

Wednesday, 18th March, 1931

THE  
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES  
(Official Report)

Volume III, 1931

*(12th March to 25th March, 1931)*

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FIRST SESSION  
OF THE  
FOURTH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,  
1931



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.

## *Panel of Chairmen :*

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

## *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 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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# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Wednesday, 18th March, 1931.

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

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

### REPRESENTATION OF THE CENTRAL LEGISLATURE AT FURTHER MEETINGS OF THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

997. \*Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar: Will Government be pleased to state whether they are taking steps to secure an adequate representation from the Central Legislature at the further discussions as to the framing of the future constitution for India at the Round Table Conference? If so, what are they?

The Honourable Sir George Rainy: The question is one which falls primarily within the province of His Majesty's Government and not of the Government of India, whose function is confined to drawing the attention of His Majesty's Government to all considerations bearing on the matter which seem to them important. They are aware, however, of the strong feeling on the subject which exists among Members of the Legislature, and they have brought the matter to the notice of His Excellency the Governor-General.

### GRANTS FOR EDUCATION, ETC., GIVEN TO THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE AND AJMER-MERWARA.

998. \*Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda: (a) Will Government be pleased to state in the form given below the grants given or promised to be given to the North-West Frontier Province by the Government of India:

Year.	*Education.	Sanitation and Health.	Agriculture.	Other subjects.
1929				
1930				
1931				

\*Apart from the quinquennial programme.

(b) Will Government kindly give the same information in the same form for the same period with regard to Ajmer-Merwara and Delhi?



**Mr. J. G. Acheson:** Three statements showing the budget grants made by the Government of India for the North-West Frontier Province, Ajmer-Merwara and Delhi are laid on the table. As the budgets are framed for official years and not for calendar years, the figures for the financial years 1928-29, 1929-30 and 1930-31 have been given. The figures under the head "Education" have been divided into two parts, one showing the grant for the Five Year Programme and the other showing the grant apart from that programme.

*Statements showing the Budget grants made by the Government of India for the North-West Frontier Province, Ajmer-Merwara and Delhi in 1928-29, 1929-30 and 1930-31.*

Year.	Education.		Public Health.	Agriculture.	Other Subjects.
	Excluding Five Year Programme.	Five Year Programme.			
	Rs.	Rs.			
<b>STATEMENT A.</b>					
North-West Frontier Province.					
1928-29 . . . . .	14,03,321	5,13,679	1,09,000	1,82,000	3,05,39,800
1929-30 . . . . .	14,45,110	5,74,890	1,09,000	2,13,000	3,32,52,900
1930-31 . . . . .	14,38,281	6,42,719	1,29,000	2,51,000	3,54,78,900
<b>STATEMENT B.</b>					
Ajmer-Merwara.					
1928-29 . . . . .	2,81,800	1,11,000	4,200	46,000	26,90,000
1929-30 . . . . .	2,89,800	1,41,000	4,500	44,300	27,31,400
1930-31 . . . . .	3,27,000	1,45,600	4,300	45,300	28,60,800
<b>STATEMENT C.</b>					
Delhi.					
1928-29 . . . . .	6,77,000	2,42,200	2,60,100	58,500	1,01,96,200
1929-30 . . . . .	7,08,200	2,70,300	2,02,000	63,200	1,14,78,300
1930-31 . . . . .	7,31,000	2,82,500	1,92,200	69,600	1,09,48,700

**INTRODUCTION OF COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION IN AJMER-MERWARA.**

999. \***Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda:** (a) Have the Government of India taken into consideration and, if so, with what result, the Primary Education Committee's Report of 1929-30?

(b) Do Government propose to give immediate effect to the recommendations of the Primary Education Committee regarding the introduction even in the restricted form proposed in the Committee's Report, of compulsory primary education in Ajmer-Merwara? Has the proposal been strongly supported by the authorities in Ajmer?

**The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain:** (a) and (b). The Report is still under consideration. As regards the latter portion of part (b) of the question, Government have no information other than that contained in the Report, copies of which have been placed in the Library of this House.

**Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda:** May I have some information as to when action is likely to be taken on the Report of the Primary Education Committee? It is nearly a year since the Report was submitted to the Education Department and the question of extension of primary education is of very urgent importance. I should like to know when Government hope to consider the Report and pass final orders thereon.

**The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain:** As regards the consideration by the administrative Department concerned, it is hoped that in the course of the year a decision will be taken. As to taking actual action executing the decision that depends very largely upon the financial conditions that will prevail next year.

**Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda:** Sir, I do not propose to put my question No. 1000.

#### ABNORMAL INFANTILE DEATH-RATE IN AJMER AND BEAWAR.

1001 **\*Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda:** Will Government state the steps taken to reduce the abnormal infantile death-rate in Ajmer and Beawar, which they promised to do in answer to my question last year?

**The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain:** I regret to have to inform the Honourable Member that it has not been possible for Government to include any provision in next year's Budget for grants in aid of the Municipal schemes for the improvement of sanitation and health conditions at Ajmer and Beawar which were mentioned by Sir Frank Noyce in reply to questions put last year and to which the Honourable Member is presumably referring. The question was considered at the time the Budget was under preparation, but the Beawar scheme was reported not to be ready and though the Ajmer scheme was more advanced, no grant in aid could be provided next year owing to the prevailing financial stringency. The question will be re-examined in connection with the Budget of 1932-33. In the meantime, a good deal is, I am informed, being done towards improving local sanitary conditions and reducing the infantile mortality rate by local relief organisations, such as the Lady Chelmsford Maternity and Child Welfare League.

**PROVISION OF INTERMEDIATE CLASS ACCOMMODATION ON, AND INCONVENIENT TIMINGS OF, THE GRAND TRUNK EXPRESS BETWEEN DELHI AND MADRAS.**

1002. **\*Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah:** (a) Is it a fact that there is no intermediate class accommodation provided on the Grand Trunk Express which runs between Delhi and Madras?

(b) Are Government aware that the lack of intermediate class accommodation is seriously affecting the popularity of the train among those who generally patronise that train?

(c) Is it a fact that, of the three railway sections, through which the Grand Trunk Express passes, the Great Indian Peninsula Railway and the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway provide intermediate class accommodation on their other trains, and that only the Nizam's State Railway do not provide such accommodation on their trains?

(d) Are Government aware that the section traversed by the Grand Trunk Express on the Nizam's State Railway is only about 250 miles out of a total of about 1,360 miles, and do Government propose to take steps to see that the Nizam's State Railway are not allowed to stand in the way of introducing intermediate class accommodation on the through train between Delhi and Madras?

(e) Are Government aware that there is great dissatisfaction among the travelling public at the inconvenient hours of departure and arrival at Madras, and the inconvenient arrival at Delhi of the Grand Trunk Express?

(f) Are Government aware that, in spite of Mr. A. A. L. Parson's answer to my question No. 192, dated the 16th July, 1980, the original timings of arrival and departure have not been materially changed even in the revised timings from 1st March, 1981, to suit the convenience of through distance passengers?

(g) Are Government aware that the Grand Trunk Express takes a long time to cover the distance between Delhi and Madras, whereas similar fast trains take a much shorter time to cover the same distance? Do Government propose to consider the advisability of instructing the railway administrations concerned that they must accelerate the speed of the train so as to cover the distance in not more than 45 hours at the utmost?

(h) Are Government prepared to take the earliest opportunity of changing the departure time from Madras to about 10 A.M. and arrival time there to about 5 P.M., and also the arrival time at Delhi to about 7 A.M.?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** (a) to (d). The Nizam's State Railway have now agreed to carry intermediate class passengers by the Grand Trunk Express, but as they have no intermediate class passenger coaches, steps are being taken to see whether such coaches can be provided by other railways for this service.

(e) From the 1st March, 1981, the south bound Grand Trunk Express is scheduled to leave Delhi at 8-35 p. m. and to arrive at Madras at 7-50 p. m. The north bound train is due to leave Madras at 7-50 a. m. and to reach Delhi at 9-25 a. m. Government are not aware that these timings are considered inconvenient.

(f) From the 1st of March the arrival and departure times at Madras have been altered so as to give a greater interval of time for through passengers between the Grand Trunk Express and the Ceylon Boat Mail trains. For south bound passengers the interval has been increased from 25 minutes to 1 hour and 10 minutes and for north bound passengers from 30 minutes to 1 hour and 5 minutes.

(g) and (h). The average through speed of the up and down Grand Trunk Express trains is 28 miles an hour, including halts. Government cannot take part in the preparation of time tables or in decisions as to the speeds at which certain trains should be run, but I will have a copy of the Honourable Member's question sent to the Agents of the railways concerned.

**Mr. O. S. Ranga Iyer:** Sir, in regard to the Honourable Member's reply to part (e), may I just put a supplementary question? The Honourable Member said that the departure time from Madras would be 7-50 a. m. Will the Government be pleased to consider the advisability of making the departure time 9-50 a. m. instead as it will be of great convenience to the travelling public, especially the Madras public coming from a long distance?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** I will bring the Honourable Member's suggestion to the notice of the Agents of the railways concerned. But the position with regard to this train is that though we desire to see the speed increased, so that the hours of departure from Madras and arrival at Delhi could be altered in the direction which the Honourable Member wishes, he must not expect that we can do it suddenly. Generally with these important trains, after we have cut off an hour or so we have to wait for, say, six months and see how the new timing works and whether the train runs to time, before we can start considering whether we can cut off another hour or so.

**Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar:** Will the Railway Board have an eye on that Grand Trunk Express, so as to make it more popular from time to time?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** We have had an eye, a very watchful eye, on this particular train and I think it is for that reason that some improvements have already been made.

#### BOAT HIRE GRANTED TO POSTMEN IN RIVERINE DISTRICTS.

1008. \***Mr. Goswami M. R. Puri** (on behalf of Mr. D. K. Lahiri Chaudhury): (a) Is it a fact that the boat-hire granted to postmen, runners and other staff for the delivery of articles in the rains in the riverine districts of Eastern Bengal is sanctioned at a rate without taking any note of the local prevailing rate?

(b) Is it a fact that the principle adopted by the Local Government in granting boat-hire to process-serving peons is not applied when granting the same to the postmen of the same locality?

(c) Will Government be pleased to place on the table a statement showing:

(i) the number of boats engaged, and

(ii) the number of rowers entertained in the Eastern Bengal districts?

(d) Is it a fact that the postmen are required to be recruited from a class of men who know English?

(e) Are Government aware that the water channels at many places in the riverine districts of Eastern Bengal are blocked by water hyacinth?

(f) Will Government be pleased to state the arrangements made for plying a boat where no rower is entertained for the boat?

**Mr. H. A. Sams:** (a), (b), (e) and (f). The Honourable Member's attention is invited to the reply given by the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs in his demi-official letter No. 248-Est.-A.29, dated the 5th May, 1930, to Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan's unstarred question No. 119 in this House on the 2nd September, 1929. A copy of the letter is in the Library of the House.

(c) Government have not the information and do not consider that the expenditure of time and labour involved in obtaining it from the local officers would be justified by the public interests to be served.

(d) So far as knowledge of English is concerned, postmen must be able to read and write numerals, while ability to read addresses written in that language on postal articles is considered a very useful though not an indispensable qualification.

#### REMOVAL OF GRIEVANCES.

1004. \***Mr. Goswami M. B. Puri** (on behalf of **Mr. D. K. Lahiri Chaudhury**): (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the article entitled "Monsoon charges—Justice?" appearing on pages 259-261 of the July, 1925, issue of the *Labour*?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state what action, if any, has been taken to remove the grievances outlined in the article?

(c) If the answer to part (b) above be in the negative, do Government contemplate taking any action in the direction to remove the grievances?

**Mr. H. A. Sams:** (a), (b) and (c). No copy of the *Labour* of July, 1925, or of any proceedings thereon is readily traceable at this distance of time, but the Honourable Member's attention is invited to the reply given to **Mr. M. Anwar-ul-Azim's** starred question No. 820 in this House on the 17th February, 1930, and to the demi-official letter No. 248-Est.-A./29, dated the 5th May, 1930, from the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs to Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan with reference to the latter Member's unstarred question No. 119 on the 2nd September, 1929. A copy of that letter is in the Library of the House.

**PROVISION OF QUARTERS FOR EMPLOYEES OF RURAL POST OFFICES.**

1005. \***Mr. Goswami M. R. Puri** (on behalf of **Mr. D. K. Lahiri Chaudhury**): (a) Will Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing:

- (i) the number of rural sub-post offices, and
- (ii) the names of places where clerks' quarters are provided in the Mymensingh District?

(b) Are Government aware that no house is available even on rent at other places, in the interior of the districts where no quarters are provided?

(c) Is it a fact that the postal employees, other than those employed as night-guards, are not allowed to sleep at night in the post office buildings in the Eastern Bengal Districts?

(d) Has the attention of Government been drawn to Resolution No. 65 passed at the Ninth Session of the Annual Conference of the All-India (including Burma) Postal and Railway Mail Service Union held at Peshawar on the 10th November, 1929, praying for house accommodation at mufussil stations?

(e) Will Government be pleased to state the action taken on the subject?

**Mr. J. A. Shillidy**: (a), (b) and (c). Information is being collected and will be furnished to the Honourable Member.

(d) and (e). I am unable to make any reply as the resolution cannot be traced.

**DISBURSING OF INCREMENTS OF PAY OF POSTAL RUNNERS.**

1006. \***Mr. Goswami M. R. Puri** (on behalf of **Mr. D. K. Lahiri Chaudhury**): (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the editorial note under the heading "Increase of pay to Runners" appearing at page 126 of the November, 1930, issue of the *Prachar*, the registered monthly magazine of the Mymensingh Postal and Railway Mail Service Union?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state the action taken to disburse the increment already due to the runners of Mymensingh District?

(c) Do Government contemplate issuing a general order for disbursing the increment in future to the runners as soon as it is due to them?

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

(b) and (c). Government have no information, nor do they propose to call for a report. A copy however of the question and of my reply is being sent to the Postmaster General, Bengal and Assam.

**PROMOTION OF POSTAL OFFICIALS IN THE DACCA RANGE POSTAL DIVISION.**

1007. \***Mr. Goswami M. R. Puri** (on behalf of **Mr. D. K. Lahiri Chaudhury**): (a) Will Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing:

- (i) the number of telegraph-knowing postal officials in the Dacca Range who have passed the lowest selection-grade examination held in December, 1929;

- (ii) the number from amongst such telegraph-knowing selection-grade passed officials who are not provided for in selection-grade appointments, either in permanent or temporary vacancies; and
- (iii) the number of vacancies, permanent and temporary, in the selection-grade under the Dacca Range?

(l) Is it a fact that in many cases, those who were acting in selection-grade appointments, but could not pass the examination held in December, 1929, were replaced by officials who passed the selection-grade examination immediately after the result of the examination was out?

**Mr. H. A. Sams:** (a) and (b). The information wanted by the Honourable Member has been called for and will be supplied to him when received.

#### AN OVERWORKED POSTAL SUB-RECORD CLERK IN MYMENSINGH.

1008. \***Mr. Goswami M. B. Puri** (on behalf of **Mr. D. K. Lahiri Chaudhury**): (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the article under heading "Mymensingh Sub-Record-Office", appearing at page 102 of the September, 1930, issue of the *Prachar*, a registered monthly magazine of the Mymensingh Postal and Railway Mail Service Union?

(b) Are Government aware that the work of the Sub-Record clerk, Mymensingh, has been admitted by the supervising officer to be too heavy to be managed by one man?

(c) Do Government contemplate giving the Sub-Record clerk any assistance in the near future?

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

(b) and (c). Government have no information. The question relates to a detail of administration within the competence of the Postmaster-General, Bengal and Assam Circle.

#### STRENGTH OF RAILWAY MAIL SERVICE SECTIONS.

1009. \***Mr. Goswami M. B. Puri** (on behalf of **Mr. D. K. Lahiri Chaudhuri**): (a) Will Government be pleased to state the data, if any, for determining the strength of the staff of a section in the R. M. S.?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state if the time spent on work by a sorter before the train actually leaves the railway station is taken into consideration in determining the strength?

(c) If the answer to part (l) above be in the affirmative, was such time taken into calculation in determining the question of the abolition of the third set in S-8 Section?

**Mr. H. A. Sams:** (a) The strength of the staff in Railway Mail Service sections is determined by the duration of the run and the amount of sorting work to be done in the time available.

(b) Yes, subject to certain restrictions.

(c) No, the third set was abolished, because the total weekly working hours of each set was only 24 hours 18 minutes 40 seconds per set against 30 hours, which is the prescribed minimum for a day-working section. Even if platform attendance had been taken into account, a third set would not have been justified.

**DISTRESS OF EXTRA-DEPARTMENTAL POSTAL AGENTS.**

1010. \***Mr. Goswami M. R. Puri** (on behalf of Mr. D. K. Lahiri Chaudhury): (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the editorial notes under heading "Extra-Departmental Agents" appearing at page 490 of the December, 1930, issue of the *Labour*?

(b) Do Government contemplate taking action to remove the distress of the extra-departmental agents by increasing their pay?

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

(b) The Honourable Member's attention is invited to part (j) of the reply given in this House to Mr. S. C. Mitra's starred question No. 162 on the 29th January, 1931.

**DISTRESS CAUSED TO POSTAL OFFICIALS BY COMMUNAL RIOTS IN THE KISHORGUNJ SUB-DIVISION.**

1011. **Mr. Goswami M. R. Puri** (on behalf of Mr. D. K. Lahiri Chaudhury): (a) Will Government be pleased to state the number of postal officials distressed by the last communal riots in the Kishorganj Sub-Division?

(b) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the correspondence published under the heading "Extra-Departmental Agents looted" appearing at pages 275—277 of July, 1930, issue of the *Labour*?

(c) Will Government be pleased to state the nature of help extended to them to avert starvation in their families?

**Mr. H. A. Sams:** (a) Six extra-Departmental agents.

(b) The Honourable Member presumably refers to the correspondence published on pages 276—278 of the August, 1930, issue of the *Labour* which Government have seen.

(c) No Departmental relief was given for the reasons indicated in the communications from the Postmaster-General, Bengal and Assam, included in the correspondence referred to in (b) above. The District Magistrate granted Rs. 15 and Rs. 30, respectively, to two of the extra-Departmental agents out of a relief fund raised by him.

**BAGGAGE COOLIES AT STATIONS ON THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.**

1012. \***Mr. Badri Lal Eastogi:** (a) Will Government please state whether the porters or coolies who attend trains for carrying passengers' luggage at the stations on the East Indian Railway are the employees of the Railway or are licensed by the Railway?

(b) Are Government aware that they do not wear their respective badges for identification? If so, why?



**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** The information asked for by the Honourable Member may be found on page 199 of the East Indian Railway Time Table dated March, 1931.

At principal stations porters for carrying passengers' luggage are licensed by the Railway and are not railway employees. If the Honourable Member is aware of specific instances where porters do not comply with the regulation as to the wearing of numbered badges it is suggested that the matter might be brought to the notice of the Administration through one of the members of the Local Railway Advisory Committee.

#### FEES DEMANDED BY LUGGAGE COOLIES AT EAST INDIAN RAILWAY STATIONS.

1013. **\*Mr. Badri Lal Rastogi:** (a) Are portage rates for carrying luggage fixed at each and every station on the East Indian Railway?

(b) If the answer is in the affirmative, why do porters demand exorbitant rates from the passengers instead of the usual rates prescribed by the Railway?

(c) Do Government propose to issue instructions to all the Station Masters to look into this for the convenience of the illiterate passengers?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** (a) All Railway Administrations were asked in 1929 to arrange, if this had not already been done, for vernacular notices being posted at all stations showing the charges which licensed coolies are entitled to make.

(b) and (c). Government are not aware that exorbitant demands are made by porters, and do not consider that action on their part is called for.

#### EATABLES SOLD TO PASSENGERS AT RAILWAY STATIONS.

1014. **\*Mr. Badri Lal Rastogi:** (a) Will Government please state whether the eatables which are sold to the passengers at railway stations are examined by the Station Masters or otherwise before being exposed for sale?

(b) If the answer to part (a) be in the negative, do Government propose to issue instructions to all Station Masters to see if the eatables are good and proper and fit to be sold?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** (a) Station Masters and supervising officials have instructions to see that eatables sold at railway stations are of good quality. Special catering inspectors are also provided for this purpose on some railways.

(b) Does not arise.

#### RESERVATION OF RAILWAY BERTHS AT INTERMEDIATE STATIONS.

1015. **\*Mr. Badri Lal Rastogi:** (a) Are Government aware of the fact that the berths for 1st and 2nd class passengers are not reserved at all at any intermediate station and this puts passengers to considerable inconvenience in case they have to perform a long journey?

