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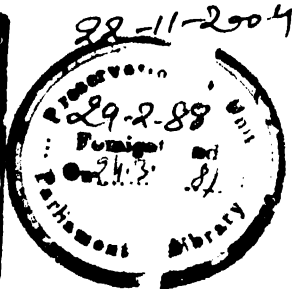
(9th July to 18th July, 1930)

NINTH SESSION

OF THE

SECOND COUNCIL OF STATE, 1930

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COUNCIL OF STATE.

Thursday, 10th July, 1930.

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

MEMBER SWORN.

The Honourable Rai Bahadur Sukhraj Roy (Bihar and Orissa : Non-Muhammadan).

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

NUMBER OF JAINS IN THE PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES AND THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

59. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SUKHRAJ ROY : Will Government be pleased to state the number of Jains in the Provincial Legislatures and the Legislative Assembly ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. W. EMERSON : The information is being collected and will be supplied to the Honourable Member when available.

NUMBER OF JAINS IN THE PROVINCIAL, CENTRAL AND ALL-INDIA SERVICES.

60. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SUKHRAJ ROY : Will Government be pleased to state the number of Jains in the Provincial, Central and All-India Civil Services at the present time in the different provinces of India ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. W. EMERSON : In so far as the All-India and the Central Services are concerned, the information is being collected and will be supplied to the Honourable Member in due course.

TABULATION OF JAINS SEPARATELY IN THE NEXT CENSUS.

61. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SUKHRAJ ROY : Will Government be pleased to state whether the Jains will be counted separately in the coming Census Report and both the Swetambar and Digambar sects of the Jains calculated under different heads ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. W. EMERSON : Jains will be tabulated separately throughout India and if possible separate figures will be given for the total population of Jains according to sects.

RESIGNATIONS OF MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL AND PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES AS A PROTEST AGAINST THE POLICY OF GOVERNMENT.

62. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SUKHRAJ ROY : Will Government be pleased to state the names of the Members who have resigned their

seats in the Provincial Legislative Councils, Legislative Assembly and the Council of State as a protest against the policy of Government ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. W. EMERSON : The information is being collected and will be supplied to the Honourable Member when available.

NUMBER OF CONVICTIONS OF MEN AND WOMEN IN CONNECTION WITH THE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT.

63. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SUKHRAJ ROY : Will Government be pleased to state the number of arrests in different provinces of India in connection with the present civil disobedience movement and the number of persons, male or female, separately convicted mentioning the sections under which they have been sentenced and the period and class of imprisonment ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. W. EMERSON : The information in my possession shows that from the 6th April to the 15th June, 1930, the number of persons convicted in connection with the civil disobedience movement is approximately 4,377. I regret I have no detailed information about the number of females convicted or the offences for which the persons referred to above were convicted or their sentences.

EFFECT OF THE BOYCOTT OF FOREIGN CLOTH ON THE BRITISH COTTON PIECE-GOODS TRADE, ETC.

64. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SUKHRAJ ROY : Will Government be pleased to state :

- (a) the effect of the boycott of foreign cloth movement in India on the British cotton piece-goods trade ;
- (b) the percentage of decrease in import of cotton piece-goods in India from England from April, 1930 as compared with last year ;
- (c) the number of mills that have been closed in Manchester and Lancashire for want of work ; and
- (d) whether there has been an adverse effect on other British goods also ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. A. WOODHEAD : (a) Government are not in a position to estimate the effect of the boycott of foreign cloth movement in India on the British cotton piece-goods trade.

(b) Up to the end of May, 1930, for which period statistics are available, the decrease is 23½ per cent.

(c) Government have no information.

(d) The value of the total imports into India by sea of merchandise other than cotton piece-goods from the United Kingdom during the period from the 1st April to the 31st May, 1930, shows a decrease as compared with the corresponding period of last year, but Government are unable to say to what extent this falling off is attributable to the movement referred to by the Honourable Member.

NUMBER OF CONVICTIONS UNDER THE CHILD MARRIAGE RESTRAINT ACT.

65. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SUKHRAJ ROY : Will Government be pleased to state the number of convictions under the Age of Consent Act, generally called the Sarda Act, since it has been enforced in India ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. W. EMERSON : The Honourable Member is doubtless referring to the Child Marriage Restraint Act. The Government of India have received no information regarding convictions under the Act, and it may be presumed that the number is small.

REPEAL OR AMENDMENT OF THE CHILD MARRIAGE RESTRAINT ACT.

66. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SUKHRAJ ROY : Will Government be pleased to state whether they intend to repeal or amend the Age of Consent Act ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. W. EMERSON : Certain Bills for the amendment of the Child Marriage Restraint Act, which have been introduced, or of which notices have been given, by Members of this and the other House have been circulated to Local Governments for opinion. When the replies of Local Governments have been received and the actual operation of the Act for some months has been observed Government will be in a position to define their attitude towards any proposals for amendment.

THE SAINTHIA-NAYA DUMKA-BAUSI (MANDAR HILL) RAILWAY PROJECT.

67. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SUKHRAJ ROY : Will Government be pleased to state when the work of extension of the Bhagalpur-Mandar Hill Branch Railway will commence and how far will it extend and where it will meet the East Indian Railway ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. A. WOODHEAD : The Sainthia-Naya Dumka-Bausi (Mandar Hill) project has, on investigation, proved unremunerative. Further consideration of this project has been postponed indefinitely.

INVITATION TO MR. GANDHI TO ATTEND THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

68. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SUKHRAJ ROY : Do Government propose to recommend to His Majesty's Government that Mr. Gandhi be invited to the Round Table Conference ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. W. EMERSON : It is clear that Mr. Gandhi could not be invited to the Round Table Conference while an unconstitutional movement, of which he was one of the chief authors, is in progress.

NAMES OF PERSONS INVITED TO ATTEND THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

69. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SUKHRAJ ROY : (a) Will Government be pleased to state the names of the persons who have been invited to attend the Round Table Conference from the different provinces of India separately; the principles on which the selection is made; whether it is done on the basis of loyalty to Government or of being real representatives of the people; on whose recommendation Government make the selection; and whether previous acceptance of such invitation is taken ?

(b) If the answer to the last part of (a) is in the affirmative, what are the names of those who have refused to accept the invitation ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. W. EMERSON : No persons have yet been invited to attend the Round Table Conference. With regard to the principles which will govern the issue of invitations, it was made plain in His Excellency,

the Viceroy's statement on the 31st October, last, that His Majesty's Government propose to invite representatives of different parties and interests, and in His Excellency's letter to the Prime Minister, which was published on the 13th May, it was emphasised that the representation of India should be fairly distributed among those sections of thought who desire and have a title to be heard. It is intended that the invitations should be issued after consultation, where possible, with the interests concerned.

INVITATIONS TO REPRESENTATIVES OF THE JAIN COMMUNITY TO ATTEND THE
• ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

70. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SUKHRAJ ROY : Do Government propose to invite representatives from the Jain community to the ensuing Round Table Conference ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. W. EMERSON : No decision has yet been reached as to the representatives to be invited to the Round Table Conference

THROWING OPEN OF RECRUITMENT TO THE ARMY TO ALL CLASSES.

71. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS : Will Government kindly state whether they intend throwing recruitment to the Army open to all classes in the near future ? If not, do they intend to confine it for ever to the martial classes ?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF : The answer to the first part of the question is in the negative. As for the second, I would ask my Honourable friend to refer to the reply given in the Legislative Assembly on the 6th September, 1927, to question No. 888.

CONSTITUTION OF THE ARMY STATIONED ON THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER OF
INDIA.

72. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS :
(a) Does the bulk of the Army stationed on the North-West Frontier of India consist of Gurkhas, Mahrattas, Dogras, Rajputs and Sikhs, and are very few British infantry battalions and cavalry squadrons posted to the Frontier ?

(b) Will Government kindly lay a statement on the table of the Council giving details of the various British and Indian military units stationed at Frontier posts ?

(c) If the answer to (a) be in the affirmative, will Government kindly state whether Indian units have given every satisfaction as to their capability of defending India against foreign aggression ?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF : (a) Indian troops serving on the Frontier are not restricted to the classes mentioned by the Honourable Member, since all units of the Indian Army take their turn of Frontier service. The proportion of British to Indian soldiers serving in the covering troops (that is, in the troops on the Frontier) is about one to six.

(b) The actual units posted at different stations on the Frontier vary from year to year, so that it would not convey any useful information to lay a statement of them on the table. The position can, however, always be ascertained from the current issue of the Indian Army List.

(c) Does not strictly arise, but Government are satisfied that all units of the Army in India are capable of playing their respective parts in the defence of India against foreign aggression.

NUMBER OF INDIANS GRANTED KING'S COMMISSIONS IN THE ROYAL ARTILLERY,
ROYAL ENGINEERS, ETC.

73. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: Will Government kindly state how many Indians have been commissioned and employed so far in the following: (1) Royal Artillery, (2) Royal Engineers, (3) Royal Air Force, (4) Gun and Ammunition Factories, (5) Royal Tank Corps, (6) Ground Engineers in the Royal Air Force? What rate of progress does Government intend to keep in this direction?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: The Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers, Royal Air Force and Royal Tank Corps belong to the British Service and Indians are therefore not eligible for commissions in them. I presume, however, that the Honourable Member is referring to Indians granted King's Commissions in corresponding Indian formations where such exist.

(1) and (2). No Indian has yet been granted a King's Commission in the Indian Army for service with Artillery or Engineers, because until the entrance examination held last year no candidate had succeeded in passing for Woolwich. At that examination two Indians were successful. These will begin their 1½ years' course at Woolwich in September next.

(3) Steps are now being taken to draft the legislation necessary to bring an Indian Air Force into existence in order that the unit may be constituted in time to receive the first Indian cadets from the Royal Air Force College, Cranwell. At the entrance examination held last November six candidates were successful, and will begin their two years' course at the College in September next.

(4) There is one Indian under training for the appointment of Assistant Works Manager at the Gun and Metal Factory, Cossipore. I would refer the Honourable Member to the reply given in another place in February, 1930 to starred question No. 255; also to the scheme for the training of apprentices in the Ordnance Factories in India laid on the table in March, 1924, in reply to Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas' starred question No. 229.

(5) There is at present no Indian Tank Corps unit in existence. I would refer the Honourable Member to the reply given in another place on the 20th January, last, to unstarred question No. 42. The position remains as therein stated.

(6) I think the Honourable Member is under a misapprehension here as regards Ground Engineers. These are purely civil appointments.

As regards the future rate of progress I would refer my Honourable friend to the speech that I made in another place on the 8th March, 1928 when announcing the decisions of His Majesty's Government and the Government of India on this subject.

ARTICLE IN *Young India* BY MIRA (MISS SLADE) REGARDING THE BEHAVIOUR OF THE POLICE.

74. THE HONOURABLE MR. SURPUT SING: Will Government be pleased to state :

(i) whether they have seen the article contributed by Mira (Miss Slade) entitled "Exemplary Behaviour of the Police" in *Young India* of June 12th, 1930 ;

(ii) if the answer is in the affirmative, whether they will institute an enquiry into the methods of the police indicated in that article ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. W. EMERSON: I have seen the article. I would invite the Honourable Member's attention to the communiqués issued by the Government of Bombay on the 11th and 13th of June from which it will be observed that there is no foundation whatsoever for seven of the ten allegations made and that the remaining three are exaggerations and perversions of the facts. It is not proposed to take any further action in the matter.

GRANT OF ALL THE AMENITIES SUITABLE FOR A STATE PRISONER TO MR. GANDHI.

75. THE HONOURABLE MR. SURPUT SING: Will Government be pleased to state :

• (i) whether Mahatma Gandhi is a State prisoner so far as his present detention in Yervada jail goes ;

(ii) if the answer is in the affirmative :

(a) whether he is allowed all the amenities to which a State prisoner can be said to be entitled ;

(b) whether keeping him in complete isolation is sanctioned by the Bombay Jail Manual of 1927 or any rule in force for State prisoners in Bombay ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. W. EMERSON: (i) Yes.

(ii) (a) and (b). All amenities which are suitable for a State prisoner have been granted in the fullest degree, and the treatment of Mr. Gandhi is in no way in conflict with the rules governing his case.

ALLEGED POLICE TERRORISM IN RANIBASAN (CONTAI).

76. THE HONOURABLE MR. SURPUT SING: Will Government be pleased to state :

(i) whether they have perused all the items of news indicated under "Police Terrorism in Ranibasan (Contai)" in *Young India* of June 19th, 1930 ;

(ii) whether the Government will not be pleased to institute a searching enquiry into the charges levelled against the Police therein ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. W. EMERSON: (i) The Government of India have seen the article in question.

(ii) The Local Government are in the best position to judge whether these allegations deserve any attention, and the Government of India do not propose to interfere with their discretion.

PUBLICATION OF THE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES APPOINTED TO ENQUIRE INTO THE RECENT RIOTS.

77. THE HONOURABLE MR. SURPUT SING : Will Government be pleased to state :

(i) whether it is contemplated to publish full and complete reports directly they are submitted by the Committees appointed at several places to enquire into riots ;

(ii) whether additional important facts bearing directly on the subject matter will be accepted for further consideration after the reports are published ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. W. EMERSON : (i) The only Committee that has been appointed by the Government of India to enquire into recent riots is that appointed in connection with the disturbances that occurred at Peshwar on April the 23rd last. The report of the Committee has been published.

(ii) Since every facility was given to the public to produce before the Committee all evidence relating to the matter under enquiry, it is not the intention of the Government of India to consider any further material that may now be produced.

FORMATION OF " WELFARE LEAGUES TO COUNTERACT THE CAMPAIGN OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE ".

78. THE HONOURABLE MR. SURPUT SING : Will Government be pleased to state :

(i) whether in some parts of the country organisations have been started under Government auspices known as " Welfare Leagues to Counteract the Campaign of Civil Disobedience " ;

(ii) if the answer is in the affirmative :

(a) the aims and objects in detail of such organisations ;

(b) the places where they are working ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. W. EMERSON : The Government of India understand that in some provinces non-official organisations have been formed to counteract the civil disobedience movement and are receiving the encouragement of Local Governments. The Government of India fully approve of such action in opposition to a movement which is fraught with disastrous consequences to the peace and welfare of the country. They have no detailed information regarding the organizations mentioned by the Honourable Member.

CLASSIFICATION OF INDIAN NATIONALITIES IN THE CENSUS REPORTS OF 1911 AND 1920.

79. THE HONOURABLE MR. SURPUT SING : Will Government be pleased to state :

(i) the main heads under which the different Indian nationalities were classified in the Census Report of 1911 ;

(ii) the main heads under which they were divided in such Report of 1921 ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. W. EMERSON : The Honourable Member is referred to the Census Reports of 1911 and 1921, copies of which are in the Library of the House.

AMOUNTS PAID BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA TOWARDS THE EXPENDITURE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

80. THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA : Will Government please state what are the amounts paid in each year by the Government of India towards the expenditure of the League of Nations during the last four official years ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR BROJENDRA MITTER : The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to part (a) of the reply to question No. 35 asked in the Council of State on the 4th March, 1929, which gives the desired information up to the year 1928. The net contribution of India for the years 1929 and 1930 was 1,427,175 and 1,532,865 gold francs, respectively.

APPOINTMENT OF INDIANS AS DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES.

81. THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA : (a) Will Government please state whether it is a fact that under the existing Regulations Indians are not eligible for appointment as diplomatic representatives in any Asiatic country or elsewhere although citizens of the Dominions are so eligible ?

(b) If the reply is in the affirmative, have Government considered the advisability of moving His Majesty's Government to amend the Regulations with a view to removing the bar ? If not, will they do so ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR CHARLES WATSON : (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The Government of India are in sympathy with the spirit underlying the Honourable Member's question. They have already made representations upon the subject and are prepared to renew them when a favourable opportunity presents itself.

