of officers in the Traffic and other Departments of State Railways, recently sanctioned by the Secretary of State, will Government be pleased to state :

(a) whether any alterations have been made by the Secretary of State in the details of the scheme as discussed and approved by the Central Railway Advisory Council ; if so, in what particulars ;

(b) whether and when the scheme as finally sanctioned is to be published ?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes : The regulations have already been published. The general scheme was discussed twice with the Central Advisory Council and was modified in the light of their criticisms. The scheme was then submitted to the Secretary of State and received his general approval.

Mr. K. C. Neogy : I wanted to know whether there has been any change in the scheme as approved by the Central Advisory Council ?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes : The Honourable Member may take it from me that there has been no material change of any kind at all in the scheme.

RECRUITMENT AS ASSISTANT TRAFFIC SUPERINTENDENTS OF RAILWAYS OF INDIAN CANDIDATES WITH ENGLISH TRAINING.

317. ***Mr. K. C. Neogy** : (a) With reference to the class of candidates for appointment as Assistant Traffic Superintendents, mentioned in starred question No. 1374 of the 24th March 1926, will Government be pleased to state the circumstances in which they came to obtain their training in England under apprenticeships arranged for them by the High Commissioner ?

(b) Did the High Commissioner, or the Secretary of State, ever consult the Railways in India as to the chances of employment of these persons on the completion of their apprenticeships ? If so, will Government place on the table full correspondence on the subject ?

(c) How many Indians with training in England have so far been employed in the Superior Traffic Service of the State Railways ? Is it a fact that persons with such training have in the past been preferred to Indians without any training, and employed on State Railways ?

(d) Are Government aware of the number of persons with such training who have come out to India during the last three or four years, and have not succeeded in obtaining employment ?

(e) What steps, if any, do Government propose to take to help these persons to obtain employment in the Indian Railways ?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes : (a) Government have no definite information, but it is understood that candidates made their arrangements for training through the High Commissioner either directly or through the Local Advisory Committees of Provincial Governments.

(b) The Railway Department was not consulted when these arrangements were made and presumably the students applied for such training on their own initiative. In September 1923 when the present scheme for the recruitment of officers to the Transportation (Traffic) and Commercial Departments was under consideration the position with regard to the Indians under training in England was brought to the notice of the Railway Department by the High Commissioner. At that time it was not possible to anticipate the form the recruitment scheme would eventually take. In order, however, to give English trained students an opportunity of competing for appointments in these departments provision has been made in the regulations to allow students with at least two years' railway training to apply for permission to compete this year and next year. Government do not consider any useful purpose would be served by placing the correspondence with the High Commissioner on the table.

(c) Of the traffic and commercial officers already in service five Indians had previous training in England. The system of recruitment in the past was by selection and candidates were selected on their general

qualifications including previous railway training if any. But English railway training *per se* did not automatically give a man preference over others.

(d) Government understand that there are many such persons but are not aware of the exact number.

(e) The names of such men as have applied for appointment have been brought to the notice of Company-managed Railways. The Honourable Member is also referred to my reply to part (c) of his question.

CONSTRUCTION OF A POWER HOUSE STATION AT KALYAN.

318. *Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai : 1. Will the Government be pleased to state :

- (a) whether the scheme for constructing a power house station at Kalyan was placed before the Standing Finance Committee for Railways ?
- (b) whether the said Committee gave its approval and if so on what date ?
- (c) whether it is true that the consideration of the question was postponed twice, once in September 1925 and again on 19th February 1926 by the Standing Finance Committee for Railways, pending the investigation by the Railway Board of the Tata Hydro Schemes ?
- (d) if not what are the facts ?

2. Will Government be pleased to state if the demand for Rs. 20,00,000 for proceeding with the scheme was included in the Railway Budget for 1926-27 without the previous sanction of the Standing Finance Committee for Railways ? If so, why ?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons : 1. (a) Yes.

(b) The Committee neither approved nor objected to the scheme, but a majority of the Committee made the following recommendation at the meeting of the 11th September 1925 :

“ This Committee recommends that the proposal for giving a loan of one crore to Tata Company might be further considered and investigated particularly because this company is a public utility company and that in the meantime this question might be postponed for six months and negotiations carried on with Tatas.”

(c) and (d). The recommendations of the Committee of the 11th September have already been referred to. A secret memorandum prepared by the Financial Commissioner, Railways, was discussed by the members of the Committee at a meeting held on the 19th February 1926 when the Committee were informed that the Government of India had decided to proceed with the scheme for the construction of a power house by the Railway.

2. A demand for Rs. 20,59,000 for expenditure during 1926-27 was included in the Budget which was prepared in January 1926. The demand was approved by the Standing Finance Committee for Railways at a meeting held on the 19th January 1926—*vide* page 27 of the Proceedings of the Committee, Vol. II, No. 6, and it was also voted by the Assembly.

Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai : Is it a fact that Government promised to investigate into Tata's Hydro-Electric Scheme and then to decide whether they would have the electric power from them or from their own power house, and what are the reasons for backing out of that promise ?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes : I understand the Honourable Member refers to the technical investigation of the strength of the Tata dams.

Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai : Yes.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes : We did not consider it necessary to make that technical investigation.

Dr. K. G. Lohokare : May I know if this construction has been taken in hand now at Kalyan ?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons : I think so, Sir.

RECRUITMENT OF MORE MUSLIMS TO THE SUBORDINATE RAILWAY ACCOUNTS SERVICE.

319. ***Khan Bahadur Haji Wajihuddin :** (a) What is the total number of accountants in the Subordinate Railway Accounts Service ? How many of them are Hindus, Mussalmans and Christians ?

(b) Is it a fact that there is not a single Muslim accountant employed in the office of the Accountant General, Railways, Simla ?

(d) What is the total strength of the office of Accountant General, Railways, Simla, and how many of them are Muslims ?

(d) What was the total number of Muslim applicants for the competitive examination of the Subordinate Railway Accounts Service in 1924, 1925 and what is the number this year ?

(e) How many candidates were selected in 1924 and 1925, and how many of them were Muslims ?

(f) In view of the number of Muslim accountants and having regard to the Home Department Memorandum No. F-176/25-Ests., dated the 5th February 1926, do the Government propose to recruit more Muhammadans in the future ?

Mr. B. Rama Rau : The information is being collected and will be supplied to the Honourable Member in due course.

WORK DONE BY THE RAILWAY RATES ADVISORY COMMITTEE.

320. ***Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai :** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state when the Railway Rates Advisory Committee began its work ?

(b) How many applications regarding rates were sent to the Railway Board since then ?

(c) How many were forwarded to the Railway Rates Advisory Committee for disposal ?

(d) How many of such cases have been disposed of by the Railway Rates Advisory Committee up to now ?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons : (a) On the 1st May 1926.

(b), (c) and (d). So far the Railway Board have received only one application which is under their consideration.

RESIDENCE IN BRITISH INDIA OF EUROPEAN MEMBERS OF THE VARIOUS SERVICES AFTER RETIREMENT.

321. ***Khan Bahadur W. M. Hussanally** : (a) Was it ever the policy of the Government of India that European members of the various services, especially the Indian Civil Service, should not reside in British India after retirement except by especial permission of the Government ?

(b) If so were there any rules on the subject promulgated ? If yes, will Government please place the same on the table ?

(c) Has there been any change in the policy of Government in the matter ? If so, since when and for what reasons ?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman : (a) The answer is in the negative.

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

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

LEAVE RULES IN FORCE ON THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

141. **Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney** : (a) Is it a fact that for subordinate employees on the East Indian Railway three sets of leave rules are in force :

- (i) for Europeans ;
- (ii) for Anglo-Indians and
- (iii) for Indians ?

(b) Is it a fact that in the category of Europeans are included covenanted men, domiciled Europeans and non-domiciled Europeans enlisted in India and fair complexioned Anglo-Indians ?

(c) Is it a fact that there are instances on the East Indian Railway in which one brother, the fairer member of an Anglo-Indian family, is included in the European leave rules whilst the darker brother is included in the Anglo-Indian leave rules ?

(d) Is it a fact that the decision as to whether an employee is included in the European or Anglo-Indian leave rules depends on the opinion of the medical officers ? If so, will the Railway Board be pleased to state in what medical institution in Europe or India their medical officers have acquired the power of differentiating between Europeans and Anglo-Indians ?

(e) Are Government aware of the fact that discontent and dissatisfaction exist amongst the subordinate employees on the East Indian Railway on account of this distinction in leave rules, especially since the East Indian Railway has become a State Railway ?

(f) Will the Government be pleased to state whether similar leave distinctions are to be found in any other Government subordinate service ?

If not, do Government propose to assure this House that these distinctions will be discontinued on the East Indian Railway ?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons : (a) No. There are two sets of leave rules, European leave rules and non-European leave rules.

(b) European subordinates whether appointed in England or in India obtain leave under the European leave rules; it is possibly to this that the Honourable Member refers.

(c) Government have no information.

(d) Government have no information, but think it most unlikely that the Honourable Member's suggestion has any foundation in fact.

(e) No.

(f) Government are not prepared to admit that any pigmentary distinctions are drawn between different members of the Anglo-Indian community employed on the East Indian Railway.

REPLACEMENT OF EUROPEAN AND ANGLO-INDIAN STATION MASTERS AND ASSISTANT STATION MASTERS BY INDIANS ON THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

142. **Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney :** Will the Government be pleased to state whether it is a fact that some European and Anglo-Indian station masters and assistant station masters on the East Indian Railway have been relieved of their positions and that Indians, many years junior to them and less experienced, have replaced them ? If so, will Government be pleased to state whether they intend to give effect to the repeated assurances given to the community that their economic interests on the Railways will not be prejudiced by any scheme of Indianisation ?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes : Government have no reason to believe that there is any truth in the vague allegations of the Honourable Member.

ACCEPTANCE OF THE SENIOR CAMBRIDGE EXAMINATION AS A QUALIFICATION FOR ADMISSION INTO THE SUPERIOR SERVICES IN THE RAILWAYS.

143. **Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney :** With regard to the Government's recent communiqué in connection with the competitive examinations in India for Superior Services in the Railways, will Government state whether they propose to accept the Senior Cambridge examination as qualifying for these examinations as has been accepted for the Imperial Police Service examination and by the Railway Board for the recruitment for the Mechanical Engineering and Transportation (Power) departmental examinations ? If not, are Government aware of the fact that the domiciled community, whose educational curriculum is different to that of the Indian, will stand very little chance of securing any of these appointments ?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes : The Senior Cambridge examination is not accepted as a qualification for admission into the Indian Railway Service of Engineers for obvious reasons. As regards the Transportation (Traffic) and Commercial Departments, a comparatively high general educational qualification in candidates is essential to turn

them into efficient officers. Government have prescribed the qualifications after the fullest consideration and do not propose to lower them.

Young men of the domiciled community can and do obtain degrees of Indian Universities after passing the Senior Cambridge Examination, and there is nothing to prevent them from securing appointments in these services if they obtain the requisite degrees or other qualifications.

INCLUSION OF PHYSICS AND CHEMISTRY AS COMPULSORY SUBJECTS FOR CANDIDATES SEEKING ADMISSION INTO THE I. M. D.

144. Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney : Will the Honourable Member be pleased to state whether it is a fact that a knowledge of Physics and Chemistry is now considered compulsory in addition to the Senior Cambridge qualification for candidates who seek admission into the I. M. D. ? If so, are Government aware of the fact that these subjects do not form part of the curriculum for the Senior Cambridge examination and are not taught, except in very few of the European schools ?

Mr. E. Burdon : A knowledge of Physics and Chemistry is necessary in order to obtain entrance to the various medical colleges. Both Physics and Chemistry are among the subjects prescribed for the Cambridge School Certificate examination and the Government understand that a very large proportion of the European boys' schools which prepare candidates for this examination teach these subjects.

PAY OF THE INDIAN MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

145. Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney : Will the Honourable Member be pleased to state whether the present rates of pay for the I. M. D. are less than that of the other Departments (Indians and British) I. A. S. C., I.A.O.C., R.A.M.C. (Ranks), M.E.S., R. C. of Clerks ? If so, do Government propose to inquire into the matter and bring them on an equality with other Departments ?

Mr. E. Burdon : In some cases the total emoluments of assistant surgeons are less than those of officers of certain of the other departments mentioned. Conditions of recruitment and service also differ. The Indian Medical Department is, however, being subjected at the present moment to a general review in connexion with certain issues raised by the Anglo-Indian deputation which waited upon the Secretary of State last year and in that review, the question of remuneration will not be overlooked.

FURLOUGH AND SICK LEAVE PAY OF MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

146. Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney : Will Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that furlough pay to members of the I. M. D. is paid at sterling rates, convertible into current rates of exchange, and that when a member of this Department is compelled to go on sick leave and goes on furlough, he can only do so at great financial loss ? Is it a fact that the majority of the members of this Department have an Indian domicile and, as a rule, take their furlough in India ? If so, do Government propose to fix their furlough and sick leave pay at Indian rates ?

Mr. E. Burdon : I will have the proposition of my Honourable friend carefully examined and will let him know the result in due course.

GRANT OF COMMISSIONS TO MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

147. Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney : Is it a fact that great differences exist to-day in the three major provinces of India in regard to length of service in the granting of commissions to the I. M. D. ? If so, does the Honourable Member propose to consider the introduction of a scheme by which commissioned ranks will be given by a time scale and not by a percentage, worked out on the strength of the Department ?

Mr. E. Burdon : The answer to the first part of the Honourable Member's question is that the procedure regulating promotions in the establishments in the three Presidencies is identical. Promotion depends on vacancies, and may occasionally be either accelerated or delayed.

As regards the second part, the question of time-scale promotion to and in the commissioned ranks will be examined.

ACTION OF THE INCOME-TAX DEPARTMENT AT MEERUT IN ASSESSING AS SALARY THE VALUE OF FREE QUARTERS GRANTED TO ASSISTANT SURGEONS OF THE INDIAN MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

148. Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney : (a) Will the Honourable Member be pleased to state if free quarters as supplied to I. M. D. in military employ is a "privilege" or an "entitlement" ? If the latter will the Government state why the Income-tax Department at Meerut is adding "House-rent" to the salaries of those I. M. D. members whose incomes are below Rs. 5,000 per mensem so as to raise it to that level and, thereafter, charging an income-tax of six pies per rupee instead of, as they are paying now, five pies per rupee ?

(b) If this is irregular do Government propose to issue necessary orders to the Income-tax Department at once ?

Mr. E. Burdon : Assistant Surgeons of the Indian Medical Department are *entitled* to free quarters, but in accordance with Section 7 of the Indian Income-tax Act the value of free quarters is taxable as "salary". The action of the Income-tax Department at Meerut is therefore in accordance with the law, and part (b) of the Honourable Member's question accordingly does not arise.

RECRUITMENT TO THE ENGINEERING BRANCH OF THE TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT.

149. Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney : Will the Honourable Member be pleased to state if

(a) the usual method of recruitment to the Engineering Branch of the Telegraph Department is from telegraphists of at least four years service, and

(b) after three years temporary service as Engineering Supervisors these men are appointed permanent Engineering Supervisors and have then to pass a special examination for promotion beyond the stage of Rs. 250 per mensem when they

are eligible for a nine months' course of training at the end of which they are considered qualified Deputy Assistant Engineers and receive promotion to that grade on vacancies occurring ?

Sir Ganen Roy : (a) The old method of recruitment of Engineering Supervisors is from telegraphists of not less than 4½ years' service.

(b) Yes. But only those supervisors who are found suitable in all respects are selected for training for appointment as Deputy Assistant Engineer.

PROMOTION, AFTER TRAINING, OF JUNIOR TELEGRAPHISTS TO THE ENGINEERING BRANCH OF THE TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT.

150. **Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney :** (a) Is it a fact that in 1920 the Government of India introduced a scheme of 2½ years' training in the Sibpur College, Calcutta, and the Telegraph Store Yard, Alipore, for junior telegraphists having between six months and one year's service in the Department, the men so trained to be appointed first as permanent Engineering Supervisors and on passing a minor departmental test, but not before five years, and that after completing the 2½ years' course they are then considered qualified Deputy Assistant Engineers, awaiting promotion to that grade on vacancies occurring ?

(b) Is it a fact that 38 men went through this training of 2½ years in three batches commencing November 1920, 1921 and 1922 and finishing in January 1924, 1925 and 1926, respectively, and that a considerable sum of money was expended on this training ?

(c) Is it a fact that, by having to wait five years, i.e., till 1929, before passing the departmental test already mentioned, these trained men of the first batch will have to wait, according to vacancies on retirements of men in the senior grades, till 1941, a period of 17 years, before receiving their first promotion ?

(d) If so, does Honourable Member propose to recommend the reduction of this period of five years to three years and thus slightly accelerate the promotion of these trained men, who will even then not receive their promotion till about 1935, and thereby relieve what appears to be a reasonable hardship ?

Sir Ganen Roy : (a) Yes. This is according to the new method of training of Engineering Supervisors.

(b) Yes. But the number of men passed out was 34 and not 38.

(c) Yes, but their promotion may be accelerated in case additional staff is required.

(d) The matter is under consideration.

PROVISION OF SUITABLE SANITARY ARRANGEMENTS FOR EUROPEANS AND ANGLO-INDIANS IN INTERMEDIATE CLASS RAILWAY CARRIAGES.

151. **Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney :** (a) Is the Honourable Member aware of the fact that the deprivation of reserved intermediate railway accommodation for Europeans and Anglo-Indians is causing some considerable inconvenience and irritation to both Indian and Anglo-Indian

travellers and that no suitable sanitary arrangements are provided for European and Anglo-Indian travellers in these carriages ?

(b) Do Government propose to reconsider this matter and provide suitable sanitary arrangements for European and Anglo-Indian travellers in such carriages ?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons : (a) No. The sanitary arrangements provided in intermediate class carriages are usually of the type suitable for the bulk of intermediate class passengers.

(b) Government are not prepared to reconsider the question of specially reserving intermediate class carriages for Europeans.

CATEGORY IN WHICH ANGLO-INDIANS ARE INCLUDED IN REPLYING TO QUESTIONS WITH REFERENCE TO HINDU AND MUHAMMADAN PERCENTAGES IN VARIOUS APPOINTMENTS.

152. Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney : When replying to the various questions asked in this Honourable House, with reference to Hindu and Muhammadan percentages in various appointments, are Anglo-Indians, who are statutory natives of India, included ? If so, in which category ?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman : Statistics relating to Hindus and Muhammadans are confined to those communities only. Anglo-Indians are included in neither category.

GRANT OF MARRIAGE ALLOWANCE TO MILITARY ASSISTANT SURGEONS.

153. Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney : (a) Will the Honourable Member be pleased to state if any decision has been arrived at regarding the grant of marriage allowance to military assistant surgeons ?

(b) Is it a fact that this allowance is to-day granted to all other Departmental and warrant officers as also to Officers promoted from the ranks ?

Mr. E. Burdon : (a) and (b). The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the reply which I gave on the 24th March 1924 to his starred question No. 960. No further decision has been arrived at.

I may observe with reference to part (b) of the Honourable Member's question, that departmental officers are not eligible for the grant of marriage allowance, and it is only junior married officers of the British Service promoted from the ranks who are eligible, and then only if they were married when commissioned.

PASSAGE CONCESSIONS ADMISSIBLE TO MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

154. Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney : Is it a fact that non-Asiatic members of the Indian Medical Department get free passages every five years, and that this privilege is denied to Asiatic-domiciled members ? If so, does the Honourable Member propose to consider the grant of a free passage by rail or the use of Form E. or some railway concessions, as are given to other Departments, to these members when they proceed on leave in India to their homes ? Is it a fact that their homes at times are situated 1,000 miles away from their stations of duty and that leave at present

can only be undertaken at prohibitive expense and by getting into debt ? Is it a fact that members of the I. M. D. formerly enjoyed a British warrant officer's concession ticket on Railways and that this concession has since been withdrawn ?

Mr. E. Burdon: Members of the Indian Medical Department enjoy the same privileges as members of the other departments and a statement is laid on the table specifying the concessions admissible. The Honourable Member will see from this statement that one leave concession passage is granted during the commissioned service of an officer and one similar passage after every six years' service in India in the case of warrant officers of the Indian Medical Department with a non-Asiatic domicile.

As regards the second part of the question, no other department receives such concessions and Government do not, therefore, propose to consider the suggestion made by the Honourable Member. The use of Form "E" by officers and warrant officers of departments, when travelling at their own expense, is and always has been prohibited.

The Government are not in a position to say whether the facts are as stated in the third part of the Honourable Member's question.

As regards the last part, the answer is in the negative.

Statement showing the Passage Concessions admissible to members of the Indian Medical Department.

A. Non-Asiatic Domicile—

(i) *Commissioned Officers.*

One leave concession passage during commissioned service.
Passages when invalidated by a Medical Board.
Final Passage on retirement.

(ii) *Warrant Officers.*

A leave concession passage after every 6 years' service in India.
Passages when invalidated by a Medical Board.
Final passages on retirement.

N.B.—The above are now ineligible for indulgence passages.

B. Asiatic Domicile—

(i) *Commissioned Officers.*

Passages when invalidated by a Medical Board.
Final passage on retirement.

(ii) *Warrant Officers.*

Passages when invalidated by a Medical Board.
Final passage on retirement.

N.B.—The above are still eligible for indulgence passages.

SUPPLY OF FREE LIGHTS AND FANS IN QUARTERS OCCUPIED BY MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

155. **Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney :** Is it a fact that free lights and fans are allowed to the quarters occupied by many departmental warrant and commissioned officers ? If so, does Honourable Member propose to grant a similar privilege to the I. M. D. ?

Mr. E. Burdon : Free fans and free lighting are not supplied in quarters occupied by any departmental officers and warrant officers on consolidated rates of pay.

GRANT OF FREE CONVEYANCE TO AND ACCOMMODATION AT HILL STATIONS TO THE FAMILIES OF MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

156. Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney : Is it a fact that free quarters in and travelling allowance to hill stations are granted to the families of all other Military Departments except the I. M. D. ? If so, do Government propose to extend this concession to the families of I. M. D. ?

Mr. E. Burdon : The families of members of the Indian Medical Department are eligible for free conveyance to and accommodation at hill stations, to the same extent as the families of members of the other Departments of the Army in India. No unit or department has any claim on Government in this respect. The allotment and distribution of such Government quarters as exist in hill stations are in the hands of the General Officers Commanding-in-Chief, who, no doubt, are influenced by medical recommendations and the extent of accommodation available.

GRANTS-IN-AID FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE CHILDREN OF MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

157. Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney : Is it a fact that an education grant is given for the children of all other Departments except the I. M. D. ? Does the Honourable Member propose to recommend a similar grant to the children of the members of the I. M. D. who are European British subjects ?

Mr. E. Burdon : Grants-in-aid for the education of children are given, in deserving cases, to warrant and non-commissioned officers of the India Unattached List and civilian mechanics of the Indian Ordnance Department.

