

7th March 1930

THE

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

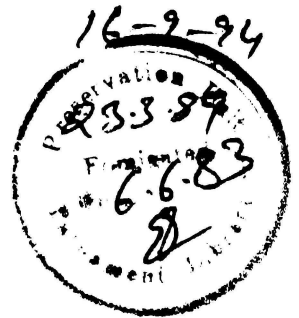
(25th February to 20th March, 1930)

SIXTH SESSION

OF THE

THIRD LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 1930

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GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS
1930

Legislative Assembly.

President :

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. J. PATEL.

Deputy President :

MAULVI MUHAMMAD YAKUB, M.L.A.

Panel of Chairmen :

PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA, M.L.A.

MR. M. A. JINNAH, M.L.A.

SIR DARCY LINDSAY, KT., C.B.E., M.I.A.

SIR ZULFIQAR ALI KHAN, KT., C.S.I., M.L.A.

Secretary :

MR. S. C. GUPTA, BAR.-AT-LAW.

Assistant of the Secretary :

RAI SAHIB D. DUTT.

Marshal :

CAPTAIN SURAJ SINGH BAHADUR, I.O.M.

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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Friday, 7th March, 1950.

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

ELECTION OF A PANEL FOR THE CENTRAL ADVISORY COUNCIL FOR RAILWAYS.

Mr. President: I have to inform the Assembly that the following Members have been elected to the panel for the Central Advisory Council for Railways, namely :

1. Lieutenant-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney.
 2. Mr. N. C. Kelkar.
 3. Mr. Abdul Latif Sahib Farookhi.
 4. Dr. A. Suhrawardy.
 5. Sardar Bahadur Captain Hira Singh Brar.
 6. Haji Abdoola Haroon.
 7. The Revd. J. C. Chatterjee.
 8. Mr. H. P. Mody.
-

THE GENERAL BUDGET—LIST OF DEMANDS.

SECOND STAGE.

Mr. President: The House will now take up the second stage of the General Budget, namely, the Demands for Grants. With regard to the order in which these Demands should be taken up I have got to make a few observations. As Honourable Members are aware, since the last three years, I have been accepting the arrangement regarding the order arrived at by the leaders of parties in consultation with Government. The usual order is thus varied in accordance with the general sense of the House. This year an attempt was made yesterday by leaders of parties, in consultation with Government, to ask me to accept a particular arrangement. That arrangement was this: that I should take up the Demand under the head "Executive Council" first and allow Mr. Kelkar to move a cut regarding the irresponsibility of the Executive Council, and the House should devote the whole day to the consideration of that question. Then tomorrow, the 8th March, I should allow the Independent Party to discuss the question of general military policy, and in particular the inaction of Government on the recommendations of the Indian Sandhurst Committee. That should, according to the arrangement, occupy the whole day. It was further suggested to me that on Monday, the 10th March, I should allow the new Swaraj Party to move some cut on some head which they might

[Mr. President.]

select. I have not been favoured with the particular Demand on which they wish to raise a debate and therefore I am not in a position to announce it to the House, but I have agreed to give them two hours to raise a discussion on any question they choose on any Demand. That will be from 11 A.M. to 1 P.M. After that, the remainder of Monday will be devoted to a cut to be moved by the European Group under the head "Finance". I understand they wish to raise the question of retrenchment under that head. Then on Tuesday, the 11th March, two hours will be allotted to the Central Muslim Party to move a cut on any Demand they select. I was told that they wish to raise the question regarding the Report of the Indian Central Committee. I am not sure whether that would be relevant under any of the Demands for Grants. I therefore look forward to meeting the leader of the party during the recess hour and settling with him what particular cut they propose to move. This will take us up to 1 o'clock on Tuesday. The remainder of that day I propose to allot to unattached Members for a discussion on any question that they wish to raise. They therefore must get together and tell me, in the course of the day, whether there is a likelihood of their coming to any agreement. If they do not come to an agreement and I am not informed in time about their intention, other Grants will be taken up from Tuesday, the 11th March, from 1 o'clock, in the order in which they appear on the paper. If, however, they come to some agreement, and I am informed of it in time, I shall allow the afternoon to be utilised for that purpose. We shall then begin the remaining Demands for Grants in the order in which they appear on the Agenda on Wednesday, the 12th March. I hope this arrangement will suit Honourable Members.

Expenditure charged to Revenue.

DEMAND No. 28—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

The Honourable Sir George Schuster (Finance Member): Sir, I beg to move:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 91,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1931, in respect of 'Executive Council'."

Irresponsible Nature of the Executive Council.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I move:

"That the Demand under the head 'Executive Council' be reduced to Rupee One."

In order to enable me to draw the attention of the House to the utterly irresponsible character of the Executive Council, I want to reduce the Demand for the Executive Council to one rupee, or 1s. 6d. at the present rate of exchange! I will cut them off with a shilling and six pence.

Mr. President: What will they do with one rupee?

Mr. N. C. Kelkar: It is for them to find the way out of the difficulty. After all, they are absolutely irresponsible, and they can obtain whatever they like in so many other ways even if we cut down their supplies.

Sir, it strikes me at the outset that the debate that I am raising on this question of the irresponsibility of the Executive Council happens to coincide with the ultimatum which Mahatma Gandhi has given to Government. This, however, is no mere accident of the situation. On the contrary, this coincidence discloses, in my opinion, the essential unity that exists between the working of the minds within the Councils as well as the working of the minds outside the Councils. Gandhiji himself has said that his demands are not exhaustive, but they are only illustrative. Now, what is his purpose in putting before the Government his list of illustrative demands and what does he really want? We all know, and Gandhiji himself knows, that good government is no substitute for self-government. At the same time, he knows as well as we do that mere self-government also cannot always be a substitute for good government. And the political ideal of a nation ought to be to get both these together, and, between them, to get good government through self-government. That is the object with which Gandhiji has put forward his demands as illustrative of his purpose. He practically says to Government: "Here is a list of illustrative demands for you to take up. If you meet them immediately, you will be showing that the angle of your vision is changed and your heart has also undergone a certain sympathetic change, which I look forward to and which I expect and want". If you just analyse his demands, you will find that he has not asked for anything fantastic. I will briefly recapitulate what he asks for. What he has asked for are really items of good government, and if Government are not prepared even to grant immediately those items of good government, Government stand condemned by themselves. Take the demand for total prohibition. India is a country which is very well known for its abstemiousness. All the religions in India prohibit drink, and if a country steeped in liquor like America has at last accomplished its desire to go dry, why is it fantastic to suppose that in India, if we begin to administer it, we should also enact laws of prohibition? Then, he has asked for the reduction of the rate of exchange to 1s. 4d. That, as we all know, is a very burning topic, and this side of the House has always considered it to be a legitimate demand. Then he asks for reduction in land revenue by at least 50 per cent. and that it should be subject to legislative control. Some of the Members may be aware that, in our provinces we are taking up this matter with the Provincial Governments. The demand for the reduction of the present land revenue by 50 per cent. need not look in any way fantastic. At present, the land revenue is assessed at the rate of 50 per cent. of the net profits of the agriculturist, but in my own Presidency I remember the Agricultural League that we have formed has put forward the demand that Government should not be entitled to more than 25 per cent. of the net profits of the agriculturist. This is exactly in consonance with the reduction by 50 per cent. of the present land revenue demand, and we also want that agricultural assessments and revisional assessments should all be subject to definite legislation. So, this demand also is not fantastic. Then he has asked for reduction in the military expenditure by at least 50 per cent. to begin with. The present expenditure is about 54 crores. If we reduce this amount to 27 crores, it practically gives a ratio of about 20 per cent. to our total income, and it is admitted on all hands that 20 per cent. should be the usual amount for the Military Budget of any country. So it will be seen that this demand also of Gandhiji is not fantastic, but is very reasonable. Then, he has asked for the reduction of the salaries of the highest grade services by one-half or less, so as to suit the reduced revenue. That is a natural corollary. If the expense is to be reduced,

[Mr. N. C. Kelkar.]

how can it be done unless you reduce the salaries of the highly paid officials? So, that also is not a fantastic demand. Then, there is the item of a protective tariff on foreign cloth. We are just now busy with that very measure in this House. Then he insists on the passage of the Coastal Traffic Reservation Bill. We all know the history of this measure and how keenly we are all fighting for it. Then he asks for the discharge of all political prisoners. That is essentially a legitimate demand, if Government are to look forward to peace in this country and a settlement anywhere, either in India or in England. Then he wants the abolition of the Criminal Intelligence Department or its popular control. I suppose, even if we get our self-government we will want our Criminal Intelligence Department. But then it is not a question of having the Criminal Intelligence Department, but of having the popular control on it. That is what he has asked for. Then he wants the issue of licences to use fire-arms for self-defence subject to popular control. That subject has been so ably discussed by my friend, Dr. Moonje, that I need not say much about it.

Now, Sir, here is an illustrative list of demands put forward by Gandhiji. What does he in effect ask? He says, give me immediately at least these items of good government, if you are not going to give me full self-government. He has explained further that, though the idea of Independence has been put forward, you need not be frightened, as we ourselves are not frightened by that idea of Independence, and if you make up with us on the basis of these reasonable demands, we shall say that we have got good government as well as self-government and we shall see how to get the exact measure of self-government that we want later on. Therefore I feel like getting my whole thesis out of this coincidence of the putting forward by Gandhiji of his ultimatum, and the debate I want to raise in this House at this moment upon the irresponsibility of the executive Government, which is the pivot of this all-India administration. Now, it may be asked perhaps, "Even supposing you get responsible government, or a due measure of self-government, what guarantee is there that you yourself will get all these demands that Gandhiji has asked for? Who has told you, who has given a guarantee that, supposing you enjoy a measure of self-government or some kind of self-government that you want, you will necessarily get prohibition, remission of land revenue and so on and so forth?" To that my reply is that there is no reason, in the first place, why this will not necessarily happen. I, for one, have absolute faith that, if we get real self-government and the machinery of legislature to carry out the will of the nation, all these demands that have been put forward by Mahatma Gandhi will be carried into operation. That is my personal belief; but on the other hand, even if it happens that these demands are not granted by the Legislature under our self-government scheme, then the country will simply blame itself and will go on trying to get what it wants by overturning Ministries, one after another in turn, and calling upon other political parties to take up the administration. That is a recognised method for a nation to get what it wants under a scheme of self-government. Now, what is the essence of self-government? It is that people must get a chance, through their representatives, to carry out the national will. That, in brief, is the essence of self-government. A nation may sometimes be wrong in its views, but it can always claim the right even to make mistakes, for mistakes there must be. The man's soul says, "Thou God, give me

liberty," and liberty for what? Liberty not only to do the right, but also to do the wrong, if I sometimes must do wrong. That is the demand of the soul to God, and that is the demand of the nation to Government. "Give us the right to do what we think best, in our interests; it may be right, or it may be wrong." That is the cry of the nation. After all, that is the privilege which the nation itself wants to exercise. For in the assertion of this right lies the realisation of political life, the political genius and the political soul of the nation.

Now, let us all understand the word, "responsibility," its real significance and its limitations. Even when there is responsible government, it certainly does not mean that the executive possess no power at all. In fact it does possess power, also power proportionate to its responsibility. The Legislature, we all know, is a collective body after all, and can discharge its functions, only by definite limited means. This broad sided activity of the Legislature is not so wide as that of the executive itself. There is a particular method prescribed to the Legislature to express its views and its opinion, and principally that by saying, "Yes" or "No." The Legislature collectively is practically always confined to one method of saying, "Yes" or "No," and giving a vote for or against a measure put before it. That is the language through which the collective view of the Council is gathered. In Alexander Dumas' novel of "The Count of Monte Cristo", there is a character which the author describes as paralysed in respect of all its functions excepting its eyes. That character had only one living function, that is the function of the eyes.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney (Nominated: Anglo-Indians): That is short sight.

Mr. N. O. Kelkar: And that character had no other function living. Similarly, if you look at the legislative body collectively, you will find that its function is practically confined to saying, yes or no when giving a vote. The Legislature, that is the acts of the Legislature, are controlled by the executive in respect of a number of things, namely, say, the initiative, procedure, ballot, allotment of days for sessions, practically a monopoly of time for official business, order of business, exclusive rights, as for example in respect of money Bills, and ultimately the threat of resignation and the threat of dissolution. These are the checks through which the executive Government tries to exercise its control upon the legislative body, whose function is practically, as I have said, restricted only to giving a vote and saying, yes or no, by a single word.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: That is long sight.

Mr. N. O. Kelkar: Of course the Legislature willingly submits to this control because it is a control in non-essentials, but in essentials, the control of the Legislature over the executive is, and must always be, greater than the control of the executive over the Legislature. These different advantages on either side are easily seen in practice. Thus, for example, the advantage to the side of the Government and the executive is seen in this fact that, in a properly developed Legislature, it is practically impossible for a private Member to pilot and carry out a private Bill to a successful end. But on the other hand the Legislature collectively

Dr. B. S. Moonje (Nagpur Division: Non-Muhammadan): What about the Sarda Bill?

