

Tuesday, 29th September, 1931

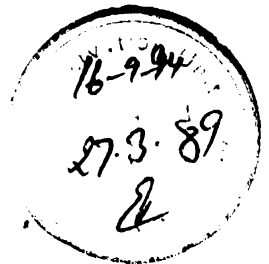
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THE
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES
(Official Report)

Volume VI, 1931

(23rd September to 3rd October, 1931)

SECOND SESSION
OF THE
FOURTH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
1931



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Legislative Assembly.

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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Tuesday, 29th September, 1931.

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

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

GOVERNMENT SERVANTS MURDERED DURING THE LAST FIVE YEARS.

1059. *Kunwar Hajee Ismail Ali Khan : Will Government kindly lay on the table the following information regarding those Government servants who are subordinates to the Governor General in Council and were murdered during the last five years, in communal and political disturbances ?

1	2	3	4
Name of the servant.	Scale of his salary.	Period of his service.	What compensation or other facilities have been given to his family.

The Honourable Sir James Orerar : The information is being collected and will be communicated to the Honourable Member in due course.

†1060.

PROMOTIONS TO THE POST OF INSPECTING OFFICER IN CANTONMENTS.

1061. *Khan Bahadur Haji Wajihuddin : (a) Is it a fact that old experienced and senior Executive Officers (of the Cantonment Magistrates Department) have recently been ordered to pass a double examination (or fresh examination) before securing the post of Inspecting Officer ?

(b) Is it a fact that in consequence of the order referred to in part (a), inexperienced and junior officers are being promoted after a single examination to the post of Inspecting Officer over the heads of their seniors ?

(c) Is it a fact that these junior officers (Captains or Majors) on being appointed Inspecting Officers make a big jump and become Colonies drawing double the amount of pay to their usual scale of pay ?

(d) If the answer to part (c) is in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state how far they are justified in putting fresh burdens on the exchequer especially at this critical juncture when all the departments are doing their best to retrench their expenses ?

†This question was disallowed by Mr. President.

(e) Are Government aware that great discontent is prevailing among the old and senior officers and, if so, are Government prepared to consider the advisability of removing all such restrictions for senior officers forthwith ?

Mr. G. M. Young : (a) No, Sir. In 1926, shortly after the framing of the Military Land Administration rules under the Cantonments Act, 1924, a special examination was prescribed for those officers of the late Cantonment Magistrate's Department who had not already reached, or officiated in, appointments of Inspecting Officer, to qualify themselves for such appointments under the new system of cantonment and military land administration. The examinations were optional, and were held twice annually from October, 1926 to April, 1929, when they were discontinued.

(b) No, Sir. It is a fact that there are a few senior officers still serving in the Department as Executive Officers, who did not wish to take the examination, and are consequently not qualified for appointment as Inspecting Officers. But with these exceptions, appointments of Inspecting Officers are made by selection from among the most senior officers of the Department. The most junior officer at present officiating as Inspecting Officer has 26 years' total military service, and over 12 years' service in the Cantonments Department.

(c) The answer is in the negative.

(d) Does not arise.

(e) No, Sir. The emoluments of Inspecting Officers are very little more than those of senior Executive Officers : and as I have already indicated, a few officers who declined to qualify for appointment to the administrative grade did so at their own option.

COMMENT IN A NEWSPAPER ON A PENDING CASE BY AN HONORARY MAGISTRATE.

1062. ***Khan Bahadur Haji Wajihuddin :** (a) Are Government aware that a case, Fateh Chand *versus* Jethmal, under section 500, I. P. C., was pending in the Court of the Honorary Magistrate's Bench—A at Ajmer in 1929, when an article relating to the subject-matter of the said case was published by Dr. Gulab Chand Patni, a member of the said Bench, in his newspaper, the *Syadwad Martand*, Ajmer, dated the 15th August, 1929 ?

(b) Are Government aware that in his orders, dated the 4th October, 1929, in Criminal Application No. 33 of 1929, the Hon'ble the Judicial Commissioner, Ajmer-Merwara, made the following remarks on the conduct of the said Gulab Chand Patni in connection with the said article ?—
“ It is nothing short of contempt of Court, and in England he, the writer and editor of the paper, would all have been fined for contempt of Court for commenting on pending proceedings with a view to prejudicing the trial. A man who is a magistrate should not have published an article of that kind. It is a scurrilous and offensive article ”.