(b) Are Government aware of the fact that the Station Masters flatly refuse to get the berths reserved at intermediate stations even when room is available and this causes a good deal of inconvenience to the passengers and a great loss to the railway itself?

(c) Do Government propose to ask the railway authorities to reserve the berths for 1st and 2nd class passengers at intermediate stations if accommodation is available?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** (a) and (b). The practice generally on railways is to reserve berths when possible for upper class passengers entraining at intermediate stations on sufficient notice being given, but reserved accommodation at intermediate stations is not guaranteed.

(c) Government do not propose to ask railway authorities to make any change in the present arrangements.

#### CONSTRUCTION OF A RAILWAY FROM NAWADAH TO BAKHTIARPORE.

1016. \***Mr. Badri Lal Rastogi:** (a) Was there any proposal of the East Indian Railway to open a new railway line from Nawadah to Bakhtiarpore via Rajgriha, Nalanda and Bihar?

(b) If the answer to part (a) is in the negative, do Government propose to construct a new railway line from Nawadah to Bukhtiarpore via Rajgriha and Bihar for the convenience of the pedestrians?

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

(b) A line of railway (the Bakhtiarpur-Bihar Light Railway) already exists between Bakhtiarpur and Rajgir Kund through Bihar. No proposal has been made by the Local Government for the extension of this line from Rajgir Kund to Nawadah, a distance of about 15 miles. Such an extension is not likely to be remunerative in view of the fact that a main metalled road exists between Bihar and Nawadah.

#### CUSTOMS DUTIES.

1017. \***Mr. Badri Lal Rastogi:** Will Government please lay on the table a statement showing how much duty has been imposed under the head Customs on each and every commodity of import and export?

**The Honourable Sir George Rainy:** The Honourable Member is referred to:

- (1) The publication issued by the Director General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics entitled "Indian Customs Tariff" copies of the latest issue of which have been placed in the Library;
- (2) The Gold Thread Industry (Protection) Act, 1931, and the Steel Industry (Protection) Act, 1931.
- (3) Notification No. 260-T. (127), dated the 30th December, 1930, increasing the duty on imported galvanized sheet.

**Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar:** May I ask the Honourable Member to issue instructions to the Director General of Commercial Intelligence to send all such publications to the Members of the Central Legislature?

**The Honourable Sir George Rainy:** I am afraid I cannot agree to anything so vaguely phrased as "all such publications". But if it is the particular publication referred to in my answer, I do not at present see any particular objection to that.

**Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar:** I was referring to all publications containing statistical information on all subjects affecting the Government of India.

**The Honourable Sir George Rainy:** I must have notice of that.

#### AVERAGE INCOME AND INCOME-TAX IN INDIA AND ENGLAND.

1018. **\*Mr. Badri Lal Rastogi:** (a) Will Government please state what is the average annual income and expenditure in India and England per head of the population?

(b) What is the total amount of tax which a man pays in India and England?

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** With reference to part (a) of the question it is not clear whether the Honourable Member requires to know what is the average national income and expenditure in the sense of the aggregate of private incomes and private expenditure, or whether he refers to the narrower sense of public revenue and public expenditure. Part (b) of the question is equally obscure. I assume however that the Honourable Member is anxious to get figures illustrating the burden of public expenditure and taxation as compared with the national income in the wider sense.

No country possesses accurate statistics of national income in this wider sense, but economists and statisticians often make estimates. Some interesting figures on this point are given in paragraph 236, Volume II, of the Indian Statutory Commission's Report. In that paragraph Sir Walter Layton estimates the national income in India at an average of 107 rupees per head, as compared with an average of £100 per head in England. He also points out that purposes of military and naval defence take about £2-10-0 per head in England compared with about 2s. 7d. per head in India and that the percentage of the national income taken for this purpose is 2½ per cent. in England against about 2 per cent. in India. In a recent article in the *Times of India* Mr. Findlay Shirras stated that the burden of taxation in India for 1929-30 represents 6 per cent. of the national income of which 2·8 per cent. was Central, 2·6 per cent. provincial and ·6 per cent. local. He compared this total of 6 per cent. for India with:

12·8 per cent. for Japan

18·8 per cent. for Australia

10·7 per cent. for the United States of America

19·2 per cent. for the United Kingdom

20·1 per cent. for Germany

20·9 per cent. for France

22·3 per cent. for Italy.

I must emphasise however that estimates of national income for a country like India must be regarded as difficult to verify with great exactness.

**Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar:** Are the difficulties such that the Government can surmount them or they cannot?

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** I am afraid that the difficulty of providing a really accurate statement of the national income in India is a difficulty which the Government cannot surmount. It must be obvious to my Honourable friend that to estimate the total national income that would be an aggregate of all private incomes of the people in a country like India must be very difficult.

**Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar:** May I ask what is the peculiarity about India?

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** India is a very large country and it is not supplied with a machinery of Government in every part of the country watching every branch of economic life and trade with the same elaboration that countries like England possess.

**Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar:** Do not Government consider that they should know the bearing capacity of the people before they can impose taxation?

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** I think it is very important and indeed essential that the Government should consider now the burden can be borne whenever they make proposals about taxation, and that is a point which Government always do consider.

**Mr. B. Das:** Did the Honourable Member invite the views of the different Chambers of Commerce as to how to take an economic survey about the income *per capita* in India?

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** I am afraid that the Chambers of Commerce will be unable to help very much in that respect. If my Honourable friend would take the trouble to look at Government publications in various countries on this subject, for example if he would examine what was involved in England when they attempted to take a census of production, I think he would realise how enormous the difficulties are in dealing with this particular question.

#### EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION IN INDIA AND IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

1019. **\*Mr. Badri Lal Rastogi:** Will Government please state how much is spent here in India and how much is spent in England, Germany, Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand annually on education?

**The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain:** A statement giving the information asked for, so far as it is available, is laid on the table.

## Statement.

Country.	Year.	Expenditure on Education.
1. British India . . . . .	1929	Rs. 27,07,32,253
2. England and Wales . . . . .	1928	£76,910,902 (a)
3. Germany—		
Wurttemberg . . . . .	1929	Marks 54,943,980
Other States . . . . .		No information.
4. Canada . . . . .	1927	Dollars 128,890,836*
5. Australia—		
New South Wales . . . . .	1928	£5,061,118†
Victoria . . . . .	1927	£3,254,575
Queensland . . . . .	1929	£1,784,359
South Australia . . . . .		No information.
Western Australia . . . . .	1929	£709,019
Tasmania . . . . .	1927	£18,500‡
6. South Africa . . . . .	1928	£7,570,490§
7. New Zealand . . . . .	1929	£3,886,358

(a) Expenditure from public funds only.

\* For State-controlled elementary and secondary schools, exclusive of technical schools in all provinces and including all primary schools in Quebec.

† Exclusive of technical education.

‡ Recurring expenditure on the University of Tasmania only. Figures for school education not available.

§ This figure excludes expenditure on higher education. The total value of the Bursaries held in 1928 at the Universities was £27,530.

N.B.—The information given in this statement is based on "Education in India in 1928-29", "Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom" for the fifteen years 1918 and 1915 to 1928 (Cmd. 3465), and the "Statesman's Year-book" for 1930.

Separate figures for England alone are not readily available.

#### AVERAGE LENGTH OF LIFE AND DEATH RATE IN INDIA AND OTHER COUNTRIES.

1020. \*Mr. Badri Lal Rastogi: Will Government please lay on the table, a statement showing the average life of men and infants and their death rate in India, England, America, Germany, Japan, Canada and Australia?

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Hussain: I presume that the Honourable Member desires information regarding the expectation of life in India as compared with that in other countries. I would refer him to Volume I, paragraphs 281-240 of the Report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India for 1927, a copy of which is available in the Library of the House.

**HINDU TITLE HOLDERS IN THE BIHAR SUB-DIVISION.**

1021. **\*Mr. Badri Lal Rastogi:** Will Government please state if the statement laid on the table in reply to my unstarred question No. 170 answered on the 9th February regarding Hindu title-holders in the Bihar Sub-Division, is correct? Will Government kindly get the statement verified? Are Government aware that the statement of the Bihar Sub-Division seems to be the reverse of what is the fact?

**Mr. J. G. Acheson:** The statement previously supplied has been changed and found to be inaccurate in respect of two sub-divisions, though the total already given is correct. A revised statement is now laid on the table.

*Statement showing the number of Hindu and Muhammadan title-holders in all the Sub-Divisions of the District of Patna in the Province of Bihar and Orissa asked for by Mr. Badri Lal Rastogi, vide Question No. 170.*

Sub-Division.	Title-holders.	
	Hindus.	Muhammadans.
Sadr Sub-division . . . . .	44	14
Patna City . . . . .	5	4
Dinapur . . . . .	5	4
Barh . . . . .	4	5
Bihar . . . . .	6	8
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>35</b>

*N.B.*—The figures in the statement include the Government officers holding titles and posted to a sub-division in the Patna District though they are not all residents of the district.

**ASSAULT OF A RAILWAY MAIL SERVICE SORTER AT PATNA STATION.**

1022. **\*Mr. S. O. Mitra:** (a) Are Government aware that in May, 1930, the head sorter of Patna Railway Mail Service was assaulted by the Superintendent, Patna Railway Mail Service, on the platform of the Patna Railway Station?

(b) If the answer to part (a) be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state what action they took in the matter?

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

(b) The Superintendent concerned was reduced both in pay and seniority and transferred out of the Circle.

## UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

### RURAL UPLIFT WORK IN INDIA.

308. **Bhagat Chandi Mal Gola:** (a) Will Government kindly state if they have received any communication from the Rural Development Federation, Sita Ram Bazar, Delhi, regarding the real problem of rural uplift in India? If so, what reply has been given to them?

(b) Will Government please state what action is being taken by the Government of India with regard to their application to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India, dated the 25th February, 1931, to help them in the materialisation of their projected plan of action for doing the real rural uplift work in India?

(c) Will Government be pleased to place on the table their suggestions and the line of action which they propose to take for rural uplift work?

**The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain:** Government have received a copy of the memorial addressed to His Excellency the Viceroy by the Rural Development Federation on the 25th February, 1931. It would obviously be premature to consider the question of according the Federation any recognition by Government until it has satisfied the Local Administration of its representative character, its status and its ability to carry out the ambitious programme outlined in its memorial.

The Honourable Member is no doubt aware that the promotion of rural uplift work is primarily the responsibility of Local Governments and Administrations. The action they have taken on the recommendations made by the Royal Commission on Agriculture on this subject has been stated in the Report on the progress made in giving effect to the Commission's recommendations generally, a copy of which is available in the Library of the House.

### GRADUATED INCOME-TAX FOR FARMERS INSTEAD OF LAND REVENUE.

309. **Bhagat Chandi Mal Gola:** Will Government please state whether they have considered the establishment of a system of graduated income-tax for farmers instead of land revenue?

**The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain:** No.

### GOVERNMENT PURCHASES THROUGH THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT FEDERATION.

310. **Bhagat Chandi Mal Gola:** Will Government please state whether they have considered the question of making Government purchases as much as possible through the Rural Development Federation to assist the co-operative buying and selling of agricultural products and the turn-out of the cottage industries?

**The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain:** The project for the establishment of the Rural Development Federation does not appear to have reached a stage at which it is possible for Government to consider the Honourable Member's suggestion.

**CHEAP AND EASY JUSTICE FOR AGRICULTURAL COMMUNITIES.**

311. **Bhagat Chandī Mal Gola:** Have Government considered any proposals to establish cheap and easy justice for the agricultural communities in India? If so, what steps do they intend to take?

**The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazi-i-Husain:** I regret that I am unable to understand what it is the Honourable Member desires. If he will place before me any concrete suggestions, I shall be glad to consider them.

**RURAL UPLIFT WORK IN INDIA.**

312. **Bhagat Chandī Mal Gola:** Is it a fact that it has been admitted by the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture that the responsibility for initiating the steps required to effect rural uplift work rests with Government? If so, will Government please state what action has been taken up to now by them for creating conditions favourable to improving village life in all directions?

**The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazi-i-Husain:** Yes. I would refer the Honourable Member to the reply I have given to his question No. 308.

**MASS EDUCATION OF AGRICULTURISTS.**

313. **Bhagat Chandī Mal Gola:** Have Government considered any proposals in regard to the mass education of our agriculturists? Are they aware that Mr. F. L. Brayne, M.C., I.C.S., of the Punjab Government, Lt.-Col. Janet Keir, Delhi Cantonment, Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore of Bengal, the Servants of India Society and a few other philanthropic gentlemen, both European and Indian, have been trying to do all that they could in a primary stage? What monetary help can Government give to the Rural Development Federation in this direction?

**The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazi-i-Husain:** If the Honourable Member will refer to Chapter IV of the Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission and to Chapter VI of the Ninth Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in India, 1922—27 he will see that Local Governments and Administrations are doing their best to promote the expansion of education among the masses, including agriculturists and other rural people. Recently, in 1929, a Committee was appointed by the Government of India to investigate, *inter alia*, the problems of primary education in the areas of Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara and the North-West Frontier Province, and its Report containing recommendations on this as well as other points which were referred to it for consideration are now receiving the attention of Government.

As regards the grant by Government of monetary help to the Rural Development Federation, I would refer the Honourable Member to my reply to his question No. 308.

**APPOINTMENT OF ACCOUNTANT IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, ALIGARH.**

314. **Mr. S. O. Mitra:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that in the Government of India Press, Aligarh, a junior clerk drawing Rs. 53 in the 50—3—80 grade with only a few years' service



has recently been appointed to officiate as accountant on Rs. 100 per mensem in the 100—5—140 grade in supersession of long service clerks drawing Rs. 100, Rs. 88, Rs. 84 and Rs. 75 per mensem in the 80—4—120, 80—4—100, 70—3—100 and 50—3—80 scales, respectively? If so, why were the claims of senior men ignored?

(b) Is it a fact that the said junior clerk has not even passed the Matriculation examination and does not possess any qualifications in accountancy, computing or cost accounting?

(c) Was the existence of senior clerks disclosed by the Manager in submitting proposals for filling the post of accountant?

(d) Is it a fact that the said junior clerk, in making the Manager to agree to his own appointment as accountant, excluded from the seniority list the names of the clerks at present working in the Forms Section? If so, why were not the senior men working in the Forms Section considered by the Manager?

(e) Is it a fact that the late accountant was made to retire? Was his record of service good and was he well spoken of by all the previous Managers?

(f) Is it a fact that the said junior clerk got his brother appointed as Foreman Printer in supersession of technical men?

(g) If any supersessions have taken place in the arrangements for the post of accountant in the Aligarh Press, do Government intend to issue instructions to the Controller of Printing and Stationery that the case of clerks seniormost in pay and service should be considered in the post of accountant in preference to the present junior clerk?

**Mr. J. A. Shillidy:** I propose to deal with question Nos. 314 and 316 together. The Controller of Printing and Stationery is responsible to Government generally for the efficient administration of the Government of India Presses and Government do not propose to call for information regarding these administrative details which are matters for his discretion.

#### DISPOSAL OF WASTE PAPER FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, ALIGARH.

**315. Mr. S. C. Mitra:** (a) Is it a fact that the Manager, Aligarh Press, entered into a contract with a contractor for the disposal of all classes of waste paper for the year 1930-31?

(b) If so, is it a fact that the late accountant while officiating as Head Clerk in the month of November or December last, brought to the notice of the then Assistant Manager that the contractor was picking up the best broad big sheets of paper leaving aside the small shavings and other useless waste paper, whereas according to the terms of contract he should remove all sorts of papers including the worst, but the Assistant Manager on his own authority allowed the contractor to take away such as he liked?

(c) Is it also a fact that the said accountant in the interests of Government brought this matter to the notice of the then Manager in writing and also reported against the ill-treatment he was subjected to by the then Assistant Manager for reporting the matter to the Manager?

(d) Is it a fact that the then Manager took no action and left the matter to his successor, who recorded several statements from various people on the subject?

(c) Is it also a fact that the said contractor, after picking out the best quality of paper, refused to take the remaining waste paper as arranged by him with the Assistant Manager against the terms of contract? If so, what action did the Manager take against the Assistant Manager and the contractor and what was the loss entailed to Government by the transaction?

**Mr. J. A. Shillidy:** Enquiries are being made.

#### APPOINTMENT OF FOREMAN PRINTER IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, ALIGARH.

†316. **Mr. S. C. Mitra:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that a clerk having no technical qualifications has been appointed as a Foreman Printer in the Aligarh Press? If so, what qualifications does he possess as a printer?

(b) Is it a fact that the said Foreman Printer is the brother of the junior clerk recently appointed as officiating accountant? Is it a fact that several technical men and the Composing Room Foreman applied for the post of the Machine Room Foreman but their claims were ignored and a junior clerk appointed to the post?

(c) Are Government aware that there is a great discontent in the Press on this account amongst the industrial staff of the Press? If so, do Government propose to appoint a technical man as a Machine Foreman in the Aligarh Press?

#### APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS IN THE INDIAN RAILWAY ACCOUNTS SERVICE.

317. **Mr. S. C. Mitra:** (a) Will Government please state who is the authority who makes the appointments or promotions to the selection and administrative grades in the Indian Railway Accounts Service?

(b) Are these appointments or promotions approved by the Honourable Member for Finance or His Excellency the Viceroy, if necessary? If not, will Government please state whether similar appointments in the sister service, namely, the Indian Audit and Accounts Service, are made by the Honourable Member for Finance and, if necessary, by His Excellency the Viceroy? If so, why is this distinction made?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** (a) The Financial Commissioner of Railways, in accordance with the Resolution passed by the Legislative Assembly on the 15th September, 1925, which laid down that the accounting staff should be under his orders for the purpose of appointments, promotions, transfers, etc.

(b) The question whether promotions to certain selection posts in the Railway Accounts Service should, as in the case of other Railway Services, be referred to the Honourable the Railway Member is under consideration.

#### ADMINISTRATIVE APPOINTMENTS IN THE RAILWAY ACCOUNTS DEPARTMENT.

318. **Mr. S. C. Mitra:** (a) Are Government aware that in the Railway Accounts Department, as at present administered, an impression has been created in the minds of the officers of that Department that in the

†For answer to this question, see answer to question No. 314.

matter of selection to special or administrative posts preference is given to social and other qualifications regardless of merits, seniority, and experience?

(b) If so, will Government please state what steps they propose to take to remove any such impression?

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

(b) Does not arise.

#### ACCOUNTANTS APPOINTED BY THE RAILWAY BOARD.

319. **Mr. S. O. Mitra:** (a) Is it not a fact that just after the separation of Railway Accounts from Audit a few accountants were recruited direct?

(b) If so, what is the number of such direct recruits, and what are their special qualifications which made the Railway Board take them direct?

(c) Is it not a fact that, according to the Code rulings, accountants are not recruited direct in the sister service, i.e., Audit Offices before passing the prescribed departmental examination?

(d) Is it not a fact that these direct recruits worked out the separation scheme successfully during the transitory period, when the then Accountant General for Railways could not spare his trained accountants?

(e) Is it not a fact that these new recruits had no substantive appointments elsewhere?

(f) Is it not a fact that, when these men were appointed, there was no condition whatsoever that they would be required to pass any examination for promotion to the officers' grade and that they were given assurances from time to time that they would be promoted whenever vacancies in the officers' grade would occur?

(g) Is it not a fact that a large number of men have now been brought in from the Audit side as well as from Company-managed railways and other departments to fill in the vacancies in the officer grade ignoring the claims of the direct recruits?

(h) Will Government please state whether they are prepared to promote these few remaining direct recruits, who had no idea that they would be asked to pass the Appendix D examination to the officers' grade without any further examination like Messrs. Cunningham, Deo Dutt, deVarine, etc.?

**Mr. A. A. L. Parsons:** (a) to (h). I am unable to understand several parts of the Honourable Member's question, but I assume from its general trend that his question relates to the period of the experimental separation of Accounts from Audit on the East Indian Railway. If so, I would observe that when it was decided experimentally to separate Audit from Accounts on that Railway, certain Accountants were recruited direct in connection with the experiment.