Mr. N. C. Kelkar: But one swallow does not make a Summer. It was because the executive helped Mr. Sarda, that he was able to get his Bill successfully passed by the Legislature.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas (Indian Merchants' Chamber: Indian Commerce): If the Government had opposed it, the Bill could not have been completed yet.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar: These different advantages can be shown easily in practice, for on the one hand the executive can make it impossible for a private Member to carry out any legislation. On the other hand, the Legislature collectively can have its revenge and send Cabinets into the wilderness. We have now seen the French Cabinets being scattered like nine pins in the game of skittle at short intervals. How does that come about? Where does it come from? It comes from the natural operation of the expression of the will of the nation as against the executive. What I am trying to put before this House is that the executive and the Legislature have both got power, but only in different forms, and both of them ultimately share that power with the people at large. In well developed democracies, the power is gradually transferred from the Legislatures ultimately to the people in three ways, firstly by the growth of the power of the Cabinet, secondly, by the increase of the electorate, thirdly, by the widening of the franchise and by the growth of independent public opinion in the country. But responsibility is the pivot on which this tripartite balance turns, namely, the balance of the equitable distribution of power and opportunity among the Cabinet, the Legislature and the electorates, all with a common purpose. The word, "responsibility" has a double meaning as it is ordinarily understood. In the first place, responsibility means power, and in the second place, responsibility means liability to take consequences of abuse, or the wrong use of power, therefore, "responsibility" is a two-faced word. It has got two significances practically, but in India at present the executive Government understand responsibility only in the sense of power, and not in the sense of responsibility, and that is my principal point. Whenever Government want to do a certain thing, they very plausibly put it in this way, that Government must be responsible for this. If they want to do you harm, Government will say that they must be responsible for doing this thing in the interest of the country. So in India, unlike other free and self-governing countries, responsibility is understood by Government only in the sense of power and not responsibility. The nation, however, consequently feels humiliated because even the Legislatures with assured elected majorities have no power, no initiative, and national policies are expressed in the Legislatures only to be frustrated by the obstinacy of the executive. Therefore, to put it briefly, our claim for responsible government in India arises out of the humiliation that the nation has suffered from the conduct of Government on the one hand and the weakness of the Legislatures on the other.

Now, what is the present position of the Executive Council in India? It represents practically the whole Government. As we see here, for instance, there are two groups of Members sitting facing each other. One group, on this side, is responsible to the Indian electorates, and another

group, sitting on that side, especially the Treasury Benches, is responsible only to the Secretary of State, who, along with his other colleagues, holds himself responsible to the British electorate, which is six thousand miles away from India. This is therefore practically like two swords in one scabbard. In this one Legislature there are two groups of Members, one of which is responsible to the Indian electorate, and another responsible to the Secretary of State, which means to the British electorate, six thousand miles away. Therefore it is practically like having two swords in one scabbard; and out of that situation, you can easily see how, with the least contact and conflict, there is a rattling of the swords. That was of course the original intention of the authors of the new reforms. The Montford Act did not intend to give either the executive or the electors real responsibility in any way. It continued the ultimate authority and power in the hands of the Secretary of State himself. His Council is practically mere eye-wash, and the story must have been heard by many people in this House that, at the end of three years of the life of his Council, Lord Birkenhead was not able to distinguish Mr. Mullick from Dr. Paranjpye. Both were members of his Executive Council, both must have been sitting at some of the meetings, but the story is going round, and looking at the manner of Lord Birkenhead, I can believe that story that, at the end of three years, he did not know Dr. Paranjpye from Mr. Mullick. And what is the business they do? They do not meet and make acquaintance, because they have got practically no business. And here is a limerick given in Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer's book about the work done in the Secretary of State's Council:

"Eleven to Noon, think you have come too soon;
 Twelve to One, wonder what's to be done;
 One to Two, find nothing to do;
 Two to Three, begin to see,
 It'll be a great bore, to stay till Four."

That is the method of the work in the Secretary of State's Council, and these are the people who are supposed to be entirely responsible for the good administration of the Government of this country; and this Executive Council, instead of being responsible to the electorate of this country, is supposed to be, and is made to be by law, responsible to the Secretary of State for India.

Now, the Act of 1919, as we all know, did enlarge the Councils, but the Councils were expected, in the words of the Act itself or of the authors of the Act, only accurately and regularly to represent to Government the wishes of the country and adequately criticise its conduct. Nothing beyond that. Here you will see no trace of responsibility, either for the Legislature or the Executive Council. What was expected from the enlargement of the Councils was adequate criticism; and while on that point I may say that, if you expect only criticism from us, why should you expect us to put forward only responsible criticism? If you give us a chance by the game of in and out, then only can you ask us to go in for reasonable and responsible criticism, but if you are not going to give the Legislature any responsibility for what is going on in this House, why do you expect us to be reasonable and responsible for your purposes?

As regards the present character of the Executive Council, I have read what was in the mind of the authors of the new reforms. But I would just like to read one or two passages, giving an exact description of what

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is the present position in the country. First I will read a small paragraph from Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer's description of the present situation, and I cite him because, in my opinion, he is a man who enjoys an absolute detachment of opinion in political matters. He says:

"The position of the executive *vis-a-vis* the Legislature is far from comfortable or enviable. Government are therefore obliged to resort to all possible arts of conciliation or exploitation of the differences between the different parties and sections. Opposition has to be overcome by coaxing and cajolery, or bought off by favours or concessions. From the point of view of the Opposition it may perhaps be considered desirable that the Government should be kept in a dependant condition and a pliant mood; but there are limits to pliancy and the statute prevents the Opposition from obtaining a mastery of the situation. From the point of view of the administration, it is a source of weakness to the executive that they should be liable to be defeated at any moment by an irresponsible Legislature. Uncertainty as to the decision of the Legislature, and the want of an assured majority therein, must affect that sense of confidence which is essential to firmness of administration and continuity of policy."

This is by an Indian statesman, and now I am going to read an opinion upon the present constitution of India of a well-known person, Professor Keith, the author of "Responsible Government in the Dominions". His words will show that it is not we in India alone, who have been saying that the reforms are useless, and that they do not come up to expectations. He says:

"The Act of 1919 was passed by a Parliament which was by no means convinced of the wisdom of the new move in India, but which felt constrained to do something to make good the promises given by the British Government during the War to which India had responded by great services."

Therefore it is only by our war services that we have purchased this modified or qualified liberalisation of our political institutions in this country.

"The opposition to it was based on the belief that democratic institutions have never been evolved in the East and therefore could not apply adequately to it, a view recently maintained by Earl Balfour. A more generous conception held that the British rule in India existed for the benefit of the lower classes of the population, who were exposed to injustice at the hands of the wealthier classes and the higher castes."

But Professor Keith himself gives the answer:

"But the difficulty that, after a long period of British autocracy, nothing of substance has been done to raise the position of the depressed classes either economically or in point of education and self-respect is ignored. Nor were the critics aware of the remarkable assimilation of democratic principles by such a race as the Filippinos under the more enlightened generosity of the United States. The apparent development"—*he indulges in a little sarcasm*—"of democracy in Japan was explained away, and the autocracies of the Spanish Directory, Signor Mussolini and General Pangalos had not yet occurred to prove the unfitness of European democracies for liberty."

Our Government might point its finger and say, "Why take China and Japan? Look at the European countries. Look at the dictatorship in Spain; look at the dictatorship in Italy; look at the dictatorship in Greece". Then, he says:

"At any rate the Act was marked by a spirit of distrust and caution in strange contrast with the generosity which conceded responsible government to the Transvaal and Orange Free State."

Government have been more generous to the South African Republic in respect of the grant of self-government:

"It is true that certain extremists in India put forward ludicrous claims and refused to recognise fundamental facts",

—“but”, he says, and that is the crux of the whole situation—

“but none the less a more generous measure would have been well worth risking”—
by the Government.

“The Legislature of India, therefore, might be deemed to be representative, but it differed essentially from a true representative Legislature by having ultimately no power to prevent legislation by the Crown.”

I would just read one more sentence and show to the House what view a man of that eminence takes :

“The justification for this attitude was, of course, the fact that India, specially vulnerable to attack through the growth of the strength of the tribes on the frontier, the doubtful friendship of Afghanistan.”

But in the end he says, and this is most important,—

“But these considerations should have rendered all the more eager the endeavour to open up military careers for Indians and to train the people to defend themselves as a necessary condition of self-government.”

Therefore, I have cited to you the opinion of an Indian statesman, Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, on the present constitution of the executive and the Government, and also the opinion of an English statesman and a great author on responsible government itself. The quotation I have given conclusively proves that, even that man of detachment admits that Government have not gone so far as they should have gone in the matter of reforms in India. Now, in self-governing countries also it may be said that there are two blocks, one block or one party standing for one kind of principles and policy, and facing that block sits another group of Members of the Legislature with a different policy and principles. That is a fact which obtains in every Legislature practically. But then you must remember that both of them are elected by territorial electorates in the same country, and not as in India one block responsible to the British electorate 6,000 miles away, and another block of Members responsible to the Indian electorates. In every self-governing country there are parties, there may be two or three or even four parties, with different principles and policies, and yet why do they carry on the administration, and even peaceful administration and successful administration? Because the country gets a chance to put its will into operation through the medium of the Legislature, though it may be made up of two or more parties responsible to the different electorates with different principles and policies. The real key to the solution of this problem in those countries is that their game of in and out is freely played, and the game allows a chance of making experiments with alternative policies. That is the real cause of the trouble in India. There is no chance of ever trying an experimental policy, an alternative policy. Government have in their hands certain pre-conceived policies, and they go on as if there was great virtue in constantly following only those policies and trying no other policies. But that never happens in a really self-governing country. This process, this game of in and out serves two purposes; either the nation gets what it wants and it justifies the wisdom of its policy by this game of in and out. But suppose the protagonists of particular policies ultimately find out that their policies are not practicable, and they are so convinced, and come to know the practical limitations of their theoretical ideals and principles, and when they are subjected to cross-examination by the stern facts of the practical problems, then of course they give up those policies and they have got nothing to blame except themselves.

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for having wrongly conceived those policies. But where certain policies are ultimately realised as successful, or in the case of other policies the practical limitations are found out by the protagonists, the central thing remains, namely, that the nation has got a chance to put its will into operation. Where the policies are not ultimately realised, or have to be given up as impracticable and hopeless, the game of in and out serves at least as a useful safety-valve for letting off steam of failure or discontent, and the best course for folly or ignorance is, after all, to give it a chance for discovering itself. But there is even a higher purpose of responsibility. The history of evolution of responsibility is interesting. Originally, the theory was that the King governed by the divine right and also could do no wrong. But gradually the view prevailed that those who acted on behalf of the Crown, at least must be held responsible for the legal conduct, and the doctrine that the King can do no wrong ultimately came to apply, not only to offences under the criminal law, but also to political errors. And the King can do no wrong, cannot do any wrong, for the simple reason that he is allowed to do nothing by his own independent will and action, and everything is done for him just as everything is found for him. He is, if I may say so, the most exalted and glorified apotheosis of beneficent inactivity or negation. In the early stages, Parliament in England tried a number of schemes to prevent the Crown from carrying out unpopular policies. One of them was to make the ministers seal Royal documents so that individual responsibility of Ministers could be at once located, and functioning ministers would be assailed and would be called to answer and subjected to impeachment. These crude forms of ministerial responsibility have of course now become obsolete; but something of greater value was obtained in its stead. The responsibility of individual ministers remains to this day, as it was before in past centuries, but in the course of time something more has come in addition to the individual responsibility of ministers, and that is the collective responsibility of the Cabinet, and in the form of this collective responsibility of the Cabinet, democracy has given or taken, whichever you like to call it, hostages to the nation for proper administration according to the wishes of the country. And now the position has settled down finally. It has come to this in England. The King must accept the advice of ministers or find other ministers who will accept responsibility.

Now we are of course as much under the rule of the King as England. The Emperor never comes here. He takes practically no part in the administration of this country. But he must in theory accept, on Indian affairs, the advice of Ministers, or find other Ministers who will accept responsibility so far as the State Secretary is concerned. But even though the State Secretary goes out of office, on account of the collective responsibility incurred by the Cabinet, still in relation to India there is absolutely no change of Government. That game of in and out is never played; no non-official political party is ever given any chance to put its policy into practice, and make experiments with an alternative policy. Therefore, the substance of India's claim for responsible government is that the State Secretary's office should be abolished. (Hear, hear.) The State Secretary's power should, for the most part, be transferred to the Indian Government, and the Indian Government itself should become a national Government. It should be Indianised and also made responsible. That is the substance of our demand for self-government. But here I wish to utter a word of caution. Our claim for responsible government should not be confounded

with our claim for Indianisation of the services, because they are two different things. Indianisation is wanted for two reasons. First of all, it is the birthright of the sons of the soil to run the administration of their own country. Secondly, in the interests of the country also I will say we want Indianisation. For we know, and we believe, that, if we have an Indian agency of administration, such Indian agency is bound to be cheaper and more economical. Therefore, if my Honourable friend, the Finance Member, wants to cut down expenditure, instead of putting an officer on retrenchment duty, or appointing a retrenchment committee, let him at once take up and pursue to its furthest conclusion, the policy of Indianisation, which will give us what we want, and will also give him the retrenchment in expenditure that he wants. It is not a fantastic suggestion. Look at the figures of administrative expenditure in Japan, for instance. My Honourable friend Dr. Moonje will be able to tell you what the pay of an army General is in Japan, compared with the pay of an army General in India, and so on. That same scale can be applied to the whole gamut of the administration here. But then we are told, as we were told some time ago by the Honourable the Finance Member, "Don't you be under the delusion that if you get self-government, your expenditure will go down." It may be so, but even if under self-government we shall have to spend as much as now, we shall certainly spend it in a different manner, through our own men, who in return will get very valuable experience of administration for themselves. I will give this as an example. Supposing we spend Rs. 54 crores on military expenditure, we shall certainly create with that a strong national army in the country and establish factories in the country for arms, ammunition and mechanisation, and also schools and colleges for military education. Indianisation is thus very important.

But that is only one part of our aspiration. For India's heart is set upon self-government also. Independent testimony to our real desire for responsible government, in addition to Indianisation—*independent testimony*, as I say, comes in from what we find in the Indian States. I am not referring here in any manner to the relations between the British Government and the Indian States over their internal affairs, but what I do point out is, if only to give a parallel, the new movement now going on in the Indian States. Why is the new movement going on there? Our claim for responsible government is not satisfied in the Indian States, where the officers from top to bottom are Indians. There is hardly any Indian State in India where an Indian does not occupy the highest post and does not discharge the highest function. But that is only Indianisation and nothing more. Though there is Indianisation, that does not exhaust our democratic claim and aspiration, for even in Indian States we do say we must have responsible government even at the hands of the Indian officers. What we therefore claim, after all, is the expression of the will of the taxpayer, through the instrument of the legislature and control of the executive. And therefore it comes to this, that if Indian States are mis-governed, we ask both for good government and self-government. But if there are well-administered Indian States, then we do not ask for good government, because it is already there, and still we ask for self-government even in Indian States. Therefore, our claim to responsible government in this country is not spiteful, is not directed against the present rulers simply because they are foreigners. Supposing we enjoy self-government, who knows we may keep some of the Englishmen, the Civilians, if we find them good and efficient men, either as advisers or our permanent officers in the Secretariat, or use them for technical and expert services.