(c) Did Government take any steps, relating to the said Dr. Gulab Chand Patni on the above remarks of the Hon'ble the Judicial Commissioner ? If so, what ? If not, why not ?

(d) Is it a fact that the said Dr. Gulab Chand Patni has continued to be, and is still, an Honorary Magistrate at Ajmer after the remarks of the Hon'ble the Judicial Commissioner referred to in part (b) above ?

Mr. E. B. Howell : (a), (b) and (d). Yes.

(c) Gulab Chand Patni expressed regret to the Commissioner of Ajmer, who warned him that any such lapse in future would involve serious consequences for him.

APPOINTMENT OF AN UNTRAINED TEACHER IN THE GOVERNMENT SECONDARY SCHOOL AT PISANGAN, AJMER-MERWARA.

1063. ***Khan Bahadur Haji Wajihuddin :** (a) Is it a fact that an untrained teacher has been recently appointed to teach English in the Government Secondary School, Pisangan, Ajmer-Merwara ?

(b) Is it a fact that untrained English teachers are not allowed to be employed in Government service to teach English under (i) the rules of the Educational Code in force in Ajmer-Merwara ; (ii) the combined cadre of teachers in Ajmer-Merwara recently sanctioned by Government ? If so, why was the untrained teacher referred to in part (a) above, appointed in violation of rules ?

(c) How many Anglo-Vernacular teachers were trained for the C. T. Examination at Government expenses in the Government Normal School, Ajmer, in 1929-30 and 1930-31 ?

(d) How many of the above teachers were successful in the C. T. examination and how many of them were employed in Government service ?

(e) Is it a fact that several teachers successful in the C. T. examination in 1930, and 1931, and trained for that examination at Government expense in the Government Normal School, Ajmer, have not been provided with employment in Government service ? If so, why was the untrained teacher referred to in part (a) above given preference to such teachers trained at Government expense in regard to appointment in Government service in the Government Secondary School, Pisangan ?

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain : With your permission, Sir, I shall deal with questions Nos. 1063 and 1064 together. The information asked for is, I regret, not available at present, but it is being collected and will be supplied as soon as possible.

GOVERNMENT GRANT TO THE D. A. V. HIGH SCHOOL, AJMER.

1064. ***Khan Bahadur Haji Wajihuddin :** (a) Is it a fact that the Government grant-in-aid to the D. A. V. High School, Ajmer, was discontinued in 1929-30 ? If so, why ?

(b) Is it a fact that the Government grant-in-aid to the said school has been again sanctioned ? If so, from what date ?

(c) Will Government please place on the table of the House a list of the present teachers in the D. A. V. High School, Ajmer, stating (i) the number of trained teachers, (ii) the number of untrained teachers who have passed any examination of a University, Board, or department recognised by Government, and (iii) the number of untrained teachers who have not passed any examination of a University, Board, or department recognised by Government ?

†For answer to this question, see answer to question No. 1063.

(d) Is it a fact that there is a good number of untrained and unqualified teachers in the said D. A. V. High School, Ajmer ?

(e) Is it a fact that some untrained and unqualified teachers of the said D. A. V. High School are drawing higher salaries than some trained teachers of the said school ? If so, is it a fact that untrained Arya Samajist teachers are given preference to trained non-Arya Samajist teachers in the said school in matters of salary and status ?

(f) Is it a fact that the Government grant-in-aid to the aided schools in Ajmer-Merwara towards the expenses incurred in the salaries of teachers is calculated on the basis of scale of salaries fixed for trained and qualified teachers by the Education Department, Ajmer ?

(g) If what are stated at parts (d), (e) and (f) above are facts, will Government please state why the Government grant-in-aid has been again sanctioned for the said D. A. V. High School, Ajmer ?

APPOINTMENT OF A SUPERANNUATED OFFICER AS SECRETARY OF THE
RAJPUTANA BOARD OF SECONDARY EDUCATION.

1065. *Khan Bahadur Haji Wajihuddin : (a) Is it a fact that the Secretary of the Rajputana Board of Secondary Education is an officer who has retired on superannuation from the Provincial Educational service of the United Provinces ?

(b) If so, will Government inquire and state why a superannuated officer has been appointed to the said Secretary's post ?