RESOLUTION RE GRANT OF DOMINION STATUS TO INDIA.

THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA (Bombay : Non-Muhamadan) : Mr. President, I beg to move :

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that he be pleased to urge on His Majesty's Government the necessity and the desirability of meeting India's demand for the immediate establishment of full responsible government, both provincial and national, and Dominion Status, subject only to such reservations as may be considered essential to a transitory stage and to such provisions as may be required to safeguard the legitimate interests of minorities."

It is some weeks since I gave notice of this Resolution. When I did so, it was not known that His Excellency the Viceroy intended to address the Legislature once again as he did yesterday. After His Excellency's speech, the suggestion was made to me by some friends that perhaps there was no necessity now for my moving this Resolution. I, however, hold a contrary

view. So far as His Excellency is concerned, no one in the country, not even Mr. Gandhi, has any doubt in regard to his intentions, and I would further quote, if there is any doubt in the mind of any one, what His Excellency said yesterday in this connection. He observed :

" I am not fighting civil disobedience because I lack sympathy with the genuine nationalist feelings of India. I have never concealed my desire to see India in enjoyment of as large a degree of management of her own affairs, as could be shown to be compatible with the necessity of making provision for those matters in regard to which India was not yet in a position to assume responsibility."

Later on, in the same speech, he added :

" So far from desiring to secure a so-called victory over a nationalist movement constitutionally pursued, I desire nothing more than to be able to help India so far as I can to translate her aspirations into constitutional reality."

Whilst I have said so of His Excellency the Viceroy, I am sure those Honourable Members who like myself have the honour and the advantage of knowing the present Secretary of State will also agree that Mr. Wedgwood Benn is equally sympathetic as is Lord Irwin. But we know very well that the fate of India does not rest in the hands of these two individuals. We know that there is considerable opposition, a further instance of which we find in this morning's telegrams wherein it is said :

" Lord Birkenhead in the *Daily Telegraph* expresses deep alarm at hearing that a new Viceroyal proclamation or explanation is contemplated. He concludes that its only purpose can be concerned with the Simon Commission's Report which, at the present stage, requires neither explanation nor modification. Lord Birkenhead contends that on the other hand it would be entirely unconstitutional for the Viceroy to express any opinion whatever until the Report has been considered by Parliament or a delegate body. He expresses the opinion, that if the Viceroy repeats most unfortunate recurrence into the topic of Dominion self-government at the very moment when the Report is about to be debated in Parliament, he will on the whole commit one of the gravest errors of judgment which the recent history of India affords. Lord Birkenhead condemns as imbecility the suggestion of a general amnesty, and asserts that the Commission's Report must be given a chance of discussion."

This House must understand that Lord Irwin and Mr. Wedgwood Benn have to contend against opposition such as is offered by this erstwhile Secretary of State for India and others of the same way of thinking. It is therefore very necessary that the Government of India themselves, as I have asked in my Resolution, should see their way to express their definite opinion in regard to the necessity and desirability of Indian demands being met. That, Sir, is my reason for proceeding with the Resolution in spite of the speech which His Excellency made yesterday.

Sir, the importance of the question which I have brought forward by means of this Resolution for the consideration of the House can by no means be exaggerated. I have been impelled to bring forward this motion because of the inherent importance of the matter, because of the growth and development of the Indian Constitution movement, the stage which it has reached, and also because of the happenings that have occurred in this country, particularly since the inauguration of the civil disobedience movement. Every thoughtful and responsible Indian must feel it incumbent upon himself to give to the present political situation his best and most earnest consideration. On the 1st November, last, His Excellency made an announcement in which he recognised the claims of India to responsible government, both national and provincial, as also Dominion Status. He further informed the Legislature and the country that the Government at home had decided to

[Sir Phiroze Sethna.]

convene a Round Table Conference to consider the constitutional problem and to arrive at the widest measure of agreement. The Congress then asked for an assurance from the Viceroy that the Round Table Conference would meet only for the purpose of framing a constitution on the lines of Dominion Status. When that assurance was not or could not be given, the National Congress re-affirmed the resolution which it passed in Lahore in the beginning of this year for national independence, and, further, for launching the campaign of civil disobedience including the non-payment of taxes. In March, last, Mr. Gandhi started on his great trek to Dharasna, with the avowed object of breaking the salt laws. On 5th May, Mr. Gandhi was arrested under an old Regulation of the time of George IV, and he is now a State prisoner in the Yerrowda jail. It was perhaps believed by Government that after the incarceration of Mr. Gandhi this movement would die down, or that perhaps it would not be as severe as it was in the earlier days when Mr. Gandhi was a free man. Mr. Gandhi's disciples and followers have carried on the campaign with a stern resolve and with great tenacity of purpose. Men and women recognised as national leaders, men and women holding high position in the national life of the country, are not only furthering the campaign but they have offered themselves for arrest and willingly go to jail in the sincere, firm and passionate belief that by so doing they will create a great moral effect not only on England but on the whole civilised world and that they will thereby make the world perceive more keenly and vividly the necessity for meeting India's demands.

Now, Mr. President, we who call ourselves Liberals have always believed in constitutional fights. We have always opposed the civil disobedience campaign, and speaking as I did as President of the Indian Liberal Federation at the inaugural meeting of its last session held in Madras on 29th December, last, I certainly disapproved in emphatic terms of the resolutions which the Congress had just then passed or were about to pass, and I further added :

“Nor can we support a general policy of non-payment of taxes, as in our judgment such a policy, like the policy of a general strike, cannot but plunge the country into all the evils and horrors of an open conflict with Government.”

Honourable Members must have noticed that His Excellency the Viceroy himself also compared the civil disobedience campaign to the policy of general strike in his speech yesterday. Further, I observed that this civil disobedience campaign would lead to the economic and financial ruin of the country. The loss which it has already incurred is not and cannot be gauged by the general public. It will be felt more and more as time goes on, and I hold that it will take us years and years to recover from what is happening just now. But while we Liberals have supported Government in these emphatic terms, we have equally emphatically asserted, through statements we issued to the Press and otherwise, that on no account were we prepared to support Government in any repressive measures they may introduce. It grieves us to find therefore that repressive measures have been introduced one after another during the last few weeks. But what grieves us more is, and I say so in spite of what answer the Honourable Mr. Emerson gave to question No. 74 this morning, that some of these measures have undoubtedly been worked in an atrocious and most brutal manner. I refer in particular to the incidents which occurred in Bombay on that fateful morning of Saturday, 21st June, last. The attitude

of the police on that day was unforgivable, and for confirmation of what I say I refer the Honourable Members of this House to those special correspondents of the English, American and French newspapers who were in Bombay at the time and some of whom were present on the spot and saw things for themselves and from whom I have had my information at first hand. One of them went to the length of saying that it reminded him of what he had read as a boy of the persecutions of the early Christians many centuries ago. These correspondents further informed me that their despatches to their respective papers, if forwarded without any mutilation by the censor, which they of course very much doubted, would prove most gruesome reading. I was therefore amazed to read what a gentleman for whom we have the highest regard, the present Secretary of State, should have, a week ago from to-day, in answer to a question put to him by Mr. Freeman, a Labour Member, made a statement which was telegraphed out as follows :

“ Mr. Benn replied that in view of the implications contained in the question he had asked for a report from India as the result of which he was satisfied that the minimum force necessary was used by the Bombay police in the execution of their very difficult duties.”

These correspondents I have referred to have a different tale to tell ; they are disinterested people. I appeal to the Secretary of State to ask them personally, for four of them went back to Europe only by last Saturday's mail boat. I request the Government of India to suggest to the Secretary of State that he gets the correct information from them, and I am sure that Mr. Wedgwood Benn will be the first man to contradict what he has already stated. What is the position of Mr. Wedgwood Benn in the attitude he has adopted ? Sir, the police are the accused. The Government of Bombay or the Government of India, who have submitted the report in question, are the advocates for the accused. Mr. Wedgwood Benn is the Judge. Mr. Benn has decided without hearing the other side and has relied on what the advocates of the accused themselves say. Is that fair ? Is that British justice, I ask.

Sir, it is evident that there is the determination on the part of Government to give no quarter but to crush the civil disobedience movement. On the other hand the Congress is equally determined to carry it on ; and they are no doubt doing it, with the result that in places like Bombay and elsewhere normal conditions have ceased to exist ; there is considerable dislocation of trade and industry ; the administrative machinery is put to a very heavy strain and the Exchequer will not be able to bear the extra burdens that have been put upon it. In short, there is a warfare going on between Government and some sections of the public. The actual combatants in this war at this moment are infinitesimal in proportion to the entire population of the country ; but there are very clear indications that the movement can be replenished by a steady flow of recruits. Be that what it may, there is no doubt that a large section of the public are in sympathy, actively or passively, with the movement, and that sympathy receives greater stimulus because of the stern force and the severity with which several of the Satyagrahis have been treated by the police, of course under the orders of Government. There is a magic spell in Mr. Gandhi's name and personality which no one can deny here or anywhere else in the world, and that spell sways more with the masses than with the classes, and in this fight between him and Government the masses side with Mr. Gandhi, because they believe that he is fighting to redress their

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grievances and to relieve them from the very heavy burdens imposed upon them.

One thing is perfectly clear and it must be firmly grasped and that is that to-day the national movement, the struggle for Swaraj, the passion for political equality and the aspiration for national self-expression and self-realisation is universal, it is profound, it is intense and it is irrepressible. It is not correct to say that it is confined to the Hindus alone. I say it is a delusion to say so. Every community, Muhammadans, Christians, Parsees and all else, desire Dominion Status.

THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY (West Bengal : Muhammadan) : That may be only in Bombay, not in Bengal.

THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA : It may be so with this single individual from Bengal. I wish the Honourable Member would acquaint himself with facts better before he interjects.

Thanks to the awakening of India due to the teaching of Mr. Gandhi and persons like him, thanks likewise to the influence of Western culture, Western civilisation and particularly Western political education, there is no Indian who breathes who does not wish from the bottom of his heart that his country should be free, who does not demand equal political status as the other members of the British Commonwealth. Some Englishmen are of opinion that this movement has not spread to the masses. If they entertain that idea, I say that is delusion number two, for the masses to-day are swayed by the movement to a very great extent. It is absurd to say that the masses are still wrapped up in their petty, personal and village concerns and that the spirit of Swaraj has not touched them.

If we judge the situation aright, one fact emerges unmistakably and that is that all classes, communities and races without exception desire India to attain Swaraj and a position of equality with that of the self-governing members of the British Commonwealth. So far therefore as the attainment of this political goal is concerned, there is very great unity, in spite of what my friend Mr. Suhrawardy may say, in demanding responsible government and Dominion Status. They all want it; and when I say all want it I include among them even those who have passed resolutions for independence; and of course I refer in particular to Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru. Have not Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru both made a very clear gesture in the interviews they gave to Mr. George Solcombe, the special correspondent of the *Daily Herald* of London, the former in the month of May and the latter at Bombay on the 23rd June, exactly a week before his arrest? What grieves the supporters of Government is that they have made no attempt whatsoever in the direction of following up that gesture so far as we know. His Excellency told us in very definite terms yesterday that we are not bound in any way by the Simon Commission Report. What he said was that the widest measure of agreement ought to be arrived at at the Round Table Conference and what agreement is arrived at will be placed before Parliament. That is certainly satisfactory, and for which we are grateful to the Viceroy. Is all that however going far enough?

After saying that His Excellency desired co-operation from those who are carrying on the civil disobedience campaign, co-operation not only in the direction of attending the Round Table Conference but also rightly of dropping the civil disobedience campaign. May I ask, would it not have been better if His Excellency could have added that in the event of such co-operation Government on their part would agree to an amnesty of political prisoners? The country is sure to be disappointed that His Excellency did not give this assurance. Assuming for argument's sake that His Excellency had done so, even then I hold that would not be enough. There is a perfect deadlock at present between the contending parties. There may be a section on the Government side who think that if Government did anything more, it would amount to a surrender and affect their prestige. Such ideas of prestige, I submit, ought to be abandoned in eventualities like the present, and if they do so, instead of anybody complaining of loss of prestige the world at large will acclaim that Great Britain has shown great magnanimity, and being the great nation that she is, she ought to display such magnanimity in the present struggle. It is all very well for His Excellency to have made his speech yesterday. It is all very well that it is published throughout the length and breadth of the country. But is any emissary of Government going to treat with the opposition? Is any effort being made in that direction? I say that if no effort in that direction is made, this deadlock will continue, the country will be ruined, British prestige in the end will suffer, for as has always been the case, Britain will have to go further than it is called upon to do to-day. That is a repetition of our history. Britain has never learned to give with good grace. The proper course is to foresee, to anticipate the demand of its people. If you do that, then you get them attached to you and they remain your friends. And mark you, Mr. President, friendship between India and England is decidedly to the advantage of both countries. India without England cannot stand on its own legs. It will not advance as it ought to. But England without India will become a third-rate power in the world and nobody dare dispute that statement. I do not make that statement on my own. That statement is made by English statesmen who do not want to give India what it demands and desires—men like Lord Rothermere and many others, whom I will have an opportunity of quoting a few minutes later.

Now, when there is such an insistent and such a universal demand for Swaraj, we can very well understand why it is that nobody in this land pays any attention to the Simon Commission's Report. It is condemned on all sides. Four Honourable Members of this House served with the Indian Central Committee. One of them, my Honourable friend Sir Sankaran Nair, was its Chairman. He has not so far expressed his opinion on the Simon Commission's Report. I am glad that the other three have condemned it wholesale, as every other Indian national leader has done throughout the length and breadth of the land. But I appeal to my friend, Sir Sankaran Nair, if he is disposed to speak on my motion, to state as to what the Simon Commission has said in regard to the very Council of which he is so distinguished a Member. The Commission has treated it with scant courtesy. It has not even damned it with faint praise as it has done in the case of the Assembly. I do not propose to refer to the Simon Commission any further, but I do say this that if anybody in the country had any doubts as to the attitude we adopted in boycotting the

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Simon Commission, he will see that we have been completely vindicated. We did the right thing, as any disinterested man can now admit and must admit, as we know from the result, for if the Commission were a mixed one and not composed only of seven British Members of Parliament, the Report would surely have been a very different one from what it is. The national movement has now reached a stage when it demands the fullest fulfilment. If this is not done, then we are bound to have anarchy in the country and India will have to be ruled by the sword. I know, and everybody knows, the strength of the British sword. But, however powerful and strong it may be, even that strong sword must break before the unbreakable spirit of the country's patriotism and nationalism. The eternal verities, the eternal forces of nature, the law of Divine Providence will ultimately triumph and, as the poet says :

"Freedom's battle bequeathed from sire to son,
Though baffled oft, is ever won."

What we now want is the immediate establishment of full national government and Dominion Status. We say the time is ripe for the establishment of such government, subject only to safeguards. The doctrine of gradualness or "graduality," which is a newly coined word just added to the English Dictionary, should be abandoned once for all. It has now lost all contact of reality with the vital and fundamental conditions of the problem. The problem can no longer be afforded to be tinkered with, and half measures will not now avail. Progress broadening from precedent to precedent may have done in the old days. It may still do in other climes and conditions, where they have national government or where they desire in their own interests to proceed slowly. But in the present frame of mind of India, it will not do. And why? Because the Government here is alien. Because the Government here to-day—I say to-day advisedly because it was not so twenty years ago—the Government to-day are not trusted. They are positively distrusted. There is a widespread and a firm feeling throughout the country that England will not relax its hold on India for the one and only reason that it means to continue to exploit the land and its people as long as it possibly can. Can any one blame Indians for entertaining such a belief and distrusting the British Government of the day, when you have responsible statesmen, like Sir William Joynson-Hicks, now Lord Brentford, who has no hesitation in proclaiming from the house tops :

"It is sometimes said that we are in India for the good of the Indians. That is cant. We conquered India by the sword and we will hold India by the sword, because it is the finest market for British goods in general and for Lancashire goods in particular."