The number of such accountants was 25; and all of them were recruited either with reference to their general academic qualifications or with reference to their previous experience and suitability for the work. When the scheme of separation of Audit from Accounts was adopted finally in April, 1929, it was decided that, while those appointed in future would

have to pass a Departmental examination before being appointed accountants, the temporary accountants engaged during the experimental stage of the separation of Audit from Accounts should be eligible for permanent appointment in the actual grades in which they were working without having to pass any departmental examination, if their work was satisfactory. Most of these were young men; and there was no reason why they should be promoted to higher ranks without showing their worth by passing the necessary qualifying examination. The only exception made in this respect was in regard to the staff taken over from the old East Indian Railway Company, and even in their case only in regard to those who were 40 years of age on 1st April, 1929, and were thus too old to sit for a written examination. Government see no reason to reconsider the orders passed. No assurance was given to these temporary accountants, as the question assumes, that they would be promoted to Officer's grades without having to pass any Departmental Examination.

**PROMOTION TO GRADE OF ASSISTANT ACCOUNTS OFFICER ON RAILWAYS.**

320, **Mr. S. C. Mitra:** (a) Is it not a fact that, according to para. (8) (e) of Annexure D., page 89 of the Memorandum by the Financial Commissioner of Railways on the proposal to adopt as a permanent measure, the system of separation of Accounts from Audit on Indian railways,—promotion to the grade of Assistant Accounts Officers would be made by the Financial Commissioner of Railways by strict selection?

(b) Is it not a fact that, according to para. 9 of the Railway Board's Memorandum No. 5565-F. of the 31st July, 1929, such persons who were in service between certain dates would be eligible for confirmation in the actual rank or grade which they held on the 1st April, 1929, without passing any departmental examination, but that no such employee would be eligible for promotion to any higher grade or appointment until he had passed the examination prescribed for promotion to such rank or grade?

(c) Is it not a fact that these rules were made three or four years after these men were appointed?

(d) Is it a fact that, from such direct recruits, Messrs. Cunningham, Dev Dutt and deVarine have been promoted to the officer's grade just before the 1st April 1929? If so, why?

(e) Is it a fact that, according to the above Memorandum, Appendix D, an examination has been prescribed for clerks to pass, in order to qualify them for promotion to the rank of Accountant Grade II, Inspector of Station Accounts Grade II and Inspector of Stores Accounts Grade II?

(f) Is it a fact that those direct recruits have been informed after five or six years that they will not be promoted to the officers' grade or the accountant's Grade I, until they pass Appendix D examination which is purely meant for clerks for promotion to accountants' grade?

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

(d) Mr. Cunningham was selected to officiate as an Assistant Accounts Officer some time before 1st April, 1929. The selection was made with reference to his qualifications. Mr. deVarine was not promoted as an officer in the Accounts Department. Mr. Dev Dutta was appointed Cash and Pay Officer in the Railway Clearing Accounts Office on 1st April, 1929; a post which is really a subordinate post though given gazetted rank. He is not now in the Accounts Department.

(e) Yes.

(f) A warning was given in 1926 to all the staff concerned that they would have to pass the necessary departmental examinations.

**ABSENCE OF STREET LIGHTS IN THE LOCALITY OF NEW QUARTERS AT BARAKHAMBA ROAD.**

**321. Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah:** (a) Will Government please state whether it is a fact that:

- (i) some un-orthodox quarters of the "D" type were constructed by the Central Public Works Department at Barakhamba Road in 1930;
- (ii) these quarters have been occupied by Government servants since May 1930;
- (iii) no arrangements for road lighting has been made so far, even though the quarters began to be occupied about nine months ago;
- (iv) the residents of these quarters experience a lot of inconvenience in going out and coming back at night; and
- (v) in spite of a representation made by the residents to the authorities concerned, no action has been taken in the matter so far?

(b) If the answer to the above be in the affirmative, will Government please state whether they propose to provide street lights in this locality as early as possible? If so, when?

(c) Is it a fact that in all other localities in New Delhi arrangements for lighting are made simultaneously with the completion of residences?

(d) If so, why are these quarters given an exceptional treatment, and what is the explanation of the authorities concerned for this unusual delay in providing street lights there?

**Mr. J. A. Shillidy:** (a) (i), (ii) and (iii). The reply is in the affirmative.

(iv) This is quite possibly the case.

(v) No.

(b), (c) and (d). I am glad to be able to inform the Honourable Member that an estimate for providing road lighting in the area has been prepared and it is hoped to put the work in hand shortly.

SHORT NOTICE QUESTION AND ANSWER.

RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

**Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether any *satyagrahis* convicted under sections 147, 358 and 447 of the Indian Penal Code and 107 of the Criminal Procedure Code, involving technical violence, have not been released? If so, why?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state if it is also a fact that several persons undergoing trial on charge of sedition under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code have not been released?

(c) Do Government propose to instruct the Provincial Governments to expedite the release of the said prisoners mentioned in (a) and (b)?

**The Honourable Sir James Orerar:** (a), (b) and (c). I have not as yet complete and definite figures showing, respectively, the number of persons who have been released and have not been released, but I am satisfied that Local Governments were taking, and are taking, prompt action. I wish, however, to take this opportunity of explaining that the question whether an offence involved violence other than technical violence, or incitement to violence other than technical violence is a question to be determined by the actual facts of each case and not with reference to the particular provisions of the law under which a person was convicted or is being tried. The object of including the word "technical" in the relevant provisions of the settlement was to give the benefit of the amnesty in cases where, although violence had been used or incitement to violence had been given, the violence was not of such a character as to preclude a view being taken favourable to the person convicted, or the under-trial prisoner. The Honourable Member will no doubt realise that it is not practicable to lay down a hard and fast rule and that discretion must be left to Local Governments, but I can assure him that Local Governments have applied and will apply these provisions in a liberal spirit.

**Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** Are Government aware that many Congress prisoners in the province of Bihar and Orissa have not yet been released and that this is causing a great deal of dissatisfaction in the public mind?

**The Honourable Sir James Orerar:** As I have explained I have not yet got detailed figures; but I will go into the matter when the figures come before me.

**Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** Have not Government noticed the letter of the Congress Secretary who says that the detenus in Bengal have not been released and that the Bengal Government have not released as yet all those who were convicted and who can be released under the terms of the general amnesty?

**The Honourable Sir James Orerar:** I must refer the Honourable Member to the terms of the settlement which does not apply to detenus under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act.

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

**Mr. President:** I have to inform the House that Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad and Raja Bahadur G. Krishnamachariar have been elected to sit on the Governing Body of the Indian Research Fund Association.

## ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO THE STANDING COMMITTEE FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

**The Honourable Sir George Rainy** (Member for Commerce and Railway): Sir, I move:

"That this Assembly do proceed to elect, in such manner as the Honourable the President may direct, three non-official Members to serve on the Standing Committee to advise on subjects in the Department of Commerce."

The motion was adopted.

**Mr. President:** I may inform Honourable Members that for the purpose of election of Members to the Standing Committee for the Department of Commerce, the Assembly office will be open to receive nominations up to 12 Noon on Thursday, the 19th March, while the election, if necessary, will take place in this Chamber on Saturday, the 21st March, if there is a meeting of the House on that day, otherwise on Monday, the 23rd March, 1931. The election will be conducted in accordance with the principle of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote.

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### THE INDIAN FINANCE BILL—*contd.*

**Sardar Sant Singh** (West Punjab: Sikh): Sir, I was submitting before this House the case of Sardar Tota Singh of the North West Frontier Province, when the House adjourned yesterday. At the same time I was submitting the case of several persons who have not been released in accordance with the settlement arrived at between the Congress and Lord Irwin. Now, when I left this House and went home I received further reinforcement of my argument in the shape of a letter from Sialkot district, a district within my constituency, repeating the same complaint about the non-release of political prisoners. I would like to read a portion of the letter addressed to me. It reads:

"I will request you to put a short notice question in the Assembly so that the doings of the Punjab authorities may come to the notice of the Government. It has been learned that the local authorities are finding excuses to detain them in prison."

This is the expression used by a gentleman of position, an advocate of the Lahore High Court, practising in the Sialkot district. This case refers to a gentleman, Pandit Khazan Chand who was asked to furnish security under section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code for presiding over a meeting where seditious speeches were delivered. There is no direct charge against him of delivering a speech, but for abetting the delivering of seditious speeches he was called upon to furnish security, and since 31st July, 1930, he has been suffering imprisonment. Sir, it is not only the private individuals alone who make such complaints in regard to this matter. This morning's paper has brought the news that a responsible body like the Bar Association of the Lahore High Court has passed the following Resolutions in respect of this matter. They read thus:

"That this meeting of the High Court Bar Association is of opinion that the Local Governments of the Punjab and Delhi are unnecessarily causing delay in releasing the prisoners whose convictions come within the provisions of the recent settlement announced by the Government of India.

That this House is further of opinion that the proposed examination into the judgments and records of the cases of such prisoners by the police and subordinate magistracy is wholly unnecessary and contrary to the letter and spirit of the agreement and is merely to delay the release of the prisoners.

That this House is also of the opinion that immediate release should be ordered of such Satyagrahi prisoners who have been convicted or are being tried under sections involving violence merely on the ground that their conduct amounted to technical violence or were apparently not of a political nature.

That the House is also of the opinion that the delay in releasing these prisoners is robbing the amnesty of its grace and it urges on His Excellency the Governor General to order the immediate release of all such prisoners."

Now, this is the state of affairs in the Punjab, and from the questions which were put this morning by one Honourable gentleman, it is clear that this complaint is not confined to Punjab alone but to other provinces as well. My submission is this. Here is a curious situation that has arisen in the country. The Government of the country no doubt claim, and probably justly claim, the credit for organising a system of administration which they hold is working properly and efficiently from Peshawar to Cape Comorin and they further claim that this system acts automatically when the Central Government asks the Provincial Governments to move in a matter. As against the Government organisation, there is also the Congress organisation which has been working in the country for the last many years. During the last ten years or so since the Rowlatt Act agitation began to hold the field in India, the charge brought against the political leaders of this country has been that they are rousing passions in the mob, which once roused they would never be able to suppress. This is indeed a great charge made against the political leaders of this country. In this connection I can cite my own experience of what happened a few years ago. When I was convening a public meeting to protest against the Rowlatt Act agitation in Lyallpur, the then Deputy Commissioner of the District, who is now His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab, sent for me and told me in so many words that I was rousing passions which I would never be able to control later on. This is the same charge which has ever been levelled against all Congress leaders of this country. But, Sir, what do we find? As everybody knows, the political leaders had roused public opinion against the present system of administration, and the feelings were roused to such great depths that a civil disobedience movement was put into operation, but the same Congress leaders—may it be said to their lasting credit, may it be said to the perpetual glory of Gandhiji—have gone and raised their voice under the direction of Mahatma Gandhi and told the people to stop the movement, with the result that we find very little trace of the civil disobedience movement left in the country. On one side there is an organised Government, a Government whose word should have been respected by the local authorities, but we find that its orders have been respected more in their breach. In comparison with this is the phenomenon of the hold which the leaders have acquired over the masses. The discipline is so great that, as soon as the order for stoppage of civil disobedience goes out, practically the whole movement stops in one minute. May I ask if the Government of India are being demoralised slowly and steadily, if they are willing to confess that their hold on the Provincial Governments has become so loose that they cannot control the provincial magnates in their policy? The Honourable the Home Member, in reply to the question put to him this morning, said that the Provincial Governments would consider the question of release in a liberal



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spirit. I hope he will have the strength to write to the Local Governments asking them to obey the orders implicitly without delay.

Having said so much about the question of the release of prisoners, I now come to another point. There are several prisoners who are still rotting in jails and who have practically finished their term of imprisonment, and on one pretext or the other they are being detained. In this connection I would refer to the cases of certain conspiracy prisoners in the Punjab. I have again to make a complaint about the Punjab Government regarding the manner in which they are treating the political prisoners in that province. In 1914-15 when the war was on and the Defence of India Act was enacted, a certain tribunal was set up under that Act, and that tribunal tried several batches of prisoners. The first batch, which is known as the Lahore conspiracy case prisoners batch, was sentenced on the 18th September, 1915 and out of the 10 accused in that case—one of them is just sitting close to me, I mean Bhai Parmanand, who is a Member of this august Assembly—some were sentenced to death but their sentences were later on commuted to transportation for life. Some of them are still suffering imprisonment. The second batch was sentenced on the 31st March, 1916, in the second Lahore conspiracy case. There were six prisoners in that batch. Then there was a third Lahore conspiracy case in the same year, and two persons were sentenced. Then the fourth batch of this case was tried in Burma, and it was known as the Burma conspiracy case of 1915. Most of these prisoners are Sikhs, some of them are Hindus and one is a Muhammadan. Now, all these prisoners have been undergoing imprisonment since 1915. According to ordinary calculation, they have suffered imprisonment for 16 years, but if the exemptions granted to them by the Government in some cases by the order of the Government of India are taken into consideration, they have undergone more than 20 years imprisonment by this time. I have been unable to get at the records of the individual cases of these prisoners, with the exception of one Pandit Jagat Ram, and for the information of this House I will lay his case before the Honourable Members. Pandit Jagat Ram was convicted in the first Lahore conspiracy case. He was sentenced to death originally, but later on, His Excellency the Governor General in Council commuted his sentence to one of transportation for life. He was sent first to the penal settlement in the Andamans and was kept confined in the cellular jail at Port Blair from the 10th December 1915 to the 29th August 1921, a period of five years eight months and thirteen days. He was granted two years and one month special remission under the sanction of the Government of India. Up to 18th January 1931, the prisoner has undergone nineteen years eight months and four days imprisonment, including the remissions earned in the jail as well as those granted by the Government of India. After the abolition of the penal settlement at the Andamans, most of the prisoners were repatriated, especially all those who were sentenced in the first Lahore conspiracy case. On his return, Pandit Jagat Ram was kept in different jails in the Madras Presidency and the Central Provinces. All the Provincial Governments adopted a definite attitude towards the Andaman returned prisoners. They adopted what is called the two-thirds system of remission, which means that two years of hard labour in the Indian jails is equal to three years in the Andaman's settlement. It is well known that a life prisoner has to pass fourteen years in the Indian jails and twenty years in the Andaman's settlement. Under no section of the Indian Penal Code can any accused be sentenced to a

period of rigorous imprisonment of over fourteen years. And a sentence of transportation does not mean rigorous imprisonment for twenty or twenty-five years. Its implication is that the prisoner shall be transported, unless he be physically unfit, to the penal settlement in the Andamans and live there in the settlement where he can breathe freely, move freely and associate freely in the various small convict colonies and can be a self-supporter earning his own living by any trade for which he may obtain a permit from the local authorities, and where he can live a family life and take part in celebrating many religious rites and festivals. Life thus being made easier in the settlement and not being very hard as in the Indian jails, it is laid down that a prisoner undergoing a life sentence in the penal settlement shall pass a period of twenty years, or in some cases of heinous crimes such as dacoity with murder, or burning the inmates of a house by setting fire to it, a period of twenty-five years. Pandit Jagat Ram underwent five years eight months and thirteen days rigorous imprisonment in the cellular jail at Port Blair, and not as a part of his sentence of transportation to the settlement which he was supposed to undergo. Therefore, for all practical purposes, it ought to have been taken as rigorous imprisonment and remission under the usual jail remission system should have been given to him. But it was not done.

In February, 1926, the case of Pandit Jagat Ram was submitted to the Punjab Government from the Jubbulpore Central Jail by Lieutenant Colonel F. A. Barker, M.A., M.D., I.M.S., then Inspector General of Prisons in the Central Provinces, with a special recommendation for his release. The Government in reply said that his case should be referred to Government after he completed fourteen years. In September of the same year he completed the prescribed period, and the case was duly submitted to the Punjab Government with the best remarks of the Jail Superintendent through the Central Provinces Government. The Punjab Government replied that under the two-third system laid down by Government one-third of the period passed by the prisoner in the cellular jail at Port Blair should be cut down for the purpose of counting his period of fourteen years, and that, therefore, the prisoner shall be eligible for release after he had done one year ten months and twenty-four days of hard labour in jail. Though such a consideration of the period of five years eight months and thirteen days which he passed in the cellular jail at Port Blair was uncalled for and illegal, for the prisoner was not allowed to go in the settlement, yet the Government persisted in this view. This period in the Andamans amounted to rigorous imprisonment in an Indian jail, less the privilege of quarterly interviews with the relatives and quarterly letters allowed to the worse criminal offenders in the Indian jails. But the prisoner in question silently bore it and let this further period of one year ten months and twenty-four days pass, till his case was resubmitted with the best recommendation for release by the Jail Superintendent at Jubbulpore. It was in January 1928. This time the Government ordered his transfer to the Punjab jails. He was brought to the District Jail, Ferozepore, in May, 1928, where he learnt that a letter was received by the Superintendent of the Jail from the Government to the effect that his case should be resubmitted for orders of the Government when he completed a further period of one year in the Punjab jails beginning from the day he arrived there. Even that year went by, and the case was resubmitted with the best remarks both by the Jail Superintendent and the Inspector General of Prisons who made an express recommendation for his release. But the Government was only pleased to reply

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that his case should be resubmitted after he completed twenty years imprisonment. Sir, the first condition of release was that he must complete fourteen years, then another year was added, when that too was over, again another year's condition was laid down. When all this period was over, the condition was still raised into completing twenty years imprisonment. Now, this gentleman has undergone imprisonment over the legal limit. May I ask why the same treatment is not meted out to these prisoners as is meted out to ordinary criminals? May I ask why this exceptional treatment, why this persecution, why this vindictiveness against these persons? They were convicted by a tribunal from whose orders there was no appeal and whose decisions were final. They do not claim any mercy; they only want their due. They have suffered for whatever they did; they have undergone punishment; and why should they not be released now? My submission is that somehow the administration is not fairly treating those prisoners who have had the misfortune of committing some offence, for which they have paid the penalty.

This brings me, Sir, to another subject relating to the civil disobedience movement, and that subject is particularly one in which my community is interested. I mean the happenings on the 6th May, 1960, in Delhi. On that day there were certain disturbances in the Delhi town, and in the course of those disturbances it is alleged that the police fired on the sacred shrine of Sri Guru Sis-Ganj Gurdwara, Chandni Chowk, Delhi. This Gurdwara is sacred to the memory of our Ninth Guru, Guru Tegh Bahadur. It is situated just close to the police station, Chandni Chowk, and it is alleged that on the 6th May, 1960, some brickbats were thrown from the Gurdwara and the police had to resort to firing on the Gurdwara. Now this allegation of the police has been questioned and a very modest request has been made to the Government that a non-official inquiry should be conducted and the allegations should be examined by an impartial tribunal. This too has been ignored. Though the Government have not considered the desirability of examining this question, yet several impartial bodies have examined the evidence and have come to some conclusions which I will crave the indulgence of the House to permit me to read. First of all I will refer to the communiqué issued by the Honourable the Chief Commissioner of Delhi regarding the firing at the Gurdwara. After giving the full history as to how the disturbance took place, the communiqué proceeds to state:

"Immediately after the rescue the Gurdwara was entered and searched by the Sikh and the Hindu police in co-operation with the Gurdwara authorities. The Granth and the Guru Granth Sahib were left completely undisturbed and inviolate. All the Sikhs found in the Gurdwara who pleaded innocence were given the benefit of the doubt and were released. Only Hindu suspects found therein were retained in custody. No firing whatsoever took place inside the Gurdwara at any time, nor was any shot fired in the direction of the Gurdwara building beyond what was necessary to check the storm of missiles."

This is the conclusion reached by the official version and Honourable Members will find that the language used in the communiqué is very interesting. It says:

"No firing whatsoever took place inside the Gurdwara at any time,"

To an ordinary reader it would appear that there was no firing at all. An attempt is made to conceal the firing in the next sentence which reads,

"Nor was any shot fired in the direction of the Gurdwara building beyond what was necessary to check the storm of missiles".

Now, I will later on show from the report of the non-official Committee which was appointed to make inquiries into this affair that this portion of the communiqué is absolutely wrong. First of all I will deal with the inquiry conducted by a committee which was known as the Sis-ganj Gurdwara Committee and which consisted of one Christian, one Muhammadan, one Hindu and two Sikhs. Their names are Mr. K. L. Rallia Ram, a Christian gentleman who was Chairman of the Committee, Sirdar Gulab Singh, who was a member of the Legislative Assembly, Lala Ruchi Ram Sahni and Sardar Buta Singh, B.A., LL.B., M.L.C. These gentlemen conducted an inquiry and they came to these conclusions. In their report in para. 10 they say :

"It has been very difficult for us to find out whether any brickbats came from the Gurdwara; and if they did come, in what quantity. We have had no evidence whatsoever supporting the view that brickbats were thrown from the Gurdwara, although each and every witness on the first two days was specifically asked about it by one of our members, Sardar Buta Singh, M.L.C. On the other hand in our interview at the Chief Commissioner's house, we came to know from the Senior Superintendent of Police that brickbats came from the Gurdwara side in 'tons and clouds'. The City Magistrate also seemed to corroborate so far as the factum of the brickbats coming from the Gurdwara side is concerned. It is difficult for us in the first place to disbelieve an officer of such a high standing and experience as the Senior Superintendent of Police; yet on the other hand, we cannot swallow the statement easily, particularly, as we did not notice a single leaf or flower or blade of grass to have been injured in the flower garden in front of the Kotwali where the policemen are said to have received the 'tons of brickbats'. Now, this place is just below the two roofs from which alone the brickbats could have come from the Gurdwara. Our own view is that either the brickbats came in such a large number from the fountain side that it was difficult for the police to know the direction. If they came in 'tons and clouds' then they must have darkened the atmosphere a little and made it difficult for them to judge rightly."