The question of allowing assistant surgeons of the Indian Medical Department in military employ to participate in any educational facilities or monetary grants which may be provided for men of the India Unattached List is under consideration.

INADEQUACY OF THE FAMILY PENSIONS OF WIDOWS OF MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

158. Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney : (a) Will Government be pleased to state what allowance or pension per mensem is given to the widows of warrant and commissioned officers of the I. M. D. ?

(b) What is the pension given to the widows of other departmental warrant and commissioned officers ?

(c) Are Government aware that the allowance at present given to these widows is less than what some railway porters earn monthly and that many of these ladies end their days in alms houses and charitable houses and are in receipt of unemployment doles ?

(d) Do Government propose to recommend a higher rate of pension to these widows as also educational concessions for their children ?

(e) If not, do Government propose to consider favourably the introduction of a family pension fund in the I. M. D. at a very early date and so relieve what to-day constitutes in the case of these widows a grave economic distress, amounting almost to penury ?

Mr. E. Burdon : (a) and (b). The rates of family pensions admissible to widows of departmental officers and warrant officers including members of the Indian Medical Department are laid down in paragraph 530 *et seq* and paragraph 558 *et seq* of the Pay and Allowance Regulations of the Army in India, Part II. as corrected by the July Appendix to India Army Orders, 1925. A copy of these Regulations will be found in the Library.

The rates in the Indian Medical Department are the same as in other Departments.

(c) No, Sir.

(d) Government do not propose to recommend any increase of pension. The question of granting educational assistance forms the subject of another question from the Honourable Member which I am answering separately.

(e) The institution of a family pension fund is not considered practicable.

REVISION OF THE PENSION RULES FOR MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

159. **Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney :** Will Government be pleased to state if the new pension rules for the I. M. D. are still under consideration and when they will be published ?

Mr. E. Burdon : The question of revising the pension rules for members of the Indian Medical Department is still under consideration and I am not in a position to say when a decision is likely to be reached.

STUDY LEAVE ALLOWANCE OF MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

160. **Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney :** Is it a fact that civil assistant surgeons receive 12 shillings a day as study leave allowance while military assistant surgeons get only 4 shillings a day ? If so, do Government propose to equalise this allowance or, at least, improve it ?

Mr. E. Burdon : The answer is in the affirmative so far as civil assistant surgeons on leave in the United Kingdom are concerned. As regards military assistant surgeons, their study leave allowance has only very recently been raised to 7s. 6d. *per diem* and Government do not propose any further increase.

ENLISTMENT OF ANGLO-INDIANS IN THE ARMY.

161. **Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney :** Will the Honourable Member be pleased to state if the Government has arrived at a decision in regard to the formation of an Anglo-Indian Unit, Battery or Corps, and is it the desire of Government to offer enlistment to the Domiciled Community into the regular forces of His Majesty's Army ?

Mr. E. Burdon : These matters are under the consideration of the Government of India.

ASSAULT ON A TONGA DRIVER BY THE OFFICER IN CHARGE OF THE ANTIQUITIES AND BUILDINGS EXCAVATED AT MOHENJODARO.

162. **Khan Bahadur Haji Wajihuddin :** (1) Will Government be pleased to state the name, experience and duties of the officer or officers who are at present in charge of the excavation area at Mohenjodaro in Sind ?

(2) Are Government aware that quite lately some young official at Mohenjodaro so far forgot himself as to abuse and beat a tonga driver who was summoned in that far-off place and that this conduct on the part of the official in question has given rise to a feeling of universal resentment and anger in that locality ?

(3) Do Government propose to transfer the officer concerned, or take any other steps in the matter ?

Mr. J. W. Bhore : (1) Mr. K. N. Puri, a temporary overseer, is in charge of the antiquities and buildings excavated at Mohenjodaro pending the resumption of excavations next cold weather. He has had more than one year's experience of archæological work under the Director General of Archæology in India.

(2) and (3). The incident alluded to by the Honourable Member has since been closed by a compromise filed by the tonga driver and the Government of India are not aware that it aroused any general resentment. It will be left to the Director General of Archæology to take such action as he deems necessary.

CONSTRUCTION OF A RAILWAY FROM BATALA *via* BUTARI AND PATTI TO LAHORE.

163. **Sardar Kartar Singh :** (a) Are Government aware of the fact that the necessity of a railway line between Gurdaspur-Butari-Patti and Lahore has been keenly felt for a long time by the people concerned ?

(b) Is it a fact that the survey of this line was completed in 1916 and that it was on account of the Great War that nothing further was done in the matter ?

(c) Will the Government be pleased to state if there is any early prospect of the construction of the line referred to above being undertaken ?

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

(c) A survey has recently been sanctioned for a line from Batala *via* Butari and Patti to Lahore which would serve Gurdaspur as well. The question of its construction will be considered on receipt of the results of the survey.

EMPLOYMENT OF SIKHS IN CERTAIN GOVERNMENT OFFICES.

164. **Sardar Kartar Singh :** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state the number of temporary and permanent vacancies that occurred in

the grades of clerks, assistants and stenographers in each of the following offices and the number of Sikhs taken in each grade of every office since 1925 :—

1. Office of the Director General, Posts and Telegraphs.
2. Office of the Auditor General.
3. Office of the Audit Officer, Indian Stores Department.
4. Office of the Director General of Observatories, and
5. Office of the Accountant General, Central Revenues ?

(b) Is it a fact that in some of these offices there is not a single Sikh clerk, etc., even at present and that this fact was brought to the notice of the heads of the departments through questions some time back ? If so, why so ?

(c) Do Government propose to issue instructions to the heads of the departments to take such number of Sikhs as may give them their full share of representation ?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett : The information required by the Honourable Member is being collected and will be furnished to him as soon as possible.

EMPLOYMENT OF SIKHS IN THE *Fauji Akhbar* OFFICE, SIMLA.

165. **Sardar Kartar Singh :** (a) Is it a fact that there is only one Sikh in the *Fauji Akhbar* office, Simla, as against 9 Muhammadans and 7 Hindus ?

(b) Do the Government intend to take any more Sikhs in future vacancies to give them fair representation ? If not, why not ?

Mr. E. Burdon : (a) The figures quoted by the Honourable Member are incorrect. There are 8 Muhammadans, 6 Hindus and one Sikh.

(b) The Government are prepared to take any Sikh applicant with suitable qualifications when a vacancy arises ; but appointments are governed by the merits of the applicant and not by his caste.

I may mention that there has only been one Sikh applicant during the last five months, and during this period, there has been no vacancy.

EMPLOYMENT OF SIKHS IN THE INDIAN AUDIT AND ACCOUNTS SERVICE.

166. **Sardar Kartar Singh :** (a) Is it a fact that a couple of Muhammadans were taken in the Indian Audit and Accounts Service on a communal basis last year ? If so, why was this done ?

(b) In view of this will Government please say if they propose to take any Sikh this year ? If not, why not ?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett : (a) I presume that the Honourable Member is referring to the appointments made on the results of the examination held in December last. If so, the reply to the first part of this clause is in the affirmative. As regards the second part, I

would invite his attention to the announcement made by the Honourable the Home Member in the Council of State on the 2nd March 1925, in accordance with which one-third of the vacancies in the various Services are reserved for 'nomination'. I may point out that the two Muhammadans stood 10th and 16th, respectively, out of the 70 candidates who appeared at the examination.

(b) Among the 70 candidates there were only two Sikhs, who secured the 49th and 51st places, respectively. I will take the case of Sikhs into consideration when appointments come to be made on the results of the examination to be held in December 1926. It must be realised, however, that I cannot nominate any candidate who does not obtain to a reasonably high place in the examination.

HONEYCOMB BRICK WORK IN THE BATH ROOMS OF THE "D" TYPE INDIAN CLERKS' QUARTERS AT RAISINA.

167. **Sardar Kartar Singh** : (a) Will the Government please state if they have replaced the honeycomb bricks in the bath rooms of the 'D' type Indian clerks' quarters at Raisina ?

(b) If not, will they be pleased to state how long they will take to remove this difficulty from which every tenant suffers ? Has this fact been brought more than once to their notice through questions and representations ?

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

(b) The matter has been brought to the notice of Government on more than one occasion, but they have decided not to replace the honeycomb brick work.

REFUSAL TO GRANT COMMUNAL AND CLOSED HOLIDAYS TO THE CLERKS OF THE INDIAN STORES DEPARTMENT.

168. **Sardar Kartar Singh** : (a) Is it a fact that the clerks of the Indian Stores Department are generally refused communal and sometimes closed holidays on the ground of much work ?

(b) If so, will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the number of holidays (communal or otherwise) enjoyed and refused to each individual ?

(c) Will it also be pleased to say if they are granted any other compensatory holidays ?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra : (a), (b) and (c). Communal holidays up to the prescribed limit of six in the year are granted to all members of the clerical establishment of the Indian Stores Department. Only in very rare cases owing to the pressure of urgent work were certain members of the staff required to attend office on a closed holiday, but they were granted, on application, a compensatory holiday in lieu thereof. During the year 1925 and the first eight months of the year 1926, 15 and 9 persons out of a staff of 115 and 142, respectively, were required to attend office only on one closed holiday.

MESSAGES FROM THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

Secretary of the Assembly : Sir, three Messages have been received from the Secretary of the Council of State. The first Message runs as follows :

“ I am directed to inform you that the Council of State have at their meeting held on the 31st August, 1926, agreed without any amendment to the following Bills which were passed by the Legislative Assembly on the 25th and 26th August :

A Bill further to amend the Provincial Insolvency Act, 1920, for certain purposes; a Bill further to amend the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, for a certain purpose; and a Bill to amend the Indian Succession Act, 1925, for a certain purpose.”

The second Message runs as follows :

“ In accordance with rule 31 (1) of the Indian Legislative Rules I am directed to inform you that the amendments made by the Legislative Assembly in the Bill to amend the provisions of section 33 of the Indian Succession Act, 1925, were taken into consideration by the Council of State at their meeting held on the 31st August, 1926, and that the Council agreed to the amendments.”

The third Message is as follows :

“ I am directed to inform you that the Bill to provide for the constitution of Bar Councils in British India and for other purposes passed by the Legislative Assembly at its meeting held on the 27th August, 1926, was passed by the Council of State at its meeting of the 31st August with the following amendment:

“ The following sub-clause was added to clause 14 of the Bill, namely :

(3) Nothing in this section shall be deemed to limit or in any way affect the power of the High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal or of the High Court of Judicature at Bombay to make rules determining the persons who shall be entitled respectively to plead and to act in the High Court in the exercise of its original jurisdiction.”

RESOLUTION RE REGULATION OF THE PERFORMANCE OF RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS, ETC.

Mr. President : The House will now resume discussion of the following Resolution moved by Maulvi Muhammad Yakub on the 24th August, 1926 :

“ This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that legislation be immediately taken in hand in order to regulate the performance of religious festivals, rites and ceremonies of the different communities in India ”.

Mr. K. C. Roy (Bengal : Nominated Non-Official) : Sir, will you permit me to move the Resolution which stands in my name in substitution of the Resolution moved by my friend Maulvi Muhammad Yakub ?

Mr. President : The Honourable Member will wait for a little while.

Lala Lajpat Rai (Jullundur Division : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, with your permission I beg to move the adjournment of the debate on this Resolution *sine die*.

I learned from the Mover of this Resolution that he would agree to this adjournment after a statement on this question has been made by the Honourable the Home Member. If that is so I need not go into my reasons for making the motion for adjournment. I wish to point out that in any case, even if this Resolution is carried, no legislation can be undertaken during this Session, and there is no use in debating this Resolution or trying to arrive at a conclusion in this Session. In any case the Resolution would have to be acted upon, even if passed, during the next Session. Secondly, the atmosphere.....

Mr. President : The Honourable Member forgets that there is an amendment, by Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar which does not ask the Government to undertake any legislation but merely calls for a conference.

Sir Hari Singh Gour (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions : Non-Muhammadan) : And there is also my Resolution which does not call for legislation.

Lala Lajpat Rai : I was going to say a word or two about the amendments. My motion covers the original Resolution and its amendments. I want the adjournment of the whole debate, not of any particular portion of it. I was going to say that any debate on this question at this particular time will be very unfortunate, as, however careful Members may be, they cannot avoid references to certain things which have been done by themselves or other people outside this House, which will create bitterness. This is not the time to debate this question. Perhaps the Government in their wisdom will take their own course and decide when they are going to come forward. I would therefore appeal to all Members not to make any speeches upon this Resolution or on their amendments and to agree to the adjournment of the debate to the next Session.

Mr. President : Does the Honourable Member move formally the adjournment of the debate ?

Lala Lajpat Rai : Yes, Sir, I do.

Sir Hari Singh Gour : The Honourable the Mover of this motion also asked me whether I would agree to the adjournment of the debate, and in fact he asked me to move the adjournment of the debate. There are, however, various considerations which arise in my mind which I should place before the House before I accede to the motion made by the Honourable Lala Lajpat Rai. I wish to point out to this House that so far as acrimony is concerned that must be avoided in all debates. I submit that the mere fact that there is communal tension is no reason why Members of the Legislature with the duty of advising Government should shirk their responsibilities. I think, Sir, that far from being a case for adjournment it is a case for prompt and ready decision. That argument of the Honourable Lala Lajpat Rai, therefore, does not move me. On the other hand, I feel that so far as we, the representatives of the people in this House are concerned, it is our duty to advise Government as to what action is necessary for the purpose of allaying the tension that exists between the two main communities in this country. I mean, Sir, that Honourable Members on this side of the House have spoken with great reserve, and I have no doubt that the speeches that will follow will also follow that reserve which we have steadily maintained throughout this discussion. But I think the fact cannot be denied that the tension is not purely religious. It owes its inception to and gains its momentum by reasons which cannot be described as otherwise than political.

Mr. President : The Honourable Member is entering into the merits of the Resolution. The debate is now confined to the adjournment motion moved by Lala Lajpat Rai.

Sir Hari Singh Gour : I am giving the reasons, Sir.

Mr. President : The Honourable Member is entering into the merits of the debate.

Sir Hari Singh Gour : I am not, Sir. (*Several Honourable Members :* "Order, order".)

Mr. President : I propose to dispose of the motion for adjournment first, and I would request Honourable Members to be as brief as possible.

Sir Hari Singh Gour : Well, Sir, I shall explain why it is inopportune to adjourn the debate at this stage. I wish to point out, Sir, that there are various amendments on the agenda paper. One of them stands in my name. The Honourable Lala Lajpat Rai rightly pointed out that even supposing that we were to carry this Resolution, no legislation is possible during the currency of the present Session of the Assembly. I interjected a remark and I repeat it here that so far as the Honourable Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar's amendment is concerned and so far as my own amendment is concerned, it does not call for any immediate legislation. As a matter of fact so far as my amendment is concerned, I think the Honourable the Home Member will promptly accept it, because the sooner the existing law is broad-casted to the people, the better chance the people will have of realizing their rights and liabilities in respect of the immediate causes which have led to this tension. I therefore submit, Sir, that there should be some more discussion on the subject before we are able to vote whether this is a fit case for adjournment or otherwise. If we can come to some *modus vivendi*, if some suggestion is made by the Honourable the Home Member accepting some of the amendments, or if some of us are able to dispose of this very difficult question otherwise than by shunting it off the line, I should certainly, Sir, oppose the amendment ; but as I have said, we must go more fully into the various amendments and see whether after hearing the authors of the amendments and their supporters, the case for an adjournment has been made out.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum (North-West Frontier Province : Nominated Non-Official) : Sir, I rise to oppose this motion for the adjournment of the debate. Sir, it is no use postponing things which have already come to the front in the Press. The whole country is full of these discussions in the Press, and Honourable Members of this House are also discussing these matters in the lobbies, and have already discussed them on the floor of the House. The Mover himself has also had an opportunity of giving us a long speech on this subject seemingly attributing the chief causes of these communal troubles to separate representation and separate electorates.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions : Muhammadan Rural) : I never said a word, Sir, to this effect.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum : I mean the Honourable Member who has moved for the adjournment of the debate.

Lala Lajpat Rai : I never said a word to this effect in my speech on the Bill to amend the Criminal Procedure Code.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum : I cannot quote his exact words just now, but I can refer him to his speech as a whole. It at least implied—the words may not be there—but the whole speech implied that the root cause of our communal troubles was separate representation and

separate electorates. Having gone that far, it is no use putting a stop to the discussion. Let people who feel on this point have the opportunity of speaking on the subject, like the Mover of the motion. I myself do not see how we can legislate on a delicate question like this. It will be very difficult to put it into law with a view to controlling communal troubles, but I as a layman, Sir, from an area where things are run in a more practical way (Hear, hear), can suggest a rough remedy. My suggestion is this, Sir, that if we can only allow the Government....

Mr. President : The Honourable Member will remember that this is a motion for adjournment. We are not now considering the merits of the Resolution.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum : I shall be very brief ; I am not going to discuss the merits of the case. What I want to explain is this that something useful may still emerge from a debate on the subject, and if nothing else emerges in the form of an Act of the Legislature, at least we may permit the Government of India, if any permission is required, to pass an Ordinance, like the Bengal Ordinance, and authorise the Government that whenever anybody interferes with a religious procession or a religious sacrifice or anything of the sort, he should be fired on and shot like a rabid dog. That is what should be suggested in the matter by the House if we are really earnest in putting a stop to these troubles. Or, Sir, we may authorise or rather advise the Government to suspend the laws of the country for a time, so that the two communities may fight it out amongst themselves and come to some definite conclusion. It is no use, Sir, postponing the evil day any longer. The evil is there, the causes of friction are there, and it is no use concealing the true facts. For this reason, Sir, I oppose the motion for adjournment.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman (Home Member) : Sir, I must make my position perfectly clear in regard to this matter. The position is this. A Resolution was moved at considerable length by my Honourable friend, Maulvi Muhammad Yakub. To that an amendment was moved by Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar. The question that is agitated in connection with this Resolution is one of the utmost importance at the present moment. It is the crying question of India, and certainly, Sir, I could not as the Member in charge for Government allow two speeches to stand on record with no reply on behalf of the Government. I must therefore oppose the motion.

Mr. President : The question is :

“ That the further debate on this Resolution be adjourned *sine die*.”

The motion was negatived.

Mr. K. Ahmed (Rajshahi Division : Muhammadan Rural) : Sir, coming as I do from the Province of Bengal, which has been the battlefield of Kurukshetra (Laughter) fought between the two communities for the last five months since Friday, the 2nd April last, when an altercation took place owing to an Arya Samaj procession with music passing along Harrison Road close by the mosque of Dinoo Muhammad, it has become, Sir, absolutely necessary for me that I should take part in this debate and make certain observations on the point which is at issue before this House to-day. The main point of the Resolution, Sir, is that the Government

[Mr. K. Ahmed.]

should take up legislation to regulate the performance of religious festivals, rites and ceremonies of the different communities living in India. And the amendment of my Honourable friend Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar is that Government should convene an all-India conference of selected leaders and experienced officials—to do what?—to examine the present communal situation and make recommendations to regulate the performance of religious festivals, rights and ceremonies of the different communities in India. We had, Sir, in the premier city of Calcutta great bloodshed, pillage, incendiarism. Many were killed, shot and wounded. Mosques and temples were desecrated; houses and shops were plundered. We had also on the other hand many meetings of the leaders of the different communities which lasted for many days. Meetings after meetings were held to settle the differences of these two important communities without any result. We had also at the Government House at Calcutta, presided over by our Governor, many meetings but everything ended in nothing. Both the Government and the leaders tried their best to settle the matter. Finally, Sir, my Government arrived at a decision with regard to the question of music before mosques in the town of Calcutta only, when the situation became very grave. Music was stopped at all hours of the day before the Nakhoda Mosque and with regard to other mosques in the town of Calcutta during the congregational worship or prayer, that is, five times daily.

Now, Sir, coming to the terms of the Resolution and the amendment before the House, it does not seem to me at all possible or feasible, at this time, when all the elected Members of the Indian Legislature (this House and the other), as well as the other provincial Councils will be engaged and very busy in the forthcoming elections, that the leaders of the country will be able to attend any meetings which are to be convened. Besides, there is little hope that the Hindu and Muhammadan leaders will agree to accept any terms of compromise. This has been testified already in the country and the Mover has already stated in his opening speech that this has failed already so many times. Since both the communities are so interested in dealing with a subject of this kind, I venture to think that it should be left to the Government altogether. Government is the only natural agency to deal with it. I do not believe, Sir, that any useful purpose will be served by convening an all-India conference or, as the Mover of the Resolution has said, that the best course for the Government of India would be before undertaking any legislation to invite the leaders of the different communities to a round table conference. The House is well aware that all the leaders at present are also very much interested and that they are only trying to establish their leadership over each other and one another in the country at the cost of the dumb millions. The interest of these leaders therefore clashes amongst themselves. Now, Sir, my Honourable friend from Madras, while moving his amendment did not disclose at all what the causes of the communal differences were. He and the Mover of the Resolution have been trying to apply the ointment or medicine to the sore without diagnosing the diseases or germs of diseases of our communal riots in the country; and, as I had already stated, Government's opinion is the best of all the opinions of the interested leaders of the country who are suffering from the disease themselves. On the other hand, Sir, there is every risk and

danger in holding or convening a leaders' conference. It will only mislead the Government and their sound advice to both the communities to be followed and acted upon accordingly. The other day, Sir :

“ In the interview, which he has given to the *Westminster Gazette*, Lord Lytton, (Governor of Bengal), traces the main cause of the riots in Calcutta to the rivalries roused by the Indianization of the administration. Between the educated men the division of the loaves and fishes in the services is undoubtedly a cause of discord, but before these quarrels penetrate to the minds of the uneducated masses a wholly different sentiment has to be brought into play. “ Music before mosques ” and the “ killing of cows ” are in fact the translation into cries understandable by the people at large of communal differences that really take their origin in the struggle for political power. A political issue in the higher sections of the communities is carried down to the masses by rousing age-old passion about religious observances. The distinction between the two as well as their close connection must be kept clear in mind. A settlement of the religious quarrel does not necessarily imply a settlement of the political struggle. All that it will do is to deprive the two communities of the dangerous weapon by means of which the political quarrel is carried on. It will take the administrative question out of the sphere of mob-passion and enable it to be dealt with as a legislative and administrative problem.”

“ That the ground should be cleared in this way we believe to be essential to peace, and on Sunday we outlined, roughly enough, the terms upon which the two communities could come to an understanding. We have not suggested that these terms do not involve considerable sacrifices of the claims made on either side. They do. Without such surrenders no peace is possible except the peace that is kept by the Government, acting through the instruments of the police and the military forces. In nearly all countries it is customary to stop bands playing while passing churches in which service is in progress, while passing hospitals, and while passing houses in which persons are known to be dangerously ill. That silence is enforced by no law beyond that of good feeling and good citizenship. The Muhammadans are entitled to appeal to those sentiments.”