No doubt, the Secretary of State has repudiated this position. But neither Lord Brentford's party nor the Liberal Party have up to this date raised its voice against it. How can you therefore blame Indians for taking it for granted that what Lord Brentford has said is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth in spite of Mr. Wedgwood Benn's disclaimer? Questions are very often asked by those in authority as to why in the present struggle the commercial community of all people in this land, who never before sided against Government but always with them, are now at one with Mr. Gandhi. There is no doubt that that is so. And there is likewise no doubt that the merchant classes to-day are the largest losers because of this campaign, and yet they come freely of their own accord and they join them in their hundreds. Why is that so? The answer is to be found in such statements as the one I have quoted of

Lord Brentford's, which statements make not only the commercial sections but all sections in the country lose faith, I am sorry to say, in the honesty of the Britisher. This distrust sways the minds of the Indian people and will affect their political movement more profoundly so long as India is denied her birth-right of Swaraj and Dominion Status. It can only be removed by frankly, unreservedly and ungrudgingly meeting India's demand without the least delay.

It is not only Lord Brentford alone who indulges in such outbursts. Lord Rothermere and our former Secretary of State, Lord Birkenhead, have made speeches or written articles, the gist of which convey this idea and this idea alone, that India is the linch-pin, that India is the milching cow for England, and if you relax your hold on the country it will mean that there will be greater unemployment in Great Britain and worse still that the income of every man and woman in England will suffer appreciably.

These statements are from such responsible men, and there are many of them. To come nearer home, it seems this attitude is not confined to Lord Rothermere, Lord Birkenhead and Company at home but even extends to India. I am sure Honourable Members of this House are aware of the words used by His Excellency Lord Irwin when he issued the Ordinance in regard to picketing. These are his words :

"It is no part of the duty of my Government, and certainly it is not their desire, to take steps against any legitimate movements directed to these ends (prevention of sale of foreign goods or liquor). They are anxious to see the promotion of indigenous Indian industries, and it is perfectly legitimate for any person, in the advocacy of this object, to urge the use of Indian goods to the utmost extent of which the Indian industry is capable."

What would you expect after this ? The Viceroy is in sympathy with Indians trying to encourage Swadeshism. (*The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain* : "Hear, hear".) Did I hear the exclamation from the Government Benches ?

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN : Yes.

THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA : I hope what they preach they also practice. I will not say that they do not in this case for I do not know whether the leaflet issued by the Government of Bombay a few weeks ago was issued on their own or issued under the orders of the Honourable Members who sit on the Benches opposite. If it was issued under their orders, then I hope my Honourable friend Sir Fazl-i-Husain will feel bound to withdraw the words "Hear, hear" to which he gave expression.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN : I have not seen the leaflet.

THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA : May I take it, Sir, that the Government of India have nothing to do with it ?

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN : I have not seen the leaflet.

THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA : That is no answer to my question. Another Department and not Sir Fazli's may be responsible. If they have done so it is most shameful. That is the least I can say about it. But I will not blame the Government of India until I know for certain that the

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leaflet was issued under their advice and instructions. I certainly will blame the Government of Bombay. What is the purport of that leaflet? I have quoted to you the words of the Viceroy. What does the leaflet say? Directly opposite. Instead of encouraging Swadeshism, instead of promoting indigenous Indian industries, as observed by the Viceroy, this leaflet made out that the idea of support to Indian goods, Indian banking, insurance and shipping institutions may be attractive but is not practicable and would inevitably lead to great harm to the consumer. What disinterested regard and what earnest solicitude for the consumer! It goes on to say—mark these words, Mr. President :

“British banks are the mainstay of our banking system in India. They provide wide facilities and the strongest security. Why should people ignore these secure concerns in favour of much less stable ones? Are there yet enough powerful Indian banking organisations to replace them?”

My Honourable friend Sir Fazl-i-Husain is a prominent lawyer. He will agree with me when I say that if a statement like this were made by a private individual he could have been dragged into court immediately. But it is the Government of Bombay, I repeat I do not know who, whether of their own accord or under instructions from the Government of India—if not from Sir Fazl-i-Husain's own Department, or from some other Department

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN : Dragged into court for defamation ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA : I should think so and for consequent loss of income. I hope you agree ?

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN : I have to consult the law.

THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA : These libellous attacks have not been confined to banks. They are also extended to insurance companies and others. Am I not therefore right when I say that the action of the Government of Bombay, leaving alone the Government of India for the present, deserves wholesale condemnation? I also add this, and I add it in my position as one of those who is connected in a large way with non-Indian concerns than Indian concerns, that after the publication of this leaflet far more harm has been done to us by the boycott movement than was the case prior to the publication of the leaflet. I do not wonder that a prominent European banker in Bombay should have characterised the campaign as a “most ill-advised” one on the part of the Government of Bombay.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. A. NATESAN : That has been withdrawn.

THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA : Government were forced to, if I may say so. I say this propaganda by the Government of Bombay was a most wicked propaganda, and at the same time a decidedly stupid propaganda. I have no hesitation in saying so. I have not words enough in which to refer to their action. To say the least, they ought to be ashamed of what they have done in this connection. They have ruined their reputation in regard to both their sanity and their honesty of purpose.

Sir, does not all that I have said impress this Council with the idea that the real cause why Dominion Status is refused is nothing else than the exploitation of India? Of course, many other arguments are trotted out. One such is

that the Britisher can look after the interests of the masses better than their own kith and kin, the Indians. We simply laugh out this idea as it deserves to be. Does even the Simon Commission Report give any indication whatever in any one of its two volumes as to the limit of time when India can legitimately expect Dominion Status? They do not. On the contrary, the seven Commissioners must be laying the flattering unction to their souls that the recommendations they have made, if carried out, will doom India to a perpetual tutelage under Great Britain. I refer to the question of defence and communal differences. We have always said that the question of defence can be properly met by safeguards. Government have not approached the question in the manner and spirit in which it should be approached. As regards communal differences, if they exist, it is because of the fact that the two rival communities know that there is a third party to appeal to. Once that appeal court is gone and they have to live together, they will settle their own differences and such differences will not only diminish but they will vanish. Once Swaraj is obtained and a sense of responsibility is cultivated there is no question that the two communities will work together harmoniously, and disturbances and conflicts between them will be as rare as they are in the Indian States.

There are many other points which one can develop, but I know, Sir, with your indulgence, I have already exceeded my time, and if you will permit me, I will take only another four to five minutes. The other difficulties that are trotted out can all be met. But I shall content myself by saying that these so called obstacles are not insuperable or so formidable as to be insurmountable. What is necessary is that they should be dealt with by persons and parties with no axe of their own to grind, absolutely free from any tinge of national selfishness and with a full recognition of the basic fact that a satisfactory solution of the problem on permanent lines is absolutely necessary. In short, if there is a will there is a way. But so far as we can see, the will is not yet forthcoming.

We do recognise that in framing Dominion Status allowance will have to be made for the period of transition from the existing order to the new order which we may decide upon. Further, some peculiar shape will have to be given to it in view of the difficulties which exist. But the vital, the basic and the fundamental principle must be recognised, namely, that it is essential a Dominion Status and nothing less is granted, for India will surely reject and is in honour bound to reject anything less. If that is not done the present struggle is bound to continue. Even if it is suppressed by the power of machine guns and swords it is bound to revive. What does past experience show? A similar demand was made nine years ago; it did not succeed. But compare what is happening to-day with what happened nine years ago. If you succeed in checking it to-day, so far as one can judge from the temper of the people, they will not wait for another nine years; it may be a question of another nine months, and you may be sure it will recur again and again, and it will be stronger and stronger and more intensive each time. Surely England cannot but be impressed by this and read the lessons they teach. For all these reasons, I contend that the Government of India will be well advised if they accept my Resolution and urge on His Majesty's Government the necessity and the desirability of meeting India's demand for the immediate establishment of full responsible government with whatever safeguards may be necessary in the transition period.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. KHAPARDE (Berar Representative) : Sir, I happened to be one of the friends who advised the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna not to press this Resolution, and if possible to withdraw it. Therefore I feel that I should state why I did so. A similar Resolution came up before us in the last Session at Delhi and I tried to water it down by putting up an amendment. Shortly it was, that this is not the time to put up grievances and to carry quarrels forward. We should as far as possible forget all the unpleasant things which have happened and cultivate a frame of mind to enable us to come to an agreement, if possible unanimously. On the last occasion I gave my reasons as to why the Resolution should not be pressed and I amended it. This time I wish to do a similar service. In what my friend has said there is a good deal of truth, but there was also a good deal of what is irrelevant. However, with all due respect to him, I say, as has been said by others, let us not go on bringing up further points and stressing certain things which tend to make the position still more bitter than it is. I do not think that can serve the purposes for which we have assembled here. I think the Government of India have been doing their best, so far as one can judge from outside, to give us as much as they possibly can. I say, as much as they possibly can, because we know the state of politics in England, how the Labour Party has not got an absolute majority. For that reason whatever the Labour Party does will have to be more or less agreeable to the other two Parties, who can if they combine turn Labour out of office. So with these three opposing forces operating in England, the Government of India are doing as much as possible, and to keep on urging the Government of India to do more is I think doing us an ill-service. I remember a story in the Mahabharat of a woman who prayed to God to give her a husband. Then again on the second, third, fourth and fifth days she offered up a prayer for a husband, and God was pleased and gave her five husbands. Then those five husbands all claimed her and there was a great deal of amusing trouble about it. So, the moral is, let us not pray too much. Too much solicitude is almost as bad as too much negligence or too much indifference. We have made our request; we have discussed this proposition last Session; we have discussed it even to-day, and probably everything that can possibly be said has been said about it. It is better now to let the curtain drop on this Resolution, and I would therefore again request my Honourable friend to withdraw his Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. NARAYAN PRASAD ASTHANA (United Provinces Northern: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I rise to support the Resolution. Last Session when I moved an amendment to Sir Sankaran Nair's Resolution, it was substantially the same proposition which has been put forward to-day. The then Leader of the House, Sir Muhammad Habibullah, told me, "Wait and see." I have waited and seen. The Simon Report has come and gone. I do not know what the present Leader has in store for this House to-day. Let us consider dispassionately the wording of the Resolution and see whether there is anything objectionable in it or anything which is below the dignity of this House to pass. The Resolution simply affirms the demand of India for full responsible government and Dominion Status, and urges upon the Government of India to represent to His Majesty's Government that that demand must be met forthwith. I cannot put the present critical condition of the country in more forceful terms than has already been done by the Honourable Mover of the Resolution. It is a juncture which requires

great statesmanship on the part of England and great sympathy from those who are in charge of the administration of this country if they are to bring about a solution of the problems that are facing us to-day. Again, the civil disobedience movement is not the result of enthusiasm generated yesterday or just a momentary outburst of enthusiasm for the country's cause. Since 1882, when the Indian National Congress had its birth, the people have been demanding their birthright. They have been begging and begging but their demands have not been met. And what is this civil disobedience movement? It is only forging sanctions to enforce that demand, and if England does not appreciate or anticipate the feelings of India, the civil disobedience movement will grow and the sanctions will be forged. It is for this purpose that all well-wishers of England and of India urge upon the Government here and upon the Government in England to meet the demand, so that the ties of friendship which have existed so long between India and England may not be suddenly torn up. It is for this purpose, to strengthen the hands of the Government of India in representing the demand of this country that this Resolution has been brought forward. Sir, in the words of Sir Francis Younghusband, India wants to increase her *izzat* in the world, she wants to blot out the stigma of a subject nation, and it is this demand that has goaded the people, and it is for this purpose that the Congress adopted the resolution which was passed in December last. Being of the same political party as the Honourable Mover, I have no sympathy with the civil disobedience movement or with that resolution, but nobody who is an Indian can contemplate with equanimity the repressive legislation and the repressive policy that has been adopted during the last few weeks for the purpose of repressing the national feeling created by the enthusiasm for those ideals. Sir, it would be only in the fitness of things if this House to-day passes the Resolution and urges upon the British Government that the demands of the country must be met in a peaceful and friendly manner and in a way that the trade and commerce of England may be maintained. Is it too much to ask the Members of this Honourable House to strengthen the hands of the Government of India in representing this demand? Is it too much to ask this House to help England in coming to a statesmanlike decision at the present juncture? Sir, at the conclusion of his speech His Excellency the Viceroy said yesterday that for Indians to-day there was a choice. Indians are poor and weak; they have no choice. The choice lies with England, and I would say it is for England to make the choice, whether they are going to rule us by the iron sword or by friendship; and I pray that England may be guided wisely to rule us not by iron but by the hand of fellowship and friendship.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. A. NATESAN (Madras: Nominated Non-Official): If I rise to support the Resolution which has been moved by my Honourable friend Sir Phiroze Sethna, I do so because it embodies in substance the Resolution which the party to which I belong, the National Liberal Federation, has been stressing for years past. It will be a great mistake to suppose that this demand for Dominion Status or what in other words we might call India's fight for her proper place as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth is anything new. It is as old, if I may say so, as the date when Macaulay penned his famous despatch and Britain gave us a series of pledges and promises that their ultimate aim is to give India her proper place in the British Commonwealth. I would also point out for those whose memory is short that this demand for Swaraj or self-government or for obtaining Dominion Status was

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stressed in very emphatic and definite language, in very unequivocal terms, in the Congress of 1905, which was presided over by that veteran politician Dadabhai Naoroji. From the time of Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Pherozshah Mehta and Mr. Gokhale, and I desire in this connection to mention the name of an honoured Englishman, whose name will long be remembered by Indians, Sir William Wedderburn, the people of India have been fighting for self-government. I quite admit it is because—and truth requires it to be told—for years past, there has been a tendency in the British Government and sometimes in the Government of India, not at present, because it is our privilege to have a Viceroy like Lord Irwin whose earnest, sincere devotion to India is undoubted, and it is also a satisfaction to us that we have also a Secretary of State for India actuated by great and honourable motives—and truth requires it to be told that there have been reactionaries in England and in India who have given this new movement which is now threatening the country a great deal of impetus, and the blame lies, allow me to tell you, on the shoulders of the authorities who should have long ago handled the situation better. I do not blame Lord Irwin because he has tried his best. As I said a minute ago, the loss of faith in the *bona fides* of Great Britain has been the root cause of the present trouble; and it was a good thing that Lord Irwin in addressing the Central Legislature the year before last said that it was not the intention of Great Britain to go back on her pledges, and I am glad, true to his promise, he has done his best to bring about an announcement regarding the Round Table Conference.