This is about the brickbat affair. Then about the firing they say :

"Before we take up the question of firing on its own merits we should like to give what we consider to be a more or less correct idea of the amount of firing and its duration. So far as our inquiries went, we were shown 686 marks of buckshots and bullets on the walls and columns and other places of the Gurdwara. Besides according to the evidence before us, 36 persons had received injuries in the Gurdwara. Some of the used up bullets and shots had been collected by the Police according to the evidence and some are still kept in the Gurdwara in a small bucket which too had been pierced by a bullet.

In our opinion, judging from the marks and the number of people firing, the least figure we can arrive at, is that somewhere between 125 and 150 shots were fired in the direction of the Gurdwara in addition to the bullets which came from two revolvers. In making this statement we must say that we have been anxious to take as safe and lenient a view of the matter as possible and to give every consideration to the parties concerned."

Then about the firing, the Committee say :

"Now, considering the duration, the number of marks on the walls and the way the police fired into the Gurdwara, we have no hesitation in saying that the firing was indiscriminate, vindictive and excessive."

This is the verdict of an impartial committee. Not only this, another inquiry was held by the Municipal Committee of Delhi which appointed a sub-committee to receive and consider all the available evidence regarding these allegations about the incidents that occurred on the 6th May 1930 and make its report within ten days. The gentlemen who formed the Committee were Khan Bahadur Abdul Rahman, Chairman, Lala Lachman Das, Lala Ram Pershad, Lala Shri Ram and Hafiz Abdul Aziz and Lala Harischunder. Now you will find that there was not a single

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12 Noon. Sikh in this committee. They were all either Muhammadans or Hindus. I am reading from only that portion of the report of their inquiry which bears on the Gurdwara. Now discussing the official report submitted by Magistrate who was appointed to carry on the investigation under section 176 of the Criminal Procedure Code, they say :

"Now that the Magistrate's findings are published, one cannot help remarking that, as anticipated, they are meant to whitewash the action of the police on a chapter of events which, to say the least, was extremely unfortunate."

About the Gurdwara they say :

"We note that it is alleged by the authorities that brickbats were thrown from the Gurdwara.

The evidence before us on this point is absolutely against it. But even if we take it granted that there were some brickbats thrown from the Gurdwara side, we cannot find any justification for firing on the Gurdwara for about half an hour. Some of us have gone to the Gurdwara, where we have been shown the bullet and shot marks on the walls of the building and they amply corroborate the evidence produced before us. We cannot help finding that neither the firing on the crowd nor the firing at and inside the Gurdwara was in the least justifiable."

Now this is the finding of an independent Enquiry Committee on which not a single Sikh sat. There are also the findings of the Congress Committee, and the report of the Bar Association, Delhi. On this point, Sir, our grievance is—and Honourable Members will agree with me that this is a just grievance—that no attempt has been made to meet the very modest and very reasonable demand of the Sikhs that a non-official inquiry should be conducted into the affair of the firing, and if there was any fault of any police officer in respect of this firing, he should be brought to book. But, Sir, an absolutely deaf ear has been given to us in this matter, and this has aroused great resentment in my community. I hope that even now the Honourable Members on the Treasury Benches will concede this modest request of the Sikhs that an independent inquiry, though it is one year old, may even now be conducted into this question.

Last of all, Sir, I want to say a few words about the position of the Sikhs in the Punjab in the coming constitution of India. I crave the indulgence of this House in this matter because unfortunately during the debate on the Round Table Conference, though every interest had a spokesman who spoke, yet none of the Sikh Members of the Assembly was fortunate to catch the eye of the President on that occasion. So I have to place my case before you today, which is probably the last opportunity which I will get in this Session.

**Mr. B. Das** (Orissa Division: Non-Muhammadan): You will get many opportunities.

**Sardar Sant Singh**: Yes, after the Session. On this point, Sir, I want to explain the position of the Sikhs in the future constitution of India. The fact has been recognized in all responsible quarters that the rights of the minorities require to be safeguarded for some time. I know that communalism in any shape or form can never be consistent with the development of free institutions in a country; yet, till the time when goodwill and mutual trust take the place of distrust amongst the various communities of the country, it has been considered desirable that some safeguards should be devised for the protection of the rights of the minorities, and this is my excuse for saying something for the protection of the rights

of my community. In the Punjab, Sir, unlike any other part of India, the communal question has assumed a proportion which presents a problem by itself. In the Punjab there are three communities which occupy conspicuous importance. Unlike other parts of India, Muhammadans are in a majority, while the Hindus and Sikhs occupy a position of minority. The Muhammadans want protection as minority community in all other parts of India. Similarly the Sikhs claim the same protection in the Punjab on the same principle. But the Muhammadans are not only unwilling to extend the protection to the Sikhs as a minority community but as a matter of fact claim protection for themselves, though they are in a majority. This has complicated the situation in the Punjab. To the rest of India, the Punjab presents a problem by itself, and that is why the politicians of India, failing to appreciate the peculiar conditions of the Punjab, have called this province the Ulster of India. In order to clear our minds about this province, we are required to convince the public outside the Punjab that the Punjabis are not unreasonable, nor do they desire to place any obstacle in the way of the future progress of India. The position of the Sikhs particularly has been very clear. They do not want communalism in any shape or form in the future Legislature or in the services of the country. Though the Sikhs are the smallest community, yet they are prepared to stand on their own legs and enter into open competition on equal terms with all classes living in India. But in case communalism cannot be eliminated from the future constitution or from the services in India, the Sikhs claim that they should be accorded the same treatment as the Muhammadans and other minorities receive in other parts of India. Sir, I am sure that this is the most reasonable position and a logical one too to take up for any community. It is only to be regretted that communalism cannot be eliminated at present. Therefore, the principle of equal treatment to all communities is the next best thing that the constitution can provide. Some of the Honourable Members of this House are under the impression that the Sikhs are a part of the Hindu community and, as such, require to be classed with them and do not stand in need of any special recognition in the future constitution of India. Sir, I understand that this impression has been carried even in official quarters, who on account of political reasons are giving a favourable hearing to this plea. I take this opportunity, Sir, to try to remove any such impression. I need not, Sir, at the short time at my disposal enter into the history of the Sikhs: I will only content myself by saying that the logic of facts was too strong for the Government to deny this separate entity to the Sikhs in the last decade or two. Sir, at the time of the introduction of the Minto-Morley reforms, this fact was recognized but full recognition was extended to this only when the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms came into existence. In paragraph 232 of this Report the authors say:

"The Sikhs in the Punjab are a distinct and important community, they supply a gallant and valuable element in the Indian Army, but they are everywhere in a minority, and experience has shown that they go virtually unrepresented. We propose to extend to them the same protection as has already been adopted in the case of the Muhammadans."

When the All-Parties Conference met and drafted their Report commonly known as the Nehru Report, they too recognized this fact when they said:

"We recognize that the Sikhs are a distinct and important minority which cannot be ignored."

[Sardar Sant Singh.]

In volume I of the Simon Commission's Report the Sikhs are described as nearer to Muhammadans than the Hindus :

"The religions of the Muhammadans and of the Sikhs, who go to form two-thirds of the population of the Punjab, do not recognise caste."

Similarly in the Census Report of 1921 it is said that "Sikhism was an attempt to reconcile Hindu beliefs with a purer creed which rejected polytheism or image worship and pilgrimages. It remained a pacific cult till the political tyranny of the Mussalmans and the social tyranny of the Hindus converted it into a military creed". These observations of the impartial observers made after due investigation should be sufficient to convince any fair minded gentleman that the Sikhs form a distinct community in the Punjab.

The Sikhs have a considerable stake in this province. Out of a total population of 20½ millions, 11½ millions are Muhammadans and 6½ millions are Hindus and 2½ millions are Sikhs. Besides this another million lives in the Indian States. The distribution of this population in the Punjab is also a factor to be taken into consideration, though in the Western districts, the Muhammadans are in a majority of about 80 to 90 per cent. The South Eastern area shows a Hindu majority of at least 60 per cent., while the central Punjab is mainly populated by the Sikhs. This was the centre of the Sikh power before the British occupation. Close to this population lie the important premier States of the Sikhs. They were the last rulers of this province. They form the most enterprising and progressive community, with considerable property. They are well advanced in education. They possess most of their religious temples and historic places in the Punjab and if one only knows the strong feeling the community has in respect of the places of its worship, one can judge the depth of devotion with which a Sikh views his province. The Sikhs contribute about 40 per cent. of the total revenues of the province, the Central Districts of the Punjab contribute 500 lakhs to the total revenues of the province, while the remaining 21 districts contribute only 515 lakhs. Though the Muhammadans are in a majority, yet their contribution to the revenues of the State is quite insignificant as compared to the contributions of the Sikhs. Their contribution to the Army for the defence of the country is still larger. The Punjab furnishes 54 per cent. to the armies of India; out of this, Sikhs supply 19 per cent. combatants. Thus though we form only one per cent. of the population of India and 11½ per cent. of the population of the Punjab, our contribution to the Indian Army is 19 times our percentage of population, while more than three times our percentage of population of the province. During the great War, the Sikhs supplied 89,000 combatants in addition to 30,000, who were already serving at the time of its outbreak. This will help us in recognising the importance of the Sikhs not only to the Punjab but to the whole of India.

The Government recognise the importance of the Sikhs, but they do not give adequate representation to the community in the Legislatures and services of India. The Sikhs were under the impression that they had served the Empire loyally. They fought the battles for the Empire in countries far away from India with distinguished gallantry. They have stood by the Government at times which were really hard for them, but

when the political power came to be distributed, they were simply ignored. This led to intense agitation amongst the Sikhs. During the last ten years, the Sikhs had to fight their political battle by joining their forces with those of other political workers. This set the officials thinking. They had to admit in their official despatches to the Secretary of State for India, that the change of attitude amongst the Sikhs was due to their having been ignored in the political advancement of India.

The Sikhs claim 30 per cent. representation in the Punjab. This claim seems to be unreasonable at first sight, but if the facts are studied, it will be clear that this claim is neither unreasonable nor illogical. Though the Sikhs form  $11\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the population, their voting strength in the Punjab is 24.1 per cent., while the same for Muhammadans is 48.7 per cent., so long as the property qualification remains to be the basis of franchise. How could the Sikhs be placed at a disadvantage? At present, though the voting strength of the Sikhs is 24.1 per cent., their representation is only 17 per cent. and a curious result follows: A Mussalman is returned by 9,500 votes, a non-Muslim is returned by 12,555 votes, whereas a Sikh is returned by 14,000 votes. Is this fair? Is it equitable? Is this the protection extended to minorities? The importance of Anglo-Indians, Europeans, Christians and Parsis is recognised only on the basis that they have got a stake in the country. Why should the same line of reasoning be not adopted in the case of the Sikhs. If the minorities are to be protected in the future constitution of India, then that protection should be effective. But the case of the Sikhs at present is that, instead of getting protection, they are being penalised and the protection is being extended to a majority community. If we were to fight our election in a joint electorate on proportionate single transferable vote, certainly our position would be far superior to the present one; even by the change of franchise we stand to gain rather than lose in our voting strength.

Apart from this, there is another aspect of the case which I will strongly urge my Honourable friends to consider. The Sikh community in the Punjab provides an element of strength, which it will be wise to consolidate rather than dissipate. Living in a province which is the gate-keeper of the whole of India, the Sikhs can keep a good balance between the rival contending forces. At the time of a future crisis, you may need forces that can only be supplied by the Sikhs alone.

In conclusion, Sir, I submit for the consideration of this House that the Sikhs have some interests in other parts of India as well as in foreign countries. We have no representation in any other province except in the Punjab. In times of ill-treatment of the Sikhs in foreign countries or even in India, they will have to look upon the Punjab Sikhs to protect them. If the Sikhs fail to have an effective voice in the Punjab proper, or in the Central Government, it will be impossible for us to look after our brothers. These are the considerations which weigh very strongly with us, and we expect that our case will be considered on equitable lines and we will be granted effective protection.

**Mr. N. N. Anklesaria** (Bombay Northern Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, with the Finance Bill the Government come to this House and ask us to vote supplies. In the ordinary course of things, having passed the Budget, the other day, it would not be in accordance with the



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principle of consistency to oppose this Bill. However, there is another principle which I uphold whole-heartedly and with the fullest conviction and that principle is "Grievances before supplies". The grievances which the Honourable the Finance Member has been hearing of and will have to hear will be not one or two but legion. Some real, some partly real and partly imaginary, and I am afraid, very many, wholly imaginary. Indeed, Sir, if you read the speeches of Honourable Members in the debates on the Budget and the Finance Bill, you will be struck and struck very unpleasantly with the strange air of irresponsibility pervading them (Hear, hear). One may wade through page after page of the reports and may fail to come across a single helpful suggestion or a single constructive criticism. Sir, on previous occasions, more than one Honourable Member has admitted and admitted very definitely that it is not possible to effect any substantial retrenchment on the civil side of the Budget, except reducing a chaprasi here or a low paid clerk there. In spite of that admission, the Finance Member was persistently asked to search for directions in which the axe could be applied with some effect; and in response to the persistent demands of Honourable Members, the Finance Member in 1929, I think, appointed a special officer to explore avenues of retrenchment and report. When the announcement was made of the appointment of the special officer, Honourable Members got up and said that they did not want a special Retrenchment Officer. Why? Because the Retrenchment Officer appointed was an old man and a Civilian, and also because the Retrenchment Officer was not able to put his hands into the pockets of my Honourable friend Mr. Young. And the Honourable Members said that they did not want a Retrenchment Officer but wanted a retrenchment committee. Then in response to the persistent demands by Honourable Members for a retrenchment committee the Finance Member in his last Budget speech announced that if the House so desired he was willing to appoint a retrenchment committee with of course a non-official majority. Up gets an Honourable Member and says, "We do not want a retrenchment committee, we want retrenchment straightway".

(At this stage Mr. President vacated the Chair, which was taken by Mr. Deputy President.)

The very same Member in the course of his very same speech, though he had disapproved of a retrenchment committee, advocates in one and the same breath what he calls a committee to look into the Army expenditure.

**Mr. B. Das:** Will the Honourable Member kindly name the gentleman?

**Mr. N. N. Anklesaria:** That gentleman is Sir Cowasji Jehangir, the learned and gallant Knight from Bombay.

Then, Sir, it was suggested that the House should cut down the Military Budget. Some Honourable Member, however, realising that that was an impossibility under the present constitution, suggested that the Finance Member should make the Home Government contribute to our military expenditure. How that trick was to be done by the Finance Member the Honourable Member failed to suggest. Then, Sir, my Honourable

friend Sir Cowasji Jehangir in a very impassioned speech condemned all expenditure at the present time on the modernisation of the Army. Sir, I am not a military expert, but this much I venture to say, that if by ceasing to modernise we jeopardised the lives of some two hundred thousand of our soldiers, the flower of our manhood, we would be committing a sin of which the expiation would be very heavy. I need not labour the point, but I need only point out that when all civilised Governments are modernising their fighting organisations, to ask India to cease modernising and trust to the love and charity of her neighbours and potential enemies is very far from reason and, I am afraid, very near prejudice. Then, Sir, a very learned Honourable Member yesterday got up and propounded theories of international trade, theories which would make one believe that Bastial and Bastable, Leroy Beaulieu and Alfred Marshall were mere legendary personalities, personalities who inhabited the realm of fiction only, or at least men who had laboured and taught in vain. The same very learned gentleman told the House in connection with the ratio question that on everything that we exported we lost 12½ per cent.; and after making that statement he cites the authority not of an economist but of a Bombay merchant who is far more interested in exports than in imports and who knows, I am quite sure, much less of economics than the learned and Honourable Member himself. He cites that Bombay merchant as an authority against the conclusions arrived at by the Hilton-Young Report.

**Mr. B. Das:** Which Honourable Member is this?

**Mr. N. N. Anklesaria:** I am referring to my Honourable friend Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad.

After this is it any wonder to find an Honourable Member who professed to talk "as a practical business man" seriously suggesting to the Finance Member that in order to save military expenditure, he should embody the picketers who have been picketing our foreign cloth and liquor shops into a fighting force on honorary terms? And he was also careful to add that this honorary military force should be also officered by the present leaders of the picketers, also of course serving in an honorary capacity. The same Honourable gentleman also speaking on the duty on silver said that that duty will press very hardly on the starving people, who presumably are likely to have no connection with silver at all. Then, Sir, look at the vast number of cuts the Honourable Members suggested and after being satisfied with speeches and with their success in getting the House to listen to them, quietly withdrew. To borrow an expression from my Honourable friend Maulvi Muhammad Yakub, this criticism of the Budget is a criticism pregnant with futility and not serious criticism at all. Sir, I do not claim to be a financial expert, but I have read and I have taught finance, and if I have done that to some little purpose, I have no hesitation in saying that the Budget which the Finance Member has put before the House, considering the conditions, economic, political and constitutional, now obtaining in India, is a Budget which shows that the Finance Member has made the very best of a very bad job. Five years ago even . . . .

**Mr. B. Das:** Nobody denies that he has tried to make the best of a bad job!

**Mr. N. N. Anklesaria:** I am very glad to hear that; and therefore I say we should extend to the Finance Member not only our sympathy in his difficult job but our complete support to his proposals. I say this subject to certain reasonable amendments (*Cries of "Oh!"*) which my Honourable friends may be moving later on. (*An Honourable Member: "What is reasonable?"*) I said reasonable amendments.

I will now take this occasion to speak on one, two or three topics, as time might permit, which have aroused keen feeling in the country, feeling which the Government must consider and cannot possibly ignore. We heard the day before yesterday speeches about the achievements of our Round Table Conference delegates in London. Today I want to put before the House other achievements of the Round Table Conference for their consideration. I think it was Abbé Sieyès of the French Revolution fame who is alleged to have boasted that he could make or construct a constitution within the space of one night. Our delegates to the Round Table Conference, very able and very learned men, and high-born ladies, by their united efforts, have been able to propose a constitution within the space of nine weeks. The want of consideration which our delegates ought to have been able to extend to their proposals is very patent from the very first resolution or I should say, decision, I do not know which it is, which they arrived at. I mean their resolution or decision on the question whether the future constitution of India was to be a federal or unitary constitution. On this issue the Round Table Conference sat for five long days; but if you peruse their debates, what do you find? You find the whole period of five days taken in complimenting one another and enunciating bare platitudes hardly having any connection with the specific issue before the Conference. There were several speakers at the Conference, but very few really spoke on the specific issue of federation or unitary state before the Conference, and it appeared from the discussions that everybody took it for granted that the future constitution of India was not to be a unitary state, but a federation. I do not know how that thing was taken for granted; but the debates clearly show that the matter was considered almost beyond discussion. You find some doubts expressed by my Honourable friend, Mr. Jayakar; you find some criticism by Sardar Ujjal Singh. You find positive misgivings expressed by the depressed classes representative, Dr. Ambedkar and you have a neat little speech by the gracious and gifted consort of my friend, Mian Muhammad Shah Nawaz, a speech clear, but equally unconvincing. (*Cries of "Very convincing"*.) Lastly you have got a written speech submitted by the representative of a Native State which, if you consider it in all its implications, speaks more in favour of a unitary state than of a federation. This is about all the serious and constructive thinking which the issue about the future constitution of India appears to have received at the Round Table Conference, and I agree with the opinion of my Honourable and esteemed friend, Raja Bahadur Krishnamachariar, that the case for the unitary idea has gone by default at the Round Table Conference. If you look to history, if you consult contemporary experience and if you follow the dictates of common sense, you cannot but come to one conclusion and one conclusion only that the only constitution suitable for India is not a federation but a unitary constitution. Talking of history, I take two instances—one from ancient history and one from modern history. As

regards ancient history,—I have not got much time to develop my ideas. (*Several Honourable Members*: "Please go on; there is no time limit; go on.") You will remember, Sir, that the only cause of the failure of the Greek city States was that they were unable to unite and form a strong unitary state. We had loose federations of Greek States; we had occasionally confederacies the Achaean League and the Actolian Federation, but these Confederacies and Federations went down before the strong centralised unitary State which was founded by Phillip of Macedon. Now, Sir, turning to modern history, I ask what is the supreme achievement of Akbar? Akbar found India a congery of warring States, Rajput, Afghan, etc., and he was able to unite them into one nation so far as Northern India was concerned, I mean above the Vindhya. I ask again, Sir, what is the supreme merit of the British work in India? I say when the British power was founded, they found India disunited and disintegrated into warring States,—Marathas, Rajputs, Sikhs, Mussalmans, and it is the supreme merit of the British that they united this congery of warring States into one united India. (Hear, hear.) Sir, if you look to the history of Warren Hastings' administration, you will find that we had some semblance of a Federation in India then. We had got the three Presidencies, Bengal, Bombay and Madras, each administering and legislating its own laws. It was in 1773, Sir, that by Lord North's Regulating Act, Warren Hastings was made the Governor General of India and the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras were put under the Presidency of Bengal, but it was found that the three Presidencies were pulling in different ways. In fact, we know that while the Bombay Government declared war on the Marathas, the Bengal Government made peace with the Marathas, and so also the inconsistent doings of the Madras Government and the Bengal Government in their relations with Hyder Ali of Mysore. (*An Honourable Member*: "That looks like a Federation.") It was in 1833 that the centrifugal tendencies of Madras and Bengal Presidencies were sought to be checked by depriving them completely of their legislative powers. The same process, Sir, continued up to the time of Lord Curzon in whose time we find India emerging as a strong, centralised, unitary State which enables my friend the representative of the depressed classes, and my friend over there representing the highest caste of Brahmins, my friend from Madras, and my friend from Bengal, all to sit together in this House today discoursing sweet reason,—nay, politics.