Mr. President : Order, order. The Honourable Member must resume his own speech.

Mr. K. Ahmed : I will resume my own speech, Sir. The quotation that I have given is from the greatest authority of the province, namely, a Governor. He has come in contact with all sorts of leaders.

I am not at all, Sir, less eager than my friend, the Mover of the Resolution and my Honourable friend, Mr. Rangachariar, to see a settlement of these communal troubles. I also tabled a Resolution of the kind during the last Session at Delhi just before communal riot broke out so virulently in Calcutta and though, Mr. President, you had allowed my Resolution to be moved, it was disallowed by His Excellency the Governor General of India under Rule 22, clause (1) of the Indian Legislative Rules on the ground that it related to matters which were not primarily the concern of the Governor General in Council. I was also, Sir, ready to move the adjournment of the House on the 18th August last, the first opening day, for the purpose of calling the attention of the Government of India to the present communal trouble in the country and the action of the Government to bring about an early settlement.

But as I had to wait and see the result of the ballot of the 17th of August, when this Resolution was balloted, I had to postpone doing the same.

Sir, from the statement of Lord Lytton that he made to the representative of the *Westminster Gazette* it is clear that the settlement depends on the settlement of the Indianization of the administration because it has naturally led to rivalry and disturbances between the Hindu

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and Muhammadan elements that compete for power. The representation on the Legislature granted to the Muhammadans under the Reforms is inadequate in the provinces of Bengal and the Punjab. The Reforms Inquiry Committee has already made inquiries into the matter and has already submitted its report. The All-India Muslim League has repeatedly demanded from the Government (my Honourable friend the Home Member is looking at me), all our needs and requirements. We, Muhammadans, have been waiting so long hoping that the benefits of the Reforms would be given to us as early as possible, but everything has been denied to us for so long. We have not got our adequate share in the public services. Our people have become impatient and they cannot wait any longer. The sooner it is given to us the better both for the Government and the country. Under these circumstances, Sir, I beg to oppose both the Resolution and the amendment of my friend Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar.

Dr. S. K. Datta (Nominated : Indian Christians) : Sir, the present situation is a matter of very great concern to the minority communities in India and to all concerned with their welfare. I shall give very shortly some of the reasons for this. Every minority community is affected by the demands made by any of the major communities. Every demand thus conceded limits the opportunity of the smaller minorities, who have now come to believe that if this limitation continues they are bound to go to the wall. For many years I lived in Lahore, and thus I have had experience of the two great provinces in India, the Punjab and Bengal, where the inter-communal question to-day has become such a burning one. I have witnessed the riots in Calcutta and have seen communal feeling aroused in both these provinces and, while I have realised that the Moslem community suffer from grave handicaps, I cannot but utter a word of warning this morning. Largely, as far as I can make out, the quarrel has been one of posts and positions and this has embittered the situation. This Resolution refers to religion, religious rites and religious ceremonies. I wonder whether we really know what we are referring to when we speak in the name of religion. Religion really is the means, psychologically, if I may so put it, the method by which communities come to a common expression. There are communities in the world which use other modes of expression of the common mind, but in India, when the communities thus express themselves, they express it in terms of religion. I was a member of the Unity Conference,—not a prominent member, I kept my mouth mostly shut,—during those great days in Delhi. As I watched the proceedings of the Unity Conference, I began to speculate on the situation in India. It seemed to me that we were all united in and were perfectly willing to distribute the benefits of the next world amongst ourselves but not the benefits of this world. That is a cynical observation to make, but the truth of it came home to me as I sat in the Conference. What is it that India is suffering from ? India is suffering from wide-spread unrest and the present tension is part of the unrest of India. Fundamentally, it seems to me that the Mussalman (and not only he but others too) is the victim of the economic situation of this country. He is suffering from a feeling that the things of the world are not being divided equally and with any sense of justice. Now, that is the chronic situation in India. Every

now and then it flares up. And why does it flare up ? Because that chronic unrest is being used by persons for their own personal and selfish ends. That, to my mind, is the trouble in India to-day.

Now, Sir, if my analysis of the situation is correct, how are we going to meet it ? What are we going to do for the future ? Is this conference which has been proposed going to do any good ? This conference proposes to deal with matters of religion, religious rites and those sort of things. But there are things which are more fundamental than these expressions of religious fervour. Religion is a mere expression of a deeper, discontent. Well, Sir, that being my analysis, I should like to say one or two words with regard to this conference. I do not believe it is up to me, a member and the representative of a small minority community, to record a vote here. It is a question for the bigger and greater communities to settle. Now there are several prerequisites which are essential for this conference ; otherwise it will prove a failure. The first prerequisite to me is a psychological one, namely, the will to unite. Is there a will to unite ? If there is not, a conference such as this will prove abortive. As I look round the leaders, I sometimes wonder whether there is really at bottom a will to unite. I doubt it. But I am not pessimistic of the younger generation. I have lived in Calcutta during the last troublous days and I have seen quite a good deal of the younger men in Calcutta, of all communities. It seems to me that there is among them a feeling and a desire that there should be a better day. They are not out to use this chronic unrest of the country for their own purposes. There is a street in Calcutta called Machua Bazaar Street which was the scene of the worst riots and where the firing from armoured cars took place. I know of a hostel which has a large majority of Hindu students, with a few Muslim, Christian, and Sikhs students. Opposite to this hostel there is a large Mussalman *basti* consisting of humble artisans and labourers. Now, these Hindu students resolved that they would help the Mussalman boys who were their neighbours, and every week open up their play-ground for the entertainment and recreation of these.

I believe in their ordinary life these young men have demonstrated what I may call the will to unite. The Hindu has a tremendous responsibility. Wealth is on his side, influence is on his side, is he going to use it for the minority communities of this country ? If he is, you will get unity. The other day I heard my friend Maulvi Muhammad Yakub speak and he uttered one sentence in his speech of which I have a vivid recollection. He said " Our festivals have been turned into days of mourning ", and I felt my Honourable friend Maulvi Muhammad Yakub was beginning to have the will to unite. It may be that this prerequisite may be present in a larger measure than we realize.

There is another prerequisite necessary before a conference can be successful, and I would turn for a moment to that front Bench of this House, the Government of India. Sir, it is one of the tragedies of our time that for the last 30 or 40 years the Government of India have been losing the moral leadership of this country. Thirty or forty years ago the Government of India did have the moral leadership of this country. What they said, men listened to ; they said words that inspired and the people were willing to follow their leadership. To-day, when a critical situation arises in this country, we in this House realize what happens ;

[Dr. S. K. Datta.]

the clauses of the Indian Penal Code, or the Criminal Procedure Code, are further strengthened at the instance of that front Bench. Yes, that may be necessary, probably is necessary, I have not a word to say against it; but there is something bigger in this country that the Government of India can do and ought to do. Sir, why is that leadership which I spoke of gone? I sometimes wonder whether the Government of India is not tied too closely to another, shall I say cynical authority eight thousand miles away, too much subject to the dictation of people who do not realize what the situation is, and are more concerned with their own interest. I wonder if the Government of India cannot get free from this bondage and use its authority to become again the moral leaders of this country

Sir Walter Willson : (Associated Chambers of Commerce : Nominated Non-Official) : What does the Assembly say when it does?

Dr. S. K. Datta : The Government of India has not made to this Assembly an appeal to its moral sense. Sir, the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy the other day before the Chelmsford Club gave us hope again, those of us who belong to the minority communities, and whose interests are not a matter of concern to the others, that there would be a renewed leadership, and that the Government of India would lead this country back to tranquillity. That is all I have to say. I believe that is the greatest thing His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India can do; he has to lead us into peace and tranquillity and I do trust that the Government of India will accept that burden casting aside the trammels that bind them, and I can assure them that they will have the backing of all men of goodwill in this country.

Sir Denys Bray (Foreign Secretary) : Sir, I think the last two speeches we have heard are a proof of the impropriety (shall I say?) of my Honourable friend Mr. Lajpat Rai's motion for adjournment. My Honourable friend Dr. Datta has just delivered one of his characteristic speeches, suggestive, philosophical—though marred in one place, I thought, by a narrow cynicism—a speech coming from the representative of a small minority community which, as I believe, has in essence a contribution to make to this most difficult question. To the speech of my Honourable friend Mr. K. Ahmed I began to listen with much trepidation. But there is something in this debate which has a sobering influence even on the martial ardour and the unquenchable humour of my friend. There is a challenge in this debate. It has proved too much for the natural inertia of a professionally silent Member like myself. The challenge is imperative. For strip the motion and the amendments of their trappings and trimmings, and there stands bare a matter which comes home more shrewdly to men's business and bosoms than any yet debated in this House. The very restraint with which the House has discussed the business before us bespeaks its great difficulty, its desperate gravity, for when bitterness of the heart—and this is what was at the back of my Honourable friend's motion for adjournment—when bitterness of heart can drive angry words so easily across the barrier of our lips, nothing but a sense of responsibility, a great sense of the immeasurable dangers of irresponsibility, can force us to couch our hopes, our fears in sober language. Our restraint has been impressive; but it has been surely natural enough. For once you set foreign aggression aside, there

is no national business more crucial than a continuing menace to civil peace.

Hence, Sir, is it not lamentable that the Swaraj Party, which I had thought had something constructive to bring to our counsels on this matter, should have held itself aloof? Lamentable three-fold that it should have come back to us for a material issue—however important a Currency Bill may be—and should have turned away forthwith from an issue that touches the very spiritual being of India. (Hear, hear.) I tried to school myself into feeling some spark of the ideal in non-co-operation, for I always feel myself better equipped to meet my opponent when I can grip and grasp the measure of right that is on his side. But if non-co-operation, or whatever the fleeting party label now may be, spells public and well-advertised co-operation over the material, the non-essential, the sordid, and the holding aloof from the very essence, as it seems to me, of India's spiritual being, then India, if she is true to herself, will have done with non-co-operation, here, now and for ever.

The soberness and restraint with which we who are left in this House have approached this debate has not been won by any shirking or cowardly veiling of the issue. Far from it. There have been words spoken in this debate, weighty, wrung from the heart, instinct with sincerity, such as my memory at least can find no parallel for in our debates. There has been that cry, raised insistently, that the leaders of the two communities have left undone those things that they ought to have done, and have done those things they ought not to have done: that the leaders have failed; that they have lacked the courage—of all forms of courage I am inclined to rate it highest—of attempting to stem the flood of passion that has been sweeping their followers from every semblance of loyalty to Mother India. The cry has been raised not merely by a follower here or a follower there but—theirs be the honour—from men who are leaders indeed. And here surely there is a glimmer of hope. For the recognition of failure, still more the public confession of failure, is the first stumbling step on the retracing of that difficult road that leads to success. And there has been that cry that unless India can rise superior to this hideous communal trouble, this House is vain; our labours are vain; all our hopes that are centred in this House are vain; all that this House stands for is vain. The cry came from a quarter which on a superficial analysis might have been expected least to raise it. Then there was that other cry—an exceeding bitter cry—that it rests with Government alone, that Government alone has the power to overcome this trouble, that without the driving force of Government India can do nothing. Dr. Datta expressed that cry in a somewhat different form. Government can do, has done, much. It can do, has done, much in what I may call the material sphere by the imposition of law and order. It can do, it has done and it will do much in what my friend Dr. Datta calls response to a moral appeal. Government to-day is making a moral appeal to India; and the greater the response to that appeal the greater will be the power of Government to give India in this matter a moral lead. When people who ordinarily do not call upon Government for help raise the cry for help in a matter so intensely important to India the sincerity of the cry becomes doubly vivid. Who could not feel it? But what Government cannot do is to cure the disease itself—a disease which is within. It can tackle the outward and

[Sir Denys Bray.]

visible signs of this inward and spiritual disgrace that is eating into the heart of India. But the cure itself must come not from without but from within.

And this brings me back to the first speech of the debate. For I, like Dr. Datta, was greatly touched by that passage in the speech of my Honourable friend, Maulvi Muhammad Yakub, in which he said that Indian family life with its simple joys and glad festivals and pious holidays was being robbed of its happiness. And when I heard those words—simple as they were, they were to my ears the most touching I have heard in this House,—I could not help feeling that here at last was a clue to the solution of a problem which at times oppresses us with its almost insoluble difficulty. Let that cry run through the length and breadth of India; and, God willing, we shall find that the salvation of India does not rest with the politicians or the officials but with India's women and children who shall impel the manhood of India to restore to them that happiness of home and family and social life without which life itself is not worth living.

Mr. N. M. Dumasia (Bombay City : Non-Muhammadan Urban) :

12 NOON.

Mr. President, I had no intention to intervene in the debate at this stage but a reference to minority communities by my Honourable friend Dr. Datta reminded me of what a minority can do at this critical juncture. When there was a split in the Congress and when it was being torn asunder after the Partition of Bengal, it was a member of a minority community, the grand old man of India—Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji—who donned his armour at the age of eighty and came out to India to smooth matters and bring about peace among the warring elements which at that time rent the country. Sir, when two major communities are flying at each other's throats, it would be criminal for minority communities to remain silent. They must play their part of peace-makers, for after all they are independent spectators and can give their honest opinion in matters which appertain to the welfare of all communities. Sir, according to my ideas it is not the function of the Government to interfere in communal disputes except to bring about peace and enforce law and order—which they are doing. Under British Rule we have been granted the freedom to follow our own ways in religious matters and we have not been molested in the enjoyment of our religious rights for nearly a century. It is lamentable that in the 20th century when we are giving lip service to nationality, when our one cry is national union, we find that these communities have finished fighting with Mr. Gandhi's "Satanic" Government and are now engaged in trying to massacre and wipe out each other. Sir, it is an irony of fate that this should be happening when we are pressing for Swaraj on the ground that India is a nation. As I have said, it is not the function of the Government to intervene in communal disputes; but this question has become such a gigantic problem, it has become such a great evil, that it is our sacred duty to explore every avenue that brings peace and concord between the two communities. It was the great founder of the Aligarh College, the late Sir Syed Ahmed, who said that the Hindus were the apple of the Muhammadan's eye, and the Muhammadans were the apple of the Hindu's eye. Instead of being the apple of each other's eyes, what do we find? We find an apple of discord sowed in the two communities. Again, as my great Guru,

His Highness the Aga Khan, said the Hindus and Muhammadans were like the two arms of the nation and you cannot cut the one without destroying the other. Instead of the Hindus and Muhammadans trying to settle their disputes amicably and with each other forgetting that they are part and parcel of a nation, they injure each other's interests and put back the clock of national and political progress. I speak with great deliberation when I say that the whole fault lies with the leaders of the communities. The leaders of the communities, as my friend, Mr. Lajpat Rai, admitted the other day, had not done enough ; he said they had not got the opportunity to do it. Whose fault is it ? It is the fault of the leaders if they have not explored all avenues of peace ; it is the fault of the leaders if they have not done their best to bring peace in the country and among themselves. Sir, these leaders are fighting, not for the advancement of the cause of the nation, but to ascertain their own claims for leadership. That is the bane of the country. Have we not got here a leader who can bring peace to the country ? If so, the country is not fit for self-government. I remember the great conference which was held in Allahabad when Sir William Wedderburn, the Aga Khan, the late Mr. Gokhale and last but not least my friend, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, exerted their best influence to bring about conciliation between the two communities and their efforts were attended with not a little success because they were inspired by a genuine desire to bring about peace and amity. If the leaders set themselves to-day seriously, honestly and with a genuine desire to bring peace, I think they will succeed and will bring relief to the whole country which it badly needs at the present time. But, as I have said, the leaders are at present fighting among themselves to establish their own claim to leadership. It has been said that the Government are fomenting these communal quarrels. It has been said that the Anglo-Indian Press has been fomenting these quarrels. These statements, I assert, are untrue.

Mr. President : Order, order. No one has suggested in this debate that the Government are fomenting these troubles.

Mr. N. M. Dumasia : Sir, I will not refer to that general statement ; but I must say that the Government will be the last to foment any dissension for the simple reason that they brought internal peace to this country and no charge can be laid against them that they are not able to control these communal riots. Sir, as I have said, it is not the function of the Government to intervene except to preserve law and order ; but the country requires a true lead to-day to settle these disputes, and for this reason I am of opinion that the Government, the officials and the non-officials and leaders of all the communities, should meet and put their heads together and try to come to a settlement ; but before Government intervene there is one condition essential for bringing about happy results, and it is this, that the leaders must agree, between themselves first. As there are rights, so there are obligations of citizenship. It is, therefore, the function of the leaders first of all to come to a settlement and then tell Government " Here we are in hearty accord with each other and we are determined to settle our matters among ourselves, and we want Government's co-operation."

Sir, it has been said that communal representation has brought all this dissension in the country. As I said the other day communal representation brought about conciliation between the two communities ; and

[Mr. N. M. Dumasia.]

if this communal representation were taken away to-day it will be a fresh cause of trouble which neither the Government nor the leaders of the communities will be able to stop. If communal representation were taken away, where is the guarantee that the minority communities will at all be represented in this House? When any scheme is put forward the leaders of these communities claim to speak for minorities as well and show their anxiety to preserve the interests of the minorities. Sir, my community has not been granted communal representation and we have not pressed for it; but, communal representation so far as regards the great Moslem community is concerned is a *fait accompli*—a settled fact. Try to do away with it and you will see rivers of blood flowing in the country.

Sir, at this critical juncture we are fortunate in having in our Viceroy a man dominated by high principles, a man of great virtues whose one object, as he has frequently told the public, is to bring peace in the country. There is no doubt that he is moved by the same religious Christian fervour as Gladstone was moved in England and that he has already given us proof that, if we join hands with him, if we work with the Government hand in hand, he will try to prove another Lord Ripon. Government have given us one cue—unite—and if we unite no Government on earth can deny our united legitimate demands. If this communal question is satisfactorily settled,—which can only be done by mutual good-will and mutual forbearance,—and, if unity is thereby restored, then, India need not despair of her future; but, Sir, Government which has been looked upon with unnecessary suspicion can never bring about that unity; it is the leaders who can do it; and if the leaders fail to bring about the desired object I think these leaders will have worked in vain for the political advancement of the country, because political advancement would never come unless India presents itself as a united nation. What we are doing to-day is not to unite ourselves into one nation but to show that India is still full of so many castes and creeds, so many communities, so many languages and so many religions. Government can never bring them into one. It is the leaders alone who can do it and I hope the leaders will take to heart the lessons of to-day's debate and set earnestly to work to bring about that tranquillity and peace which India so sorely needs to-day.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Sir, if I rise rather early in this debate it is with the object as far as possible of seeing it continue on the lines on which it has so far progressed. In my judgment a debate conducted as this debate appears likely to be, cannot fail to be of considerable benefit to the general situation. I think if this Assembly had passed the whole of its life without raising its voice to discuss what is admittedly the greatest pending question of the hour, those who will examine the work of this Assembly would be forced to criticise it unfavourably. Sir, conspiracies of silence are useless. If this Assembly will never face facts, then we shall not get very far. That the debate should have taken place at the end of the last Session of this Assembly, in this comparatively thinly attended House, is to me a matter for regret. I cannot believe that those who are absent will, when they think over the consequences of their action and the importance of this debate, not regret their absence.

Now, Sir, before I enter into a discussion of the detailed terms of the Resolution and the amendment, with your permission, I should like to make a few general remarks. Let me say, in the first place, how, like my Honourable friend, Sir Denys Bray, I was struck by the earnestness of the speeches on the first day. I mean the speeches made by Maulvi Muhammad Yakub and Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar. I saw there the augury of a better feeling between the communities, for alas ! I recall different language between the two speakers on a previous occasion. Sir, I propose, in the first place, to examine the duties of Government in regard to this question. They are duties of a different character but equally, in my judgment, important. They are the primary duty of maintaining law and order and the equally important duty of bringing peace and conciliation between the two communities. The duties of Government are two-fold. They are not unmindful, as my Honourable friend Dr. Datta apparently thinks, of the moral appeal. I deny that. I also comment on the fact in passing that a citizen "of no mean city" who is a Member of this Assembly is wrong when he says that he will not vote on a question which is of the greatest importance to all communities. That is not the true spirit of citizenship.

Now, Sir, I will take, since it is well that I should put that in the forefront of my speech, the duty of Government, to use all means within its power to bring conciliation and peace to the warring parties. In my judgment, no Government should neglect any opportunity of endeavouring to influence feeling among both communities in the direction of sobriety and sanity. Sir, fortunately, I am on favourable ground here, for a very remarkable example of the exercise of that duty has taken place recently. I refer to the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy at the Chelmsford Club. That was the speech of a statesman who certainly made a moral appeal of the highest character, an appeal which, I am thankful to see, has been well received on all sides and has, in my judgment, produced a very salutary effect. Now, Sir, although, as I say, I place in the forefront the duty of conciliation there is another and an equally important duty that this Government have to fulfil, a duty which if it fails to fulfil, it would be entirely false to its own ideals and constitution. That is the duty of maintaining law and order, and I think it is worth while repeating in this connection a passage in His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the opening of this Assembly. I regard those two speeches as pendants to one another. I regard the Chelmsford Club speech as the discharge of the duty of a moral appeal, I regard the speech of His Excellency at the opening day of this Assembly as illustrating the second duty, which is equally incumbent on Government. His Excellency said :

" But meanwhile, we have obligations to law-abiding citizens. Although indeed these matters are the primary concern of Provincial Governments, the form in which they are now emerging has, in a real sense, made them of all-India interest. While it is no part of the functions of the Executive Government to ascertain or determine in any judicial sense the private rights of citizens,—for an elaborate system of courts has been provided for that purpose—it is the undoubted duty of the executive authorities to secure that, subject to the rights of others and the preservation of the public peace, the enjoyment of those rights is secured to the individual. That duty the Government of India in co-operation with the Local Governments desire should be performed with fairness and scrupulous impartiality "

Now, Sir, it has often been said, I have heard it said, that the Government of India have no policy in these matters. The fact is that

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the policy of the Government of India is to maintain law and order and promote conciliation, and that is a policy in which, I trust, we shall have the entire support of this House. It is the only policy that a Government can adopt.