Sir, in asking for Dominion Status we ask for nothing new and we know exactly the difficulties under which the present Government of India is labouring; we know very well indeed that it is more or less a minority Government, which is in office but not in power. But there are occasions when it is necessary that the Government of India should identify itself with all that is best, highest and noblest in the aspirations of the people. I recollect—and I very proudly and gratefully recollect—the occasion when a former Viceroy of India, Lord Hardinge, identified himself at the risk of a lot of unpopularity and calumny at the hands of his own party on the occasion when the situation in South Africa was very serious and he declared that he sympathised with the splendid manner in which Indians were fighting their cause in South Africa. I know it is very difficult for His Excellency Lord Irwin and the Government of India as it is constituted at present to make a similar pronouncement. But in making this demand that the Government should identify themselves with the demands of the Indian people, their aspiration to be in their own country what other people are in theirs, we ask for nothing new, nothing unusual. I think it is but proper, whether this Resolution is pressed to a division or not, whether it is voted one way or the other, that the expression which has been given in this House of the demands of the Indian public may be noted carefully and conveyed to the proper authorities. Sir, it is absolutely necessary at this moment that this should be done. Whether the Resolution is supported by Government or not, at least the intense feeling of nationalism that is now convulsing the country and the feeling of disgust and disappointment with which we read constantly and almost, may I say, daily, the pronouncements of notorious die-hards in England like Lord Rothermere and Lord Birkenhead

should be communicated to the authorities. May I say that Lord Birkenhead, that evil genius of British politics, seems to have a genius for causing trouble just at the moment when peace and goodwill are required. I recollect that when negotiations were going on about some sort of co-operation with Sir John Simon's Commission, he made a most foolish speech in the House of Lords and gave endless trouble to the authorities at home and to the Government of India. I speak with some inside knowledge and I am sure that nobody will blame me for giving expression to this here loudly, because I feel that we should see that Lord Birkenhead does not pursue this campaign of vilification of which he is a past master. He uses expressions which, if I may say so, offend the soul and the honour of the Indian people. We belong to a race, Sir, which has noble traditions; we have a great history and a great past. It is because we believe that this great country is destined for something greater and nobler even than it is at present that we are agitating in this manner, and I think it is absolutely necessary that the Government of India through His Excellency Lord Irwin should communicate to the British Government at home the intensity of the demand which is now prevailing in this country for India getting her proper place in the British Commonwealth. It is all very well to say that we have this difficulty and that difficulty. And in this connection I am bound to state frankly belonging to the party to which I belong that I certainly do not like the civil disobedience movement and in my own humble sphere I have endeavoured to speak and write against it. But I may at the same time point out that it is very difficult for any Government for a long time to govern with Ordinances like those that have been promulgated. How long can you go on governing India by this method? It is high time therefore that something is done, that some way is found out to make peace, to satisfy all the legitimate aspirations of the people; and it is because I believe that my Honourable friend Sir Phiroze Sethna's Resolution leads to that, that I give it my support.

May I say one word more, Sir? "Too late" has been written across the history of the British Empire. You gave America her liberty after a very bitter fight. And the same was the case with Ireland. But could it not be otherwise with India so that some future historian might say that Great Britain, in its dealings with India, was able to achieve the unique and unprecedented distinction of giving India self-government without bloodshed? I ask that India, this great land of ours where some of you also have spent many years of your life, should not long be allowed to remain as she is. Something should be done now to promote peace and cordiality, and certainly every effort ought to be made to meet the legitimate Indian desire to become what Canada and Australia now are.

THE HONOURABLE SIR BROJENDRA MITTER (Law Member): Sir, we are obliged to the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna for initiating this debate, because this debate gives a chance to Honourable Members to express their informed opinions, and it may be, the collective opinion of the Parties to which they belong—opinion on the large constitutional questions which are taxing the brains of everybody interested in the welfare of India at the present moment. I congratulate him also for ventilating some of the grievances with which he is, I take it, personally familiar, although in my humble judgment some of those matters are not quite relevant to the issue which we have before us this morning.

[Sir Brojendra Mitter.]

Sir, the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna at the beginning of his speech said that the Government of India should now express their opinion and that is really the gist of his Resolution which runs in these terms :

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that he be pleased to urge on His Majesty's Government the necessity and the desirability of meeting India's demand for the immediate establishment of full responsible Government,"

and so on. Therefore, what the Resolution wants is this—that the Government of India should now and here make up their mind and express their opinion on the constitutional questions which they are examining. Sir, I appeal to Honourable Members whether it is fair to ask the Government, who are carefully and anxiously examining the problem in all its bearings, when they are engaged in that arduous task, to precipitate their opinion without full consideration of all the materials which are to be considered. Sir, I refer to one passage in His Excellency's speech of yesterday. His Excellency said :

"We have not hitherto been able to do more than give preliminary and tentative examination to the Report and before reaching conclusions I think it is right that I should have the opportunity of discussing the whole subject with some of those who can speak for non-official Indian opinion. I hope to have occasion to do this with some of the Ruling Princes and representatives of the States next week, and I should propose also to invite representatives of different views and interests from British India to meet me for this purpose as may be found convenient."

From this passage, Sir, it is clear at what stage the Government of India are at the present moment. They are at the stage of examining the various proposals which have been made. And the Viceroy proposes to consult and discuss these matters with Ruling Princes as well as the representatives of British India. Now, at this stage, I submit, it is not fair to the Government of India that they should be asked to express a definite opinion in the form embodied in the Resolution. By that I do not say or suggest for a single moment that the Government of India are not in sympathy with the aspirations of Indians for political advancement. But here is a ready-made panacea produced by the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna and does this House expect that the Government, when they are examining this matter anxiously, should accept this panacea without further scrutiny? That is my plea. I am not expressing any opinion one way or the other. The attitude of the Government of India was eloquently expressed by His Excellency yesterday in his speech. His Excellency in one passage said this :

"His Majesty's Government last year authorised me to declare that in their view the attainment of Dominion Status must be the natural completion of India's constitutional growth."

That is the point of view from which His Excellency and his Government are approaching this question. Then, His Excellency further said :

"I have never concealed my desire to see India in the enjoyment of as large a degree of management of her own affairs as could be shown to be compatible with the necessity of making provision for those matters in regard to which India was not even in a position to assume responsibility."

Sir, from these passages which I have quoted the House will have an idea of the standpoint of the Government of India. And no one will deny that they are approaching this question with sympathy. Further the scope of the constitutional advance has been to some extent formulated by His Excellency.

Sir, beyond that, at this stage, without further examination, it is impossible to

go. The Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna himself towards the close of his speech said this :

“ Obstacles are not insuperable if all Parties approach them in the proper spirit. A satisfactory solution of these difficulties is essential.”

He went on to say :

“ Where there is a will there is a way.”

Thus, the Honourable Member himself admits the existence of obstacles. They may be difficult, or they may be easy to get over, but whatever they be they are obstacles. Now, the Government of India are engaged in finding suitable means for conquering these obstacles. Sir Phiroze Sethna's suggestion is that they should be approached in the proper spirit. I can assure the Honourable Member that the Government of India are approaching these obstacles in the proper spirit—that is the spirit of sympathy and a determination to overcome them. These obstacles do not deter the Government of India. Sir, difficulties are triumphs, because difficulties do not thwart. They exist to be surmounted. And how they are to be overcome is the problem before the Government of India now. I am sure Honourable Members are satisfied from the character of the great statesman who is presiding over the Government of India and the Secretary of State, that all these problems will be approached and tackled with sympathy and with due appreciation of the Indians' aspirations and their wishes.

Sir, Sir Phiroze Sethna—he will pardon me—we are old friends and I am sure he will not take anything I say amiss—in his enthusiasm strayed away to some extent from the strict constitutional question which he has raised here into the administration of some of the Ordinances and some of the laws which have been put in force for fighting the civil disobedience movement.

Sir, I am a lawyer and I am used to confine myself to the issue before the Court. My humble submission is—and here I again appeal to the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna not to misunderstand me—that the allegations he made are more or less irrelevant to the issue which we have before us this morning. If it were necessary for me, on a proper occasion I could have dealt with those charges. But I submit that this is not that occasion. What we are concerned with now is this. A particular solution has been suggested by the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna and he wants the Government of India to accept that solution of the constitutional problem and to urge on His Majesty's Government that that is the only remedy. Sir, my short answer is this, that Sir Phiroze Sethna's remedy is not absent from the mind of the Government of India. From his exalted position as President of the National Liberal Federation he urged the same thing. Various Associations in the country have urged the same thing. Various other remedies have been urged by various other bodies. All these remedies are present in the mind of the Government of India, and when they are examining the problem, they are not unmindful of the authority and weight of the suggestions which have emanated from a body like the National Liberal Federation or any other Association in the country. They are all present in the mind of the Government of India. They will all be considered, and they are being considered. I am disclosing no secret when I say that the Government of India are not only considering the broad outlines of the new constitution but they are engaged in the difficult task of considering the details,—how the details will fit into the general frame work. That is not an easy task. Obstacles to

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which my Honourable friend Sir Phiroze Sethna referred have got to be solved satisfactorily. He himself said that their solution was essential. At the present moment, my submission is this, that the House will not force the hands of the Government to accept the solution which the Honourable Mover of the Resolution has suggested. Give the Government of India a chance. That is all I plead for. I would earnestly appeal to my Honourable friend to let this debate go on, but at the end, after Honourable Members have had their say, and after they have made their suggestions, which will all be taken due note of and considered with sympathy by the Government of India,—after that is done, I trust the Honourable Member may feel inclined not to try to force the hands of the Government but to withdraw the Resolution and leave it at that, which will be not only noted here, but will be made known to the Secretary of State and His Majesty's Government.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, before I support the Resolution of my Honourable friend Sir Phiroze Sethna, I should like to deal with the remarks which have fallen from the lips of the Honourable the Law Member. As far as I have been able to understand him, he does not want the recommendation or the opinion of this House expressed. The object of the Resolution is that Government might note what the opinion of this Honourable House as a body is. I was present when His Excellency delivered his speech yesterday and I felt that His Excellency really felt well for India in his heart and wanted India to be developed constitutionally as far as possible. I understood his difficulties, whether rightly or wrongly, to be that being subordinate to the British Government, all his utterances were limited and perhaps controlled. My object in supporting the Resolution is to strengthen the hands of His Excellency the Viceroy and his Government and to let the people in authority in England know what we think about this matter. So the Honourable the Law Member ought to welcome the remarks which the various Honourable Members of various shades of thought may have to express.

Now, Sir, I come to the Resolution. The recommendations of the Simon Commission are extremely disappointing and hope-killing and are retrograde. Those who co-operated with this Commission feel disgusted at the results which could not have been worse even if there had been a universal boycott of the Commission. The exclusively British composition of the Commission, I am sorry to say, has led to this result and the condemnation which this result has received is fully justified. If there had been any Indians of note on this Commission, they would never have agreed with these recommendations. The condemnation has come from all quarters and the demand of India has been focussed on Dominion Status. I strongly condemn the civil disobedience movement and the defiance of law and order. But at this critical juncture I want the Government to create an atmosphere in which a dispassionate consideration of this great problem might be undertaken with proper attention and care. The Commissioners, I am sorry to find, have ignored the interests of landlords and industrialists and commercial people, whose interests are immense. I am not going to deal here with the details of the recommendations. As I have already said, they are utterly disappointing. But now, as the Viceroy has been kind enough to say whatever more he could possibly say on the matter under the circumstances, it will be proper for leading Indians to go

and join the Conference which have been declared now to have unfettered and free scope and make the last effort to win what they consider is the birth-right of India.

THE HONOURABLE DEWAN BAHADUR A. RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR (Madras : Non-Muhammadan) : Mr. President, it is with very great hesitation that I intervene in this debate, not because I have no ideas to present on the subject of this Resolution, but because I feel that extraneous issues have been invoked into this debate and it is really difficult to escape some of those issues. I shall however try my best to concentrate my attention on the direct issue that has been raised by this Resolution, and may I say, Sir, as a preliminary remark, that I very humbly congratulate the Honourable the Law Member on the conciliatory reply that he has given this morning. It will enable us to realise that the declaration which His Excellency the Viceroy made yesterday in another place—the faith behind that declaration is shared by many of his colleagues, may I say by all his colleagues in the Cabinet. I do not know why the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna opened his speech with an apology for moving this Resolution ; much less do I understand my friend the Honourable Mr. Khaparde, whose allusion to the five husbands I at any rate am unable to appreciate, without experience. (Laughter.) Sir, if the Honourable Mr. Khaparde and the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna had listened to the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy carefully last evening—and I am glad that the Honourable the Law Member has quoted that extract which is most relevant to the discussion to-day—they would have noticed that His Excellency was anxious to have the views of individuals regarding what his Government has to recommend as a result of their examination of the Report of the Indian Statutory Commission. It seems to me that this Resolution is most opportune and is a means by which the views of Honourable Members of this House could be placed before the Members of the Government and His Excellency the Viceroy before they come to a decision as to their recommendations on the Simon Commission's Report. I am glad to see that my Honourable friend Mr. Khaparde now realises that this Resolution is an opportune Resolution and that it ought to be discussed and the views of each one of us expressed in that discussion.

Sir, there are some who think that the Report of the Indian Statutory Commission should be scrapped. There are some who reiterate, and I believe Sir Phiroze Sethna and some of the leading members of his Party are among them, that that Report should not be considered at all at that Round Table Conference which is going to meet in London in October. I am not one of those who feel or who desire that that Report should be absolutely kept out of the discussion. I know that, whether you like it or not, the English section of the deputation in any case will take out points from that Report, will ask the Indian delegation to meet those points, will confront them with arguments that have been found in that Report and will ask them to justify any advance that they want to make on those recommendations. It is not possible therefore to indulge in the talk of scrapping the Report, putting it aside and trying to say, "No, the Round Table Conference is going to discuss these questions without any reference to the Simon Commission's Report at all". I therefore do not understand all this heated talk that has been raised, either in this country or in England where there are presumably more experienced people than myself, over the question whether the Simon Commission Report will be considered at

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the discussion at the Round Table Conference or not. But, Sir, from my point of view, there is another report far more important than the Report of the Simon Commission, another document equally valuable or rather much more vital from every point of view, much more detailed and constructive, to use the exquisite language of Sir John Simon, which will hold the field at that Conference. I will direct my attention to that report or document. That document is the memorandum which the Government of India is preparing to send to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India, the document which I understand the members of the Government of His Excellency the Viceroy are spending their thought upon—a constructive criticism of the Simon Commission Report incorporating what they feel are the legitimate demands and legitimate aspirations of the people of India, together with a statement as to how far these demands can be met and in what direction. I was glad to hear from the Honourable the Law Member that not only are they examining the whole question from a very general point of view, but that a detailed and critical analysis is going to be made and that a constructive scheme is going to be put forward by the Government of India. I expected, Sir, nothing less from the Government of India. It is that document that we want to influence at this stage by our discussion on this Resolution; it is that document which is going to be vital to us. Sir John Simon and his colleagues—I have nothing to say against them; I have met them at social gatherings; I have exchanged courtesies with them and I have given evidence before them. I have not been one of those who have boycotted the Simon Commission; but I know that there are limitations to the value which some people in England want to be attached to the Report of the Simon Commission. The report of the Government of India, the report of members who have had 30 and 35 years of administrative experience in this country, the report of men on the spot, if that theory about the man on the spot holds good to-day, the report which will emerge from the deliberations of Indian and European members of the Cabinet—that, Sir, in spite of the Simon Commission Report, that is the report which is going to be of the greatest importance at the Round Table Conference. I want my countrymen to concentrate therefore on that report. I want every one of them to respond to the invitation so nobly extended by His Excellency the Viceroy to meet His Excellency and the members of his Government, to tell them explicitly what they wish to be done with reference to the constitution of this country and to do everything in their power before it is too late to see that the views of the Government of India are so shaped that ultimately they will satisfy our legitimate aspirations.