**Mr. B. Das:** We will do the same in the Federal Assembly.

**Mr. N. N. Anklesaria:** Sir, the Round Table Conference proposal by one stroke of the pen seeks to do away with the progress and development of 150 years and plunge India into disunion and disintegration from which the British redeemed it, and we are asked to glory in that dismal prospect!

Sir, there is one and one criterion to judge as to which form of constitution would be suitable for India, and that criterion is, which form of constitution will maintain and further national unity, which form of constitution will control and keep in check the several centrifugal forces which are operating on the Indian body politic? I say, Sir, the question

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could be answered in one and one way only. Federation is only a transitional stage as writers on politics will tell you, and that transitional stage we have passed long ago. When you speak, Sir, of a federation developing into a unitary state, I say you talk sense, but when you talk of a unitary state developing into a federation, I say you talk unadulterated nonsense. (Laughter.) Such a process has never taken place in the history of the world, and I would challenge the very able and learned delegates from the Round Table Conference to cite one single instance in which a unitary state has become a federation. (*An Honourable Member*: "Mr. Mudaliar will accept the challenge.")

**Mr. T. N. Ramakrishna Reddi** (Madras ceded districts and Chittoor: Non-Muhammadan Rural): All the modern federations have developed out of unitary states.

**Mr. N. N. Anklesaria**: I am coming to that presently. My friend, Sir, is talking of all modern states having developed out of unitary states, and the examples of Canada, the United States and Australia have been thrown at us. I say, I have not got time to enter into the details. (*Several Honourable Members*: "Please go on.") but I can do nothing better than read a few lines from the Honourable Mr. Brand's "Union of South Africa" as to what can be said about the federal system of constitution:

"In South Africa this fundamental principle of the supremacy of Parliament has in three colonies been greeted as the great achievement of the Act, and in the fourth has been condemned as a disastrous error. But, notwithstanding the hot opposition of critics in Natal, which the history and circumstances of that colony render natural, there is little doubt that opinion in South Africa is overwhelmingly in favour of the unitary as opposed to the federal principle. The panegyrics which American writers have been accustomed to lavish on the Constitution of the United States, and the imitation of that Constitution by Canada and Australia, probably explain the widespread opinion that federalism is a form of government to be sought as an end in itself, and not one which should be accepted only when nothing better can be obtained. But federalism is, after all, a *pis aller*, a concession to human weakness. Alexander Hamilton saw its dangers and only acquiesced because by no other means was union possible. In Canada Sir John Macdonald strongly favoured a legislative union, but was obliged to bow to the intense provincialism of Quebec. In Australia the narrow patriotism of the different states has imposed upon the Federal Government limitations which are generally admitted to be checking that country's advance. Federalism must be accepted where nothing better can be got, but its disadvantages are patent. It means division of power and consequent irritation and weakness in the organ of government, and it tends to stereotype and limit the development of a new country. . . . It is remarkable that South Africans should have succeeded where almost all other unions have failed, in subordinating local to national feeling, and that the people of each colony should have been ready to merge the identity of their state, of whose history and traditions they are in every case intensely proud, in a wider national union, which is still but a name to them. The truth, as has already been stated, is that bitter experience has taught them the evils of disunion. The lesson is confirmed for them by the difficulties in which Australia's federalism is foundering."

Only the other day we read in the papers that there is a talk of secession on the part of one of the States of the Australian Federation. (*An Honourable Member*: "New South Wales.")

**Mr. B. V. Jadhav** (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Not secession, but split.

**Mr. N. N. Anklesaria:** You call it split, I call it secession, and both mean the same thing.

Sir, I will put only one aspect of the picture which will be presented to you, if the able men, who were our delegates to the Round Table Conference, had succeeded in their designs. India is, as you know, a country in which there are Hindus and Muhammadans. There are Hindus who are in a majority in several provinces, and there are Muhammadans who are in a majority also in certain other provinces. This circumstance leads to the development of what John Stuart Mill calls permanent majorities. If you have got permanent majorities in a Government, what the position of the minorities will be you can very readily imagine. I can see a time when the Muhammadan majorities on the Western side of India will seek to unite the provinces in which the Muhammadan element is predominant. I can see a time also when the Hindu majorities will try to unite together and form a Hindu India on the other hand. (*Mr. B. Das:* "Don't be suspicious.") (*An Honourable Member:* "What about a Parsi India?") I say, Sir, the only system of Government which can hold in check the centrifugal forces operating on the body politic is a highly centralised unitary state and not a federation. Sir, some of my Honourable friends have been smiling at what I have been saying. (Laughter.) I do say that it must be striking them as very laboured at this idea, I a poor lawyer should get up in this House and talk against it. But I am not pitting my personality against the personalities of the able delegates of the Round Table Conference. I am pitting my arguments against their arguments, and I say let us examine the arguments which have led people to believe that a federation is more suitable than a unitary constitution for India.

Sir, it is said that the Montagu-Chelmsford Report favours federation. I have looked into that Report. There are two and only two paragraphs,—paragraphs 120 and 349,—of the Report which talk of something akin to federation, and not federation at all. In paragraph 120 the Report is very careful to point out that, in the process which India should follow in its further development, the federal principle does not and cannot enter—these are their very words—and they visualise in the very same paragraph a constitution which is not a federation, but they say a constitution which may have the *external semblance* of a federation. It says, "may have the external semblance" only. Then, it is asked, how can you have a unitary state when you consider the vast populations you have got in India? I say, when you talk of vast populations in this connection, you think of the facility of contact between the elector and his representatives. Today I say that there is more facility of contact between the elector in Madras and his representative sitting in this House than there was between a Scotch elector and his representative sitting in the British Parliament a hundred years ago. Then they say, look at the vast areas in which the constitution has to work. I say again, when you talk of vast areas in this connection, you think of the facilities of communication between the Central Government and the Provincial Governments. I say with our means of communications—wireless, the aeroplane and all that—there are more facilities of communication today between Madras and Delhi than there was between Edinburgh and London a hundred years ago. When I was discussing this topic with several of

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my friends, one of them asked me, "Don't you want provincial autonomy?" How are you going to get provincial autonomy in a unitary state? Now, Sir, provincial autonomy is a phrase which is liable to much abuse. It has got two meanings, and people often confuse those two meanings. Provincial autonomy in one sense means freedom of the Provincial Government from the interference of the Central Government. In the second sense provincial autonomy means government of the province responsible to the people of that province. In the second sense I do not think there can be any Honourable Member in this House who would think that we should not have provincial autonomy, provincial autonomy in the sense of responsibility to the elected representatives of the people in the provinces. There can be no question about that, but as regards the other class of provincial autonomy, a provincial autonomy which tends to keep a Madrasi a Madrasi, a Bengali a Bengali and a Guzerati a Guzerati a provincial autonomy which accentuates and does not annihilate our parochial, racial and communal differences and divergencies—I say God save us from such a provincial autonomy. Then, Sir, it is asked, "How can you fit in these Indian States in your scheme of a unitary state?" I quite admit that. You cannot fit in autocracy in a democracy unless the democracy becomes autocracy or the autocracy becomes democracy. I quite admit that, but if the price, which the British Indians have to pay to include the Indian States in the proposed constitutions, is what it must be, I say that price will be too heavy and we can safely spare ourselves that. Sir, it would be far from me to say anything at the present juncture which would in any way embarrass the Political Department, which possibly may be conducting very delicate negotiations. I will therefore say nothing about the serious disadvantages and the very serious danger of including the Indian States in the proposed future constitution of India. Sir, it is possible that I have exaggerated the case of the unitary constitution, but if that exaggeration could include our delegates at the Round Table Conference to move for a reconsideration of the whole position on that issue, the time of this House will not have been wasted. I say, Sir, if you must have federation, that federation must be of the close type of South Africa and not the loose type of the Swiss confederation or Australia or Canada.

Sir, I now pass to another topic which has given rise to very strong feeling in the country. I come to the policy adopted by the Government as regards discriminating between communities. Today, Sir, nothing is acting as a greater or more potent cause of discontent among the non-Muslim communities than the policy of preference which rightly or wrongly the non-Muslim communities believe has been extended to the Muslim community. I do not know the conditions outside my Presidency, but in Bombay today a Brahmin's son, a bania's son or a Parsi's son is denied admission in the educational institutions of the country simply because he is born a Brahmin, a bania or a Parsi and that simply in order to enable the authorities to admit Muslim boys in preference to the non-Muslim boys. Sir, today in the Presidency of Bombay, a Brahmin, or a bania, or a Parsi has been denied posts in the Government service because Mussalman candidates have to be provided for. (*An Honourable Member*: "Shame.") It is nobody's fault. I am simply stating it as a fact which I must bring to the notice of Government because it has created an amount of discontent

which if the Government will only realise it will lead them to make some changes in their policy. I say also to my Muslim friends that with their energies dwarfed and their faculties atrophied by the continual spoon-feeding of favouritism, they themselves will be the greatest sufferers because, what answer will they make when the 7 crores of depressed classes ask to compete with them in their own game? It is for them to consider. What would be the fate of the Muslim community in the future constitution if it has got to rely not on efficiency, not on ability to hold its own against other communities but on Government preference and favouritism. It is for them to consider that. This is all I have to submit, Sir, on the present occasion; I shall of course have to say something later on the amendments to the Finance Bill.

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

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

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**Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda** (Ajmer-Merwara: General): Sir, I wish to say just a word with regard to what has fallen from my Honourable friend Mr. Anklesaria with regard to the suitability or otherwise of a federal system of Government for this country.

**An Honourable Member:** He is not here at present. Perhaps he may come later on.

**Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda:** So long as he gave expression to his own opinion as to whether a unitary system of government or a federal system of government would be suitable to India, he was on safe ground; but his inroad into ancient and modern history has landed him into difficulties, and the incursion was very unhappy. Any student of ancient history knows perfectly well that it was not because the Greek States had a federated constitution that the Persian Emperor won a victory over them. It was exactly the opposite. It was because the ancient Greeks could not federate, it was because they could not come into a federation that the Persian Emperor Xerxes was able to achieve victory over the Greeks, though those victories were almost pyrrhic in character and consequences. If the Greek States, Athens, Macedonia, Sparta, Thebes and others could have combined and formed a federation, if they had made the entire Greek population one nation under a federated constitution, then the Persian Emperor Xerxes would not have been able to win the victory that he did.

Students of Rajput history know very well, in fact, any student of Indian history knows very well, that if there had been a federation of the Rajput States, the Moghul Empire would not have come into existence. The war between Rana Sanga and Babar showed clearly that when even there was a federation on a small scale and only a temporary one, the cause of Babar became almost hopeless. If the States of Rajputana had a federal constitution and regarded Rajputana as one country with one constitution under



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a federal system, neither the Pathans nor the Moghuls would have found it possible to win their empire in India. It is exactly because there was no federated system, no federation in India and in Greece that the Persian Emperor and the Turks were able to found their Empires and win victories in those days.

**Mr. N. N. Anklesaria:** May I rise to a point of explanation? I said that federation was a transitional stage between a unitary state and a looser class of political entity.

**Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda:** My Honourable friend stated plainly in his speech that it was because of federation that nations had lost their freedom or at any rate they were defeated, and he gave two examples from ancient and mediaeval history. I have got up only to show that it was not because of federation, but it was because of absence of federation that people of ancient Greece and Indians fell a prey to the invaders.

**Mr. N. N. Anklesaria:** Looser class of union.

**Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda:** Apart from this, students of contemporary history know that to have a federation or a unitary government is not a matter of one's choice. No country presents a problem to its people and gives them the choice between federation and unitary government. It is never like that. It is only where political conditions, and conflict between provincial and communal interests present very great difficulties which sometimes are insuperable, that the federal system of government is adopted, because that alone is capable of solving those problems which a unitary system is not capable of solving. The unitary system of Government is possible only where there is an absolute unity of economic, social and political interests. When these conditions do not exist, a unitary government is not possible and a federal system of government has to be adopted.

Apart from the fact that so far as India is concerned, it is the federal system alone that can win us responsibility in the Central Government, apart from the fact that in order to have a uniformity of conditions, economic and political, throughout British India, a federal system of government is necessary, apart from all these things, there is a very important matter that deserves consideration, and that is, that if we want to pull up the subjects of the Indian States of India to the political and social level of the residents of British India, a federal system of government is absolutely necessary. No other means can be found at the present moment by which we can establish the same economic and social and political conditions, giving the subjects of the Indian States the same political rights as are enjoyed by residents of British India, not at once of course, but which make the grant of these rights absolutely certain, except the federal system of Government. For that purpose alone, if for nothing else, it is very necessary that India should at the present moment, in the present condition of things, have a federal system of government. It is a matter of rejoicing and a matter of congratulation that Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Bikanir and other Princes who were present at the London Round Table Conference had the patriotism and the statesmanship to envisage the great future that is before India and accepted a federal system of government. They must have known, Rulers as they are of large territories, that it is not possible for them to keep up the present system of Government—or personal rule as I would prefer to call it—in the different States when a democratic form

of government is obtaining in the whole of British India. Knowing all that, they were still patriotic enough and had the foresight and statesmanship to accept a federal system of government because they had the interests of India as a whole at heart. It is to the credit also of all the British Indian delegates who went to the Round Table Conference that they accepted the federal system of government, for in the present circumstances, so far as we can think, a federal system of government is essential to win us our rights and our proper place in the British Empire.

**Raja Sir Vasudeva Rajah** (Madras : Landholders) : I had no intention of taking part in today's general discussion, but after the speech that my Honourable friend Mr. Anklesaria made condemning the federation scheme evolved by the Round Table Conference and raising doubts as to the wisdom of taking in the Indian Princes into that federation, I feel, Sir, that I should say a few words to express what we, on this side, feel. I listened with real interest to the speech of the Honourable gentleman from Bombay who spoke, no doubt, as he himself claimed, from his own conviction, from his reading of the constitutional history, from his study of the growth of federation all the world over, and also from his understanding of Indian history, when he showed his preference to the unitary as opposed to the federal system. I, however, have read history differently and in this I happen to be in the distinguished company of the talented supporters of federation at the Round Table Conference. I am willing to concede that theorists and constitutionalists do hold different points of view in regard to the relative merits and superiority of the unitary and the federal systems. It however is now too late in the day to wander in regions of academical controversy, ignoring the growth of public opinion in the two parts of India, namely, British India and Indian India, and the unambiguous expression of that opinion by the representatives of the Princes and the people who showed a unanimous preference for federation. Even statesmen like the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri who hold contrary opinions have now become willing and enthusiastic converts to the creed of federalism. The Honourable Member from Bombay, Mr. Anklesaria, was, if I may say so, only flogging a dead horse. He was trying to belittle the achievements of the Round Table Conference. Speaking on behalf of the landholders in this Assembly and on my own behalf, I should like to express our sincere appreciation of the great work done by the members of the Round Table Conference, and the results so far achieved, especially the conception of a scheme of federal government which we whole-heartedly welcome. Although there may be differences as to details, yet I can confidently say that the resolutions of the Conference are fairly satisfactory and afford a good basis for further negotiations and supply adequate foundations for building the superstructure of the Indian constitution. Two features are specially noteworthy in this connection and are welcomed by the classes which I represent. The first is, thanks to the comparative unanimity achieved at the Conference and the unhesitating declaration made by the Princes and Ruling Chiefs that they would throw in their lot with other sections of the Indian population, the whole outlook in England towards the Indian problem has been profoundly modified. It is undeniable that British opinion is thoroughly reconciled to the vesting of responsibility for the government of India in practically all its departments in elected legislatures and responsible executives. This result would not have been possible if only a portion of India were sought to be dealt with and if Indian India were not also a part of the contemplated structure. The second feature to which I desire to advert

[Raja Sir Vasudeva Rajah.]

is the securing of the stability of points of view and administration by uniting with the democratic elements those elements who have a vital interest and stake in the country. Here I must say that I entirely disagree with the views expressed by a few of my friends in this House about their apprehensions consequent on the entry of Indian Princes into the federal constitution. Their entry will be most valuable from every point of view, and especially in acting as a moderating influence in a system where popular gusts of passion are likely to take the country and the Legislature off their feet. The inclusion of the representatives of the Princes and of commercial and other interests in an effective manner in the constitution will prevent any such catastrophe. At the same time the impact of the democratic elements on the Indian States' representatives is bound in turn to produce a great effect upon the internal administration of the States, though not directly, and to level up those administrations more or less swiftly. Moreover, the possibility of transferring effective control over the defence forces in a manner consonant with the safety and well-being of the Empire is made very much easier by the participation of elements to whom military traditions and a military career are familiar matters. A definite scheme of the Indianisation of the Army and the gradual vesting in Indian hands of the responsibility as well as the glory of defence and the control over Army expenditure by Indians with a view to Indian interests are matters which have to be carefully considered in the further stages of the discussion. Moreover, there are many vitally important, though very difficult, questions connected with the finances of India which have to be elucidated. Without an adequate and real control over financial and fiscal policy, responsibility and self-government would be illusory, and if sufficient stability is secured to the constitution, there is no reason why the completest control of the finances of India should not be vested in Indians, subject of course to such ultimate safeguards as are essential to preserve the credit of India in the eyes of the world and to guard against a policy leading to bankruptcy. All these will be rendered feasible only if the responsible statesmen presiding over the destinies of the Indian States join hands with us in British India in making the administration of the United States of India the great success that the scheme of federation promises.

**Mr. B. V. Jadhav:** Sir, after full two days' debate on the work of the Round Table Conference, I was under the hope that that useless Conference and its work would be relegated to the region of forgetfulness at least by this House. But my friend the Member from Gujerat has brought forth this subject and has proved to the satisfaction of this House that the work done there was quite useless, that in accepting federation as the ultimate goal they have made an egregious mistake, and that the salvation of India and the whole world lies in returning to the unitary form of government. My friend Mr. Anklesaria has gone deep into history and has brought forth the experiences not only of Greece and of Rome but of ancient India and present-day India. His reading of history is no doubt very creditable and I make bold to say that he has mistaken his profession. He ought to have been appointed a Professor of History in some University. The failure of the work of the Round Table Conference ought, I think, to be laid at the doors of His Excellency the Viceroy and the Ministry in England because they did not recognise the merits of Mr. Anklesaria and failed to include him on it. Perhaps this mistake might be excused as Mr. Anklesaria had contrived to conceal his light under a bushel up to

this time. That light has now shone forth and I am perfectly confident that His Excellency the Viceroy will pick him up and take the earliest opportunity of nominating him to the Round Table Conference. If necessary, I shall be very willing to make room for him. Sir, the statesmen that sat at the Round Table, including His Lordship the Marquis of Reading and the Prime Minister, and the Indian statesmen like the Maharajas of Bikaner and Baroda and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru down to your humble servant representing the non-Muhammadian constituency of the Central Division of Bombay, committed a number of grave errors no doubt. They ought to have strongly gone in for the unitary form of government according to Mr. Anklesaria. But I may point out to this House that the trend of the whole politics of the British Empire is from a unitary form of government to a federal form of government. (Mr. N. N. Anklesaria: "Question!") The different Dominions that have been formed have adopted a federal form of government and in that respect the whole administration is going from the unitary form of government to the federal form of government. Not only that, but since the time England admitted the Dominions as equal partners in the British Commonwealth of Nations, they have been telling the world that it is a federation and not a unitary form of government. The British Empire is developing on the federal idea and ultimately it is expected to be a strong federation of equal partners in the Empire. England began with a unitary form of government. The King of England was the King and even now he is the King of all the Dominions. But the form of government that has been developing gradually, and many a time imperceptibly, is leading the British Empire into a big federation, and this idea was present to the minds of the politicians who took part in the Round Table Conference, and they chose the federal form of government as the most suitable form for British India, a form which will lead them to complete Swaraj. I may point out Mr. Anklesaria that when the Government of Bombay considered the Report of the Royal Commission, they ultimately came to the conclusion that the federal form of government was the only form which could bring within its fold the Indian States, and thus far I may point out to him that the subject of federation was not a complete surprise.