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Not that India has shut itself entirely against foreigners for all time, or means to do it; it wants Englishmen and Europeans; but the question is, who should possess the whip hand of control, and that whip hand of control is claimed by India for the nation itself, rather than that it should be left with an irresponsible bureaucracy.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member is taking a long time.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar: Sir, I have practically come to my last point. I will now conclude by just making one appeal to the Bureaucracy now installed in office, on the Treasury Benches. Sir, with your permission I would like, in conclusion, to address just a few words to the Treasury Benches in a somewhat direct fashion. I would say this to them: "You, occupants of the Treasury Benches, you may be all of you very estimable gentlemen as individuals. I know you possess a high sense of duty, but that duty you owe to an absentee taskmaster six thousand miles away. Don't you therefore feel the irksomeness of your situation? Don't you for yourselves like to be released from that absentee overlord and come into direct relationship, into direct responsibility to the Indian people themselves? When you are criticised, sometimes unfairly criticised, don't you feel like saying to the Opposition, 'Come, good Sirs, here you are, your tasks and your problems, let us see how you, who are so critical of us, acquit yourselves of the responsibility'. Don't you feel the urge of sportsmanship to put you on your mettle and offer a challenge to exchange places with your critics and opponents? Surely you are not so egotistic as to suppose that wisdom and prudence are the exclusive monopoly of the Treasury Benches and that the mere touch of those Benches releases hidden springs of revelation?

12 NOON. You will surely be prepared to admit that there may be, on this side also, people who may very well claim to share in your gifts as men of affairs and administrators. If that be so, it is your own duty, as much as ours, to fight with the Home Government to make the Executive Council really responsible to the Indian nation. If you fail in that, you will be unfaithful to your own trust. All legitimate responsibility, like honest labour, has a dignity of its own, and by making the Government of India responsible, you would be only ministering to your own honour and self-respect. But if you do not do it, do not think that the destiny of India will remain unachieved". The nation is up and in arms. It is well aware of both of its points of weakness and its points of strength; but it is not going to falter any longer. It has struck its tents and is marching with the music of hope in its ears and the strength of confidence in its ears. Dominion Status and Independence somehow seem intermingled on the horizon; but which of them should be ultimately cherished or accepted as its immediate or ultimate destiny by the Indian nation depends mainly upon the alertness and alacrity which you show in your duty to India. (Cheers.)

Munshi Iswar Saran (Lucknow Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, in rising to support the motion of my Honourable friend, I am anxious that no words of mine should add to the bitterness of the present situation. There is no impartial critic who will not be prepared to acknowledge that some useful service has been rendered by the Executive Council to this country. Whether the service outweighs the disservice is another story.

Sir, the question that we are considering at this moment has got two aspects, one political and the other psychological. I shall, with your permission, first offer a few observations on the political aspect of the problem, and I shall put one or two very straight questions to the representatives of the Executive Council in this House and ask them to give us straight answers.

We have had one hundred and fifty years of British rule in this country. What have our rulers done as regards the education of the people? We are told, in season and out of season, that they are the trustees of the masses. I do not propose to pause, consider and examine this theory of trusteeship—I shall accept it for the sake of argument—but I shall ask, in all seriousness, what have the trustees done for the betterment of the education of these very men whose interests they profess to protect?

Mr. B. Das (Orissa Division: Non-Muhammadan): The Education Member is not present here!

Munshi Iswar Saran: Who opposed Mr. Gokhale's Bill for compulsory primary education in 1911? Who, I ask again, opposed Mr. Sarma's Resolution for the introduction of primary education as a post-war concession? Sir, I hope my Honourable friends on the other side will give straight answers to these questions, because on those answers will depend the verdict not only of this House but of the civilised world on their administration. Contrast what they were doing before the introduction of these shadowy reforms known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms with what has been done since their introduction. When our Ministers in the provinces got some kind of power and became in some way responsible to the electorate what happened? By 1927 the number of pupils in primary schools rose to 2.94 millions, or an increase of 44 per cent., while the expenditure on primary education, which was 2.98 crores in 1917, became 6.95 crores—an increase of 237 per cent. I say, Sir, that our progress in the realm of education has been impeded by the Executive Council. They were responsible for our education—they realised the taxes. Why, I ask, did they not educate our people? And today we find ourselves in a position when the reactionaries in England can get up and say, "Oh, you want self-government; you want Dominion Status; how can you have it when there is so much illiteracy in your country?" With that argument I am not concerned at this stage, but I do submit that this argument does not lie in the mouths of those who, by their inaction, have kept us in this condition. The education of the country is one test by which we can judge of the achievements of the Executive Council.

Take the other test; our finances. In his last budget speech, Sir Basil Blackett envied his distinguished successor, because, from 1929 onwards, he would be enjoying surpluses, and he would be a happy man. This view of Sir Basil Blackett, I take it, was the view of the Executive Council. A year after, however, the Honourable Sir George Schuster found the finances of India like the curate's egg, good in parts. What did he say? I shall beg the House to mark this. Only a year after he said there were bad patches in our finances, though there was no occasion for serious pessimism. It was only last year that these remarks were made, and what do we get this year? A frankly deficit Budget, with proposals for intolerable taxation, coupled with Imperial Preference. Sir, there may be some dispute whether this particular proposal constitutes Imperial Preference or

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not, but I hope the Executive Government and Sir George Schuster will forgive us if we regard it as Imperial Preference, because I find that journals, weighty and responsible, in England have taken this view. What is worse, Sir, is this. This Executive Council gives us no hope of reduction in the expenditure in the immediate future. The Honourable Sir George Schuster, on their behalf, said, in regard to one branch of expenditure—civil administration—and I must confess that he was perfectly frank—that there was no prospect of any reduction in the near future. I submit with great respect, and I can assure the House that I do not wish to use a single word which may be offensive, that if the finances of a country are any test of its administration, then it must be said that the Executive Council or the Government of India is a failure.

Their policy of expenditure, their manipulation of the ratio, about which there has been repeated complaint in this House and outside, their exchange and currency policy, all these taken together have reduced us to our present condition.

While the country was in an unsatisfactory financial condition, what did the Executive Council do? They started giving Lee concessions to their officers. I do not for a moment wish to minimise the services of the able and distinguished men who confer a boon on us by coming over to this country,—they are all eminent men, I hope all of them are,—but the point is, if the Executive Council had been responsible to us, they would have considered whether, in the present condition of the finances of the country, we could afford to give these concessions to these officers. I say, Sir, if we had an Executive Council which was responsible to us, it would not have appointed the Lee Commission, nor would it have accepted its recommendations. What it would have done is this, it would have taken courage to reduce the scale of salaries from top to bottom. As my friend Mr. Kelkar has said,—and I do wish to support him—it is absolutely necessary that, in the present financial condition of India, and for a long time to come, the scale of salaries in this country should be very much lower than what it is. But this reform will only be possible when we have an Executive Council which is responsible to us, or in other words, when we have responsible Government.

Now, Sir, take another thing. The Government of India have disarmed us, and let them for a moment endeavour, if they can, to look at the matter from our point of view. It is not only that this action of Government has deprived us of our capacity to defend our hearths and homes, but what is infinitely worse is that it has led to our spiritual and moral degradation. Having disarmed us, what else did they do? They would not throw open to us the commissioned ranks of the Army for a long long time. The House is very well aware of the history of this question, and I do not think I need go into it in detail. They resisted our demand for the admission of Indians into the commissioned ranks of the Army. After a long struggle, they have yielded, but they have yielded with such ill grace that their present policy, I submit, Sir, is not only halting but dilatory. They have been spending money over the Army, in spite of our protests, for the last so many years. I have sometimes noticed, Sir,—I mean no offence or disrespect to anybody,—that when we hear the annual wail from this side of the House about the military expenditure, some Honourable Members of this House.

Mr. President: We are going to deal with the military question tomorrow.

Munshi Iswar Saran: I submit, Sir, with profound respect that I am not discussing the military expenditure. I am only inviting the attention of the House to the fact of how the Executive Government have failed us in this matter. I hope, Sir, you will permit me

Mr. President: The Honourable Member can do that tomorrow in a general way. He cannot refer to it in detail today.

Munshi Iswar Saran: I shall not go into details at all. I am much obliged to you for your suggestion.

Now, Sir, this expenditure in 1910 and 1911 was over 28 crores and in the present year 1930-31 it is over 54 crores. Now, Sir, I ask if this Executive Council had been responsible to the people of this country, would it have gone on spending money in the fashion in which it has gone on? Why, Sir? We know as a fact that many suggestions, by way of reform, have been made from time to time, and they have been authoritatively made by the well known Inchcape Committee, and still a good many of them remain on the pages of the Report and have not been carried out in their entirety. I say again, if this Government had been a responsible Government, it would not have yielded in the way it has yielded to the wishes of Whitehall or of the War Office—I do not know which. Proposal after proposal has gone to the India Office, and it has gone there only to be buried in that grave of India's hopes and aspirations. I do not think, Sir, I should weary the House by citing other instances. Look at any department you will, and you will find that the Executive Council has failed and failed miserably. I said at the very outset that there was something to be recorded on the credit side, but truth compels me to say that infinitely more has to be recorded on the debit side.

I may, with your permission, Sir, turn now from this unpleasant topic to a topic which is somewhat pleasant and hope-inspiring. An element of change has been introduced into the political atmosphere by the announcement which was made by His Excellency the Viceroy, and may I, Sir, here pause and pay my tribute of respect and admiration to His Excellency Lord Irwin, if it may not be impertinent for me to do so? . . .

Mr. President: It is for you to consider.

Munshi Iswar Saran: I would not have done it if I had thought it would be impertinent. Sir, we on this side have differed from His Excellency and from his policy and criticised him, and we still retain to ourselves the right of differing from him and of criticising him and his policy, but that does not prevent us from paying our meed of praise to Lord Irwin for the magnificent part which he has played at this critical moment in the history of the relations between England and India. There has been, I know, Sir, some misunderstanding about this announcement, but may I say that, if one reads dispassionately the announcement together with the speech. . .

Mr. President: I really cannot allow the Honourable Member to discuss the question of the merits or demerits of the announcement in this debate.

Munshi Iswar Saran: I submit, Sir, with profound respect to the Chair that I

Mr. President: I cannot allow the Honourable Member to discuss the question of the announcement.

Munshi Iswar Saran: May I be permitted to explain my point of view, Sir.

Mr. President: Order, order. I have already ruled that I cannot allow the announcement of His Excellency the Viceroy to be discussed on this cut.

Munshi Iswar Saran: Will you be good enough to permit me to explain my point of view so that you may be pleased to consider it. Am I not allowed to make a submission for your consideration? I am perfectly willing to obey your ruling, but surely you will be pleased to.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member knows that I have given a ruling, and the Honourable Member has got to accept it.

Munshi Iswar Saran: Most willingly I accept the ruling. What I want to submit for your consideration is that I am not discussing the question of the announcement of His Excellency the Viceroy. I submit that it is germane to the question which we are discussing, for the simple reason that it provides an opportunity of converting the irresponsibility of the Executive Council into responsibility.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member might vote against the motion in that case.

Munshi Iswar Saran: It is my misfortune that I am not able to explain myself. I hope in course of time I shall be able to make myself better understood. As you have been pleased to give your ruling, I have got to obey it and I bow to it. I shall not refer to the announcement at all. What I say is this. A situation has been created and it is for the Executive Council to so shape its course of action that full advantage may be taken of this opportunity.

I said at the outset of my remarks that there was a psychological aspect of the question. The problem we are discussing is not merely a political problem. I wish Honourable Members on the opposite Benches to realise that it is with us a question of emotion. Indians feel humiliated that the Government of their country is not their own and they are not free. Indians feel that they can only acquire their rightful place among the nations of the world if the Government of their country becomes responsible to them. Even if this Government were the most ideal Government in the world, we would still protest against it and claim freedom. I submit this is a most critical moment and we have got the last chance. Let me hope and trust that Members on the opposite Benches will so shape their conduct as to fully utilise this opportunity and to see that there may be no occasion next year to move this cut. Sir, I support the motion.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I rise to support the motion of my Honourable friend, Mr. Kelkar. I am told that it is not necessary this year to repeat this motion, which has been a hardy annual for the past few years, because the Government of India have achieved this year a substantial step forward in securing the Round Table Conference. I submit that the Round Table Conference is an achievement of His Excellency the Viceroy personally, and that this motion concerns the Governor General in Council, namely, the form

of Government here of which, there is no difference of opinion on this side of the House, India has had too much and which India wishes to see changed without any further delay. I therefore feel that, unless during the last year or the present year, there have been some changes in the policy of Government, which can be said to have been a welcome change from their past policy, one must consider the question of censuring the Executive Council, which for all practical purposes represents the Government of India in this House. I have come to the conclusion that there has been no such change during this current year in the policy of Government in various departments, and that this hardy annual, as it may be called, is justifiably revived this year, and this House should pass this motion. Previous speakers have referred to the policy of Government from the political and, as my Honourable friend Munshi Iswar Saran said, from the higher points of view. As representing trade and commerce in this House, I wish to submit to the House one or two directions in which the apathy of Government, as far as commerce and industry are concerned, have richly earned to the Executive Council this censure motion. I will begin by quoting what Mr. Stanley Baldwin has said lately in connection with industries of England and the necessity for safeguarding British industries. England is a far far senior country to India as regards the efficiency and capacity of her industries to hold their own. Compared with England, we, Sir, in this country, as far as our industries are concerned, can be said to be practically in our childhood, and still what does the illustrious ex-Premier of Great Britain say? I will quote from the Notes and Comments of the *Times* Trade and Engineering Supplement, dated the 8th February, of the current year. With your permission, I will quote in full two paragraphs which I am afraid I cannot curtail. They will convey the burden of what I have to put before the House better than any words of mine. I will therefore read these in full. The heading is, "Free Hand for Safeguarding".