Sir, it is a truism to say to-day that the Report of the Indian Statutory Commission has not satisfied any section of the people, neither those who have co-operated with the Commission, nor those who held aloof, nor those who are in the happy position of Sir Phiroze Sethna and his colleagues who say, “We foretold it all and you were fools to have co-operated; this is all the result we always expected.” None of us are satisfied with the recommendations of the Simon Commission. The Party to which I have the honour to belong in Madras has stated quite courteously that the Report and its recommendations are disappointing. The Muslim Party has stated that the recommendations are retrograde, disappointing, and has used some other very courageous adjectives which

I do not recollect at the moment. Therefore it seems to me that we should examine it a little and tell the Government why we feel that this report is disappointing. Sir, take the provincial sphere, with which I am more intimately concerned and of which I claim to have some detailed knowledge. If this House should learn that the recommendations of the Simon Commission Report with reference to provincial autonomy fall far short of what the Madras Government recommended and placed before that body, they will then realize why we are repeating what has become a slogan, to use again the vivid language of Sir John Simon,—the Report is disappointing. The Madras Government through Sir Norman Marjoribanks, their senior Member who acted as Governor of that Province for some time, put forward a constructive and detailed scheme for the administration of the province. It was brushed aside. Provincial autonomy is given with one hand and taken away with another. The curtailments that are imposed, the limitations, the restrictions, the various powers given to Governors are such and so many that the system which has eventually emerged from the Report is one to which we cannot give assent. I shall in very brief terms refer to only two or three points. An official Minister, responsible to none, going out of office on a vote of no-confidence, coming back with another Ministry like a perpetual Punch and Judy show, is a thing which I cannot understand. The Madras Government suggested that responsible government is incompatible with a service recruited by another body and that the provincialisation of the services is an automatic necessity once responsible government is conceded to provinces. Sir John Simon says that the "security services"—a new and charming phrase which he has coined for the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service, a phrase which is at any rate more aesthetic than the "Steel Frame" of Mr. Lloyd George—those security services will continue to be all-India Services. Point No. 2 gone from the Madras Memorandum. Imposed on our head by Sir John Simon and his colleagues is a Cabinet Secretary having direct access to the Governor, reporting discussions of the Cabinet to the Governor and the Governor relying for an accurate report—mark my words—not on the Prime Minister of the Provincial Government, but on an Indian Civil Service Cabinet Secretary who has direct access, a thing which now under the Reforms no Secretary to Government has without telling the Minister that he is going to do so. My Honourable friend Sir Fazl-i-Husain, who has been a Minister in a Provincial Government, will tell you that under the rules of business prescribed by the Governor—a confidential circular perhaps but I had an opportunity of knowing it as I was for some time connected in a humble capacity with the Government of Madras—under those rules no Secretary could approach the Governor direct over the head of the Minister or behind his back, whichever phrase you prefer. Even heads of Departments have a certain limitation imposed on their capacity to approach the head of the province direct.

THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA : It is not so in all provinces.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR : It is so in Madras and that is what I am concerned with. If it is not so in all provinces, I can only say, Heaven help those which have not got this provision.

THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA : It is their misfortune.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR : I am intimately acquainted with Madras and I say in Madras it is so. Here is a Cabinet

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Secretary, a European Indian Civil Service official obviously, who is looked upon by the Cabinet as its Secretary and its servant, who has got virtually, in effect, in working, over-riding powers over all the Ministers. Sir Fazl-i-Husain again knows better than anyone else—I appeal to his knowledge of rules—that there is one rule, Devolution Rule No. 12, which has been a matter of anxiety to all Ministers who have had anything to do with the Medical Department. I know how my leader, the late Raja of Panagal, fought heroic and Homeric fights for the way in which the rule ought to be interpreted, how he disputed that the Secretary of State has power not merely to fix the number of I. M. S. officers who ought to be in any province, but also to allocate to them the exact places where they ought to be; and we know how in the recent recommendations, I. M. S. officers have been divided into European and Indian and how particular districts, particular appointments and particular posts have been fixed by the Secretary of State for them, all the time when a Minister for Medicine is in charge and responsible charge of his office. Would you believe it, Sir, that Sir John Simon suggests that Devolution Rule No. 12 should be applied to the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service. Sir, I do not want to go into details. But if there is one scheme more than another which could be riddled with criticism from beginning to end, it is—and I am prepared to accept the challenge that Sir John Simon has thrown out elaborately in his broadcast speech—the scheme which has been produced by the Simon Commission. I am perfectly certain that when the Government of India comes to do its task, to examine the report, very much more elaborate and detailed criticism will be directed to that scheme than I have been able to do.

Now, Sir, I leave the provinces alone and come to the Central Government. Years ago when I was at school I read a delightful book by Lewis Carroll, called "Alice in Wonderland". I sometimes wish I could look behind the glass myself. In the course of that book it is described how the Mad Hatter's Party sit at tea and evolve some very funny and, if I may say so, sound maxims. "Take care of the sense and the sound will take care of itself." "Take care of the centre and the circumference will take care of itself." I do not know whether inspiration came to the Simon Commission from "Alice in Wonderland", but they have gone on the principle "Take care of the centre and the circumference will take care of itself." We get absolutely no advance in the Central Government. Sir John Simon saw the necessity of proving that there has been no "retrogression in the Centre" and has dealt with it in a paragraph. The following paragraphs prove how effectively he has established the position that there has been no retrogression in the centre.

Now, Sir, I do not want to confine myself to the terms of this Resolution. Sir John Simon says that he does not believe in slogans; neither do I. But I have referred to constitution after constitution, and I find that most preambles contain a slogan. Take the constitution of the Irish Free State. What is it that the preamble states? "The Irish Free State or Saorstát Eireann is co-equal member of the community of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations." You have here a number of slogans put together. Take the constitution of South Africa, of Canada.

Sir, Parliamentary history has been made on the basis of slogans, but I leave it aside for the time being and I resume examination of the constitution of the Central Government. Now, Sir, whether it is Dominion Status, whether it is with safeguards, whether it is a transitory provision, every Indian desires that there ought to be some potent voice for Indians in the management of the Government of India, not the present potent influence of the Assembly which Sir John refers to, but some effective voice in the Central Government. And why? The reason is very simple. Your Provincial Governments do not stand for the dignity of the nation abroad; your Provincial Governments do not count for the respect which India can maintain and demand from other nations, from other countries, from alien powers. Whoever thinks of how Massachusetts or Ohio or St. Louis or even Texas is governed? All eyes are concentrated on the Federal Government of the United States of America. So it is with India. Whatever you may give in the Provincial sphere, the honour, the dignity, the prestige of the Indian nation depends upon whether to any extent, however slight or however large, the Central Government is managed by Indians themselves; and by Indians I mean Indians responsible to the Legislature. Our position at Geneva, at Imperial Conferences—I do not at all envy the gentleman who represents India, Indian though he may be, at either of these places—depends on the way in which the Central Government is, to any extent, I urge again, under the control of elected Members of the Legislature. I do not want to know whether Sir John Simon has or has not understood this essential fact. But I appeal to the Treasury Bench, I appeal to my Indian colleagues in the Cabinet of His Excellency's Government who have got a very potent influence and who have got a very helpful Viceroy at the head, to realise by their own feelings, by their own experience, by the contact that they have with other Indian publicists and politicians that it is one of the vital things with reference to the next constitution of the country that we should so make the Central Government that our honour and dignity will be preserved.

Sir, I do not want to go into the question of the Army which Sir John Simon has referred to in his Report. One of the Prime Ministers of your country, Sir, the Marquis of Salisbury, once said :

" If we believe the doctor, there is nothing wholesome ; if we believe the theologian, there is nothing innocent. If we believe the soldier, there is nothing safe."

In fact the more brilliant the soldier, the more insecure is the world in which he dwells. To the soldier, the past and future take shape as a procession of wars. It is not the soldier's business to take into account diplomatic alliances; he must advise for every contingency. The soldier looks at the world as an endless series of wars. Frontier troubles, tribal attacks and raids, they are his picture by day and by night. It is natural. But it is the province of the politician to discount his dangers, to pare down his plans and to correct his perspective. Sir John Simon in that Chapter dealing with the Army has merely given the soldier's point of view. I do not want to elaborate it further, because of limitations of time.

Sir, in His Excellency the Viceroy's speech yesterday, there is a touching reference. He said that it was not the intention either of His Excellency or of his Government to gain a victory over the Congress. Quite true. But I want His Excellency the Viceroy to gain a victory, I want the Government of India

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to gain a victory and a victory in a different manner and by a different method than by merely putting down the civil disobedience movement. I do not visualise the situation to-day as a fight between the Congress and the Government, the civil disobedience movement on the one hand and the forces of law and order on the other. That is not the fight. The fight is between the Congress on the one side and the Government on

the other to secure from the masses their allegiance each to itself.

1 P.M. The Congress is trying to secure the allegiance of the masses to itself: Government is trying to secure their allegiance to itself. They are both rivals in this race, and I want the Viceroy and the Government of India to secure the victory in that race. I want the Government of India, by its attitude, not by putting down the civil disobedience movement, but apart from that, by its constructive effort in promoting the constitutional position, I want the Government of India to secure that victory.

Sir, as I was listening to the speeches of some of my friends, I felt that it would be a legitimate criticism from the Government Benches to state that one portion of the speech destroyed the other. I am reluctant to think that this criticism, if the Government Benches had chosen to make it, was not fair. You condemn the civil disobedience movement on the one hand, and you condemn the repressive laws on the other. The swaying of the balance on either side does not take us very much further. But I venture to suggest that the Government might ask themselves, why there is this inconsistency. Is it not because we have no responsibility in the matter? Is it not because our Ministers are not sitting there, trying to administer the law, trying to preserve peace, trying to see that the country is safe and moving in harmonious ways? What you do is all in the shadow and not given out to the world. We feel that we have no part in shaping your policy, that we have no voice in trying to make you come to right conclusions and opinions. And therefore we do not see the necessity of saying that your acts are justified. If there was a responsible Minister in the centre you would have a Party here on this side of the House supporting the Ministry, even in these repressive measures, speaking up for their beneficial effects and saying: "This is necessary and the other is right: it is only by these Ordinances that you can rule the country in the face of an unexampled position". Will not the Government of India realise this? Will not the British Parliament realise that it is impossible to govern without conceding responsibility?

Sir, one word more and I have done.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: The Honourable Member must make it one word or very little more.

THE HONOURABLE DEWAN BAHADUR A. RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR: I am prepared to make it one sentence. I should only like to address one final appeal. To him who believes that progress can be secured to his country by promoting disorder, to him who thinks that the most beautiful cities in India can be razed to the ground, who calmly suggests that Bombay can be wrapped in a sheet of flames so that Indians may thereafter secure Swaraj, and to him also, if there be any in this cool sequestered vale of life, who desires to have a policy of martial law and no nonsense, who believes that the *lathi* and bayonet can be the normal methods of maintaining peace, who feels confident that

“strong” Government can continue for any length of time, I should like only to repeat the eloquent words of the poet :

“ Though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small ;
Though with patience He stands waiting, with exactness grinds He all.”

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR SHAH MUHAMMAD YAHYA (Bihar and Orissa : Muhammadan) : Sir, after hearing the views of the different Members of different Parties, I thought that I should also get up and tell the House the Muhammadan point of view as far as this Resolution is concerned. Muhammadans are also for Dominion Status. What they want is this, that there ought to be sufficient safeguards for their interests ; and a provision, I find, has also been made in this Resolution by the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna. It says “and to such provision as may be required to safeguard the legitimate interests of the minorities.” But in his speech he has not said anything as to what these safeguards will be. I would like to hear in his reply what safeguards he is going to suggest. What he said was only this much, that those are to be seen hereafter after we have gained Dominion Status. I am sorry I do not agree with him there. I think before we get it we ought to have these safeguards—they have to be settled between the communities themselves before Dominion Status comes. Our position also is clear and we have defined what safeguards we want to have. A Resolution like this was moved by the Honourable Sir Sankaran Nair on the 19th February 1930 ; an amendment was moved to it by my friend, Mr. Mahmood Suhrawardy, in which he stated what safeguards we want. He said :

“ The Moslem public opinion will only be satisfied if proper and adequate statutory safeguards for Moslem rights, interests and religion are provided in the future constitution of India.”

And what those safeguards will be was stated at that time by my friend the Honourable Mr. Mahmood Suhrawardy, that we want those safeguards as expressed by the All-India Muslim Conference held in Delhi in January 1929 under the presidency of His Highness the Agha Khan.

Now, Sir, in this connection much has been said about the Simon Commission's Report, in which the Muhammadans have in their meetings approved of two things, namely, what is called the federal system, and the separate representation of Muhammadans. These are the only two things which have been approved by my community. But at the same time, they have not approved, rather they have condemned in very strong terms, the other recommendations of the Commission, such as not granting the same privileges to the North-West Frontier Province as to the other provinces and not having said anything about Sind which the Muhammadans want to be constituted into a separate province. They have left the two provinces, that is, the Punjab and Bengal, which have got a majority of Muhammadan population, not to enjoy the fruit of their majority. They have said only this much, that the Muhammadan separate representation will depend on what has been decided at the Lucknow Pact, without knowing that the Lucknow Pact has absolutely been disregarded by the other communities. Now, there ought to have been something definitely said about the Muhammadan representation in the light of the evidence before them. I had the honour of also appearing as witness before the Commission at Patna and we made it clear there and also in the other provinces of India they had made it clear what proportion they wanted and their only demand was that it ought to be adequate so that they may be able to keep up the balance either between the Parties or between the communities. So much, Sir, about the Simon Commission's Report, as far as the Muhammadans are concerned.

[Khan Bahadur Shah Muhammad Yahya.]

Now, Sir, there have been certain things said about the civil disobedience movement which is now going on. Well, I do not know what has been happening in Bombay, but, as far as I am aware, in my own province, which is Bihar and Orissa, there have been no such complaints as have been alleged about Bombay.

Now, what is civil disobedience ? Civil disobedience is nothing but a perverted show of feeling towards the Government for not satisfying either the legitimate or imaginary demands of the people, while the Liberal Federation wants to fight by constitutional means. I quite agree with the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna in his method of fighting the battle of Indian freedom, and that is the only means by which we are sure to get to the goal that we all aspire to.

As regards the question whether this is an opportune moment to bring forward this Resolution, I think it is a very opportune moment, because the flow of sympathy and the feeling with which His Excellency the Viceroy delivered his speech yesterday require that we, the Members of this Council, should show to the English public that we are at one with the Viceroy in his desire that we should have Dominion Status. It is the right thing we are doing when we are expressing our views in the manner that we are all doing here.

Sir, with these words, I support the Resolution which has been moved by my Honourable friend Sir Phiroze Sethna.

THE HONOURABLE SARDAR BAHADUR SHIVDEV SINGH UBEROI (Punjab : Sikh) : Sir, at this late hour, I do not like to detain Honourable Members very long. What I feel is this, that the Honourable the Mover of the Resolution should not only be congratulated on bringing forward this Resolution and having a debate on it, but we owe a debt of gratitude to him for moving this at such a critical and most opportune moment. I feel that the Government Members should receive this sound warning and advice with open ears and open heart. I have heard with great attention what has been said by the Honourable the Leader of the House on behalf of the Government. I fully realise that the Government of India is considering the matter to the best of its ability and in the light of the best Indian opinion. But at the same time I do not feel that this Resolution, if passed by this Council, would interfere in any way with the judgment of the Government of India. What I feel is that this Resolution would add strength to the Government of India in coming to a conclusion which would be conducive to the best interests of the country and which would reproduce the voice of the whole of a united India. I do not think I can add much force to the arguments which have been advanced by the Mover of this Resolution except to say that every political body in India, of all communities and all interests, are for getting Dominion Status as the future constitution of this country, and by bringing this Resolution to the notice of the Government, if the Government accept it, I think they would play the rôle of bringing peace and prosperity to the country which is in a very disturbed condition nowadays. Let me remind the Honourable Members on the Government Benches that it is felt that there is a danger of times becoming worse than they are at present if timely help is not given to improve the situation. I do not find any other solution than that at the Round Table Conference the details of Dominion Status should be considered. We had great hopes in the Simon Commission. I do not wish to go into details because they have all been dealt with by the Honourable Members on the other side. But those hopes have all been shattered. Unless the Government of India

comes to the rescue of Indian ambition, there is no other hope of promoting better relations between Indians and the British people. I for one do not at all endorse the view of civil disobedience. I realise that it is fraught with many dangers as have been exhibited during the last two or three months, and they will become much worse if the policy of both the parties is continued any longer in this way. But at the same time I do not find any other solution of this deadlock which has been created by the civil disobedience movement on the one side and the forces of law and order to keep law and order in the country on the other side, except that the Government of India should come to this conclusion that from every quarter of India, from every society, from Muhammadans, Christians, Hindus and Sikhs, and other parties and interests, there is a unanimous demand for Dominion Status for India. If in spite of this unanimous demand the eyes are shut and the heart is not opened, I do not see a bright future for the country. Let me remind you, Sir, of the words of Lord Rothermere. He has said that the loss of India is the loss of the British Empire. He has advocated a policy of firm administration in India and those who stand for law and order are of the opinion that the disorders in the country should be quelled with a firm hand. But at the same time the real diagnosis of the disease must be found out. The real diagnosis of the disease is that there is no wish to break the law, but it is done for getting Dominion Status or full representative government for the Indians. According to the opinion of those who have launched this movement, they have failed to bring about the desired result when constitutionally raised, they have become rather impatient, and have started this movement. But one should not close one's eyes to the real issue that their object is to get full representative government for India. This Resolution merely means that the wish of this House should be expressed to the Government of India, that the Members of this House wish that full Dominion Status should be the subject of consideration at the Round Table Conference and should be urged on the British Government. If the Government Members feel that the Government of India is conscious of this and is considering this, there would be absolutely no harm if a Resolution passed by this Council is submitted to the Government of India for their consideration and acceptance. This Resolution would merely add to the united voice of the country that Dominion Status is the proper goal for India in future.

