

Monday, 2nd March, 1931

THE  
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES  
(Official Report)

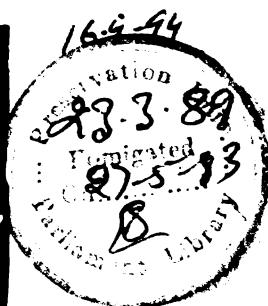
Volume II, 1931

*(19th February to 11th March, 1931)*

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FIRST SESSION  
OF THE  
FOURTH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,  
1931

*Classified & Indexed...18-10-73*



SIMLA  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS  
1931

# Legislative Assembly.

## *President :*

THE HONOURABLE SIR IBRAHIM RAHIMTOOLA, K.C.S.I., C.I.E

## *Deputy President :*

MR. R. K. SHANMUKHAM CHETTY, M.L.A.

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SIR HUGH COCKE, KT., M.L.A.

MAULVI MUHAMMAD YAKUB, M.L.A.

RAI SAHIB HARBILAS SARDA, M.L.A.

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## *Assistant of the Secretary :*

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## *Marshal :*

CAPTAIN NUR AHMAD KHAN, M.C., I.O.M.

## *Committee on Public Petitions :*

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SIR HUGH COCKE, KT., M.L.A.

SIR ABDUR RAHIM, K.C.S.I., KT., M.L.A.

RAJA BAHADUR G. KRISHNAMACHARIAR, M.L.A.

MIAN MUHAMMAD SHAH NAWAZ, C.I.E., M.L.A.

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### *CORRIGENDUM.*

In the Division List on page 1224 of the Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. II, No. 3, dated the 24th February, 1931, under "Noces", for "Ahmed, Mr. K." read "Ahmad Khan, Mr. Khurshed."

# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

*Monday, 2nd March, 1931.*

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

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## MEMBERS SWORN :

Diwan Bahadur A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, M.L.A. (Madras City: Non-Muhammadan Urban); and

Mr. Hattiangadi Shankar Rau, M.L.A. (Government of India: Nominated Official).

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## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

### POLITICAL SECTION OF THE HOME DEPARTMENT.

726. \*Sardar G. N. Mujumdar (on behalf of Mr. Nabakumar Sing Dudhoria): (a) Will Government be pleased to state when the Political Section of the Home Department was created?

(b) What is the nature of the work it deals with?

(c) What is the numerical strength of that section?

(d) What extra expenditure has been incurred on account of it since its initiation?

(e) How long is the section expected to continue?

The Honourable Sir James Crerar: (a) A separate section was established in 1907, but the subjects with which it deals were previously the concern of the Home Department.

(b) Political movements, communal disturbances, publicity, passports, foreigners, etc., in so far as they come within the purview of the Home Department.

(c) The total permanent strength is nine.

(d) and (e). It is a permanent branch of the Home Department establishment and no extra expenditure is incurred on it except when the exigencies of work require the addition of temporary men.

### EXPENDITURE INCURRED ON THE MOVE TO SIMLA.

727. \*Sardar G. N. Mujumdar (on behalf of Mr. Nabakumar Sing Dudhoria): (a) Will Government be pleased to state the amount of annual expenditure involved owing to their move to Simla?

(b) Is it a fact that this move is going to be abolished or at least restricted?

(c) If so, when, and how?

(d) If not, are Government prepared to consider the total abolition of that move?

**The Honourable S'r James Crerar:** (a) The Honourable Member will find the requisite information in the reply given by the Honourable Mr. Haig to part (i) of unstarred question No. 107 asked by the Honourable Mr. Surput Sing in the Council of State on the 25th March, 1930.

(b), (c) and (d). The Honourable Member is referred to the answer I gave in the Legislative Assembly on the 11th February, 1931, to parts (e) and (f) of Mr. T. N. Ramakrishna Reddi's unstarred question No. 174.

**Mr. B. V. Jadhav:** May I know what is the duration of the stay in Simla?

**The Honourable Sir James Crerar:** That varies to a certain extent according to the state of work and various other considerations.

**Mr. B. V. Jadhav:** What is the longest stay and what is the shortest?

**The Honourable Sir James Crerar:** I am afraid I cannot give the precise figures and I must ask the Honourable Member to give me notice.

#### DEPARTMENT TO SAFEGUARD THE RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF RAILWAY LABOURERS.

728. **\*Sardar G. N. Mujumdar** (on behalf of Mr. Nabakumar Sing Dudhoria): (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether there is a separate Department under the Railway Board which is intended to safeguard the rights and privileges of the railway labourers and to enforce the terms contained in the Washington Convention?

(b) If so, what is the total expenditure per annum incurred by that department?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** (a) An organisation is to come into force with effect from the 1st April, 1931, for the purpose of supervising the application of the Hours of Work Regulations on the North Western and East Indian Railways, as well as on any other railways to which the Regulations may be subsequently applied. This organization will be under the Railway Board and independent of the Railway Administrations concerned.

(b) The cost of the organization during 1931-32 is estimated to be Rs. 45,000.

#### RAILWAY LABOUR INSPECTORS.

729. **\*Sardar G. N. Mujumdar** (on behalf of Mr. Nabakumar Sing Dudhoria): (a) Will Government be pleased to state the number of Railway Labour Inspectors employed in each of the following Railways:

- (1) Great Indian Peninsula Railway,
- (2) North Western Railway,
- (3) East Indian Railway,
- (4) Eastern Bengal Railway,
- (5) Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway?

(b) How many of the above posts are held by Hindus and how many by Muslims?

(c) Is there any scheme at present before the Railway Board to increase the number of such Inspectors?

(d) If so, will Government be pleased to state the number of vacancies and when the recruitment is expected to take place?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** (a) and (b). No Labour Inspectors are employed on the Great Indian Peninsula, North Western or Eastern Bengal Railways. The East Indian Railway have two Labour Inspectors, both of whom are Hindus. The Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway have no Labour Inspectors but have six Welfare and Labour Advisers, of whom five are Hindus and one is a Parsee.

(c) and (d). Government propose to appoint four Inspectors of Labour when the Indian Railways Amendment Act, 1930, is applied to the North Western and East Indian Railways from the 1st April, 1931. Recruitment to these appointments will be made shortly before that date.

#### STEEL USED FOR BRIDGES ON THE BENGAL NAGPUR RAILWAY.

730. **\*Sir Cowasji Jehangir:** Is it a fact that the Bengal Nagpur Railway has recently placed large orders for the construction of railway bridges in England, one of such bridges being within five miles of the Indian Steel Works? Is it a fact that the bridge in question is entirely constructed of foreign steel and that no Indian steel has been used in it?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** During the past year the Bengal Nagpur Railway has placed one order for 36 bridge spans in England. The English price was slightly more than the Indian price, but the Railway Administration explains that the spans were urgently required for a line under construction now opened to traffic and delivery was promised and made within 18 weeks as against 26 weeks by the most suitable tenderer. The value of the order was £5,110. By "the bridge within five miles of the Indian Steel Works" it is presumed the Honourable Member refers to the Korkai bridge, the girders for which were ordered last year. The order for these girders was placed with an Indian Engineering Works. Government are not aware if the manufacturer used Indian or foreign steel, but they have no doubt that Indian steel would have been used had a favourable rate and delivery been quoted.

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir:** Could not the Railway Company have anticipated their requirements beforehand so as to enable them to use Indian steel?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** With regard to the Korkai Bridge the order was placed with an Indian manufacturing firm and Government do not control that firm, so as that they could specify where they should buy their steel.

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir:** Do not Government specify that Indian steel should be required to be used by their contractors?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** Not in so many words. So far as tenders which come into the Railway Board are concerned we look into the question whether the firm proposes to use a proportion of Indian manufactured material. But we do not say that Indian steel should be used.



**Sir Cowasji Jehangir:** I understand the Honourable Member to say that he is not in a position to tell the House whether the contractors are using Indian steel, because they have no information. If that be so, may I ask if Government do not make it a point to specify in the contracts that Indian steel should be used?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** I do not think that has been done so far.

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir:** Will Government consider the matter, when such an opportunity comes in future?

**The Honourable Sir George Rainy:** I am prepared to consider that point, but my Honourable friend must remember that this is a Company-managed railway and it is not in the same position as a State-managed railway.

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir:** Have Government no control over Company-managed railways?

**The Honourable Sir George Rainy:** It would not follow that they have no control, but what I said was that the Company-managed railways are not in the same position as State-managed railways.

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir:** Have not Government sufficient control over the Railways to enable them to enforce such a regulation?

**The Honourable Sir George Rainy:** I cannot give a categorical answer to that offhand.

**Mr. K. Ahmed:** In view of the fact that the great majority of the shareholders are the Government of India, will Government for the benefit of the country take steps to bring in that condition of control over the Company-managed railways so that in future when the tender is accepted, that condition also may be simultaneously accepted by the tenderer? If not, why not?

**The Honourable Sir George Rainy:** I am afraid I cannot add to what I have already said.

#### CONSTRUCTION OF A BRIDGE OVER THE RUPNARAYAN RIVER.

731. **\*Sir Cowasji Jehangir:** Is it a fact that the construction of the large new bridge over the Rupnarayan River on the Bengal Nagpur Railway has been placed with Messrs. Dorman, Long and Company and that the tendered price was about 15 per cent. higher than the price tendered by Indian makers for material fabricated from Indian steel?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** The order for girders for the Rupnarayan Bridge was not placed with Messrs. Dorman, Long and Company, but with another British manufacturer. The accepted price worked out at 3 per cent. more than the most suitable Indian tender. In view of the fact that *at the time of placing this order no firm in India had manufactured railway girders of 300 ft. span* the administration considered that in order to ensure greater reliability of delivery and manufacture the additional cost was justified.

**WAGONS PURCHASED BY THE BENGAL NAGPUR RAILWAY.**

**732. \*Sir Cowasji Jehangir:** Is it a fact that the Bengal Nagpur Railway has recently ordered wagons from abroad without calling for tenders in India?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** No wagons have been ordered abroad by the Bengal Nagpur Railway since May 1929.

**REPRESENTATION FROM POSTAL OFFICIALS TRANSFERRED FROM POONA TO BOMBAY.**

**733. \*Mr. S. G. Jog:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) whether they have received representations from officials of the now defunct office of the Deputy Postmaster-General, Railway Mail Service, Western Circle, Poona, who have been transferred to the Circle office in Bombay, in connection with the loss in fixation of their pay;
- (b) what is the number of such officials;
- (c) whether the point to point principle was in vogue at the time of their transfer to Bombay;
- (d) whether those representations are finally disposed of; and if so, with what result;
- (e) whether these officials had asked for the concession under Fundamental Rule 27 to compensate them for their loss in pay; and
- (f) whether instructions will now be issued to the Head of the Circle to exercise powers under Fundamental Rule 27 vested in him by Government to compensate them for the loss in the fixation of their pay?

**Mr. J. A. Shillidy:** (a) Yes. Representations were received in 1928 and 1929.

(b) Representations were received from 16 officials.

(c) Yes, in the case of the officials transferred before 1st June, 1927, when the point-to-point system was abolished.

(d) Yes. In the case of those who enjoyed the benefit of the old "Point to Point" system on account of their transfer in January 1927, the prayer for re-fixation of pay on the basis of Bombay pay according to their years of service was rejected. The pay of others who were transferred in July and October 1927 when the "Point to Point" system ceased to exist was refixed to the extent justified under that system by the application of Fundamental Rule 27, and their petitions for further concessions were not accepted.

(e) Yes. There was however no loss of pay. The concession asked for was for additional advance increments.

(f) Government have already decided not to grant the concession asked for. Accordingly the question of taking any further action in the manner suggested by the Honourable Member does not arise.

## HOUSE RENT ALLOWANCE FOR SUB-POSTMASTERS IN BOMBAY.

734. \*Mr. S. G. Jog: Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that, whenever quarters are provided for any Government official, the recovery on account of rent is ten per cent. of the pay of that official;
- (b) whether it is a fact that a number of the Sub-Postmasters in the lowest selection grade in Bombay are paid house rent in lieu of free quarters at the rate of less than Rs. 20;
- (c) whether it is a fact that Government in their memorandum to the Standing Finance Committee stated that the house rent allowance in lieu of free quarters to the Sub-Postmasters in Bombay and Karachi would be something higher than ten per cent. of their actual pay;
- (d) whether it is a fact that the average pay of a selection grade official in Bombay is Rs. 205; and if so, do Government propose to revise the rates of house rent allowance to the Sub-Postmasters referred in part (b) above?

Mr. H. A. Sams: (a) No, the rules lay down that ordinarily the amount of rent recoverable from an official should be 10 per cent. of his emoluments or the actual rental value of the accommodation occupied, whichever is less.

(b) Yes.

(c) If the Honourable Member will refer to the Memorandum in question he will see that no such definite statement was made.

(d) The average pay of the Selection-grade of Rs. 160—10—250 is Rs. 208. With regard to the latter part of the question, the attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the reply given to part (c) of Mr. N. M. Joshi's unstarred question No. 313 in the Legislative Assembly on the 11th March, 1929.

## ADMISSION OF POSTMEN TO THE POSTAL INSURANCE FUND.

735. \*Mr. S. G. Jog: Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the postmen and lower grade staff have been permitted to join the Post Office Insurance Fund;
- (b) if so, whether the rules of the Fund are published in the vernacular for the benefit of those classes, and
- (c) if not, do Government propose to arrange for such publication as early as possible?

Mr. H. A. Sams: (a) Yes.

(b) Yes; so far the rules have been published in Urdu and Hindi. The question of their publication in other important vernaculars will be considered after the revision of these rules now in progress is completed.

(c) Does not arise.

**QUALITY OF UNIFORMS FOR INFERIOR STAFF OF THE RAILWAY MAIL SERVICE.**

736. \***Mr. S. G. Jog:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it was repeatedly brought to the notice of the Department concerned that the cloth used in supplying the uniforms to the inferior staff of the Railway Mail Service is of an inferior stuff;
- (b) whether in the case of the similar Post Office staff such complaint has since been removed: and
- (c) whether Government now intend to improve the quality of the cloth in the case of the staff of the Railway Mail Service?

**Mr. H. A. Sams:** (a) No.

(b) No such complaint has been received.

(c) Does not arise.

**Mr. S. G. Jog:** May I inquire whether the cloth that is used is Indian made or foreign cloth?

**Mr. H. A. Sams:** So far as I am aware, the cloth is made in India.

**Mr. S. G. Jog:** Is it from the Indian companies or European companies?

**Mr. H. A. Sams:** I must have notice of that question.

**ADDITIONAL SELECTION GRADE APPOINTMENTS IN THE ACCOUNTS DEPARTMENT OF THE BOMBAY GENERAL POST OFFICE.**

737. \***Mr. S. G. Jog:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that Rai Bahadur J. P. Ganguli, an Officer appointed by the Government of India, had recommended as early as in 1927, the sanction of some additional selection grade appointments in the Accounts Department of the Bombay General Post Office on the strength of the nature of work in that Department;
- (b) whether it is a fact that these recommendations of the said officer still remain unfulfilled;
- (c) if the reply to part (b) above is in the affirmative, do Government propose to expedite the matter?

**Mr. H. A. Sams:** (a) Yes.

(b) No.

(c) Does not arise.

**POWERS OF TOWN INSPECTORS OF POST OFFICES.**

738. \***Mr. S. G. Jog:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) whether they have issued any orders directing that the Town Inspectors of Post Offices, in the First Class Head Offices will exercise all the powers of Sub-Divisional Inspectors;
- (b) whether it is a fact that the Director General, Posts and Telegraphs, as early as in January, 1930, further issued orders in his letter No. Staff-A.-0134/28, dated the 3rd January, 1930, granting the Town Inspectors powers of appointment, etc.;

- (c) whether the Town Inspectors in Madras, the United Provinces and Bengal and Assam Circles do exercise such powers;
- (d) whether the Town Inspectors in Bombay are still not vested with such powers; and
- (e) if the reply to part (d) above is in the affirmative, whether the Director General proposes to inquire and issue instructions in the matter?

**Mr. H. A. Sams:** (a) Yes.

(b) Yes.

(c) to (e). Government have no precise information, but understand that in some Circles, Town Inspectors attached to First Class Head Offices have not been allowed to exercise the powers of appointment, etc., owing to certain administrative difficulties. I am examining the whole question.

#### SUPPLY OF WARM CLOTHING TO RAILWAY MAIL SERVICE OFFICIALS.

739. **\*Mr. S. G. Jog:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Director-General, Posts and Telegraphs, has assured the Secretary of the All-India (including Burma) Postal and Railway Mail Service Union, Delhi, that the scheme of extended supply of warm clothing to Railway Mail Service officials will be brought into operation and given effect to in the coming year; and
- (b) if so, whether the necessary provisions have been made in this year's Budget?

**Mr. J. A. Shillidy:** (a) No such assurance was given.

(b) Does not arise.

#### COST OF THE OLD TREASURY BRANCH OF THE BOMBAY GENERAL POST OFFICE.

740. **\*Mr. S. G. Jog:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) the actual monthly expenditure for the maintenance of the Treasury Branch of the Bombay General Post Office prior to the introduction of the cash contract system; and
- (b) the actual monthly subsidy paid to the Contractor at present, including the additional grant for collecting and distributing cash to the Town Sub Offices?

**Mr. H. A. Sams:** (a) Rs. 4,067 monthly. The Honourable Member's attention is invited to the reply already given by me on the subject on the 11th March, 1929, to a similar unstarred question No. 319 by Mr. N. M. Joshi.

(b) Rs. 4,850, but this also covers the treasury work of six town sub-offices which were not included in the subsidy referred to in the answer to Mr. Joshi's question.

**APPOINTMENTS OF STAMP VENDORS IN POST OFFICES.**

**741. \*Mr. S. G. Jog:** Will Government be pleased to state :

- (a) whether it is a fact that an assurance was given to the Standing Finance Committee when the pay of the stamp vendors in Post Offices was revised, that the question of converting their appointments into superior service would be taken up by Government; and
- (b) if so, whether Government will be pleased to inform the House of their decision in the matter?

**Mr. H. A. Sams:** (a) The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the reply given by the Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra to Mr. N. C. Kelkar's unstarred question No. 184 on the 18th September, 1929.

(b) No decision has yet been reached.

**SALE OF POSTAGE STAMPS IN POST OFFICES IN BOMBAY.**

**742. \*Mr. S. G. Jog:** Will Government be pleased to state :

- (a) whether it is contemplated that the work of selling postal stamps and stationery in certain post offices in Bombay, which is now being done by the Departmental stamp vendors, should be farmed out to the Contractor holding cash contract business;
- (b) if so, what the reasons are that led to such a new proposal; and
- (c) if the reply to part (a) above is in the affirmative, whether Government are prepared to reconsider their decision and allow the present system to continue?

**Mr. H. A. Sams:** (a) and (b). A proposal on the subject has recently been received from the Postmaster-General, Bombay, but no decision has yet been reached.

(c) Does not arise.

**TRANSPORTATION FOR LIFE OF PANDIT JAGAT RAM.**

**743. \*Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** (a) Is it a fact that Pandit Jagat Ram, B.A., was sentenced to death with confiscation of property in 1915 by a Special Tribunal constituted under the Defence of India Act, under Sections 121, 121-A, 122, 124-A, and 131 of the Indian Penal Code, along with a few others, but that his sentence was commuted to one of transportation for life by the Governor General in Council? Was he kept confined in the Cellular Jail at Port Blair, Andamans, from the 10th December, 1915 to the 23rd August, 1921 (a period of 5 years, 8 months, and 13 days), and was he granted a special remission of two years and one month, under the sanction of the Government of India?

(b) Is it a fact that up to 13th January, 1931, the prisoner has undergone:

	Years.	Months.	Days.
In the Cellular Jail at Port Blair . . . . .	5	8	13
Special remission by the Government of India . . . . .	2	1	0
In the Indian Jails . . . . .	9	7	17
Remission earned . . . . .	2	3	4
<b>Total</b> . . . . .	<b>19</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>4</b>

(c) Under what law was the prisoner Jagat Ram confined in the Cellular Jail at Port Blair for over five years; and is not such confinement equivalent to rigorous imprisonment in Indian Jails?

(d) Is it a fact that under the sentence of transportation for life, Jagat Ram has already undergone rigorous imprisonment for more than 19 years?

(e) Will Government be pleased to make a short statement on this case, and disclose their intentions with regard to the release of this prisoner?

**The Honourable Sir James Crerar:** I have called for a report, and will give the information when it is received.

**Mr. Jagan Nath Aggarwal:** Will the information be communicated to the House as well?

**The Honourable Sir James Crerar:** I have no objection.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** Will the Honourable Member communicate similar information with regard to the Sikh prisoners who were convicted along with Pandit Jagat Ram?

**The Honourable Sir James Crerar:** I do not think that arises out of my reply.

#### APPOINTMENT OF INDIAN ELECTRICAL ENGINEERS.

744. **\*Mr. B. Sitaramaraju:** (a) Are Government aware that Messrs. Merz & Partners, Consulting Electrical Engineers to the Government of India (Railway Board), have at present on their superior staff four Indian electrical engineers, who have all received technical training, both theoretical and practical, in England and are now employed in responsible positions?

(b) Is it a fact that last year Government recruited four electrical engineers in connection with the Great Indian Peninsula Railway electrification, of whom three were Europeans and only one Indian? Why were not the claims of the four Indian Engineers considered?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** (a) Government have no information.

(b) Of the four Electrical Engineers, two were Europeans and two were Indians, one of the latter being an Anglo-Indian. This recruitment was made through the Public Service Commission, who invited applications by advertisement. So far as can be ascertained, only one Indian on the staff of Messrs. Merz and Partners submitted an application, but he was not recommended for appointment.

**APPOINTMENT OF PUNJABI MUSSALMANS TO THE HIGHER RANKS OF THE ARMY.**

745. \*Nawab Major Malik Talib Mehdi Khan: (a) Will Government please state the percentage of the Punjabi Mussalmans in the Indian Army?

(b) Will Government please state the number of officers who have passed through Woolwich, Sandhurst and the Engineering branch of the Royal Indian Marine, during the last five years, and the number of Punjabi Mussalmans among them?

(c) Are Government prepared to lay down a rule ensuring adequate representation of the martial races, and particularly Punjabi Mussalmans in higher ranks of the Indian Army?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) The percentage in combatant units of the Indian Army, excluding the Indian Army Service Corps, is about 24. If the Indian Army Service Corps is included, the percentage is a little higher.

(b) 41 Indian cadets were commissioned from Sandhurst between January, 1926 and December, 1930. 13 of these cadets were Mussalmans. Five came from the Punjab, six from the North West Frontier Province, and two from other parts of India. No Indians were commissioned from Woolwich during that period. One Indian, a Bengali, was commissioned in the Engineering branch of the Royal Indian Marine.

(c) Out of the 41 cadets, 29, or just over 70 per cent., belong to races from which the Indian Army is recruited. As I have stated above, 11, that is, 27 per cent., are Mussalmans from the Punjab and N. W. F. P. The Honourable Member will see that the figures of the last 5 years do not indicate any necessity for special rules to ensure adequate representation either of Punjabi Mussalmans or of other fighting races in the higher ranks of the Indian Army. But Government are fully alive to the importance of this aspect of the matter.

**INCLUSION OF UNTOUCHABLES AMONGST HINDUS FOR THE CENSUS.**

746. \*Nawab Major Malik Talib Mehdi Khan: (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to a note on page 9 of the *Hindustan Times*, dated the 18th February, 1931, which shows that some orders have been issued to include Bhungis and other untouchables among the Hindus in the forthcoming census?

(b) Is it a fact, that such orders have been issued, and, if so, is this being done against their will? If so, why, and are Government prepared to cancel the orders?

The Honourable Sir James Crerar: (a) Yes.

(b) No instructions have been issued to return Bhungis and other untouchables as Hindus against their will. Their classification as Hindus or otherwise will depend entirely on the manner in which they return themselves at the enumeration.



### RECRUITMENT OF CLERKS TO ACCOUNTS OFFICES.

747. \***Mr. M. N. Rao:** (a) Is it a fact that one of the rules for the recruitment of clerks for certain accounts offices, issued by the Accountant General, Central Revenues, on 2nd December, 1930, lays down that Europeans and Anglo-Indians, irrespective of their educational qualifications, may be given a starting pay of Rs. 70 to Rs. 80 per month, whereas Indians with qualifications of B.A., B.Sc. and B.Com., cannot be granted an initial pay of more than Rs. 56 a month?

(b) What is the reason for this racial discrimination?

(c) Are Government prepared to rescind this discriminative rule and prescribe similar rates of pay for all classes and communities? If not, why not?

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** (a) Yes.