Mr. E. B. Howell : Sir, with your permission, I propose to answer questions Nos. 1065, 1066 and 1067 together.

Enquiries have been made from the Local Administrations and the information will be supplied to the Honourable Member as soon as replies are received.

FEES CHARGED FROM CANDIDATES FOR EXAMINATIONS IN RAJPUTANA.

‡1066. *Khan Bahadur Haji Wajihuddin : (a) Is it a fact that the fees charged from the candidates for the examination held by the Rajputana Board of Secondary Education are higher than the corresponding examinations of the Board of Secondary Education in the United Provinces ?

(b) If so, will Government inquire and state why higher fees are charged in Rajputana than in the United Provinces ?

(c) Do Government propose to take any action in the matter ? If so, what ? If not, why not ?

COST OF THE BOARD OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN RAJPUTANA.

‡1067. *Khan Bahadur Haji Wajihuddin : (a) Will Government please place on the table of the House a statement comparing the Board of the High School Examination of the Delhi Province with the Board of Secondary Education in Rajputana in regard to :

(i) the annual amount of money paid as salary and allowance to the Secretary,

‡For answer to this question, see answer to question No. 1065.

- (ii) the number of office clerks,
- (iii) the total amount of money annually spent in the pay of the establishment, and
- (iv) the total amount of money annually spent in contingencies and house rent ?

(b) Is it a fact that there is a full time and highly paid Secretary for the Rajputana Board of Secondary Education, whereas in the Delhi Province there is a part-time Secretary for a similar Board ?

(c) Is it a fact that the Secretary of the said Rajputana Board is assisted by a larger and more costly establishment of clerks than that of the similar Board of the Delhi Province ?

(d) Do Government propose to curtail the expenditure of the said Rajputana Board by appointing a part-time Secretary for it in consideration of the present economical crisis ?

PAY AND ALLOWANCES OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

1068. *Sirdar Harbans Singh Brar : (a) What is the time-scale of pay of the I. C. S. ?

(b) What allowances are admissible to officers of the I. C. S. both Indians and Europeans—as also the concessions enjoyed by them under the Lee Commission's recommendations ?

(c) What were the grounds for which these concessions were allowed ? Have not those grounds since disappeared ? If so, do Government propose to withdraw the allowance and make a percentage cut in their salaries ?

(d) What special allowances or special pays are attached to the posts of Secretaries, Joint, Deputy and Under Secretaries in the various Departments of the Government of India Secretariat ?

(e) Is there any special reason for continuing these allowances when the allowances of the subordinate staff are being curtailed ?

(f) Do Government contemplate to abolish these special pays ? If not, why not ?

The Honourable Sir James Orerar : I would refer the Honourable Member to my reply to Bhai Parma Nand's starred question No. 907 on the 23rd instant.

CONVEYANCE ALLOWANCE FOR SECRETARIAT STAFF IN DELHI.

1069. *Sirdar Harbans Singh Brar : (a) What is the rate of conveyance allowance granted to the staff of the Government of India while at Delhi ? Why and for what purpose was it sanctioned ?

(b) Do Government contemplate to reduce this allowance in the case of the low paid clerks as well as in the case of high salaried officers also ? If so, what is the percentage of reduction of this allowance in the case of both the classes of officers ?

(c) Have Government considered the question as to whether this allowance is really necessary in the case of gazetted officers drawing handsome salaries ?

The Honourable Sir James Creer : With your permission, Sir, I propose to reply to questions Nos. 1069 and 1070 together. I would refer the Honourable Member to the replies given on 24th September, 1931, to starred questions Nos. 905 and 906.

ABOLITION OF "SEPARATION" ALLOWANCE AND FIXATION OF MINIMUM PAYS.

†1070. ***Sirdar Harbans Singh Brar :** (a) Is it a fact that the Government of India are contemplating to abolish the separation allowance altogether ?

(b) What is this allowance and when and why was it sanctioned ? Have the grounds on which it was granted ceased to exist or are they still present ?

(c) Has the allowance been generally availed of by the low paid staff of the Secretariat who fail to get Government quarters in New Delhi ?

(d) Do Government propose to fix a minimum standard of pay of an individual below which the pay and allowances of any servant, granted before the war when the prices were at par with the present prices, should not be reduced ? If not, why not ?

(e) If the answers to parts (a) and (c) be in the affirmative do Government propose to let this allowance stand as it is ?