If the House will bear with me, I would like to examine that proposition a little more closely. I have said that these are the two aspects of the responsibilities of Government towards the present situation. Now, in using the word "Government", I use it in the widest sense; I use it to include the Government of India, the Local Governments and all the Government officials who are charged with any duties in connection with this question. It is important that that should be borne in mind, for each in their respective spheres has very definite duties to perform. We must be careful, when we consider this problem, to bear this limitation in mind, for there are no short cuts to the happy isles and there is no fairy queen who by waving her wand can dispel the demons of discord and hatred. It is by work and not by words that help will come. It is by steady and concentrated effort, each within his own proper limitations, that good may be hoped to be effected. It is no use imagining that the Government of India can go down and decide disputes in every village. That is not the function of the Government of India. The Government of India must administer through the Local Governments, and again the Local Governments must administer through their agents, the local officers. The question we are discussing is no new one. It has agitated the minds of those who have administered India for many years. That, I think, will be admitted, and I do not propose to dig into ancient history. I will, however, refer to two definite efforts that have been made by the Government of India in comparatively recent years to ameliorate the communal situation. In 1915 and again in 1924 the Government of India drew the attention of the Local Governments to the question of conciliation in connection with communal trouble. In 1924 the writing was large on the wall. It was in Lord Reading's Government, and I was then Home Member. We addressed the Local Governments, and we got very much the same replies as those received in 1915, and I should like to say here that those replies show that in the provinces mainly concerned, the question was most carefully considered and they contained a really remarkable wealth of administrative experience. It is quite evident that the officers who sent the answers definitely and very carefully applied their minds to the issues which were put before them. Two things emerge very clearly. The first is that there is not any doubt whatever, that wherever communal trouble has taken place or is likely to take place, every effort has been made to enlist non-official co-operation in checking that trouble. That emerges very very clearly. I am always hearing it said: "Why don't you write to Local Governments and to your officers and say you must get in the help of the leading men of the place." Well, as I say, it is quite evident that that is the attempt of every officer in every district, where there is likely to be trouble. It is well that I should speak quite definitely on that point, because in another place yesterday I heard rather a different suggestion. It is impossible within the limits of human power to prevent trouble arising in all cases, but that there has been any lapse, speaking in general terms, in endeavouring to bring the two parties together, I must most emphatically deny. The second thing—and it is a very interesting point and I commend it to the careful consideration of the

House—is that all experience appears to show that the more localised the support you have, the more effective it is. It is the local men who can really help in these communal troubles. It has been said, Sir, that the political leaders have failed. I have no wish to criticise anyone. They must answer for themselves. But it is clear that in times of trouble, men turn to the people of their own hamlet, of their own *mohalla*, the *busti-wallah*, they go to the men they know who can do them some good. It is not so easy for men who are not personally known to have the same salutary effect. I must quote to the House a very short extract—the view of an experienced Commissioner—I will not give his name—but who I can assure the House has been particularly tactful in his handling quite recently of very serious communal trouble :

“The consequences of disturbances can be brought home to the classes most nearly concerned by those possessing immediate influence on particular sections of the community. These will be more frequently unknown to the higher classes of officials and of non-officials : obscure *chowdris* of bazaars, unconsidered *lambarbars* or rural notables unrecognised by any official title.”

Those are the conciliators in local disputes. Now, that point I have not brought forward merely for the sake of reading the extract. I have brought it forward because it has a very important connection with the matter we have under consideration. I regard a new development in their disputes as one of the greatest dangers it is possible to have ; it is a danger that cannot be avoided with the advance in communications and the rapidity with which news spreads, some of it true and some of it false. It is this. My own experience which goes back some years is that in the past these disputes were generally particular. They were particular in this sense. They were in regard to a particular mosque, in regard to a particular place. Now, there is undoubtedly a tendency to treat a particular dispute regarding a particular place as a general question affecting or purporting to affect all Hindus or Muhammadans throughout India. And that is a most serious menace to my mind. It is quite clear from the papers I have had occasion to examine in connection with some of the recent occurrences that have taken place that there have been occasions when the people of the locality were perfectly willing to come to terms had it not been for the interference of outsiders.

Now, I have endeavoured to show that the Government of India does not sit silent on the hill-top regardless of what is going on down below. But where, I ask, is help to come from ? Where, I ask, must reform begin ? Is it at the top or at the bottom ? Are we to influence the masses or are we to interest the leaders ? *Ex hypothesi*, according to all statements, the leaders are willing to compromise. If that is true, then there is no need to approach them. They are convinced, but they cannot influence others. Who then are the people we have got to get at ? The masses. And how can the Government of India reach the masses ? Sir, in one way only. In the way we have always reached the masses and in which we still reach them : through our local officers. Those local officers can obtain their directions on important questions of principle from their Local Government and the Government of India can indicate its general policy : that is undoubtedly the case. But it must be through our local officers. And what are you going to do on your side ? You are all going to-morrow. This House will very shortly be dissolved. Honourable Members will be living, some in towns, others in their villages, and what can they do ? They can all do something to tell their neighbours, to explain

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to their more ignorant fellow inhabitants what this state of affairs means and how necessary it is to put a stop to it. Now, we can do it through our officers ; Honourable Members can do it themselves or through their friends and through those they know have influence locally. To my mind that is where much may be done. Much may be done by working on the masses below. The leaders—they also, if they lead, can influence public opinion. But it is not by hiding our heads in a bag and refusing to face the situation, that anything will be effected. Now, I have been very much struck—I should not be frank if I did not tell the House—I have been very much struck by the fact that in the debates of this House, whenever anything of this kind has come up, speakers of a certain community in this House have mainly come from Southern India where this communal tension does not exist as it does in other parts of India. That is a very striking fact and I hope to-day we shall have some clear statements of what the views of those who are more particularly affected are in the matter. I think a frank pronouncement of a desire to co-operate in putting an end to these serious troubles would have a very valuable effect.

Now, Sir, I do not propose to deal at length with the actual terms of either the Resolution or the amendment, but I must say a few words on them. My friend Maulvi Muhammad Yakub wants immediate legislation : my friend Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar wants a committee which probably would recommend legislation. It is true that he does not in so many terms say that, but I take it that that is the real difference between the Resolution and the amendment. Well, Sir, I do not think it could be seriously argued that any Government could possibly take up legislation on the lines suggested. The Resolution, if you read it carefully, would ask for the widest interference with religious rites.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub : Sir, I have already expressed my intention of accepting the amendment of Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar, and I accept it.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman : Still, that would hardly prevent my commenting on the terms of the Resolution. However, I do not wish to take up the time of the House in doing so. I take it that the Honourable Member really wishes to say that he recognises his Resolution goes too far and he is prepared to withdraw it. I then turn to the amendment, which only varies a degree from the actual Resolution. It involves the establishment of a committee, an all-India conference of selected leaders of public opinion and experienced officials to examine the present communal situation in the country and make recommendations to regulate the performance of religious festivals, rites and ceremonies of the different communities in India. Now, that course is very very wide. It would involve inquiry, travelling over the whole of India, dealing with communities so different as the Christian and the Hindu, the Sikh and the Muhammadan, and there would be various other communities. (*Sir Hari Singh Gour* : “ And innumerable customs.”) And my Honourable friend, *Sir Hari Singh Gour*, says “ innumerable customs.” I do not think that an inquiry of that kind unless undertaken in circumstances where all the communities were earnestly desirous of obtaining the best results, would have any useful results. At a time when communal feeling is certainly not in that frame of mind, when the judicial examination of the question is not likely to be undertaken in a sober spirit, I fear that that in itself would be a very serious objection to the proposal.

Mr. K. Ahmed : Who abolished *Sati* during the time of Lord Bentinck ? (Laughter.)

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman : I do not think it is necessary to deal with my Honourable friend on this occasion. As I said, the scope of the inquiry is far too wide to promise any useful result at any time. It would be an inquiry which, if it succeeded, would require the regulation of religious practices to an extent that I doubt if any legislature, composed such as ours is, could possibly undertake, and any Government, composed as ours is, could accept. The adjustment of rights between the different religious bodies—I use the word “rights” advisedly—is a matter on which it is extremely difficult to legislate. Where civil power can rightly impinge on religious observances is in the interests of public peace, in the interests of decency and in the interests of law and order. Any Government will be very unwise to legislate on such matters and a Government such as ours, which has claimed to grant complete tolerance of all religions, will be going back on the traditions which have been maintained unchallenged during the whole of our administration. While I make these criticisms—and there are other criticisms which could occur to me on the amendment—I am glad that my Honourable friend has brought it forward. I am sure that it was brought forward not in any spirit or with any desire to embarrass the executive Government or with any desire to create ill-feeling between the communities. It was brought forward perfectly *bona fide* and with every wish to assist us and I thank him for bringing it forward, though for the reasons I have stated, I am not in a position to accept it.

One other point that occurs to me is that any meeting of that kind, which was of an inquisitorial character and which endeavoured to settle disputed points would inevitably raise those very disputes which I am sure my Honourable friend is most anxious to avoid. Sir, the causes of these communal troubles I do not propose here and now to review. They are, I think, known in greater part to all the Members of this House. Those causes lie deep. They lie, as Sir Denys Bray in his very eloquent speech said, deeper than the material treatment of penal laws. They lie deeper than penal enactments. In any measure that I have brought forward before this House I have never put forward the argument that increased power, increased penal provision, will cure an evil of this kind. The House will be doing me justice to say that I have not employed that argument. I do not believe it and I have no wish at any time to use it as a ground for bringing forward that class of legislation. The cure for the disease which India is suffering from lies far deeper than that. It is to be found in the considerations which were so eloquently put forward in the speech of Sir Denys Bray. It is to be found in the words of His Excellency the Viceroy’s speech to the Chelmsford Club.

In conclusion I cannot help feeling that this debate will have served a very useful purpose even if it does not go much further. It has enabled the House to express its views on this very important question, to express them with dignity and restraint and it has enabled the Government to show that it is neither unmindful nor neglectful of the duties of Government in regard to this matter.

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan (North Punjab : Muhammadan) : I had no mind to take part in the discussion to-day but I am rising in response to the appeal made by the Honourable the Home Member that he was very

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anxious to hear somebody from the area which was more affected by these communal riots. In my opinion the picture which has been drawn of these communal riots is darker than it actually is. I do not think the disease is so deep as the Honourable the Home Member thinks and I do not think the remedy is so very difficult. It is not the masses who are really anxious to fight but I think it is only a few leaders of both communities—not those responsible leaders, but unimportant men who for selfish motive are creating these troubles. Really, Sir, the differences between Muhamadans and Hindus in this country are not very great. With a little more understanding and with a little more education I think they can be settled at any time. I am afraid too much is being made of the situation. I do not know what are the reasons for that. After all, in such a big country as India, there is bound to be some clash, some bad feeling, and some trouble. But I think that if only the leaders of both the communities would seriously make up their minds and if they would realise that the situation is getting more serious every day, they can stop these quarrels in no time.

I was very pleased to hear from the Honourable the Home Member that he realises that the functions of the Government of India are twofold. The first is the maintenance of law and order and the other is bringing in peace and reconciliation. When the Government realise that their object is not only to maintain law and order but also to bring in peace and reconciliation, I was very much disappointed to hear that the Honourable the Home Member was not prepared to accept this amendment which contains such a very reasonable demand. After all, what is it? It only recommends to Government to convene a meeting of the leaders of the various communities who will sit together and consider whether they can find out some means of settling these differences. As has been pointed out by many speakers before me, His Excellency the Viceroy has already impressed the hearts of many public men by his frankness and sincerity and I think if the Government were to accept this amendment and call such a conference, they will not only provide a great opportunity to the new Viceroy to come in close touch with the various members of the different communities but it will also be regarded as a serious and sincere step in the direction of Government's trying to bring about a reconciliation. After all, what harm would possibly come out of this conference! The worst thing which can happen—and which I do not think will happen—is that the conference will not be able to arrive at some definite decision. But what harm will be done? The situation will not grow more serious than it is at present. Sir, if one were seriously to consider the change that has taken place during the last 7 or 8 months, it is quite enough to convince any body, who has got the slightest love for this country, that matters are growing serious. I have been here in this House for the last three years and formerly, at every meeting, we used to talk about constitutional advance, we used to talk about Swaraj, we used to talk about our political rights. But now I do not hear a word about it either on the floor of this House, or in the lobbies, or in our private talks, or in our social gatherings. So this alone is enough to convince all the Indian leaders and all the communities that things are taking a very bad turn.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum : And still you say it is not very serious.

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan : I say it is not very serious when I hear such phrases, as "the disease is very deep" and "the remedy is very difficult". I do not believe it. I think it is not so deep. (*An Honourable Member* : "Question.") The recent riot at Delhi which took place about two or three days back only proves that the feelings are very much strained and no legislation can help to bring about a reconciliation. That a trifling quarrel between a Hindu peon and a Muslim shopkeeper should lead to a communal riot resulting in so many casualties on both sides, is really a great shame.

Khan Bahadur W. M. Hussanally (Sind : Muhammadan Rural) : What does that indicate ?

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan : It indicates that the feelings of both the communities have been strained by the mischievous propaganda, by the inflammatory speeches, by organising communal parties, and so on. Much has been made of music before mosques, cow slaughter and other things. These questions are not so serious that we cannot find a solution of them if we want to. There are only two ways of dealing with them. Either we should declare that everybody has got his own civil rights, and nobody has got any business to interfere with him, and that neither the Muhammadans have the right to stop music before mosques, nor the Hindus have the right to dictate to the Muhammadans that they should not take cows for slaughter along a certain route, or, if we think that there is no such thing as 'absolute right', then we can come to an agreement differently. We can tell the Hindus : "You please have some respect for our prayers and stop the music at prayer time. It will do you no harm." On the other hand, they can approach and request us : "Do not take the cows along a certain route because it is mainly populated by Hindus". In my city there were serious rumours that a riot might take place. Some of our Hindu friends had a talk with us about it. We said that we need not go to the court or the Government and that no trouble would arise. The matter was mutually decided in ten minutes.

Mr. K. Ahmed : What happened at Rawalpindi ?

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan : I am not here to give all the details of the riots that took place in various parts of the country. I am here to suggest in my own humble way, a solution of these. In my opinion if the conference is called they can very easily deal with three or four matters, which, in my opinion, are mainly responsible for the present state of affairs in the country. The first is the communal volunteers, whether they are Taneem or they are Mahabir Dal. They prove a source of trouble and menace. They must be given up. Mixed citizen guards of all the communities should be substituted. That is a question which can be decided at the conference. The second is these physical communal *akharas*. Every community has got a right to develop its physical strength by taking physical exercises, but the time when they were started and the way their physical strength is displayed in the bazaars are not likely to improve the situation. So no harm will be done if these *akharas* are thrown open to members of all communities. The third thing which has got into the minds of the masses is the question of conversion by unfair means. I do not think there is much in it, but any how this is a matter which through some irresponsible papers have poisoned the minds of religious people. I do not want to waste the time of the House by relating all the various things which are responsible for these communal riots. But the points

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which I have just placed before the House are such as can very easily be gone into by the leaders of all the communities. The only reason why the unity conferences of the leaders have hitherto failed is that other irrelevant questions have been allowed to creep into the discussion. If the Government can restrict the object of the conference to these four or five questions alone I am sure there will be no difficulty in arriving at a conclusion. In private conferences political questions are brought forward : the question of the number of seats, the question of separate and mixed electorates. These matters have absolutely nothing to do with the present troubles. There may be a group in the country who do not want separate electorates. But we can fight out the issue in a constitutional way. These political questions should not be mixed up with the religious question. We should deal with them separately, in the many constitutional ways open to us.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum : May I ask with your permission, Sir, what will be the composition of the conference, how are the Government to select the members, what should be the proportion of members of the different communities and who will appoint them ?

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan : I do not care about that. It is absolutely immaterial to my mind what the proportion of members of the various communities should be. There is His Excellency the Viceroy, the Home Member and the provincial Governors. The Viceroy can write to all the Governors of Provinces and ask them to nominate to that conference men who they think are really responsible men and have influence with their community. There will be no difficulty in finding such men. If anybody asks me I can give him the names and I would not miss out a single important man.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum : What about the so-called favouritism to Muslims ? There are suspicions.

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan : I do not take these rumours seriously. If somebody says the Government is showing undue favour to Muhammadans, it is entirely wrong and it is not necessary for me to bring in any arguments in support of that denial.

I want to finish, Sir, after making one or two more observations. So far as my community is concerned, I can assure the Government and I can assure the Hindu leaders, that we are really fed up with all these communal troubles. We are prepared to come to any reasonable settlement of all matters whether they are political or religious or social. We feel ashamed when we read in the papers that a certain place of worship of one community has been attacked by members of the other community. We feel ashamed when we hear that human life is being wasted on an ordinary excuse, under the name of religion. Religion has nothing to do with it. It is only personal enmities and personal ambitions which sometimes lead people to take part in communal fights. With these few remarks, Sir, I strongly support the amendment of my Honourable friend Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar, and I earnestly appeal to the Government Benches that though this demand has no voting majority behind it, they should see their way to accede to our wishes. By doing this they will not only oblige us sitting on this side and who are always ready to co-operate with them, but they will also repudiate the suggestion which is going round in some circles that the Government is, if not actively instigating these riots, at least showing indifference and inaction. This will be giving a practical proof that

these rumours are absolutely wrong. I know that the maintenance of law and order is a provincial matter and that the Local Governments are in a better position to deal with it, but the abnormal state of affairs which now exists in the country has made it an all-India question. Of course such a conference can settle the fundamental principles only and the Local Governments can be entrusted to deal with the details. Is there a problem which has no remedy? There is the question of rumours in these irresponsible papers. The Provincial Governments can open publicity bureau to be run if necessary by non-officials, which can issue daily or bi-weekly papers, contradicting all these rumours spread by the various irresponsible editors of newspapers. If they only decide to do it, they can do it in a very little time.

Colonel J. D. Crawford (Bengal : European) : Sir, I rise with considerable diffidence to take part in this debate, and I must admit that I am overburdened with the sense of responsibility that attaches to anyone who speaks on this difficult and very delicate problem. The high tone of the speakers who have preceded me makes me fear that I myself may not be able to rise to the heights to which they did. Both the speeches of my Honourable friends, Dr. Datta and Sir Denys Bray, have made a very great appeal to me. The European community in India is as much concerned with the establishment of communal concord throughout India as is any other community in India, and I was very glad to hear the Home Member say in reply to Dr. Datta that he felt it the duty of every community in India to lend its hand and to vote on this important question. The problem is a very serious one : upon its solution depends the measure and the rapidity of India's advance, and there can be no one who lives in India to-day, whose life is spent in India, whose work lies in India, who cannot wish to see the country advance materially, economically and politically. The problem of communal discord and unrest inside India is one that makes our defence problems very much more difficult ; and that is an aspect of the case which urges me to appeal for a greater measure of consideration of this problem than I know Government has already given it. There are a Resolution and an amendment before the House. I do not like either the Resolution or the amendment. But they seem to have one fundamental principle underlying them, and that is an appeal from the non-official Benches to the Government of India to help in the solution of this problem. Now that is a point which I wish to elaborate. I believe that this big communal problem is not a provincial problem. True, as the Home Member said, the majority of the work will have to be done by the district officer and the local magnate, and I would here pay a tribute to the way in which district officers have done so much to help to assuage the tension that exists to-day. (Applause.) But there is a feeling throughout the country that the Government of India might come more readily to our help, and that feeling has grown since the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy at the Chelmsford Club—a speech the sincerity of which has struck a responsive note in the heart of every Indian in this country. (Applause.) The Home Member said that we should face facts, and whilst I do not like the wording of the Resolution which asks for a conference under the aegis of the Government of India, I do feel that there are factors in the situation and facts in the situation which might urge the Government of India again to consider whether it cannot hold out both hands and bring the communities together by

I P. M.

[Colonel J. D. Crawford.]

a discussion of this problem. The communal problem, to my mind, is two-fold. You have, if I may so put it, the original rivalry of two great religions in this country. That is a problem that has been with us for centuries and which will be with us until education brings with it a spirit of mutual toleration. But there is the crisis with which we deal at the moment, the extreme tension that has been given to those religious feelings. What is that due to? We all know it in this House. It is due to the fight for political power. The country is beginning to realise that the Reforms have meant something and the communities are organising to take their share in the government of the country, not only Hindus, not only Muhammadans, but Europeans too. That is what lies at the bottom of much of our trouble to-day; and I who have seen a good deal of this trouble in the province from which I come, Bengal, realise that it gained considerable force from the fact that one big community refused to come in and work the Reforms for what they were worth. It gave an opportunity to the minority community to make a bid for power for its own purposes. It is a matter of very great regret, but there it lies, the trouble, that is, the extreme tension to-day, is due entirely to political causes. Now there have been suggestions made which are worth, to my mind, the consideration of a conference under the aegis of the Government of India. We have heard some talk of communal electorate, that the evil lies in communal electorates. I do not propose at the moment to discuss that particular problem. But I would remind the House of a certain correspondence which took place in the *Pioneer* shortly after the rioting in Calcutta in which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru suggested a certain method of stopping the trouble. He suggested that in those districts in which riots took place the whole district should be disenfranchised and to that proposal even my friend Pandit Motilal Nehru lent support. Now, I do not believe that the proposal was practical and I think it was far too severe. But to my mind it indicated another direction in which we could find some reason for these communal troubles. It means to my mind that the electorates were not sufficiently educated themselves to resist exploitation at the hands of persons who desired to press their own personal ambitions and it struck me that possibly in a conference we might find something better, something which would not lay the masses open to having their religion exploited for political purposes. Those are points which I feel that a conference under the aegis of the Government of India might certainly examine and if it was not possible to take action early, it would anyhow give a line for consideration of this particular aspect of the problem when next the Royal Commission visits India. I feel that in troubles of this nature, the Government must take action. I know they have been doing much, but I feel that their action has not always been perhaps as strong and as firm as is necessary. I have already paid my tribute to the district officer, but I feel that the fault sometimes lies in the Secretariat where men have for long years left their districts and been out of touch with the actual feeling in the country and there might be something in suggesting to the Government of India and to Provincial Governments the more frequent change of their officers in the Secretariat in the way that the General Staff at Army Headquarters does with its military officers.

The Home Member has declared the policy of the Government to be two-fold, the maintenance of law and order—and I hope all will take note of that—and the promotion of conciliation. If the latter is

the policy of the Government of India, then I feel that there can be no harm and there may be an advantage in getting together under the aegis of the Government of India men of position to study this particular question. Admittedly, the cure really lies within. I would remind the House of the occasions on which Members of this House have abused other communities either by pressing the privileges of their own community or by curtailing the privileges of others. I have spoken on a previous occasion of the fact that the good-will which might be forthcoming from my community is often put back many years by remarks which fall from the lips of Members of this House. There has been political growth built up by teaching racial hatred. There has been racial hatred preached against Great Britain. What this country wants is not racial hatred but good-will. You have preached racial hatred and now it has spread to communal hatred and is spreading to individual hatred. We desire—I think all of us earnestly desire—to find some solution of this difficult problem. We all want to help India on the road to her eventual goal, but it cannot be done without the spirit of good-will. I would make an earnest appeal that every Member should endeavour on all occasions to create that spirit of good-will rather than to create one of communal hatred or racial hatred. Finally, I may assure the non-official Members of this House, the members of both big communities, that they can rely on the European community in India to lend its hand to them in the solution of their real difficulties. The solution lies in courtesy and in toleration. I might suggest to them that they try what is tried with members of my community when they come out here. We are taught what we should not do to offend Muhammadan susceptibilities. We are taught what we should not do to offend Hindu susceptibilities and we would go a long way to give up a considerable amount of our own privileges to avoid offending other communities. If this could be done amongst their own young men, I feel we would have gone a long way to have eased the present tension. Generally, I am myself in favour of the Government of India considering the possibility of calling a conference not on the terms of the Resolution of my Honourable friend Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar, which I cannot support, but under the leadership of His Excellency the Viceroy and under the aegis of the Government of India where we might come together and help at least to ease the existing tension.