(b) It has been decided that members of minority communities should have due representation in Government offices. Europeans and Anglo-Indians belong to such communities, and it is not possible to attract candidates from amongst them on a lower initial pay.

(c) For the reasons given in (b), not at present.

### MILITARY RAID ON THE OFFICE OF THE KHUDAYI KHIDMATGAR MOVEMENT.

748. \***Seth Haji Abdoola Haroon:** (a) Is it a fact that the office of the "Khudayi Khidmatgar Movement", in which there were two copies of the "Holy Kuran", was burnt by the Military?

(b) Is it a fact that the son of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan was charged with a bayonet by a British soldier and was saved by an Indian soldier at the risk of injuring his own hands?

(c) Is it a fact that some volunteers who were in the office were thrown down from the second storey of the building causing the breaking of their limbs?

**Mr. J. G. Acheson:** (a) One small hut which was the meeting place of the "Red Shirts", or Khudai Khidmatgaran, organisation, which had been declared unlawful, was burnt on the 14th May 1930. It is quite untrue that a copy or copies of the Holy Koran were burnt.

(b) No.

(c) No, Sir. The only foundation for this statement, so far as I can ascertain, is that one youth jumped into the street from the flat roof on which the temporary superstructure used as an office had been erected and hurt his ankle.

### BLOCKADE OF VILLAGES IN PESHAWAR DISTRICT.

749. \***Seth Haji Abdoola Haroon:** Will Government be pleased to state whether the blockade of villages, firing, burning of houses, destroying of corn, etc., was resorted to before or after the promulgation of the Martial Law Ordinance in the district of Peshawar? If before, under what regulation were these acts resorted to?

**Mr. J. G. Acheson:** Certain villages were blockaded to prevent the holding of seditious meetings and the spread of propaganda by proclaimed associations. Firing took place on one occasion only, when fire was opened upon the troops in the first instance by hostile parties. These measures were taken before the promulgation of the Martial Law Ordinance in the interests of the public peace. The remaining allegations are not substantiated.

**TREATMENT OF CONGRESS VOLUNTEERS IN CHARSADDA.**

750. **\*Seth Haji Abdoola Haroon:** (a) Is it a fact that cavalry horses were made to trample over the bodies of some volunteers in Charsadda?

(b) Is it also a fact that volunteers were driven back by cavalry soldiers by charging them with their spears thereby wounding some of them seriously?

(c) Is it a fact that no medical aid was rendered to the wounded and disabled volunteers?

**Mr. J. G. Acheson:** (a) No, Sir. What actually occurred was that a number of youths attempted to hold up a party of cavalry horses returning from watering by lying on the road. Although the men accompanying the horses had difficulty in controlling them no one was injured.

(b) A report has been called for and the facts will be communicated to the Honourable Member on receipt.

(c) As far as possible medical aid was rendered on all occasions when it was necessary.

**Seth Haji Abdoola Haroon:** Can the Honourable Member give any instance where medical aid was given to any of these people?

**Mr. K. Ahmed:** How many hours afterwards was medical aid given to the wounded and disabled volunteers in question?

**Mr. J. G. Acheson:** I am afraid I cannot answer that question, Sir, without notice.

**Sir Abdur Rahim:** Can the Honourable Member give the number of wounded and disabled volunteers on this particular occasion?

**Mr. J. G. Acheson:** I am afraid I cannot do so without notice, but the number was small if there were any at all.

**Mr. K. Ahmed:** In view of the fact that the question itself contained a request for information whether no medical aid was rendered to the wounded, why did not Government think it desirable to obtain the necessary particulars?

**Mr. J. G. Acheson:** I do not admit that no medical aid was given, but I shall be happy to give further particulars if I am given time to collect them.

**PEACEFUL DISPERSAL OF MEETINGS ON THE FRONTIER.**

751. **\*Seth Haji Abdoola Haroon:** (a) Are Government aware that on the 14th of May, 1930, a huge meeting of about 20,000 people was held at Utmanzai?

(b) Is it also a fact that the said meeting dispersed peacefully when the military came and ordered them to disperse?

(c) If the answer to part (b) is in the affirmative, did the Frontier Government employ the same method of peacefully dispersing similar meetings held elsewhere?

**Mr. J. G. Acheson:** (a) A meeting of about 1,000 persons is believed to have been held in Utmanzai on the date mentioned.

(b) The meeting dispersed when called upon to do so.

(c) Force was only used to disperse unlawful assemblies when the latter refused to disperse when called upon to do so.

#### BLOCKADE OF VILLAGES AT CHARSADDA, ETC.

752. **\*Seth Haji Abdoola Haroon:** (a) Is it a fact that during the blockades at Charsadda and several other villages the inhabitants were forced to remain confined to the four walls of their houses without having the opportunity of communicating with their next door neighbours in safety?

(b) Is it not a fact that the time for prayers in the Mosque was announced by the sounding of bugles?

(c) Are Government aware that some children died during the course of these blockades on account of proper medical aid not being obtainable?

(d) Are Government aware that this confinement caused the cultivators serious losses consequent on their inability to look after their crops?

(e) Are Government aware that owing to the blockades of Charsadda and Utmanzai market places most of the cultivators in the sub-division, who mainly depend for financial support on these markets, could not get the required amount of money, thus causing failure of their valuable crops of sugar cane?

(f) Is it the intention of Government to compensate these victims?

(g) Is it true that Government have demanded the usual land revenue from these cultivators?

**Mr. J. G. Acheson:** The information required is being collected and will be furnished to the Honourable Member in due course.

#### FAILURE OF CROPS AND LOW PRICES IN THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

753. **\*Seth Haji Abdoola Haroon:** (a) Are Government aware that there has been a failure of crops all over the Frontier during the past four consecutive years on account of locust, frost dust, rain, etc.?

(b) Are Government aware that prices of agricultural produce have gone down tremendously in the North West Frontier Province?

(c) If the answer to parts (a) and (b) is in the affirmative, what are the measures adopted by the Frontier Government to meet the situation?

(d) Do Government contemplate any further reduction of a permanent nature in (i) land revenue, and (ii) water tax in the North West Frontier Province?

**The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain:** (a) Partial damage to crops in various parts of the North West Frontier Province occurred during the years 1927, 1928, 1929 and 1930.

(b) Yes, in sympathy with the general trend of prices throughout India.

(c) A permanent reduction of Rs. 66,000 in the revenue demand of Peshawar, as fixed at the recent resettlement, was sanctioned last year to bring its results into accord with the provisions of the Punjab Land Revenue Amendment Act. Throughout the province remissions of land revenue and water rate have also been granted in the tracts affected by the calamities specified on a liberal scale proportionate to the failure of crops. Proposals submitted by the local administration for the grant of partial revenue and water rate remission on account of the situation arising out of the fall in agricultural prices are under consideration.

(d) No.

#### **ELECTION TO MUNICIPAL BODIES IN THE NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.**

**754. \* Seth Haji Abdoola Haroon:** (a) Are Government aware that the recent declaration of the Frontier Government throwing open only 50 per cent. of the elected seats for the public in the Municipal bodies has caused dissatisfaction among the people?

(b) Have Government received any warning that this resentment and dissatisfaction of the public is likely to result in the boycott of these elections by the public?

**The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain:** (a) Government have no information to that effect.

(b) No, though the Peshawar Khilafat Committee is alleged to have made such a suggestion.

**Seth Haji Abdool'a Haroon:** Are Government aware that this agitation has been going on in the Frontier Province because of the feeling that the Government have not granted what they have already promised?

**The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain:** It is difficult to be quite sure about it; no doubt it may be possibly partly due to it.

**Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum:** May I know, Sir, why the election system introduced in the Peshawar Municipality in 1929 was not extended to other parts of the N. W. F. Province?

**The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain:** It would be interesting to know why the Honourable Member did not ask that question in 1929.

**Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum:** There was no opportunity then; this is the earliest opportunity I get.

**The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain:** I am very glad to know that the right of interpellation has been conceded to the Members of this House in this year.

**Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum:** Is my question then time barred?

**Seth Haji Abdoolah Haroon:** Are Government aware that in the Round Table Conference they have decided to give two-thirds of elected members in the Council for that province? If so, will Government consider whether they propose to raise their present fifty per cent. for the Local Boards and Municipalities to 66 per cent. in future?

**The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain:** If it is correct that the Round Table Conference have decided to do so, the matter undoubtedly will have to be reconsidered in the light of that decision.

**Seth Haji Abdoolah Haroon:** Are Government aware that these elections will be held very shortly in the Frontier Province and before they are held will Government declare that the percentage of sixty-six per cent. recommended by the Round Table Conference for the future Council, will also hold good for the Municipalities and Local Boards in that province?

**The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain:** That is a matter which requires further consideration.

**Mr. K. Ahmed:** In view of the fact that the Honourable Member has already answered in a way that will partly pacify the people of that province, do Government propose to undertake steps to passify them partly as early as possible?

**The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain:** I am afraid I have not quite followed the question. (Laughter.)

**Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum:** May I know if the attention of the Government has been drawn to the North West Frontier Province Gazette in its last issue in which certain provisions of the Punjab District Boards and Municipalities Act have not been made applicable in the case of a portion of the province within its jurisdiction, and if so, what is the reason for making any difference between the North West Frontier Province and the Punjab, although an assurance was given to that effect on the 3rd July last?

**The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain:** My attention has not been invited to the notification to which the Honourable Member is referring. But if he will kindly give me the number of the notification he is referring to, I shall be glad to go into the matter.

#### GRIEVANCES OF THE RAILWAY CLEARING ACCOUNTS OFFICE STAFF AT DELHI.

755. **\*Mr. Bhuput Singh:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) whether their attention has been drawn to the article under the caption "Grievances of the Railway Clearing Accounts Office Staff at Delhi" that appeared in the *Advance*, the *Bengalee*, and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* on or about 21st November, 1930;
- (b) if so, what steps they have taken or propose to take to remove the grievances about (i) giving the benefit of the general increment to all clerks of the office, irrespective of the fact whether they joined before or after the 1st January, 1927, and (ii) providing quarters for them, or in lieu thereof giving them house-allowance?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** (a) No.

(b) (i) and (ii). Do not arise. As regards (ii), however, the position is that Government have decided to construct quarters for these clerks gradually as funds can be provided.

**GRIEVANCES OF THE RAILWAY CLEARING ACCOUNTS OFFICE STAFF AT DELHI.**

756. **\*Mr. Bhuput Sing:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) whether they are aware of the discontent among the clerks of the Railway Clearing Accounts Office at Delhi by reason of some passed clerks' claims for seniority being overlooked in favour of some unpassed clerks;
- (b) what has been done about the findings and recommendations of the committee, that was presided over by Mr. M. K. Mitra, Controller of Railway Accounts, for the preparation of a gradation list of the clerks in that office, about a year ago?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** (a) and (b). Government have no information regarding passed senior clerks having been superseded by unpassed clerks. The question of seniority of the staff of the Railway Clearing Accounts Office was fully gone into by the Committee presided over by Mr. M. K. Mitra. The Report of that Committee has been considered and orders are under issue.

**DEATH, SICKNESS AND RETIREMENT OF CLERKS OF THE RAILWAY CLEARING ACCOUNTS OFFICE, DELHI.**

757. **\*Mr. Bhuput Sing:** Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) the number of clerks of the Railway Clearing Accounts Office at Delhi who died at Delhi while in service during 1929-30 and 1930-31;
- (b) the names of diseases from which they died;
- (c) the number that went on medical leave during the same period;
- (d) the number that retired from service during the same period;
- (e) the number that is on the sick-list at present;
- (f) the total strength of the office as regards *clerks* only;
- (g) the number that is working as temporary hands; and
- (h) the different nationalities under which those temporary hands come?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** (a) 13.

- (b) The information is not available.
- (c) There were 418 applications.
- (d) 10.
- (e) 28.
- (f) 1,224.

(g) and (h). Temporary hands number 300 composed of the following communities :

Hindus—223.

Muslims—59.

Sikhs—13.

Christians and Anglo-Indians—5.

#### PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION EXAMINATION FOR DEPARTMENTAL CANDIDATES.

758. **\*Mr. D. K. Lahiri Chaudhury:** (a) Is it a fact that a qualifying examination of the Public Service Commission, for the departmental candidates, is going to be held in the near future? If the answer to above be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state the date?

(b) Is it a fact that there are several temporary clerks in the Government of India offices who do not possess the minimum educational standard required by the Public Service Commission?

(c) Is it a fact that many of them have been working in the Government of India offices for periods ranging over years?

(d) If the answer to parts (b) and (c) above are in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state whether they will be allowed to sit for the qualifying examination? If not, will they be pleased to state what they propose to do with these clerks?

**The Honourable Sir James Crerar:** (a) Yes, on the 30th March, 1931.

(b) I understand there are some.

(c) I have no precise information on this point.

(d) They are not qualified to sit for the examination since the instructions issued in 1928 laid down certain educational qualifications which have to be fulfilled. At the same time instructions were issued that temporary clerks should be informed before they are engaged that their employment either for a short or for a long period confers no title to or prospect of permanent employment and I am afraid therefore that nothing can be done.

#### CLERKS EXEMPTED FROM THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION'S EXAMINATION

759. **\*Mr. D. K. Lahiri Chaudhury:** (a) Is it a fact that several clerks of the Railway Board were exempted from the examination of the Public Service Commission and confirmed in 1930, on the ground that they had been serving for more than one year?

(b) If the answer to part (a) above be in the affirmative, do Government propose to extend the same concession to persons similarly placed? If not, why not?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** (a) The reply is in the negative.

(b) Does not arise.

#### CLERKS EXEMPTED FROM THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION'S EXAMINATION.

760. **\*Mr. D. K. Lahiri Chaudhury:** Will Government be pleased to state the number of clerks who were exempted from the examination of the Public Service Commission, from 1920 to 1930, with names, qualifications, and reasons in each case?

**The Honourable Sir James O'rerar:** The information is not readily available and it is not proposed to collect it, as this would involve an amount of labour wholly disproportionate to the results.

**TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION BETWEEN CHEDUBA ISLAND AND THE ARRACAN COAST.**

**761. \*U. Tun Aung:** Will Government be pleased to state whether immediate steps are being taken to restore the telegraphic communication, damaged by the last cyclones, between the Cheduba Island and the main Arracan coast? If not, do they propose to do so? Are they aware that the residents of the said Island are being put to great inconvenience for want of connection with the outer world?

**Mr. H. A. Sams:** Yes, arrangements have been made to establish wireless communication between Cheduba island and Sandoway. The reply to the last part is in the affirmative.

**MEMORIAL FROM THE RATEPAYERS' ASSOCIATION, MANDALAY CANTONMENT.**

**762. \*U. Tun Aung:** Will Government be pleased to state whether a memorial from the Ratepayers' Association, Mandalay Cantonment, Burma, has been received? If reply be in the affirmative, what action has been taken thereon?

**Mr. G. M. Young:** Yes, a memorial was received. The allegations in it were duly investigated, and proved to be unfounded.

**ESTABLISHMENT OF MILITARY, NAVAL AND AERIAL COLLEGES FOR BURMANS.**

**763. \*U. Tun Aung:** Will Government be pleased to state whether they have considered the question of now establishing colleges or such other institutions to enable Burmans to be trained for military, naval and aerial services? If so, will steps be taken immediately to give effect to the same?

**Mr. G. M. Young:** Government have not considered the question of establishing a separate cadet college for Burma. Burmans however are eligible for admission to Dehra Dun, Sandhurst, Woolwich and Cranwell, and for entry into the Royal Indian Marine.

**REMISSION OF INCOME-TAX OF PEOPLE AFFECTED BY EARTHQUAKES AND CYCLONES IN BURMA.**

**764. \*U. Tun Aung:** Will Government be pleased to state whether they are aware of the tragic losses in life and property caused to the people in various districts by the earthquakes and cyclones in Burma? If so, are they prepared to remit income-tax in those areas for the current year?

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** The Government of India have directed that in the area affected by the Pegu earthquake income-tax demands should be regulated by the real ability to pay of each assessee, and that cases in which relief is to be thus granted should be scrutinised by the Commissioner of Income-tax in consultation with the Divisional Commissioner. A request received from the Indian Chamber of Commerce for the allowance of enhanced rates for annual repairs under section 9 (1) of the Indian Income-tax Act in view of the damage caused by earthquakes in Burma is under consideration.



### APPOINTMENT OF BURMESE AS INCOME-TAX OFFICERS IN BURMA.

**765. \*U. Tun Aung:** Will Government be pleased to state whether a language examination is strictly compulsory for the Income-tax officers in Burma? If so, when do Government intend that this service should be Burmanised? If not, what are the special reasons for the relaxation of the rule?

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** Commissioners of Income-tax have been directed to frame rules for the examination of Income-tax officers in the chief vernacular or vernaculars of each province based on the rules prescribed for the departmental examination of the Provincial Executive Service. This direction applies to Burma. The Commissioner of Income-tax is no doubt fully alive to the claims of Burmans to employment in the Income-tax Department in Burma. I am not aware to what relaxation of what rule the Honourable Member refers. If he will address a more specific enquiry to the Central Board of Revenue they will supply him with any information on the subject that he may require.

### CONSTRUCTION OF A ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN MINGALADON CANTONMENT.

**766. \*U. Tun Aung:** Will Government be pleased to state whether plans and estimates for the proposed Roman Catholic Church in the Mingaladon Cantonment, Rangoon, have been forwarded by the local military authorities to the Government? If not, when will they be sent? Has provision been made in the Budget estimates for 1931-32 to start the work? If not, are Government prepared to see that funds are made available by reappropriation from some other head?

**The Honourable Sir George Rainy:** The plans and estimates have not yet been received by the Government of India but are expected before long.

Owing to the existing financial stringency, Government have been unable to allot funds for new major works during 1931-32.

### REPRESENTATIONS ON BEHALF OF THE SHOLAPUR CONVICTS.

**767. \*Mr. N. E. Gunjal:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state the number of copies of resolutions received by them from various public meetings, held all over India, requesting His Excellency the Viceroy to show mercy to the four Sholapur riot convicts, lately hanged?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state separately the numbers of applications received by them from:

- (i) The Members of Legislative Assembly.
- (ii) The Members of Council of State,
- (iii) The Members of Chamber of Princes,

requesting His Excellency the Viceroy to show mercy to the four Sholapur riot convicts, lately hanged?

**The Honourable Sir James Crerar:** (a) 90.

(b) (i) 27.

(b) (ii) 4.

(b) (iii) Nil.

ARRESTS UNDER THE RECENT ORDINANCES.

768. \***Mr. N. R. Gunjal:** Will Government be pleased to place on the table a statement showing separately the names, castes, vocations, and qualifications of each of the persons arrested under the various Ordinances since 1st January, 1930, in each district in India?

**The Honourable Sir James Orerar:** The Honourable Member will doubtless realise that it is not a practicable proposition to collect all the information he wants. I have, however, the approximate total number of persons convicted under the various Ordinances and I lay on the table a statement giving the figures.

STATEMENT.

*Statement showing the approximate number of persons convicted under various Ordinances of 1930.*

Ordinance.	Approximate number of persons convicted.
No. I . . . . .	400*
No. III . . . . .	12
No. IV . . . . .	57
No. V . . . . .	19,475
No. VI . . . . .	2,188
No. VIII . . . . .	21
Total . . . . .	22,153

\* Detained in Bengal under the Bengal Criminal Law (Amendment) Act No. VI of 1930 which replaced Ordinance I of 1930.

(Note.—Ordinances II, VII and X relate to the Press and Ordinance IX to unlawful associations and do not empower arrests and convictions.)

TRAVELLING ALLOWANCE OF MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURES.

769. \***Rai Bahadur Sukhraj Rai:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state what are the reasons for the discontinuance of eight-monthly return tickets on the East Indian Railway?

(b) Are Government aware that Members of the Legislatures find it difficult to meet their expenses in connection with railway fare from the travelling allowance allowed to them on account of this discontinuance?

(c) If so, is there any proposal for increasing the travelling allowance from  $1\frac{3}{4}$ th to the old rate of double the first class fare in view of this change?

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** (a) It did not pay the East Indian Railway to issue them.

(b) Government have received no such complaint.

(c) Does not arise.

## SEPARATION OF THE EXECUTIVE FROM THE JUDICIARY.

770. **\*Rai Bahadur Sukhraj Rai:** (a) Is there any proposal for separating the executive from the judiciary in the future constitution of India?

(b) If so, are Government prepared to issue now a circular to all executive officers to try cases judicially and without any prejudice in the period of transition?

**The Honourable Sir James Ogerar:** (a) This specific proposal has not yet been considered as part of the constitutional problems discussed at the Round Table Conference.

(b) Does not arise.

**Mr. K. Ahmed:** In view of the fact that this Assembly in 1923 adopted a Resolution for separating the executive from the judiciary, and in view of the fact that successive Home Members thereafter made statements that the matter was under consideration, will the Honourable Member be good enough to enlighten this House as to why effect was not given to the recommendation before the Round Table Conference took place? If they really wanted to give effect to the recommendation, why did they not take action before the Round Table Conference took place?

**The Honourable Sir James Ogerar:** The position was fully explained in a reply given by the Honourable Mr. Haig on the 11th September, 1928, in the Council of State, and I would draw the Honourable Member's attention to that reply.

**Mr. K. Ahmed:** Before the arrival of Mr. Haig in the Council of State, was not that answer given in this very House,—I cannot say anything about the other place. Why did not Government take adequate steps to give effect to the recommendation in view of the fact that provinces like Bengal, and other major provinces have already said that effect will be given to such a recommendation very soon?

**The Honourable Sir James Ogerar:** The matter may very well be discussed, and probably will be discussed in connection with the new Constitution, and I cannot add anything more to what is stated in the answer to which I have referred.

## DEPLORABLE CONDITION OF THE PADDY AND RICE TRADE.

771. **\*Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad:** Are the Government of India aware of the deplorable state of the paddy and rice trade? If so, will they be pleased to state the steps taken to relieve the distress with regard to the following:

(a) marketing of paddy and rice in India; •

(b) reduction in railway freight from stations in Bihar to the stations on the Western India and to the ports of India?

**The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain:** (a) Government are aware that the prices of rice and paddy have fallen in sympathy with other cereals, but the actual trade in these commodities would seem to be somewhat better than in the previous years, since exports of rice for 1930 were 2,579,000 tons compared to 1,998,000 tons in 1929 and 1,754,000 tons in 1928. The internal consumption of rice in India and Burma amounts to some 28 million tons per annum.

(b) The reduction of railway freight rates is a matter for Railway Administrations to consider. Government have no information, as to whether representations regarding the rates in question have been addressed to the railways concerned and have not received any advice that rates have been reduced recently for the commodities mentioned in bookings from Bihar to the places referred to.

**Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar:** Do the figures given by the Honourable Member include exports from Burma or from India proper?

**The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain:** I am afraid I could not answer that question.

**Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar:** Will the Honourable Member be pleased to give information as to the causes of stagnation of paddy and rice in the Madras Presidency? There is no movement at all there.

**The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain:** Is that really so?

**Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar:** Will the Honourable Member make inquiries about it?

**The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain:** I will, certainly.

#### DEPLORABLE CONDITION OF THE *KHESARI* TRADE.

772. **\*Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad:** Are the Government of India aware of the deplorable state of the *Khesari* trade? If so, will they be pleased to state the steps taken to relieve the distress with regard to the following:

(a) marketing of *Khesari* in India, and especially at the port of Calcutta;

(b) reduction in railway freight from stations in Bihar to Calcutta?

**The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain:** (a) Government are not aware that there is any distress in the *Khesari* trade.

(b) I would refer the Honourable Member to part (b) of the reply I have given to his previous question.

#### RESOLUTION OF THE PATNA DISTRICT BOARD.

773. **\*Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad:** (a) Will Government kindly place on the table a copy of resolution No. 20(2) accepted by the Patna District Board in a meeting held on the 30th October, 1929?

(b) Will Government kindly place on the table a copy of the reply of the Divisional Superintendent, East Indian Railway, Dinapore Division, in answer to letter No. G.2350/8-Y, dated the 21st November, 1929, from the Chairman of the Patna District Board to the Traffic Superintendent incharge of the Patna-Gaya Branch?

(c) Will Government please say what action is being taken in the matter?

(d) Will Government please say what will be the approximate cost if the recommendation of the District Board be accepted and when the work will be taken up?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** I should have found it more easy to reply to the Honourable Member, if he had given some indication of the subject matter of the correspondence of 1929 to which he refers. If he will do so, I will see what information I can procure for him.