I need not take up further time on this subject, but I have to say something on the other point which he brought forward; *viz.*, the educational policy of the Government of Bombay, in so far, as he stated in this House, that the children of the Brahmins, the Banias and the Parsis have been denied admission into the high schools and colleges and the vacancies are reserved for Muhammadans and other backward communities. I do not think any elaborate defence of the policy of the Bombay Government is necessary in this House. That question has been debated more than once in the Council of that province and the policy has been sufficiently vindicated. Accommodation in the Government high schools and colleges is not indefinite. You cannot expand the accommodation according to the number of students seeking admission. There is a limit to that number, and as long as the Mussalmans and other backward communities were apathetic towards education and did not seek admission into the high schools and colleges, Government had no reason to make any rules as to a particular percentage of admission from particular communities. But when there was an awakening among the Muslims and others and when it was found that it was difficult for them to get admission because the number of students that sought admission was a very large one, then in fairness

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it was found necessary to give preference to the boys of the Muslim and other backward communities. All the subjects in British India and in the Bombay Presidency pay taxes and thus provide for the expenditure that is incurred on education by that Government. All the subjects have got equal rights for taking advantage of educational institutions. But if owing to apathy or some other cause, the backward communities did not take advantage of the educational institutions in former days, there is no reason why in future also they should be precluded from taking advantage of them. They had at least an equal right to claim admission into the high schools and colleges in proportion to their numbers in the population; and as long as that proportion was not admitted into the educational institutions it was the duty of the Government to see that some provision was made for them to enjoy that right of admission, and for that purpose a rule was made that in future fifty per cent. of the vacancies among students in high schools should be reserved for these backward communities, while the other fifty per cent. was left open to all the communities alike. So, I do not think there was any partiality or favouritism done by the Government of Bombay. All that they did was to give justice on a very moderate scale to the backward communities. This, a reply to Mr. Anklesaria.

I would like to touch upon one other point which Mr. Sant Singh has placed before this House. Sardar Sant Singh claimed that there has been some considerable import of wheat into India and that that wheat competed with the indigenous wheat of the Punjab and other places and therefore in order to help the agriculturists in those parts he proposed that an import duty should be placed upon wheat so that foreign wheat should not come into this country and the price of wheat in India should rise. I on my part cannot subscribe to this point of view. I am strongly of opinion that the food of the people should not be taxed and its price should not be artificially increased in the country. If Mr. Sant Singh wanted to favour the wheat growers, then there is no reason why we should not favour the cultivators who grow cotton and other crops—linseed and other agricultural produce. To select wheat only for special treatment is rather invidious, and it will not only fail to lead to the desired effect, but I think it will turn out to be very injurious to the interests of India as a whole. Wheat is a world commodity and its price is regulated by the state of the world's market and its consumption and supply. The price of wheat outside will not be affected by any import duty that may be levied in India. But the price of wheat in India may, on account of the import duty, be raised and to that extent the food of the people will rise in cost. The price of other food grains, such as jowari, bajri and rice is dependent upon the price of wheat. When the price is equal to or higher than that of wheat, people do consume more wheat and do not look to the coarser grains such as jowari or bajri. So if the price of wheat rises on account of the imposition of an import duty, the price of bajri and jowari also will rise in sympathy with the rise of price of wheat and in this way the food of the whole people will become more costly, and this is not at all desirable. There is a school of thought which thinks that all the wrongs and ills of India can be remedied by this one method of raising the tariff. They think that the industries of India can be encouraged to any extent if only the expediency of raising a high tariff wall is taken advantage of.

But every remedy has got a reaction and therefore whenever it is necessary to raise the tariff or levy higher import duties, it ought to be done after very careful enquiry into the pros and cons, the advantages and disadvantages and other things. I would ask Government not to take any hasty action on the strength of speeches made in this House. But if they

3 P. M. think that the question of a tariff on wheat should be taken up by Government, the best thing for them to do would be to refer the question to the Tariff Board. I do not think we on this side are great experts able to advise the Government on this point. We may at the most bring up a subject for discussion and explain one side of the case, but the Tariff Board has been appointed to examine such economic questions from all points of view, and therefore it is their function to say whether an import duty should be levied on wheat or on any other article.

**Mr. Goswami M. E. Puri** (Central Provinces: Landholders): Sir, many speakers during the Budget discussion have been able to establish the fact successfully that the policy of the Government of India has been one of increasing the expenditure of the administration day by day and thus putting an unbearable burden upon the tax-payers and also upon the poor tenants who constitute a major portion of this country. I will try my best, Sir, to deal with the same subject rather from a different point of view.

It is an indisputable fact that the general depression has spread all over India, for some reason or other. The first and foremost point which strikes everybody is, why should the Government of India be required to spend such a big amount every year for the maintenance of the administration of India then the same could be easily carried on at a comparatively less cost!

Yesterday, my friends Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, Raja Bahadur G. Krishnamachariar and several others were able to establish the fact that the present policy of the British Government of India with reference to spending huge sums of money unnecessarily on various departments is totally unjustifiable. Had the Government of India followed sincerely the recommendations of the Indian Retrenchment Committee, that is the Inchcape Committee, I am sure the poor people of this country would not have been buried under the burden of such a heavy taxation.

Sir, the whole of India is, as I have just pointed out, undergoing a general depression, and it would certainly have been most becoming on the part of the Government if the various taxes which have been levied on the people of India—and to which the Government contemplate adding additional taxes—had been reduced to a reasonable standard at such a critical time. I do not mean, Sir, that the Government of India should not tax the people at all, but what I mean to insist upon is that a moderate and reasonable scale of taxation should alone be introduced.

Sir, during the Budget time many of the Members on this side have suggested the possible and reasonable ways of curtailing the expenditure of the Government of India and even during this discussion the same point is being discussed. It is not, Sir, that the expenses of the administration of the Government of India are extravagant in the Military Department but if one were to scrutinise all the Departments minutely, I am sure, Sir, he would be fully convinced that the same was the case with the rest of the Departments as well.

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No doubt, the Military Department deserves a great deal of retrenchment, but other Departments like Posts, Telegraphs and others also deserve a great deal of curtailment without affecting the efficiency of maintaining the administration. Sir, I would invite your attention to one of the paragraphs from the Report of the Indian Retrenchment Committee on Posts and Telegraphs. This is what they say:

"The number of officers employed has increased from 514 in 1913-14 to 679 or 32 per cent., whereas the number of other staff has only increased by 17 per cent. . . . We think that the number of officers should be reduced to the level necessary to maintain the same ratio of officers to other staff as that which obtained in 1913-14. This effects a total saving of 88 officers costing roughly Rs. 6 lakhs per annum."

But we are sorry, Sir, instead of following strictly the instructions of the Inchcape Committee, the Government of India have been able to reduce only 8 officers, thus ignoring the recommendations of the Inchcape Committee. If the Government seriously contemplate reducing expenditure of the Department, they will necessarily have to reduce the number of officers. At present the Department spends—I am speaking of the Post and Telegraph Department—on an average Rs. 694 per month for an officer, excluding special pay and allowances, and Rs. 42 per month for a subordinate. The Department, therefore, expends nearly 17 times more for an officer than for a subordinate. The saving effected by reducing one officer will be equal to that effected by 17 subordinates.

Now, Sir, there is considerable scope for effecting retrenchment in the controlling and supervising establishment. The Controlling officers are: (a) the office of the Director General, Posts and Telegraphs (b) the Offices of Postmasters General and Director of Posts and Telegraphs and so on. Now, as regards the Directorate, about two years ago there were three Deputy Directors General in the office of the Director General, but since the last two years, the post of an additional Deputy Director General has been created. Considerable retrenchment in the subordinate staff of the office has been effected, which goes to show that the volume of work has decreased due to delegation of some of the Director General's powers to the Postmasters General. There is no necessity for the 4th Deputy Director General and the post may be safely abolished. Similarly, two out of six posts of Assistant Directors General may be abolished. This will effect a saving of 70 thousand.

Then as regards Circle officers, there are 14 Deputy Postmasters General, of which nine posts may be safely abolished. Each of the Circles of Bombay, Madras, Punjab and the U. P. have got two Deputy Postmasters General and Assam and Bengal Circle has got three. One Deputy Postmaster General for each of these Circles will be quite adequate and the other posts may be safely retrenched without any deterioration of efficiency.

There were formerly no Deputy Postmasters General in the smaller Circles of Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces and Burma but now each of them has one. The Postmasters General in these Circles are not required to remain away from headquarters for a long time and they can well manage their Circle with the help of the Assistant Postmasters General. The post of the Deputy Postmaster General in each of these smaller Circles may be retrenched without any deterioration of efficiency. This will result

The Sind and Baluchistan Circle has been in existence up to 1907, but was abolished as there was no necessity for the separate control over a small and at the same time comparatively unimportant isolated area. Sind and Karachi were added to Bombay Circle and Quetta and Baluchistan to Lahore Circle. The re-creation of this Circle has effected a yearly average saving to the Bombay Circle Office to the extent of Rs. 17,500 and to Punjab and N.-W. F. Circle, whereas the annual maintenance cost of the re-created Circle is Rs. 69,000 (*vide* Government reply to question No. 48, by Mr. S. C. Shahani). The re-creation of the Circle instead of enhancing administrative efficiency has considerably lowered it and has added to the hardships of the staff. *The abolition of this Circle will effect an annual saving of Rs. 48,300.*

*Range Offices in Bengal and Assam Circle.*—There are two Range Offices in Bengal and Assam Circle, *viz.*, one at Dacca and another at Shillong. These offices are altogether unnecessary but costly appendages. They are merely conduit pipes or forwarding channels and have very little ultimate authority in anything. In all important matters they cannot decide, but refer the matter to the Postmaster General for decision. Instead of contributing to efficiency and expeditious decision on urgent questions, they hamper efficiency and cause unnecessary delay. The abolition of these Range Offices will result in the reduction of two posts of Deputy Postmasters General, as well as of a large staff and result in an annual saving of nearly Rs. 1,50,000.

*Divisional Officers.*—There are altogether 180 Divisional Superintendents of whom 6 are reserve Superintendents. Of the remaining 174, thirty-one are working as Assistant Postmasters General; 8 as City Superintendents and 18 are in charge of R. M. S. Divisions. The main duties of a Superintendent are: Inspection of post offices, investigation into cases, posting of clerks in different Post Offices under their control. So far as the inspection of accounts, sub-accounts, money order and savings bank branches are concerned, it is mainly done now by the Audit Inspectors. The telegraph branches of combined offices are also inspected by Telegraph Superintendents, besides most of the post offices are inspected by Inspectors and a very limited number of offices is inspected by Superintendents. As regards the investigations, the bulk of the work is done by the Inspectors, and it is on rare occasions that the Superintendents make personal enquiries into cases of highway robbery of mails. As regards appointment and posting the work may be delegated with advantage to Head Postmasters who are at present maintaining all records in connection of posting of officials in different places for preparing pay bills, maintenance of service books, verification of service for pension and account clerks are provided for these particular works. If this work is done by the Head Postmasters as is now done by the first class Head Postmasters, the Superintendents will be relieved of much work, and unnecessary duplication of work will be avoided. Again if all the Head Postmasters in the grade of Rs. 250—850 are given first class powers they can easily and efficiently deal with complaints, investigate into loss or fraud cases and the Superintendent will be relieved of a considerable part of the duties, and at the same time much unnecessary duplication of work will be avoided. If these proposals are accepted, as they can easily be, the work of the Superintendents will be considerably lessened and one Superintendent will be able to exercise



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supervision over two existing Divisions, that is to say, two existing Superintendent's Divisions may be blended into one. This will enable the Department to curtail 59 posts of Superintendents, and the logical sequence of the abolition of 59 Superintendents' Head Clerks, who may be utilised for performing the duties of Inspectors. This will lead to greater efficiency in supervision than now and will result in a saving of nearly Rs. 2,50,000. There are 8 City Superintendents of whom 3 are in Calcutta, 3 in Bombay, 1 in Madras, and 1 in Rangoon. Under the scheme formulated by Mr. C. D. Rae, formerly Presidency Postmaster, Calcutta, the City Superintendents' Offices in Calcutta have been amalgamated with that of the Presidency Postmaster and much duplication of work has been saved thereby and much of the work formerly done by the City Superintendents is done now by the Presidency Postmaster himself. If the scheme is adopted in Bombay, it will also reduce the work of the City Superintendent considerably. In that event one City Superintendent will suffice for Calcutta and Bombay and the post of the City Superintendent may be abolished in Madras and Rangoon, which are much smaller towns in comparison with Calcutta and Bombay. Six posts of City Superintendents may thus be safely abolished and a saving of nearly Rs. 38,000 per year will be effected thereby.

The R. M. S. "N" Division which was newly created by splitting up of "C" Division may be re-amalgamated with the "C" Division and R. M. S., "P" Division may be similarly amalgamated with "A" and "O" Divisions. The Headquarters of "N" Division is in Calcutta and that of "P" Division is at Benares although the Postmaster General Bihar and Orissa exercises control over these Divisions. The abolition of these Divisions will result in improved efficiency in administration as well as in considerable saving. Similarly "K" Division may be amalgamated with "W" Division.

The six posts of Reserve Superintendents are superfluous and unnecessary and may be abolished. There is a large number of officials in each Circle who have passed the departmental examination for Superintendent's appointment and are in the waiting list. They may act as Superintendents when any of them go on leave.

*Special Pay and Allowances.*—Six Assistant Directors General, some of the Deputy Postmasters General and all Assistant Postmasters General and some of the Divisional Superintendents get *Special pay*. Over and above special pay the Officers posted in Calcutta, Bombay and Rangoon get *Compensatory Allowances* in addition to house rent. If special pay and house-rent allowances to those who are in receipt of house-rent allowance are abolished, a total saving of nearly Rs. 60,000 a year will be effected.

Now, lastly, considerable savings may also be effected by abolishing the "Imperial Mail Train". This train is run practically for the purpose of facilitating travel to Europe and as such it is intended for Europeans. You can abolish this train and the passengers and the mails can go by the ordinary mail trains, even though they reach the destination a few hours later.

**Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad** (Patna and Chota Nagpur *cum* Orissa : Muhamimadan) : Sir, instead of increasing so many taxes and putting an extra burden on the people of this unfortunate country, I would ask the Honourable the Finance Member to curtail the expenditure of the Army. I know, Sir, he is himself helpless in this matter. I will deal with the question of the Army in later stage of my speech.

Sir, I will also tell the Honourable the Finance Member that India is mainly an agricultural country and not an industrial one. More than 90 per cent. of its population depends wholly and solely upon agriculture and therefore we must primarily concern ourselves with helping the agriculturists. The abnormally low price of the agricultural products of this country has been such this year that the peasants and zamindars have been compelled to part with almost the whole of the produce of the year to pay rents and taxes, leaving practically nothing to feed themselves. This is a serious state of affairs which no Government having the least concern for the welfare of the agricultural population can ignore. I ask the Honourable the Finance Member to witness the wretched condition of the ill-fed and half-clad tillers of the soil in the villages who have been reduced to the verge of starvation. I request him to solve this difficulty without delay if he is really sympathetic towards the poor people of this country. (Applause.)

Sir, everything that is needed by us the Indians is very dear. The free competition has been stopped in the name of protection and naturally, the prices of every day necessities have gone up. Had this dearness been confined to luxuries only, I would have no occasion to complain but the wonder is that the bare necessities of life are dear. The things that we have got to sell are very cheap and those we require for our use are dear but the Government do not pay any heed to it.

Good products in India depend on the fertility of the soil. Fertility of soil depends on irrigation. The great trouble in this poor unfortunate country is that the Provincial Governments are short of funds and the Central Government does not care for irrigation. The little money that the Government have set aside for irrigation is really very disheartening. For a country whose entire population depends upon agriculture, this amount is rather disappointing.

Sir, there are numerous shallow rivers in the country which can easily be converted into canals by stopping their water and putting gates in them. If this can be done, besides the saving of a lot of money, the fertility of the country can be enhanced and there will be no fear of the destruction of the crop for want of monsoon. The Government should take the administration of the whole subject of irrigation into their own hands and should run it on commercial lines. I suggest most emphatically that the Government will not lose a single pie rather, if it managed properly well, it will be a source of permanent income and at the same time it will increase the commonwealth of the country. By spending some money the rivers can easily be converted into canals and thus if there is a good produce the income of the Government will also increase.

Sir, the next point is that the Retrenchment Committee which is proposed to be appointed will be of no use unless the Government are prepared for thoroughly overhauling every branch of the administration because the whole system requires a change. The Government, leaving aside its attitude of persistence, should really try to find a solution of this question. They

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should not restrict its composition only by supporting those who are in agreement with their policy and who support them in every thing right or wrong but men of reputation with wide knowledge of administration should also find their place on it. Unless that is done, in my opinion no useful purpose will be served by this Committee. Those who oppose the present system and those who think it unworkable should also get some seats on that Committee. Opposition Benches should get a chance to express their views and to suggest measures for retrenchment and improvement. For satisfactory results it is essential that there should be small different committees for the different departments. For the sake of economy I will suggest that these committees should work either in the Simla Session of the Assembly or just before the session.

Sir, my next point is about the borrowing policy. If the policy of borrowing abroad is to be continued, certain changes should be made in the procedure. In the first place, it is necessary that there should be a Council of National Debt, whose duty it would be to accord sanction to the flotation of all loans and especially the foreign loans, and otherwise do everything in the best interests of the country's credit. The same Council of National Debt should decide the necessity of a loan, the marketing, place for such loans, the rates and the terms of the loans. I cannot agree that the borrowing policy and loan project should be the secret of the bureaucracy and the money barons. If these loans are public debts you should ask and consult the representatives of the public. This suggestion might be unique but you cannot deny it to the representatives of the people. Can you imagine, Sir, that prospectus of a loan was issued the same day, the list was opened the same day, and the same day it was closed with the result that the application was for 700 per cent. of the amount offered, and if my information is correct, the list was open for half an hour only. Sir, what was the main cause of the overwhelming demand? Was it not the extraordinary rate of interest? In the second place India must shake off her dependence on a single market like London and at the next opportunity, she should negotiate for the flotation of a dollar loan in New York or a franc loan in Paris. France is now consumed with the ambition to figure as a great international monetary centre. With this object in view, the Government of France has removed and is contemplating to remove further many of the disabilities which have kept Paris in the back-ground as an international lending centre. I think Paris is expected to take a leading part in international lending and the amount of new capital available for investment in France is indeed colossal. It will therefore be opportune for India to tap new markets like Paris and New York and shake off her dependence on the one which in interest matter is not at all friendly to her.