Mr. K. C. Roy : Sir, as the Honourable the Home Member has not been able to accept the substantive proposition moved by my friend Maulvi Muhammad Yakub and also the amendment moved by my friend Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar, I beg leave to move my motion in substitution of the original Resolution moved by Maulvi Muhammad Yakub. My motion runs as follows :

“ This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that he may be pleased to convene an All-India Conference of leaders of public opinion and experienced officials to examine the present communal situation in the country and make recommendations.”

Sir, mine is a very simple proposition. Sir Denys Bray has addressed a fervent moral appeal to the Indian nation. I make an appeal to the Honourable the Home Member to accept my Resolution. My Resolution will leave ample scope to the Government of India to do what they like. Sahibzada Sir Abdul Qaiyum asked who would convene the conference and who are to be its members. These matters are entirely left in my Resolution to the Governor General in Council. His Excellency may be pleased

[Mr. K. C. Roy.]

to call the leaders of public opinion belonging to Hindus, Muhammadans, Europeans and other minority communities which my friends Dr. S. K. Datta and Mr. Dumasia represent here. The conference will be of a mere advisory character. It will lay no obligation upon the Government of India. The Government of India will be free to accept or reject the advice ; but, Sir, I feel that as an earnest of the intentions of the Government of India, the time has come when they should make a move.

My reasons for urging my proposition are three. Sir Alexander Muddiman has already accepted the position that Government in this country are responsible for the maintenance of law and order ; but, Sir, whomever the primary responsibility belongs to, the supreme responsibility undoubtedly belongs to the Government of India. Have they discharged this function ? I shall ask for an answer from the Home Office. Moreover, Sir, can they discharge this function without settling these communal differences ? This is a matter, Sir, which I am quite sure was visualised by the Joint Committee. The matter was fully examined at considerable length in paragraphs 3 and 5 of their Report ; that is the relative responsibility of the Supreme Government and of the Provinces. This is what they set forth :

“ For guardianship of the peace the Governor General in Council should remain in undisturbed responsibility to Parliament and should be fully equipped with the necessary powers to fulfil that responsibility.”

That responsibility, Sir, I say has not been adequately discharged and, therefore, I suggest that the Government should convene this conference to take stock of the position and make recommendations to His Majesty's Government.

Sir, my second reason for urging this conference on the Government of India is the great obligation which His Majesty's Government has laid upon the Government of India to prepare India for self-government. Sir, can this be done without settling this communal question ? This can never be done without a permanent settlement of this question, and the only party, I feel, who can settle this question is the Government of India, for they alone have the authority and the necessary power. Sir, what is the basic cause of the discontent ? Music before mosques is a mere symptom. The basic cause is entirely political. For the first time since the Reforms, the people of India have realised the power of the vote. They have also appreciated the fact that progressive realisation of responsible government means gradual transference of authority from British subjects to His Majesty's Indian subjects. We have realised for the first time that we are now fighting for the loaves and fishes. This conference, if it is held by the Government of India, will be in a position to examine this question and prepare the way for the Royal Commission in 1929. It is no use playing hide and seek with it ; we must face the question, and the sooner the Government of India makes up its mind to convene this conference the better it will be not only for the country, but for the Government of India.

Sir, the next point to which reference has been made is about the failure of the leaders. I do not believe they have failed. I know most of the leaders, I have enjoyed their friendship and confidence ; they have not failed, the people who follow have failed. We have not that national discipline which should be inherent in a nation seeking self-government.

Sir, what is the good of convening a conference of leaders ? Mr. C. R. Das tried the Bengal Pact in Bengal. What was the result ? Was the Bengal Pact ratified by the people of Bengal ? Never. What has been done in Western countries since the war ? All great national questions of importance have been subjected to a plebiscite ! If you look at Eastern European countries nearest to us, you will find many instances of the same arrangement. Can we subject our question to a plebiscite ? We cannot. If we are going to settle this question, the Government of India must consider it in consultation with the leaders of public opinion. That, Sir, is the only way. No other way is open to us, and I appeal to the Government of India to accept my Resolution and thus make a beginning in the solution of a problem which is menacing civil liberty and lowering the respect for lawful authority. Sir, I commend my Resolution to the House.

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

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

***Sir Hari Singh Gour** : Sir, the Resolution and the amendment and indeed the other amendments which follow on the same lines suggesting the holding of an all-India conference or committee for the purpose of making recommendations to regulate the performance of religious festivals.....

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar (Madras City : Non-Muhammadan Urban) : Sir, in order to facilitate further discussion I may say, speaking for myself, I should like to withdraw my amendment in favour of Mr. K. C. Roy's.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman : If the original Resolution is withdrawn and the second amendment is withdrawn, then, Sir, I think there is nothing left to discuss.

Mr. President : The Honourable Member knows that neither the Resolution nor the amendment can be withdrawn without the leave of the House. Sir Hari Singh Gour.

Sir Hari Singh Gour : Sir, I was going to say that the various amendments of which notices are on the paper all convey the same idea, namely, the holding of a conference or the constitution of a committee to make certain recommendations on the performance of religious festivals and other rites and ceremonies of the different communities in India. Now, Sir, I look at the question from a different point of view. The first thing I think we must enquire into is the cause of the present communal tension in the country. Honourable Members are aware that this communal tension is confined only to British India. We have large States like Hyderabad and Kashmir where.....

Sir Denys-Bray : Sir, I rise to a point of order. Is the Honourable Member in order in referring to the Indian States and their administration ?

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya : Certainly.

Lala Lajpat Rai : Why not ?

*Speech not corrected by the Honourable Member.

Mr. President : Sir Hari Singh Gour.

Sir Hari Singh Gour : Where such tension is non-existent.....

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman : What !

Sir Hari Singh Gour : And, when it does exist it comes to a very prompt and sudden close. Now what is the reason ? Why is it that in British India we have this incessant communal tension ? I beg to suggest that it is the natural outcome of the liberalisation of the policy of the Government of India, and if Honourable Members will only cast a glance at the map of Europe and Asia, they will find that with the advent of modern democracy and the replacement of old ideals of government there has been a general world-wide unrest caused by the awakening of the East and the realisation of their rights and responsibilities by the people. Therefore, so far as the communal tension in this country is concerned, I heard Members on both sides and belonging to both communities advertent to the fact that these tensions are religious in appearance but in reality political. My friends will therefore remember that any cure that you suggest for the settlement of religious ceremonies and rites will not be a cure that goes to the root of the situation. We have, therefore, to find a remedy for the political discontent of the country. All communities now realise that with the advent of responsible government in the country larger powers have been given to the people and still larger powers will be given in the near future, and consequently the members of both communities are naturally anxious to set their house in order. They are organising themselves and they are asking the Government and those responsible for the administration of the country to recognise their rights.

That, I submit, is the real issue, and I beg to suggest that in India that issue has come to the forefront on account of the historic causes which have led to the evolution of Indian society. Long before we understood politics we understood religion and long before we understood religion we understood communities. The communal tie has been the genesis of all society, eastern and western. In the early days of Rome and Greece and in the mediæval period of English history and Irish history communal feuds and communal assertions of rights were as common and as violently and virulently asserted as they could ever have been asserted during the apex of Indian tension in the metropolis of Bengal and elsewhere. Now, Sir, that I submit is the real situation. We understand communalism ; we understand religion ; but so far as politics is concerned, our education is of recent growth and it is on that ground that I have always been a supporter of the Reform Act of 1919. It has brought into the arena of practical politics the realisation of responsible government, and with it a duty cast upon the people of this country to understand the meaning of politics. Well, Sir, immediately after the enactment of the Reform Act an attempt was made to educate public opinion in this country in the art of government through the instrumentality of communalistic and religious teaching. The result has been that the country was galvanised into a new life and we felt for the time being that this life showed a manifestation of a dormant vitality possessed by our people and that it had come to stay. But the immediate causes which made the alliance of religion and politics became more or less shadowy and people very soon forgot the new lessons they had learnt about politics but remembered the adhesion to religious precepts and customs. The result has been that the religious instinct, being stimulated by an artificial means inculcated in the wake of the Reform Act of 1919, has left an aftermath in the

revolts and exhibitions of lawlessness which the country is witnessing to-day. That seems to me, Sir, the historical origin of this so-called communal tension in this country ; and, if that is the case, I beg to ask Honourable Members here how any committee or conference can really solve the great problem with which this country is confronted here and to-day.

Let me idealise for a moment the result of a committee or conference on the lines suggested by Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar or on the lines suggested by Mr. Roy. If a conference is held and they make certain recommendations, how are those recommendations to be carried out ? Those recommendations, I submit, do not in themselves carry any sanction behind them ; and if the Government of India become associated with these conferences, their recommendations will morally, if not legally, bind the Government of India. The result of that will be that the political question will be visualised through the very narrowest spectacles of communal strife, communal dissensions and communal compromises. Is this right for the whole of India ? Is it right, I ask any Honourable Member, for the good of the future government of this country and for what we have been crying for, for the larger reforms that we want in the administration of this country ? Are we to see through this myopic vision the very large question that looms in the horizon as to the future of the Indian people ? I ask, Sir, that the first thing that the Honourable Members of this House should do is to take a long view of the situation, and the Honourable the Home Member has rightly pointed out that if you can change your angle of vision, and I add to that, if the people of India and the leaders of both communities began to think in terms national instead of in terms communalistic or religious, then we shall have made a real beginning towards the political emancipation of the people of this country. That, I submit, is the first necessity. People must understand that politics is an art of government and has nothing whatever to do with either communalism or religion and that it can only be learnt by trying. You cannot....

Mr. K. Ahmed : How can you forget your religion ?

Sir Hari Singh Gour : If you cannot forget your religion, you have, at any rate, to give it a proper place and see that politics is not mixed up with questions of religion. The two things are quite apart, and European culture and civilization would not have been what they are had there not been the divorce of the Church from the State. That is the first thing, I submit, that this country requires. We have to educate public opinion and explain to the people, the intelligentsia as well as the masses, that politics is something distinct and different from communalism or religion, and I venture to submit that, the moment we have learnt that lesson, we have learnt a good deal. That, I submit, is the first thing that we have to do. How can any conference, how can any committee, however representative, however influential, decide this great question which must, I submit, spring in the heart and be carried to the brain ? I, therefore, beg to submit that the cure which has been suggested in all the Resolutions and amendments is really not the cure for the present state of discontent in this country.

Well, Sir, I have been speaking so far only on the Resolution. Turning now to amendments, my Honourable friend Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar is not enamoured of the wording of his own amendment. He protested when he spoke on his amendment that his amendment was

[Sir Hari Singh Gour.]

not ideal, and he has since confessed that his amendment is not even workable. He therefore wishes now to support Mr. K. C. Roy's amendment, and he says that this amendment should be superseded by that of Mr. K. C. Roy. Now, let me examine Mr. K. C. Roy's amendment. Mr. Roy's amendment, though briefer, does not carry the matter any further, and I venture to submit it is, if I may be permitted to say so, too wide. Now, what does Mr. K. C. Roy want? He wants an all-India Conference, of which my friend Diwan Bahadur is enamoured, of the leaders of public opinion (who shall be the judge of the leaders of public opinion we know not) and experienced officials to examine the present communal situation and make recommendations. That is all that he wants. Now, I beg to ask, will that satisfy anyone of us? If the question is how to allay the discontent which it is now confessed and confessed openly is purely political, and if it is intended to give all the major communities of this country a reasonable safeguard in the present and further reforms and administration of this country, how is any solution possible if you are merely to say that you shall not beat your drums when you come up against a particular mosque or that you shall lead a cow along a backyard of a man's house instead of his front gate. (Mr. K. C. Roy: "Nobody ever said so.") We have been told, Sir, by my friend Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan that all that you want now is, first of all to stop the conversions, stop the *akharas*, and also stop, he says, the playing of music and the slaughter of cows and then we shall have come nearer to the millenium. (Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan: "I never said that, Sir.") I am glad, Sir, he never said it, because I have too high an opinion of the Raja ever to believe that he could have thought this slight panacea, this *mantram*, this talisman, this charm, would immediately exorcise the causes of discontent and malcontent in this country. I submit, Sir, that nothing that can be suggested by Members on both sides of the House, and which has been suggested, will ever settle the differences between the two communities until and unless the Government of India courageously grapple with the situation and take up this question along with the root cause of the discontent, namely, the future government of this country. And I venture to submit, and I have submitted it, Sir, ever since I became a Member of this House, that the time has come for the appointment of a Royal Commission that will go into the whole future of the reforms in this country and alongside of the reforms take up the causes which lead to the discontent and communal tension in this country and settle them once for all in a manner which will be final, conclusive and authoritative, and will have the imprimatur of the high authority of Parliament. That is what we have been crying for. That is what we have been repeating in session after session and, I may suggest once more, and I think Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar will not protest if I suggest once more that, if the Honourable the Home Member can advise the authorities at home and here to accelerate the pace of the formation of a Royal Commission to take up this and other allied questions, it will go far to allay the discontent in this country, and this will be then regarded as only one branch of the various items of inquiry which that Royal Commission will have to undertake and it will give the people an assurance that there is an authoritative body of men inquiring into the genesis and the future of the administration and of the form of government of this country. If that were the Resolution.....

Mr. President : Order, order. I am afraid I must ask the Honourable Member to conclude his remarks.

Sir Hari Singh Gour : If that, Sir, were the Resolution, I would have given my support to it, but I do not see how any conference, however influential, would ever solve the problem, and if I may be permitted here to add a word in support of my own amendment which has not yet been moved.....

Mr. President : Order, order. The Honourable Member has exhausted his time. He must now bring his remarks to a close.

Sir Hari Singh Gour : ...they will see that I shall amply justify the notice I have given of my amendment and which I submit will serve the immediate purpose which the authors of the Resolution and the amendments have in view.

Mr. J. Sheepshanks (Bombay : European) : Sir, I trust I will have the sympathy of the Honourable Members in, as a junior Member of this House, rising to make my maiden speech on a subject of such great importance. In considering whether I would speak and what I would say, I have had constantly before my mind "Fools rush in where angels fear to tread". (*An Honourable Member* : "Swaraj Benches".) Therefore, I do not propose to discuss or to raise any of the causes, differences or results of this tension that is going on. All that I wish to do is to submit to this Honourable Assembly, and especially to the representatives of the two great communities, a simple rule consisting of three words only which forms an invaluable guide to the conduct of all controversies. In fact this rule applies to all differences of opinion from private differences up to international. It is a rule so simple in its construction and so wide in its application that it bears the mark of great experience and genius and therefore does not originate from me. It bears the authority of the greatest Liberal statesman of modern history. I refer to Mr. William Ewart Gladstone. These are his words : "Never impute motives"—"Never impute motives". The more you think of those words, the more you analyse them, the broader their scope and the more apparent becomes their value. Sir, I was brought up under the influence of this rule. My family were all strong Liberals and staunch supporters of Mr. Gladstone and his successors. (Hear, hear.) However, I at the age of 10 decided that I could no longer support Liberal politics, (Laughter) and I announced to my family my adherence to the Conservative Party. I admit that, that Party remained, and still remains, in blissful ignorance of this accession to its ranks. However, in view of the present position of the Liberal Party at home I think I can claim a certain amount of political farsightedness even at that early age. Well, Sir, there was I, a lone Conservative lamb, amongst a horde of Liberals, with the obvious result that arguments and statements as to the respective virtues of the two parties were frequent and tended to become more and more forceful and trenchant till I was checked by those words : "Never impute motives." And this went on from year to year till finally these words, their application and bearing became impressed on my mind, and during the rest of my life, in whatever country I have been living, mixing with different races and classes, seeing, hearing, observing the various controversies whether social, political or international, it has always struck me that there has been a practically entire neglect of this golden rule.

[Mr. J. Sheepshanks.]

I submit to this House that if in India during the past months these words had been observed both in the letter and in the spirit, then, Sir, most of the speeches, most of the pamphlets and most of the newspaper articles which all deplore would never have appeared, with what value to the country and to the two communities, I think the House can judge. The leaders of these parties have given their assurances that they would leave no stone unturned, that they would use all their resources, that they would explore all avenues, to come to a mutual agreement. I suggest that here is a path which has not yet been tried. I would ask them to give their serious contemplation to the meaning of these three words, "Never impute motives" and work out in their own minds what would be the result in India, if they adopted them and with all their hearts and brains saw that they were carried out to the fullest possible extent. If that is done, I submit that the atmosphere would become purer, suspicions and differences would disappear and in a short time the leaders could meet again in conference with far brighter prospects of a successful issue to their labours than has existed in the past or exists at the present time. Therefore, I give my opinion that the present is not the time for a conference.

Lala Lajpat Rai : I rise to oppose both the Resolution and the amendments. I do not want to make a speech. I tried my best to avoid it but I am practically forced to make a speech and make the observations I am going to make. I realised after I had heard the speeches to-day, why the Honourable Members were not in agreement with my motion for adjournment. They wanted to make speeches. What is the substance of this debate so far? With the exception of one or two speeches, Sir, the burden of the speeches of most of the Indian speakers was the praise of the Government and the Government officials and the denunciation of the so-called leaders. Nobody had the courage to give a list of those leaders who were thus condemned and denounced. We were told very seriously that some of those leaders were fomenting these quarrels for the purpose of their own leadership. We were told that they had not made serious efforts to bring about peace. We were not told what those serious efforts were which they did not make, and how they could mend their ways. Anyhow I do not want to dilate on that point very much. We are all very fond of getting compliments from the Honourable the Home Member for restraint, moderation and fairness. Most of the Members have attempted to get that praise, and I congratulate them on their success. Restraint is a very good quality especially in a legislature, as speeches made therein will practically be broadcasted throughout the length and breadth of this country. It is a very good quality. I approve of it and I praise it, but in a question of this kind mere restraint is not the quality that is needed, for the solution of the problem. During all this debate the Members have talked as if there were only two parties to this quarrel. I differ from that view. There are three parties to the situation,—the Hindus, the Muhammadans and the Government and no solution of this problem can be effective or sufficiently far-reaching, unless all the three parties sit together and frankly and openly, exercising due restraint, put forward their points of view and say what they wish to do. No man is more ashamed of what we have been doing. No one has been more humiliated than I have been. While I was in Europe, everywhere I was confronted

with the tales of these riots and I had to hang my head in shame. No one is more pained by these occurrences than my humble self ; but all the same I do not think soft words, commonplace phrases, and platitudes, are going to solve the problem. We, the members of the Indian nation, cannot afford to carry our hearts on our sleeves. We have to meet the situation boldly and, as Sir Hari Singh Gour pointed out, to probe into the root causes of the disease and find out remedies which may remove those root causes. Otherwise all this treatment will be only symptomatic. You may suppress a riot here and a riot there by a judicious combination of conciliatory phrases and by enlisting the services of local men ; but you will not stop them for good and you will not be evolving a permanent remedy. Sir, the causes of these riots are not local ; they are not even all-Indian ; there are world causes that are operating underneath these quarrels. I wish the Honourable Members to understand the effect of the great world movement upon the Indian movement. The Indian movement is not an isolated movement ; it is not an isolated phase. Therefore we must not wear our hearts on our sleeves, as I have said, but take the situation as it is and try to make it as easy as we can under the circumstances. I can well understand the Honourable the Home Member's statement that it is the local officers who can influence the masses. That is only possible under an absolute (despotic) Government. Under a despotic Government's rule one man is always more powerful and effective for the preservation of peace than under any democratic Government. But peace is not the only object of life. A death-like peace is not the thing we are striving after. We want life, and in life we must have strife and struggle. We cannot avoid that ; only we should delete all personal passions and prejudices as far as possible—all meanness, all pettiness, all low-mindedness from that strife and struggle. If we can do that we shall be honourably discharging our duties. Otherwise we will be making ourselves liable to the accusation by others that we are conducting these struggles by mean methods. But, Sir, human beings are human beings. I know of no part of the world, and of no epoch of history, where the struggle and strife for liberty, the struggle for freedom, has been entirely free from that mean and petty low-mindedness which at the present moment we are witnessing in India in these communal troubles. I do not want to encourage them. By all means try to avoid them, to eliminate them, to destroy them by all legitimate means. But let us not be obsessed by the idea that because we are quarrelling and there are these riots and struggles, therefore we are losing everything. Let us not forget that in the history of the world, this is an epoch of class struggles and communal wars. May I remind the Honourable Members on the other side, of what happened in England at the time of the suffragette struggle, when the women were struggling for votes ? Again what happens now in Europe in the class war between capital and labour ? And what happens in countries where a religious element is still present and powerful ? The phenomenon that we are now seeing in India is by no means isolated ; it is by no means extraordinary. It is the result of world forces, no doubt polluted to a certain extent by our narrowmindedness in matters of religion. In this respect, Sir, I want to say this, that we should not look at this problem in this way. All of us no doubt can contribute to ease the situation as much as possible, to eliminate the obnoxious elements ; but let us not run away with the idea that this kind of talk, as has been indulged in in this House to-day, will help us in solving the problem.

[Lala Lajpat Rai.]

Now, Sir, in that connection I wish to say one word complimentary to the British nation. I was in England during the time of the general strike. The general strike was a huge revolution. The British nation passed through it with comparative peace, with a great deal of steadiness of character, because at the present moment in the world there is no perfected democracy better and more steady than that of Great Britain. But it is not so in all countries. We read every day of class quarrels, class riots, class struggles, in France, in Germany, in Russia, in Italy, even in that small place called Switzerland, in America and every other country. Are there any religious quarrels there? Are there any quarrels about music before mosques or about cow slaughter? Still we find that there are widespread riots, a good deal of bloodshed, a good deal of struggle and breaking of heads. What are these small countries compared with this big sub-continent consisting of 315 millions of people and of one million and some odd miles perhaps, of area of land? What are those countries? This is a vast humanity with which we are dealing. Let us not talk superficially, and of superficial causes, but let us go deep to the world causes that are practically moulding us, taking us onwards,—we do not know towards destruction or towards salvation: Where we shall go, when we shall reach the goal is in the hands of the gods. We cannot foretell when we shall be at the end of the struggle. If you want complete peace in this country, as some people would want it, go back to your absolute rule, but I suppose nobody in this House would advocate that course. If you do not want quite that kind of absolute peace, if you want to have a democratic form of Government, we shall have to pass through this phase which though transient is inevitable. With very great respect and humility. I would submit that the only course to make that transition shorter and less bloodier and less fraught with these quarrels, is to solve the problem of Swaraj and self-government as soon as possible. Give us a final constitution. Therein you can solve the Hindu-Muhammadan problem for good. Let the different stages come automatically if we must have stages. Let the struggle for power between the religious communities inhabiting this country cease, and then there will be all peace, everything will be settled; otherwise it will not be settled by your pious wishes or by any amount of pious Resolutions.