#### APPOINTMENT OF MUSLIMS ON RAILWAYS.

774. **\*Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad:** (a) Is it a fact that the percentage of Muslim gazetted officers on the 1st April, 1930, on:

- (i) State-managed railways was 4.33; and
- (ii) Company-owned railways (excluding H. E. H. the Nizam's Guaranteed State and Jodhpur Railways) was 1.83?

(b) Is it a fact that the percentage of Muslim subordinates on scales of pay rising to Rs. 250 per mensem and over on the 1st April, 1930, on:

- (i) Class I State-managed railways was 5.09; and
- (ii) Company-managed railways (excluding the H. E. H. the Nizam's Guaranteed State and Jodhpur Railways) was 2.33?

(c) If the reply to parts (a) and (b) above be in the negative, will Government please give the correct percentage?

(d) If the reply be in the affirmative, what steps have been taken by Government and what do they propose to take in future, so that the Muslim percentage in these services may rise adequately?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** (a) and (b). The figures given by the Honourable Member agree with those given on pages 58 and 59 of Volume I of the Report by the Railway Board on Indian Railways for 1929-30.

— (c) Does not arise.

(d) I would refer the Honourable Member to the pamphlet on the Representation of Indians in the railway services which has been distributed to Members of this House and to the recent debates on the Railway Budget.

#### APPOINTMENT OF MUSLIMS ON RAILWAYS.

775. **\*Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad:** (a) Is it a fact that out of 14 permanent vacancies among the gazetted ranks actually filled during the year 1929-30 in the Engineering Department on State-managed railways, only one Mussalman was appointed, and in the Transportation (Power) and Mechanical Engineering Departments on State-managed railways out of 11 vacancies not a single Muslim was appointed?

(b) Is it a fact that out of 59 permanent vacancies among the Gazetted ranks actually filled during 1929-30 in the Agency, Accounts, Engineering, Transportation and Commercial, Mechanical, Store and other Departments of Company-managed railways (excluding H. E. H. the Nizam's Guaranteed State and Jodhpur Railways) not a single Muslim was appointed to these posts?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** The answer to both parts of the Honourable Member's question is in the affirmative.

CARICATURE IN THE PAGEANT OF THE PEOPLE'S FETE.

776. \*Pandit S. N. Sen: (a) Are Government aware that the pageant in connection with the 'People's Fête' on the 11th February, 1931, included a caricature of a Hindu couple of rather tender age with the following words inscribed on their carriage: "Only afraid of Sarda Act"?

(b) Are Government aware that the above caricature caused resentment among certain sections of Indians?

(c) If so, do Government propose to take steps to assuage their feelings?

(d) Who is the originator of the idea of the above caricature?

(e) Are Government aware that there has been a proposal among some Indians for caricaturing the evil effects of late-marriage?

(f) If so, are Government prepared to take steps to prevent the proposed caricature?

Mr. J. A. Shillidy: (a) to (d). The arrangements for the pageant were in the hands of a Committee over which Government exercised no control, as I have already stated in this House. It is not believed that the carriage and inscription referred to could have provoked any such feeling as is suggested by the Honourable Member.

(e) No.

(f) Does not arise.

QUANTITY OF STEEL MANUFACTURED IN INDIA.

777. \*Pandit S. N. Sen: Will Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the increase in the quantity of steel manufactured in India during the years 1925-26, 1929-30?

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: A statement containing the information is laid on the table.

*Production of steel (ingots) in India  
from 1924-25 to 1929-30.*

	Production.	Increase + or decrease over previous year's pro- duction.
	Tons.	Tons.
1924-25 . . . . .	370,000	..
1925-26 . . . . .	471,000	+101,000
1926-27 . . . . .	530,000	+59,000
1927-28 . . . . .	600,000	+70,000
1928-29 . . . . .	396,000	-204,000
1929-30 . . . . .	531,000	+135,000
Increase in production of 1929-30 over that of 1924-25.		211,000

### COST OF PRODUCTION OF STEEL IN BRITISH INDIA.

778. \***Pandit S. N. Sen**: Will Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the reduction, if any, in the cost of production of steel in British India during the years 1925-26, 1929-30?

**The Honourable Sir George Rainy**: I would refer the Honourable Member to Table I on page 78 of the Tariff Board's Report of 1925 regarding the grant of supplementary protection to the Steel Industry, Table I on page 10 of the Tariff Board's Report of 1927, regarding the continuance of protection to the Steel Industry and the statement on page 14 of the Tariff Board's Report of 1930 on additional protection for Galvanised Sheets. These statements contain detailed information regarding the cost of production of the different forms of finished steel in the works of the Tata Iron and Steel Company.

### COMPILATION OF FIGURES OF THE QUANTITY AND VALUE OF IRON AND STEEL PRODUCTS.

779. \***Pandit S. N. Sen**: (a) Are Government aware that in the Statistical Abstract for British India compiled by the Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, no figures about the quantity and value of iron and steel products in British India are given?

(b) If the answer to part (a) be in the affirmative, are Government prepared to take necessary steps to incorporate these figures in the official publication referred to above?

**The Honourable Sir George Rainy**: (a) Yes.

(b) The suggestion of the Honourable Member will be considered, but I would draw his attention to the Review of Trade of India which contains figures of production of pig iron and steel in India.

### EXPENDITURE INCURRED ON THE INAUGURAL FUNCTIONS IN NEW DELHI.

780. \***Pandit S. N. Sen**: (a) Will Government be pleased to state:

- (i) the total expenditure on the functions in connection with the Inauguration of New Delhi; and
- (ii) the total amount of money spent on catering for the guests assembled in the Fort in connection with the People's Fête on the 11th February, 1931?

(b) Is it a fact that the police and the C. I. D. people formed a very large majority of the guests that chose to make use of the refreshments supplied?

(c) Was liquor also supplied along with tea and other refreshments?

(d) Was any amount allotted to the feeding of the poor?

**Mr. J. A. Shillidy**: (a) (i). I regret that the information is not yet available as the accounts have not been closed. I may, however, say that the estimated expenditure is Rs. 2,62,000 and there are likely to be some savings on this estimate.

(ii) Rs. 14,000.

(b) No.

(c) No. It was supplied after tea in accordance with the usual custom at similar parties.

(d) The reply is in the negative.

**Mr. K. Ahmed:** How do Government propose to spend this surplus money as there will be some savings, as admitted by the Honourable Member?

**Mr. J. A. Shillidy:** If it is a surplus saving, it will be a saving, and we do not propose to spend it.

**Mr. K. Ahmed:** Will it be credited to revenue or to what account?

**Mr. J. A. Shillidy:** It will be credited . . .

**Mr. K. Ahmed:** In the name of?

**Mr. J. A. Shillidy:** 57 Capital.

#### PROVISION OF RAILWAY FACILITIES FOR PILGRIMS TO RAMESWARAM.

781. **\*Mr. B. Rajaram Pandian:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that the South Indian Railway through trains from Madras to Dhanushkody do not reach Rameswaram, and go straight from Pamban to Dhanushkody and *vice versa*?

(b) Are Government aware of the difficulties caused to the pilgrims by such an arrangement, who have to change train at Pamban for going to Rameswaram?

(c) Are Government prepared to issue instructions to run one or two trains specially for pilgrims direct to Dhanushkody from Madras touching Rameswaram with a sufficient number of upper class compartments with a dining car and with a buffet for Indian passengers?

(d) If the answer to part (c) is in the negative, do Government propose to devise some other way of reducing the difficulties of the pilgrims by having through carriages (both upper class and third class) in the Madras-Dhanushkody trains for Rameswaram which may be detached at Pamban and run direct to Rameswaram? If not, why not?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** Arrangements as to the routing and composition of particular trains are not matters in which Government can take part, but a copy of this question and answer will be sent to the Agent of the South Indian Railway.

#### THIRD CLASS RAILWAY FARE ON THE SOUTH INDIAN RAILWAY.

782. **\*Mr. B. Rajaram Pandian:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state if the South Indian Railway Company has a scheme to enhance the third class railway fare?

(b) If so, what are the reasons for the proposed enhancement?

(c) Are Government prepared to issue instructions to defer the increase in the third class railway fare on the South Indian Railway until the people recover from the impoverishing effects of the recent heavy floods in South India?



**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** (a), (b) and (c). I heard a little time ago informally that the Agent was examining the question among other measures to relieve the present financial position; but I am not sure that he is pursuing it further. I will send him a copy of the Honourable Member's question and ascertain what the present position is.

#### ARREST OF MESSRS. VIRENDRA AND IHSAN ELLAHI.

783. **\*Mr. Jagan Nath Aggarwal:** (a) Is it a fact that Messrs. Virendra and Ihsan Ellahi were arrested in Lahore on the 10th of February, 1931, under Regulation III of 1818?

(b) Will Government be pleased to inform the House of the circumstances which necessitated the above action?

(c) Have the persons arrested been informed of the charges against them and the evidence on which these charges are based?

(d) If not, do Government intend to give them an opportunity of meeting these charges and of rebutting the evidence by cross examining the witnesses or otherwise in order to clear their position?

(e) Is it also a fact that one of the persons arrested, *viz.*, Virendra, is a fourth year student in a local college at Lahore and was recently discharged by the committing Magistrate inquiring into the Lahore University Hall outrage case, as there was no *prima facie* case against him?

(f) Will Government be further pleased to inform the House if any steps have been taken to enable him to complete his studies for his forthcoming degree examination?

(g) What arrangements have been made for his health and comfort and are interviews allowed with his friends and relations?

(h) Will Government take the public into their confidence and place the necessary papers on the table of the House to inform the public of the grounds on which their action was based?

**The Honourable Sir James Crerar:** (a) Yes.

(b) and (h). Government are fully satisfied on grounds which it would not be in the public interest to divulge that both these persons are important members of the terrorist party who are deeply concerned in revolutionary conspiracies in the Punjab.

(c) and (d). The evidence on which their detention has been ordered will be placed before two Sessions Judges for scrutiny and report and in connection with this examination charges will be drawn up and communicated to each and their answers recorded.

(e) Yes.

(f) The matter is under consideration.

(g) Suitable arrangements have been made for their health and comfort and interviews are permitted in accordance with the rules prescribed in the case of State prisoners.

**Mr. B. Das:** What is the necessity of still detaining them when the committing Magistrate acquitted them?

**The Honourable Sir James Crerar:** Will the Honourable Member speak a little louder?

**Mr. B. Das:** What is the necessity of still detaining these two young men when the committing Magistrate has found no fault with them?

**The Honourable Sir James Crerar:** There are allegations against them beyond those in issue before the committing Magistrate.

**Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** On what materials do Government hold that these people are guilty of terrorist crimes?

**The Honourable Sir James Crerar:** As I have stated, the papers will be laid before two Sessions Judges and examined by them.

**Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** Will these people be asked to enter into defence or give any sort of explanation?

**The Honourable Sir James Crerar:** I have already explained that they will have an opportunity of replying.

#### REPORT OF THE CIVIL JUSTICE COMMITTEE.

784. **\*Pandit Ram Krishna Jha:** Will Government be pleased to state :

- (a) what action, if any, has yet been taken by Government on the Report of the Civil Justice Committee; and
- (b) if no action has yet been taken, will Government be pleased to state whether any action is in contemplation; if not, why not?

**The Honourable Sir James Crerar:** (a) The Honourable Member is referred to my answer to Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar's starred question No. 38 on the 20th January, 1930.

(b) Does not arise.

#### NEED OF THROUGH TRAINS FROM BHAPTIAHI TO PALEZAGHAT *via* DARBHANGA.

785. **\*Pandit Ram Krishna Jha:** (a) Are Government aware that the passengers, particularly litigants of the Darbhanga and North Bhagalpur Districts feel it a very great inconvenience for the want of through trains running from Bhaptiahi to Palezaghat *via* Darbhanga and *vice versa* on the Bengal and North-Western Railway?

(b) Are Government aware that there were for any number of years, such through trains running and that they were then suddenly stopped?

(c) Are Government prepared to direct the Bengal and North-Western Railway authorities to arrange to run through trains at an early date between these two stations?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** (a) No.

(b) No, but I gather that the Honourable Member has satisfied himself that such was the case.

(c) A copy of this question and of my reply will be sent to the Agent, Bengal and North-Western Railway, for his information.

PROVISION OF INDIAN STYLE LAVATORIES IN RAILWAY CARRIAGES AND WAITING ROOMS.

786. \*Pandit Ram Krishna Jha: (a) Are Government aware that in the Bengal and North-Western Railway there is no lavatory of the Indian style provided in the 1st and 2nd class compartments or in any one of their waiting rooms, and that the Indian public are experiencing inconvenience?

(b) Are Government aware that in most of East Indian Railway 1st and 2nd class carriages, no lavatory of the Indian style is yet provided and that similarly in their waiting rooms, there is none such?

(c) Have Government considered the question of directing the Bengal and North-Western Railway and the East Indian Railway authorities to take early steps to provide lavatories of Indian style in all their 1st and 2nd class carriages and in the waiting rooms?

(d) Are Government aware that the railway authorities (i.e., East Indian and Bengal and North-Western Railways) have not yet provided waiting rooms for inter class passengers, in most of their important stations?

(e) Are Government prepared to direct these railway authorities to provide waiting rooms for inter class passengers?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) and (b). Government are aware that no Indian style lavatories are provided in 1st and 2nd class compartments and waiting rooms on the Bengal and North-Western Railway nor in most of the 1st and 2nd class carriages and waiting rooms on the East Indian Railway.

(c) Government do not generally lay down the particular conveniences to be provided in rolling stock or in waiting rooms. Administrations are expected, subject to practical and financial considerations, to make such provisions as will best meet the requirements of the travelling public and are encouraged to obtain advice from their local Advisory Committees if in doubt.

(d) Government are aware that at many stations which might be classed as important, separate intermediate class waiting room accommodation is not provided.

(e) Government are not prepared to direct Railway Administrations to provide waiting rooms for intermediate class passengers, but where the number of intermediate class passengers justifies the provision of separate accommodation, the Railway Board would be prepared to consider provision being made when new stations are being built or existing stations remodelled.

FALL IN PRICES OF NECESSITIES.

787. \*Pandit Ram Krishna Jha: (a) Are Government aware of the scarcity of money in the interior of the country in almost every district?

(b) Are Government aware that there is a general fall in the price of all articles of necessities?

(c) Are Government contemplating a general reduction in the salary of all public servants? If not, why not?

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** (a) Government are aware that, owing to the low price of agricultural products, the resources of the agriculturists have been adversely affected.

(b) Government are aware of falls in the prices of a number of staple commodities.

(c) I dealt with this question in my Budget speech on the 28th February.

#### TELEPHONE SERVICE IN BHAGALPUR.

**788. \*Rai Bahadur Sukhraj Rai:** Will Government be pleased to state:

(a) whether the telephone service in Bhagalpur has been introduced as a profitable business or to serve some other purpose of Government or for the benefit of the citizens of Bhagalpur;

(b) what is the total number of subscribers and the amount of subscription that each subscriber has to pay for residential as well as office connections? Will there be any concession in subscriptions if both the residential as well as office connections are taken together by one subscriber; and

(c) when do Government propose to connect the service with other big cities on the trunk lines, as has been done in the case of Gaya?

**Mr. H. A. Sams:** (a) The telephone service at Bhagalpur has been established on a commercial basis for the benefit of the citizens of Bhagalpur.

(b) The present number of connections to the Exchange is 59. A subscriber has to pay both for residence and office connections at the rate of Rs. 175 per connection per annum. The annual rental is fixed for each connection and no concession can be allowed in cases in which a residential connection and an office connection are taken by one subscriber.

(c) The question of providing Trunk facilities has been considered, but had to be dropped on account of financial stringency. The matter will again be considered when the financial position improves.

#### FUNCTIONS OF INSPECTORS OF INCOME-TAX.

**789. \*Rai Bahadur Sukhraj Rai:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state what are the functions of Inspectors of Income-tax?

(b) Are Government aware of the general impression that these Inspectors act as the Agents of the C. I. D. in the Department of Income-tax? If so, what steps have they taken to remove this impression?

(c) Do Government propose to issue instructions to the Income-tax Department that during the present period of trade depression they should not be hard upon the assesseees?

(d) Are Government aware of the hardships caused to the assesseees by the too frequent use of section 23(4) of the Income-tax Act of 1922, for making arbitrary assessments? Are there any special instructions on the point?

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** (q) The functions of Inspectors of Income-tax are to assist the Income-tax Officers by collecting information in regard to actual or potential assesseees.

(b) The Government are not aware of any misapprehension concerning the functions of these officials that it is necessary to remove.

(c) and (d). No.

#### PROVISION OF A WAITING ROOM FOR PILGRIMS AT NATHNAGAR RAILWAY STATION.

**790. \*Rai Bahadur Sukhraj Rai:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether they are aware that thousands of Jain pilgrims from the remotest corners of India detrain and entrain every year at Nathnagar station on the loop line of the East Indian Railway to visit the sacred temple of Sri Bas Pujya at Champapur?

(b) Is there any waiting room at Nathnagar station?

(c) If not, do Government intend to build a waiting room to provide accommodation for these pilgrims at the station at an early date?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** (a), (b) and (c). Government are not aware of the exact arrangements at this station, but a copy of the Honourable Member's question is being sent to the Agent, East Indian Railway, for his consideration.

#### (COMMUNICATIONS ON MONEY ORDER FORMS.

**791. \*Mr. Muhammad Anwar-ul-Azim:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the rates of commission for ordinary inland, rent and revenue and road cess money orders are the same and that it is permissible to write (by the remitter) the purpose of the money orders except in the case of the ordinary inland money orders?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state whether it is also a fact that Government officials are permitted to state briefly on the acknowledgment portion of the ordinary inland money order forms the purpose of remittances made by them? If so, will Government be pleased to state the reasons why this is permissible only to Government officials and not to the public at large?

(c) If the facts stated above are correct, do Government propose to permit the writing of the purpose of the remittance on the acknowledgment portion of the ordinary inland money order forms as a matter of actual necessity either by the provision of a rule for the purpose or by providing suitable space on the forms? If not, will they be pleased to state the reasons?

**Mr. H. A. Sams:** (a) Yes.

(b) The reply to the first part is in the affirmative. The reply to the second part is that such permission would open the door to fraud and abuse.

(c) No. Obviously it cannot be made obligatory for a remitter to write the purpose of the remittance on the acknowledgment portion of the money order form. Nor can it be made optional for the reasons given in my reply to part (b).

## UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

### INTERPRETATION OF THE TERM "MINORITY COMMUNITY", AS APPLICABLE TO THE NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

**236. Khan Bahadur Haji Wajihuddin:** With reference to the reply given by Government to question No. 528, asked on the 16th September, 1929, by the Honourable Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan, will Government be pleased to state what decision has been arrived at about the question which has been under their consideration for a long time relating to the interpretation to be placed on the term "minority community" in its application to a province like the North West Frontier Province, in which the Muslims although a majority community have been allowed an insignificant proportion in provincial ministerial establishment in the Postal Department?

**The Honourable Sir James Crerar:** I am sorry that no decision has yet been reached chiefly because at a subsequent date it was decided that the effect of the orders of the 5th February, 1926, in regard to communal inequalities, should be examined with a view to see whether they had produced adequate results. This review is still being made and I hope it will be possible before long to come to final conclusions on this question.

### CONSTRUCTION OF THE ISHURDI-PABNA-BERA RAILWAY.

**237. Mr. S. C. Mitra:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state when the revised traffic and engineering estimates on the Ishurdi-Pabna-Bera Railway projects were submitted to the Railway Board by the Agent, Eastern Bengal Railway?

(b) What are the figures of anticipated return and capital outlay on the Ishurdi-Bera-Pabna Railway according to (i) Mr. Pearce, Agent, and (ii) Mr. Edwards, late Engineer-in-Chief, Constructions and Director of Surveys, Eastern Bengal Railway?

(c) What were the anticipated return and capital outlay and mileage of (1) the "Ishurdi-Pabna-Sadhuganj" Railway according to the traffic and engineering estimates prepared in 1914—16 by Mr. Yeld, D.T.S., Mr. W. C. Stratton, Engineer-in-Chief and Rai Sahib J. N. Bose and (2) the Ishurdi-Pabna-Bera Railway according to the Revised Traffic Estimates prepared by Mr. Bhandarkar and also by Mr. Pearce, Agent, Eastern Bengal Railway?

(d) When was the Ishurdi-Pabna-Bera Railway project actually considered by the Railway Board and with what result?

(e) Is it not a fact that the construction of these railways by State enterprise was recommended, which would yield a return of at least 5 per cent. on capital expenditure?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** (a) In December, 1928.

- (b) (i) 4.35 per cent. on Rs. 59,00,000 (Estimate of 9th July, 1930), and  
(ii) 5.64 per cent. on Rs. 45,83,000.

(c) (1)—	Mr. Yeld.	Mr. Stratton.	Mr. Bose.
Anticipated Return . . .	3 per cent.	4.75 per cent.	4.75 per cent
Capital Outlay . . .	Rs. 54,15,198	Rs. 43,00,000	Rs. 43,00,000
Mileage . . .	46.3 . . .	45.48 . . .	45.48.

(2)—	Mr. Bhandarkar.	Mr. Pearce.
Anticipated Return	5 per cent.	5.64 per cent. (Estimate of 26th November, 1928.)
Capital Outlay . . .	Rs. 45,83,000	Rs. 45,83,000.
Mileage . . . . .	48	48.

(d) The project was considered during the years 1929 and 1930. The Railway Board decided to shelve the project indefinitely as unremunerative.

(e) Construction of railways by State agency is recommended when the estimated net earnings to be derived from them show an adequate return on the capital cost. The adequacy of return depends on the rate at which Government can borrow money.

#### CONSTRUCTION OF THE ISHURDI-PABNA-BERA RAILWAY.

238. **Mr. S. C. Mitra:** (a) Is it a fact that Pabna is the only district town in North Bengal which is unconnected by railway?

(b) Is it a fact that the local steamer service between Pabna-Paksey and Pabna-Kustia has been discontinued from 1926 and there is no other mode of communication to Ishurdi Station except by motor cars and buses?

(c) Is it a fact that there have been many motor accidents on the Ishurdi-Pabna road leading to many casualties in one of which the Eastern Bengal Railway had to pay heavy damages for the death of one person and injuries to several persons in consequence of a decree passed by the Court of the First Subordinate Judge of Pabna?

(d) What steps do Government propose to take now regarding the construction of the Ishurdi-Pabna-Bera Railway?

(e) Are Government prepared to consider the question of undertaking the construction of this railway by private enterprise and giving a Government guarantee for raising the required capital? If not, why not?

(f) Will Government be pleased to state whether any line has been constructed in British India by private enterprise without Government guarantee?

(g) Will Government be pleased to state the maximum and minimum guarantees given by Government for the construction of lines in British India by private enterprise (i) during construction and (ii) afterwards?

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

(b) Government have no information.

(c) Government have no information as regards the number of motor accidents on the Ishurdi-Pabna road. In one case the Eastern Bengal Railway have had to pay damages in connection with an accident which occurred at the South Level Crossing gate at Ishurdi Station.

(d) From investigations made, the traffic prospects of the Ishurdi-Pabna-Bera Railway do not hold out hopes of an adequate return on capital and Government, therefore, propose to take no further action regarding this project at present.

(e) The policy of Government in respect of construction of railways is laid down in the Government of India, Railway Department, Resolution No. 2131-F., dated the 19th February, 1925, which is printed as Appendix "E" to the Report on Indian Railways for 1929-30 (Volume I), a copy of which is available in the Library of the House.

(f) Yes.

(g) The maximum guarantee ever given by Government was  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. from the year in which interest ceased to be paid from capital. The normal rate used to be  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

#### BOOKING OF PARCELS AT ISHURDI RAILWAY STATION.

**239. Mr. S. C. Mitra:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the Traffic Manager, Eastern Bengal Railway, in his No. G. T.-996-2/P.-I., dated the 1st October, 1929, to the Secretary, Rate Payers' Association, Pabna, approved of the introduction of local booking of parcels in the new Booking Office at Ishurdi Station?

(b) Is it a fact that the District Traffic Superintendent, Commercial, Eastern Bengal Railway, Paksey, was advised to arrange booking of parcels at the new Booking Office at Ishurdi and this was communicated to the Secretary, Rate Payers' Association, Pabna, and also to the Secretary, Salop Passengers' and Merchants' Union by the Traffic Manager's letter No. F. G.-67/2, dated the 18th January, 1930?

(c) Is it a fact that the District Traffic Superintendent, Commercial, Paksey, in his letter No. G.-E.-933/P.-I., dated the 27th January, 1930, informed the Secretary, Rate Payers' Association, Pabna, that it had been arranged to book parcels at the new Booking Office at Ishurdi from the 1st February, 1930?