Sir, although the Honourable the Finance Member has touched the ratio question at the end of his speech, I attach very great importance to it. It is the cause of the greatest concern to every patriotic Indian. The Currency Bill was forced upon the country in the teeth of the greatest opposition from the non-official Members of this House. The good of the country entirely depends on its exports and not imports because the exports bring in wealth and the imports take it out of the country. Now, we have got to consider whether this ratio of 1s. 6d. will be of any real benefit to the exports of the country. I will say "No, it is not". The rate of the commodities which this

country produces is settled in pounds, shilling and pence and when we sell a thing for £100 we get approximately Rs. 1,820 but if the ratio was maintained at 1s. 4d., India would have got Rs. 1,500 for the same articles sold out for £100. This defective currency policy of the Government has been responsible to a great extent for the economic depression, the trade depression and the agricultural depression. The very great loss which this ratio inflicts upon us is also from those countries other than Great Britain in which our commodities find their market. In exchange for our jute, grains, cotton, etc., the foreign countries pay in their currency and that is converted into pounds and on conversion of these pounds into rupees the loss is apparent. On account of this ratio exchange the money return has been decreased to a very great extent. The country is passing through such a period when there is gloom all over and it hits very hard the poor people of the country when buy anything except their daily bread. If the price of gold comes down to one rupee per tola, it will remain as dear to the poor as it is now and on the other hand if its price is raised to rupees hundred a *rati*, it will continue to remain cheap to the rich. The purchasing capacity of the Indian people has been seriously diminished. The retaining of this ratio of 1s. 6d. at this juncture betrays what I may call a spirit of callousness in the Budget. Sir, we have now had a sufficient experience of the evils which were forecasted in this House in 1927 in connection with this 1s. 6d. ratio. The Government in my opinion do not fail to realise its evil results in their heart of hearts but simply to please others they are thrusting this ratio on us. Sir, I ask "Is it a fair or proper treatment to the people of this country of which you are considered guardians?" My Honourable friend, the Finance Member, cannot even now sacrifice his 1s. 6d. ratio. He must maintain it at that level at any cost. No matter whither we go, we cannot get out of our way the stumbling block of the ratio which has become a part of his policy.

Sir, only the other day in reply to a question, it was stated in the House of Commons that the Government want to retain this rate of exchange. I want to tell the Treasury Benches in plain words that this attitude of theirs will not at all materialise and will end in disaster. Sir, they must remember whatever may be our differences with the Hindus or with the other communities of India we are all Indians; and I would prefer a Hindu Government to a Muslim Government if the latter denies bare justice to its people. (Loud Applause.) Sir, I earnestly appeal to the Finance Member that he should stay his hands even now and should not take any further artificial measures to support the 1s. 6d. exchange ratio of the rupee. If he will agree to do it, I am sure much of the troubles with which we are confronted will disappear.

Sir, my last point is about the Army policy. Sir, the Army in India is unique in its constitution; as far as its expenses go, it is an Indian affair pure and simple, but where its utility is concerned, it is Imperial. There has been no war in Asia between England and other countries in which Indian troops have not been employed, and let me add, Sir, that in the majority of cases it is the Indian Exchequer that has borne the brunt of the expenses. In a number of cases we have been saddled with the ordinary as well as the extraordinary expenses of expeditions, and in only rare cases the War Office of England has borne the extraordinary expenses of the Army. I have recited this history in order to explain why we wish that the Army question should be reopened in all its aspects. Taking into consideration its Imperial utility and the requirements of England as a great

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European Power, it is necessary that the adjustment of expenses should be also on the same basis. Sir, this is not my personal opinion only. The capitation charges, Sir, have increased enormously over what they were in pre-war days, and it is due simply to the short-service system which has been introduced in the post-war years. I would also point out that this system was introduced in England for its European need which compelled her for financial reasons to keep a small standing Army and to have a big reserve in order to draw upon that in cases of need. This will show that in utter disregard of our needs and our capacity to pay a system detrimental to our interests, and exhausting for our purse, has been introduced without our sanction or even giving us an opportunity to advise the Government of India. I am very sorry to say that nearly the whole of the Army Budget was kept as a non-votable Demand. Its meaning was that Government did not want our sanction, did not want our advice about it. We are asked blindly to pay any amount demanded by the Army Department, which has no concern with our revenue, which does not know our condition, the condition of our purse. On a scrutiny of the Army Budget of 1930 and 1931, I find that in the fighting units there has been a slight increase all round. The case with the staff is just the same, *vis.*, there is an increase in every head except in the head of the poor clerks whose number has been reduced by 24. While admitting the necessity of retrenchment and taking pride in having reduced, though partially, the enormous burden of the military Budget, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has not taken into his consideration the fact that administrative services, which are the pet children of the whole of the Government of India, are allowed to expand and to spend more and more money every year. The actual of 1929-30 was 6.74 crores, and it has been estimated for 1931-32 at 7.24 crores, it means an increase of 50 lakhs under one head only that has no concern with the fighting qualities of the Army.

Sir, we have read in history that Nero was fiddling while Rome was burning. While, Sir, India is faced with a deficit of about 14 crores, while trade is ruined, while the agricultural masses are starving and the zamindars have not sufficient money to pay the revenue, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is generously spending on all his Departments without any hesitation. If you wish for an example of the great generosity, you can see that 50 lakhs have been estimated for the marriage allowances of British troops only (Laughter); and now, with your permission, may I ask, Sir, what amount has been kept for the marriage allowances of the Indian troops? Sir, I do not want to hear reasons and explanations; I want to know the figure. (Applause.) I suggest, Sir, that if the Government want to satisfy us, if His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief respects our demands, His Excellency must announce in the near future that at least one whole Division is going to be Indianised wholly and that steps are being taken for an Indian Military College, and that all the savings of the Army Department will be reserved for that purpose. The spirit manifested by H. E. the Commander-in-Chief in the Council of State will encourage the hope that the time for a change of heart has come; and as His Excellency the Viceroy has conquered our hearts by bringing peace in the country, I hope H. E. the Commander-in-Chief will also leave an everlasting name for himself and gain a place in our hearts by genuinely reducing the Army expenses and by bringing the Army more into line with the national demand. (Loud Applause.)

**Mr. H. A. Sams** (Director-General, Posts and Telegraphs): Sir, I do not want to intervene in this debate and add to the number of speeches already made, but I feel that after the somewhat frontal attack from my Honourable friend, Mr. Puri, I must reply on behalf of my Department. I will do so as briefly as possible. Mr. Puri, Sir, has quoted a passage from the Incharge Committee's Report in which the number of officers employed was said to have been 679. This debate has been rather sprung upon me, and I have not had an opportunity of analysing that figure. It is doubtless correct as printed in the Report. I remember however that at the time there was some doubt whether the figure was not capable of considerable explanation. However that may be, the actual figure for the gazetted officers of the Department today is 578 gazetted officers, of which the greater majority are gazetted officers drawing a pay roughly in the neighbourhood of Rs. 300 up to Rs. 750 and are analogous to what are known as Provincial officers. There are, I should say, not more than, probably less than, 130 superior officers according to the accepted sense of the word. Mr. Puri has talked about the addition of another Deputy Director-General. But he has forgotten, or perhaps he is not actually aware of the fact, that when the third Director-General, or fourth including the Director-General of Traffic, was appointed, the post of Deputy Chief Engineer, Telephones, was abolished simultaneously. It therefore left the number of administrative officers exactly the same. He also wishes to abolish one of my Deputies owing to the fact that the work in my office has decreased because we have been able to delegate work to circles. This has certainly brought a welcome relief to my office, but at the same time the volume of work is still high, and I should be very glad of further relief. On this account also he wants to abolish two of my Assistant Directors-General. Well, I can only say that these officers are picked men; so far as I am aware, they are quick workers, and yet every single one of them has to take work home every night and has to work every Sunday in order to get through the work—so much so that the Audit Department has been objecting to the coolie hire which they have been demanding for carrying their files to and from their houses. Mr. Puri, Sir, would like to abolish nine Deputy Postmasters General! This is a somewhat drastic measure. Every single one of these Deputy Postmasters General has from time to time been sanctioned after the most careful consideration not only of myself and my predecessors but also of the Government of India both in the Finance Department and in the Department of Industries and Labour. The work in the Circles owing to various causes is now so complicated and so difficult that it is absolutely essential that the Postmasters General, if they are to exercise proper control and supervision, should have adequate and responsible help to assist them in carrying their burden. Mr. Puri has mentioned certain specific cases, namely, that of Bihar and Orissa, which had not a post of Deputy Postmaster General. In the case of Bihar and Orissa, the Deputy Postmaster General given to that Circle was given when the Railway Mail Service was removed from the control of an independent Deputy Postmaster General and handed over to the control of the Postmaster General for administrative reasons. Thus, Sir, the Deputy Postmasters General, instead of being used definitely for the Railway Mail Service work, were given to smaller Circles in order to assist the Postmaster General. In the case of Burma, which as the House is well aware, used not to have a Deputy Postmaster General, it was I myself who got the Government to agree to his appointment. The work in Burma, as elsewhere, had been increasing enormously and

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it was entirely impossible for the Postmaster General, who is also responsible for the whole of the engineering work in what my Burma friends will admit is a large country, to manage this work unless he had a Postal Deputy who would be able to take his share of the postal burden. As regards the Sind and Baluchistan Circle, that was re-created in, I think, 1922, at the express desire of the commercial community in Karachi, who complained that the Postmaster General of Bombay had not been visiting Karachi a sufficient number of times. As Postmaster General of Bombay, I did my best to remedy that; but, Sir, my predecessor, Sir George Clarke, realised that an important city like Karachi had a claim and, therefore, with the approval of the Government of India he amalgamated Baluchistan with Sind. I deny that the interests of the staff are any the less well looked after than they were under the Postmaster General of Bombay. There is, I am sorry to say, a good deal of communal feeling rife in Sind, but I hope that it will die down in time and I am satisfied and have every confidence in the Director of Posts and Telegraphs in the Sind and Baluchistan Circle. He is as competent and sympathetic as a Postmaster General in Bombay, several hundreds of miles away.

As regards the Range Office at Dacca, that I have very carefully considered. All communities, so far as I am aware, in Dacca itself are in favour of the Range Officer remaining in Dacca. Dacca, as my Honourable friends from Eastern Bengal know well, is an important centre and it is of great advantage to have on the spot an officer who can decide at once a large number of cases which formerly had to be referred to Calcutta. The number of cases actually referred to Calcutta is comparatively small.

Shillong, as you are aware, is still further away from Calcutta and the Assam Government, I think, would not agree or would protest strongly against having their postal officer taken away from them. Actually the amount of savings would be practically nil. My Honourable friend, I think, has somewhat misunderstood the work of the Postal Superintendents. I hope he will take an opportunity one day of actually visiting a Postal Superintendent's office and seeing what he actually does. If he does so, he will, I think, be the first to admit, if he studies the question on the spot, that the work which the Postal Superintendent does is practically impossible for a Postmaster to do. A first class Postmaster can do it because his area is a compact city or town. The Superintendent of Post Offices has to control, administer and look after a very large tract which is always a district and very often a revenue division. We have already tried the Postal Surveyor system which is in force in England and I can tell the House that it failed signally. Mr. Rae's system, which Mr. Puri mentioned, has not, I think, actually resulted in reducing the number of City Superintendents in Calcutta. In any case, it is absolutely imperative that in important cities like Calcutta, Bombay, Rangoon and Madras, we should have under the Presidency Postmasters, officers who are able to help them in their task which would otherwise be almost impossible. As regards Railway Mail Service Divisions, which my Honourable friend has mentioned, that is purely a matter of re-arrangement in order to place in each Circle, the Railway Mail Service under the Postmaster General, and it has not in fact added any new appointments to the cadre of Superintendents.

As regards Reserve Superintendents, we are, in the Department, agreed that they are perhaps no longer necessary and they will be reduced gradually by absorption.

As regards special pay, when you ask officers to work as Assistant Directors-General or Assistant Postmasters General, they have to work with some extra inducement or at any rate some appreciation of that fact should be given to them. That is not peculiar to the Posts and Telegraphs. It is common, I think, to most of the Departments.

Finally, if I may, I will read a very short passage, which sums up the position much better than I can myself sum it up, from a Report by the Ryan Committee of 1924-25, *à propos* the number of officers :

"From this it will be seen that the number of officers in the Post Office and Railway mail service has remained practically unchanged. On the general question, we would say that it appears to us that the summary reduction of staff in response to demands for economies, when not based on detailed consideration of the necessities of the work of the Department, and involving, as it does, the reversal of decisions initially taken as a rule after considerable discussion when the cadres were fixed or increased, is apt to prove an unwise measure."

**Captain Sher Muhammad Khan Gakhar** (Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I just rise not to make a lengthy speech, but to say a few words to remove the misunderstanding which may have taken place by the speech of my Honourable friend Kunwar Raghubir Singh. He mentioned yesterday something about Mr. Brayne's destructive work . . . .

**Kunwar Raghubir Singh** (Agra Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): On a point of personal explanation, Sir. If I used the word "destructive" it was because Mr. Brayne was carrying on a propaganda in Europe during the Birkenheadian regime against the Indian masses and painting them in the blackest colours, and so I suggested the word "destructive". I have nothing to say against his working in India. So I think there is really no misunderstanding, and my meaning is clear.

**Captain Sher Muhammad Khan Gakhar**: My Honourable friend has cleared the misunderstanding. One should go to his district and see what Mr. Brayne is doing to improve the rural life and interests. I have made this statement before this Honourable House because, I, being one of the Jhelum district, see Mr. Brayne's work closely.

**Mr. Amar Nath Dutt** (Burdwan Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Is he still in India?

**Captain Sher Muhammad Khan Gakhar**: Yes, he is, and he will be here for a long time.

So I am in a better position to form an opinion on his schemes and efforts and I honestly say, and I hope my Honourable friend, Nawab Major Talib Mehdi Khan, will support me, that no one as a District Officer has done within my knowledge, such real constructive work as regards rural uplift and improvement as Mr. Brayne has been doing for the last two years in the Jhelum District.

**Mr. Jamal Muhammad Saib** (Madras: Indian Commerce): Sir, I oppose all new taxation and particularly the increased taxes on income and the increased duties on kerosene. I do not think the country can bear any more taxation nor is there any necessity for it. It is all due



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I think to the Government not having retrenched as they ought to have done. Last year they budgeted for a figure of 185 crores and this year they have got the same figure. I cannot see where the retrenchment comes in, and this in spite of the heavy falls in prices and in the cost of living and the great depression in agriculture, trade and industry. According to the Finance Member, the fall in prices between September, 1929, and December, 1930, had been as much as 86 per cent. in exports and 16 per cent. in imports. In spite of all these things we see still the same figure in our Budget. That is why I say that there had been no retrenchment at all. Further it appears to me that they are completely out of touch with the present state of the country and its people. If we say all this we are confronted with the technicalities of votables and non-votables and the bringing in the question of harmonising the salaries of officials in the Central and Provincial Governments. Well, if they have to put so much additional burden on the people who are already very much crushed, I think they could easily forego these technicalities in a way and also by this time they could have found time to get into touch with the Provincial Governments to make harmonious retrenchments in all those salaries. But they will not do anything of the sort.

Then as regards the military expenditure I consider it still very high. I want to point out one or two things to this House. The Inchoape Retrenchment Committee recommended 57½ crores for 1923-24. In that year the expenditure was brought down to 56½ crores, although the Budget for that year was for 62 crores, and it was a reduction of 9 crores from the previous year; as the previous year's expenditure was 65½ crores. But after that for eight years up to 1931-32 it had been cut down by only 3½ crores. In the meantime they had the advantage of the ratio to the extent of 12½ per cent. and the falling prices. My point is this. It is because the Retrenchment Committee recommended that the expenditure should be brought down, it was brought down by 9 crores in one year and that in spite of the fact that for that particular year the Budget was for 62 crores, that is to say, 6 crores less than the Budget estimate of that year and 9 crores less than the actual expenditure of the previous year. I therefore want to urge upon the House that unless we lay down a policy and tell the military authorities plainly that we shall give them only so much, they will never retrench. For you see that after that for 8 years their cutting down comes to only 3½ crores. The answer may be given that they are guided by expert opinion. Of course, like all experts, they generally try to make things very very safe and in their anxiety to do so sometimes they not only provide for very remote contingencies, but at times also for improbable probabilities. So unless we lay down a policy and tell them that only this amount will be given, I do not think they are really going to cut down the expenditure. We have allowed the Military Department to spend much more than is required or justified simply because the people had no voice in the matter. Now, we cannot stand the strain any more and more so in the present circumstances.

As regards the increased taxation on income, I consider, as Mr. Mody said the other day, that it had already become really a tax on capital. People in business know that it is really a tax on capital and now they want to increase it still further to the serious injury of the people in trade and commerce and to the further detriment of trade and commerce. Then

the Finance Member said the other day that if he allowed the carry forward of losses he would have to find a crore of rupees. There was a suggestion that by increasing the export duty on hides and skins he may have half a crore or one crore. I say that when it is a question of justice combined with industrial development the thing should be carefully considered. I completely disagree with the Finance Member when he said that so far as the revenues and the collection of taxes are concerned Government should only be guided by questions of expediency and nothing else.

Sir, I now come to the tanning industry. It had been admitted, although figures are not available for inland trade, that the production of skins and hides in this country comes to about 40 or 50 crores per annum. The import of manufactured articles comes to less than a crore of rupees. Leather, artificial leather, boots and shoes and everything else come to about 90 lakhs, and if you take away the cost of production in other countries, I think it will come to something like 50 lakhs worth of skins and hides. You cannot protect an industry or trade of about 50 crores or something like that by obstructing the import of 50 lakhs or even a crore of rupees. That this industry had this peculiar circumstance about it and that it must therefore be protected by an export duty was recognised by the Government themselves and they levied in 1919 a duty of 15 per cent. *ad valorem* on the export of raw skins and hides.

But unfortunately that coincided with the world-wide depression of 1920-21. Some people attributed the heavy fall of 1920-21 to this duty and now of course everybody knows that that fall was all due to the trade depression existing then and nothing else. All trades were depressed in that year and so was this trade in raw skins and hides too. I have only to point out that now practically there is no duty on hides thanks to the recent action of the American Government and in skins really there is a handicap of 5 per cent. against Indian tanners. And yet we have now a drop of more than 50 per cent. in the prices. What is the cause of it now if the duty was the cause in 1920-21? The duty had nothing to do with it. It was all due to the world-wide depression. Now I want to point

4 P.M. out here that the skins are mainly exported to America—nearly 80 per cent. As regards hides they go to Germany and other continental countries. These foreign interests have branches and agencies—and that is my point—all over Northern India for the collection of these raw skins and hides for export to foreign countries. Government, misled by the agitation engineered and influenced by these foreign interests who are established all over Northern India, mistakenly reduced the duty from 15 to 5 per cent. in 1923. This wrong action of the Government not only stopped the onward progress of the industry but also stunted and depressed it. From then it had become a hard struggle to keep it going. Then came the rising exchange ratio and then the world depression and now this discriminating revised American tariff of 1930, which was passed in June, 1930, and given effect to in September, 1930. The revised tariffs are these: 10 per cent. import duty on tanned skins: none on raw skins; 15 per cent. on tanned hides; 10 per cent. on raw hides. The net result is our export duty is entirely neutralised and as against an export duty of 5 per cent. we had on skins exported to foreign countries, Indian tanners are now under a handicap of 5 per cent. because the tables had now been turned against us.

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I have to point out here, as I pointed out in another place, that this differentiation between hides and skins by the American Government is due to this fact: most of our raw skins go to America; the exports of raw hides to America are negligible and so they do not worry about the hides. Let us see what the result of this American action is: For ten months—April to January—the shipment of tanned skins and hides from the whole of India to all destinations fell down from 818 lakhs in 1928-29 and 688 lakhs in 1929-30 to 541 lakhs during the last ten months ending with January, 1931—or a fall of 20 per cent. compared with 1929-30 and of 84 per cent. compared with 1928-29. The first may be due to depression, but the last must be due to some other cause and that is the revised American tariff. Let us see it in another way. The duty came into effect in September, 1930: so I take it this way: April to August (five months) the corresponding exports of tanned skins and hides were 295 lakhs; September to January they were 246 lakhs or a fall of 17 per cent. If you take only the shipments to America this is more striking: Tanned skins and hides shipped to America during the five months of April to August were Rs. 4,30,000 and September to January Rs. 1,90,000 or a fall of 56 per cent. That this is not due to depression will be made clear by comparing also the exports of raw skins and hides to America. April to August for five months our exports of raw skins and hides to America were 127 lakhs; September to January 93 lakhs or a fall of 27 per cent. I do admit that you cannot compare like this the first five months and the second five months, because there are always differences in the different seasons. Therefore let us compare it in another way, allowing for the changes in the demand in the different seasons. Shipments of raw skins and hides to America for five months—September to January: it was 131 lakhs in 1928-29, 130 lakhs in 1929-30 and 98 lakhs in 1930-31: that is to say, only a fall of 28 and 29 per cent. respectively, as compared with the previous years. As regards tanned skins and hides exported to America for the same period from 24½ lakhs for the same period in 1928-29 it dropped to 13½ lakhs in 1929-30 and to only 2 lakhs in 1930-31; that is to say a depreciation of 86 per cent. as compared with 1929-30 and 92 per cent. as compared with 1928-29. You cannot call this all due to depression. The tanning industry is not even in the position in which it was before the American tariff was levied. If you increase the present duty on raw hides to ten per cent. you will give it the protection which it had till the new American Tariffs took effect while if you increase the duty on raw skins to 15 per cent. you will give 5 per cent. protection only. I am suggesting this to encourage (Interruption) the industry and you will get 45 lakhs new money by that; and if you revert to the old position we were in before 1923 you will have a further increased revenue of 60 lakhs. The first cannot be done now because there is no change of policy and as regards the other thing—restoration to the position we were in before the duty was reduced from 15 to 5 per cent.—the matter can be referred to the Tariff Board or you can have the whole matter—both the cases—referred to the Tariff Board and let them consider it from the point of view of the different interests of the country. (Interruption.) The Tariff Board never considered it. I think my friend, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, refers to the Fiscal Commission Report: I have already referred to that. I said the Fiscal Commission was wrong in its finding because they did not take into consideration all the facts connected with this industry. With

the production of skins and hides of the value of about 50 crores and the import of finished leather amounting to less than a crore, you cannot protect an industry which is connected with a trade of about 50 crores by simply putting up a wall against that import trade of less than a crore. To make it clear, supposing we had no imports of cotton textiles, I do not think any protection could be given to our textile industry in India by putting up our import duty alone. That is the position. Some say that by putting up our export duty the outlet for our materials may be affected, but that is not so. The Indian production of hides ranges between 25 and 30 per cent. of the whole world and her production of goat skins is one-third of the whole world's production. Now, if you take into consideration the quantity that could be spared by this country, the position of India, so far as this trade is concerned, becomes overwhelmingly preponderant. I may further point out that we have got certain unique classes of goat skins and hides, and people who are accustomed to use such goat skins and hides will necessarily like to have them. In short, it comes to this. The world cannot do without our hides and skins, that being so and when there are fluctuations which go up to 50 or 60 per cent., if you merely put on a small duty, how it will kill the trade one cannot understand.