Well, Sir, the Muhammadans are according to their views quite right, and the Hindus are also quite right in the way in which they look at the political and economic problems of the country. Dr. Datta gave out one-half of the truth. Colonel Crawford spoke the other half of the truth: the reasons at the bottom are economic and political; and as my Honourable friend, Colonel Crawford, said, every community wants to consolidate its power. My Honourable friend complained of the element of racial hatred present. If racial hatred means struggling against vested interests, claiming our rights and privileges, then surely he is not right in calling such an attitude racial hatred. But if there is any man who indulges in racial hatred of Englishmen because of the simple fact that they are Englishmen, then I think he is doing a mean thing, a low thing, a thing undoubtedly to be deprecated and to be condemned. Nobody, no responsible man in this country stands for disseminating racial hatred in that way. But if racial hatred comes out of our struggle, out of our attack on vested interests and out of our demands for rights against people who withhold those rights, then I am afraid that that element of racial hatred cannot be eliminated at all from

discussions in this Assembly or discussions outside, and there is no use talking of such racial hatred. That will continue to go on as it has done in the past. But at the same time I want to say this much, that all these things have to be looked at from a broad point of view. We are in a struggle. Everything, as somebody pointed out, is in a condition of unrest. Nobody knows what is going to happen to-morrow. The Muhammadans are afraid lest being in a minority they might be swamped away by the Hindus. The Hindus are afraid lest the Muhammadans by gaining extraordinary strength with the help of their foreign brothers might sweep them down and ruin them. Owing to that very circumstance, some friends here might be very happy for this statement being made, because in their eyes the only logical conclusion then would be that the British Government must stay here for ever and that the present system of rule should continue for ever. We cannot accept that proposition, Sir. Some people may like that proposition, but we cannot accept it. We have to face these troubles. We have to face these trials. We have to face all these misfortunes. We have to continue to carry on our struggle for freedom. I am very grateful to His Excellency the Viceroy for the admirable speeches he has made and I think all the speeches delivered here put together will not have a better effect than the speeches made by His Excellency the Viceroy. We have not contributed as much to that atmosphere of peace and good-will as the Viceroy did by his speeches in his own sweet words. We have been making speeches, very cleverly, with restraint as the Honourable Member said, but all the same keeping our points of view the only speeches which I think were made without diplomacy and which came from the heart, without reference to the prestige of the Civil Service, or the interests of the Moslem community, or the interests of the Hindu community, were those speeches. I have read them and I have read them with admiration. I wish this House had followed the same example and spoken with absolute sincerity. I do not attribute any motives. I do not say that anybody has not spoken with sincerity. But I do not think that any speech in this House has been made without reservations and without an eye to what its effect will be either on the electorates or on the Anglo-Indian Press or on the Press in England or on the coming Royal Commission. All these things have been kept in view in the speeches. I personally am not enamoured of Royal Commissions as my Honourable friend Sir Hari Singh Gour perhaps is. What I want is a permanent settlement. You may not give us all that we want at once. You may fix a time, you may fix a period; you may give us only certain departments, but if you can permanently settle the constitution of India with automatic stages if it is desired that there should be stages, then that will knock the bottom out of these communal controversies. The only way to settle this problem once for all is to settle the constitution, providing for the protection of the rights of the minorities and settling all questions of communal electorates or communal representation. In my opinion, Sir, that is the only solution of the problem, that is the only effective solution.

Now, I want to say one word more. Many hints and many insinuations have been made with reference to me and against me in this House for the last two or three days, particularly about my views on communal representation and communal electorates. I am not at all ashamed of my views on the question of communal representation and communal electorates. I believe in the birth of a national consciousness, I believe in progress towards nationhood. During this progress we must pass through

[Lala Lajpat Rai.]

these travails and I do honestly say and I say it with all the emphasis that I can command that communal representation and separate electorates are the last things to make us a nation. My Muslim friends do not agree. Some of the Honourable Members have said that if these communal electorates had not existed more blood would have been shed. I do not agree with that view at all. Many praises have been showered on Government also for their impartiality. But this fact remains undisputed, that within the last five years, communal tension has been growing every day ; every day and every week and every year there has been progress in this communal tension. Why, I ask, if the Government have tried their best and if these friends have tried their best, why has this communal tension been growing ? Is it not due to the fact that the far off Royal Commission is kept in sight by many people ? That fact is a real fact. But at the same time I may assure my friends that I have absolutely no desire to make any move for disturbing the Lucknow Pact without a general agreement of all parties concerned. The provision for separate electorates or communal representation cannot be done away with without the general agreement of the Muhammadan community. But at the same time if my friends, the Muhammadans, want a change in the Lucknow Pact, an extension of it, or an alteration of it, they must be prepared for the whole question being reopened and all the arguments against communal representation and communal electorates being adduced. So, I think the whole situation is inseparable from the atmosphere and from the circumstances of the case and the country and from the circumstances through which we are passing. Let us all honorably, sincerely, honestly, say that all these low methods, all this fanaticism, all this low-mindedness, all this pettiness, may be eliminated from this discussion. Let us carry on our struggle for the purpose of safeguarding our rights from our different points of view like sportsmen—in a constitutional way—by argument and by other methods but not by promoting or encouraging these riots.

Mr. K. Ahmed : Example is better than precept.

Lala Lajpat Rai : Mr. Kabeerud-Din will allow me to say that I have never done a single thing in my life to promote discord. From my place in the Congress at Belgaum when discussing the Kohat Resolution I exhorted my Hindu countrymen never to think of retaliation or revenge. I have said all that.

(Mr. K. Ahmed rose to interrupt.)

Mr. President : Order, order.

Lala Lajpat Rai : I think my Honourable friend will not find a single word in my speeches which goes to promote discord. If they expect me to give up my point of view, just because they want to intimidate me in this way, they will never succeed. I have certain beliefs, I have certain principles, for which I stand and no amount of coercion or intimidation in any shape or manner will persuade me to deviate one inch from those principles. Let them run me down to any extent they like. I quite grant that they are also honestly anxious in their struggle for their community. Equally honest are the Hindus to watch their interests. Let that struggle be decided by mutual toleration, discussion, by argument and by the force of circumstances rather than by any show of force or any other method of that kind. These methods

whether they are adopted by Hindus, Muhammadans or by Sikhs or by anybody else I condemn most severely from the floor of this House. There should be no show of criminal force, coercion or intimidation in connection with these outstanding questions of our country. We must settle them sooner or later and it is much better if we settle them in a spirit of good-will. After all, we have to live in this country. Therefore, nobody advocates—I do not advocate—intimidation or resort to force for the purpose of solving these problems. But I beg of Honourable Members in this House for the last time to remember that we are not isolated atoms of this world which is composed of so many atoms, so many forces and so many elements. We are only a small portion, though from the point of view of numbers and from the point of view of the miles of area that we occupy, we are a big part of this world. We are influenced by steamers, telegraphs, telephones and so many other things that connect us with the world. The British Government ought to be proud of these. They have brought this country to a phase where everybody wants to think of his own rights. He is not prepared to give in without a struggle. Therefore, why should the Government exaggerate the importance of these riots? Of course, I do not mean to say that they should not take any steps to stop them. It is their duty to maintain law and order. They will be failing in their duty if they did not take steps to prevent them or to remedy them. At the same time, let me assure them that no amount of legislation, no amount of rules, no amount of orders under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, no amount of amendments of the Criminal Procedure Code will stop these riots or will remedy the situation unless they grant us our rights and let us settle them for all time to come.

The Rev. Dr. E. M. Macphail (Madras : European) : Sir, I feel a little perplexed in connection with the different motions and amendments that have been made and I had hoped that my Honourable friend who has just sat down was going to help me to make up my mind. But I really entirely failed to know at the end of his speech whether he was supporting one of the motions or one of the amendments, or whether he was opposing them all.

Sir Hari Singh Gour : He was opposing them.

The Rev. Dr. E. M. Macphail : I thought he said so at the beginning but later on I understood him to say that there were three parties who must consult together, namely, the Hindus, the Muhammadans and the Government.

Lala Lajpat Rai : I may point out that the time has not yet come because the Government do not think so.

The Rev. Dr. E. M. Macphail : He reminded me, Sir, rather of a Minister in Scotland who, after having preached a sermon, was criticised by one of his hearers who said : " If your text had had scarlet fever your sermon would not have caught it." In other words, I do not think there was very much connection between the position that he took up and the speech that he made. I was extremely interested in his speech, however, and I regret very much that he spoilt it on one or two occasions by neglecting the excellent advice which my Honourable friend Mr. Sheepshanks gave that motives ought not to be imputed, the motives with which people have spoken in this House and the motives with which they have been actuated on various other occasions. I was very much interested in his speech and in the speech of Sir Hari Singh Gour because

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they really dealt with the problem of these communal troubles and their causes. I think that if we are to go to the root of the matter, we have carefully to go into the causes of these troubles. Now, my friend Lala Lajpat Rai seemed to think that all these troubles were the necessary outcome of the struggle for freedom, and he very truly said that you have communal dissensions all over the world. That is absolutely true, and communal dissensions always mean an absence of national unity. It may be that the communal dissensions are due to there being dissensions between the rich and the poor, or it may be that they are due to differences in blood, in race, in language or in religion.

An Honourable Member : What about Ireland ?

The Rev. Dr. E. M. Macphail : In Ireland you have the two combinations of blood and religion, the two acting together, just as you have to a very great extent in this country, where you have, in the North at all events, Mussalmans of different blood to a very great extent from the people amongst whom many of them live. But in India the peculiarity is that the differences are, so to speak, vertical rather than horizontal. What you have in most countries in the West is that you have one stratum of society antagonistic to another stratum, a difference such as Disraeli brought out in his book "Sybil," when he spoke of the two nations. But here you have in India the community divided up in, so to say, watertight compartments, and not only divided, but sub-divided. My Honourable friend Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar is quite aware of that fact. The whole of Hindu society is sub-divided into watertight compartments between which there is no inter-marriage. The whole of Hindu society is like a honeycomb composed of cells which touch one another but do not unite. And the consequence is that where you have a society of that kind, you necessarily have a clannish feeling developed to a larger extent than in the West. We in Scotland are accused of being clannish. The reason is because we are a small community. But wherever you have these small watertight communities, you will have class interests predominant. Now it does not seem to me that, in a struggle for freedom, there would be all these communal dissensions were it not that in Hindu society itself you have these watertight compartments and the members of each class look upon themselves chiefly as members of the unit to which they belong. It is perfectly true, as my Honourable friend Lala Lajpat Rai said, that we should get rid of all these difficulties if we could develop the true national spirit, and he also drew a picture of what rather looked to me like heaven which he said would be the case if only people did certain things. My experience in the 40 years during which I have been watching the growth of national feeling in India, and watching it with sympathy as well as of interest, has been this. Side by side with the development of national life and feeling there has also been the development of what the Germans call *particularismus*. That is to say somehow or other, along with this centripetal tendency there has been developed a centrifugal tendency. As people are thrown together, they become more opposed to one another. We know that people often get on better when they are thrown apart ; and at the same time it happens very often when people are brought together they begin to realise their differences, and so they form smaller groups inside the larger whole. I noticed that very soon after I came to Madras in the cry of Travancore for the Travancoreans, Mysore for the Mysoreans ; and now it is the cry of Andhradesa for the Andhras, each community

trying to create a little nationality for themselves. The same thing was also illustrated by the great indignation which was created by the division of Bengal. In a unitary country where the national spirit is strong as in France, the great aim of the people in the time of the Revolution was to abolish all local distinctions, get rid of the old provinces and cut the country into divisions which had no old historical connection in order that they might all feel one and that there was but France, one and indivisible. But the curious thing in India has been that with the development of the cry of the Motherland, there has also been this particularist cry for the development of separate communities. It may be that it is absolutely necessary in a large country like this. I believe probably that is the case. It is an interesting thing, but it seems to me that it is absolutely unnecessary that, even although there is this feeling between different classes, it should find expression in hostility towards one another. The reason why it has done so of late, I believe, was rightly pointed out by Colonel Crawford. I think there is not the slightest doubt, as has been said by more than one speaker, that it is the political question that is in view. My friend the Diwan Bahadur drew rather an idyllic picture of Madras, but we have got our difficulties there. He has heard of the Brahmin and non-Brahmin controversy down there. He has also heard of the Tiyans and the Nairs on the West Coast. He has heard of the Maravars and the Shanars and their troubles. It is perfectly true, what my Honourable friend Lala Lajpat Rai said, that the whole of this is very largely the result of British rule, the outcome of a general movement by which the persons who have been down are now trying to come to the top. The non-Brahmin is trying to oust the Brahmin from the 80 per cent. of Government appointments which he enjoyed before. The Tiyan wants to get into the temple; he wants to be allowed to go along the roads. I have seen in South Kanara a man come and lay down his money on the road and call out what he wanted. Then the shopkeeper came, took the money—that did not pollute him!—and laid down the goods and then the man came and picked up the goods. Is it wonderful that people in that position wish to rise in the social scale? Is it surprising that the Shanar wants to get into the temples? It is not surprising; but the whole of my contention is that you cannot put this thing straight unless you get people to respect one another and one another's feelings. We have heard a great deal of self-respect, and self-respect has sometimes resulted in making young men go and spit at European officers. Self-respect often means disrespect of other people and what we want to impress upon people in the whole of India is that self-respect means respecting another's personality. We have our own personality, and we must respect other persons as persons. Until that is burnt into people we shall continue to have these communal riots and communal disturbances. I do not think there is any harm in people trying to rise in the social scale or to assert themselves, but in doing so do let us remember that other people have rights as well as we. I find that like my Honourable friend Lala Lajpat Rai, I have wandered away from the subject, and I would merely like to say in conclusion that I cannot approve of any of the proposals before us. They are far too wide. I would like to be put on a committee such as it proposed by Mr. Das, for I feel that I should have some interesting work to do for the rest of my life. His proposal means that we should have to go in for a thorough sociological enquiry into conditions in India and that is impossible. At the same time I would like to suggest to the

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Honourable the Home Member that it might be desirable in the interests of the country that he should get together some of the leaders of Hindu and Muhammadan thought. You will notice that all through the discussion it is only these two communities that have been talked about. The Diwan Bahadur and I have a grievance, because this implies that there are no communal differences in India but those of Hindus and Muhammadans, whereas we have our own troubles in Madras. But I understand the Hindu-Muhammadan trouble is meant in the motions when reference is made to communal differences. I suggest to the Honourable the Home Member that the leaders of these communities might come together and see if it is not possible, I do not say to settle the whole of this communal question—that would be an excellent thing but it would take too long a time to do—but to see what can be done in the way of getting local persons of influence to try to do what they can to prevent these two communities from flying at one another's throats and causing these disturbances which I am sure we are all grieved to see.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : Sir, I do not find it possible for me to support either the Resolution or the amendments which have been put forward, but I do feel, with other friends who have spoken before me, that it is fortunate that a discussion on this subject has taken place in this House. There are two aspects of the case which have come out from the discussions. One is that wider aspect to which my Honourable friend Lala Lajpat Rai drew such prominent attention in his most valuable speech. The other is the one to which several other Members have referred, namely, that of maintaining law and order and of establishing an attitude of mutual respect for the rights and feelings of each other among citizens by such methods as the leaders of the Hindu, the Muhammadan and other communities and the officials of Government might adopt. As to the first of these, I wish to say that I entirely agree with my friend Lala Lajpat Rai that a final and most satisfactory solution of the present deplorable differences which we see in this country will be found in the establishment of full responsible government in the country. In my opinion it is very desirable that all those who are interested in the welfare of India should give the matter the most serious and impartial consideration. The present system has been tried. I personally feel that we are grateful to this system for many things, above all for the education that we have received, and for the education in national sentiment which we have received during the British administration. But I also recognise that we have lost a great deal and in many respects, and I feel that progress in many directions which may be called truly national will not be possible until full responsible government is established in this country. To some friends it may seem a mockery that I should be speaking in support of Lala Lajpat Rai's view about the necessity of the early establishment of full responsible government after the speeches which have been delivered here deploring the communal differences that are dividing the country. But it is my firm conviction that if full responsible government is established in this country these differences will very shortly disappear. The history of other countries supports this view. French Canada and British Canada were more divided ; Roman Catholics and Protestants hated each other there much more than Muhammadans and Hindus unfortunately do

at present here, and yet the introduction of responsible government in Canada put an end to those differences, and Roman Catholics and Protestants, Frenchmen and Englishmen, began to work shoulder to shoulder as brothers in a common national cause. Even so, Sir, I believe will it be here. The present system has been tried and has failed. Government have had charge of law and order for a long time. Government have charge of law and order even under the present Statute of 1919. I regret to say it—I do not mean to impute any blame to any individual—but I draw attention to the fact that law and order have not been maintained as well as they used to be before the system of dyarchy was introduced ; and yet, Sir, law and order are reserved subjects ; their administration has not been at all tampered with by certain other subjects having been made transferred subjects. I submit, Sir, and I ask my friends on the Benches opposite to consider that the best solution of the problems we have been discussing will be found in the establishment of full responsible government as early as can be done.

But we cannot afford to wait for such solution till the advent of full responsible government while deplorable events like those which have taken place are occurring in the country. It must be, it ought to be, a matter of deep grief to every man of right feelings that these numerous riots should have taken place, that, according to the official statement, 260 of our fellowmen, most of them innocent persons, should have fallen victims, should have paid for the folly or wickedness of some people with their lives, that several thousands of them should have been injured, that the property of a lot of innocent persons should have been destroyed and burnt, that a lot of misery should have been caused to thousands of families all over the land. I consider, Sir, that what has happened should fill everybody, official and non-official, European and Indian, connected with India with grief. It is not a matter between the Hindus and Mussalmans alone ; it is a matter which concerns every citizen of India ; and when I think of it it fills my heart with grief,—it has filled my heart with grief for the last several months,—that in this ancient land where there is no lack of intelligence, no lack of ability among Europeans and Indians, where there is no lack of public spirit in a number of citizens residing in the large cities, that so many innocent men should have fallen victims to the knife or the *lathi* and that we should have been enjoying our meals and sleep as if nothing had happened. When I went to Calcutta and found that innocent citizens walking out into the streets were hacked to pieces, I felt that we, i.e., most of those residing in Calcutta at the time, were not doing our duty, and I feel still that we have not, all of us, realised our duty to these innocent fellowmen of ours and have not done our duty to save them from undeserved suffering and sorrow.

In this connection there are three points which have emerged from the debate. I do not wish at this moment to go back into historical facts ; I do not wish to stop here to dwell upon the allegation made by Lord Olivier, or the answer given to it, about the partiality of Government to one community. I do not wish here to impute any blame to Government or to any Mussalman leader or any Hindu leader. Whoever has been to blame, let us take that blame on our own heads collectively as a wrong committed by a brother or a fellowman, and let us think of the duty that lies upon us, as individuals and as citizens, as children of one God and children of one motherland, as subjects of one King-Emperor, to do our duty to our inno-

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cent fellowmen in the best way we can to save them from further undeserved wrong. That brings me, Sir, to a consideration of what are the practical steps which can be adopted in this matter. I join with my friends in offering our thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy for the excellent speech which he made at the Chelmsford Club and which was implemented by his speech to the Legislature. I submit, Sir, that His Excellency therein indicated a rule which will be found to be a very safe and a very helpful guide in the solution of the questions as we are considering. His Excellency said that such questions should be decided in conformity with established local custom. Let us all, Hindus and Muhammadans, officials and non-officials, honestly make up our minds to do whatever we can to bring about a settlement of the disputed questions on that basis. That is a basis, Sir, which I expect will commend itself to reasonable men of every class and community, and that is the basis which will in a large country like ours, which is inhabited by men of different castes and creeds and races, be found to be the soundest and safest to proceed upon in deciding communal questions. Now, Sir, how are we to proceed in the matter? I am prepared to believe that the Government of India have done what they could, according to their own lights, to bring about a solution of these questions. My Honourable friend the Home Member said that it is the duty of the Government, both Central and Provincial, to maintain law and order, and that it is also their duty to bring about peace and harmony between the different classes of the community. They have discharged their duty, the Honourable the Home Member, claimed, as best they could. Well, I want to leave that question there. We may not agree in that view, but I do not wish to pursue that question further. I do agree that we should drop all discussions as to what is past, and that we should consider what we can and ought to do in the future. Nothing is likely to be gained by discussing what they could or should have done in some places or what they should not have done in certain places. I have indicated that I do not entirely agree with the view which the Honourable the Home Member has put forward in that connection. But I am concerned more with what is to come in the future than what has happened in the past, and for that reason I wish to avoid all references to the past. Let all questions as to who has been to blame for the events that have taken place or for not arresting or checking the progress of those unfortunate occurrences, be buried for ever; let us unite and make an honest and earnest endeavour to see what our duty demands of us for the future.

I submit, Sir, that in this matter one common duty lies upon the representatives of all parties and of the Government. When I say representatives of all parties, I do not mean Hindus and Muhammadans only, but Christians, Parsis, Europeans and Indians all alike. Those who live in this land have a duty to discharge towards their fellowmen. The discussions which have taken place have shown what that duty is, in what direction we have to make an effort. I do not think that the Resolution or any of the amendments before us will be agreed to to-day, and I then think of the months that are going to intervene before we shall meet again in this House. Now the question is, what are we going to do during this period? I have one suggestion to make to my friends who represent the different communities here, and it is this. Let us make up our minds, and let us take a vow that we shall every one of us in our own individual capacity go forward to meet the masses of our people in a religious spirit and speak to them our

minds, as we have been speaking here to-day, nay more, that we shall tell them where we believe that they have been in the wrong and ask them to avoid the wrong in the future.

Mr. K. Ahmed : Who excited the people, Sir ?