(d) Is it a fact that in consequence of the decision referred to in part (b) above only outward booking of parcels was introduced at the new Booking Office at Ishurdi from the 1st February, 1930, and this arrangement remained in force up to the 30th September, 1930?

(e) Is it a fact that the outward booking of parcels has been withdrawn under the orders of the District Traffic Superintendent, Commercial, from the new Booking Office from the 1st October, 1930, and entrusted to the Parcel clerk who was formerly in charge of that work also? When was the said order passed by the District Traffic Superintendent, Paksey?

(f) Did the District Traffic Superintendent, Paksey, make this order of his own accord or with the sanction or under the order of either the Agent or the Commercial Manager and, if so, when was such order passed?



(g) Is it a fact that there were several complaints against the Parcel Clerk and the Station Master of Ishurdi also made note in his diary against that clerk in connection with some consignment?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** With your permission, Sir, I propose to answer this and the following question (No. 240) together.

The Agent, Eastern Bengal Railway, has been asked to furnish information regarding the Honourable Member's queries and I will communicate with him later.

#### BOOKING OF PARCELS AT ISHURDI RAILWAY STATION.

240. †**Mr. S. C. Mitra:** (a) Is it a fact that the merchants of Ishurdi sent a message to the Commercial Manager, Eastern Bengal Railway, praying for his personal enquiry into the matter and cancellation of the orders passed by the District Traffic Superintendent regarding the local booking of parcels in Ishurdi? If the reply is in the affirmative, has any personal enquiry been made into this matter and, if so, when, by whom and in what manner was it held and with what effect?

(b) Is it a fact that representations on behalf of the merchants of Ishurdi regarding this matter were made to the Agent, Commercial Manager and Transportation Manager complaining of great disadvantage and whether any steps have been taken to redress this grievance?

(c) Is it a fact that the outward booking of parcels was introduced at the new Booking Office after 16 months' repeated representations and interviews with the Agent and Deputy Traffic Manager (Commercial), Eastern Bengal Railway, and in making this introduction, the Traffic Manager in his No. F. G.-67/12, dated the 18th January, 1930, hoped that there would be no further cause for complaint?

(d) Is it a fact that the introduction of outward booking of parcels at the new booking office cost very little to the Railway Administration?

(e) Is it a fact that the Parcel Office is situated at a distance of about 1,500 yards from the new Booking Office at Bazaar and there is no other approach to it except by crossing an over-bridge and two platforms?

(f) Is the platform ticket system in force at Ishurdi Station? Are Government aware that people going to the Parcels Office have to pass by the platform and thereby run the risk of being charged for travelling without ticket?

(g) Are Government prepared to consider the desirability of asking the Agent of the Eastern Bengal Railway to hold a public inquiry regarding this grievance of the merchants of Ishurdi and take immediate steps to re-introduce outward and introduce inward booking of parcels at the new Booking Office at Ishurdi Station without any further delay? If not, why not?

#### SEATS ALLOTTED TO VARIOUS COMMUNITIES ON THE MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE OF PESHAWAR.

241. **Khan Bahadur Haji Wajihuddin:** Will Government be pleased to state the number of elected and nominated seats allotted to Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs in the Municipal Committee of Peshawar in the elective system introduced in the Province this year and the consideration on which they were based?

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† For answer to this question, see answer to question No. 239.

**The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain:** The distribution of seats on the reconstituted Municipal Committee, Peshawar, has not yet been settled, as the voters' registers are still in course of preparation.

# **APPOINTMENT OF MUSLIMS IN THE MILITARY ENGINEERING SERVICE IN THE DISTRICT OF PESHAWAR.**

**242. Khan Bahadur Haji Wajihuddin:** (a) Are Government aware that the establishment serving at present in the Military Engineering Service in the District of Peshawar is as shown in the following statement:

Names of Appointments.	Commanding Royal Engineer, Peshawar, and A. C. R. E.		Garrison Engineer, Peshawar.		Garrison Engineer, Khyber.		Garrison Engineer, Nowshera.		Garrison Engineer, Risalpur.		Garrison Engineer, Hazara.		Total.	
	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.
Sub-Divisional Officers (Pt.).	...	2	1	2	...	3	...	2	...	1	...	3	1	13
Sub-Divisional Officers (Ty.).	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sub-Overseers (Pt.).	...	...	2	10	2	2	...	2	2	3	2	4	8	21
Sub-Overseers (Ty.).	...	...	5	3	2	3	2	4	1	6	...	1	10	17
Clerks (Pt.).	3	5	1	3	5	4	...	3	...	3	4	1	13	19
Clerks (Ty.).	16	27	4	17	3	2	4	7	2	9	3	3	32	65
Draftsmen (Pt.).	6	1	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	8	3
Draftsmen (Ty.).	3	9	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	4	12
Storekeepers (Pt.).	...	1	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	2	2
Storekeepers (Ty.).	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Power House Superintendents (Ty.).	...	...	1	2	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	2	3
Total	28	45	15	39	16	15	8	18	5	25	9	13	81	155

(b) Is it a fact that the Muslims form a majority community in the North-West Frontier Province?

(c) How do Government propose to give effect to the aims of their policy of preventing the preponderance of one community in that Department without redressing the communal inequalities by giving the Muslims their due share in the service there?

**Mr. G. M. Young:** (a) and (c). Information is being called for from the local military authorities, and I will communicate with the Honourable Member when it is received.

(b) Yes.

**REPRESENTATION OF MUSLIMS IN THE PROVINCIAL SERVICE IN THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.**

**243. Khan Bahadur Haji Wajihuddin:** Will Government be pleased to state what decision has been arrived at by them in respect of the question of interpretation to be placed on the term "minority community" in its application to a province like the North-West Frontier Province, in which although the Muslims form a majority community the non-Muslims enjoy an exceptionally larger share in the Provincial Service?

**The Honourable Sir James Crerar:** I would refer the Honourable Member to the reply I have given to his question No. 236.

**ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO THE AMBALA CANTONMENT BOARD.**

**244. Khan Bahadur Haji Wajihuddin:** (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to a letter headed "Ambala Cantonment Board Elections" printed on page 14 of the *Hindustan Times*, dated the 13th February, 1931?

(b) Is it a fact that at the last election at Ambala Cantonment held in November, 1927, all the seven elected seats were captured by Hindus?

(c) Did Muslims of Ambala represent to Government to nominate one or two Muslim members on the Board? Were any nominated?

(d) Is it a fact that the election at Ambala Cantonment, which was normally to be held in November, 1930, has been postponed to July and August, 1931?

(e) Is it a fact that postponement was made because the Punjab Government had been contemplating some modification in the election rules of Ambala to safeguard the interests of the minority community and the rules were not ready for publication before the date of elections?

(f) Have these rules now been published by the Punjab Government in the *Punjab Gazette* of the 23rd January, 1931?

(g) Are Government aware of the great hardship that is being experienced owing to the non-representation of Muslims by the Muslim population of about 15,000 at this Cantonment? Do Government propose to advise the Punjab Government to hold the election now at the earliest possible date and not hold it over for any time longer?

**Mr. G. M. Young:** (a) Yes.

(b) Yes.

(c) No representations were made to the Government of India, but it is understood that the Officer Commanding the Station and the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief the Command, were addressed in the matter. No non-official has been nominated to this Board. Non-officials can only be nominated in displacement of military officers.

(d) Yes.

(e) Yes.

(f) Yes.

(g) The Government of India are in correspondence with the Local Government on the subject.

**OVERSEAS WIRELESS TELEPHONY.**

**245. Mr. L. V. Heathcoate:** (a) Is it a fact that Government are now or have recently been considering the terms or conditions upon which a licence might suitably be granted to a company for the working of a beam wireless telephony station?

(b) If so, (i) will Government be pleased to give an indication of the extent to which negotiations have progressed; and (ii) are Government prepared to give an undertaking not to proceed so far as to commit themselves to any particular method or process of establishing overseas wireless telephonic communication without the most careful consideration of other and possibly more effective or economical methods or processes?

**Mr. J. A. Shillidy:** (a) Yes.

(b) (i). The Government of India are in correspondence with agencies which have applied for a license to establish, maintain and work a wireless telephony station. The whole matter is under discussion and it is not advisable to publish details for the present.

(ii) Government, after consultation with its experts, will, before granting a licence to any particular applicant, endeavour to make sure that the method or process proposed to be employed by the applicant is at the time the most effective and the most economical.

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**MESSAGE FROM THE COUNCIL OF STATE.**

**Secretary of the Assembly:** Sir, the following Message has been received from the Secretary of the Council of State:

"I am directed to state that the Council of State has, at its meeting held on the 26th February, 1931, agreed without any amendments to the following Bills which were passed by the Legislative Assembly at its meetings held on the 2nd and 18th February, 1931, namely:

1. A Bill further to amend the Cantonments Act, 1924, for certain purposes,
2. A Bill to give effect in British India to the Treaty for the Limitation and Reduction of Naval Armament,
3. A Bill to provide for the fostering and development of the gold thread industry in British India, and
4. A Bill to provide for the modification of certain import duties relating to the fostering and development of the steel industry in British India."

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**ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO THE PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE AND THE GOVERNING BODY OF THE IMPERIAL COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH.**

**Mr. President:** Honourable Members will remember that when the motions for the constitution of the Public Accounts Committee and the Governing Body of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research were made and adopted in the Assembly on the 14th and 16th January, 1931, respectively, it was announced by the Chairman that the dates for nominations and elections would be announced later on. I have now to inform the House that nominations for both the Public Accounts Committee and the Governing Body of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research will be received up to 12 Noon on Wednesday, the 11th March, while the elections, if necessary, will take place in this Chamber on Monday, the 16th March, 1931.

## STATEMENT LAID ON THE TABLE.

### CONSTRUCTION OF A CHILDREN'S WARD IN THE PESHAWAR HOSPITAL.

**Mr. J. G. Acheson** (Foreign Secretary): The information will be laid on the table later.†

### THE GOALUNDO GHAT RAILWAY STATION.

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons** (Financial Commissioner, Railways): Sir, with reference to the reply I gave on the 29th January, 1931, to Mr. Muhammad Anwar-ul-Azim's question No. 174, I lay on the table a statement containing the information asked for.

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#### STATEMENT.

The average annual cost of shifting the Goalundo Ghat during the past five years has been Rs. 46,719.

It is not feasible to make Faridpur a permanent railway and steamer station as the river is too far away. The Agent of the Eastern Bengal Railway reports that, as far as is known, the nearest a steamer has approached is to Tepakhola some miles away, and then only once during the rains a few years ago; and that the stream is at present so far from Faridpur that there is no record of its relative position.

The figures of expenditure on ghat shifting alone are :

	Ra.
1925-26 . . . . .	44,043
1926-27 . . . . .	16,119
1927-28 . . . . .	29,530
1928-29 . . . . .	93,504
1929-30 . . . . .	50,399

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### ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO THE GOVERNING BODY OF THE INDIAN RESEARCH FUND ASSOCIATION.

**The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain** (Member for Education, Health and Lands): Sir, I beg to move :

"That this Assembly do proceed to elect, in such manner as the Honourable the President may direct, two members to sit on the Governing Body of the Indian Research Fund Association."

The motion was adopted.

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**Mr. President:** I may inform the House that for the purpose of election of members to the Governing Body of the Indian Research Fund Association the Assembly Office will be open to receive nominations up to 12 Noon on Saturday, the 14th March, while the election, if necessary, will take place in this Chamber on Tuesday, the 17th March, 1931. The election will be held in accordance with the principle of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote.

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†Information promised in reply to a supplementary question to starred question No. 266, asked by Mr. B. R. Puri, on the 2nd February, 1931.

## ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO THE CENTRAL ADVISORY COUNCIL FOR RAILWAYS.

**Mr. President:** Members will now proceed to elect six non-official Members to serve on the Central Advisory Council for Railways. There are 14 candidates whose names are printed on the ballot papers which will now be supplied to Honourable Members in the order in which I call them.

(The ballot was then taken.)

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

**Mr. President:** Order, order. Members will now proceed to elect eight non-official Members to sit on the Standing Committee on  
12 Noon. Emigration. There are 13 candidates whose names are printed on the ballot papers which will now be supplied to Honourable Members in the order in which I call them.

(The ballot was then taken.)

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## PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE IN LONDON.

**Mr. President:** Order, order. Before I call upon the Leader of the House to move the motion of which he has given notice, I should like to ask Honourable Members to tell me what procedure they desire to follow. Honourable Members are aware that on a motion there is no time limit and therefore, any Honourable Member who catches my eye can continue to speak as long as he likes. It is also to be remembered that the debate which is going to take place today is one in which a large number of Honourable Members would like to participate. I, therefore, called the Leaders of parties to see me on Saturday evening and I put the difficulty to them. After discussion, we came to the conclusion that I should ask Honourable Members whether they would agree unanimously to impose a time limit upon themselves, and it was suggested that that time limit should be 20 minutes. That would enable a fair number of Honourable Members to take part in the discussion. This morning the question was discussed with the Honourable the Leader of the House and it was represented to him that, even if a time limit of 20 minutes was imposed, it would hardly be possible to conclude the debate in one day; I am glad to be able to say that he has authorised me to inform the House that, if so desired, Government will have no objection to meeting on Saturday to continue this debate. (Applause.) In view of all this, I wish to ask Honourable Members whether they will unanimously agree to impose upon themselves a time limit of 20 minutes, so that a large number of Honourable Members may be able to take part in the discussion during the two days that are now available to them. Will Honourable Members please intimate to me whether they agree that I should enforce a time limit of 20 minutes? (Cries of "Yes.") I take it that there is no dissentient voice to the imposition of this time limit. (Cries of "No.") Then the time limit of 20 minutes will be imposed.

**The Honourable Sir George Rainy** (Leader of the House): Sir, I move:

"That the Parliamentary papers in connection with the Indian Round Table Conference be taken into consideration."

I put down this motion, Mr. President, not with the intention of making a speech about it but because I was given to understand that, on the whole, the opinion of the House favoured this as the best method of initiating the discussion. My function therefore is in some respects similar to that of the local magnate who starts a football match by kicking off (Laughter) and I content myself with formally moving the motion.

**Dewan Bahadur T. Rangachariar** (South Arcot *cum* Chingleput: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I confess to a feeling of both pleasure and pain in coming forward to open the debate on this most important subject. The pleasure is that, notwithstanding the gloomy forebodings we had in 1930, when this Round Table Conference was announced and was meeting, that Conference if it has not resulted in entirely satisfactory results, has given us a foundation and a grounding which cannot but be considered satisfactory. Sir, the year 1930 has been an eye-opener in many respects; I hope it has also been an eye-opener to the Treasury Benches opposite. A brief retrospect of the national movement for freedom will not be out of place at this stage, and if I give one, it is not for the purpose of raising up painful memories of the past but for drawing pointed attention to where we have erred—we on the non-official side—and where they on the official side have erred, so that we may in the future avoid the mistakes which we have committed. Sir, the national movement is perhaps as old as my years of discretion. My first association with the national movement was in the year 1887 when I was but a young man of about 20 or 21. That was when the great Badruddin Tyabji, the great and honoured leader of Bombay, presided over the Madras Congress. Our ambitions were then very small; we were then content with ventilating our grievances, with making humble petitions, coupled with a number of other loyal Resolutions. The National Congress went on awakening the eyes of the people and awakening the eyes of the Government. The National Congress was belittled and we had the help of a few enthusiastic European friends in guiding the deliberations, as you know very well. Great names they are for us, I do not know whether they are considered great names by Englishmen: Sir Henry Cotton, Sir William Wedderburn, A. O. Hume, these are names which we cannot easily forget, and I am sure generations hereafter will remember them with pride and gratitude, not to mention several other names across the seas. Sir, that movement broadened and widened and took deep root in the soil, and we had as the result of that struggle, the first early reforms, the Morley-Minto Reforms, which were soon given up for the Montford Reforms. Sir, we have had hitherto a Government which has been a unitary form of Government, a strong Central Government with Provincial Governments who more or less obeyed the Central Government, and we have the independent Native States, more than 600 in number. The national movement had very little to do with the Indian States, but they form a part of India which cannot be ignored. That has always been put in the forefront of difficulties towards British India attaining her goal of responsible government. That was one great obstacle which was always put forward, apart from other great differences and

difficulties which exist, difficulties such as the communal one, which I am sure will have to be considered very carefully. We were going on with a strong Central Government with the Provincial Governments, and now we were not pleased with the reforms which were introduced by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford. From the first, while a section of the country was prepared to work the reforms for what they were worth, the bulk of the country refused to look at them. From the first we realised the great difficulties of that constitution, a diarchical system in the provinces and an irresponsible system in the Central Government. We felt it almost in the first two or three years of our existence here. In the year 1921 when we came here to work the new constitution in the Central Government, we found the difficulties so large that, instead of creating a sense of responsibility, it created a sense of irresponsibility among us. We knew our votes did not count, did not matter, were not going to affect the course of events in the land or the course of Government proceedings. Therefore, we did not feel the responsibility also and oftentimes—I may confess—we cast our votes more in indignation and passion against the action of Government than from a sense of responsibility as to what the result of votes was going to be on the fate of the country. So early in 1924, when our Swarajist friends entered this House, I had the honour of getting a place of moving a Resolution to reform the constitution. What was it we were looking for? My Resolution as tabled was to the effect that steps should be taken so that we might get Dominion Status, equal Dominion Status, which has been declared to be the goal for this country and not a Dominion Status which should be subjected to periodical examination, but with due regard to whatever safeguards that might be required. It must be a self-evolving Dominion constitution. That was the Resolution which I tabled. Then, Sir, when I refer to what had happened then, the attitude taken by the Government, it is more to remind them of their follies, so that they may not repeat those follies again. I appeal to the great Civil Service. It is they who are considered to be, by the public at large, the persons who stand in the way of India getting her goal. The Civil Service have done wonders in the past; nobody can deny that. But they have also committed grievous blunders. It is those blunders, Sir, which are responsible in a large measure for the unhappy position we find ourselves in today in this land. They have not got the imagination to see. They have not got the boldness to take steps which, as advisers to the Viceroy and the Governor General, they have to take. They have not got that boldness, that imagination, which will give them that strength to go forward. What have they done? Sir, what might have been welcomed with avidity, with pleasure, in 1924, possibly in 1925, has been cried down in 1929. My Resolution, as it was amended on the motion of my late lamented friend, Pandit Motilal Nehru, asked for this Round Table Conference, in order that we might sit as friends round a table, discuss what was the best method of achieving the end which we all declared that we had in view. But, Sir, at that time, we had a Home Member who, as I remember, sitting across there—not in this House but in the temporary House down in Old Delhi—splitting, making hair-splitting arguments, if I may say so, distinguishing between responsible and representative Government, finding out and narrating all sorts of difficulties in the way. What was contained in the Government declarations of 1917 was gradually sought to be minimized. We did not like it. But notwithstanding that, the Resolution was carried and a Committee, which I will call the tinkering Committee, known as the Muddiman



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Committee, was appointed in order to find out where you could mend the constitution, and that gave no results. Even after all that, we stuck to our original Resolution. The Government would not yield. But what was demanded by the whole nation in 1924 and 1925 was conceded to us later, again not with grace, after irritating the country beyond all measure, by appointing that all-white Commission, as it is called, the Simon Commission. That drove us out altogether from the camp. We who are called liberals, who are called begging moderates, we too were driven out of the position we had taken already. This was done in the teeth of opposition from the whole country. Finally the Government had to recognise, thanks to that noble Christian who presides over India's destinies today, that the position was altered in a measure, by his announcement of October, 1929, announcing that the Round Table Conference would soon be conceded. Sir, again, even there we wanted some definite assurance, not that the British Parliament should give us the constitution we wanted, but that at any rate the Government of India and His Majesty's Government at Home would invite us, not for the purpose of discussing and debating whether India should have a constitution, responsible government, but that we were going there not to argue and debate but to sit there as practical men to find out what the constitution was we were to build. That exactly is what has happened now.

His Excellency, speaking in this Chamber in January, 1930, toned down the effect of what he had said in October, 1929. He warned the country that the beginning of the journey was one thing and the reaching of the end of it was another thing. He said that the goal was one thing and the start for attainment of that goal was another thing. I do not know what it was due to—that change which His Excellency indicated on that occasion, whether it was due to the visit of Lord Peel who toured this country in the Christmas of 1929; I do not know what induced him to make that statement, which was rather going back on his original announcement of October, 1929. It is difficult for us to guess, but there it was, so that the country was agitated beyond all measure and the people were not at all satisfied with the way things were progressing. Some of us no doubt believed in this Round Table Conference, notwithstanding all these forebodings; and it was even feared that the hydra-headed representatives from India—I am speaking with all respect to the gentlemen who formed the deputation—it was feared that they might make representations there at the Round Table Conference which might, instead of advancing us towards the goal, accentuate the differences which existed in the land, that by speaking with many tongues and in many voices, they might create such a situation in England that the attainment of the goal might be made more difficult. But, thanks to the noble minded statesmanship, to the patriotic instincts, which these people took with them, thanks also to the free atmosphere of London and the freedom loving character of the people of England, our delegates—I am proud to call them our delegates although we did not elect them—but I am proud to own them as my delegates at any rate—have behaved magnificently. The voices of differences were not heard. They spoke with one voice. The Princes and the people of India spoke with one voice. The Princes were proud to become the people of India. They forgot they were Princes of India. Even among the Princes and the Chiefs, they forgot they were Princes and Chiefs and they all became the people of India, and with

one voice they approached the question as practical men, to come to practical conclusions on problems which effect the vital interests of this country. Sir, that is what has happened. It should have happened already if this had been accepted by the Government, if it had been supported by my friends, the Europeans in the land, when the Simon Commission was appointed. We would have been saved all these bickerings, all these troubles which we have been passing through, which we are yet passing through of the civil disobedience movement and the consequent vicious circle into which, we have got. All these would have been avoided and India would be making her own arrangements, notwithstanding the economic condition of the world, for meeting the economic difficulties, just as other countries are doing. But instead of that what are we doing? Other countries are setting their houses in order; they are preparing their machinery for battling with these world difficulties; but what are we doing? We are still quarrelling amongst ourselves. We are still resorting to the civil disobedience movement on the one side and repression—great repression—on the other; and we are neglecting the fundamentals of national progress. National development is at a standstill. Nay, it is taking a backward movement if it is not at a standstill. Why is all this? We are all citizens of this ancient land with potentialities which are unlimited, with its manifold wealth. Instead of taking bold and brave measures of development, what are we doing? We are still debating.

I have referred to this history of the past, not for the purpose, as I have already stated, of making any comments which are painful—that is far from my intention—but merely to define the attitude which ought to be taken both by my European friends, who represent commercial interests in the land, and others who belong to the great Civil Service, who are represented by my two Honourable friends on the opposite side. They should take these lessons from the past and see that their advice is such that it is not limited—that their vision is not limited by the actualities of the present. They must take into account the potentialities of the future, and their advice must be broad based upon imagination and courage. What is wanted, as the Secretary of State has truly gauged, is sincerity and speed. These are the two things now needed; and having that as your example, let your advice be bold; let your advice not be limited by present considerations and by present interests. Look at the vast interests of the millions of this land. It is a proud achievement for the British that you have India as an annexe to your Empire. It must be your attempt to retain it for ever. And you cannot retain it by enforcing your orders, by *lathi* blows, by armoured cars, by dropping bombs. They will have only a temporary effect; the more you do these things the more you drive people into the opposite camp. I know that from my experience in Madras. The civil disobedience movement had very little effect in Madras till the 25th of April, 1930. Then the campaign of terrorism began. You asked us moderates, you asked us liberals to go forth to the country and to speak to the people condemning this civil disobedience movement. But what advice could we give when we found before our own eyes the limbs of the law breaking the law, and in the name of law committing excesses? What could we do when we found people dragged like dead dogs along the street? Do you expect us to go to the country and say, "Do not now break the law." With what face are we to say that? This procedure has been adopted not in one place,

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but in several places, and it has created an impression that the thing for which General Dyer stood, namely, creating a moral effect—merely for the purpose of moral effect to go and injure people in order that you may frighten and kill people and create moral effect—that will not do. I thought it was dead after the Hunter Committee—this punishing people in order to produce a moral effect on the others. That is the state of things. I say, hold your hand in that direction. We are not loath, we are not ashamed—we are not at all frightened of going to our own countrymen and advising them about this civil disobedience movement. At the present time we are not able to do it.

Sir, I congratulate the members who assembled in London for the Round Table Conference on the excellent foundations that they have given us. They do not pretend that they have done more; they have just prepared the ground plan as they have stated. We are now building a new house, just as this Assembly was given a new House. Hereafter the government of the country is going to enter upon a new phase—building a new house for itself, not on the original foundations, but on new foundations altogether. What we have to see is whether those foundations are well laid and that the structure which they envisage is capable of doing work as a constitution, and whether it contains elements which will evolve a healthy growth, whether there are any suggestions there which will retard a healthy growth. These are the things we have to take up for consideration.