"As for the proposed tariff truce, Mr. Baldwin roundly declared that in no circumstances would he or those he led be a party to anything that might be done by the present Government in that direction. He pointed out that there can be no tariff truce between this country and the world; a nation armed with bows and arrows is not in a position to make arrangements with one equipped with modern artillery"—(*India has no bows and arrows, nor modern artillery*)—"And so he came to the important pronouncement that,"—(*these are Mr. Baldwin's own words*)—"If I am to cope with unemployment as it stands today, I must have a free hand from the country in safeguarding the manufacturers". He rightly insisted that the mere fact that the Government had such power would be of assistance in making treaties with foreign powers."

Under the heading "Safeguarding Procedure", the paper says:

"Mr. Baldwin's statement has been taken to mean that he does not intend to revive the famous "procedure" by which protracted inquiries were instituted by his Government into the desirability of imposing duties. Government by committee is deservedly unpopular and it is quite certain that industry does not want any repetition of proceedings that imposed upon manufacturers the obligation of proving a case at their own expense and in the teeth of determined opposition from importers of foreign merchandise whose prosperity was the best evidence of the need for safeguarding but in fact enabled them to undertake expensive measures to defend their interests. Another good point was Mr. Baldwin's reminder that when industry was in process of rationalisation, like the lobster when changing its shell, it needed protection during the metamorphosis."

These words, Sir, are true words, and if they are true regarding England they are a thousand times truer regarding the necessity of our industries in India. If the necessity for England to safeguard her industries after progress in industrialisation for more than two centuries is great.

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I say that the Government of India can be said to have been not only morally, but almost criminally, liable for neglect of the industries of India at this time of depression. The responsibility is the greater when the Government of India realise that they themselves have avoidably contributed to the existing depression by giving a bounty of 12½ per cent. by their ill-fated currency policy of 1927. Sir, as representing commerce and industry in this House, I consider it my sacred duty to submit to this House that, if for nothing else, for the mere reason that the Government of India have, by a policy of inaction, during the last two years contributed to this acute depression in a manner which was avoidable. If the Members opposite were responsible to this House and could be turned out on a vote of this House, they would not have been in their seats to-day. They would have been turned out last year or even the year before. When I say this, I mean, of course nothing to any one of the Honourable Members opposite personally but collectively as a Government. I say they have more than earned this vote of censure. (Interruption by Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney), Colonel Gidney is an expert in medicine.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: The motion is not put yet, so how can you call it a vote of censure?

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: It will be a vote of censure I trust by the time the House comes to vote on it.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: When the House votes you will be at liberty to so call it.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I am saying that it should be passed. Let Colonel Gidney oppose it. (*Several Honourable Members:* "Do not mind Colonel Gidney.") Sir, I am sorry if I have irritated my Honourable friend Colonel Gidney, but if he understood the situation and realised it as well as Members on this side of the House do, he would not have interrupted me at all. I am sorry for his ignorance.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: The Honourable Member must not forget that if it had not been for the Commerce Department of Government of India, which he is decrying today he would not be in a position he now occupies.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: That is a matter of opinion.

Now, let us see what Japan has done lately. She has brought her currency back to the pre-war gold point. She has not appreciated her currency beyond the pre-war level as the Government of India forced us to do. The first thing that Japan did, whilst making the announcement, was to ensure protection to her industries to the extent of the appreciation from the prevailing rate of exchange to the pre-war gold point. Surely, Sir, the statesmen in Japan can be credited by Colonel Gidney to know their business better than he thinks he knows about India.

As against this what has been the condition here? To name only one instance. We are always told that when an industry seeks protection it must go before the Tariff Board. The Right Honourable Stanley Baldwin has said that he would not ask any industry to go before the Tariff Board or what is equivalent to a Tariff Board, and that he would take the whole thing in his own hands. But as far as the Government of India are concerned, even about this slow and patient process of reference to the Tariff Board, I have a very serious complaint to put before the

House. The question of protection to the chemical industry of India was referred to the Tariff Board more than a year ago, and the Honourable the Commerce Member will, I am sure, not challenge me if I say to this House that he expected to publish their Report some time last October, at the latest. Then came December, and then February, and even to this day the Government of India have neither published the Report nor have they told us what their opinion about the Report is. I do not know, Sir, the reason why the publication of that Report has been withheld. Much less do I know the reason of the difficulty of the Government in arriving at their conclusion in this connection. I do not wish to make any guesses, which may be incorrect and may be said to be uncharitable. But the fact remains that, whilst the Government of India are making up their minds, the enterprise concerned in this connection is almost getting desperate, and factories have to close down. Is this fair to the Indian industries? Are the Government of India justified in treating the struggling Indian industries in this way? My constituency, Sir, the Indian Merchants Chamber of Bombay, submitted their views in very unmistakable terms to the Honourable Member, when he was good enough to give them an interview in Bombay last October or November. I do not wish to go into that question here, because the Honourable Member himself confessed then that he very much regretted the delay. That delay till last October or November, has been prolonged by another four or five months, and has caused so much more anxiety and loss to those who have either put their money in or who are employed in that industry. One can only say as a Member of this House, that we are helpless against the Government of India when they prefer to be silent onlookers of such a slow process of death. Are we wrong in supporting this motion and reminding the Government of India that their policy is one which has merited our censure?

I will give the House another instance. Later on in the course of this session will come up the Tariff Bill, the discussion of which I do not wish to anticipate. But I cannot help referring on this motion to the policy of the Government of India, which, in the words of my Honourable friend Mr. Jayakar, always finds us with this written at the door of the Secretariat: "To late". The question of protection to the textile industry was referred to the Tariff Board some time back. I think the Tariff Board submitted their Report at least two or three years back, and, after a full investigation, they recommended an increase of 4 per cent. in the revenue duty. The Government of India have taken almost three years to make up their minds, and, in fact, they have allowed the position of the textile industry to worsen to such an extent that they have now to come to the conclusion that the 4 per cent. recommended by the Tariff Board is today not only essential, but inadequate to enable the Indian textile industry to withstand the onslaught of competition from outside India. We are today faced with this position, that another 5 per cent. protection is necessary for the Indian textile industry, but the complication comes in because the interests of Lancashire have to be safeguarded. It is a somewhat tall-tale step, the effect of which may not be realised by my Honourable friends on the Government Benches today but it will make them think and repent a year or two hence. With all the goodwill of my Honourable friends on this side of the House, many of them find themselves in an extremely difficult position. But I will not today develop that point. What I ask is, were the Government of

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India justified in withholding the 4 per cent. recommended by the Tariff Board, after a full inquiry three years back, and if so, in whose interest were they waiting all this time? Why did they wait so long as eventually to discover the 4 per cent. increase in the import duty recommended by the Tariff Board to be inadequate, and that nine per cent., that is more than double, is required, even according to the opinion of the Government of India today? Sir, the Government of India never take a liberal view in these matters. They weigh the pros and cons for protection as if they are weighing out not gold or silver but almost precious stones. Whenever anything is to be given by way of protection, it is weighed in the scales almost to the slightest decimal point, .000001, and after such careful scrutiny of my Honourable friends on the Treasury Benches, they today admit that the 4 per cent., recommended by the Textile Tariff Board after a full inquiry, is inadequate, and requires to be reinforced by a protective duty. I will not follow this any further, Sir.

In contrast with this, let us see what other Governments, which are really representative of the people, and wish well for their countries, do. I do not know, but I am sure that the Government of India in the relative Department must have had telegrams from representatives of Japanese commerce and industry in this country. I have received some telegrams from Osaka, pleading why this duty should not be approved of by this House. But the latest information in this connection, Sir, is really an eye-opener. I have in my hand a telegram from a source in Bombay which I regard as being absolutely reliable. I will read the contents of the telegram for the information of this House:

“Strong report believed reliable Japan selling cloth heavily, guaranteeing to pay, buyers extra protective duty, if any levied”

This is the attitude of the Japanese Government. What a striking contrast this affords to the lukewarm solicitude of the Governor General in Council for the industries of India. The telegram continues:

“Also believed Japanese Government may give bounty if duty levied. Reported 7,000 bales business done.”

That, Sir, is the way and the pace at which Governments, which feel for their nationals and their national industry, move and work.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai (Sind: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Who is the author of that telegram?

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I can tell my Honourable friend that it is from a very reliable source, and I take full responsibility for that telegram.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: I accept that.

Some Honourable Members: We all accept that.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: My anxiety was that this House should have the latest information.

Mr. M. B. Jayakar (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): This is quite sufficient for our purposes.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I have mentioned this in order to bring out the contrast between the solicitude of the Government of Japan for their industries and for the welfare of those who are engaged in their industries and the comparatively leisurely manner in which the requirements of industries in this country are being attended to by the Governor General in Council. In the speech of the Honourable the Finance Member, I noticed another remarkable contrast in this connection. The Honourable Member, in recommending to this House that they should approve of the raising of the import duty on sugar by Rs. 1½ per cwt., making it 100 per cent. on the current prevailing rate for sugar, said that he expected that the consumer would not suffer by this increase. I am not at present saying a word against the increased import duty because, I believe, it will give even though belated, some protection to the sugarcane grower of India. Whilst an import duty of 100 per cent. on sugar is not supposed to be injurious to the consumer, where it is a question of cotton textiles, anything more than 15 per cent. is considered by the Governor General in Council to be so dangerous that it cannot be thought of. Sir, England does not export sugar, but England does export cotton textiles; that is my short commentary on this. It is this which we object to. The Government here may look after our interests well so long as other countries are concerned, but as soon as the interests of India and England clash, we feel every time that the interests of England, somehow or other, do appeal to the Government of India, and our interests have got to wait outside the door. Sir, so much for Indian industries. I wish I could say more about it today, but I will reserve that for the Bill that is coming on shortly. My intention today is only to make out a case that, by their acts of omission and commission, the Governor General in Council have tried our patience and have justified a case for a responsible Cabinet instead of the present irresponsible and irremovable Cabinet.

Now, Sir, one word regarding commerce. A good crop and the export of raw materials from India are the main things on which the Provincial Governments and the Government of India depend for their finances, and those who produce the raw materials are said to be the special care of the Government. We hear from those die-hards in England, who are frightened of any talk of advance in Indian reforms, that the Government of India, as constituted at present, the British public and Parliament are the trustees of the masses of India and therefore nothing should be done until those masses are better educated and can enjoy the ordinary common vote. Now, let us see what the Government of India have done for those who produce these raw materials. I will not, Sir, touch upon the question of the deliberate loot, as I call it, of 12½ per cent. inflicted on the growers of the raw produce in India. It is not my intention to dwell on that. But has anything been done to see that these raw materials from India which go to international markets get the best price which is justified by the quality and by the special nature, if any, in these international markets? Have the Government of India got any machinery at all, have they devised any machinery during the last 100 years of their rule in India to see that these raw materials and their fate in the foreign markets are followed from day to day and that any improvement and suggestions for better marketing in these international markets are either acted up to or devised? Are we wrong if we conclude that the Government of India's only anxiety is that the raw materials should be exported in order that they may get a revenue, and in order that countries in the west should get something which they wish to manufacture into articles, which they wish to send us back in a

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manufactured form? I may be told that this is not a new feature which can be said to have developed in the current year. I fully agree. I am trying to point out that the Government of India cannot have it both ways; either they must whole-heartedly encourage us to do what is being done in other civilised countries in the world, namely, to use our own raw materials and manufacture articles out of them for our purposes; or, at least in order to justify their goodwill for the masses, they must see that the raw materials which go out fetch the best price in international markets, and what I am more anxious about, enjoy the reputation which they should enjoy. When we wanted a few Trade Commissioners in foreign markets not necessarily for manufactured articles but also to look after our exports, how minutely has every item of expenditure in connection with those five or six appointments been examined! What a long time have the Government of India taken to make up their minds whether they will give India this staff abroad or not! How many times has financial stringency been put before us regarding this item! If I remember it right, I think the first Resolution in connection with the appointment of Indian Trade Commissioners overseas was moved in this very House almost about the year 1921. certainly in the year 1924. For six appointments it took the Government of India either six or nine years. Who is it, what is it, that is supposed to be the care of the Government of India? Only this, carry on the Government from day to day and see that England's manufactured articles find a market here. Is that a condition with which any representative of commerce and industry in this House can reconcile himself? I call upon this House to support this motion for the simple reason of showing that we cannot approve of the Government of India's policy in this connection and that the Government of India do require to be reminded that we are greatly dissatisfied with the way in which they have treated India's commerce and industry.

Mr. Anwar-ul-Azim (Chittagong Division: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I am grateful to you for having allowed me to catch your eye at this stage. But I think it would have been more appropriate if better minds, and gentlemen in the position of leaders on my side had stood up and told our story, so far as this cut is concerned. But in any case I feel, Sir, that I have the support of my friends here with regard to what I have to say in this connection. I have listened with a very great amount of interest to what has fallen from the noble Knight who has just sat down with regard to some of the financial and industrial matters, and not being an industrialist or a financier myself, I do not feel justified in dabbling in or passing any opinion on them. But as a very humble student of economics, it appears to me that perhaps there is quite a weighty amount of truth in the charge that has been levelled by him at the financial policy of Government. But I do not think that, at this juncture, it will be right for us, people in a hopeless condition, belonging to minorities, to rouse the ire, should I say, of the Government of India, represented by the Executive Councillors who are all my friends. One very significant fact has been brought out by the speech of Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas and it is this. Perhaps Government have been—rightly or wrongly—indulging in some costly luxury in giving effect to their decision in regard to the ratio. I personally feel that, as time passes on, with the advantage of having Sir George Schuster as Finance Member, it will be possible for Government to hit on some form by which this national waste could be stopped to an appreciable extent.