PROTECTION FOR THE MATCH INDUSTRY.

1071. ***Sirdar Sohan Singh :** (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether they intend taking any action in regard to the recommendations of the Tariff Board regarding the grant of protection to the match industry ?

(b) Are Government aware that the Tariff Board stated that, although they did not desire to suggest any action against the Swedish match combine on the ground of unfair competition "in the present circumstances", yet taking into account the vast resources of the company and the policy pursued by them in other countries, it is necessary that future developments of the company in India should be watched ?

Mr. J. A. Shillidy : The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the Resolution by the Government of India in the Department of Commerce, No. 235-T. (24), dated the 1st September, 1928, published in the Gazette of India of the same date.

ABSORPTION OF INDIAN MATCH COMPANIES BY THE WESTERN INDIA MATCH COMPANY.

1072. ***Sirdar Sohan Singh :** (a) Are Government aware that the activities of the Swedish match combine, through its offshoot the Western India Match Co. Ltd., has, since the Tariff Report was published, consistently pursued a policy of absorbing Indian concerns and of entering into unfair competition with those Indian firms which it has not so far absorbed ?

(b) Are Government aware that this offshoot of the Swedish match combine is in reality only an Indian concern in name, in spite of its Indian directorate and rupee incorporation ?

(c) Have Government given consideration to the question as to whether the methods employed by the Western India Match Company will result eventually in the absorption of every Indian match-manufacturing concern or else its destruction ?

Mr. J. A. Shillidy : With your permission, Sir, I propose to answer questions Nos. 1072 to 1074 together. The activities of the Swedish Match Company and their effect on the indigenous match industry are under examination by the Government of India. The Government are not in a position at present to make any statement on the subject.

REPRESENTATION BY THE INDIAN MATCH-MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION.

†1073. *Sirdar Sohan Singh : (a) Have Government received any representation from the Indian Match-Manufacturers' Association ? If so, what action has been taken on that representation ?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state whether the charges made by the Indian Match-Manufacturers' Association against the Western India Match Company were communicated to Government and whether Government informed the Indian Match-Manufacturers' Association that they were communicating those charges to the Western India Match Company ?

(c) Is it a fact that the Indian Match-Manufacturers' Association agreed to this proposition on the understanding that the rejoinder issued by the Western India Match Company would be communicated to them ?

(d) Is it a fact that the rejoinder has not been communicated to the Indian Match-Manufacturers' Association ?

PROTECTION FOR THE MATCH INDUSTRY.

†1074. *Sirdar Sohan Singh : Are Government prepared to consider :

(1) the levy of excise duty, and

(2) the fixation of a minimum selling price,

in order that the necessary amount of protection should be afforded to the Indian match-manufacturers against the progress of cut-throat competition by the Swedish combine and its offshoots ?

CONTRACTS FOR MOTOR MAIL SERVICES IN MADRAS AND CALCUTTA.

1075. *Sirdar Harbans Singh Brar : (a) What is the subsidy for mail-motor service in Madras and Calcutta ? When were the contracts for these services entered into and for what period ? Is there any provision in the contracts to terminate them by giving notice ? What is the object of such provision ?

(b) Are Government aware that there is a feeling that the India Company is unduly favoured by the Department both as regards the abnormally high subsidy and abnormally long period of the contract ? Why cannot

†For answer to this question, see answer to question No. 1072.

Government take advantage of the provision for terminating the contract by notice and take new contracts by open competition ?

(c) Are Government aware that in Madras it is possible to give the contract on Rs. 6,000 or Rs. 7,000 a month instead of the Rs. 10,000 paid to the India Company ?

(d) Are Government aware that the Managing Director of the Company is in the habit of entertaining the Director General and Postmasters General at tea-parties and dinner parties and that a few months back he even entertained the present Postmaster General and his predecessor to a dance ? Are Government prepared to issue orders deprecating high officers placing themselves under obligation to contractors ?

(e) Are Government prepared to terminate the contract of Madras under the notice clause and to give a fresh contract by open competition ?

Mr. J. A. Shillidy : (a) The replies to the four questions in this part are *seriatim* as follows :

First.—Monthly subsidy—

Madras, Rs. 10,000 recently reduced to Rs. 9,000 ;

Calcutta, for the first five years Rs. 17,000, for the next five years Rs. 16,000.