This is a general occasion for a general debate. But I have to utter one word of caution in connection with those speakers who are to follow. The question is a grave one; a very solemn one, a most difficult one. Let us not by any remarks which we make here give vent to our feelings, whether they be communal, racial, economic or otherwise. By all means let us be frank and free when we meet in committees to discuss individual problems. Let us now give our general approval to the foundations which have been laid, to the ground plan which has been prepared. I hope in the course of time this House and the other House will be asked to set up a committee to sit in collaboration with the Committee of the Round Table Conference which may meet here, so that we may come to some arrangement. Let us work in a friendly spirit; let us forget the past in so far as it is necessary to forget. Let us take lessons from the past in order that we may build the future on a sound basis. Sir, I am very glad indeed and I am proud of the performance of these delegates in the Round Table Conference, representing not only India but representing also the three great parties in England. They have spoken with one voice. In this way they have also shown us how to behave; though there were differences among themselves, they set to work as business men to evolve a constitution there. Let us also imitate their example. Let us not magnify the difficulties which exist; let us face them by all means; but let us do so in a spirit of friendship, in a spirit of comradeship. I am very glad, Sir, I had this opportunity of making this speech. (Cheers.)

**Sir Abdur Rahim** (Calcutta and Suburbs: Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I am entirely in agreement with my friend, Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar, that the distinguished delegates from India to the Round Table Conference ought to be congratulated on the way in which they have discharged their difficult task. Whatever may be the opinion on

the individual proposals made at that Conference, there can be no doubt whatever, that the delegates from India—the Princes and those who went from British India—have produced an impression in England, on the public mind of England, which to my mind does great credit to them, and is a valuable asset to us. They met in an atmosphere very different from that of this country. They had to work with the foremost statesmen of England, under the eyes of Europe, and we are all proud that they have acquitted themselves remarkably well. Tributes have been paid from all quarters, indeed, to their earnestness, to their zeal and self-sacrifice, to their knowledge of things and ability, to their political sagacity and to the manner in which they worked in co-operation with the other members of the Conference. Sir, I do not desire to go over past history. Enough has been said by my Honourable friend Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar on this subject, and I wish, so far as I am concerned, to leave the past alone and glance for a moment at some of the salient features of the work of the Round Table Conference. I am fully aware of the importance and difficulties of the task of the Conference, and I hope that I will say nothing which will prejudice or hamper their deliberations in the future. But at the same time it is necessary for us to come to some conclusion over the main result of the work at the Conference.

Sir, the Prime Minister himself observed in his speech that much of the work done has been of a provisional nature. Nobody suggests for one moment that a constitution has been produced for India. That is not the fact. But at the same time we should be underestimating the work that has been accomplished if we did not fully recognise the fact that very valuable work has been done. I take the declaration of the Prime Minister on behalf of the British Government as summing up the result of the deliberations of the Conference. Sir, the main thing in that declaration is that the British Government's policy now is that responsibility for the government of this country should be transferred from Whitehall and Westminster to Delhi. That is undoubtedly a great gain, and I regard it as the most important achievement of that Conference. I fasten on this declaration. I am fully aware that there are reservations and safeguards, and I frankly admit that some reservations and safeguards are necessary at this stage, but those reservations and safeguards, we must bear in mind, are intended for a very limited period, what is called the transitional period, and we have been promised by the leaders of the great parties in England that they are going to implement the declaration that has been made by the Prime Minister. I do not forget that in the preamble to the Government of India Act language of a somewhat similar character was used, and great misgivings arose, and as time went on it became confirmed in the minds of Indian political leaders that there was great danger lurking behind phrases like gradual process of development by stages as experience is gained, and so on. If I have not misread the proceedings of the Round Table Conference and the speeches made in Parliament afterwards, I am sure that it is not the intention of the British Government or of the different political parties there that the transitional period is to be interpreted in the sense of the preamble of 1917. These reservations and safeguards relate to defence, foreign relations, stability of finances, minorities, interests, tranquillity in cases of emergency and the fulfilment of certain contracts entered into by the Secretary of State. Most of us have no quarrel with the need for certain reservations till we have a national army in India and we also acknowledge that the Public

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Debt has to be honoured and we have never disputed the fact that until the defence of India is entirely in the hands of Indians, foreign relations also have to be conducted by the Governor General. What we have asked for, and which we insist on, is that India should have a form of government which will not be inferior in status to that of any Dominion in the British Commonwealth. The Prime Minister has told us that, whatever be the nature of the reservations during the transitional period, the march of India to full self-government will not be hampered in any way by such provisions.

Sir, I was glad to read the other day the speech of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in another place, and the definite promise that he has made that an Indian Sandhurst for all arms will be established in India as soon as possible. We attach the greatest possible importance to the need for a national army, because I am sure if a national army is once established, if that object is once achieved, the national status of India will be firmly and completely established.

Sir, as regards the British trade interests and commercial interests, I must remind my Honourable friends the European Members that if they look at our past history, they will find that we Indians have never shown the least narrow-mindedness or intolerance towards foreigners doing business in this country. When India had a powerful Government under the Moghuls, it was the Moghuls that voluntarily gave the foreigners every facility to trade in India, and it is that spirit which animates us Indians today. But this also must be clearly understood, that while we do not want in any way to interfere with their freedom to carry on any business or trade in this country, at the same time it is a vital need of India that we should have every opportunity to develop industries in this country. This must be clearly understood, and subject to that, there will be no objection on the part of us Indians to maintain commercial and trade relations with Great Britain, and indeed, Sir, we fully realise that such relations will redound to the advantage of India.

Sir, it is a matter of regret that one very important and difficult question, that of the minorities and the communities, especially the questions that arose between Hindus and Mussalmans, could not be completely

settled. I have read with some care the Reports of the Committees, including the Report of the Minorities Committee, and I think that we should be doing an injustice to the Conference if we did not recognise that a great deal of work has been achieved by them in that connection as well. Something remains, and I venture to hope as the Leader of a Party, which is not communal, that very soon that question will be finally and conclusively settled so that India may go forward in peace and harmony to evolve the best possible constitution befitting her great position in the world. These communal difficulties are, as I read history, of a more or less recent growth, that is to say, in the form which they have assumed for some time. Passions and prejudices have grown round this question, and once we get rid of them, once we sit down together and look at things in a reasonable and proper light, much of the difficulty will disappear at once.

Sir, the first stage of the Round Table Conference has been closed, and we understand that there will be a British deputation coming to India and the Conference will be revived here with such modifications as may become necessary, to carry on the work. The atmosphere here will, I

hope, though it might be somewhat difficult in some respects, be congenial to the work and helpful to those distinguished statesmen that will be coming to us. Sir, I may refer to one matter in this connection, and that is, that we further hope that soon another large Indian political party, the most influential Indian political party, will be able and will be willing to participate in future deliberations.

Sir, it is not possible to go through even the most important questions that have been dealt with at the Round Table Conference. I wish however to mention specially one problem that has to be faced very soon even before the Round Table Conference has closed its deliberations finally, and that, I mean, is the question of the North West Frontier Province. Every one is aware how the happenings in that province have agitated the minds of the people and occupied the attention of this House, almost uninterruptedly from the beginning of the Session, and we have come to the conclusion that this is a problem which should be taken in hand at once and solved. I do not mean that the North West Frontier Province question, as regards its future constitution, can be worked out before the Round Table Conference has considered all the other questions in connection with the Indian constitution. But what I mean is this, that it is necessary, it is urgently necessary that the rule of law should be established there at once. We are hearing all sorts of accounts of the way in which the people are treated. I do not say that all that you hear is well founded, but, at the same time, there is a great deal of truth in the allegation that the relations between the people and the Government there are not of a character which can be allowed to continue any longer.

Sir, there is another province to which I think I ought to make some allusion, and that is Burma. I think our position is quite clear, I mean the position of the Indians. India does not want to put away Burma from herself; she does not want any separation from Burma, but if Burma wants to be separated from India, it is a matter for her to determine. and we should be quite happy if Burmans are satisfied that it is in their best interests that there should be separation of that province from India. Sir, we have had some discussion of the Burmese question in this House, and I gather from reliable sources that the Burmans want separation only if Burma receives Dominion Status like India, and not otherwise. If she gets Dominion Status, we, Indians, will be quite happy. We, Indians, have very large interest in Burma. I have been to that province more than once, and I know that until some mischief mongers appeared on the scene, the relations between the Indians and the Burmans were of the happiest character. The Burmans are a most amiable people, and the Indian business men got on remarkably well with them and settled down and made Burma their home, and I am sure that my Burmese friends would not think of injuring those interests.

Sir, as my time is over, I do not desire to ask you to give me any further indulgence. I wish to repeat that the work accomplished by the Round Table Conference hitherto is one which generally deserves our appreciation. I should also add that we Indians appreciate greatly the hospitality and kindness which was shown to our delegates, and the friendly feeling which was evinced towards them by the British public and by the leaders of all the parties. They helped them a great deal to achieve what they have achieved, and we, I hope, on our part, when the British delegation comes here, will not be found wanting in reciprocating all the kindnesses that they have shown towards our delegates. (Applause.)

**Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty** (Salem and Coimbatore *cum* North Arcot: Non-Muhammadian Rural): Mr. President, the two Honourable Members who preceded me have amply congratulated the delegates that assembled in London, and if I do not dilate on that point it is not because that I fail to appreciate the importance of the work done by the delegates at the Round Table Conference, but because I would like to utilise the time at my disposal in assessing the value of the work in the light of the safeguards that have been suggested. In so far as the Round Table Conference has brought forth from His Majesty's Government a declaration that they agree to the principle of transferring responsibility for the Government of India on to Indian shoulders, we must one and all confess that the delegates have achieved a very definite success indeed—a task which some in this country and many in England thought to be almost impossible before the Round Table Conference met. But, Sir, I would like to assess the value of that declaration by the measure of the safeguards that have been suggested and in the short time at my disposal I would like to confine myself to an examination of what are called the financial safeguards, and the question of what has been called equality of trading rights.

Sir, the question of financial safeguards is contained in paragraph 18 of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee's Report and it is again referred to in a very important portion of the Prime Minister's speech in which he gives the declaration on behalf of His Majesty's Government. At the outset, I must frankly confess that on a perusal of paragraph 18 of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee's Report and the reference made to this safeguard in the Prime Minister's declaration I have felt in my own mind serious doubts as to what exactly was the significance of these safeguards. With a view to be enlightened on this point, I naturally referred to the discussions that took place in the whole Committee of the Conference, in which distinguished delegates, both Indian and British, had attempted to explain the significance of these safeguards. In spite of my study of those speeches, I must still confess that I have got my own serious doubts as to what exactly is the significance of these safeguards. I do not want to tire the House by reading the paragraphs relating to the principle underlying these safeguards, but on an examination of the details of the principles contained in these passages, three points emerge, firstly that the Governor General must be invested with some extraordinary powers of overriding the decision of the Indian Finance Minister in the matter of external and internal loans, and also in the matter of budgetary arrangements; secondly that a Reserve Bank ought to be established—and to quote the words of the Prime Minister "It must be provided for somehow in the constitution"; and thirdly that the previous sanction of the Governor General ought to be made necessary for the introduction of any measure for amending the Paper Currency Act. These three points to my mind emerge out of the financial safeguards as embodied in the Report of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee and I would ask the House to examine very carefully what the implications of these safeguards are. I cannot emphasise too strongly the importance of a very close and careful scrutiny of these financial safeguards, because if there is one point more than another upon which Indian opinion belonging to all schools of thought is unanimous, it is that we must in the future constitution of India enjoy the fullest and the most unrestricted power of fiscal and economic freedom. (Applause.) I for my part will not consider that Swaraj, or that scheme

of Swaraj worthy of a day's keeping, which will hamper in the least degree the fullest economic development of my country, and it is when I examine the financial safeguards from this point of view that I must confess I am led to serious doubts and misgivings. Are these powers of the Governor General, these extraordinary powers, to be given to him only until the Reserve Bank is established or are these powers to continue even after the Reserve Bank is established? On that point I must confess neither the paragraphs of the Sub-Committee's Report, nor the very able and lucid speeches of the delegates, both British and Indian, have enabled me to arrive at any solution. I take it, that these powers are only to be during the period of transition, pending the establishment of a Reserve Bank. If that is really the intention, Sir, I for one will not have any serious objection, because I realise the force underlying the argument that though the Legislature in India should be recognised as a sovereign body for the purpose of regulating its own currency and exchange, for the purpose of regulating its own credit policy, you cannot safely undertake radical measures of reform in these directions until you have got a machinery through which you can carry out your policy and I am prepared to concede the proposition that the establishment of a Reserve Bank is very essential to provide that machinery which will carry out the policy of the Legislature. But, Sir, if it is meant to provide that these extraordinary powers of the Governor General are to continue even after the establishment of a Reserve Bank, then I would straightaway say that I cannot under any circumstances agree to these safeguards.

Let us analyse these extraordinary powers that are to be vested in the Governor General. Firstly let me take the matter of external loans. One very distinguished member of the delegation in his speech before the Committee of the whole Conference said that he examined all the various statutes governing Colonial law on this point, and that he was satisfied that India was to be placed in no worse position than any of the Colonies. I myself undertook in my own humble way an examination of the various Colonial statutes, and I must confess that I have not found any provision which imposes upon any Colonial Government any restriction of the right of raising loans in a foreign market. If Australia or Canada or South Africa or any of the self governing Colonies want to raise a loan in London or in America or in France, is it contended that that loan operation is to be regulated by what His Majesty's Government in England have to say?

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir** (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Yes.

**Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty**: I would like to hear from my Honourable friend Sir Cowasji Jehangir as to what exactly is the restriction imposed upon the Colonial Governments. If it is meant that in the case of loans that have been contracted before these Colonies were constituted into self-governing Dominions, these loans were made a first charge on their consolidated fund, then I agree that there is a restriction in the case of Colonies, and to such a restriction we must also agree. But if it is contended that the discretion of the Australian Finance Minister to raise a loan in the New York market can in any way be curtailed by what the Chancellor of the Exchequer in England will have to say, then I would like to hear from my Honourable friend Sir Cowasji Jehangir his interpretation of Colonial laws on this point. I would straightaway concede that in the case of loans that have so far been raised on the security of the Secretary of State, provision ought to be made in the future constitution of



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India that foreigners who have subscribed to these loans must be guaranteed the repayment of principal and interest. It only comes to this, that the payment of interest will be a first charge on the consolidated funds of India. To that proposition every sane man ought to subscribe. But if it is contended, Sir, that whenever the future Finance Minister in India wants to raise a foreign loan, he has to take the previous sanction of His Majesty's Government or that his discretion is to be fettered in any manner in this direction, then I maintain that no such provision exists in any Colonial statute, and that such a restriction will be seriously derogatory to the real powers of the Finance Minister in any self-governing Dominion.

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir:** It may not be in a Colonial statute, but it is in other foreign statutes.

**Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty:** Next, as regards internal loans, what is to be the scope of the over-riding powers of the Governor General in Council? It is explained in some of the speeches that if, as a result of a series of deficit Budgets, the Finance Minister in India raised loans at rates of interest which would affect the stability of India's credit both at home and abroad, then the Governor General would come forward with his over-riding powers. I submit, Sir, that even that is a restriction which no Finance Minister in a self-governing Dominion will allow to be imposed upon himself. Why go to self-governing Dominions? Take the case of my Honourable friend, the Finance Member? What has he done during the last year or two? He has raised both at home and abroad loans at rates of interest which we consider to be ruinous to the credit of India ("Hear, hear" from the non-official Benches), and yet does not my Honourable friend claim the fullest discretion to act as he thinks best in the interests of India and the financial stability of the country? If the Finance Member under the existing constitution can be entrusted with these wide powers, then I for one fail to understand how you can seek to put restrictions on the similar powers of the Finance Minister of a self-governing Dominion.

Let me now take the last point—the Governor General's over-riding powers with regard to budgetary arrangements. The details of the budgetary arrangements—the details of the taxes to be imposed or to be remitted—are matters which ought to be left entirely to the discretion of the Finance Minister; and if the Governor General is to be given over-riding powers in this matter, then may I respectfully ask, who is to advise the Governor General in these matters? Surely the Governor General cannot be expected to be an expert in finance. Is it suggested that there ought to be officers of the Finance Department who are to be in direct touch with the Governor General and who will give him advice as to whether the Indian Finance Minister is acting wisely or not? Or is it intended that the Governor General should receive his advice from Whitehall or the business men in the City of London? In either case I say it would be a scheme which it would be absolutely impossible to work and which would seriously hamper the operations of the Finance Minister.

I shall now briefly refer to the question of the establishment of a Reserve Bank. This is not the occasion when one ought to go into details about the constitution of a Reserve Bank. I know that a great deal of misapprehension exists even in well-informed quarters about the functions

of a Reserve Bank. The Government of India's despatch and the Report of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee have recognised that it may be very difficult indeed to establish a Reserve Bank in the present state of economic depression and in the present state of the gold resources at the disposal of the Government of India. But that is a matter of detail into which I need not enter. There is however one point connected with the Reserve Bank about which I cannot express myself too strongly and I would ask Honourable Members to keep their eyes upon this point, the significance of which emerges from the Government of India's despatch on constitutional reforms. They say in this despatch that a Reserve Bank ought to be appointed, and that it should work in close co-operation with, and on lines—mark the words—approved by, the Bank of England ("Hear, hear" from the non-official Benches). It is suggested in this despatch seriously that the Reserve Bank of India ought to be subject to the orders of the Bank of England. Anyone who knows even the A, B & C. of finance, or the functions of a Reserve Bank, will throw the suggestion out with contempt, ridicule and scorn. Not even a vanquished country, vanquished on the field of battle, would expect at the hands of the victor a claim that its own Central Bank should be controlled by another Central Bank. I really cannot understand who was responsible for putting that sentence in the Government of India's despatch. There must certainly be co-operation with the Bank of England; for a Reserve Bank, to discharge its functions properly, must work in co-operation not merely with the Bank of England but with the Central Banks all over the world. But that the policy of the Indian Central Bank should be dictated and approved by the Bank of England is a proposition which no sensible man would agree to. I agree without any reservation that the Reserve Bank must be free from all political influence—political influence either from the British side or from this side; and I am prepared to concede that for the stability of India's finances it would be essential to establish a Reserve Bank at the earliest possible moment. But, Sir, if the establishment of a Reserve Bank is to imply that this Bank is to be controlled by the Bank of England, then I may warn the Government of India and those who will be engaged in the Round Table Conference hereafter that no section of Indian public opinion will tolerate such an arrangement.

The third and last safeguard suggested is that the previous sanction of the Governor General should be obtained for any amendment of the Indian Paper Currency Act. Here comes the snag about exchange. The sum and substance of this provision is that the Indian Finance Minister and the Indian Parliament will not have power, without the previous sanction of the Governor General, to alter the relation between its own currency and gold. The Noble Lord Reading, took great pains to explain this point and he suggested in his speech,

"Well, then, when once you have done that, of course it would open, as I conceive it, to the Legislature to pass any Bill that it chose with regard to the rate of exchange. But you cannot do that with safety before the Reserve Bank is established."

Even if it is conceded that, before a Reserve Bank is established, it may not be safe to alter the rate of exchange, surely after the Reserve Bank is established, it must be open to India's Parliament to alter the rate if it so chooses. The Noble Lord conceded that point in his speech. Evidently the danger from the British point of view underlying this pronouncement of the Noble Lord was pointed out to him, later on and there

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then appears a very significant footnote by Lord Reading at the end of that page and this is what it says:

"Lord Reading wishes it to be understood that these remarks were really intended to explain to the Committee that it was not the function of the Reserve Bank to fix the ratio but that this was the function of the Legislature."

So far so good.

"He accepts however the proposal made in para. 18 of the Report that provision should be made requiring the Governor General's previous sanction to the introduction of a Bill to amend the Paper Currency or Coinage Acts."

This footnote nullifies the whole explanation which the Noble Lord thought it worth while to give to the delegates of the Round Table Conference. This means, Sir, that whatever might be the opinion of the future Finance Minister of India about the parity between gold and our own currency, he will for all times to come be bound by the rate that has been fixed whether he considers that rate to be good or bad or in the interests of India or against it. As I said at the outset, it is not possible, at the short time at my disposal to subject this question of financial safeguards to a more searching analysis. But what I have said so far is enough to enable Honourable Members to understand that this is a matter which raises probably the most fundamental issue which the delegates at the next Round Table Conference will have to face.

I would in conclusion say a few words with regard to the question of what is called equality of trading rights. The enunciation of this principle is given in a paragraph in the Minorities Committee's Report. Sir, if that principle means that the Europeans in India are entitled to ask that whatever property they have acquired so far, whatever rights they have acquired so far in our country should not be confiscated by any measure of the Legislature, then I say that we straightaway concede that principle. In fact, it will be unworthy of any country to think or even dream for a moment of confiscating existing rights and acquired property rights. If that is all what is meant by this proviso regarding equality of trading rights, then there is absolutely no difficulty, but if by that proviso is meant that in future every Tom, Dick and Harry would have the liberty to come and do what he likes in India, then, I must say that we cannot for a moment think of conceding any such right. Why? I need not give any argument in support of my contention. This contention has been accepted in Imperial Conferences, one after another. It is now well established, as a result of a service of decisions of the Imperial Conference that each component part of the British Commonwealth of Nations will have perfect and unfettered liberty to manage its own economic affairs in the best interests of its own country, and to that purpose to regulate the character and composition of its population. If, Sir, Englishmen were to ask the right of coming and trading freely in India in the future merely on the basis that they also are the subjects of His Majesty the King, then I would only show them these Resolutions of the Imperial Conferences which have denied to them these rights in any other part of the self-governing Dominions. In fact one self-governing Dominion has gone to the extent of practically confiscating and expropriating the acquired and existing rights of its Indian subjects—I refer to the position in South Africa. But, we might assure our friends of the European community

that we will not do anything of the sort. So far as the existing and acquired rights are concerned, we will most scrupulously and most jealously guard them as if they are our own rights and privileges. and if, beyond that, they mean to claim that merely by reason of their being subjects of His Majesty the King, they are at liberty to come to India and do as they like, trade as they like, open industries as they like just as any other Indian subject, then, Sir, I would say, we cannot subscribe to any proposition of that nature. That is my interpretation of the proviso regarding equality of trading rights. If anything else is meant by that, it would be tantamount to mortgaging the economic and fiscal interests of India. (Hear, hear.) Sir, I am not prepared to take over my paternal property in the form of my country with mortgages full to the hilt, mortgages which I cannot even redeem at a future date, because that will be the position if these safeguards and these rights about equality of trading were interpreted in any other way than the interpretation that I have sought to put upon them.

I cannot, Sir, sum up the ambition of every one in India in this matter better than by quoting your own words, words that you used in the Old Imperial Legislative Council 15 years ago. You said on that occasion:

"If the Government of India were to adopt measures solely in the interests of the people of this country without any restrictions or limitations in fiscal matters, our industrial development would be in a fair way of successful accomplishment. India wants fiscal autonomy as the first step towards her industrial regeneration and if Indian public opinion is to have any weight in the determination of this question, we ought to get it at once."

Fifteen years ago, Sir, you thought, we ought to get it at once, and can any one deny the statement that the time is overdue when India must now get the fullest and most unrestricted freedom to regulate her financial, economic and fiscal policies in the interests of India and India alone. (Applause.)

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

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

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**Sir Hugh Cocke** (Bombay: European): Sir, I should like to join with the previous speakers this morning in offering my thanks and our thanks to the delegates for all they did at the Conference, and our congratulations on the considerable measure of progress which they effected. It was pointed out that they carried on their work in a congenial atmosphere and that that had helped materially to the progress which had been attained. I hope that in the continuation of this Conference it may be possible to maintain a similar atmosphere and similar progress. So far as we are concerned on these Benches, we are looking on mainly as spectators of Indians settling their own affairs but if at any time we can be of assistance in the settlement of those very difficult problems which at present remain unsolved—which are not the direct concern of

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ourselves but in which our assistance might possibly be asked—I can only say that we shall come in and assist in any way we possibly can. (Applause.) Sir, there is no doubt whatever that considerable work was done in London and that foundations have been laid. The main foundation of a federal constitution was agreed upon, and that is one definite basis upon which to start all further effort and consultation. Then on the top of that came the big question of responsibility or no responsibility in the Central Government and that was agreed upon; and that gives another key and another basis on which to build. Here you have two very substantial bases upon which to start further work. Then on the top of that of course came the safeguards which in outline were agreed, or mainly agreed, upon but which in matters of detail have still got to be settled. Of course when we say that the framework was agreed upon, one cannot help being struck, in looking through this book, at the number of paragraphs which one comes across, in which it is pointed out that these matters will have to be gone into later as there was no time to deal with them. That applies to many quite important matters. But, as I have said, three of the main points were threshed out in London and a definite basis exists now on which to work. The word “workable” was used this morning by the Leader of the Opposition and that word was used on various occasions in London, and I venture to think that that word requires to be used frequently in deciding whether we are building something which is workable. It is so easy to put down wonderful constitution on paper, but one has got to be certain as far as possible that the constitution one is building is really going to work. In that connection one has to remember that there are varying interests in the country, interests perhaps which are represented here but nevertheless interests which are not very vocal interests of very large numbers of the country who are not politically educated but want to make sure that the Raj which is going to be established is a Raj under which they will be safe and be able to prosper.