Now, I have no quarrel with anybody in this world because we are so unhappily placed in this country. Wherever I turn my eyes, I find myself absolutely in a wilderness. If I had sufficient data at my disposal to support Mr. Kelkar I would have been pleased to help him, and it would have been in this form. You know, Sir, that here, with the efforts of one of our very great men, some sort of trial or experiment at constitution-making is going on here in Delhi. To the credit of Mr. Jinnah it must be said that he has tried his very best to represent our side of the story to those gentlemen whose spokesman Mr. Kelkar is, who has come out with this cut on the Executive Council and on their behalf. And here I may pertinently ask one question. The Honourable the Mover of this motion has got peculiar and bewildered ideas with regard to his rights and duties while he is not in office, while he does not form any part of Government, while he has not got any authoritative say on the policy of Government. And even then, what do I find? Not even an inch of encouragement by way of acknowledging our just and proper rights. If Mr. Kelkar meant business, I am sure, before coming forward with this cut, he should have considered with what audacity he was coming before the House to have its support. You know, Sir, that here in this country, since 1885, the goal of the intelligentsia of the people has been some sort of provincial autonomy. You will know, Sir, as a veteran statesman of our country, that every year, down to 1925 or 1926, the Congress has demanded full provincial autonomy. (*Maulvi Abdul Matin Chaudhury*: "Question.") I repeat again, for the knowledge of my friend Mr. Chaudhury, who is so hard on me at times, that if he will scan through the resolutions of the Congress from 1885 up to a very short time ago, he will find that they have been clamouring for provincial autonomy and nothing else; and some sort of encouragement has been shown to them from 1909 as such. And from 1909 up till 1920 there has been some sort of compliance with the desire of the Congress. My humble submission is this, that if the Congress meant business, if they had a little foresight in 1885, they should have tried for Dominion Status and Independence then. If as a result of 40 years' crying, the Morley-Minto Reforms came into effect, and on the top of that the present constitution, of which we are a party, I should as an impartial critic think that perhaps the intention of Government is not so bad as is depicted by the Mover of this motion.

Secondly, I should like to ask Mr. Kelkar one other question. He wants now, at this stage, full-fledged autonomy in the centre. Suppose places of eminent civilians and of our countrymen on the Treasury Benches are placed at our disposal and we are given a chance, may I ask him how he will have his Cabinet formed? I hear a whisper that they will take me.

1 P. M. They need not take me individually. But, if the actions of Mr. Kelkar and his friends were any indication that they have really even a grain of respect for us, who had been rulers in this country for 800 years, who had a stake here in this country for 800 years, and still have, and who had brought culture to the people, and who had once, in their time, ruled from the shores of the Atlantic to the wilds of Assam; if Mr. Kelkar and his friends, before moving this cut at this stage, had come to us and taken our just sentiments into consideration, and if he had compromised with us honourably we would have been pleased to help him. I do not say for a single moment, Sir, that it is not possible to evolve constitutions which might legitimately satisfy all people inhabiting this country. What is needed is courage and broad-mindedness and nothing else. In this connection, I should also remind my Honourable friend, Mr. Kelkar,

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that it was his preceptor, Mr. Tilak, who presided over the Indian National Congress in 1916 at Lucknow. He had a large vision and he agreed to the Lucknow pact. As a result of that, some consideration was shown to us under the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. The consideration was of a just nature, and not a favour.

Mr. President: It is Friday today.

Mr. Anwar-ul-Azim: Yes, Sir, I know, and if Mr. Kelkar and his friends, who want to have Swaraj in this country, had arranged for some such pact and came here with this demand, it would have been better. When I say this, I do not for a single second feel that the policy of the Government as a whole has been on the right lines, because it seems to me that the policy which they have been pursuing from the beginning of this century has been one of yielding to the mailed fist. I am not a believer in the mailed fist, Sir; I am a believer in evolution and constitutional progress. You know that in 1905 the Government of Lord Curzon created a province on the South-Eastern side of India, and they said that it was a settled fact. It was said that it was to give some impetus to the Mussalinans of Eastern Bengal to take advantage of the progress of time, and of course what did we find? Nationalists, headed then by the late Surendra Nath Banerjee and others of his kind, thought that, if there was to be a province there on that side, the Mussalmans would be predominating there and that must be annulled. Agitation went on, and at the end of 1911, Government yielded to the so-called clamourings, and what was a settled fact was absolutely done away in half a second's time what is the moral that we see? The policy of Government to please the majority forgets the minorities, even though their claims are just and proper. And the idea that was behind the annulment was not realised—Swadeshi and revolution went apace, the remnants of which we see even now. It will be within your recollection, Sir, that in the year 1922 a committee of this House was appointed, with an official majority, to make inquiries with regard to the grant of reforms to the Frontier Province. It is more than ten years now and it has been agitated on the floor of this House 101 times. Being subject to the clamourings of the majority, Government have not the courage to grant reforms to the people of the Frontier who have stood by them in season and out of season. So in this view of the matter, in the weak-kneed way in which they are behaving, perhaps they do not deserve any sympathy. But as a believer in constitutional evolution, I still feel that British statesmanship is not bankrupt. Still they will be able to find out some solution by which our demands, and demands for which Mr. Kelkar and his friends are clamouring, will be met in a suitable way. Mr. Kelkar has taken great trouble to show to this House that the reforms granted in 1919 are a sort of eye-wash. I feel most humbly that I do not agree with him. My idea is this, that if the Montague-Chelmsford scheme were given a full trial, at least 40 to 50 per cent. of the training would have been absolutely at their disposal. You know that, in the provinces, the nation-building departments are in charge of Indian Ministers. Not knowing how to manage their own affairs, perhaps some of the people of my province have, in season and out of season, been trying to oust the Ministry and what is the result? The net result, in my judgment, is that they have absolutely mis-spent the ten years which were given to them as a trial to learn how to dabble in provincial autonomy.

Mr. B. Das: Did you read the Muddiman Committee Report?

Mr. Anwar-ul-Aziz: Yes, I had the pleasure of reading it, Sir, now, one might feel that perhaps, on this 7th day of March, 1930, if this motion is passed by the majority of this House, it may have some effect on the Cabinet at Home. But it seems to me, Sir, that the passing of this Resolution by an overwhelming majority will not save the situation, nor will it mend matters, because, unless Mr. Kelkar and his protagonists can take the courage of their conviction and tell the minorities of this country that they will not be hard on the minorities and their aspirations, there is no use, there is no likelihood of attaining the Dominion Status which they so much covet. There is one other matter not very much detached from this motion. It is this. I had the privilege of pressing on the Government Benches a question with regard to the division of the people in this country into majority and minority. I have put interpellations, but Government have absolutely up to now not been able to give any satisfactory reply. If they are so much afraid of being called just, I am sure, Sir, Legislative Councils will not help them. What is the position there? Government make an artificial division for the purposes of representation in the services. Almost all departments of Government both in the provinces and in the centre are manned by one kind of people. This Assembly passed a Resolution in 1923, not to allow any one class of people preponderating in any one office. Do Government pay any heed to those wishes of the Assembly? Why not? Because they are afraid of being called just and impartial. If this fear is allowed to continue I am afraid even their most loyal friends will think a hundred times before they come into this House and bring them off victorious at critical times.

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

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

The Honourable Sir George Rainy (Member for Commerce and Railways): Sir, I do not know whether Honourable Members opposite realise how anxiously the Members of the Executive Council await this annual motion, puzzling their brains to think for what particular reason they are to be debarred from travelling during the coming year. I did not expect that it would fall to my lot to speak in the course of this debate; but in view of what fell from my Honourable friend, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, it seemed necessary that I should intervene. My Honourable friend based his plea that the House should support the motion moved by Mr. Kelkar on the ground that the administration of the Commerce and Finance Departments, but mainly the Commerce Department, was such that it ought forthwith to be entrusted to persons responsible to the Legislature. It is obvious that the question whether such a change would be in the interests of India is not one which can be settled on the floor of this House. It is reserved for consideration elsewhere, and by an even more weighty assembly, namely, the Conference which His Majesty's Government will assemble in London. But naturally this House desires from year to year to express its views on the question, and owing to the

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limits of the constitution, it has felt compelled to put its views in the paradoxical form that, if the Executive Council is to be irresponsible, it must also be stationary. The gravamen of my Honourable friend Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas' charge was, I think, this, that the policy of the Commerce Department was not such as would be the policy of Ministers responsible to this House, that we had not got on nearly so fast with such policy as we had as a Minister responsible to this House would be compelled to do, that we pay inadequate regard to the interests of India and are tempted to act under other influences, and finally that a Minister responsible to this House would adopt the line of policy recently declared by Mr. Stanley Baldwin, namely, that, when tariff changes are to be made, they ought not to be the subject of prolonged and exhaustive inquiry, but that the Government of the day should decide as rapidly as possible and then introduce the necessary legislation.

I shall have something to say, Mr. President, on all of these points. But let me deal first with one particular and rather minor matter on which the Honourable Member spoke with feeling—I mean the delay in the publication of the Tariff Board's Report about the chemical industry. Now, in these matters I always try to deal frankly with this House, and I admit at once that I cannot hold myself free from blame for the delay in publication and I regret it very much. I cannot at this stage give further explanations beyond saying this, that the Report raises somewhat difficult and complicated issues, different in kind, I think, from any that have arisen on previous reports of the Tariff Board. All I would ask the House to remember is the paucity of the staff at headquarters with which the work has to be carried on. In the Commerce Department, we are feeling from week to week the increasing pressure of work of all kinds, particularly the work which we have recently taken over in the Mercantile Marine Department. That process will go on because this House has passed a Bill which will involve a certain amount of work in connection with inland steam vessels—Mr. Neogy's Bill—and another Bill about merchandise marks, which will mean additional work in the Commerce Department; and there are other matters constantly pressing for attention. I do not hesitate to say that if a Minister responsible to this House were put in charge of the Commerce Department and were to be as immediately responsive to the wishes of the House, as my Honourable friend contemplates, he would certainly have to double the staff of the Commerce Department, for otherwise the thing could not be done. As regards dilatoriness in connection with Tariff Board inquiries, I cannot in general plead guilty. My Honourable friend said that it had taken us three years to make up our minds about the Report of the Tariff Board over which my Honourable friend, Sir Frank Noyce, presided on the cotton mill industry. But surely that statement must have been made under some misapprehension, for the decision of the Government of India on that Report was announced in May 1927. The recommendation of the Tariff Board was not a unanimous recommendation, but both sections of the Board made recommendations for temporary protection, and both on the same ground, namely, unfair competition from Japan. In the proposals which the Government of India have laid before the House this Session, the question of unfair competition from Japan does not arise. The Government of India are satisfied that, with the change in the labour laws in Japan, which took effect from the 1st of July last, no question of unfair

competition can be raised. Therefore the Bill which I introduced in this House about a week ago does not directly arise out of the Tariff Board Report at all; it has been arrived at on different grounds. Also, when the charge of dilatoriness in connection with the Tariff Board is brought against me, I cannot help recalling the days when I was President of that body; we were writing our first Steel Report, and one particular occasion is very fresh in my memory when, in the hope that the Government of India might find it possible to pass orders during the Session, I wrote continuously from 11-30 one forenoon till 8-15 on the following evening, and despatched the Report to the Government of India by the Punjab Mail. I am not altogether ashamed of my record in that connection. But of course I recognise this is not a personal question. My Honourable friend made that perfectly clear, and there was not a word in his speech to which, on personal grounds, I could take the smallest exception.

But let me pass to the question of the policy of the Government of India. It is said that it is not a policy which would commend itself to a House popularly elected throughout, and not containing an element of nominated Members. My friend is very likely right, and it is very natural that he and those who agree with him should strive to bring about, at as early a date as possible, a change in the constitution which would enable them to give effect to their views in important matters of public policy. But as things are at present, the policy of discriminating protection recommended by the Fiscal Commission is that which the Government of India have deliberately adopted, and which has received the approval of this House. Therefore, in giving effect to that policy in accordance with the expressed wishes of the House, I do think that the Government of India can rightly be censured. Apart from that, I regret a little that my Honourable friend expressed the view towards the end of his speech that the interest in which we were acting was merely this, that the sale of British goods in India might be as large as possible, because I think that words of that kind make insufficient allowance for honest differences of opinion, and it is, to my mind, always a mistake to impute motives unless you have to. Here again I should like to say that the accusation leaves me quite unharmed. After all, as President of the Tariff Board I recommended the measure which became the Steel Industry (Protection) Act of 1924, and that act imposed the protective duties on goods from all countries alike. But my Honourable friend will say that in the Steel Bill of 1927 a different course was adopted, the duties on goods of British manufacture being in some cases less than on goods made in other countries. That is quite true, but so far as I am concerned, I had no responsibility for that measure, because the decision had been taken before my return to India, and the Bill was passed when Sir Charles Innes held the Commerce portfolio. I do not know whether anything that I could say would convince the House in this matter, but in the case of those of us who have been the servants of India for long time,—in my case I have just completed my 30th year of service,—I wonder if Members realise how intimate the bond becomes, and how bound we feel to do our best for India—our best according to our own judgment, for we cannot pass on the responsibility to any one else—but the very best that we can in the interests of India. So much, Sir, I must say. I do not believe I could carry further conviction by multiplying words, and having said so much, let me say this, that I recognise that, when a charge of that kind is made from the other side of the House, what is meant is not that we consciously direct our policy in interests other than India's but that, acting under

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some sub-conscious bias, we may do so. The reply to that might be more difficult, but there again I would ask Honourable Members on the other side to realise the intimate tie that grows up out of long periods of service. Some here may remember Dean Ramsay's story about the old Scotch servant who had been with his master for 40 years, and when at last he was getting old and difficult, the master wanted him to go. The servant refused to go and clinched the matter by saying, "If you don't know when you have got a good servant, I know when I have got a good master". That, Sir, is the reply of the Government Benches.