With these words, Sir, I wholeheartedly support this Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. SATYENDRA CHANDRA GHOSE MOULIK (West Bengal : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, the demand that this Resolution embodies, namely, the immediate establishment of full responsible government in India, both in the centre as well as in the provinces, is one that the whole of political India voices forth with a united voice. Even the most level headed of our leaders, even the most sober of our Liberal politicians, have declared in no uncertain terms that nothing short of full Dominion Status, and that immediately, will satisfy legitimate Indian aspirations.

And the reason is obvious. The last ten years of working under the Montford constitution have convinced everybody that, if responsible institutions are at all to be adopted, they must be adopted to the fullest extent. Partially giving responsibility and partially withholding it has simply had the effect of inducing a spirit of irresponsible criticism and of hostility towards

[Mr. Satyendra Chandra Ghose Moulik.]

the departments not transferred to popular control. Even the Simon Commission has had to admit the truth of this obvious fact of political experience. If that be so, then since there can be no going back on representative institutions at this time of the day, the true path of statesmanship obviously lies in granting full popular control over the entire field of administration, both central and provincial.

Such a sweeping change might seem too risky to our reactionary bureaucrats and other vested interests. They would be harping *ad nauseum* on safeguards and checks, which alone could keep the British connection intact. But these reactionaries and timid men forget that there are occasions in the history of nations when a great gesture, a magnanimous gesture, you may call it a magnificent gesture, can alone really and truly save the situation. Such greatness alone can radically alter the aspect of affairs, can usher in confidence and faith in an atmosphere surcharged with distrust and suspicion, can instil a passion of love and gratitude in a nation hitherto burning with the passion of hate and hostility. Timidity, distrust, tinkering and the like are absolutely out of place in such a situation. And it is in such a position that India stands to-day in her relations with England.

I, therefore, associate myself wholeheartedly with the Resolution. The Round Table Conference that is to meet should meet professedly to give effect to this spirit of magnanimous statesmanship, and should result in the creation of an Indian Dominion on the same footing as the other Dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations. And it goes without saying that if the Conference is to meet in this spirit and with this programme, it must automatically be preceded by a general amnesty of all political prisoners, from Mahatma Gandhi downwards, for, such an amnesty alone can bring about the atmosphere necessary for the success of the deliberations of the Round Table Conference.

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

The Council re-assembled after Lunch at Twenty Minutes to Three of the Clock, the Honourable the President in the Chair:

THE HONOURABLE SIR SANKARAN NAIR (Madras: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I rise to support this Resolution. I shall say only a very few words at this stage. After what has been said by His Excellency yesterday and after the speech made by the Government spokesman to-day, it might be deemed ungracious on my part to make any remarks on those speeches. But I cannot help thinking that the position would have been improved very much if His Excellency had spoken out what I cannot help thinking was in his mind; if he had said, for instance, "You complain of the Ordinances that I have issued. I have been here now more than four years; I believe what you have been saying of me that you had a good opinion of me. Do you think in the closing months of my career in India I would have resorted to such a step with a light heart? I issued those Ordinances because I felt they were absolutely necessary in the public interests; that in the interests of the future India I should issue those Ordinances. You say that the police in the provinces have been very

harsh, that your women have been subjected to unmentionable indignities, that there has been a good deal of police terror and of pressure. Well, I can only say that my heart bleeds when I hear these things. If true, do you think I would have allowed these things to go on if I could see my way to stop them? Let me ask you a question. You want the Ordinances withdrawn and a political amnesty to all prisoners. What is all this due to? It is due to the civil disobedience campaign. Have you not been condemning that? If that is so, why do not you advise the Congress Party to call off the civil disobedience movement, and go to the London Conference with you and assure them that though you cannot promise a political amnesty they will in all probability get it and the Ordinances will be withdrawn. You ask for Dominion Status. I realise the strength of your demand. I realise the national feeling. You do not want any further evidence of it than Sir John Simon's Report. But you also understand that there are men even in India who raise objections to the grant of Dominion Status immediately. You yourself have been saying that there are powerful men in England, men who can put a lot of difficulties in your way, to say that Dominion Status cannot be granted. When that is the case how can you ask me to say now without discussing these questions that my Government should promise you Dominion Status? I can consult with you, men out here. You can come to me. I can discuss these questions with you. But what about these men in England? Have they not to be convinced? Why do not you ask the Congress, why do not you urge the country to call off the civil disobedience movement and come to the joint Conference and let us talk about it all together. Do you want any better place than that? It is the metropolis of the Empire. We will be heard by all the world, by the English world certainly. So call off the civil disobedience movement, then we shall grant an amnesty to you. We shall get rid of the Ordinances; there will be no necessity for them; and come to the London Conference". There would be no further trouble after that. If His Excellency had seen his way to speak some words of that kind, I cannot help thinking that, his speech would have immensely improved the situation. At any rate, he would have placed the Congress Party, I cannot help thinking, in the wrong. If the Government spokesman to-day had said practically the same thing and told my friend Sir Phiroze Sethna, "You have been condemning, no doubt on behalf of your Party, the civil disobedience movement. You have been condemning in words that only men sitting round you could hear and I scarcely heard. Contrast it with the way in which you attacked the Government. You were heard not only in this Council but also outside. Now, why don't you tell the Congress Party to call off the civil disobedience movement with the emphasis and the strength with which you have been attacking us? But you are timid; you fear to come to the support of the Government. What a grand thing you would have done if you had faced the Congress openly, if you had brought about meetings and told those Congress men: 'Call off the civil disobedience campaign. We are going to London; we have resolved to go to London; why do not you promise to come with us? The Ordinances then will go. The prisoners will be released. Go to London, join the Conference and let us knock the nonsense out of the heads of Lord Birkenhead and others. Let us tell them what the situation of things in India is'. But instead of that, you remained inactive, as your Liberal Party has

[Sir Sankaran Nair.]

always been doing. But you do not speak to your Congress men, you dared not fight them, but when you attack the Government, you are very brave". Such words would not have converted the Liberal Party, but they would have improved the situation.

Then, there is only one other matter. A challenge was thrown out to me by Sir Phiroze Sethna. He said, " Now, look at the attitude of us who boycotted the Simon Commission and look at the Members in this Council who supported them—four of them. Two of them are here to-day ; two of them have not even had the courage to come here to-day. And are they not ashamed ? Our position has been fully justified. Do they now venture to support the Simon Commission ? Do not they now feel that they have made fools of themselves in going there ? Everybody in India has given out his opinion except their Chairman ". Well, the fact is that, in spite of these people, I am not disappointed at the Simon Commission Report, because we never expected anything from the Simon Commission. When India heard of the appointment of the Simon Commission, it is well-known that our political leaders never expected any good to come out of that Commission, because when we heard at that time the names of those who had been appointed to the Commission and who were responsible for the selection of the majority our impression was and has always been that they are trying to get rid of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. Really, therefore, we never expected anything from them, and therefore they were boycotted by the country.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. A. NATESAN : But you did not say all this before.

THE HONOURABLE SIR SANKARAN NAIR : Did you ask me ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. A. NATESAN : But you were so silent.

THE HONOURABLE SIR SANKARAN NAIR : Be quiet then. Well, that was our attitude. Now, I find that there are some good things in the Report. They may not be effective, as my friend here says. To a man like me who never expected anything from them, I cannot say that the Report is altogether disappointing. And the reason why I went there as Chairman of the Central Committee was to act as a brake, and I believe the Committee succeeded beyond my expectations. I thought that the Simon Commission would be in a better position to write their Report if we, the Members of the Central Committee, followed them, discussed with them, saw them every day, and told them our estimate of the position. It was no doubt partly the pressure of Indian opinion, the consciousness that national feelings have been roused, that swayed them. But I venture to think and I am confident that our efforts—the efforts of the Central Committee—and our Report has not been without its effect. I believe it has had its effect. It would have been far more effective than it has proved to be if after the publication of our Report the India Government or the Home Government had taken the same steps to popularise it as they have done with the Simon Commission Report. If they had done that, it would have been far more effective. I am not therefore sorry that the Central Committee was formed and that I went there and that, I acted as the Chairman of the Central Committee.

I fully support the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE SIR JAHANGIR COOVERJEE COYAJEE (Bengal : Nominated Official) : Sir, I am in the happy position of speaking not only by your kind permission but on the express invitation of my Honourable friend, the Mover. He has encouraged me to put forward the doubts and difficulties which I had been keeping to myself this morning for fear of breaking upon the felicitous unanimity which had prevailed. With his permission, then, I am going to put to him some of my difficulties. In the first place, I recognise that the Resolution is a well-meant and well-intentioned one. In effect it is the expansion of a well-known formula which has been put forward very recently with the praiseworthy object of securing unanimity of opinion and of uniting suffrages. Whether, however, either the Resolution or the formula is logically consistent or fully adequate for the purpose of achieving real unanimity, is another matter. For unanimity of opinion of a desirable and lasting character must be based on clear-cut principles and on their unambiguous presentation. Applying this rule to the case of the Resolution now before us, we feel that any unanimity of opinion brought about by us can only be of a transient and unreal character, nor can the Resolution prove a safe guide to political action. Of the two schools of political thought which at present divide India, one will certainly emphasise and underline only one part of the Resolution, namely, the words "immediate Dominion Status"; while the other section, and in particular the minorities, will pin their faith to the provision and safeguards referred to. As soon, however, as any serious attempt is made to translate the Resolution into a practical policy, those inconsistencies which are inherent between "immediate and full Dominion Status" on the one hand and the provision of a number of reservations and safeguards on the other, will become obvious. A reference to such authoritative works as Professor Keith's "Sovereignty of the Dominions" or to the Report of the Imperial Conference of 1926 will show that what appears to be a well-balanced Resolution might really be only a self-contradictory one.

My second difficulty, which I present to my Honourable friend, is that the Government is being asked to undertake and to *anticipate* the greatest and most important part of the work of the Round Table Conference. If the Resolution is adopted and carried out, the most responsible and weighty portion of the work of that historic Conference, which is going to form the most important milestone on India's road to nationhood, will be taken out of its hands.

The proposal will in fact stultify the Conference, deprive it of its proper 3 P.M. task, and will leave to it merely the working out of details.

My third difficulty, Sir, is that we are being asked in the Resolution to give the go-by to the important recommendations and careful constitutional inquiries even of the Indian Central Committee—a Committee on which some of the most eminent Indian statesmen have worked and have given of their best. Such bodies must have laboured in vain if their proposals could be summarily overridden by way of Resolutions like the one now before us. In a word, the Resolution we are debating is *the shortest of short cuts*.

Sir, many of us are at the present time studying the constitutions of Dominions like Canada and Australia, and several of our schemes for constitutional progress are avowedly based on the models of those lands. This is quite as it should be, for we are going to follow in their footsteps. But we might

[Sir Jahangir Cooverjee Coyajee.]

with advantage go a little further and imitate the procedure adopted by these older Dominions in forging their constitutions. In those countries at the formation of federations and Dominions, representative persons and parties who genuinely held and avowed different and opposite opinions met together in successive conferences to hammer out constitutional schemes by well-considered compromises. No attempts were made to anticipate the results of such conferences by constitutional and political short cuts. Ample time was taken for such common deliberations and conferences and all parties came together with their respective programmes in order to pool their ideas and proposals. It is to be hoped that our own country will adopt the same paths and methods of common deliberations and will achieve the same lasting political progress and success.

But then, Sir, we are told that some important sections of politicians will refuse to attend the Conference unless the principle incorporated in the Resolution is accepted in advance. But it is scarcely an attitude worthy of politicians and statesmen to refuse to join the Conference unless the results of it are virtually predetermined and prejudged in their favour. Politics, it is well-known, is a game of give and take and of compromise. Let us consider a well-known and apt precedent. Between 1864 and 1867 Conferences were held in Canada in order to rear the fabric of Canadian Federation and Dominion Status. The champions of the policy of federation were fully aware that there were many opponents of the idea. That did not make them shrink from going to the Conferences—nor did they ask that the issue should be prejudged in their favour. And what was the result? The Canadians of to-day admire and even venerate the members of these Conferences as national benefactors. Is it not the business and the duty of our politicians to derive lessons from the history of the evolution and organisation of Dominion Status abroad?

Sir, the debate of this morning went very much beyond the Resolution, and the Simon Report has come in for much criticism, especially from a brilliant speaker like Mr. Mudaliar who has detected an Alice in Wonderland mentality in most of the proposals. I have no call to defend the Simon Report. But I can say this that that mentality is not the exclusive property of that Report. Thus, one of the speakers has justly complained that the Honourable Mover had referred in his Resolution to safeguards and provisos but that they were conspicuous by their absence in his speech. In a word, we were left to admire only the grin of the Cheshire cat. Then again, it is the same set of critics who emphasise the necessity of safeguards and yet who condemn the accumulation of abnormal powers in the hands of Governors. Now, it is universally admitted that such safeguards are necessary. As a humble member of an humble minority community I must point out that they must reside somewhere. They must have a local habitation and a name, and they must be lodged somewhere. And where could they be? Could they be lodged with the Secretary of State? Then it would be said that the India Office is constantly interfering. Could they be lodged with the civil services? The services are to be relegated to a position of inferiority. They can only reside in the Governor.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: Go to South Africa.

THE HONOURABLE SIR JAHANGIR COOVERJEE COYAJEE: I will stay here, Sir, the minorities are determined to stick to India. Therefore, there is nothing strange in such abnormal powers being granted to the Governors. They are abnormal and to be rarely used, and their meaning will be made fully clear.

Sir, I hope the Honourable Mover, after seeing all these difficulties of others as regards his Resolution will see his way to appreciate and accept the suggestions and statements of the Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter. As the lawyers would say, the Government is fully seized of the idea of Dominion Status, and their one aim is to overcome the great difficulties in its way as early and as well as they can. The assurances of a person of the conciliatory and thoughtful character of Sir Brojendra should go far to reassure Sir Phiroze Sethna that the Government is working at the problem which he has so ably emphasised and indicated in his Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. M. MEHTA (Bombay : Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I endorse every word that Sir Phiroze Sethna has so ably said in moving the Resolution in this Council. Sir Phiroze Sethna has given a vivid picture of what is going on in India, more especially in the Bombay Presidency and still more in the town of Bombay. If the Honourable gentlemen have any doubt in their mind, if they can only come to Bombay and see things for themselves, they will soon find what chaos this movement of civil disobedience has brought about. There seems to be such a large volume in favour of Mr. Gandhi's civil disobedience that in spite of what Sir Sankaran Nair and others have said, one thing is certain that there is no man in Bombay who can be heard if he has anything to say against Mr. Gandhi. The only man who can be heard is he who is speaking for Mr. Gandhi. Therefore, the war is pitched between the Government of India and Gandhi's troops headed by Mr. Gandhi. The consequence is that the economical condition of the country is reduced to such an extent that I wonder if the Government of India realise the situation that is created by the boycott of foreign goods, especially British and other foreign goods, which will bring an income of at least 15 to 20 crores less than what was got last year. I understand the Central revenue comes to about 62 crores by way of import duties. If this falls by 15 to 16 crores, I should like to know from the Honourable gentlemen on the Government side how they are going to finance their Budget and how they are going to find this money.