Second.—Madras, 16th May, 1921, 15 years—

Calcutta, 1st September, 1925, 10 years.

Third.—There is such a clause in the form of agreement drawn up in the case of Madras, but not in that of Calcutta, there being in both cases, however, the usual clause empowering Government to terminate the agreement for default.

Fourth.—To give either party option of release for any reason.

(b) The reply to the first part is in the negative. With respect to the second part, the Madras subsidy has been reduced by Rs. 1,000 a month and Government do not consider any further action necessary at present. As already stated, the Calcutta agreement is not terminable by notice.

(c) No, Sir.

(d) So far as the Postmasters General are concerned, Government have no information. So far as the present Director General is concerned, he has informed Government that he has from time to time accepted the invitation to a tea-party from a gentleman, whom he supposes is the Managing Director.

I may say that I give this explanation at the special request of the Director General himself, but personally I thought that all who know Sir Hubert Sams will agree with me that an explanation of this kind is utterly unnecessary.

With respect to the second part of this question, Government see no necessity to issue any such orders, as Government can trust the Director General and a Postmaster General to accept such hospitality with discretion. I would add that since the Director General visited Madras in December, 1930, the question of reducing the subsidy has been energetically pursued and concluded by the Director General.

(e) In the circumstances already indicated, Government do not propose to take the action suggested by the Honourable Member.

Mr. K. P. Thampan : May I know what objection Government have to inviting tenders for the contract in Madras ?

Mr. J. A. Shillidy : There is a contract now.

Mr. K. P. Thampan : Is there any objection to inviting tenders when the contract expires ? Is it not necessary to find out whether there are others who can do the work for a smaller or a lesser amount ?

Mr. J. A. Shillidy : We have entered into a contract now.

Mr. K. P. Thampan : How long has the present contractor been entrusted with this work ?

Mr. J. A. Shillidy : I should like notice of that, please.

CONFIRMATION OF TEMPORARY EMPLOYEES IN THE RAILWAY BOARD.

1076. ***Mr. Muhammad Muazzam Sahib Bahadur :** (a) Is it a fact that for a considerable time past a number of qualified men have been working in the office of the Railway Board in temporary capacities ?

(b) Are any vacancies likely to occur in the Third Division in the near future and is there any proposal under consideration to confirm in these vacancies those qualified men who have been working for a long time in a temporary capacity ?

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

(b) Except for temporary men who were engaged before recruitment to the Railway Board's office was made through the Public Service Commission, preference is given to qualified men. Such vacancies as existed have been so filled recently and no more are likely to arise in the near future.

TRAVELLING ALLOWANCES AND RAILWAY FARES.

1077. ***Mr. B. N. Misra :** (a) Will Government please state whether it is a fact that the North Western Railway have increased their fares from the 1st October 1931 ?

(b) If so, do Government propose to revise the travelling allowance rates admissible to men employed in the Government of India offices, so that they may have effect from the 1st October 1931 ?

(c) Is it a fact that first and second class railway fares are admissible to men drawing Rs. 751 and Rs. 201, respectively ? Are Government prepared to raise the limit to Rs. 1,001 and Rs. 401, respectively, thereby saving a considerable amount of money ? If not, why not ?

The Honourable Sir George Schuster : (a) Yes, except for journeys of over 300 miles by intermediate class, in which case the fares have been reduced.

(b) Yes.

(c) Yes. This point is one of those that will be considered in connection with the revision of the travelling allowance rules which is at present engaging the attention of Government.

PROVISION OF INCREASED INTERMEDIATE CLASS ACCOMMODATION FOR THE MOVE FROM SIMLA TO DELHI.

1078. *Mr. B. N. Misra : (a) Is it a fact that a very few intermediate class compartments are available at Simla and Kalka on the occasion of the Government of India move ?

(b) If so, do Government propose to instruct the railway authorities at both the places to look into the matter and do the needful ?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons : (a) Yes. The intermediate class accommodation available on the Kalka-Simla section is adequate for normal requirements, but is not sufficient for the abnormal traffic created by the move of the Government of India from Simla to Delhi and Delhi to Simla.

(b) Government understand that the North Western Railway Administration utilise to the fullest extent possible all carriages available when traffic is abnormal and do not consider that any instructions to the Administration are called for.

DISCUSSION OF REPORTS OF THE RETRENCHMENT COMMITTEES.