Now, my Honourable friend quoted what Mr. Baldwin said recently. I do not know whether it is fair to speculate, but apparently the statement was made after the application of a certain amount of pressure from manufacturing interests, and the view he expressed was that there ought not to be these prolonged exhaustive and exhausting inquiries before protection was given. A great deal depends, of course, on your underlying policy. Is it out and out protection?

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: That is it.

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: Of course, if that is the view, if the view is that protection always does good and never does harm, then I quite agree that, the major premises having been granted, it is rather a waste of time to make these prolonged inquiries. But that is not the policy of the Government of India at present. My Honourable friend is quite entitled to say that it ought to be the policy of the Government of India, but still it is not. Speaking from my own experience, however, on the Tariff Board, I think these inquiries serve a most useful purpose, both in clearing the public mind on the issues to be settled, and sometimes, I have had reason to believe in clearing the minds of those who had made the application. I have seldom finished a Tariff Board inquiry without suspecting that in certain points I knew rather more about the industry than the original applicants knew about it in the beginning.

Then my Honourable friend referred to one or two other matters. He read out to us a telegram which he had received from Bombay. Now, knowing my Honourable friend as I do, it is quite certain that he would not have read that telegram to the House unless, as he said, he was prepared to take full responsibility for it . . .

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I would recommend to the Government of India also to accept it as reliable.

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: And any information that my Honourable friend and others may give us on that matter will of course be valuable to us. But as regards the action of the Japanese Government which he held up as worthy of imitation by the Indian Government, I am not quite sure that I agree with him. What he said was that the Japanese Government,—I hope I am quoting him correctly,—were prepared to bear the cost of any additional protective duty that might be imposed. I presume there must be some limitation on the period, because it is hardly possible that any Government could off-hand incur a liability of that kind indefinitely. Therefore it may be merely this, assuming the facts to be as stated, that until the goods for which bargains have already been made are put on the market, they will undertake this liability. I do not know. But essentially what is said to have been done is in the nature of an export

bounty. An export bounty is a double edged weapon, and it is apt to recoil on the country that uses it. These bounties are also weapons that can be turned back comparatively easily, because if a country decides to give an export bounty on its goods, the invariable and inevitable reply of other countries is to impose countervailing duties. Before accepting the statement that the Japanese Government propose to take action of that kind, I think one would naturally wait until their intentions had been fully declared.

Finally, Mr. President, my Honourable friend spoke of the delay in the appointment of Trade Commissioners. That is a matter which has given us a good deal of anxious thought, and I am glad to think that we shall be able to get a start in that matter at a very early date. But I am not prepared to say that it was a matter which we ought to have taken up hastily, especially during years when my Honourable friend the Finance Member naturally and properly is entitled to demand that proposals for expenditure placed before him shall be fully justified, and in particular that proposals for new schemes should not come up in the middle of the year but should be reserved for the budget season, when all schemes can be considered together on their merits, and those which are considered the most urgent should receive an allotment of funds.

I have endeavoured, Mr. President, to reply as fully as I can to what fell from my Honourable friend. We on this side recognised fully how natural it is that Members on the other side should look forward eagerly to the time when some of them will fill our places on this Bench. May I say that sometimes, when our labours are excessively severe, it is almost a sympathetic wish that goes back from this side of the House, because a place on this Bench, honourable though it is, is not always a place of ease.

Mr. Arthur Moore (Bengal: European): Sir, I am sorry to say that on this question I find myself in agreement with Mr. Kelkar in criticising the Government for their irresponsibility. I know, Sir, constitutionally they are not removable by a vote of this House. As far as I know, they have never disclaimed a sense of moral responsibility to this House. They have never hitherto ignored the view that they are to a large extent trustees for the growth of Parliamentary institutions in this country. Now, Sir, I would like to call attention to a dereliction of duty in that regard. You, Sir, on January 21, made to us a most important and considered statement in which you very fully and frankly reminded us of your sympathies and of your former connection with the Congress Party

Mr. President: Order, order. The Honourable Member will not be entitled, on this cut, to discuss a particular statement made by the President.

Mr. Arthur Moore: I bow to your ruling, Sir. I do not wish to discuss the statement itself. I was merely proposing to discuss the attitude of the Government in that regard

Mr. President: Order, order. The Honourable Member has already made one insinuation. I will not allow him to proceed further in connection with that statement.

Mr. Arthur Moore: That statement has not been mentioned on any previous occasion, Sir.

Rai Bahadur S. O. Dutta (Surma Valley *cum* Shillong: Non Muhammadan): Sir, the subject of this debate I took to be the irresponsibility of

[Rai Bahadur S. C. Dutta.]

the Executive Council. This irresponsibility of the Executive Council is something quite different from the failure of the Executive Council. The failure of the executive may arise out of its irresponsibility, or there may be other causes. When this debate was first announced, I wondered whether there would be any real debate on this issue, because we all know that the executive is irresponsible. The only question is how and when this irresponsibility is going to be removed. I thought we would have a discussion on that. But instead of that, I have listened first of all to a dissertation by the Mover as to the elementary principles of responsible government. Perhaps this was necessary, because we have no responsible government here. Then we listened to something about military expenditure, and then we drifted to protection, and then to the Tariff Board. I do not see how the real point in issue has been debated here. We know the executive is irresponsible. We know its evils. We know we have been promised that this irresponsibility will be removed by the British Government in their own good. There remains the question of how and when. Well, Sir, of course I knew that the Government would be safely entrenched behind the declaration made by the Viceroy, and would say that they cannot add anything to it, but there is no restraint upon the other parties here, the European Group and others, to discuss the new policy as to these matters. There are many matters of details as to safeguards for minorities and others. What is it that stands in the way of the immediate grant of responsible government? I wish I had the power of language to emphasize the fact that the matter brooks of no delay. The educated people are impatient. The masses are restless. The old men are impatient and despairing. The young are impatient and demonstrative. Some of them are reckless and on the verge of rebellion. Well, Sir, the women of India are more impatient than the men. If the fathers of the family are cautious, the mothers are on the side of the sons who are going forward. Some of us feel that there are various difficulties in the way of the achievement of immediate responsible government or Dominion Status. But that is no reason why there should be any long delay. Then there are the questions of the minorities and of various safeguards. There is however no inherent difficulty in the settlement of these matters. Once these matters are settled, I see no reason why there should be any further delay.

Then, also, there is the question of the Indian States. The immediate grant of responsible government or Dominion Status in British India may embitter the present relations between the Indian States and the Government of India. The Princes may think that, in that case, they will be under the subordination of the people of British India. That may be a reason for delaying the grant of Dominion Status for, say, another five years or so. But, then, we can bring these Indian States into line with British India, and have a sort of federal system, where there will be no question of inferiority. But, Sir, if, even within a limited time, the Indian States cannot be persuaded to join the British Government in the attainment of Dominion Status, there is no reason why, on that account, the people of British India should be deprived of their rights. Even on this score I maintain there should be no long delay in the grant of responsible government to the people of this country.

Then take the question of Defence. We admit that the nation is not in a position to maintain the defence of the country without the aid of

the British. It is often asked by Britishers, "How will you defend yourselves if we go away?" But how does the question of your going away come in at all? We are not asking the British to go away. Supposing we were granted Dominion Status and we found that we could not defend our country well without the help of the British Army, then what stands in the way of the British Army remaining here? Nobody asks them to go away. They may say, "We will defend your country, even after responsible government is granted to you, but then we want a price for it". This price they want in the shape of the restriction of our liberties. If that is the position, namely, that because India is not prepared to defend herself, because the people of India find themselves unarmed and therefore the British are not willing to surrender their domination over us, then let us understand it clearly.

Then, Sir, there are other difficulties ahead of us which come from the opposition of Englishmen here or in England with whom the cry of "not yet" means never. There is the spectre of young master Steel-frame, younger brother to Mademoiselle Fur-coat. There is the new United Empire Party, with a cry of free trade within the Empire. They do not want to surrender India in any case. Sir, this policy of no surrender, and free trade within the Empire, if insisted on, would mean the slavery of India. I submit there can be no difficulty as to what the verdict of patriotic India will be in these circumstances. There are dangers ahead of us, but we should not forget that the real danger comes from those enemies of progress in India who are in England. The position of the moderates in this country is quite clear. They must side with the other parties, so far as this question of constitutional advance is concerned. It would be a mistake to suppose that the moderates in India will exhaust their energies in order to fight the party of violence or the Independence wallahs. We all know there is violence in the country. But if the Honourable Members, who are for constitutional progress in the country, join hands together, they can keep this movement of violence within control or deprive it of its influence and strength. Even with regard to the civil resisters, the apprehension entertained by the Members of this House is that their actions, too, might lead to violence. If they can keep their movement within control, we may leave them alone to follow their path of self-chosen peril. As I said, the feeling of the patriotic Indians is not to quarrel with any of these movements, although the danger from some of these movements may be real. Our duty should be to leave these movements severely alone and fight against those movements which have been inaugurated in England against the constitutional advance of India.

In conclusion, I may say that such a debate could be initiated on a formal cut. In that case, I would be ready to support the motion. But in the present circumstances, I think, I cannot support the drastic cut that is forced upon the Government, for they would have to carry on only with certification. I, therefore, hope that this motion will not be pressed to a vote.

Mian Mohammad Shah Nawaz (West Central Punjab: Muhammadan):

Sir, in the first place, let me congratulate the Honourable Member, Mr. Dutta, the Member for Southern Assam, who has delivered his maiden speech with calm and vigour. It is not the purpose of my speech to discuss in details either the present political situation in this country or the immediate form of government to be put into force in India. That problem will be thoroughly discussed and considered by the representatives of India and of Great Britain in a Round Table Conference, which it is the duty of

[Mian Mohammad Shah Nawaz.]

everybody to make it a success, and I do hope that all concerned will come to the greatest measure of agreement. What is at present required, pending the legislative and constitutional changes, is a new and wider outlook on the part of the officials and the Members of the Executive Council of the Government of India towards India, its people and their aspirations. The only question which an Englishman and a Member of the Executive Council should ask to himself whenever he is adopting a particular course of action, is, is it for India's good, is it for India's benefit? I venture to submit, Sir, that judged by that standard, the officials have failed in their duty. Whenever there is a conflict of interest between Great Britain and India, they look to the interests of Great Britain as a rule. (Hear, hear.) I do not say that there is not an increasing number of Englishmen who do sympathize with the legitimate desires and aspirations of the Indian people and who see the point of view of the Indian people, but I do submit that there are officials in the country—and there are quite a large number of them—who think that, in their relations with India, force is the ultimate arbiter and that consequently they can impose their will in the last resort. Well, Sir, it would be infinitely better if they were to realise that the British connection, whether it is in the form of immediate Dominion Status or in any other form, should always rest on the goodwill of the people and not on force. (Hear, hear.)

The great Army that is occupying this country is certainly necessary. But one of the objects of that Army is to keep down the Indians to a great extent. I have already said—and I repeat it again—that in the matter of the Indianization of the Army, delay has given rise to bitter unbelief, and it is time that the recommendations of the Sandhurst Committee were accepted *in toto*. There are certain European officials in this country, and there are quite a number of Englishmen in England, who think that a large measure of reforms will jeopardise their trade, worth many millions. But these gentlemen forget the simple fact that, with a view to retard the progress of the reforms and the legitimate aspirations of the Indian people, they are advocating that decline of British trade in India which they most fear. Great Britain's attitude towards India should not be measured in pounds, shillings and pence. I say, Sir, that the British people should realise that India has begun to move that the teeming millions of Indian people have begun to move in right earnest, and they cannot be checked without disaster.

Apart from other important problems, one of the major problems of the day is the unemployment of the youth of this country. Youth is bitter, youth is disappointed, youth wants to upset the old institutions, youth is against old methods of agitation and they really do not care for this form of government or that form of government. What youth wants at present is bread. It is not a matter on which Government can fold their hands and sit back and let things drift. This problem should be dealt with vigour and intelligence by the Government of India. The only way to deal with this is by promoting the rapid growth of the industries and by agricultural development.

Again, Sir, I have a little complaint against the Government as regards my own community, the Muslim community, which forms the major minority community in this country. Since the time I have come to this Assembly, I feel that the rights and interests of the Muslims, particularly in the services, have been disregarded. I see that a larger number of posts

of *chaprasis* and posts of some petty officers are meant for people of my community. I have a great complaint on that point, and I say that the Government should see that the Muslim community is properly and adequately represented in the superior services. Sir, I am not in favour of the cut proposed by my Honourable friend, Mr. Kelkar, for the simple reason that the present system of government is likely to be changed soon. We cannot ask the Members of the Executive Council to go away or not to travel. The Executive Council is admittedly not responsible to the Legislature. But that problem, as I say, will be thrashed out in the deliberations of the Round Table Conference, which should be convened soon. Is it worth while to move such a drastic cut in the Demand for the Executive Council? It is not a token cut. It is a cut which would reduce the entire votable demand to one rupee. In my opinion the Hindus and Muslims should settle their differences before they participate in the deliberations of the Round Table Conference and there they should put forward a united demand of the Indian people. The present cut is, in my opinion, unnecessary.