There is another thing to be noted here, Sir. 20 or 30 years ago when I was a young man, we used to get raw skins from Amritsar, Cawnpore, Calcutta and other places in the North and we used to tan this material in Madras and send them to America. In those days America was not tanning our raw skins, and so they were buying our tanned skins. Then they wanted to discourage our tanning industry, and towards that end they put on an import duty of 25 or 33½ per cent. and left the raw skins free and thus built up their industry. Well, they have killed the industry so far as we were using our raw stuff from the North, but now they want to kill also the industries using the raw stuff available in the South. Further, Sir, it must be remembered that the tanning industries in the North are meeting only the local demands, but the industries in Bombay and Madras is mainly for export purposes. So it will be seen, Sir, that we are competing with them both in India as well as in the consuming markets of the foreigners. Therefore, the underlying idea is to kill our industry for the simple reason that they will get the whole of our raw products at their mercy. For then they will not have to face our competition. Is that a state of things which this country would welcome?

Another thing I want to bring to the notice of the House is this. When the Cess Committee was considering this question,—and I was a member of it,—representations were received from almost all commercial bodies, industrial associations and other organisations including the Provincial Governments. Almost all of them wanted the maintenance of the present protective duty, and in some cases they suggested even an enhancement of it. Of course, one or two associations which were concerned only with the export of raw skins and hides did not want this export duty. (Interruption.) I have already referred to that.

Now the position is this. The evidence which we received in the Cess Committee showed that the country wants this export duty. The Federation of Indian Chambers have been agitating for the enhancement even of the existing duty, whereas the Associated Chambers of Commerce wants that this duty should be removed. Now, I want the House to remember this. Almost all the tanners are Indians, perhaps there may be one or two per cent. who are not Indians. So I say that the opinion of the

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Indian bodies in this matter should carry weight, and not that of the European Association, because so far as the industry is concerned, it is mainly manned by Indians, and therefore their opinion must carry the greatest weight. Not only that. Sir, recently the Madras Government seeing the serious state of affairs in Madras,—because Madras is supposed to be the largest centre in the whole world for the export of tanned skins and hides—made a representation to the Government of India; the Tanners' Associations and other bodies interested in this industry have also been making appeals and protests, but the Honourable the Commerce Members seems to be sitting tightly over them all and doing nothing. Perhaps he may think that some two or three years ago this question was decided. The immediate cause why this question has become so urgent and pressing now is the action of a foreign Government taken about six months ago thus creating an entirely new situation. Therefore, what I want to submit to the House is this, the Government should immediately restore the old position which existed before the American duties came into vogue; and that will give them 45 lakhs new money, at the same time—if they do this—they will be uplifting this industry which is fast sinking. With regard to the question of further protection, they can refer that question to the Tariff Board.

Now, Sir, I want to say a few words about the exchange ratio and contraction of currency . . . .

**Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar:** Sir, before my friend goes into that subject, I should like to ask him how he meets the argument urged yesterday by our friend, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad. Here is 50 crores trade in hides and skins. If you increase the duty that trade is likely to be affected, and instead of encouraging the trade, it will have to be buried in the earth. That was the argument made yesterday. Does my Honourable friend meet that argument?

**Mr. Jamal Muhammad Saib:** It was thoroughly gone into.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** We would like to know how . . . . (inaudible).

**Mr. Jamal Muhammad Saib:** I must point out that the export trade in raw skins is only recent. I have got the Report here, and I can read the sentence. (*An Honourable Member:* "Please read it".)

**Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar:** The point is, is the trade likely to be diverted from India?

**Mr. Jamal Muhammad Saib:** I understand the point. "The development of an export trade in raw skins, especially in goat skins, is comparatively more recent than in the case of hides." The point is this, until recently India was consuming all her finished goods and also exporting some of them to foreign countries. It is only after the introduction of the chrome tanning industry and the cheapening of transports, that some of our raw materials are being exported. The answer to my friend is this. Out of 40 to 50 crores of trade, we are now exporting only about 8 crores worth of raw skins and hides, both put together. We have got tanneries not only in Madras and Bombay, but also throughout the country from

Calcutta to Peshawar. I mean those small tanneries which work as cottage industries and which cater for local needs. In Northern India even a poor sweeper wears shoes, and all this stuff is made by the local manufacturers.

Another thing I want to point out is this. Just before the war, taking the case of Madras alone, our shipments were less than 3,000 bales of tanned hides per month, but during the war, our shipments went up to 8,000 bales per month. What I mean, is, given the opportunity, we can handle all this stuff in India. Why? When even now we are handling 40 crores worth of stuff in India, can we not handle another 8 crores worth of stuff in India?

Then another point raised by some one here was this. It was suggested that our trade in raw skins and hides may deteriorate, but it is all a myth. One or two years ago, the value of these raw materials was at least twice of what it is today, and in the meantime, if anything has happened, it has happened in favour of the raw hide and skin trade because of the American tariff. In spite of that, we find a drop of more than 50 per cent. The prices depend upon supply and demand, and a duty of five per cent. this way or that way does not very much matter. As I have already said, the point to be considered is this. The industries in other parts of the country have been killed, and there is now only this industry, so far as export is concerned, in Madras and Bombay. If it is also killed, the time will soon come when we will have to depend upon the tender mercies of the foreign exploiters of our raw materials, and they will fix their own prices, and we will have to bow to them. They are using their raw stuffs. We do not get their raw stuffs here. They want to carry away our raw stuffs to their country for the employment of their own men, and why should we not worry about the employment of our own men?

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** I should like to finish this argument by reading a sentence. . . . .

**Mr. President:** I cannot allow these interruptions. The Honourable Member (Mr. Jamal Muhammad Saib) will please go on with his remarks.

**Mr. Jamal Muhammad Saib:** The Honourable the Finance Member in his Budget speech spoke in justification of the policy of contraction of currency. His justification is the falling of prices and trade depression. May I ask him whether other countries have also effected similar contractions? A big country, almost a sub-continent, with a rapidly growing population and in course of development, must require more and more currency and not less and less. The latter denotes an unhealthy state of the country, I should call it dyspeptic, requiring immediate attention. Well, Sir, contraction of currency might take place in other countries once in a way, just as you take a purgative or something like that once in a way. But if it goes on in the manner that it does now in India, I do say it that there is something wrong with the system, which must be attended to immediately. I do admit that the present exchange ratio has in a way necessitated it, because by depressing the industries and commerce of the country, it has weakened the export trade, and at the same time, has induced the flight of capital. As a consequence thereof,—and here I agree with the Government—the Government find it difficult to make remittances home to meet their home charges. One of the methods adopted by Government to meet these difficulties is to contract currency and dispose of that

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portion of the reserves which is held against the contracted portion. At this rate our reserves would all disappear in course of time and there will perhaps be very little currency left to the country for the use of the people and of the trade. The second method is to borrow in London at high rates of interest, thus piling up our debt liabilities as well as the interest charges.

To me it appears that the flight of capital is caused in another way. Since our industries, commerce and agriculture are depressed and since investment here has become unprofitable and therefore unattractive, thanks to the present exchange—what else could capital do? The capital is naturally scared away, and added to that, there is the profit to be made by remitting abroad when the exchange is high. In short, as long as this exchange is high, there will always be this flight of capital, and I would ask the Honourable the Finance Member just to compare the figures of export of capital. If you take the year 1920 when the exchange was very high, and also the years since it became 1s. 6d. and compare them with the figures of those years when the exchange was 1s. 4d. I think he will himself have to open his eyes. The net result of the exchange and currency policy of the Government has been, depressed trade, flight of capital, financial stringency and dear money, and impoverishment of the people. The Honourable the Finance Member has referred to the fall of prices in primary agricultural products. That has restricted production and reduced the consuming power of the agriculturists, which in turn affects the industry and employment and wages of labour. For it must not be forgotten that the demand and wages of labour depend upon the prosperity or adversity in agriculture and industry. Agricultural and industrial countries with larger exports and smaller imports require a lower ratio, just like America.

The Honourable the Finance Member referred to the balance of trade when Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad was speaking yesterday, on the losses on exports not being covered by the gains on imports. In simple terms it might be put this way. It is covered by the remittances of the earnings of foreign shipping and insurance companies and foreign residents in India, and also the remittances of the Government to meet their home charges. Now, the visible balance now may only be equal to meet these home charges, referred to above. Perhaps, it may not even be enough for that. When the balance of trade is much larger and there is a balance left after meeting all these charges and the remittances I have referred to, it increases the import of our treasure. Of course, we are getting some treasure, but not what we used to before; it is about only half. So, I agree that now the losses on our exports may be offset by the gains on imports visible and non-visible put together. He has evidently in mind what the Government are saving by remitting at 1s. 6d. to meet the home charges, and he might save there about 4 or 5 crores of rupees. But I want him just to think over this. That to gain these 4 or 5 crores of rupees, what does he make the people of India do? They have to lose hundreds of crores by the fall of prices and depression in trade and commerce and industry in order that the expenditure may be Rs. 4 or 5 crores less. It is far better to allow people to earn those hundreds of crores and collect from them the additional 4 or 5 crores, if that were necessary, because with a prosperous trade and commerce and agriculture, when the earnings of the people are much larger, they can afford to pay more taxes. This exchange

ratio which is bringing in all these troubles to the country—it is this exchange ratio our Government proclaims from the housetops that it is prepared to maintain at all costs by mobilising all its resources. Now, they seem to have acquired a new and powerful ally in the person of His Majesty's Government, perhaps as a benefit of our Finance Member's recent visit to London, where he might have negotiated the terms of this alliance. I hope, however, that the mobilisation of all the resources will not also include the formidable military resources of both the Governments.

The Honourable the Finance Member very often speaks of the shaking of confidence. I cannot understand why this was not considered when they changed the exchange ratio twice before? Another ground urged is that this House passed the Bill in favour of 1s. 6d. We all know how it was done. Even so, the Act was passed by a majority of only two or three votes and if you take away the Government block, including the nominated Members, then only can you find out the real will of the people and the verdict of the country. It was quite clear that an overwhelming majority was against 1s. 6d. So I do not therefore think there is any justification for the continuation of this ratio.

There were two commissions. One was Babington Smith Committee, of which Sir Dadiba Dalal was a member, and the other was the Hilton Young Commission, of which Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas was a member. I want to draw the attention of the House to the fact that in the first commission there were about 11 members, of whom only one was an Indian and in the other at least one man who is an Indian was against it. What was the result? When the Government started the Reserve Councils policy on the recommendation of the majority report of the Babington Smith Committee, within a few months they had to throw it out and the wisdom of the solitary Indian, Sir Dalal, was thus justified as against the combined wisdom of all the others put together and I think Government would have done much better if they had also followed the advice of Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas as expounded in his dissenting minute. They would have then saved themselves and the country much trouble in the second case.

Another argument generally used is that even if it had been an error to fix the ratio at 1s. 6d. it should not be disturbed now, because it will have a disturbing effect. I think it could be altered without any disturbance or with the least disturbance. It is a question of ways and means, once the policy is adopted. They have done it before. I do say this that, even if there be a disturbance, it should be put up with in view of the fact that it is the cause of all our troubles. A little trouble should not be minded. I would compare it to the case of a patient suffering from carbuncle. There will be some trouble if you operate. Are you going to allow the patient to be slowly poisoned to death or are you going to operate, subject the patient to a little inconvenience and save his life. The present method is to save the trouble of operation and allow the patient to die of slow poison.

Another thing I would urge upon this House is that even if the Government do not find their way to meet the wishes of the people, let them take a referendum of the country and then they will know what exactly the country feels in the matter. They know that the country is dead against the 1s. 6d. ratio and they are therefore already talking of safeguards, particularly about exchange and currency, evidently perhaps with a view just



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to hand over an empty shell when they have to hand over the Government of the country to the people. Or it may be that they think too much of the way in which they had managed the currency and exchange policy of the country and that the Indians may not be able to do it so well. We have had enough of this.

As an alternative I would suggest that the whole matter be inquired into by a commission composed of Indian business men and economists with a good and effective representation of the agricultural interests of the country, because the agriculturists are the greatest sufferers of this ratio, even more than those in commerce and industry. The commission should hold its inquiry in India in order to keep in view the interests of this country alone and not those of others. They could bring in a few foreign experts if necessary for consultation and not for advice. We have had enough of these foreign experts.

The Honourable the Finance Member very often refers to the maintenance of the gold standard in India. What the country really wants is not so much the gold standard but gold currency because a gold standard without a gold currency is simply useless as it is now. You know the present fall of prices in silver. In case a national crisis occurs, people here have only token coins in their hands which are only worth about 8 or 9d. or something like that, though they are supposed to be worth 18d. These are the investments and the assets of the masses. It is good for nothing. So I say what we want is gold currency. Without gold currency, a gold standard is useless. There is one argument urged in this connection; that it may disturb the supply of gold to the world. I do grant that the supply of gold to the world may not be enough to go round. That is a thing for other countries of the world to think over. If you take care of yourself, the others will take care of themselves. We need not worry about the requirements of other countries.

**Raj Bahadur Sukhraj Rai** (Bhagalpur, Purnea and the Santhal Parganas: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I rise to take part in the discussion that is going on in the House. At the outset, I must throw unstinted praise on the Honourable the Finance Member on the philosophic courage with which he has presented the Central Budget for the year 1931-32 in this House even when "times are bad". But according to him "The time has not yet come for panic measures or desperate experiments which might land us in unknown complications or endanger the efficiency of the whole machinery of Government". Not to speak of the Government, every class and every section of people in India from the highest down to the poorest are at present faced with a financial crisis the like of which was never witnessed during living memory. If this dismal situation be not handled properly, there will be nothing strange if it becomes still worse. For what is really the financial position of the Central Government as disclosed by the Budget? The revised estimates for the current year show that Government are faced with a total deficit of 14.42 crores of rupees and setting of the sum of 86 lacs of rupees shown as surplus in the final Budget estimates against this loss, the total deficit for the current year works up to 18.56 crores of rupees. The situation is certainly a grave one and the Finance Member is really to be congratulated for keeping his brain cool enough to avoid "panic measures and desperate experiments".

Sir, how has this huge deficit been brought about? Important revenue heads as Customs, Income-tax, and Salt and Opium show a deterioration of 12·10 lakhs. Posts and Telegraphs 89 lakhs, Debt services and Currency 138 lakhs and other heads 5 lakhs. Of the loss under Customs, cotton piece-goods contribute 345 lakhs and jute 85 lakhs.

From this picture of the financial position of the Government of India at the close of the current year, let me now turn to the ways and means adopted by the Government to meet it. In the Budget for this year, the Finance Member estimated that a loan of 23½ crores in India together with borrowings in London to the extent of £6 millions would enable Government not only to meet the excess of disbursements over receipts but also to reduce the amount of Treasury Bills outstanding in India by 4 crores. At the end of the year, however, he finds that, in spite of a loan of 29·71 crores in India and sterling borrowing amounting to £31 millions, the amount of Treasury Bills outstanding with the public in India will be some thing like 45 crores. The Finance Member estimates the total real deterioration in India at about 64½ crores, and this is how the present year is expected to close.

Sir, the prospects for the next year are gloomier still. Receipts are estimated to be less than the Budget estimates for the current year and the total deterioration is estimated at 18·10 crores. The current year's Budget however provides for a surplus of 86 lakhs. The net deficit for the coming year therefore on the basis of the current year's figures is estimated to be 17·24 crores, the losses on the various items being estimated to be 18·16 crores in tax-revenue, 1·18 crores on commercial departments and 3·76 crores on General Finance headings.

Sir, this deficit is sought to be filled up partly by retrenchment and partly by additional taxation. As regards retrenchment, a total reduction of 175 lakhs is contemplated in military expenditure, and 98 lakhs in various civil expenditures, thus making a total of 273 lakhs. Putting this item against the estimated deficit of 17·24 crores, the figure is reduced to 14·51 crores. This gap is proposed to be filled up by new taxation of 14·82 crores under the heads of Customs and taxes on income. The Customs will bring an additional income of 9·82 crores and the proposed tax on income a net additional revenue of 5 crores. The coming year is thus expected to close with a surplus of 31 lakhs.

Sir, the Finance Member has really made the best of a very bad situation. The increased duties on kerosene oil will affect the poor to some extent but in many cases it is the luxuries such as spirits and wines, cinematograph films, cigars and cigarettes, etc., that have been taxed. Understanding the psychology of the Indian situation, he has proposed giving some measure of protection to indigenous industries such as sugar for instance. So far as the cotton mill industry is concerned, the rise in the income-tax and super-tax has been somewhat mitigated by the surcharge of 5 per cent. on imported cotton piece-goods. It is no wonder therefore that diehards and re-actionaries have been quite upset at this Budget, which they characterise as national or Swadeshi or the Swaraj Budget of India.

Sir, but while I say all this, I cannot shut my eyes to the other side of the picture. It is a pity that the ratio of exchange has not been reduced from 1s. 6d. to 1s. 4d. which was the old rate, due to which India had to suffer a loss of many crores. If the Budget had been truly Indian,

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then the whole deficit would have been wiped out by this item alone without the necessity for further taxation. Again, it has been stated that a Retrenchment Committee will be appointed to reduce the salaries of Government servants to the extent possibly of about 10 per cent. If this Budget had been presented by those who are sitting on the Opposition Benches today, a proposal for a reduction of 50 per cent., in higher salaries would have been put forward, without finding any necessity for increase in taxation.

Sir, if the salaries of high officers in India are the heaviest in the world, the expenses on the Military Department are no less large. Indeed there is no business for an unarmed country like India to bear such lavish expenses on its Army. But this expenditure has been estimated to be most necessary for India, and a reduction of only 175 lakhs is proposed to be made on this head, even in this acute period of financial crisis when in other countries this expenditure has been reduced to half. If the reduced strength in the Army was considered insufficient afterwards for national defence, steps might well be taken later on to increase the strength of the Army. But in this time of world depression, statesmanship requires that the expenses on this head should be the most irreducible minimum.

Sir, the middle classes will also be no less hit by the new Budget. The increase of rate of income-tax will tell severely upon the merchants and traders. Already the business is at a standstill and the effect of increase in rate would be that there will be an end of it.

Sir, but perhaps the worst sufferers would be the rich people who had always prided themselves on being on the side of Government in spite of the gibes and jeers of the rest of their countrymen. They will now be seriously disillusioned. As is well known, they are already finding it difficult to pay revenue and road cess to Government on account of a total suspension of rent from tenants due to the heavy fall in prices of crops. The almost doubling of the rate of their income-tax and the increased taxation on the so-called luxuries which are to them the necessaries of life will make it difficult for any rich man to continue to be rich any more. In this respect the Budget may be aptly called a Socialist Budget.

Sir, I hope the Finance Member will yet revise the Budget in the light of these remarks and not disappoint us by clinging to it especially when a truce has been arrived at between the Government and the Congress and conditions have materially changed. Sir, with these words, I resume my seat.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, the 19th March, 1931.