1079. *Sir Hari Singh Gour : (a) Is it the intention of Government to give this House an opportunity this session to discuss the question of retrenchment of the general expenditure, with or without the aid of the reports of the various Retrenchment Committees appointed for the purpose of advising Government on the subject ?

(b) If so, what date will be set apart for the purpose ? If not, when is this House to be given such opportunity ?

The Honourable Sir George Schnitzer : I would refer the Honourable Member to the announcement which I made last Thursday.

Sir Hari Singh Gour : In view of the importance of the question, will the Honourable Member be pleased to repeat the announcement which he says he made last Thursday ? We do not seem to have heard it.

The Honourable Sir George Schnitzer : I should have thought that the Honourable Member would have recollected a subject on which there was so very full a debate on Saturday. My announcement referred to two things ; firstly, to our currency policy, and secondly, to the intention of Government to introduce a Finance Bill this week. In explaining the latter intention, I said that that would afford the opportunity for this Assembly to discuss the Government's retrenchment plans about which I had repeatedly been asked various questions during the course of this session. The discussion of the Finance Bill and the whole of the Government's financial programme will give opportunities for discussing Government's retrenchment plans, which are perhaps the most important part of the Government's financial programme.

Sir Hari Singh Gour : Do I understand the Honourable the Finance Member to imply that the Government's retrenchment plans are completed ? If I understand aright, the Committees have not yet gone into all the items which were placed before them.

The Honourable Sir George Schnitzer : I think, I may ask the Honourable Member, Sir, to await the statement which I propose to make this evening.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh : May I ask if the Government have any knowledge as to the amount of savings that will be effected as a result of these retrenchment proposals ?

The Honourable Sir George Schuster : I shall do my best to convey to this House the knowledge which the Government have in the course of my statement this evening.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh : May I know when the Retrenchment Reports will be presented to the House ?

The Honourable Sir George Schuster : All Retrenchment Reports which have already been received will be circulated to Honourable Members along with any financial statements which are being circulated this evening.

ALTERNATIVE PROCEDURE TO QUESTIONS.

1080. ***Mr. G. Morgan :** Have Government considered what procedure, other than that of interpellation and answer, is possible to provide Honourable Members with such information as may be desired in respect to departmental detail, particularly concerning appointments on railways, with a view to saving :—

(a) the time of the Assembly ; and

(b) the very considerable labour and expense involved in collecting the information ?

The Honourable Sir George Rainy : (a) and (b). The matter is one in which the remedy lies rather in the hands of Honourable Members than in the hands of Government. The time of the Assembly would be saved if Honourable Members were to ration themselves in the matter of stars. (Laughter.) But if the information asked for is to be supplied, I do not at present see how the labour and expense involved in collecting it is to be avoided. (Laughter.)

Mr. K. Ahmed : Are Government aware that if the various high officials on the railways will only put a proper and sufficient check on the officials below them so as to ensure that they do not commit irregularities and illegalities in the Department, such cases may be greatly reduced ?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons : Sir, I am afraid, I am entirely unable to accept the Honourable Member's allegation that the high officers on the railways do not do their best to stop illegalities on the railways.

Mr. K. Ahmed : May I, Sir, with your permission, illustrate my meaning with some actual cases ?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons : Sir, I shall be delighted if the Honourable Member will bring to my notice definite cases of which he is aware.

Mr. K. Ahmed : Are Government aware that Mr. Parsons had been informed adequately of various grievances of those connected with the coal-fields, and that in the matter of acceptance of tenders for the supply of coal, there has been a lot of agitation, and if Mr. Parsons will go to the coal-fields, he can look into the question and thereby save Government thousands of rupees ?

The Honourable Sir George Rainy : I am afraid, I could not catch the Honourable Member's question, Sir.

Mr. K. Ahmed : Is it not a fact that the Honourable Mr. Parsons was informed adequately that there are lots of grievances of the people of this country in the matter of the acceptance of tenders of coal and other goods that his Department consume every year on the many lines of railways under him ?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons : I have not been informed of these facts, if they are facts, nor do I think this supplementary question really arises out of the main question.

Mr. K. Ahmed : Is it not a fact also that there is one Chief Engineer of Mines at Calcutta at 1, Council House Street with whom the Honourable Member is familiar, and that there is a lot of illegality done in that office in the matter of the acceptance of tenders of coal ?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons : The Honourable Member is referring to a case which took place very nearly ten years ago, and in which the higher officials of the railway took steps to stop the illegality.