Mr. Abdul Haya (East Punjab: Muhammadan): It is with a heavy heart that I rise this afternoon to make a few observations, for I am a man of few words. I may make it clear at the outset that I whole-heartedly support the motion which has been moved by my Honourable friend, Mr. Kelkar. (Hear, hear.) The motion has raised a constitutional issue, and the issue is that this Government is an irresponsible government, and that the executive is not responsible to the people of this country, that the executive is not responsible to this House. This is the clear cut issue and I do not see any point in dragging on this debate and going on making speeches over it. I want to ask, Sir, on this issue, what is the position of the Government? Do they join issue with us? Do they mean to say that they are responsible to the people of India? Why do not they acknowledge that this House has a just grievance on this issue? In good grace, I say to the Treasury Benches, you should rise, if you please, in a body and plead guilty. Sir, I have great sympathy with the sentiments that have been expressed by the two Honourable Members who sit on my left. Both of them, the Honourable Mr. Shah Nawaz and the Honourable Mr. Anwar-ul-Azim, advocated the cause of the minority communities. Sir, I yield to none in this House with regard to this matter. On proper occasions, I have advocated the cause of my community, but I do not see any point in harping on the same tune, in season and out of season. May I ask my friend, Mr. Anwar-ul-Azim, what his position is? With great patience I heard his illuminating discourse, but he did not make it clear whether he was for this motion or opposed to it. Sir, when he began to charge my Honourable friend, Mr. Kelkar, with not having done justice to the minority communities, and when he waxed eloquent on that, I rubbed my eyes. I thought that those efforts that are being made outside this House had succeeded, and that Swaraj had been established, and my Honourable friend, Mr. Kelkar, was carrying on the Government of this country, and I thought my Honourable friend, Mr. Anwar-ul-Azim, was justified in making the attack on behalf of the minority community. But, Sir, may I ask him, if the majority community have not done their duty, if they have not risen equal to the occasion, is that a ground for you to stand aside and support this Government? If no justice has been done to the Mussalmans by the

[Mr. Abdul Haye.]

Hindus, I ask, what have the Government done? Why should you support them? Sir, I will make it abundantly clear on behalf of my friends that we have got genuine grievances against the majority community, but at this moment, when serious and honest efforts are being made to bridge that gulf in another place by our esteemed countrymen who have the good of the country at heart, it would have been better if he had exercised discretion and not given expression to these sentiments, which in these circumstances can do us no good.

Sir, in supporting this motion, I wish to make one more observation. There are certain countrymen of ours who have adopted a certain course of action. Reference has been made to that course of action on many an occasion in this House. We do not see eye to eye with them; they have declared Independence; they are on the war path; they are in for civil disobedience. I ask the Treasury Benches, is the fault entirely theirs, or have they got a share in this matter? Have they not by their conduct driven them to that course of action? Sir, we who do not see eye to eye with them have at the same time a soft corner in our hearts for those who lead that struggle. There is not one Indian in this House who would not rise and take off his hat and salute Mahatma Gandhi; there is not one Indian who will not salute Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru; there is not one Indian who would not salute Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. We believe that they have taken a leap in the dark, but we believe that they are honest persons; they are superior persons than we are, who stand aside and stay our hands. They have taken a leap in the dark, but we, who sit behind, and do not join this *jehad*, we are also surrounded by darkness on either side, and we in vain ask for light. For my part, I assure you, Sir, that, although I have abstained from joining them for the present, for I believe they have taken a leap in the dark, and I do not see eye to eye with them, still in this confusion and darkness around me, I am sometimes overwhelmed with grief, and a suspicion comes into my mind, and I say to myself, perhaps it may be that I and my friends here are in the wrong and they are in the right.

The Honourable Sir James Orerar (Home Member): Sir, the debate has been already somewhat prolonged and I do not propose to trespass long upon the indulgence of the House. I am inclined to share the sentiments of my Honourable colleague, the Member for Commerce and Railways, when he said that the annual debate which takes place upon this Demand always leaves the Members of Government a very wide field of speculation as to the precise case which they shall be called upon to meet. A large part of the debate in the course of the morning dealt with topics of which I cannot claim any expert knowledge. They have been replied to by my Honourable colleague in a manner which I hope went very far, if not to satisfy the views of Honourable Members opposite, at least to convince them that, in that sphere of Government, there was no lack of sincerity, goodwill and a true regard for the interests of India.

Turning now to that part of the discussion with which I am more particularly concerned, I have a very few words to say with regard to the constitutional issues raised by the Honourable the Mover. I shall confine myself to the precise issue raised by this motion and the argument which he and those who entered upon the same ground employed in the course

of the debate. The Honourable Member argued that the Government of India was an irresponsible body, irresponsible in the constitutional sense, irresponsible in the sense that it is not removable by the vote of the Legislature. He complained that the scheme of reforms introduced by the Government of India Act was inadequate and that it did not give effect to the democratic principle of responsibility. Now, Sir, with one important qualification, I have no very great quarrel with the Honourable Member's statement of the position. From the constitutional point of view, it is true that the Government of India are not responsible to the Legislature in the sense in which that term is commonly accepted; but I do not accept the other possible interpretation that might be placed upon the Honourable gentleman's motion, namely, that the Government of India are in every sense irresponsible. Moreover, I think one important qualification has to be made with regard to the Honourable Member's complaint against the institution of the reforms in 1920, namely, that it did not contain an element of responsibility, the important qualification surely being the measure of responsible government which at that time was undoubtedly introduced in the Provincial Governments. Many doubts have been expressed with regard to that system; many criticisms have been made on it. Nevertheless, I think that, looking over the events of the last ten years, a candid judge would be compelled to admit that, at any rate during that period, the administration of many important functions of Government, was carried on in times of great difficulty, in times of great stress, under many handicaps and disadvantages; but they were carried on, on the upshot, to the benefit of the people of India. The most important inference which I personally draw from the Honourable Member's speech is that he himself, on behalf of those for whom he speaks, accepts in principle the British doctrinaire tradition of constitutional government. On that I am glad to be on common ground with the Honourable Member. He does not, I gather, complain of the direction towards which the political affairs of this country have been set. He complains rather of the pace. Well, Sir, important developments in the direction of progress have taken place in very recent times. Important developments are in progress, and though I cannot presume to prophesy or pronounce upon the precise steps which will be taken to promote the further advancement of India's political future, I have no doubt myself that they will be in full accordance with the pronouncement of 1917. I trust that the results of the Conference shortly to take place in London will be to effect what His Excellency, in his address to this House recently, said, namely, the elucidation and harmony of views. What share, the Honourable Member implicitly asks, what share have the Government to take in that task? I should reply briefly in two sentences. In my view, they have got two imperative duties to discharge, and it is their fullest intention to discharge them. The first is to adhere loyally in spirit and in letter to the declaration to which I have referred; and the second is to maintain, by every means at their command, all those conditions, including the maintenance of peace and order, which are necessary for the development and the fruition of that policy.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I have been greatly disappointed to hear the speech of the Honourable the Home Member. I thought that in view of the situation he would be able to make a more sympathetic response to the

[Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.]

motion that is before the House. That motion, Sir, is not one which concerns the personality of any Member of the Government. It concerns the system, and it is not sufficient to say that constitutional changes are under consideration and will take place in their time. The object of this motion is to record a very solemn and emphatic protest on behalf of the representatives of the people against the continuance of the present system of Government. That protest is repeated year after year in order that there should be no doubt left in the mind of any one here or in England that the people of India do not feel satisfied with the continuation of the present system. Therefore, apart from every other consideration, those who are not satisfied with the existing system, those who desire that there should be responsibility introduced in the Government of India, must consider it their duty to the country to record such a protest. No other question need be mixed up with it. The views expressed by individual Members, either in supporting the motion or in opposing it, are individual views. The point before the House is that the representatives of the people record their continuing protest against the irresponsible character of the present constitution. And, Sir, though there was some confusion introduced by some speakers on this question, I think, it was made sufficiently clear in all the speeches that the people are not satisfied with the existing system of the Government of India. The Executive Government of India is not responsible to the elected representatives of the people, and my Honourable friend, Mr. Abdul Haye, put the point very tersely when he asked the Government Benches whether they could say that the Executive Government of this country was responsible to the people. He gave an opportunity to the Members of Government to answer that, to acknowledge that the objection of the Non-Official Members was justifiable and unanswerable. The Government of India must admit—they cannot but admit—that they are not responsible to the representatives of the people in this House, and if that is the position, how can they oppose a Resolution like this? With what reason can they urge that such a cut should not be made? Therefore, Sir, when the Honourable the Home Member rose to speak, I expected that he would not only admit the correctness of our position, but also that he would try to show that if the Government of India were not by statute responsible to the representatives of the people of this country, they felt that they were morally responsible to them, and, that at any rate they were responsive to the wishes and sentiments of the people. I am sorry that the Honourable the Home Member has not given the slightest indication of such an attitude.

The Honourable the Home Member has referred to the declaration of 1917. He has said that the Government of India adhered loyally in spirit and letter to the declaration of 1917. Does the Honourable Member realise what picture that brings up to the minds of Members on this side? It brings up the idea that the British Government still adhere to the view that they alone are to be the arbiters of the question of what progress shall be made, towards responsible government in India, in what time it shall be made, and by what stages it shall be made. Is not the Honourable the Home Member aware that that claim has been repudiated, protested against, times out of number? Does he not know that there is not a single self-respecting Indian living today who would be content to leave the decision of this question which so deeply affects our national honour and our most vital national interests to be determined by the British Government alone? Is not the Honourable Member aware of the boycott of the Simon Commission? Did not the people of this country, of all parties, declare to the

world that they strongly resented the implications of that declaration of 1917? How does he advance the position of the Government? How does he bring himself nearer to the representatives of the people by merely repeating that the Government adhere loyally in spirit and letter to that declaration? He has said that there are two clear duties which the Government have to perform, one, to adhere to that declaration, and the second to maintain peace and order by every means at their command. Every school boy knows that the Government have to, that it is their duty to maintain peace and order. But I did not see any indication in the speech of my Honourable friend that that peace and order was to be maintained in a spirit of statesmanship, in a spirit of large-minded sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of those over whom they happen to hold sway. It sounded to me as if the Honourable the Home Member wanted to tell the world that the Government were going to maintain law and order, come what may, regardless of all other considerations. I am sorry, Sir, to think that this is not the attitude which will bring the Government into harmony with the people of this country. I want the Government of India to realise that they have at this juncture a greater duty to perform than the mere maintenance of law and order. I quite recognise that the existing Government of India cannot ask that the constitution should be changed at their will. But is it not their duty to bring to the notice of Parliament the feeling that exists in this country, the feeling that has existed in this country, for a long time past, and to represent that feeling in a faithful and friendly spirit to Parliament? When the Congress and all political parties declared the boycott of the Simon Commission, did not that fact give the Government of India sufficient justification for asking Parliament to scrap that Commission, and to declare that the question of the next revision of the statute would be discussed with the representatives of the people of India and His Majesty's Government or with the representatives of the British Parliament? After the boycott had been shown to be complete, did the Government of India represent through the proper channel to the Simon Commission that, in the circumstances of the situation, it was its duty to submit its Report as early as might be possible? The Indian Central Committee was appointed, and it submitted its Report in October last. Has the Simon Commission submitted its Report even now? It has not. Did not the Government of India know that the Congress, which is the largest political body in the country, declared at Calcutta in December, 1928, that it would wait for one year for Dominion Status to be conceded; and that, if it was not agreed upon within one year, it would declare for Independence? Was that a matter to be slightly passed over by the Government of India? Was it not their duty to take serious note of the declaration of the Congress, which is the chief political organisation of this country, with a membership of about five lakhs or more? Was it not the duty of the Government of India, who are on the spot, the servants of the Indian people and of the British Parliament, was it not their duty to communicate with the British Government and to say, "This looks serious, you must ask the Simon Commission to report early", and was it not the duty of the Government of India to ask Parliament to arrange that there should be a conference at an early date in order that matters in question might be discussed in a friendly spirit, while yet the greatest political organisation in the country was still standing clearly for the establishment of Dominion Status? The Government of India could not pretend to be surprised to find that the Congress, that a large section of the Congress, declared themselves for complete Independence. The Government of India are largely responsible for this attitude which the Congress has taken. They did not do their duty by the people of this

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country of informing Parliament of the need for timely action, for expeditious action, to bring about a conference and a solution of our great problem. Everyone knows that the announcement made by His Excellency the Viceroy was welcomed in all parts of the country. Leaders of all parties, including Mahatma Gandhi, the greatest Indian living today, welcomed it though he and many others of us put forward certain conditions in the manifesto which we published in reply to it, even then did the Government of India see the necessity of communicating to the Government in England that the Report of the Simon Commission should be expedited, and that the date of the Conference that was proposed should be fixed early, and did they themselves recognise that there should be the spirit of Dominion Status introduced in the administration of this country from the date the announcement was made? That was the most important practical statement contained in that manifesto. It was suggested that the Government should feel and let the people feel that Dominion Status was in action in a truer sense than that in which Mr. Wedgwood Benn mentioned in the House of Commons. Did the Government of India do that? They did not, and when the Congress, even after that, gave a clear indication to the Government that, if Dominion Status was even indirectly assured, there would be no resort to a movement for civil disobedience, even then the Government of India failed to respond to the situation, failed to make the right gesture at the right moment to those who in despair accepted that resolution.

And now, Sir, what is the position? My Honourable friend, the Home Member, says that, "It is the duty of the Government of India to maintain peace and order by every means at their command". There is no man with any sense of humanity in him who would like that peace and order should be lightly disturbed. You have at this moment in this country one of the greatest men born in this world, who is today the greatest apostle of complete non-violence. He has now decided to lead a campaign of non-violent civil disobedience. I do not know—we are not here to discuss—the wisdom or unwisdom of that course. I personally have my differences with Mahatma Gandhi. I differed openly from him at the Congress when he went in for a declaration of Independence. I have stood firmly for Dominion Status, and I stand firmly by it today. But it is the Government who, by their attitude and action are driving more and more important people into the party of Independence. [It is not a crime that Indians should strive by peaceful means, for Independence; it is not a sin for any Indian to desire what you Englishmen have desired, what every right-minded people, what every freedom-loving people, have desired, namely, the independence of their own country.] We desire that there should be Dominion Status established in our country because we think that it is a more feasible plan by means of which we shall by peaceful means, virtually acquire complete Independence. We desire it, we honestly desire it for that reason. But you cannot say that, because you have, by your inaction, by your want of sympathy, by your want of statesmanship, driven some of my people to adopt the resolution of complete Independence, that therefore you will be justified in adopting a policy of repression which your maintaining of peace and order often means, and that you will have finished your duty by maintaining such peace and order. I warn the Government that that is not the correct attitude. What the situation demands is an attitude of statesmanship, of broad sympathy, a broad appreciation of the situation. [I ask every Englishman who deserves that name, every Britisher who is a lover of liberty who deserves to be so called, I ask him to put himself into the skin

of us Indians, to feel as we Indians feel, and to ask himself whether, if he had been placed in the condition in which we Indians are, he would not have done everything possible to establish the independence of his own country, and I ask him to look at all such efforts with sympathy, to try to avoid strife, to try to avoid bloodshed, to try to avoid evil passions being excited and the country being made to wade through a bitter strife and struggle.* It is given to Englishmen, particularly it is given to the members of the Government of India, to sit down with Indians and to arrive at a policy, a sympathetic broad-minded, statesmanlike policy, whereby the differences between Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress on the one side and the Government on the other should be bridged, as much as possible, and as early as possible. (Hear, hear).