Sir, this is a debate when time is limited and when one cannot do very much more than make general remarks. One word of warning I should like to utter. I have noticed in speeches which have been made in this House in the last few weeks that there is an idea that it will be possible to carry on and bring to completion this Conference at a very early date and that the new constitution can be set up almost immediately. Well, when one goes through this book and sees the number of points which have got to be threshed out, some of which will necessitate committees being set up, in matters of franchise and so on, I wonder whether it will be possible to produce something which is workable very soon—we do not want to start anything which is not workable—in that short time which I think many Members of this House envisage. I personally think that it will be a matter of months before you can get these problems settled and the new constitution hammered out. But we have got to have patience. We have gone a fair way on the journey. Sir, Mr. Chetty this morning got down to more detail than the other speakers and I do not want to follow him far because it seemed to me that some of his remarks dealt with matters which could be very much easier dealt with in committee. But he rather indicated that he was not satisfied

with the financial safeguards and he was rather suspicious of them. Yet, as regards that, I think the Prime Minister's statement, although it is only an outline, is after all fairly definite as to the road that is to be followed. It is a short paragraph, and I should like to read it. It says:

"As regards finance, the transfer of financial responsibility must necessarily be subject to such conditions as will ensure the fulfilment of the obligations incurred under the authority of the Secretary of State and the maintenance unimpaired of the financial stability and credit of India."

That, one might say, relates to outside affairs the credit of India in the world. It goes on to say:

"The Report of the Federal Structure Committee indicates some ways of dealing with this subject including a Reserve Bank, the service of loans, and Exchange policy, which, in the view of His Majesty's Government, will have to be provided for somehow in the new constitution. It is of vital interest to all parties in India to accept these provisions, to maintain financial confidence. Subject to these provisions the Indian Government would have full financial responsibility for the methods of raising revenue and for the control of expenditure on non-reserved services."

That seems to indicate, to my mind, fairly accurately, that as regards India's external situation in the future, His Majesty's Government have got to be assured that whatever the arrangements that are made, they are reasonable and lasting and do not run the risk of impairing India's credit. As regards the internal situation, the question of India's finance and fiscal arrangements, that definitely will be a matter for Indians themselves, so that I do not think that Mr. Chetty's suspicions as regards financial arrangements were perhaps altogether justified. He stated—or at any rate he rather assumed—that once the Reserve Bank is established, it would be no interest to anybody what India did with her finances. I think he has overstretched the mark. He said that India would have a perfect right to raise money in any market she likes. I presume that she will. Whether there are any safeguards at all, I do not know. But it will be a little difficult for India to raise money in markets without some association with the British Government. That has been true in the past as regards Colonial loans. But I do not want to pursue that. It is going rather too much into detail and time is short.

Coming now to the question of trading rights, with which Mr. Chetty also dealt, one is glad to hear him reassure those who may be somewhat nervous, if not now, at any rate may have been in the past, that the existing rights of British trade interests—either trading interests or property—would be guarded with scrupulous jealousy—those were his words. He then went on to draw a distinction between the rights existing today and the rights which will be created hereafter. That distinction is not one which is very easy to follow, and it will have to be thrashed out. Naturally if a man is trading today in business and if he dies, he assumes his successors will be allowed to carry on that business. But that successor today has no rights, so that all these points raise practical issues. But generally speaking, the rights that we maintain that we ought to have—and this I think has been admitted—are the same rights of trading in India as Indians have to trade in England. That is what we have held

[Sir Hugh Cocke.]

out for. There may of course be exceptional cases where certain provisions have to be made in connection with what are termed "key industries". But subject to the right of a country to protect itself in that

3 P.M. matter, we maintain that as individuals and as corporations, we ought to have the same rights to continue to trade in India, ourselves and our successors, as the Indian has in England. Sir, that, I think, is all I want to say on the question of trading rights and financial responsibilities. On the general subject, I should like to say again that I realise that the speeches made this morning have been of high merit and this debate has been continued on lines on which, I think, the House can congratulate itself. I hope that that will continue and that everyone will, in the words of Sir Abdur Rahim, not consider it desirable to discuss at any great length events of the past. If we are going to do that, a good deal of misunderstanding, I think, is bound to arise. The whole point is—as the Commander-in-Chief said in another place and in another connection the other day—wash out the past and let us get down to business. That, I think, would be a very good motto for this House. Take this document, go over the ground which has been covered and as regards all those matters which are still undecided, get down to it and see that we reach conclusions which will enable this great constitutional development to go on without any hindrance whatever.

**Diwan Bahadur A. Ramaswami Mudaliar:** (Madras City: Non-Muhamadan Urban): Mr. President, if I intervene at this very early stage in this debate, it is only because I wish to place before the House at the very outset a more or less correct idea of what was decided with reference to some of the details that my friend, Mr. Chetty, referred to this morning. I should like to take this opportunity, Sir, on behalf of myself and my fellow-delegates on the Round Table Conference, to convey our thanks to the two leaders of the parties in this House who have expressed appreciation of our work and standing on the floor of the Parliament of India, I should also like to convey our thanks to the British public, to the leaders of the three great parties and to all those who assisted us in England in the discharge of our duties. (Applause.) I should like to convey a special word of thanks to the press in England which has generally been remarkably helpful to us and—if I may not be misunderstood as making an invidious distinction between news agencies—to Reuters and the Associated Press of India which have done a great deal to give correct information as regards the progress of the work of the Round Table Conference. Sir, the atmosphere in which we met in London, the spirit of good-will that prevailed, the helpful nature of the criticism that was levelled against the proposals that were put forward, have been referred to by my esteemed friend, Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar. It was not a question of the fitness of Indians for this or for that. To that extent the preamble of the 1919 Act was thrown overboard. But we were there to make our case, and they on the British side, to quote the language of the Prime Minister, to make out their case, and we were both to adjust our differences and to come to agreement on a basis of mutual understanding. I hope, Sir, that that spirit will be continued in the further stages of these proceedings, and that whether the plan of the Conference

is laid in London or in India, there will be nothing lacking of that goodwill, of that sweet reasonableness, of that spirit of compromise and understanding which prevailed in London, and which, I hope, will continue to prevail in this country. (Hear, hear.)

Sir, before elaborating on the details of this frame-work, I should like—because my time is very limited and I do not know whether I can cover the ground adequately—I should like to refer to the speech of my friend, Mr. Chetty, and remove what I would call certain legitimate and natural misapprehensions which arise in his mind and which probably are shared by a great many of my countrymen. I come to the question of safeguards which I think in its own way is a very essential feature of the scheme; and I come specifically to the question of financial safeguards. At the outset I should say that I pose as no authority on financial matters whatsoever. I am here to lay before this House only such knowledge as I have been able to derive by a membership of that very important Committee, the Federal Structure Committee; and it so happens that I am the only Member of this House present here who was a member of the Federal Structure Committee—Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah having chosen so far not to return to India. Let me assure Mr. Chetty and others of his way of thinking that not one of us on the Round Table Conference, British Indians particularly, was for a moment oblivious of the fact that the financial question was the real test of all progress towards self-government, and that if even for a moment we ignored the vital need for financial autonomy all idea of self-government and all idea of responsible government would be merely chimerical and a mirage. Therefore, whatever else we have agreed upon or we have not agreed upon, let there be no misunderstanding in any quarter that we were not aware of the extreme importance, the cardinal momentum of this question of financial safeguards.

At the very outset I should like to refer to one sentence in this Report, which perhaps would have avoided much of the criticism that Mr. Chetty levelled at some of the safeguards suggested and which perhaps might have put the delegates from the British India side in a fairer position than they otherwise appear from the remarks of Mr. Chetty. At a very early stage in these proceedings it is pointed out in this Report . . .

**Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty:** On a point of personal explanation, Sir, and in order to remove any possible misunderstanding, I would like to tell my Honourable friend and those who worked with him at the Round Table Conference, that the object of my criticism was not to make out that the Indian delegates had given up the interests of India. My whole object in my speech is this: The question of financial safeguards as embodied in the Federal Structure Committee's Report is so vague and liable to at least two interpretations; and I said if one of these interpretations is correct then we cannot agree; but if the other interpretation is correct we agree. It is therefore up to my Honourable friend, Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliar, and his co-delegates to lay at rest all suspicion by assuring us that the interpretation about which we have got apprehension has absolutely no basis in fact.

**Diwan Bahadur A. Ramaswami Mudaliar:** I trust, Sir, that you would have taken note of the time which has been taken by this speech. (Laughter.) I was on the question as to how far the British Indian delegates have agreed to these safeguards. It is perfectly true that in the



[**Diwan Bahadur A. Ramaswami Mudaliar**

course of the Report various suggestions have been made, various statements have been embodied relating to safeguards on this cardinal question. What we have to see is what are the agreements that have been reached with reference to these safeguards; and let me here give a quotation—the quotation I was about to read when my friend, Mr. Shanmukham Chetty interrupted me. “Upon the question of finance”, says Lord Sankey as the Chairman of our Committee in the report, “Indian opinion was that even the safeguards set out in the Report went too far, especially those giving special powers to the Governor General”. That general statement should put our position perfectly clearly before the Members of this Assembly and before our countrymen in India.

Let me now come to the specific safeguards which were referred to by Mr. Chetty. Take the question of the Reserve Bank which should be established. When the Prime Minister said that the condition precedent of the establishment of a Reserve Bank should somehow or other find a place in the constitution, he obviously referred to the simple fact that certain powers will have to inhere in His Excellency the Viceroy till the Reserve Bank comes into existence, and nothing more than that. If we can assure them that, before ever the draft constitution is placed before the House of Commons, the Reserve Bank would have come into existence, then there would be no necessity for any mention regarding that proviso in the Bill which will be laid before the House of Commons.

**Mr. B. Das** (Orissa Division: Non-Muhammadan): Whose fault was it?

**Diwan Bahadur A. Ramaswami Mudaliar:** There have been references made to the past, and to that extent I agree with my Honourable friend, Sir Abdur Rahim, that it will do no good raking up the past. I, as a new Member of the House, in any case, am not willing to pore through the past records of this Assembly and to place before other Honourable Members on this side of the House or Members sitting on the Treasury Benches a long history of the past and recriminations based thereon. I am content to take note of the present, and I am content—more than content—to look to the future which is so full of hope and so full of promise. (Cheers from the Government benches.)

Now, Sir, with reference to the Reserve Bank the position was merely this: The policy of declaring what should be the exchange is inherent in the Legislature itself and the Legislature could not be deprived of it. But the day to day administration of that policy must inhere somewhere outside the Government of India. We know that at the present moment the Government of India are also seized of that policy and we know what criticism we have been addressing to the Treasury Benches and to the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the Government of India with reference to the manipulations of currency and exchange so as to suit particular interests and particular needs. If therefore that criticism is just today, it will be equally just even when a self-governing India comes into existence, even when popular ministries are established. So that, what has been done with reference to the other Dominions, in the course of the constitution of other federations, has been done in the case of India also; I am glad to note that in my friend Mr. Shanmukham Chetty's criticism, there is no idea of questioning that fundamental principle that a Reserve Bank should be established to administer the day to day currency and exchange

policy of this country. All that was meant by this power was that, till the establishment of a Reserve Bank, the Viceroy should have the power to veto any policy with reference to exchange; and that is specifically mentioned in paragraph 20 of the Report. Let me read it for the benefit of the House:

"The Sub-committee recognise that it may be difficult in existing conditions to set up a Reserve Bank of sufficient strength and equipped with the necessary gold and sterling reserves immediately, and that therefore until this has been done some special provisions will be found necessary to secure to the Governor General adequate control over monetary policy and currency."

I should be a very poor student of logic indeed if I were not to interpret this as meaning that, when this Reserve Bank has been established, these special powers the Governor General will have over monetary policy and currency will not exist.

Now, let me come to the question of borrowings. My friend referred to external borrowings, and internal borrowings. With reference to external borrowings the position was merely this, that where you wanted to raise sterling loans in England and you wanted the backing of the Government in England for that purpose, then there must be some power in the Viceroy to see whether that loan can be properly raised or not; and it was with reference to this that, that very distinguished member of our delegation, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, to whom every party, every citizen in this country owes an incalculable debt of gratitude (cheers) for the good work that he did in that committee, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said that the position was identical with that of the Dominions. What happens today when a sterling loan is raised is that the moment the Finance Member of the Government of India determines on the raising of that loan, he goes to the Home Government, gets the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Treasury to back up that loan and then it is treated as trustee security or fiduciary security. . . .

**Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty:** Not at all.

**Diwan Bahadur A. Ramaswami Mudaliar:** . . . and when that fiduciary security is raised, the rate of interest is better; the guarantee for those who are investors is better and obviously advantages flow from it. That is exactly the position so far as the Dominions are concerned. I should like to read one more extract. I have already said that I do not possess the great authority which some Members of this House have to deal with subjects of this character, and therefore it is with great trepidation that I venture to tread on these very difficult financial matters. But I am bound to place before the House my view of the case, the view that I took as a delegate to the Round Table Conference whether it was right or whether it was wrong. I may add that it was because some of us felt hesitant on these matters that we said that we were not the sole repositories of wisdom who were gathered in London, and that men of greater wisdom, men who had partaken in budgetary discussions time after time in this Assembly and were able to give much more learned knowledge to that subject, that they should also have their voice heard and therefore we came to tentative conclusions—or rather we did not come to any conclusions at all on some points.

[Diwan Bahadur A. Ramaswami Mudaliar.]

With reference to the position in the Dominions I may quote Mr. Keith who should be accepted as an authority.

"Reservation is obviously so much superior to disallowance of completed legislation, which would always be extremely offensive and might create much difficulty after new arrangements had been made on the faith of legislation, that the later power is definitely obsolescent, though it is too much to say that it is obsolete. Indeed, every Dominion or State which desires to take advantage of the privilege of having its stocks included in the list of those in which trustees in the United Kingdom can invest, must put on formal record the view that any Act which infringed the security on the faith of which investors lent their money to the Government would properly be disallowed, and the pressure of financial opinion is sufficiently strong to render it quite possible that a Bill so offending would be disallowed if the Governor did carelessly assent to it. But the probability of any Dominion thus breaking faith is negligible, and Queensland's experience in finding borrowing precluded until she modified her confiscatory land legislation is not such as to encourage further movements in this direction, unless indeed the electorate loses its head altogether. The Canadian provinces are unable to have their stocks listed as trustee securities simply because the Imperial Government has not the power of disallowance, and will not accept the suggestion that the Dominion Government might give an assurance that it would disallow on the request of the Imperial Government."

My friend wanted to know what provision there was in any Dominion constitution with reference to that. The provision is there obviously, the power of disallowance or the power of giving parliamentary consent, for, after all, these measures have to be promoted through financial Bills, and if the Viceroy or the Governor General of a Dominion has the power of disallowance, that is how it acts on and controls the capacity of the Finance Member of the Dominion to raise a fiduciary loan or a loan backed up by the English Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Now, Sir, with reference to internal loans, the proposition was urged by Lord Reading, and it is perfectly true, that if there were a series of deficits year after year, and a Finance Member of the Government of India, disregarding all canons of financial propriety, were to think of raising loans in order to meet recurring charges, then it may be possible for the Viceroy to put a veto on such powers of borrowing. No agreement was reached on that subject. We pointed out that the record of the Government of India was exactly as Lord Reading had pointed out, that a series of deficits had occurred year after year, and that it would be very curious indeed,—just the argument that Mr. Chetty very naturally put forward,—if the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the future self-governing India were placed in a worse position than the present Finance Member of the Government of India. As regards the budgetary provisions, I am not aware of any restrictions which are sought to be imposed by any veto of the Viceroy or the Governor General. Now, Sir, subject to this, the Finance Member of the future responsible Government will have absolute powers.

My friend referred to fiscal matters—I do not want to waste my own time and that of the House by quoting the relevant extracts—but my friend will find in this Report that an absolute right is given to the Finance Member to adjust the future fiscal policy of the country. Let there be no doubt that the unfortunate experience we had in the last Session of the last Assembly of Members being dissatisfied with the fiscal policy and walking out of the House cannot occur in the future responsible Government of this country, that the fiscal policy of the country will be solely and altogether in the hands of the Finance Member, and that no other

interest of any kind will have any voice in the matter of adjusting those fiscal rights. It has also been made clear that these safeguards as far as possible, even to the limited extent that they have been suggested, are only transitory or temporary, and the hope has been expressed, and I trust that that hope will be translated into practice, that these safeguards will lie in reserve and that on the one hand the future Prime Minister of the Federal Government will see to it that those powers are not called into existence and that on the other hand Governors and Viceroy's will so conduct themselves that they will not rush in with proposals of veto or with any other proposals which will necessitate the use of these reserve powers.

Now, Sir, I do not want to go into the details of this question very much further. I only want to suggest this that the work of the Round Table Conference has to be assessed by taking the whole thing into consideration. It is perfectly true that great unanimity prevailed, and I want to pay my own tribute of admiration, though I am one of the members, to the spirit of goodwill and comradeship shown by all the British Indian delegates irrespective of class, of race, of creed or of community or sex. I want to pay my special mead of tribute to my European colleagues and to leaders like Sir Hubert Carr, Edgar Wood and Mr. Gavin Jones, to the great help that they gave at every stage of the deliberations of the Round Table Conference and to the far-seeing policy which they adopted with reference to many of these questions. Sir Hubert Carr in the final Plenary Session made a special appeal which found a warm response when he said—and I would draw the attention of my European colleagues to it:

"Let me remind my Indian colleagues to remember this that no convention would be of any good to us, that no statutory safeguard would be of any real value to us, but that the thing that mattered most, the thing on which their future rights and privileges depended was the goodwill of the community as a whole." (Applause.)

When once the European community realises that fact, and if they will bear in mind what Sir Hubert Carr has said,—and here I may say how pleased we are that the European Association has tried to fall back on the leadership of Sir Hubert Carr once more and has invited him to come back to this country and lead their community at this juncture,—if my European friends will bear in mind what Sir Hubert Carr has said, there will be no difficulty in solving a great many problems which may arise with reference to vested interests of British trading communities. I do not want to encroach on this question of trading rights. I feel there are other Members of this House who can legitimately explain any of the provisions which have been suggested with reference to this question.

Sir, I should like to say only one thing with reference to the Round Table Conference and the spirit in which that work has been conducted. As I said, there was no question of a subject nation and a ruling race with reference to that Conference. The very conception of the Round Table Conference precluded the raising of small and trivial issues and making debatable points.

My friend referred to the Government of India despatch and to their proposals with reference to the Reserve Departments. Let me say quite candidly, though I do not know how far the Members of the Government of India will relish the fact, that no Member of the Federal Structural Committee read that portion of the despatch, at least I did not, and I am sure Lord Sankey, even if he had read it, was courteous.

[Diwan Bahadur A. Ramaswami Mudaliar.]

enough not to refer to it. Now, Sir, it is unfair to criticise the Government of India with reference to that. They were writing for conditions quite different, absolutely and essentially different from conditions which arose at the Round Table Conference. They were referring to a federation as something which might come into existence in the Greek calends. They were referring to responsible government as something which would probably be ruled out as a mere dream. They were not writing for conditions which actually arose in London. (*Several Honourable Members*: "Please go on, go on.") With reference to a great many of these proposals of the Government of India, I do not say criticism, but the observation can legitimately be made that they were making it for another state of affairs and for other conditions and not for the conditions that actually arose at the Conference.

I consider, Sir, that there were three fundamental positions that arose at the Round Table Conference and which have been decided at the conference and which must form the framework of any future constitution of this country. The first is the question of an All-India Federation, the second the principle of responsibility, and the third of safeguards; and here let me say that the Princes played their part most nobly, and the patriotic sentiments which they gave expression to revolutionised most of us with reference to our idea of the Order of Princes and their ideas with reference to the future of this country. Sir, I cannot command sufficient language to tell this House as to how their declaration revolutionised the whole atmosphere, and when the Prime Minister said in the final speech of his that the Princes came, spoke and cleared everything before them, he was giving expression to a bare truism. Here and there there is an idea, and I venture to combat that idea, that the representatives which the States may send will be a sort of bulwark against all progressive legislation, but the statements that their Highnesses made, the obvious patriotic motives with which they were inspired on the Reforms do not lead one to believe that they will be less patriotic in future than they were at the most critical and crucial stage of the constitutional development of my country. I venture to think that he will be a very ungenerous critic indeed who would, in spite of the most unmistakeable signs of patriotism which have been evinced at the Conference, still continue to have that feeling of suspicion. Sir, there are two sorts of mentality that we have got to avoid. There is the inveterate pessimist who looks at everything achieved as really hopeless and that nothing can come out of it. There is the obdurate optimist, on the other hand, who thinks that the heaven has been reached, that the goal has been attained, that we can sit with folded hands and think that a new constitution will suddenly drop down from somewhere. I realise that there are many debatable points, many controversial issues which have not yet been settled. I realise that the path is going to be a very, very thorny one for whosoever continues the work of this Round Table Conference. But given the spirit which existed in London,—the spirit of compromise as between Indians, as between the princes and the commoners, as between British and Indian,—I do not despair of success. Sir, the Prime Minister said in the concluding portion of his speech:

"I hope you will go back and tell your compatriots what you have found. You may have to disagree sometimes and somewhere with the letter of what has been written. I hope you will never have to disagree with the spirit in which you have been met."

And I am here to tell my friends in this Legislative Assembly, and through them, the public at large, that, whatever safeguards we may agree with or disagree with, the spirit in which we have been met we cannot gainsay, and let us all work for that future, irrespective of what the past has been, in the hope that we shall usher in a day when it can truly be said :

“The star of love, all stars above,  
Now reigns over earth and sky,  
And high and low, the influence know.” (Applause.)

**Mr. R. S. Sarma** (Nominated Non-Official): I am afraid, Sir, that the previous speaker, Diwan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliar, with whose speech I entirely agree, has not however made a good debating point when in the course of his concluding remarks, in paying a tribute to the Princes he said that they came spoke and conquered! That rather looks suspicious; and I should like him to have said that the Princes came, spoke, but were conquered by delegates like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Diwan Bahadur A. Ramaswami Mudaliar. (Laughter.)

I am glad that the Leader of the Opposition, as well as the Leader of the new Independent Party have been this morning full, frank and generous in their appreciation of the conclusions of the Round Table Conference, as embodied in the historic statement of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. I wish, however, that the sane and sober advice of my Honourable friend, Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar, had been followed by Mr. Shanmukham Chetty, and I think it would have been better for the latter to have confined himself to remarks of a general nature and not given the debate an acrimonious and racial turn. (Laughter from Opposition Benches.) (*An Honourable Member*: “Truth is truth”.) Mr. Chetty was talking with patriotic fervour of an India mortgaged to the hilt. With passionate emphasis he spoke of Tom, Dick and Harry coming to this country and carrying on trade and commerce as he liked. I can quite appreciate that this indignant gesture is quite necessary and essential from a particular point of view. This is useful when Honourable Members want to make their retreat secure, when they want to keep themselves in the good books of the Swarajists, and when the imminent change in the Swarajist policy comes, they will be able to sail under their flag safely to the haven of the Legislative Assembly . . . .

**Mr. B. Das**: You are now sailing under the flag of Clive Street.

**Mr. R. S. Sarma**: Yes. Any way I am not at all speaking either on behalf of Clive Street or anybody else and I know that Clive Street has supported the Swarajists and Swarajist papers more than they have supported me or people who hold views similar to mine.