Even the Provincial Governments will be hit by the non-payment of taxes by raiyats. The liquor and toddy shops are being given up and a great deal of income will be lost on that account. So they will be also at their wit's end as to how to manage and carry on the government of the province. These are the things going on in the country, and that is why it is necessary that a policy of conciliation should be adopted. The people can stand any amount of repression because their temper is such that they have no fear of jail, they have no fear of lathi charges or anything else that can be done to repress this movement. The movement is there and it is going to last until something definite is done. As a business man I cannot understand why the Government does not make it plain, if its intentions are the same as those of Mr. Gandhi, that the

[Mr. H. M. Mehta.]

Government of India intends to give self-government. Why not say so in so many words ; or alternatively, say that the country is not prepared for it now and say that it will be given self-government in 10 or 15 years, with certain reservations regarding minorities. A definite statement of that character should be made. To carry on as we are doing now means that no one knows whether self-government will come in 50 or 100 years.

*THE HONOURABLE SARDAR CHARANJIT SINGH (Punjab : Nominated Non-Official) : Sir, I have carefully listened to the eloquent speeches of my Honourable friend Sir Phiroze Sethna and other Honourable Members who followed him. The points raised by this Resolution are of the utmost importance and it is to my mind absolutely necessary that as far as possible a harmonious decision should be arrived at. It is very fortunate that at present we have in Lord Irwin a Viceroy who has proved himself to be a sincere friend of India. No one who listened to His Excellency's admirable address yesterday could fail to be impressed with the genuine sympathy of His Excellency for this country and with the fact that he is trying his best to help India. Moreover, we heard from the Honourable the Leader of the House this morning that this matter is now being considered by the Government of India. I would therefore advise my Honourable friend Sir Phiroze Sethna to withdraw this Resolution and not to press it to a division.

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. D. DEVADOSS (Nominated : Indian Christians) : Mr. President, I regret I am unable to support the Resolution as it stands. If the Honourable Mover had put forward the Resolution that the whole of India demands Dominion Status, no doubt all of us would have been inclined to agree with him ; whether we come from the South or the North or the East or the West of India we are for Dominion Status. But to force the hands of His Excellency the Viceroy at this stage, is, I think, not at all proper. It is like giving a decree in favour of the plaintiff and then trying to hear evidence afterwards. As the Law Member said, the Government of India are considering very carefully the various points that have to be considered and are willing to listen to and converse with persons who are likely to put forward different points of view. That being so, Sir, it is not proper that we should now ask His Excellency the Viceroy to urge upon His Majesty's Government the immediate grant of Dominion Status. The question of time, how and when and under what safeguards it should be granted ought all to be considered before we rush to the conclusion that it should be so. We know that in India opinion is not unanimous. We had a dissentient voice coming from there, and there are a number of things to be reconciled and a number of obstacles to be overcome. No doubt obstacles could be overcome if we went about it in the proper way. Further, any precipitate action on the part of the Government of India at this stage might prejudice our cause when the question is considered by the Round Table Conference, because opinions in England differ in regard to the grant of Dominion Status, and any hasty action here might prejudice our case, especially in view of recent utterances of some of the prominent men in England. With these few remarks I would ask the Honourable Mover not to press this Resolution to a division.

* Speech not corrected by the Honourable Member.

THE HONOURABLE DIWAN BAHADUR G. NARAYANASWAMI CHETTI (Madras : Non-Muhammadan) : With reference to the Resolution moved by my Honourable friend, Sir Phiroze Sethna, I would like to say that there are no two opinions about India's fitness for full responsible government. I only feel that responsible government should be by stages and not immediately. If the Honourable Member would delete the word "immediately", he would have my support. There is the question of minorities whose interests have to be adequately safeguarded. All that has to be settled at the Round Table Conference. There is no school of political thought in India to-day which differs in any main points about having full self-government or Dominion Status. The only thing is that it should be by gradual stages. It is most unfortunate that some of these political parties in India have boycotted the Simon Commission. If they had only presented their case, I am sure their case would have received the sympathetic and careful consideration of the Commissioners. I fear their case has gone by default. But it is not yet too late and I hope better counsels will prevail and all schools of political thought will put up their case at the Round Table Conference, where the Simon Scheme may be among many others that may come up for discussion. I feel that necessary safeguards for minority communities should be provided in the future constitution. The political goal ought to be unambiguous and the edifice must be well built. For these reasons I would say that all parties should see their way to co-operate with the Round Table Conference. As the Resolution stands it is very difficult for me to support it. I can only support it with the reservation I have made. In view of what various Members have urged, I hope the Honourable Member will kindly withdraw his Resolution and not press it to a division.

THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA : Sir, I am glad the Honourable the Leader of the House has not taken exception to my bringing forward this Resolution. On the contrary, if I heard him aright, he observed that the discussion on it would give him and the Government an idea as to the views which different Members would express on the subject. The Honourable Sir Brojendra Lal Mitter then proceeded to say that he hoped that the observations I made were based on personal knowledge. I suppose he referred to what I said in regard to the police and to the Ordinances. In regard to what I said about the manner in which the Bombay police treated people on the 21st of June, I quoted my authorities, namely, the special correspondents of newspapers from England, America and France. As regards the attitude of the police towards picketers, I did not refer to the same in my speech and I consequently cannot refer to it at any length now. But I would like to say in passing in connection therewith that we in Bombay have felt that the attitude of the police, due evidently to the instructions they must have received from Government, is certainly objectionable as being unduly severe. As regards the Ordinances, the Honourable Sir Brojendra Lal observed that my reference to them was irrelevant. If anybody is more anxious that irrelevant matter should not be introduced it is our Honourable President. He having allowed me to go on, I take it that he considered the reference relevant. At the same time with due deference to my Honourable friend, the Law Member, I would like to explain to him why from a layman's point of view I consider that my reference to the Ordinances was by no means irrelevant.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : I think the Honourable Member is labouring a point of which he made a great deal in his opening speech. He has brought the Chair into the discussion in regard to the relevancy of these points, and so I think I should explain my position. I am very loath to interrupt an Honourable Member who is moving a Resolution on an important subject, because I know how disturbing it is to be called to order in the middle of a speech. The points which the Honourable Member has dealt with and which it has been suggested from the other side were not entirely relevant were in my opinion just relevant ; but I did think that the Honourable Member laboured them unnecessarily, that he spoke possibly with unnecessary heat and that he devoted an inordinate portion of his speech to them. As a matter of fact, nothing has been said by any Honourable Member on those points at all, except that there has been a hint from one or two Members that there were certain matters in the Honourable Member's speech which were irrelevant. I presume that these were the matters that he is now again attempting to deal with ; and there is nothing that calls for a reply.

THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA : If that is the desire, I will say no more on that point.

Now, Sir, the next point to which my Honourable friend, the Law Member referred was the obstacles in the way of agreeing to our demand and he referred to myself as saying that I recognise there were obstacles but that they could be met if approached in the proper spirit. These obstacles have also been referred to by my friend, Sir Jahangir Coyajee and Khan Bahadur Yahya. I certainly admit that there are difficulties in the way, but there is no reason why those difficulties should not be surmounted. Then, may I point out that the question of Dominion Status is not one of to-day, yesterday or the day before yesterday. These difficulties have also existed for years and years. Have they been looked into during all these years and what are the conclusions that Government have come to till now ? Therefore, they do require to be looked into pretty quickly if the demand of India is to be satisfied. Sir, these difficulties are frequently trotted out with a morbid emphasis and an over-weaning sense of the hallucinations which are conjured up by persons who are victims of neuraesthetic psychosis. Are these difficulties real, imaginary or, may I say, pretended. If they are real or imaginary, they must be removed. If John Bull has the courage and the idealism to consider questions in regard to disarmament or the peace of Europe, if Mr. Ramsay Macdonald is enthused with the idea of Anglo-American solidarity, of bringing about the peace of Europe, and of the United States of Europe, surely British statesmanship can overcome the difficulties which lie in our way. It is only when the question of giving Dominion Status to India comes up, that the difficulties appear to them to be insurmountable. In regard to such difficulties, my friend Khan Bahadur Shah Muhammad Yahya and also Sir Jahangir have said that I referred to safeguards but did not say what those safeguards should be. I need hardly remind these Honourable Members that it is hardly possible for me in the short space of half an hour or three-quarters of an hour to deal with them. That of course will be for the Round Table Conference to take up.

In order to assure the House and in particular my friend Sir Sankaran Nair that we Liberals have not been sitting idle may I inform the House that during their last session held in the last days of 1929 at Madras the All-

India Liberal Federation recognised and suggested that these difficulties and how to safeguard the interests of minorities could be best considered by an All-Parties Conference. The All-Parties Conference has met more than once but I am sorry to say that no definite agreements have yet been arrived at and therefore the question will have to be taken up by the delegates who go to the Round Table Conference.

My Honourable friend on my right again referring to the Liberals said "Why do not they go to the Congress people and persuade them to drop the civil disobedience campaign?" I am afraid my Honourable friend is not in touch with what is happening. In this connection too the Liberals are doing what best they can. Is my Honourable friend the Honourable Sir Sankaran Nair aware that we tried to hold meetings in the city of Bombay for the purpose of explaining that the civil disobedience campaign was going to lead the country to anarchy and ruin. I was Chairman of two such meetings. It will surprise the House to know that the meetings were so rowdy that even when shouting at the top of one's voice one could not be heard at a distance of even five to six feet. The hall on both occasions was packed with hundreds of youngsters belonging to the Youth League which is an off-shoot of the Congress. We therefore did make attempts but failed. My friend wants us to tell the Congress people to stop the campaign. What are our credentials. Have we the authority of the Government of India to approach them? If we had such authority, they would give us a hearing and not until then, and that is exactly the reason why in the course of my remarks this morning I expressed the hope that we should not rest content with His Excellency's speech of yesterday but that Government should endeavour to negotiate through whatever channel they like, and I am confident that the other side will not be unreasonable. The question is, who is to begin? If Government authorise some of the Liberal leaders, or better still one or more of those who have been in the confidence and enjoy the friendship of Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru, I am sure some satisfactory arrangement can be arrived at before conditions in the country get from bad to worse.

The Liberals have always supported Government when they have believed them to be in the right, but I doubt very much if Government themselves have given the Liberals their due. In that connection, if you will allow me, Sir, I shall read a few lines from an article contributed by the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri to the June number of the Labour Magazine, which explains the situation very clearly :

"In the beginning of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms Government and the Indian Moderate Party worked in harmony, but soon Government resumed its old habit of regarding all politicians in India, extreme or moderate, anti-British or pro-British, as tainted with the same brush. To neglect friends in security and to court them in danger has been an incurable vice of Government policy. One has only to remember the protestations made during the war and compare them with the chilling hesitations of a later day."

That is the position the Liberals find themselves in. Because of the attitude of Government in connection with their repressive measures one of our ardent staunch supporters, Dr. Besant, has, as the House knows, just rejoined the Congress. As the telegram stated, she has decided to do so, because of Government declaring the Working Committees of the Congress illegal. As the Leader of my Party for this year, I have no hesitation in informing the House

[Sir Phiroze Sethna.]

that our numbers are thinning, distinctly thinning. There were some wobblers in the beginning of the year and all of them have gone over to the side of Mr. Gandhi because of the many actions of Government.

My Honourable friend, the Law Member, has explained the reasons from his point of view as to why I should not ask for this Resolution to go to a vote but that I should withdraw it. I have pondered over his suggestion. I have come to this conclusion that if I press my motion, I will put Government on the horns of a dilemma. Government, as His Excellency stated in his speech yesterday and repeated by my friend Sir Brojendra Lal Mitter this morning, have not yet had time to study the Simon Commission's Report to be able to express their final recommendations one way or the other. They therefore cannot say "Yes" at the present moment. On the other hand, I feel sure that they cannot say "No", because they must recognise that the whole country demands Dominion Status, and the last testimony in that regard is from no other source than from the Simon Commission Report itself. The Commissioners at the conclusion of the first Volume of their Report, acknowledge that fact in these words :

"All alike are in sympathy with the demand for equal status with the European and proclaim their belief in self-determination for India".

Government at present can neither say "Yes" nor "No". I think the expression which my Honourable friend used this morning was : "It is not as if we are not in sympathy". I wish he had said, "We are in sympathy". However, that is a small matter. I do trust they will look into our requests very sympathetically. I have now decided to withdraw my motion and before formally doing so I would like to tell Government that they should take their courage in both hands and no longer hesitate. England in the past by such hesitation has made severe mistakes. In 1770, no English officials could believe that the American colonies could ever govern themselves. A century and a half later, in 1921, they thought likewise in regard to Ireland. Were there not very many in England who till quite lately doubted if ever the Labour Party would possess the men and the ability to govern their country? All these prognostications have been belied. They will be equally belied in regard to India. I do hope that Government will consider every point that has been brought out in to-day's discussion very sympathetically. I now ask for permission of the House to withdraw the Resolution.

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

RESOLUTION *RE* TRANSPORT BY RAILWAYS AT CONCESSION RATES OF AGED AND DISABLED HORSES AND CATTLE TO ASYLUMS AND FREE GRAZING CENTRES.

THE HONOURABLE MR. SURPUT SING (Bihar and Orissa : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, the Resolution that I have to move to-day runs thus :

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that Railways should allow concession rates for the transport of horses and cattle, when disabled or past milching, to free pasturing places or cattle asylums."

In moving this Resolution I am actuated by no other consideration than a purely humanitarian one. The House will agree with me when I say that even while they continue to give us service such dumb and useful domestic animals as horses and cattle do not receive all the humane treatment and sympathetic consideration that they deserve at our hands. Our treatment and consideration for them are apt to become more indifferent and apathetic when they have outlived their usefulness. It is at that time that considerations of humanity demand for those animals greater thought and attention on our part. At that time it behoves us to send them away to some such places where they can find a refuge or be allowed to graze freely at random without being required to perform any sort of service. To keep these decrepit animals on the establishment on the off-chance of getting occasional grudging service from them in order to be treated shabbily—nay cruelly—was absolutely unjustified. Unlike people in the West, we in this country cannot think of shooting old and useless animals inasmuch as that idea itself is horrible and quite repugnant to our faith and traditions. Then again, hospitals and asylums for diseased and decrepit animals are few and far between in our country. Public munificence has hitherto been characteristically shy and meagre in this matter. In spite of our persistent outcry for years, the Government of the land have also remained quite indifferent to the establishment of such institutions. On the top of this comes the difficulty of having free grazing facilities for the cattle as they are daily becoming restricted throughout the country. It is because landed interests everywhere have been systematically robbing our cattle of their hitherto free pasturage and reconverting the village pastures to their own use and occupation, although we know that in a highly congested place like Great Britain where the price of land is admittedly very dear, the tendency of late has been to throw more and more the cultivated areas into pastures for the benefit of cattle. Thus when we cannot procure a sufficient number of hospitals and asylums for our cattle and again when we cannot afford them the facilities of free pasturage, it is incumbent upon us to send them, when disabled, to localities where either or all those facilities exist. Nobody, I make bold to say, would care to transport his old and useless cattle-stock at full railway fares to those places. To transport them on foot by road would mean deliberate cruelty as those infirm animals are sure to drop off on the way through sheer exhaustion. I would propose therefore that our railway systems—most of which are now owned by the State—should come to our rescue and provide concession rates for the transmission of our aged, disabled and maimed horses and cattle to asylums and free grazing centres. As to the Company-owned Railways my claims to the concession rates from them would arise in this way: All the lands through which their systems pass have been acquired for them by the State through the money of Indian tax-payers and it is just and proper that they should also join hands with the State-managed systems to afford us the desired relief for the sake of our useless and disabled animals. I need hardly repeat that if the railway systems will see their way to accept my proposal they will on the one hand achieve popularity and on the other earn the gratitude of millions of dumb creatures. I may add here that the concession rates will not affect prejudicially their revenues as the cheap fares would tend to afford sufficient inducement to the public at large to transport their useless stock of animals wholesale to asylums and free pasturing places through the

[Mr. Surput Sing.]