If the Government of India fail to represent to His Majesty's Government the gravity of the situation here, and if the Government of India think that, by merely resorting to severe measures for keeping down every movement which they do not approve, they will have done their duty, they are sadly mistaken. It is a very serious situation in which the country is placed. It is the duty of everyone to try to bring about a better understanding, a more harmonious relation between the people and the Government, a more sympathetic attitude on the part of the Government. It is no good making light of the action of men like Mahatma Gandhi. He has taken that action after a very great deliberation, and it is no good simply sitting quiet and saying "When anything wrong will happen, we shall try by all means at our command to keep law and order". Those who have taken up this agitation are not going to commit any violence so far as they are concerned, and whatever action you take, you have to take only such action as you can justify to the people of India and to people outside in the civilised world. That action cannot be merely such strong action as the Home Member has indicated. The situation demands sympathy, broad statesmanship, harmony, goodwill and a desire to act with goodwill at the earliest possible moment. Nothing is more important at this juncture in India than that the Government of India should apply themselves to a careful and honest study of the situation and to represent to His Majesty's Government that the situation demands that there should be an early date fixed for the Conference and that the British Government should make it known that they agree that Dominion Status shall be established in India at the next revision of the statute. If the Government will do that, I undertake to say that today Mahatma Gandhi will be prepared to accept that arrangement and to cry a halt. If you do not do this, and if you are still going on telling us that you adhere strictly to the letter of the declaration of 1917, it is obvious that you are not realising the gravity of the situation, and most certainly you are not doing your duty by the people of this country. I hope, Sir, it is still possible for the Government to reconsider their position and to acknowledge that the situation demands statesmanship, sympathy, a broad outlook, and a desire to promote harmony between all sections of the people and between the people of India and of England.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Sir, the motion before the House, as it is worded, is not very clear. It says "irresponsible nature of the Executive Council". I think it is admitted—the Honourable the Home Member admitted it—that constitutionally the Government of India are not responsible to the Legislature. That proposition is admitted; it need not be discussed; it does not require even an

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admission from the Honourable Member. Any one who knows the statute and constitutional law can at once come to the conclusion, and no other conclusion, that the Government of India, as it is at present constituted, is not responsible to the Legislature. The motion as it is worded says "irresponsible nature of the Executive Council". The fact that it is not responsible cannot be denied. I do not know exactly what my Honourable friend, Mr. Kelkar, had in his mind, but I think one can understand, taking it generally,—and as I would like to interpret it—it comes to this, that there has been a great deal said, not only here by some Honourable Members who constitute the Executive Council of the Governor General, but even on the floor of the House of Commons; and the Secretary of State for India made a great deal of this phrase, namely, that, although India has not got Dominion Status and responsible government, nevertheless, in order to impress the people, he said that there was Dominion Status in action. I would like therefore, Sir, to make it clear on the floor of this House to Honourable Members here, and to the world outside, that Dominion Status in action has not been a reality, and I would therefore not like to oppose this motion, as I would like to see Dominion Status in action really. I do not wish to detain this House in making an indictment in detail against the Government; but, Sir, in the last answer which came from the Honourable the Home Member there was surely not one single word which showed, leave alone action, but any spirit, any feeling, any sentiment which gave any indication to this House, that Dominion Status was in action. The Honourable the Home Member referred to the declaration of 1917. May I remind the Honourable the Home Member, and ask him, has he overlooked the latest announcement on behalf of His Majesty's Government? Why did he not refer to that? Why did he not say that, since the declaration of 1917, there has been, with further modification and interpretation, another declaration. Has he forgotten so soon the declaration made by His Excellency the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government?

Then, Sir, the Honourable the Home Member used a phrase, to which we are often accustomed in this country: Government every now and then say, "It is our duty to maintain law and order". Who says it is not your duty? Why do you keep repeating it? When you go on repeating those words, what does it mean? It conveys to me only one meaning. I would never have taken any notice of it otherwise; but when you repeat every now and then that you mean to maintain law and order and that all the resources of the Government will be utilised for the purpose of maintaining law and order, what does that convey to us? I hope the Honourable the Home Member did not mean by it no Dominion Status in action, but that the Government further mean to resort to ruthless repression in this country. Is that what you mean? (*An Honourable Member*: "What else can it mean?") I would certainly advise the Government as it is our painful duty, sitting on these Benches, merely to advise a Government which constitutionally is irremovable, and irresponsible, to this House and which is by its sentiments and feelings alien and bureaucratic—I say it is our painful duty to advise them from these Benches every now and then and give them a word of warning. I maintain that if you resort to any repressive policy at this moment, you will be committing the greatest blunder. I shall say no more.

There are certain countrymen of ours who have adopted a certain course with which a good many of us not only do not see eye to eye but disapprove of it. I think the Honourable the Home Member knows as well as I do, that any suppression of progressive opinion in any country by means of coercion and repression leads to the destruction of the Government that resorts to those measures; and I think therefore the Government of India—I hope at any rate apart from the question of Diminution Status in action—will not run amok, but will deal with the situation such as it is in a statesmanlike manner.

Sir, I do not wish to keep the House any more, but I think Sir George Rainy put the matter in a nutshell by giving us that little antedote of the Scotch servant. He is quite right. You have found a very good master; a master whom you can rule and do what you like with. (Laughter.) I think, Sir, no servant can be unhappy when he has got such a master; he can help himself to any amount of pay he likes and rule over him; it is a very happy position in which you are, but that is exactly what we object to. You put your hand in our pockets and take as much money as you like, draw as fat salaries as you like, do as you please and do not care a straw as to our interests or what happens to us and we have no say in the matter. That is exactly what we object to; that is the grievance and that is the very reason we do not want those servants who rule, but servants whom we shall be able to rule; that is the whole issue. In other words we want servants whom we can control and who are responsible to us and whom we can dismiss.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: A change of masters.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: A change of servants who are your masters now; we want real servants, and let us be the real masters. That is the position; and, Sir, I cannot understand how any Honourable Member in this House can possibly vote against a proposition of this character. I know my friends of the Central Muslim Party are very keen, very zealous in safeguarding the interests of the community to which I have the honour to belong. (Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan: "Hear, hear.") But I cannot understand how you are going to advance the interests of your community by supporting a wrong thing.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum (North West Frontier Province: Nominated Non-Official): We want better masters than the present ones. What is the use of change if we do not get better ones.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Yes. And let me tell you, Sir, in answer to that, that seventy millions of Mussalmans should not be afraid of facing the issue squarely and fairly no matter what the Government do and no matter what the Hindus do. (Hear, hear.) You are seventy millions. What is the good of leaning upon the Government? What is the good of your appealing to the Hindus? Do you want concessions? I do not want concessions. (Hear, hear.) What is the good? You are seventy million Mussalmans. Organise yourselves in this country, and you will be a power, and you will be able to dictate not only to the Government, but to the Hindus and to every one else your just rights. Show a manly attitude. Why are you going to support a wrong thing? Support this motion if you think it be a right one. My friend, Mr. Anwar-ul-Azim, said, "Yes, Government are to be

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blamed; but then I do not know whether, if I agree with you and vote with you, I shall incur the displeasure of the Treasury Benches". (Laughter.)

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: Not quite so.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Sir, let the Treasury Benches realise that, whether the Hindus settle with us, or whether they do not, whether they march with us or whether they do not, we mean to march forward, and we want responsible government in this country (Hear, hear), with due provisions for the safeguards for Mussalmans and other minorities.

Mian Mohammad Shah Nawaz: Responsible government is the desire of everybody; but, before you march, let the Hindus and Muslims compose their differences.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Then vote for this motion and prove it by your vote.

Mian Mohammad Shah Nawaz: Hindus and Muslims should settle their differences. Put a united demand for Dominion Status before the Round Table Conference and it will be effective.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: My friend is going much further than I am going. This motion says that we do not approve of the irresponsible nature of the Executive Council. Do you approve of it? You do not. Then why don't you vote for this motion?

Let me explain, Sir, to my friends that this is purely a constitutional issue. That is where my friends do not seem to appreciate the position. This is purely a constitutional issue. We want to record our votes on this constitutional issue, that the present Executive Council is not of a responsible nature; we want to make it clear that Dominion Status is not in action in this country, leave alone the establishment of full Dominion Status and responsible government. That is what we want to make clear

Mian Mohammad Shah Nawaz: Then table a proper Resolution.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: One word more, Sir, and I have finished. I know you are a little impatient. Unless my time is not up, I do not want to take more time. But I have got one more thing to say, and it is this, pending the Round Table Conference, pending the settlement of those great constitutional issues, may I say one word to the Treasury Benches? Will you in the meantime train yourselves up by practising real Dominion Status in action so that when it does come in fact you will not feel the shock which otherwise you will get?

Mr. President: The question is:

"That the Demand under the head 'Executive Council' be reduced to Rs. 1."

The Assembly divided:

AYES—39.

Abdul Haye, Mr.
Abdul Matin Chaudhury, Maulvi.
Acharya, Mr. M. K.
Aney, Mr. M. S.
Ayyangar, Mr. K. V. Rangaswami.
Bhargava, Pandit Thakur Das.
Chaman Lall, Diwan.
Chetty, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham.
Das, Mr. B.
Dutt, Mr. Amar Nath.
Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja.
Gour, Sir Hari Singh.
Gulab Singh, Sardar.
Haji, Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand.
Hyder, Dr. L. K.
Ismail Khan, Mr. Muhammad.
Iswar Saran, Munshi.
Jayakar, Mr. M. R.
Jehangir, Sir Cowasji.
Jinnah, Mr. M. A.

Kelkar, Mr. N. C.
Kunzru, Pandit Hirday Nath.
Lal, Mr. Hari Prashad.
Lalchand Navalrai, Mr.
Malaviya, Pandit Madan Mohan.
Moonje, Dr. B. S.
Munshi, Mr. Jehangir K.
Pandya, Mr. Vidya Sagar.
Patil, Rao Bahadur B. L.
Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sir.
Rang Behari Lal, Lala.
Rao, Mr. G. Sarvotham.
Reddi, Mr. T. N. Ramakrishna.
Shafee Daoodi, Maulvi Mohammad.
Singh, Kumar Rananjaya.
Singh, Mr. Gaya Prasad.
Sitaramaraju, Mr. B.
Talatuley, Mr. S. D.
Ziauddin Ahmad, Dr.

NOES—50.

Abdul Aziz, Khan Bahadur Mian.
Abdul Qaiyum, Nawab Sir Sahibzada.
Alexander, Mr. W.
Anwar-ul-Azim, Mr.
Banarji, Mr. Rajnarayan.
Baum, Mr. E. F.
Chambers, Mr. G. W.
Chatterjee, The Revd. J. C.
Coatman, Mr. J.
Cocke, Sir Hugh.
Cosgrave, Mr. W. A.
Crerar, The Honourable Sir James.
Crosthwaite, Mr. H. S.
Dalal, Dr. R. D.
Dutta, Rai Bahadur S. C.
Ferrers, Mr. V. M.
French, Mr. J. C.
Gidney, Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J.
Gwynne, Mr. C. W.
Hamilton, Mr. K. L. B.
Hira Singh Brar, Sardar Bahadur,
Honorary Captain.
Howell, Mr. E. B.
Jawahar Singh, Sardar Bahadur
Sardar.
Kikabhai Premchand, Mr.
Lindsay, Sir Darcy.

Mitra, The Honourable Sir Bhupendra
Nath.
Mitter, The Honourable Sir Brojendra.
Monteath, Mr. J.
Moore, Mr. Arthur.
Mukherjee, Rai Bahadur S. C.
Noyce, Sir Frank.
Pai, Mr. A. Upendra.
Parsons, Mr. A. A. L.
Rainy, The Honourable Sir George.
Rajah, Rao Bahadur M. C.
Rau, Mr. H. Shankar.
Roy, Mr. K. C.
Sahi, Mr. Ram Prashad Narayan.
Sams, Mr. H. A.
Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Khan
Bahadur.
Schuster, The Honourable Sir George.
Scott, Mr. J. Ramsay.
Singh, Mr. Adit Prasad.
Singh, Raja Raghunandan Prasad.
Slater, Mr. S. H.
Sykes, Mr. E. F.
Tin Tut, Mr.
Tirloki Nath, Lala.
Yamin Khan, Mr. Muhammad.
Young, Mr. G. M.

The motion was negatived.

Mr. President: The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 91,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1931, in respect of ‘Executive Council’.”

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: The Central Muslim Party have since given me notice that they propose to raise the question of the reforms for the North-West Frontier Province. Am I right?

Mian Mohammad Shah Nawaz: Yes.

Mr. President: That will be taken up on Tuesday morning from 11 to 1. I have not yet received any notice from the unattached Members. The new Swaraj Party have given me notice that they propose to move the question of the treatment of political prisoners. That will be taken up on Monday morning.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Saturday, the 8th March, 1980.