**Mr. S. G. Jog** (Berar Representative): Sir, we are now discussing the findings of the Round Table Conference.

**Mr. R. S. Sarma**: I was going to say, these people, by such interruptions, and display of patriotism would be able to sail under the Swarajist flag to the safe haven of the Federal Assembly and not find themselves stranded high and dry on the barren rocks of obscurity and nothingness. Sir, I am one of those who believe that we ought to meet frankness with

[Mr. R. S. Sarma.]

frankness, and the frank and full-hearted statement of the Prime Minister should be met, in my opinion, with the same frankness and full-heartedness. Tributes were paid this morning to the delegates of the Round Table Conference. But I think the tributes will be more sincere if, instead of their being merely couched in words, we show in our actions that we appreciate the standpoint that they have taken and we accept the principles underlying the scheme which has been adumbrated by the Prime Minister. After all, the Prime Minister's statement—it will probably be a commonplace now to say it—is a great historic document, and for ages without end it will remain as a shining landmark in India's political freedom. Sir, Mr. Shanmukham Chetty said this morning that the Prime Minister was halting with regard to safeguards and he could not adequately understand the implications of them. Sir, what pleases me most with regard to the statement of the Prime Minister is the transparent sincerity and what I may call the courageous modesty of its tone. (Mr. B. Das: "Question".) He has never told us for a moment that he is going to give Mr. Chetty, or Mr. Das, or any one of us here, the moon from the heavens. He has said very clearly and very definitely that so far he can go, that the Cabinet or himself would go so far and no further. We all know that the concessions from the financial aspect are hedged round by reservations, by limitations and by safeguards, and I think we owe it to the Prime Minister, to the British public and the delegates of the Round Table Conference, we owe it to these people to tell them very frankly that we accept the conclusions of that Conference unreservedly in all their implications. There are, Sir, reservations and safeguards. Sir Cowasji Jehangir will probably be in a better position to tell Mr. Chetty the position with regard to the Dominions, but I wish to tell him that when we analyse the constitution of any country, we always find such reservations and safeguards, somehow lodged with the executive head of the administration. He will always find them in any constitution, and I should like to have a correction from him if he can point out to any constitution, where such reservations ultimately are not lodged with the supreme head of the administration. After all, Sir, talking about safeguards, reservations, and limitations, or call them whatever you like—do not these things boil down to one thing, namely, mutual trust in their application, mutual trust and mutual goodwill and co-operation? If there is that goodwill, that trust and co-operation between the Britishers and Indians, it may be that none of these reservations, none of these limitations, none of these safeguards would be brought into play; these may not be put into operation at all. But, if, on the other hand, there is not that mutual goodwill, if there is suspicion, distrust, and bitter ill-will, I may then say, however much Mr. Chetty may like to have a paper-perfect and theoretically fool-proof constitution, it will never operate to the good of this country, it will never be to the blessing of the people. After all, it is this weak mistrust in our own capacity, it is this feeble man's futile desire to have everything drafted and settled as if in a legal valid document, it is this idle insistence on preliminaries, that have been the cause of India's misery in the past, and which, I am afraid, is going to again land the people of this country into another shipwreck. After all, as I have said in the beginning, the Prime Minister's statement makes a great beginning. I go further and claim for it that it lays broad and deep the foundations of India's future freedom. It is now

up to us to provide the rest. Freedom will never come packed in the four corners of a constitution. It is the brain, the will, the capacity, the character, nay the daring of the people, that will build up stone by stone, the fair mansion of Liberty. Let us therefore pool into one common stock India's great reservoirs of wealth in these respects and I hope, Sir, that if that is done, India's destiny will be as great in the future, as it was glorious in the past. (Applause.)

**Mian Muhammad Shah Nawaz** (West Central Punjab: Muhammadan): Mr. President, I am sure it will be admitted on all hands that the Round Table Conference has achieved a great success. After many doubts, fears and set-backs, it has triumphantly evolved the main features of a Dominion Status constitution for a self-governing India. There are many important cardinal points still to be settled, many gaps still to be filled in and a tremendous amount of subsidiary work to be done to complete the picture, but the fact remains that the Round Table Conference has achieved what every patriotic Indian insisted that it should do. There is room for improvement and I daresay that by further arguments and negotiations the proposals of the Round Table Conference will be greatly improved. In the gracious words of His Majesty the King-Emperor, it has opened a new chapter in the history of India, and we all hopefully look forward to an outlook which will restore peace and contentment throughout this country. Sir, the Premier's declaration is reassuring and emphatic. Briefly put, it says that the responsibility of the Government of India will rest upon the Legislatures, both Central and Provincial, subject to necessary safeguards during the period of transition and also with such guarantees as are required by the minorities to protect their political rights and liberties. With full responsibility in the provinces, with responsibility at the centre, subject to safeguards, it will be the primary concern of His Majesty's Government that the reserved powers are so framed and exercised as not to prejudice the advance of India through the new constitution to full responsible government. After the expiry of two years, we will see India enjoying the responsibility, the pride and the honour of a self-governing nation. It is refreshing to note that these principles, which stand supreme and inviolable have received the blessing not only of the Labour Government but of all the political parties in the House of Commons. That is a factor of very great importance since a change of Government in the near future cannot affect the principle. Sir, towards the momentous achievements of the Round Table Conference all the delegates have contributed, and my congratulations to them. But India will pay a special tribute to the Princes without whose co-operation the Round Table Conference edifice could not have been erected, to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, for his able and statesmanlike presentation of India's case, to His Highness the Aga Khan and Sir Muhammad Shafi for pleading India's cause generally and in particular for pressing the Muslim point of view, to the Prime Minister and Lord Sankey for their able and effective guidance, to Mr. Wedgwood Benn for his untiring energy to make the Conference a success, to Lord Reading and other members of the opposition for their valuable help.

**Maulvi Muhammad Yakub** (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): Last but not least, to Begam Shah Nawaz. (Loud Cheers.)



**Mian Muhammad Shah Nawaz:** . . . and to my good wife for her humble services. India ought to pay a tribute to Lord Reading and Mr. Baldwin for their readily accepting the principle of the Federal Constitution with responsibility at the centre subject to safeguards during the transitory period, and above all to His Excellency Lord Irwin but for whose initiative the Round Table Conference would never have come into being. Sir, the main points to which criticism will be directed in this country are the safeguards in the centre. Now, I must make it quite clear that in determining the final shape of the safeguards, Indian opinion is entitled and is indeed bound to insist that they should be no more and no less than what India's own interests require. Clearly the safeguards go too far, and although I do not agree with all the arguments that have been advanced by my Honourable friend, Mr. Chetty, I think there is considerable force in some of them. These safeguards can be placed under four categories. In the first category, are the reserved powers of the Governors and the Governor General. In the case of the breakdown of the constitution or the Government, there should be some one to carry on the King's Government. These safeguards exist in every type of sound constitution, in some form in all the Dominion constitutions. Were India to make her own constitution unaided by any foreign Government, there would still be safeguards in it. I hope that occasion for their use will seldom arise in India. In the next category come the financial safeguards. The provision regarding the external debt can easily be understood. These debts were incurred under the guarantee of the Secretary of State or the British Government and that guarantee must continue to protect India's credit. The provisions regarding India's internal credit are vague and wide. The Governor General will continue his responsibility for the control of currency and credit until the establishment of the Reserve Bank. Now, I do not know when this Reserve Bank is to be established. Unless and until the Princes come to our help, I do not see how this Reserve Bank is going to be established within the next five or six years. Until then, the currency policy must remain in the hands of the Governor General. Is there no *via media* by which the Finance Member may be made responsible to the Legislature? The position of the Finance Member till the establishment of the Reserve Bank will be most awkward, because on the one hand he will be responsible to the Viceroy, and on the other hand he will be responsible to the Legislature. What India needs badly is the financial, fiscal and economic control for her much needed developments in all directions. Therefore, these financial safeguards must be readjusted by further discussions and negotiations. Then there are the safeguards for defence but Indianisation of the Army must proceed apace with the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst. I am very glad that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has given an assurance that the Indian Sandhurst shall be established soon, and that the Reports of the Military Requirements Committee of 1921 and of the Skeen Committee of 1922 are washed out. A new expert committee is to be set up immediately, and I do hope that it will recommend the complete Indianisation of the Army within a defined period.

Then, Sir, there are the safeguards for the minorities, and here I must confess that I am disappointed. It would have been far better for the delegates to have come to a definite conclusion on the communal problems.

Unfortunately the communal differences are still hanging fire. It is now for us to settle our differences, and we do hope that we will settle them. The Moslem position is summarised by His Highness the Aga Khan on pages 232 and 233 of the Round Table Conference proceedings. I do not want to say more about these communal differences, but I insist that it should be the duty of every responsible Indian, belonging to whatever creed or religion, to settle these differences. Otherwise we cannot show our face to the outside world.

I must now refer to the constitution of the North-West Frontier Province. I am not satisfied with the Report of the Sub-committee No. V. (North-West Frontier Province). I say without hesitation that the constitution of the North-West Frontier Province should be on the same lines as the constitution of the other major provinces of India. The Ministers should be responsible to the Legislature and the official bloc should be eliminated. Now, Sir, we have to consider the effect of the Premier's declaration and the Round Table Conference decisions on India? They are very highly satisfactory to the delegates. They claim, and I believe they claim very rightly, that they have achieved something very big. But it is for the members of the Round Table Conference and those who believe in the decisions of that Conference to convince the doubters that the goal has been won. It is for them to convince the waverers that India has obtained a great constitutional victory. It is for us all to tell the Congressmen that, with some improvement, the new constitution will have the substance of independence. (*Mr. K. Ahmed: "Hear, hear."*) Sir, in this country, and also in England the decisions of the Round Table Conference will be met in some quarters with suspicion with doubt and even with hostility—a legacy of the tragic times through which we have been passing. But now that the Round Table Conference has proposed a Dominion Status constitution subject to safeguards, I ask, is it not better for the leaders of the Congress to come in and co-operate and improve the proposed constitution by further negotiations? Is it too much to expect that they will accept the hand of friendship? Sir, this is the supreme test of their leadership, patriotism and statesmanship. Is it too much to hope that they will abandon their present method of sacrifice and non-co-operation and will try once more the methods of discussion, argument and negotiation? Sir, statesmanship has only one answer to give to that question. We solicit their services to build up the new constitution. It is no use now agitating against some unreal grievances, uttering some old formulas because if they will continue doing that, they may rob India of the achievements of the Conference and drive this country into years of suffering and chaos. Sir, the past is of very little consequence. Let bygones be bygones. It is the present that matters; and I do hope that, with the help of God, we will have strength, courage and wisdom to achieve everlasting peace and goodwill and complete understanding between India and Britain. There is enough evidence in the proceedings of the Round Table Conference and the Premier's statement to prove that there is a change of heart on the part of the British people. There is no reason why we should not respond. Believe me, Sir, an alliance between Great Britain and India will exert the greatest influence on the peace of the world and will decidedly promote the cause of humanity at large. May we accomplish that alliance soon! (Loud cheers.)

**Mr. B. Das:** Sir, I must congratulate first my Honourable friend, Diwan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliar, for his able maiden speech (Hear, hear'), and I also welcome him as a Member of this House. Sir, I never expected from a study of the White Paper containing the debates of the Round Table Conference that members of that Conference who accidentally happened to be Members of this House, should stand on their defence. Sir, I am surprised to find my Honourable friend, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, questioning and challenging my Honourable friend, Mr. Chetty, as also my friend, Diwan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliar, has done. The Round Table Conference took place—whether with the sanction of this House or without its sanction is a point that I am not going to speak upon at present—but it is well-known that the Round Table Conference did not represent the majority of the people of India. I speak here not only as a nationalist but also as one at the tail end of the Congress who were kept out of the Conference by the deliberate policy of the Government of India and also by the British Government. What is the use of paying compliments here to the pious wishes of the Prime Minister and to the pious hopes as expressed in the speech of the Prime Minister? I want to judge the British Cabinet by their action. I want to see first the Government of India Bill which they will bring before the House of Commons. Then I will say whether they have conceded to India what India wanted. Sir, I do not want to refer in detail to the important issue on financial safeguards which my Honourable friend, Mr. Chetty, has so fully discussed; my friend clearly pointed out what were his anticipations and what were his grounds of suspicion, and I want any member of the Round Table Conference who happens to be also a Member of this House to note these points and to clear these points at the next Round Table Conference when the Government of India will place these debates before that Conference. If any such Member who will rise after me today or on Saturday, can prove that the safeguards, which are a terror to many of us on this side of the House, do not possess that degree of strength, that degree of fear which we apprehend on this side of the House, let them do that. What is the use of paying mutual compliments to each other—to those who were members of the Round Table Conference or to the members of the British delegation—and saying that at the Round Table Conference some work has been done? We have to judge them when the final stage is reached, and nobody yet knows. As Sir Samuel Hoare said on behalf of the Conservative Party, until the Conservatives see the complete picture, they are not going to say what the Conservatives will do. Similarly on behalf of the Nationalists—and if I can to some extent gauge the mind of the great Congress people that are outside this House—we will not treat with any confidence the decisions of the Round Table Conference or the intentions of the British Cabinet—with the slander and bravadoes and provocation indulged in by Mr. Churchill and others and hurled at the British Cabinet's declaration—until we see the complete picture. My friend, Sir Hugh Cocke, gave a little warning to this side of the House because he got a little nettled at the speech of my Honourable friend, Mr. Chetty.

**Sir Hugh Cocke:** No, not nettled—interested.

**Mr. B. Das:** My friend says, "Let the House not be in a hurry, it will take months and months."

**Sir Hugh Cocke:** Sir, I did not say "months and months". I said it would take months.

**Mr. B. Das:** I am glad for that correction. I hope in a few months India will attain self-government and Dominion Status, for which we have been fighting on this side of the House. Sir, as regards the safeguards, as long as these are for a limited period, say for a period of five years, many of us on this side of the House may concede those powers of reservation to the Viceroy, but in one thing I would concede nothing to the Governor General or to the British Cabinet, and that is in the matter of the Reserve Bank. Where, Sir, is the pledge of Sir Basil Blackett, who told us here, "Give us the 18 penny ratio, and before 1931 the Reserve Bank will be placed on the Statute-book." Has that pledge been fulfilled? Concessions are extracted whereby India is exploited, and the supplementary part of that pledge, which will benefit India, is completely forgotten and the claims of India are deliberately set aside. I will be no party to the proposition that a Reserve Bank should be a condition precedent to the final constitutional settlement of India or that the Reserve Bank should be controlled by an Act of Parliament.

Sir, many compliments have been paid to the Indian Princes. I am glad they have come into the picture. I am glad they want to honour us by being Members of the future Federal Legislative Assembly. I have tried to read all the volumes placed in our hands. I have not come to recognise how far they will be in the picture as ornaments or as active Members of the Federal Assembly. They say, "Touch us not in our internal policy, we will come and criticise you." One hundred of these Princes or their representatives will be so to speak nominated Members, and they will always be on the side of Government and they would always oppose the Opposition. Then, Sir, there is the other question, whether the States are going to be represented on a population basis, or whether the people of the States are going to get representation, though I would concede that for the present they would be nominated as representatives of their State Governments. Then, what will happen to those small States which contain a population of 5,000, 10,000 or 20,000, with an income of from Rs. 5,000 or Rs. 20,000 or a little more and which are at present entirely controlled by subordinate officials of the Political Department? If they are conceded the right of electing Members to the Federal Assembly, will they have the right of electing those representatives themselves as Members of the Federal Assembly, or will they be under the beck and call of my Honourable friend Mr. Acheson's subordinate officials who will elect their nominees? Does not the Political Department rule thousand of Indian States? Many of these smaller Ruling Princes or Rajas have not got the power to award punishment for even two months not to speak of two years. They have no system of judiciary in these small States. Their administration is primitive. I will instance some of the minor Kathiawar States and also the minor Orissa States, where the Political Officers administer justice and mete out capital punishment. How can these Princes come and be our equals in this Federal Assembly? There must be some standard of qualification. There must be a qualifying test by which these Princes by their good government and good administration will be qualified to come as Members of this House or their people will be allowed to qualify themselves for election. Most

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of these States have forced labour in full practice. British India does not want to deteriorate by association with those autocratic Princes who are completely under the rule of British political officers.

Sir, regarding safeguards, as I said the other day, I very much apprehend that the railways will be converted into a statutory body and will pass away completely from the control and administration of this House. I want the future Round Table Conference to look into that question. About the Reserve Bank, I have already spoken. About defence my Honourable friend, Mr. Shah Nawaz, said just now that the Army should be Indianised. I do not want that the Army should be Indianised under British tutelage. I want the expenditure on defence to be controlled by this House. If at this stage defence should be reserved and the British Government want an army of occupation in India, and if they demand a certain amount of money, I am ready to concede 15 or 20 crores to them to have their army of occupation, as they have at present in Egypt, until the transitional period of 5 or 10 years elapses. But I will never be a party and I will not praise the members of the Round Table Conference if they concede that 50 crores will be handed to the British Army Department and they will maintain an Army in India in full readiness for any war in Asia. Of course I want the Army to be Indianised. I want that, apart from the British Army of occupation, there should, simultaneously and immediately with the promulgation of the new constitution, be an Indian Army or a Dominion Army evolved under the management of the Indian Minister of Defence. I take off my hat to that Member of the Cabinet of the Government of India who had the courage to put in that recommendation in the Government of India's despatch which, as I said the other day, has become out of date and too antediluvian.

Then, Sir, much has been said about the external credit of India. If India remains a part of the British Empire, an equal partner in the British Empire, then India's credit by itself shall be enough to take external loans either in England or in America. Why should India always go to the Bank of England or the British Cabinet to get a recommendation to get a loan of 5 millions or 10 millions. I do not like to entertain that sort of idea. The very fact that the Round Table Conference considered that aspect, shows that there is some reservation at the back of the mind of the British delegates, and they always want to treat India as a subordinate organisation and not as part of the British Empire.

Sir, the Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim spoke of the problem of Burma. If my Burman friends want separation, we will not stand in their way, but we will be very sorry if Burma does not get equal status, if Burma does not get the same Dominion Status as India is getting. If they want to be separate, let them be separate but there is grave apprehension in the minds of many Burmans and also in the minds of many of us, that the British Government and the Government of India want to convert Burma into a Colony of the British Empire.

**Mr. Gava Prasad Sinch** (*Muzaffarnur cum Champaran: Non-Muhamadan*): What about Orissa Province?

**Mr. B. Das:** Sir, my Honourable friend, Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh, reminds me about Orissa, about the creation of a separate Orissa Province. Sir, I find that the Raja of Parlakimadi, who indirectly represented the people of Orissa, broached before the Plenary Session of the Round Table Conference that problem, and I find it was noted. Noted means everybody approved of the creation of a separate province. I want to remind the Honourable the Home Member that one of the recommendations of the Government of India's despatch, as well as the recommendation of the Bihar Government, as also of the Simon Commission and the Round Table Conference was that a Boundary Commission should be immediately appointed. The other day my Honourable friend said that he had received no orders from the Premier so far on the subject. We know this is a matter which does not require any further decision of the Round Table Conference. My Honourable friend should cable to the Prime Minister and get his orders and take steps immediately to appoint a Boundary Commission to settle details about the formation of the Orissa Province.

Sir, we are not here merely to give blessings to the pious hopes expressed in the recommendations of the Round Table Conference. I want everybody to realise that, unless the Congress comes into the picture at the second Conference, no constitution can be evolved which will bring India and England together in abiding friendship. As rumour has it, there is going to be a settlement. For that again my tribute goes to that great Viceroy, Lord Irwin, who is negotiating for peace with the Congress that represents the majority of the population in India. It is no use remaining closetted in this House and saying we have to ignore the external situation. Without the Congress coming into the picture, I say with all the emphasis at my command that there can never be abiding peace between England and India. Whether the Government of India take part in this debate or whether they merely transmit our debate to the British Cabinet, let them tell the British Cabinet that without the Congress in the picture, there can be no peace in India and there can be no peace for England.

**Shaikh Sadiq Hasan** (East Central Punjab: Muhammadan): Sir, this Round Table Conference which has taken place now I think should have taken place seven years ago. But unfortunately at that time we had not such a sympathetic Viceroy as Lord Irwin, and during these seven years there has been much trouble in India. People have been beaten, people have been imprisoned and all this has made the heart of the people very sore. So what would have been acceptable seven years ago, cannot possibly be acceptable now at the present moment. In any case, it stands to the credit of Lord Irwin, who will be counted as one of the greatest Viceroys of India and the most sympathetic of them, that he got into his head the idea that the aspirations of the Indian people should be met. And luckily for India at the present moment there was at the helm of affairs Mr. Ramsay MacDonald who is one of the greatest of English Premiers. Mr. MacDonald saw a few years ago that Englishmen were hated everywhere. Englishmen were hated in Mesopotamia, English people were hated in China. English people were hated in Egypt, for the reason that in the name of humanity they would subordinate the interests of these countries to their own selfish purposes. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald saw what was happening and saw that the English people were hated everywhere. He

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reversed the policy, with the result that feelings have been more or less allayed in those countries. I must say that India still hates the English Government in India, and let us hope that the very wise policy of Mr. MacDonald will allay that hatred.

Sir, about the members of the Round Table Conference, I must appreciate the great work that they have done. These gentlemen have impressed the world, and I think that is a great thing for India. But I must surely challenge the statement of my Honourable friend, Dewan Bahadur Rangachariar. I say that in no sense were they our representatives. If they had been our representatives, we should have accepted what they decided, and if we do not accept their decisions it would be bad faith on our part. But it is not bad faith on our part, not to accept what these gentlemen decided, because we never elected them and the Congress did not elect them. So although we have got great appreciation of their services, we cannot in any case consider them as our representatives.

Sir, the Prime Minister must be congratulated on his wise announcement. Of course the Viceroy, as I have already said, has done a great deal for Indian aspirations and more than any Englishman has done. However, there are certain aspects of the problem with which I should like to deal. We have not come here only to talk generalities, as my friend, Mr. Sarma, said. We want to discuss certain problems which we think have not been satisfactorily solved in this Conference. First of all, I take the question of the Frontier Province. The Frontier question is very important. What are the people of the Frontier Province going to get? The people of the Frontier Province are going to get much less than what we got in 1919. The Frontier Province is going to get two Ministers, one of whom shall be elected and the other will probably be nominated. There will be 14 nominated Members in a Council of 40, and my nominated friends will excuse me when I say that I find some of the nominated Members more pro-Government than even the officials themselves.

**Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum** (Nominated Non-Official): So are some elected Members also.

**Shaikh Sadiq Hasan**: I said some of them, not all. But some of the elected Members may be so too.

I am now going to say something serious and it is this. You want to have discontent. There will be discontent on the Frontier, and what does that mean? You must carefully consider that. If there is contentment on the Frontier, these people will never allow the trans-frontier people to come and invade India. But if there is discontent on the Frontier, they would naturally think it much better to sever their connection with India and fall into the arms of Afghanistan, which would give them more liberties. A contented Frontier means that you save half your military expenditure and that is what the British Government in India does not like. They want to spend more money on the Army in order to have a hold over India. If they give full rights to the Frontier people, there would be no likelihood of a foreign invasion, but if there is discontent these people would think it much better to join hands with Afghanistan and will always be a menace to India. So I think the Indian delegates in the Defence Sub-committee cannot justify their position as they did not desire the same thing for the Frontier which they desired for the rest of India.

Now, Sir, I come to the second point. The second point is the problem of defence, and here I must say a few words again. No country has got the right to liberty until it can defend itself, and it should apply to India as well. If India cannot defend herself, she should not be given liberty, but we have to see whether Indians are unfit for military leadership or they have been made unfit by the British Government in India. I will crave the indulgence of the House if I go a little into earlier history, but I will keep on jumping over centuries in a few minutes. Let us think of Ramachandra, the hero and conqueror of Ceylon; let us think of the days of the Mahabharata when heroes fought against each other. Let us think of the days of Alexander the Great, who invaded India and could not cross the Sutlej because his soldiers refused to cross it as they were afraid of the bravery of the Indians. Chandragupta drove out Seleucus and conquered Afghanistan.

**Dr. A. Suhrawardy** (Burdwan and Presidency Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): Come to Mahmud of Ghazni.

**Shaikh Sadiq Hasan:** I am coming to that, don't worry. Later on, during the days of Asoka, India was a maritime power. We had a navy at that time in India. Indians went to Java and conquered and colonised it. Ceylon was conquered, Indo-China was conquered, and later on came the great empires of Kanishka, Gupta and Harsha. Then I come to the period of Mahmud of Ghazni. No doubt in those days Indians had become a decaying nation on account of various reasons and they fell a prey to foreign invasion. Sir, I must say this, that these Afghan kings, Alauddin Khilji and others, had Indian blood in their veins. I must say that even in the last period, we find that there have been great conquerors like Aurangzebe, Shivaji and Ranjit Singh. What I am saying is that we are not lacking in military leadership. The English have taken away arms from us. The highest paid Indian officer in our Army is only a Major. There are only two paid Majors in the Indian Army. Then they say, "You cannot defend your own country". We will not be satisfied until we have got more of a hand in the defence of our own country. Government must decide to Indianise the Army as soon as possible. There should be an Indian Minister for defence. I would also urge the reduction of the cost of the Army. I would also suggest conscription in this country. There is a good deal of unemployment in this country and unfortunately the British Indian Government is bankrupt in finding employment for them. If these people have nothing to do and if they are taken into the Army, nobody would be a loser, but the country would be a gainer. Then there is the problem of Burma and we would like exactly to do what the Burmans want to do. We have got no selfish interest in that matter. We want to follow their point of view.