Mr. President : The matter the House is engaged with is too serious for such interruptions.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya : Sir, I regret my friend Mr. Kabeerud-Din Ahmed speaks much too light-heartedly when he should not. Sir, I appeal to all friends to do this duty not by way of a complaint that any one has failed to do it. I feel that whether any one else has or has not failed to do his duty, I have failed to do mine to the extent I should have done—and I have been very much pained that I should have failed to do my duty fully and well. I wish that everyone should do his part better than I have done mine, and I wish that I too should do my part as well as is expected of me to do it. But I do ask all my friends, Mussulmans as well as Hindus, Indian Christians, Europeans, all in this House and outside it, to recognise the duty we owe to our innocent fellow-men to save them from undeserved suffering and to use all our effort and influence to bring about a disappearance of this feeling of communal tension which is raging in the land. I believe, Sir, that, if the masses of the people are called together and matters are properly explained to them, it will greatly help to reduce this tension. As the Honourable the Home Member said they are the most important people to be approached, they are the men out of whom come the victims who are sacrificed to the wrong notions, to the wrong ideas which some of us who address them or influence them, put into their heads. I wish that the masses should be approached by the leaders of the Muhammadan, Hindu, Christian and European communities, that they should be told not only what their rights but also their obligations to one another are, that it should be pointed out to them that certain things shall not happen even if any amount of force or threat of force is used, and that certain things shall happen because they are right and proper. I wish that the mistakes into which they have been led should be pointed out, that the results of these mistakes should be pointed out, and I do believe, Sir, that the great bulk of them will be weaned from the evil notions which have been put into their minds by some of us who ourselves entertain wrong ideas as to what would promote the interests of the communities to which we belong. I ask all my Muslim and Hindu friends to take up this task, and I also ask that Europeans and Christians and members of other communities should join in this endeavour. Does it make any difference whether it was a few Hindus or a few Mussulmans who had their heads broken ? Does it matter to any man of right feeling what religion an innocent victim of an unprovoked assault followed ? Is there not enough humanity left in us to lead us to feel a genuine grief that a fellowman who had done no wrong or injury to anybody should be cut off in the prime of his life, that his career should come to an untimely end and his family should be deprived of his support because some stupid, some wrongful notions about the demands of one's religion had been put into the mind of some other uneducated fellowman which led him to commit the outrage ? I ask everyone who feels that these outrages are wrong to stand up to condemn them in a manner which will leave no doubt in the minds of the masses that they mean what they

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say, that the outrages cannot be condoned and must be visited with punishment both in this world and in the next. It is only thus that the men of light and leading in a community can bring about a better feeling between the erring members of the two communities, and restore peace among them.

And now as regards the Government, I submit, it can help immensely in this matter, not by legislation, not even by calling a Conference, but by thinking out calmly as officials of the Government can think out, what the right policy is, by declaring that policy and calling upon the leaders of all communities to co-operate with the Government in enforcing it. I submit, Sir, that there is unnecessary nervousness shown in getting men together to talk about these regrettable communal troubles. I think it is the duty of the Government, as the Honourable the Home Member has said, to bring about peace among the members of different communities. Certain principles can be considered and laid down, and their acceptance by the leaders of the different communities can be brought about. Those who agree with them should be expected by Government and the public, and by men of all communities, to go forward with those principles to face any mobs, to face the men of their own communities and tell them in the presence of their fellowmen of other communities where they are wrong, proclaim to them the right path and ask them to follow that path. These unfortunate bickerings, these unfortunate riots, would not have gone on to the extent they have gone on ; so many lives would not have been lost, if we had done our duty in the manner I suggest. And I appeal to every brother, to everyone in this House and outside it, whom my voice can reach, to remember that this is a sacred duty that lies upon us. These riots would very soon be a thing of the past if the leaders of thought, if educated men of light and leading in each community will take up the task in right earnest, and if the members of the Government will make up their minds to proclaim the right policy and enforce it. If they will also find out who are the men who are actually practising what they profess and endeavouring to promote what they say they have at heart, I submit our differences will be settled in a very short time.

The occasions when communal troubles arise are few. They are well-known. The concurrence of the Ram Lila and the Mohurrum takes place at long intervals. Times are laid down during which processions have to pass certain streets. The authorities who are responsible for maintaining law and order should be expected and should be encouraged to maintain the rule which has been laid down as most of them do, and to get people by gentle persuasion and by good influence to follow that rule. If any body of men should depart from that rule, if they should not follow the orders that have been issued, no matter to what community they may belong, they must be brought to book and punished. Another occasion when a trouble arises is one when a cow is led for slaughter. Our Mussalman friends know it, our European friends know it, that we Hindus have a real reverence for the cow, and that we honestly feel pained if a cow is to be slaughtered within our knowledge. But we have recognised the situation, we have reconciled ourselves to the situation in which we find ourselves. We know that slaughter houses exist all over the country. We do not go out of our way to quarrel with any man who is leading cows to the slaughter house

day after day. We have recognised that the man is doing it because it is his duty to do it. There are European friends, Mussalman friends, who want the slaughter to take place. We have reconciled ourselves to this and I do not think that any officer of Government or any other Member of this House or outside will be able to mention a single instance where a man leading a cow to a slaughter house has had any attack made upon him by a Hindu. But when a Hindu finds that a cow is being paraded through the parts of a town in which he is living, if he finds that a cow is being taken through the street in which he lives in such a manner as to tell him "here we are going to cut this cow to pièces", that is a most unfortunate situation which causes the very greatest pain to him. I assure you, Sir, and I assure every Member of this House that that pain is genuinely felt. It is not prompted by any ill-feeling towards any Muhammadan brother. Let my Muhammadan friends feel certain that the objection of a Hindu to a cow being so led is prompted by a feeling of the pain which he feels by being told that a cow is going to be cut into pieces. He desires that the cow should not be led in such a manner and in such parts that it will amount to a challenge to him to save it as his religion enjoins it upon him to do. In the circumstances of the case if on such an occasion some Hindus cannot exercise restraint upon themselves and endeavour to rescue the cow, I ask our friends to have pity upon them. While they must bear the punishment of violating the law, I ask our friends to have pity on them, remembering that there was a genuine feeling at the bottom of their hearts which led them to do it. If a Hindu goes out of his way to rescue a cow from a Muhammadan who is taking it inoffensively to the slaughter house, I would condemn him as strongly as I would condemn a Muhammadan who would willingly lead the cow in such a way as to hurt the feelings of the Hindu. If this is done, let the authorities take charge of the man who commits the offence, and who departs not merely from the rule of law but also from what should be the recognised rule of good citizenship. Let him be punished. Let it not be a Hindu-Muslim question. I have no quarrel with my Mussalman friends all over the country because some Hindus have quarrelled with some Mussalmans somewhere. If a Hindu has rescued a cow from the hands of a Mussalman brother, let it not be made a ground of quarrel with the rest of the Hindu community. Let it be treated as an unfortunate isolated incident which requires to be dealt with according to law and let it end there and *vice versa*.

As regards the question of music before mosques it is known to every one that until two years ago this was not a live question. (An Honourable Member : "Question ?") In answer to a question put by Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas the Honourable the Home Member said that it was in 1882 that a question like this arose. He was not good enough to mention the city or the town where it arose. He did not think it fit to do so. But he said it was in 1882 that a question like that arose in one place in this vast country. Assuming, Sir, that that question was raised, not by an individual but on behalf of a community, it is not too much to assume in the absence of any evidence to the contrary that from 1882 to 1922 there was not a single case—I should like to be corrected if I am wrong—where the playing of music before mosques formed the subject of a quarrel between Hindus and Mussalmans.

Mr. Mahmood Schammad Sahib Bahadur (West Coast and Nilgiris : Muhammadan) : There were several cases of disputes on account of this.

Sir Hari Singh Gour : All local cases.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya : I do not know. I should like to be told of them. Now, Sir, I submit that from 1882 to 1922 we have not heard of any case of the playing of music before mosques giving rise to a quarrel between Hindus and Muhammadans. My friend tells me there were some cases. I will accept his statement. But if there were they were very few. And I submit that the solution of this question is not difficult. It is to be found in the rule suggested by His Excellency the Viceroy that such questions should be decided in conformity with established local custom. Mussalman Members, Hindu Members, European officers of Government, European residents of cities know what the practice in a particular place has been. Asked in private or public, every respectable man will state what the practice was. Let that practice be continued. If music has been stopped before a mosque by agreement between the communities or by an order of the court, let us adhere to that rule. Let Hindus submit to it and respect the custom so established. But if music has been played before other mosques, which are countless in the country, let my Mussulman friends tell the Mussulman community generally that they have to observe what has been the established practice and not to raise an unnecessary quarrel over it. That is a very simple solution of these unfortunate communal quarrels. If we are sincere and earnest, as I am sure Members of this House are, in our desire to put an end to these quarrels, that is the path which will lead us to the end which we have in view, and I honestly recommend it for the consideration of all Members of the House.

¶ I have indicated the part which the Government has to play in this connection. Government exercises supreme power in this country. If the officers of Government will only be strict and impartial in the discharge of their duties, much trouble and many complications will be avoided. And I wish to draw the attention of the House here to the words of His Excellency the Viceroy, to which the Honourable the Home Member referred, namely, that Government officers are expected to do their duty in this matter with fairness and scrupulous impartiality. I ask nothing more of Government officers. The great bulk of them, I repeat, have done their duty very well. It is only some who have failed and shown weakness. It is for these latter that a little advice and clear guidance is needed. We know that some officers of Government have acted in one manner and others have acted in another manner. The Government of the Central Provinces have adopted a certain policy which has prevented trouble from brewing in the Central Provinces. The Government of Bihar have also adopted a somewhat similar attitude. In Assam, the Mussulman Minister declared his views and that has helped to settle the matter very much. Mr. Abdul Aziz, Barrister-at-law of Patna, has openly declared his opinion against the agitation for stopping music before mosques, and I am certain that in Bihar it has had a very good effect. I know there are several other friends who have expressed their opinions publicly or privately on this question. I ask other Mussulman friends and Hindus also to declare their views, stand by them and ask the members of their respective communities to

follow them. The riots have injured both communities. Mussulmans have been killed and Hindus have been killed. Innocent men of both communities have suffered. That is a matter which cannot be a matter of indifference to members of either community. I submit, therefore, that on the eve of the dissolution of this House we should all take a vow that we will do all that is honestly possible for us to do to bring about an early settlement of these differences and thus render a duty to the country, to the Government and to God.

Khan Bahadur W. M. Hussanally : May I know what is the motion before the House ? Maulvi Muhammad Yakub has not withdrawn his Resolution, though he has accepted the amendment of Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar.

Mr. President : What is the point of order which the Honourable Member is raising.

Khan Bahadur W. M. Hussanally : I want to know what is the motion before the House. So far as I am aware....

Mr. President : The motions before the House are the Resolution moved by Maulvi Muhammad Yakub and the two amendments moved by Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar and by Mr. Keshub Chandra Roy, respectively.

Khan Bahadur W. M. Hussanally : I thought the amendments had been withdrawn.

Mr. B. Das : May I move the adjournment of this debate *sine die* ?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman : Sir, this debate which it was proposed to adjourn by a motion some hours before Lunch has now proceeded for a considerable period. We have had the advantage of hearing speeches from two prominent Hindu leaders, Lala Lajpat Rai and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. I think that if the debate had served no other purpose it would have been well worth having. With what my Honourable friend Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya says I am very largely in agreement. He, with his usual eloquence, has put forward a case for peace and compromise and with a persuasiveness which is peculiar to himself. I am sure it has made a great impression on the House. He has reinforced the argument I pressed on the House this morning that it was in the power of every Member of this House when he returned to his village or town, as the case may be, to exercise influence on the more ignorant masses that surround him. I understand he agrees with me that that is the clear duty of the citizen. I am glad to hear it. I am sure that nothing could be more conducive to communal peace than the general acceptance by the House of those eminently wise and sane suggestions. I am sure that he feels with me, and indeed he said it on a previous occasion, that the influence of the leaders of the various communities is less than we could hope, and it is mainly, as I indicated this morning, to the direct influence of men possibly less known than the leaders to which we have largely to look. I do desire again to reinforce the point that it is the citizen, the good citizen, who lives in the locality who can intervene to prevent these occurrences on many occasions. I must, however, make one observation. My Honourable friend referred to the important festivals as occasions of great danger when special precautions ought to be taken. It is true that has been the case for many years, and on those occasions it is the duty of Government, and

[Sir Alexander Muddiman.]

Government has, I submit, fully discharged that duty, to take special precautions. But let us not forget that the state of feeling now is such that communal disturbances are not confined to the great festivals. Let me tell the House that one of the largest, one of the most important outbreaks which occurred in the city of Delhi, our capital city, was caused by the bolting of a tonga pony. That is a contingency not within the prescience of any Magistrate however far-seeing he may be. Let me tell the House that no later than a day or two ago an occurrence took place in the Chandni Chouk, the principal thoroughfare of the great city of Delhi, which was due entirely to the dismissal of a Hindu bank peon by the Hindu bank manager because he had been impertinent to a Muhammadan customer of that bank. Now, Sir, that is not an event which it is possible to foresee. Even in this morning's paper I read of a somewhat similar occurrence. A thief darting away ran into a lamp post. He fell down. I have forgotten for the moment to which community he belonged, but he fell down and a communal riot very nearly ensued. A further instance was the case cited yesterday in another place of a tramway conductor who was endeavouring to collect fares from little boys of the other community who wanted to take free rides. That, Sir, led to a dispute that nearly led to communal disturbance. Now Sir, I do not relate these occurrences merely to amuse the House. They have a very serious lesson behind them. They show that the appeal made by my Honourable friend is none too late. It is most

4 P.M.

desirable and it is essential that this House should endorse it. It is equally essential that the officers of Government should, as I have contended they have done in the past, take every opportunity of conciliation. The Local Governments and we in the Government of India should do the same. Any suggestions to deal with the evil and its causes that have been brought forward in this debate would merit the very serious consideration of Government, but I cannot conceal from the House that they have not been very definite. We have had a good deal of general talking, and I believe that has done some good. I believe this debate will do something to heal the two communities, but practical suggestions for dealing with the question, I regret, have not been many. My Honourable friend, Lala Lajpat Rai, in a very interesting speech referred to the fact, the undoubted fact, that religious disputes are, as we know from history, common in other countries. They have been I think generally the first manifestation of politics; but when we are told that the grant of immediate self-government would terminate all these disputes, my Honourable friend will pardon me if I do not go the whole way with him. Now, Sir, this morning Colonel Crawford also threw out some suggestions. I think he suggested—if I am not doing him wrong—that the Government of India were rather inclined to lie back in their armchairs and say: "Well, we have done all we can." Sir, there are two schools of politicians. There is the armchair politician; I know him well; he says, "why don't you keep order in India; why don't you stop it?" I have heard that. I also heard from an experienced Indian who has held high office, that the way to stop these outrages was for Government to put down its foot firmly. Well, Sir, when you come to details, what exactly is "putting down your foot firmly"? You can no doubt by displays of armed force inspire awe in the inhabitants of a locality, and that at times it may unfortunately be necessary to do, but no civilized Government can

regard that as a permanent method of administration. Colonel Crawford suggested that the Government of India would do well to confer with the leaders of political thought. Now, Sir, let me make it perfectly plain that I have no desire whatever to shut the door to any means which will enable us to deal with this communal trouble. I have no cast-iron method of procedure. But we have to consider that conferences require their own atmosphere. They require an atmosphere of conciliation. They require, in the first place, that those who propose to confer are themselves inclined to come to an agreement. Now I do not want to refer to it in any detail, but it is an admitted fact that the leaders, the so-called leaders of political thought, have done their best to come to some conclusion in these matters. My Honourable friend the Pandit shakes his head. Well, it has been said that they have done so, at any rate they did meet for the avowed purpose of doing so—I am not putting it higher than that—but their efforts were not as successful as we could have wished. If, however, at any time they are prepared to put their heads together again and come to Government, Government will give any proposals they have their most careful consideration. It is always open for individual suggestions to be made to us. But that is not going so far as to say that I commit myself to any of these Resolutions or amendments, which, as has been pointed out by various speakers, are extraordinarily wide in their scope and extremely vague in their terms.

They are all moved, I am convinced, with the desire to do something beneficial in regard to the state of affairs as they now exist and to that extent they are valuable. But I put it to the House that their main purpose has been discharged. We have had a valuable discussion. We have had leading men on all sides expressing words of peace. The action taken by the Government, particularly the action taken by His Excellency in the Chelmsford Club speech and in his address to the Legislature, has been commended on all sides. The debate has certainly gone a good deal in the direction I should wish it to proceed. But I ask you not to attempt to tie Government down to any particular Resolution or amendment of those which have been moved to-day. We are certainly willing at any time to meet any reasonable propositions that may come to us. I do not desire to shut the door to any question of a conference as long as I am convinced that there is some reasonable probability of a benefit resulting from that. I can conceive that a conference held at a moment which was not opportune, held in a way which was not well considered, might really work against the very thing we wish to secure. Sir, I would ask the House, if they consider I have met the various speeches in a reasonable and sympathetic way, to join with me in requesting all those who have moved both the Resolution and amendments to withdraw them.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar (Madras City : Non-Muhammadan Urban) : Sir, I quite realise the great effect that has been produced by this debate and I do not wish to press my amendment to a division. With the leave of the House I desire to withdraw my amendment.

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

Mr. K. C. Roy : I am satisfied with the assurance given by the Honourable the Home Member that he has not barred the way to a conference. I therefore ask for leave to withdraw my amendment.

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

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub : Sir, after hearing the sympathetic speech of the Honourable the Home Member I think the object of my Resolution has been fully served, and, therefore, I beg your leave to withdraw the Resolution.

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

Mr. President : The next Resolution stands in the name of Maulvi Muhammad Yakub, I understand he does not wish to move it.

The third Resolution is barred by the amendment which had been moved by Mr. K. C. Roy.

The fourth Resolution on the paper is in regard to the same matter and is therefore barred. Mr. Dumasia is entitled to move his alternative Resolution which seeks to remove sex disqualification in elections to this Assembly.

RESOLUTION *RE* ELECTION OF WOMEN TO THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Mr. N. M. Dumasia (Bombay City : Non-Muhammadan Urban) : Mr. President, I beg to move the following Resolution which stands in my name :

“ This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take immediate steps to remove the existing disqualification to the admission of women as Members of this House.”

Mr. President, I believe this proposition will readily commend itself to the common sense of the House. As good wine needs no bush, so a good cause needs no push. Members are aware that the sex disqualification from being an elector has been extinguished by special Resolutions of most provincial Councils. The effect of these Resolutions is that women are now entitled to exercise the franchise in those Provinces, and also in the constituencies of the Legislative Assembly belonging to those Provinces. It is gratifying to find that in a country where men are accused of treating women as chattel the political progress of women has been more rapid than in England and free from the war of the sexes and the smashing of heads and windows which preceded the enfranchisement of women in England. In fact the Great War was indispensable for the political emancipation of women in Europe. This fact alone ought to convince our calumniators that Indians do not treat their women—their mothers, wives and sisters—as chattel, but as precious jewels as is justly due to women—the most perfect of God's creation. Some of the finest actions and glorious deeds of man have been inspired by woman ; and in all ages and all climes she has been the fascinating theme of admiration for the most chivalrous sentiments she has excited in man.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum : On a point of order, Sir. Have we got a quorum ?

(The bell rang and a quorum being present Mr. Dumasia was permitted to continue his speech.)

Mr. N. M. Dumasia : Thank you, Sir. Statesmen and historians, poets and warriors, artists, novelists and dramatists owe much to her influence and some of their best performances are the result of her divine inspiration.

The proposition now before the House carries the point a step further—the removal of the disqualification for membership of the Assembly. There is no doubt, as Burke expressed long ago, a considerable difference between the franchise and membership. The former is a right. The latter is an office to which there can be no right except capability. Only those should be eligible to membership who are qualified to discharge the duties of a member of the Assembly. I accept this condition. The Bombay Council considers this condition is fulfilled in the case of the Bombay Council, and the Government of Bombay is giving effect to the Resolution of the Bombay Legislative Council rendering women eligible to membership of the Bombay Legislative Council on terms of perfect equality with men. Given the franchise there is no reason to maintain the disqualification for this Honourable Assembly. It seems to me absurd that the better half of mankind should labour under the present disqualification in this enlightened century. There was a time when men claimed intellectual superiority over women. Manu would keep them under perpetual tutelage, but much water has flowed down the Indus since the days of Manu. Coming to more recent times one famous French philosopher went so far as to say that a woman who reasons is like a parrot that speaks. It is so unexpected. But these are exploded delusions. Women have distinguished themselves in many walks of life. There is not the remotest justification for the contention that men have more brains than women—especially after Miss Fawcett beat the Senior Wrangler at Cambridge. It may be that men have more brains in quantity, weight, but certainly not in quality. It is quality that counts.

As a matter of fact the exclusion of women from the Assembly is a reflection upon the electors themselves. If the electors are capable of making a proper choice they may be trusted to exercise their franchise intelligently when women seek election in competition with men. The eligibility of women will remove this artificial vertical wall between men and women.

Coming to the merits of the proposition I wonder whether there is any one in this House who would challenge the capacity of many a woman to make excellent members. "*Cherchez les femmes*" said Napoleon, and we must not forget that she who rocks the cradle rules the world.

Pandit Shamlal Nehru : May I bring to your notice, Sir, that there is no quorum ?

Mr. President : Order, order, I may call the Honourable Member's attention to Standing Order 25, which provides that no demand to ascertain the presence of a quorum shall be made within one hour of any previous count.

Mr. N. M. Dumasia : Woman is born to rule. She is supreme in domestic government. And domestic government is the best preparation for democratic government. There are many aspects of society in which domestic government resembles democratic government. Reform and retrenchment—two of the great watch words of the Liberals—constitute the daily duties of woman in her domestic sphere. She is particularly able in the field of finance. She prepares the domestic budget. She must keep the equilibrium between income and expenditure. She must cut the coat according to the cloth and make both

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ends meet. It is no exaggeration to affirm that it is more difficult for the *mater familias* to balance the domestic budget than it is for the Finance Member to balance the public budget with the resources of taxation at his disposal. Woman is endowed with a natural instinct for managing financial matters. She has marvellous capacity for all kinds of work and there is no doubt that her advice and co-operation will be very valuable in this House. Moreover, her persuasive powers, her desire for co-operation, her moderation and above all her gentle influence will set a good example to our Swarajists and will no doubt put an end to the walk-out business.

One of the fundamental principles of democracy which has been handed down to us from the days of Solon is that all important interests should be duly represented. Is there any man in this House who can venture to assert that mere men are qualified to represent or protect the feminine interests? There are numerous matters concerning children and women, in which men are more ignorant than the babe unborn. Upon democratic principles, therefore, women should be represented in this Assembly. In fact this Assembly cannot be truly representative and cannot protect women's interests effectually unless they have for their collaborators in this House a few of the best and ablest of the women of India. They will be the harbingers of peace between various conflicting elements in this House and they will make a valuable contribution to the problem which is now agitating the minds of the people of the country.

Take the field of sanitation. We hear on all sides "*Sanitas sanitatum omnia sanitas est*". Who is most affected by insanitary conditions? Why, woman. She has to look after her children. She has to be by the bedside of her child in illness. She has to convert nights into days that she may nurse her beloved child back to health.