Railways. Besides the growing number of disused cattle-trucks and horse-boxes on the Railways will find some more scope for use for carrying the cattle and horses in these days when those vehicles are being put out of use daily by the rapidly increasing motor vehicles.

To safeguard misuse of the privilege which the Railways may grant I would propose the taking of a proper certificate from the Government Veterinary Surgeon of the nearest district or sub-division in which the animals for whom the concession is sought remain.

With these words, Sir, I beg to move my Resolution for the consideration of the House.

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. A. WOODHEAD (Commerce Secretary): Sir, when I first read this Resolution, I experienced a small difficulty which I have not yet been able to overcome, and that is as regards the exact bearing of the words "past milching" with reference to horses and cattle. (Laughter.) Apparently it seems to apply to horses and bullocks as well as to cows. But apart from that initial and perhaps minor difficulty, I am afraid I must oppose the Resolution. In the first place, the charges for the carriage of cattle are already very low. Presumably the Honourable Member is referring to carriage by goods train and not by passenger train. I presume he does not wish to urge that disabled horses, and bullocks or cows which are beyond milching should be given the privilege of travelling by a fast passenger train instead of by a slow goods train. I will therefore only deal with the rates as regards goods trains. The rate per head at the present moment works out to about 6 pies per head per mile. It is not, I think you will agree with me, a very high charge. In fact, the charge is so low as to allow only a small margin between actual expenditure and receipts. The charge for a cattle truck on a broad gauge railway is 4 annas per mile and on a metre gauge $3\frac{1}{2}$ annas per mile, whereas the actual cost of haulage excluding interest on capital varies between a little under 2 annas to a little over 3 annas per mile. Again, there would be serious administrative difficulties. The Honourable Mover has recognised that, and recommends that it should be overcome by a certificate given by a Government Veterinary Surgeon. But I would ask him how a station master is to connect that certificate with the particular animal which is brought to the station. He cannot take the animals' thumb impression nor can the animal write, and I hope the Council will agree with me that the station master would experience great difficulty in determining that the animal brought to the station for despatch was the animal covered by the certificate; Then again, Sir, there is the difficulty of ensuring that the animal which is booked for a particular station is bound for a free pasturing ground or hospital. The free pasturing ground is not at the station, nor is the hospital. The owner would book his animal to a station near the free grazing ground or the hospital, but what guarantee is there that, having taken delivery of it at the station, he takes it to the free grazing ground, or having got it there, he keeps it there? The administrative difficulties would be enormous, and it would, I fear, be impossible to prevent abuse. On these grounds, Sir, I am afraid I must oppose the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: The question is :

“ That the following Resolution be adopted, namely :

‘ This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that Railways should allow concession rates for the transport of horses and cattle, when disabled or past milching, to free pasturing places or cattle asylums . ’ ”

The motion was negatived.

CATTLE PROTECTION BILL.

THE HONOURABLE MR. SURPUT SING: Sir, with regard to my Bill to prohibit the export trade in cattle meat I made my intentions sufficiently clear to the House when I moved for leave to introduce it in March last. I shall not to-day repeat the arguments that I put forward on that occasion although I stand by them yet.

From statistics to hand it is abundantly clear that the figures for the export trade of cattle meat are steadily on the increase. A few years ago, during the Viceroyalty of Lord Chelmsford, the All-India Cow Conference of Calcutta collected figures of dried meat exported *via* Howrah from the then Agent of the East Indian Railway. The figures which that official was pleased to supply to the Association showed that about two lakhs of maunds of dried meat were annually exported *via* Howrah. It must be borne in mind that those figures related only to what passed through Howrah. There can be no gainsaying the fact that the trade which is popularly known as *Biltong* was also largely carried on in other provinces in respect of which Howrah did not form the exporting centre, such as the Central Provinces, Berar, the Punjab and Bombay ; there is every reason to suppose that the total figures of all the exporting centres amounted to over five lakhs of maunds a year about those times. Again, during the four years of the Great War, when India helped England with men, money and munitions, she had also to send cattle meat for her abroad. A reference to the official statistics of those years will show that Bombay itself exported daily about 150 tons of cattle meat and Karachi about 120 tons, besides Calcutta. Those figures themselves are quite formidable when we take into account the grand total of the four years. Now, it is for the House to judge the very great extent to which our cattle life was devastated during the time of the last European War only. All this was about a decade or so ago. Figures on that head have all along been increasing by leaps and bounds for want of any check or restriction. Believe me when I say that in areas where the dried meat trade flourishes the number of cattle has been steadily on the wane. In fact, Bombay, Gujerat, Cutch and the United Provinces showed a decline of cattle stock from 2 per cent. to 10 per cent. in the course of the 20 years from 1890 to 1910. The figures must have been much more distressing in the years after the Great War when it is evident there had been enormous shipments of dried cattle meat.

I believe I have somewhat been able to convince the House from figures collected not at random but from railway and official sources of the extent of the great mischief done to the country by the export trade in dried cattle meat.

Again I want to be perfectly clear at this stage as regards my object in bringing this Bill. My Bill aims simply at the stoppage of the export of cattle meat. It does not mean to stop the slaughter of cattle for religious purposes

[Mr. Surput Sing.]

of my Moslem brethren or for their own use. My endeavour is to stop only that much slaughter of cattle as is made into dried meat for the purposes of the export trade. I believe that if we can stop only that slaughter it will go a long way to solving our agricultural difficulties about plough-cattle, and will also ameliorate the crying need for more milk for our infants and invalids. When we remember that each individual in British India gets less than $\frac{1}{4}$ pint of milk, whereas the need for each individual is reckoned at 2 pints a day, we can easily account for the early decay of our female lives and the appalling infant mortality. I think I have amply made my proposition clear to the House. In the above circumstances I earnestly appeal to the House to accord my Bill the support it deserves.

Sir, I move.

THE HONOURABLE SIR JAHANGIR COOVERJEE COYAJEE (Bengal : Nominated Official) : Sir, I cordially and wholeheartedly recognise the humane motives which animate the Honourable Mover of this Bill. But alas! the promptings of the heart cannot in this world solely dictate the economic policy of a great country. I first venture to draw the attention of the Honourable Mover of the Bill to certain facts and figures, which will show that the importance of the aspect of the cattle problem which he emphasised has been in great measure exaggerated. The annual exports of meat amount to about 78,000 cwt. per annum. If we assume that each cattle yields one cwt. then the trade accounts for 78,000 head of cattle, most of them old and worn out. Compare with this the figures for cattle in India, which, according to the census of 1924-25, were 151 millions.

Let us now consider the bearing of the proposals in the Bill on the general cattle problem of India. It is not as if we were not better off than other countries as regards the total number of cattle in India, or that we are at all badly off even as regards the number of cattle per head of population. There are several difficulties in the way of the adoption of this Bill—the interests of private trade for one thing, and the fact that the exports of meat are to Burma, a part of India. Purely then looking to the supply side, the export figures cannot be of very great importance.

What is of far greater economic importance to the country is the consideration of the quality of the cattle and of the improvement of the milk supply of the country. What India obviously wants is not *more* cattle but *better* cattle. This matter has been of late receiving due attention; for, in order to promote the welfare of livestock, the Royal Commission on Agriculture suggested that one of the whole-time members of the Council of Agricultural Research should represent the interests of animal husbandry. This suggestion has been accepted by the Government of India and an animal husbandry expert has been appointed to the Council. Various suggestions of the Agricultural Commission as regards the improvement of the milk supply are also receiving attention. The welfare of cattle is a matter of paramount importance to India and we are all interested in achieving it. But success along this line is to be achieved only on sound economic lines. In this case the heart must be guided by the head; and we shall do our best for cattle, for whom we are all justly solicitous, by following a line of economic policy which will give us fewer but better cattle

which will be too valuable to be killed and exported. In this way, the problem put forward so ably by the Honourable Member will be permanently and adequately solved.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN (Education, Health and Lands Member): Sir, I also wish to congratulate the Honourable Mover of this motion on his keen desire to see that his country has cheap cattle for ploughing purposes and good milk for the people. There can be no dispute whatsoever that both these objects are highly desirable. It has however been pointed out that it is only one cattle out of 2,000 that we possess that finds its way as dry meat to Burma and other places outside India. It does seem to me that the number of cattle thus used is so small that it is not worthwhile proceeding to legislation, especially when we see that the proposed legislation is of a nature that does not achieve the object in view, not only the ultimate object but the immediate object, namely, saving the cattle from being killed. The Honourable Member will see when he refers to clause 3 of his Bill that the owner of a cattle has only to take it to an Indian State to kill it and he will not be liable to any punishment. That, however, is a minor point. What we want, Sir, is that India should have cattle of which we Indians are not ashamed. When we travel from one part of India to another by train or by car we see a large number of cattle moving about but barely able to move. They are not impressive to look at, but miserable, badly fed and badly kept. What I want to see is cows that look like Cheshire cows—fine animals that you cannot help appreciating and admiring. If you were to put one of the average cows in India alongside the English cow you would soon realize that with the pasture available, the poor feeding which alone the owners of cattle can afford, it is almost a sin to keep too many cattle alive. Therefore, Sir, I have not the slightest doubt that the object in view would be better achieved by improving the breed and improving the feed of the cattle that we possess, rather than by carrying on poor breeding, in such large numbers that neither the keepers of the cattle nor the pastures available in India can maintain them suitably. It is for this reason, Sir, and for this reason alone that I oppose the motion. I have not the slightest doubt that the Honourable Mover who has placed his motion on an economic basis will appreciate the point of view I have tried to place before the House.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I rise to support the motion made by my Honourable friend Mr. Surput Sing. Being the President of the Provincial Sanathana Dharma Pratividhi Sabha of Punjab, I have to give to this proposition religious consideration also, and not only the economic consideration. My esteemed friend, the Honourable Sir Fazl-i-Husain, has put in a lot of sympathy and desire for improving the cattle breed. Some time back when I moved a Resolution asking for the stoppage of the export of oil-cakes, bones and manures, the response from the Government of India was very meagre and they opposed the Resolution. At one time the advocates of Government say that they want to improve the breed of cattle and to make the cattle worthy of the name. On the other hand, they deprive the cattle of the cheap food which gives them strength and power to work more and thus stop them from being benefited by the abundance of produce of the soil which is caused by the use of manures. I expected that this time, while opposing the motion on

[Lala Ram Saran Das.]

purely economic grounds, the Government would have come forward with an assurance that the ways and means which tend to the improvement of cattle and in which the help of the Government would go a great way, would be brought into effect. I am sorry, Sir, that in his observations the Honourable Sir Jahangir Coyajee has said that only those animals are slaughtered which are economically worthless. Sometime back, when the price of bones went up very high, for the sake of the sale of bones alone animals were being slaughtered. Then thorough enquiries were made on the subject and it was found that even good and useful cattle were killed simply for the sake of bones. Whenever there is a fodder famine, the case is the same. So, I think, Sir, that my Honourable friend Sir Coyajee is not right in saying that only those animals are killed which are unfit otherwise.

With these remarks, Sir, I support the motion.

THE HONOURABLE MR. SURPUT SING : Sir Fazl-i-Husain, the Member in Charge, has appreciated my Bill, but he has put forward the difficulties he has in supporting the Bill. The Honourable Member's statement is that only incapacitated and old animals are slaughtered for meat. But I would in this connection mention that Justice Woodroffe, sometime a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, headed the deputation to Lord Chelmsford as President of the All-India Cow Conference, and in the memorial that was submitted to His Excellency one of the reasons put forward for child mortality and early female deaths was the export trade in dried meat. As regards the number of cattle slaughtered for the export of dry meat, it is not one in 2,000 as suggested but much more than that. My Honourable friend Sir Jahangir Coyajee has said that the quantity is about 78,000 cwts., but the figures supplied by the Agent of the East Indian Railway are as follows :—

| | | | | | | Maunds. |
|-------------------|----|----|----|----|----|---------|
| For the year 1917 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 166,849 |
| In 1918 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 158,000 |
| In 1919 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 174,000 |

and in 1920 from January to June it was 95,000 maunds.

These figures relate to Howrah centre only. There are other centres like Bombay, Karachi, etc. As regards the number Sir Jahangir says that each cattle yields one cwt. of meat. But my information is that for every cwt. about two or three animals are required to be slaughtered, and the annual wastage of cattle comes to nearly six lakhs of cattle. We have not counted the number that is slaughtered for local use. The Bill is only meant to check the export trade in meat from India as every year the number of cattle is decreasing. In this connection I would refer to the figures, and ask for a comparison of the number of cattle in India with that of other places. We shall then find that we have much less according to the population. India has got 58 cattle per 100 inhabitants.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Order, order. The Honourable Member must realise that he is exercising his right of reply. I have not heard

any Honourable Member suggest that the number of cattle per head of population here is greater than that of other countries. The Honourable Member must not introduce new arguments at this stage.

THE HONOURABLE MR. SURPUT SING : My point is that not only old and useless cattle are slaughtered but a great many prime cattle are slaughtered for this purpose ; and it is for this reason that I have put forward this Bill for the consideration of the House.

With these words, Sir, I beg to ask the House to consider this Bill and pass it.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : The question is :

“ That the Bill to prohibit the export trade in Cattle Meat be taken into consideration.”

The Council divided :

AYES—10.

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| Asthana, The Honourable Mr. Narayan Prasad. | Pakrashi, The Honourable Mr. Suresh Chandra. |
| Chetti, The Honourable Dewan Bahadur G. Narayanaswami. | Ram Saran Das, The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala. |
| Ghose, Moulik, The Honourable Mr. Satyendra Chandra. | Sinha, The Honourable Kumar Nripendra Narayan. |
| Khaparde, The Honourable Mr. G. S. | Sukhraj Roy, The Honourable Rai Bahadur. |
| Nirmal Kumar, The Honourable Mr. | Surput Sing, The Honourable Mr. |

NOES—16.

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| Ansonge, The Honourable Mr. E. C. | Johnson, The Honourable Mr. J. N. G. |
| Brij Lal, The Honourable Rai Bahadur. | Megaw, The Honourable Major-General J. W. D. |
| Coyajee, The Honourable Sir Jahangir Cooverjee. | Mitter, The Honourable Sir Brojendra. |
| DeSouza, The Honourable Dr. F. X. | Shillidy, The Honourable Mr. J. A. |
| Devadoss, The Honourable Mr. M. D. | Souter, The Honourable Mr. C. A. |
| Emerson, The Honourable Mr. H. W. | Townsend, The Honourable Mr. C. A. H. |
| Fazl-i-Husain, The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir. | Woodhead, The Honourable Mr. J. A. |
| Henderson, The Honourable Mr. J. S. | Yahya, The Honourable Khan Bahadur Shah Muhammad. |

The motion was negatived.

The Council then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, the 14th July, 1930.