A word about the British commercial community. I must say that we must give the same privileges to them as they give to us in England. In this connection I absolutely dissociate myself from the remarks of Mr. Chetty. I think we should give them the same facilities as the Indians are given in England. Of course these remarks do not hold good for some of the Dominions who do not treat Indians well.

I am very glad that the women are coming into their due share and the women are going to get some rights. They have been kept in the back ground for a long time, and I hope that with their political advancement the country will be much better off.



[Shaikh Sadiq Hasan.]

Sir, a word about the minority problem. There was a meeting—it was not a private meeting—held by the Muslim Members, and they definitely decided that they stand by the Resolution of the Muslim Conference and also by what the delegates did in London. I have a word to say to my own community as well. They should grow more enthusiastic about their own country. They must strive and struggle to attain freedom because it is only then that the nations grow strong. After all, what are all these guarantees, unless the sanction behind them is their own strength? I think the minority community would do well if they took a more active part in the strife and struggle for the freedom of their country. (Hear, hear.) What is my ideal? My ideal about India is not a land where chaos prevails. My ideal about India, which I would like to put before my countrymen, is, India cut on the same old pattern, old ancient India, land of culture, land of learning, land of art, land of industry, prosperous and strong India. (Applause.)

**Raja Bahadur G. Krishnamachariar** (Tanjore *cum* Trichinopoly: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, so much appreciation has already been given to the work of the Round Table Conference, that I do not intend to spend more time of the House by reiterating what fell from other Honourable Members regarding the work of that Conference. There is no doubt that a great deal has been done, and if I intervene in this debate, it is only to submit a few observations regarding what I heard about the prospects of settlement that might come into existence if certain contingencies do or do not occur. Sir, there is no doubt that but for the courageous and patriotic stand that the Princes and their delegates took at the Round Table Conference, the atmosphere would have been a different one. But at the same time I am afraid that, in considering the most important question before the Conference, namely, the question of constitution, the federal side of the constitution, had more attention bestowed upon it than the alternative. I have no complaint against this. It seems to me, however, that the question whether it was possible or not, *i.e.*, whether the present unitary constitution could be so adjusted as to bring in that federal principle until at any rate such time as princes would come in larger numbers into the federal constitution, has not been fully considered. The one man who could have rendered a great deal of service in this respect unfortunately became a convert in the early days of the Conference to the federal view. I mean, the Right Honourable Sastri, with the result that the case for the unitary constitution was not considered and went by default. Let me not be misunderstood. Eventually if the Princes have to come into this constitution, the federal system is the only system that would work. But I am perfectly sure that the federal system, if it comes into existence, will not be the federal system that is now known to the world, but it will be a very peculiar federal system suited to the genius of the country, where the Indian Princes as well as the Provinces and the Central Government would all federate. Although the Princes have very generously come forward, whether they are quite prepared to enter into this federation at once must be fully considered, looking at the conditions they have imposed, first their own treaty rights, next their relations with the Crown and lastly the subjects in which they are interested in common, with British India. Now, Sir, considering the fact that even two years ago, at the time when the

Nehru Report came into existence, some of our more prominent statesmen were of opinion—I do not know if they have now changed their opinion—that the relations of the Indian States were not with the Crown but with Government of India, considering the fact that they stated that the new Government of India would take up the position of the Indian States at the point at which the Government of India has now pushed it through, the result of which has been so graphically depicted in a picture by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, does anybody seriously think that all these questions could be settled so very easily? And then at the top of it all, there is the question of paramountcy. Now, Sir, Lord Reading—it might be impertinent on my part to cross swords with the late Chief Justice of England—in a cooler atmosphere, where probably he has not been hampered by other considerations, very generously withdrew at the Round Table Conference from the position that he took some time ago when he allowed his Home Member to state in 1924 that there was a difference between responsible government and Dominion Status. He said he was not standing on that position, and similarly I have no doubt that if the question of paramountcy had been placed before his Lordship in an equal manner, he would have resiled from the position that he took up—and I would respectfully submit—that he unjustifiably took up in that letter to His Exalted Highness, the Nizam, about the question of paramountcy. How the paramountcy ever came into existence in the hands of the British Government without the Indian States having given it to them, I do not know. I believe it was Lord Watson who, in that great case *Yusuf vs. the Crown*, said that the fountain can never rise higher than its source. The Government of India and His Majesty's Government have no power over the Indian States except what they themselves surrendered. And yet there are certain expressions that have been used, treaty, sufferance and usage, which have been relied upon in order to trench slowly upon the powers of the Indian Princes. Fortunately, in the year 1902, the Crown lawyers advised His Majesty's Government that these words cannot authorise them to encroach upon the rights which were not actually given and therefore, Sir, the Foreign Jurisdiction and Extradition Act was repealed and a mere Extradition Act was passed at the time. I am saying all these things to show the difficulty that lies ahead before the Princes can come into the federation.

Then so far as the treaty obligations are concerned, they are of such a varied nature, commencing from the rights which have inhered to the State of Hyderabad, to the rights of smaller Princes with a few acres of land in Kathiawar, that to adjust them would take very long. I hope there is no truth in the position taken up, that unless there is a federal government, there is not going to be responsibility at the centre, and this is what I was going to say when I began to submit my observations. It is stated that responsibility at the centre has only been accepted by the British Government subject to a federal government coming into existence. Now supposing that a federal government does not come into existence, not through any fault of ours, not through any fault of the provinces, which are not and cannot be legally federal units until you give them more powers than you have already given them, supposing the Princes cannot come on account of the difficulties that you yourself have enumerated in your Report, what about responsibility at the centre? I respectfully but very firmly point out that it would be the greatest mistake that the British Government will ever commit, whether out of a pre-conceived notion

[Raja Bahadur G. Krishnamachariar.]

or on the spur of the moment, if they come to the conclusion that because the federal government cannot come into existence immediately therefore no responsibility would be given at the centre. That would be making the greatest mistake and all that they have done in England, all that they propose to do hereafter, all that they may do hereafter, will be absolutely of no consequence whatsoever if this responsibility at the centre is not given and could not be adjusted even though there is delay, as there is bound to be if the Princes are to come into the federation. That is all I have to say.

**Mr. Nabakumar Sing Dudhoria** (Calcutta Suburbs: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, it is impossible to do full justice to the various conclusions that have been arrived at by the Round Table Conference in the short time at our disposal. I shall, therefore, deal with the points, which are not peculiarly Indian. Of course, Sir, I have nothing but admiration for the conclusion that it is the federal system that is most suited to India, though the existence of Native States in India has made the Indian constitutional problem very difficult.

One wonders how this great constitution can be formed and when it will come into force. Had the Round Table Conference definitely declared the limit of the transition period, we could have no objection to the various reservations which it has made. If the period remains indefinite, the result would be total failure. Time must be specified. In my opinion, at the utmost, twenty-five years can be allowed for the full growth of such constitution. Here again, I would like to mention how in such a short time we can have full federation.

In the first instance, separate electorates, as now, should exist in the Legislatures; but it must be clearly stated in the Parliamentary Act that in future the Legislatures shall be at liberty to do away with the system, for matters of election should always remain the sole concern of Indians alone.

Every province should be first made a real unit, by allowing it to have all the requisite powers of a full State, that is, in Navy, Army, Air Force, etc., at least with a small beginning, so that it might be in a position to form its own federation, in time to come. To control the above branches, the Legislature of the province must have the full power and authority, subject to the discretionary power of the Governor, only under extreme circumstances. The question of emergency must be decided at the first instance by the Governor; but after a reasonable time, it should have been declared valid by an Act, passed by the Legislature. Should the Provincial Legislature not pass it, the Central Legislature should have the authority to pass it. Even if the Central Legislature refuses to pass it, this Indemnity Bill must be passed by the Parliament, otherwise it shall cease to remain in force. Until such time, as the Parliament does not pass the Bill, the Governor General's order will remain in force; but in case the Parliament delays to pass it at the first Parliamentary Session, the decision of the Indian Legislature will at once come into force. Sir, in order to achieve full federal government, every power must be delegated to the Legislature, from time to time, during this transition period. Only by doing this can a real advance in administration be made. To begin with, the Legislature must have full powers over the "Transferred

Subjects". Ordinarily the Governor or Governor in Council shall have no power over them, but in the case of emergency, full power may be vested in the Governor.

Any surplus money that the Central Legislature raises on their own accord by means of taxation, will be solely under the control of that body and they will be competent to administer it in any way they like. Also any reserve fund that they are able to build can be used by them in the way they desire. The Governor General will exercise the emergency power to stop the expenditure if he does not approve of it; but he will not spend it of his own initiative. After stopping the expenditure, the Governor General will have to get the sanction of Parliament to do so. This measure in my humble opinion should be introduced during the transition period. For the purpose of raising loans abroad, the advice of representatives of both the Houses must be taken in the Executive Council of the Governor General.

The deliberations of the Round Table Conference give the impression that the discriminatory power is to be given permanently to the Governor General in Council. Sir, if this be so, any Bill in the interests of the country, such as the Coastal Reservation Bill, will have no chance of being passed.

Without even being domiciled in India, if persons be allowed to enjoy all the rights of citizenship, and this be the principle even when the transition period has elapsed, will then India be equal in status to other Dominions, *viz.*, Australia and Canada?

As it is admitted by the Round Table Conference that the conclusions arrived at are not final, it may be hoped that these suggestions will not be totally brushed aside, when final drafting of the constitution takes place.

**Pandit S. N. Sen** (Presidency Division: Non-Muhammadian Rural): Sir, with your permission, I will make some observations on the recommendations of the Round Table Conference. I do not hesitate to admit that the recommendations are distinctly ahead of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. The structure of the proposed constitution is autonomy in the provinces with reservations for the Governors, and a federal constitution in the Central Government. Sir, it is worth while to examine the exact nature of the Central Government that we are going to have. On a careful scrutiny, it will be found that the proposed constitution is practically nothing more than a form of dyarchical constitution. Sir, we, Indians, are fed up with dyarchy. Most of us are tired of it, and it is perhaps for this reason that the Members have studiously avoided the word dyarchy in their Reports. Sir, I am not going to say anything positively against dyarchy, but what I do say is that we should know our position accurately. We should be perfectly disillusioned in this respect. It is with this end in view that I make it clear that it is nothing but a form of dyarchy. And I have at my back no less an authority than the Government of India themselves. While discussing the system of Central Government proposed by the Simon Commission, the Government of India in their memorable despatch have said:

"Constitutionally it may be distinguished from dyarchy in that in the main sphere of Government there would be no division. But if the excluded sphere were appreciable there would naturally be two Governments."

[Pandit S. N. Sen.]

Now, Sir, let us see if 'the excluded sphere' in the present case, as suggested in the recommendations of the Round Table Conference, is appreciable or not. The recommendations have suggested the complete reservation of the three largest subjects to the Governor General, namely (i) Military charges, (ii) Debt services, and (iii) Pay and Pension of certain superior services. These three subjects constitute about 80 per cent. of the total revenue of the Central Government. With these data before him, every one will admit that the "excluded sphere" in the present case is "appreciable".

Sir, these reservations have been described as "safeguards" although the Prime Minister does not "like the word". Of these safeguards the most important is the first item, namely, the Military charges, which is a notoriously extravagant item. The position has been made decidedly worse by providing that, in addition to the original supply (which is already extravagant), the Governor General will have power to secure what is called "emergency supply". We would not have grudged it, if, side by side with this provision, there were positive recommendations for reducing the expenditure, wherever possible, say in response to the disarmament movement in the world at large or to other similar cases.

In Finance, too, safeguards have been provided. The entire subject has been left extremely vague, and I fully share with Mr. Chetty his misgivings regarding this subject. The subject will, I hope, be fully discussed before you by Sir Cowasji Jehangir, who was a man on the spot and who took an active part in the discussion. He was one of the few delegates who called pointed attention of the Chairman of the Sub-Committee to the vagueness hanging over the subject, but they were sought to be satisfied by a verbal explanation by Lord Reading. But, Sir, as every one knows, verbal explanations have little or no value. The Governor General will have "power as would enable him to intervene if methods were being pursued which would in his opinion seriously prejudice the credit of India in the money markets of the world". Who knows that the Governor General will not intervene too often. Then again, "provision should be made requiring the Governor General's previous sanction to the introduction of a Bill to amend the Paper Currency or Coinage Acts". It is thus clear that even at the time of introducing the Bill for the much advocated Reserve Bank, the sanction of the Governor General will be a requisite condition. But, Sir, who can vouchsafe for the mentality of a person, however, illustrious he may be. There is no knowing whether the Governor General will always be a man of liberal views or that he will always be able to exercise his power in a liberal manner. He may be a Die-hard himself, or he may be under the influence of a Die-hard Cabinet. As an officer responsible to the Cabinet, he will have to shape his policy according to the dictates of the latter, and whenever Indian interest will clash with Imperial interest we know which way he will go. The mysterious circumstances under which the first Reserve Bank Bill had to be dropped by Sir Basil Blackett some years ago are still fresh in our memory.

Then again the position of the Finance Minister will be a peculiar one. As regards currency, he will be responsible to the Governor General, and in other matters he will be responsible to the Legislature. Thus he will have to serve two masters. One can easily imagine his position when the

Governor General, on his own initiative or under pressure from the British Cabinet, will come into conflict with the Legislature. He will have no other alternative but to resign. But, Sir, that course will lead to still graver issues. We have been told that the responsibility of the Ministers will be collective. So, if the Finance Minister is to go, he will go not alone, but will take away with him his colleagues also. Thus, such an arrangement can be anything but stable. It is bound to break down. In fact, it will be unworkable.

Sir, there are some other points which I do not wish to discuss now. But I cannot conclude my remarks without looking to the question from the religious standpoint which, I may say, is my humble mission here. While giving final shape to the recommendations of the Round Table Conference, those entrusted with the work should reiterate the Proclamation of Queen Victoria made in 1858. I am referring particularly to the portion relating to religious non-interference. The portion runs as follows :

"We do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under Us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of Our subjects on pain of Our highest displeasure."

As an insurance against violation of that Proclamation, I would, with Dr. Ambedkar, "call attention to the necessity of including constitutional sanctions for the enforcement of the fundamental rights, including a right of redress when they are violated". Sir, the Government of India Act of 1919 provides that a Bill affecting religion or religious rites may be introduced with the sanction of the Governor General, and the same thing has been repeated in the Round Table Recommendations. Sir, I would regard this as a transgression against the hallowed Proclamation. I would insist that no such sanction can be or should be given. The granting of such a sanction has of late led to matters which may revolutionise society, and has offended the feelings of the orthodox communities of the Hindus and Muhammadans alike. I hope the wrongs done will be set right, and the Government should strictly adhere to a policy of non-interference in religious matters. As the Recommendations are only provisional, I raise these points in the hope that they may be fully considered at the final discussion.

**Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad** (Patna and Chota Nagpur *cum* Orissa: Muhammadan): Sir, I do not want to make a long speech today, nor do I want to place before you my arguments in support of my own views. Much can be said one way or the other. All the arguments are known to every one of us. If after listening to all the speeches, and after knowing all arguments, one has not yet been satisfied, I do not think he can be satisfied for ever.

Sir, I want to place some facts before the House, some of them to remind the Treasury Benches and some to the Non-Muslim Members of this House.

First of all, I want to make it clear that what I say will not be on behalf of the Independent Party of which I am a Whip, nor will I express my own views, but I shall express the views of the overwhelming majority of my constituency which I represent. I will not use diplomatic words nor do I want to show you any advocacy, but I will place before the House facts, and it will be a heart to heart talk.

[Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad.]

Secondly, Sir, I do not hesitate to say, without any fear of contradiction, that the attitude of the Government in selecting delegates, especially Muslim delegates, was not satisfactory. No doubt, amongst delegates, I find many leaders, many notable personalities, many men of reputation, many politicians; but may I ask were they our representatives? Were they representatives of Mussalmans? There is one and only one reply, "No". They were not representatives. They were nominees of the Government.

Sir, I am thankful to the delegates, thankful to their sense of duty, thankful to their national spirit, that they offered a unanimous front in fighting for the cause of the country, and in the end they tried their best for us.

Sir, they did what they could, and what they thought good, but there is not the least doubt that the Government ignored us, ignored our demands, and ignored our Associations, and last of all, I would say, ignored the Central Legislature, the real representatives of the taxpayers of the country.

If I look to the provinces, I do not find the names of Sir Muhammad Iqbal from the Punjab, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan from the North-West Frontier Province, Nawab Moidul Mulk, Sir Syed Ali Imam, Mr. Abdul Aziz, Bar.-at-Law, and Maulvi Muhammad Shafee Daoodi from Bihar and Orissa, and Sir Abdul Rahim from Bengal, Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan and Maulana Hasrat Mohani of the United Provinces in the Round Table Conference. There are many others, but I do not mention them simply not to waste the time of the House.

The most peculiar feature of the delegation was that it contained also the Government officials—the Executive Councillors and others.

Thirdly, I want to compare the demands of the Muslims with the recommendations of the Round Table Conference and see how far they have been conceded by the other members of the delegation. The Mussalman's first demand was a federal form of Government, with complete autonomy and residuary powers vested in the federal units, the Federal Government having control only of such subjects of common interest as might be specifically entrusted to it by the constitution. The conclusion reached at the Round Table Conference is a federal form of government with reserved subjects and safeguards. No conclusion was reached as to residuary powers. It is contemplated that the functions of the Federal Government will extend beyond the range of federal subjects and will embrace those matters which are strictly those of British India alone. There is thus to be some differentiation as far as the functions and powers of the various units of the Federation are concerned. Sir, we are not satisfied with this. At the time of the framing of the Muslim demand there was no question of the States—the States where there is no law, where *begar* is still prevailing, where there is no democratic form of Government. Now, when they want to join the Federation, we should welcome them.

I want, Sir, that there should be two Chambers. There should be representatives of the Government of the Federation unit in one Chamber and the representatives of the people of the federating units in the other Chamber. There should be an autonomous democratic form of government in all the federating units, with residual powers vested in them. All the members of both the Chambers must have equal privileges. The

position of the federating units as regards the federalised central subjects should be equal. Distribution of seats amongst the federating units in both the Chambers should be on a population basis, with weightage where it is necessary.

The second demand of the Mussalmans was that no Bill, Resolution, motion or amendment regarding inter-communal matters should be moved, discussed or passed by any Legislature if a three-fourths majority of either the Hindu or Muslim community affected thereby in that Legislature opposed the introduction, discussion or passing of such Bill, Resolution, motion, or amendment, etc. The recommendation of the Round Table Conference is something like this. No legislation affecting the religion or religious rites of any community to be introduced without the previous sanction of the Governor. The Mussalmans are not satisfied with it. Ninety per cent. of the Muslims opposed the Sarda Act, but the Governor General gave his assent to it. Deputation after deputation waited on the Government but to no purpose. Nobody cared that the religious sentiments of the Mussalmans were touched to the very heart and that it was a direct attack on our religion. After this bad and dangerous example set by the Government and the majority community, we cannot trust the Governors. I seriously insist on our demand. I do not want anything less than that. I do not want to leave any safeguards and rights in the hands of Governors. I cannot allow them to play with our sentiment and religion. I do not want to go any more to their door to beg. I do not want to fall at their feet. I want everything in black and white that we are safe. I do not want any communal matter to be discussed in the Legislature if it is opposed by a majority of three-fourths of any community.

Sir, our third demand was the retention of separate electorates. The recommendation of the Round Table Conference was that failing an agreement, separate electorates with all their drawbacks and difficulties would have to be retained. Sir, the Muslim minority is a permanent minority and their percentage is very low, they do not want to be nominated by the majority. I want to make it quite clear that the Mussalmans at present do not want any form of joint electorate, whether with or without conditions; they want separate electorates even in local bodies. Any form of joint electorates Mussalmans do not want at present.

Our fourth demand was that the Mussalmans should have their due share in the central and provincial Cabinets . . . .

**Sir Hari Singh Gour** (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I rise to a point of order. I understood that the safeguards were reserved for future discussion. The Honourable Member is dealing with the safeguards, which have been specifically reserved for future consideration.

**Mr. President:** The question, purely as a point of order, cannot be upheld, because the motion before the House gives an opening to deal with everything that was discussed at the Round Table Conference. It is a question for each individual Honourable Member to consider what he should say.

**Mr. S. C. Mitra:** On a written speech there is difficulty.



**Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad:** Sir, about the fourth demand of Mussalmans the recommendation of the Round Table Conference is something like this, Muhammadans should be represented in the Federal as well as on the provincial executives. An obligation to secure such representation should be expressed in the Instrument of Instructions to the Governors. In our opinion it has not been happily worded, it has been drafted in a loose form. It may create trouble in future. We are not satisfied with the wording of the recommendation. Sir, the fifth demand of the Muslims was that the representation of Muslims in the various Legislatures and other self-governing bodies should be based on a plan whereby the Muslim majority in those provinces where they constitute a majority in population shall in no case be affected and their majority should not be reduced to a minority or even an equality. As regards representation in provinces where they are in a minority, they are to enjoy the present weightage and shall have the same representation that is enjoyed by them under the existing law. I am very sorry to say that even the question of weightage to Mussalmans in provinces where they are in a minority has not been decided. In provinces where our Hindu brethren are in a minority their question has been solved, and I find that in the North West Frontier Province three times the figure to which they are entitled on a population basis has been recommended. I ask all just men of this House and of the world, is it just and fair? The question of Hindu minority in one province is settled, but the question of the Moslem minority in other provinces has not been decided. What a good procedure has been adopted!

Now, Sir, the sixth demand was that Muslims should have one-third representation in the Central Legislature. The Mussalmans should get at least one-third of the total number of seats in both the Chambers. The seats of Mussalmans should be so fixed amongst the representatives of the States also that one-third should be reserved for them. This is our minimum demand. Some of us go further and say that no one community should preponderate over the remaining communities. What I find from the proceedings of the Round Table Conference is that no decision has been arrived at. I warn both the Benches that Mussalmans will not be satisfied with one-third seats amongst the representatives of British India. Mussalmans want one-third seats amongst the whole House.

Now comes the seventh demand, the question of separation of Sind. The recommendation of the Conference is that the principle of separation is accepted. An expert committee should be appointed to go into the financial condition of a separated Sind. If enquiry shows a deficit, the representatives of the province should be met before Sind is constituted into a separate province. I ask for what is this committee going to be held? The representatives of Sind have expressed their opinion and wishes; they are here. You may hear from them about these things. There is absolutely no need to appoint any committee. You have not asked for a committee for Burma. Why do you want to have a committee for the separation of Sind?

Now, comes the eighth demand, the question of the introduction of constitutional reforms in the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on such lines as may be adopted in other provinces of India. I do not find a single word about Baluchistan in the Round Table Conference Report. This question was not discussed, and after that how can I say that the delegates performed their duties satisfactorily? They did not

press our views there. About the North-West Frontier Province, my Honourable friend, Mr. Sadiq Hasan, has said much on that subject; and I do not want to touch on it again.

Now, comes the ninth demand, the question of the adequate share of the Muslims in the services. The recommendation of the Round Table Conference is that a fair and adequate share should be given to the various communities consistently with considerations of efficiency. If the meaning of fair and adequate share is the same what we find in the services under railways, that is one-third will be given to the minorities and of that one seat will be given to the Anglo-Indians; one to the Sikhs and one to the depressed classes and then one to the Muslims, then I cannot say that the Muslims will be satisfied with this recommendation. We want that our ratio in services, at least, should be the same ratio that would be our ratio in the Legislatures—provincial and central.

Now, comes our tenth demand, the question of adequate safeguard for protection and promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, personal law, charitable institutions, their due share in grants-in-aids, etc. At the Round Table Conference no conclusion was reached as to the method of safeguarding these matters.

Now, comes our eleventh demand, the question of the change of the constitution only with the concurrence of all the constituent States. About this also, there is no mention in the proceedings of the Round Table Conference. I can say that it is quite unsatisfactory, and the Mussalmans do not accept it. Rather, many Mussalmans think that if the question of their demand is not settled it may open the door for a civil war.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, the 5th March, 1931.