Take the field of morality. We have many men-made laws which affect women seriously. We should like to hear the voice of woman—gentle and serene—especially on questions of polygamy or polyandry. Sir, I could adduce a long litany of feminine virtues and feminine grievances, but I believe I have said enough on the positive merits of her presence in this Assembly to commend this proposition to the House. I trust, Sir, that this Assembly will not be behind the Bombay Council, in taking this forward step in the emancipation of woman and placing her on the pedestal of equality which is her birthright. That is the foundation of true liberty. I also believe that this step is calculated to accelerate our progress towards that great goal of Swaraj towards which we are advancing slowly but surely. I am sure the acceptance of this Resolution will mark an appropriate close of the Assembly and will be regarded by historians of the future as a historic event in the Central Legislature. With these remarks I commend this Resolution to the House.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions : Muhammadan Rural) : Sir, without meaning any disrespect to the fair sex of the country and without considering myself unchivalrous, I am sorry I am unable to see eye to eye with the Honourable Mover of this Resolution. I think it will not be in the interest of the country, as well

as in the interest of the women-folk themselves if they are asked to come down from their places of honour in the Visitors' Gallery and adorn the Benches of this House. Sir, we know very well that nature has made a division of functions of the sexes. There are certain functions which are exclusively assigned to men and certain other functions which are exclusively assigned to females. A man cannot exercise the functions which are special to a woman and a woman in the same way cannot exercise the functions which are set apart for a man. Of course there are certain functions which are common to both men and women but they relate to the ordinary vocations of human life. Of course in abnormal conditions and extraordinary circumstances, such as were created during the Great War, women were called upon to exercise certain functions which in normal conditions are exercised by men; but if abnormal conditions are allowed to be maintained during normal times I think the whole fabric of human society will be shattered into pieces. Sir, in my humble opinion the chief function of women is (*Sir Hari Singh Gour* : "To cook!") to bring up the future generation of the country in a sound state of body and mind, to alleviate the sorrows and anxieties of her partner in life and to govern properly the affairs of her household. Woman is the queen of her house; she has full liberty to manage the external and internal affairs of her household. She is the first teacher of her children and she is the sweetheart of her husband. The circle of her activities is more social than political. Sir, I do not mean to say that women cannot understand politics or that they are unable to pass judgment on political questions. On the other hand, I am aware that many women of this country are much superior in intellectual qualities to their husbands or to many of the Honourable Members of this House.

Pandit Shamlal Nehru (Meerut Division : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : Is that your personal experience ?

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub : That is not my personal experience, but it is the personal experience of a friend of mine whose noble wife, I am aware, is much superior in intellectual qualities to my Honourable friend himself. But, Sir, I do not want to drag females into the arena of practical politics, because I do not want that their tender logic and their enticing arguments may be subjected to the grim criticism of the male Members of this House. Sir, flowers are meant for decorating drawing rooms or the dining-table; they are not meant to be placed in a hot case. It would be placing an unbearable burden upon the physical strength and intellectual capacity of the females if they are asked to participate in the intricate questions of legislation or the vexing problems of politics. They are too tender for this kind of life and you will certainly be shortening the lives of our women, if you ask them to live the lives of parliamentarians. (*An Honourable Member* : "Question.") Sir, in England where women have got extreme liberty and extreme freedom and where, we shall have to admit, the women are intellectually superior and physically stronger than the women of India, women got seats in the House of Commons only a few years ago after many centuries of struggle and contest. It looks simply ridiculous that we should want to place our women to-day in the same position in which the women of England have been placed after so many centuries.

Then, Sir, there is one more aspect of this question and it is this : do you think that an ordinary Indian is so advanced that he would

[Maulvi Muhammad Yaqub.]

behave properly towards the female Members in the House? (*An Honourable Member* : "Certainly"). The qualifications for membership of the Legislative Assembly are so low that any ignorant rustic can be elected to this House and by opening the doors of the Legislative Assembly to women you invite the objectionable characters of society to invade the Assembly and capture as many seats as they possibly can. Now, Sir, would you like your ladies to sit on the same Bench with an objectionable character if he were a Member of this House?

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum (North-West Frontier Province: Nominated Non-Official) : But all the Members here are "honourable".

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub : Of course present company is always excluded; my remarks are not directed towards the present Honourable Members of this House; but what I submit is that the qualifications are so low that it is quite possible that at some future date some objectionable members of society may creep into the House. Then, Sir, there is no Parliament in the world except the British Parliament where women have got seats; and it would be certainly preposterous to introduce such anomalies in the rules of the Legislative Assembly which is itself up to this time in an experimental stage.

For these reasons, Sir, I think that the Resolution proposed by my Honourable friend is certainly premature and I hope that after listening to my speech the women of the country will also agree with me and will say to the Honourable proposer and his supporters "Thank you, gentlemen, we do not want to become M. L. A.'s and we are quite satisfied with the place which we now occupy in the society of the country." With these words, Sir, I beg to oppose the Resolution.

Mr. H. G. Haig (Home Department : Nominated Official) : Sir, I think it may be of use to the House if I indicate at once the attitude of Government towards this Resolution. In doing so I shall not have to express my own opinion on the interesting but somewhat controversial arguments of the last speaker. In the first place there is a preliminary technical point which will have to be examined. The electoral rules provide that if a Resolution to this effect is passed by the House of which one month's notice has been given, then the Government of India are bound to make regulations to give effect to it. Notice of the Resolution moved by the Honourable Mover was received on the 14th August. Consequently the one month's notice required by the rules has not been completed.

Sir Hari Singh Gour (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions : Non-Muhammadan) : I have given you one month's notice.

Mr. H. G. Haig : At the same time a number of other Resolutions were received more than a month ago and though none of them are actually identical in terms, they are identical in effect. Government, therefore, do not wish to take this technical point and they are prepared to regard this Resolution as having had one month's notice and, consequently, if the Resolution is passed, Government are prepared to regard it as obligatory on them to make the regulations to give effect to it.

I presume there is no particular reason why the regulations should not be made at once, and if the House expresses that wish, Government will endeavour to make the regulations so that they may have effect for the coming general election.

In the second place, I should like to explain exactly what the effect of passing this Resolution will be. The disqualification of women for election to the Legislative Councils has been removed at present only in Bombay and Madras. Consequently it will only be ladies from those provinces who would be eligible to stand for election to the Assembly. Of course, it will be open at any future time for other Legislative Councils to allow women in those provinces to stand for election, and such a Resolution would automatically entitle them to stand for election to the Assembly. In the case of the Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara constituencies, ladies would not be eligible for election to the Assembly, because they have not yet been granted a vote, and nobody can stand for election unless his or her name is included in the electoral roll.

Finally, the Resolution will enable Government to nominate a lady to this Assembly from any part of India. But, Sir, that is a permissive power, and I do not hold out any hope to the House that that power is likely to be exercised for the purpose of introducing variety and charm into the composition of this House. Should the power be at any time exercised, I fear, Sir, it would be on less imaginative and more strictly official grounds.

I have stated the effect that the Resolution would have if it is passed. I now proceed to indicate the attitude of Government towards it. The question of women's franchise was dealt with by the Joint Committee who held that a matter which goes so deeply into the social system and susceptibilities of India should be settled in accordance with the decision of the legislative bodies. This advice has been accepted already in the matter of granting the franchise to women and in what may perhaps be regarded as the subsidiary matter of allowing women who have obtained the franchise to stand for election, the same procedure will naturally be followed. Government propose, therefore, to leave this matter to the free vote of the Assembly, that is to say, the Honourable Members of the Executive Council of the Government of India will not vote at all. Other official Members will be free to vote as they please.

Mr. N. M. Joshi (Nominated : Labour Interests) : Sir, I rise to support the Resolution moved by my Honourable friend, Mr. Dumasia.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub : From the labour point of view ?

Mr. N. M. Joshi : From the human point of view, because I feel that women are as much human as men.

Sir Hari Singh Gour : More so.

Mr. N. M. Joshi : And therefore from my point of view and from the point of view of every legislator, there should be no distinction between a man and a woman. An Honourable Member in this House brought before the Members some very humorous arguments against the Resolution. It is very difficult to deal with those arguments, and I need not spend much time over them. I shall mention only a few of them. He said that women are not intended for serious practical work such as that of a legislator. If women are not intended for practical work, I should like to know what they are intended for.

Maulvi Muhammed Yakub : I did not say that, Sir.

Mr. N. M. Joshi : I am glad, Sir, that my Honourable friend did not say it. My Honourable friend said women are flowers and they should be treated like flowers. Sir, the Honourable Mover of the Resolution never asked my Honourable friend to treat a woman who may come here as a Member as worse than a flower or even better than a flower. Let him treat that woman who comes here as a Member as a flower with as much tenderness as he would treat a man. Let him treat her with as much tenderness as he cares to treat her, but that is no argument why a woman should not come and sit in this Assembly. Then, Sir his other argument was that some Members—I do not say Members like my Honourable friend there—but some Members may not be able to withstand, I think he said, the enticing logic and the tender criticism of women Members who may come to this House. Sir, to those Members who think that they would not be in a position to withstand the criticism and the logic of women, my appeal is to retire from this House and to retire from public life. If men cannot withstand the logic of women.....

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub : I did not say, Sir, that they cannot withstand the logic of women. What I said was that I did not want that the enticing logic of women should be subjected to the grim criticism of the male Members.

Mr. N. M. Joshi : Sir, this is another flower kind of argument. If the enticing logic of women is not to be subjected to the stern criticism of men, it is for the women to decide whether they should expose themselves to it or not. My Honourable friend need not be so tender with a woman who comes here and exposes herself to the attack and criticisms of men who will criticise her sternly. Then, my Honourable friend said that women are not physically fit to come to a legislature. It is for the first time I learn that the work of a legislator requires a gladiator's strength. I thought, Sir, that, even weak men and weak women may serve in this House as good Members. But if some Members think that they come here to have a wrestling match and if a woman is not afraid of it, let her come here. My only fear is that there are some men who are afraid of a match. Then, Sir, my Honourable friend also said that there are Members here who may not treat the women decently.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub : I did not say the Members here.

Mr. N. M. Joshi : In the future. My Honourable friend said that some Members who may come here may not treat the women Members decently. Now, Sir, it is for the woman who chooses to come here to say whether she should come here or not, when she finds that she will have companions who will not treat her properly. But, Sir, I do not understand the anxiety of my Honourable friend over there to keep away women on these grounds. Personally I feel that the Members who may come here will be as courteous, as polite, as chivalrous as my Honourable friend over there.

Sir, I do not wish to deal with any of his arguments because I thought, and I still think, they were not serious. The main argument in favour of the Resolutions is that if you prevent women standing as candidates you are restricting the right of the electors to choose whomsoever they like as their representative. The electors have a right to

elect any candidate as their representative and I cannot understand why any Member here should restrict that right of the electors to choose whomsoever they like. The only argument that I can see against this right of the electors is that there are some people who are afraid that if the right is not restricted their monopoly will have gone. That is the only argument that I can see in restricting the right of the electors in choosing their representative. I therefore look at this question from this constitutional aspect that if you give the franchise to people, then you should leave them free to choose their representative from whatsoever class they come from. It is not only a restriction of the right of the electors ; it is also a restriction of the rights of women. If some woman chooses to come here knowing the dangers which my Honourable friend depicted, I cannot understand why their rights should be restricted. He said that the woman in this country will not like this, but all the women in the country.....

Sir Hari Singh Gour : If they do not like it, they will not come.

Mr. N. M. Joahi : Exactly. All the women need not like it. It is only those women who would like to come here who are concerned with this Resolution. All the other women in the country are not concerned at all. If they think that there are dangers in being Members of the Assembly, if they think there are some Members in this Assembly who will not treat them properly, they need not come to the Legislature at all. They are not compelled to become Members. I therefore think, Sir, that the arguments used so far against allowing women to become Members of this Assembly were not serious. On the other hand, the arguments in favour of the Resolution are very strong. The two arguments upon which I support this Resolution are that we are imposing a restriction upon the right of the electors to choose their representatives and we should not prevent any person who wants to serve his country in the capacity of legislator from serving in that capacity. Sir, I support the Resolution.

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar (Madras City : Non-Muhammadan Urban) : Sir, as this is a proposition which has a practical effect on Madras, as the Honourable Mr. Haig told us, I wish to say a few words on it. I know the women of my parts. We have not got the *pardah* system as people here have got. Women there own property very largely. They manage their properties beautifully. I may mention one instance. I bought property myself which was previously owned by a lady and managed by her and I am reproached that I am not managing it as efficiently as the previous proprietor. (Laughter.) I may mention another instance also in which women have surpassed me. My own daughter has surpassed me in the matter of making bargains. Last June in Bangalore I made some bargains of carpets and I was led into paying a heavy price and my daughter reproached me. I said, " You had better try your hand ". She drove a much better bargain and got much better stuff than I got. They may not have college or literary education but for practical experience and shrewdness I give credit to the women of my parts and I am sure they will distinguish themselves as well, if not better. I am sure this House is not going to be flooded by women legislators. Women are now taking interest in public questions. Men are

[Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar.]

entitled to sit in this House. My Honourable friend said that rustics may come here ; but if rustics can come here, I ask, why not enlightened women. I strongly support the motion.

Mr. B. Das (Orissa Division : Non-Muhammadan) : I am happy to take part in this debate. Since I became a member of this debating society, or rather this House...

Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar : I must ask the Honourable Member to withdraw the words " debating society ". (*Cries of " withdraw."*)

Mr. B. Das : Sir, if that is your desire, I withdraw those words. Sir, since I became a Member of this House I have taken a keen interest in all questions connected with the cause of women and have done my best to help their cause. I am happy to find that my friend Mr. Rangachariar has given his wholehearted support to this Resolution. However, whenever legislation affecting women and children came up before this Assembly, he had opposed such legislation—specially important legislation such as my friend Sir Hari Singh Gour's Age of Consent Bill. For that reason alone I want women to be present on the floor of this House, so that they can give us their experience and guidance and by their persuasive presence help us to enact legislation suitable to women and children. They can assist us a great deal on all social welfare legislative measures.

One of the beneficial effects of the Muddiman Committee's Report is the present Resolution that is now before the House. The amendment of Rule 5 of the Government of India Act has enabled us to-day to bring in this Resolution. I could not follow my Honourable friend Mr. Haig why the women of Dehli and Ajmer-Merwara are not entitled to vote. Is it because there are no provincial councils there ? The Assembly has a responsibility for those places.

Mr. H. G. Haig : It has nothing to do with the fact that there are no Legislative Councils there. It is merely because they have not been given the vote.

Mr. B. Das : I am sorry I could not follow.

Mr. President : The Chair cannot help the Honourable Member.

Mr. B. Das : I felt pained at the suggestion of my Honourable friend Mr. Yakub who is not present here now. He suggested that the women of India should not be faced with the hardships of being Members of this Legislature and should not imitate their Western sisters. Sir, my friend is probably not a member of the Indian National Congress. Twice the Indian National Congress has elected lady Presidents. Dr. Mrs. Besant and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu have both guided the destiny of India and our political movements. The President of the present year of the Indian National Congress is a lady too—Mrs. Naidu who is guiding the whole of National India in political matters. Well, if the non-official political association of India, the grand Indian National Congress, can have a woman as its President, why should women not be allowed to be Members of this Legislature ? My friend forgets that the Begum of Bhopal, who has been I think the Chancellor of the Aligarh University, has been a model ruler, loved by her subjects and admired and respected by all classes of Indians. She has been well known especially for her keen

interest in the uplift of the causes of women and children of India. We know too how she is writing books for the social welfare of women of India. We have also two ruling Maharanis at present, at Travancore and Gwalior, who are acting as Regents of their States. If women can rule vast States—even though they may be autocratic rulers—why should they not take part in ordinary legislation in the Assembly and Councils for the uplift of the community of men and women ?

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum : I did not intend to take part in this debate but perhaps my opinion on the subject might be considered to be the opinion of an impartial person and so I should like to say just a few words. Even if this legislation is passed it will not affect my community much, because our women are so very backward in education that there is no likelihood of their coming to this House for a long time. But truth is truth, and it must be told. I do not know how we can deny the right of representation in this House to women. If women, as my friend Mr. Das said, have been ruling us in the past, why should they not be allowed to take part in the deliberation of affairs in this place. He has only quoted recent instances, but I can go a little further and quote the case of Razia Begum, who was the Empress of India at one time. She was not only well up in politics but was also a great warrior and fought on battle-fields. My little experience of people in extreme ignorance, say, of the Kaffirs of Central Asia, also supports me in this view. While Assistant Political Agent in Chitral, I visited the country of the Kaffirs and I found that the activities of the women were not confined to household affairs only, but that they took part in all political and racial and communal discussions. There is of course no such thing as politics there, as we understand it in this country, but there are the ordinary tribal matters, such as the partition of land and the settling of quarrels among different families, and things of that kind, and these were practically managed by the women-folk. I know of a song which I need not repeat here. (*Honourable Members :* "Sing it.") (Laughter.) In it women are praised for their intelligence, for their tactfulness and for their promptness in coming to decisions in disputes between parties. Similarly, I think some of our women at the present time are also taking a leading part in politics. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is well known to the Members of the House. She is, I believe, sitting somewhere in the galleries just now ; if she can become the President of the All-India Congress, who is there to prevent her, by any force of argument, from coming to this House and taking part in the proceedings here, if she is elected by some constituency ? But there is one thing which strikes me, and it is this, that perhaps this privilege, if allowed to women, might disturb our present social conditions. Unless we have reformed our household affairs through our women and have brought our social life up to the standard of modern civilization, I do not think we should encourage their diverting their attention to politics. They had better set their houses in order before they can aspire to come to this House. I think that many ladies will be tempted to come here rather than to go into their household budgets. It is easier to come into politics rather than to go and spend hours and days in looking after children, the education of one's children and the needs and requirements of the house, and many other things. We have already disturbed our society and the classification given to India by the well known Manu. If it had not been for our interference with the structure of that classification, we would not have had the many troubles that are arising in the country nowadays. If

[Pandit Shamlal Nehru.]

we had only confined the Kshatriyas to fighting and the Brahmins to religious preaching and a few only to politics, perhaps things would have been more comfortable and peaceful for us. But since this classification has been disturbed, we get all these troubles of non-Brahmins against Brahmins and the urban population against the rural population and such like. Then I do not think there is much likelihood of very many ladies coming here and dislocating or ousting us. (Laughter.) England has not been able to produce more than four or five so far in her Parliament, and I do not think we can expect even a half of that number, say two, in the next few sessions, I should say. My friend, Maulvi Muhammad Yakub, is quite safe in his seat, I believe. If any ladies do come to this House, I am sure Moslem ladies will be long behind the times; but in that respect, we need not worry much. I do not think I need say anything more on this subject except that ladies will have to find very able and intelligent ayahs to look after their children, if they decide to come here and leave their domestic duties. In short I would allow them the right and would not refuse it, but in their own interest they would be well advised not to come here.

Pandit Shamlal Nehru : My friend Mr. Muhammad Yakub has just said that the woman's duty is at home, to look after her children, to look after the kitchen and to look after the neatness of the house, and yet he calls his ladies "queens." He calls the ladies "queens," but at the same time he speaks of them as "females" and himself as a "man." He has just had a fling at me, at my intelligence compared to my wife's. I have not the least objection to agree with him wholeheartedly. I have worked with my wife as a colleague on the Local Board in Allahabad for a number of years. She has done excellent work there and I am proud of her and I hope Mr. Muhammad Yakub will give a chance to his wife and himself a chance to be proud of her.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub : I wish I had one, Sir.

Pandit Shamlal Nehru : Then objection is taken, Sir, that the ladies will have no time left for looking after their children and household duties if they take part in politics. Men, Sir, have many duties to perform, to earn money, to go sight-seeing leaving their "females" at home and to go to the theatres, etc., and yet they have time to come to the Assembly and look after public affairs. Cannot a woman look after her children at home, look after the cooking and her husband's comforts and come to the Assembly at the same time?

Mr. N. M. Joshi : Cannot the husband cook?

Pandit Shamlal Nehru : The husband can cook, Sir, if he cares. I had no servant once for a number of days. We took to cooking by turns. Sir, there are many women available, women of ability, women of character, women of strength, who are prepared to do all their home duties and at the same time do their duty by the country. There is Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. She is my adopted mother. I am proud of her too. There are many others. (*Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum :* "Your daughter has stood first in the University in her B.A., this year.") In olden times women went to war with men. I can give a long list of women who had fought battles and won them. In Muhammad Sahib's time, Mr. Muhammad Yakub will find, women went always with their menfolk to war and if the men wanted to run away they killed them then and there and fought

themselves. (*Maulvi Muhammad Yakub* : " They were abnormal times.") Now certainly the times are different. Women are locked up in their houses and yet they are called by the dignified name of " queens," while the men take a seat outside the house, watching the doors all the time. Sir, only one thing I have to take exception to, and that is what Mr. Muhammad Yakub said about women Members coming here with the men and his suggestion that they were not safe in this House. Sir, this is not only an insult to the House but it is an insult to the womanhood of the country.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub : Certainly not. I never hinted anything against the honour of the Members of the Assembly.

Pandit Shamlal Nehru : I am glad to hear that. But the Honourable Member does not deny his having hinted anything against the honour of women.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub : Probably my Honourable friend could not follow my speech.

Pandit Shamlal Nehru : Sir, I have named two women. I can name many more and I tell the House that they can take care of themselves without the aid of any person in the midst of ten thousand men. Sir, I support my friend's Resolution with the greatest pleasure.

***Sir Hari Singh Gour** : Sir, I should like to add a few words in support of this Resolution. As far back as 1923 this House with only one or two dissentients passed an Act removing the sex disqualification from the path of women becoming legal practitioners with the result that women are now eligible to practise side by side with my friend Maulvi Muhammad Yakub. Now, I submit that, if they are entitled to practise at the Bar and, by parity of reasoning, to adorn the Bench, I do not see what distinction there is if they are permitted to take part in the deliberations of this House.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub : I hope my friend Sir Hari Singh Gour will not grudge them the right of pre-audience.

Sir Hari Singh Gour : I shall certainly not grudge them not only the right of pre-audience but the right of pre-eminence. I am sure, Sir, Maulvi Muhammad Yakub has been inspired in opposing this Resolution by a feeling of self-preservation. He feels—and I think he has a shrewd suspicion—that if women were to find entrance into this House, the mere man will have to take a back bench. He has told us that there is a time to come when rusties may adorn the seats of this House alongside of women. Let me assure him that if any rusties do become Members of this House, they will cease to be rusties but will be refined into gentlemen. Sir, I feel that this Resolution should receive the unanimous support of this House and I appeal to my friend Maulvi Muhammad Yakub not to forget to vote for this Resolution ; and, if he cannot lend his support to this Resolution, at least to abstain from voting on the other side.

An Honourable Member : I move that the question be now put.

Mr. President : The question is :

" That the question be now put."

The motion was adopted.

*Speech not corrected by the Honourable Member.

Mr. President : The question is :

“ That the following Resolution be adopted :

‘ This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take immediate steps to remove the existing disqualification to the admission of women as Members of this House ’.”

The motion was adopted. (Applause.)

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, the 2nd September, 1926.