Mr. K. Ahmed : And in spite of that, there have been a lot of questions asked, and which have not been adequately answered ?

Dr. B. D. Dalal : May I ask if the Government can give us the average cost of answering a question ? (Laughter.)

The Honourable Sir George Rainy : I should certainly have notice of that, Sir, before I could answer that question.

POSTPONEMENT OF EXAMINATIONS FOR THE INDIAN AUDIT AND ACCOUNTS AND FOREST SERVICES.

1081. ***Mr. Rahimtoola M. Chinoy :** (a) Is it a fact that Government have decided not to hold examinations for the Indian Audit and Accounts Service and the Indian Forest Service this year ? If so, what are the reasons for it ?

(b) If the answer to part (a) be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state for how long they have postponed these examinations ?

(c) Do Government realise that as a result of this postponement many candidates will be over-age and will thus be deprived, for ever, from appearing in these examinations ?

(d) Do Government propose to consider the advisability of extending the age-limit for these examinations for those candidates, who will be deprived from sitting for these examinations for no fault of theirs ? If not, why not ?

The Honourable Sir George Schuster : (a) I would refer the Honourable Member to the replies given by the Honourable Sir James Crerar to parts (d) and (e) of Mr. Bhuput Singh's question No. 121 and parts (a) and (b) of his question No. 384 on the 10th and 16th September, 1931, respectively.

(b) No decision has yet been taken regarding recruitment in future years.

(c) This is possible.

(d) It will not be necessary to consider the Honourable Member's suggestion if recruitment to the Indian Forest Service on an all-India

basis is stopped under the new constitution. As regards the Indian Audit and Accounts and allied Services, Government are not prepared to extend the age limit at the examination, if any, to be held in 1932 or in subsequent years. The grievance of a candidate disappointed by the absence of an examination this year, but afforded an expectation by the extension of the age limit that an examination will be held in 1932 would be greatly accentuated if in the end, it should happen that there is no examination next year, or that the number of vacancies is so small as to reduce to insignificant dimensions his chances of success.

GRANT TO THE INDIAN RESEARCH FUND ASSOCIATION.

1082. ***Mr. Muhammad Muazzam Sahib Bahadur** : (a) Is it a fact that the grant from the Government of India to the Indian Research Fund Association prior to the Incheape cut was Rs. 7,50,000 a year ?

(b) If so, is it a fact that the administrative charges for the central office of the said Association were incurred on account of only one routine division clerk (Rs. 75—4—155) ?

(c) Is it a fact that the Incheape Retrenchment Committee cut down the grant to Rs. 5,00,000 a year ?

(d) If so, is it a fact that the post of the clerk was converted to that of an assistant (Rs. 120—8—160—10—350) ? If so, why ?

(e) Is it a fact that the Government annual grant to the Association was restored to Rs. 7,50,000 in 1925 ?

(f) If so, will Government please state whether the post of the clerk was changed to a higher grade of Rs. 200—12—440, and if so, the reason why this was done ?

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain : (a) No. It was Rs. 5 lakhs a year.

(b) Prior to 1923, there was one clerk in the office of the Governing Body of the Association in the grade of Rs. 100—8—300 per mensem and one clerk in the office of the Scientific Advisory Board in the grade of Rs. 75—4—155 per mensem.

(c) No. As a result of the recommendation of the Incheape Retrenchment Committee, the grant to the Association was temporarily suspended from the 1st April, 1923.

(d) When the offices of the Governing Body of the Association and of the Scientific Advisory Board were amalgamated in 1923 and placed under the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India, the clerical work of the combined office was performed by the clerk employed in the office of the Scientific Advisory Board. As the work had become much more important and onerous than before on account of the amalgamation of the two offices, the post was converted into one of an Assistant in the grade of Rs. 120—8—160—10—350 per mensem.

(e) No. The grant was only partly restored with effect from 1925-26 and was fixed at Rs. 7,50,000 per annum only with effect from 1st April, 1928.

(f) It was represented that the work entrusted to the incumbent of the post was onerous and responsible and that its quantity and quality

compared favourably with that on which First Grade Assistants in the Office of the Director General, Indian Medical Service, would ordinarily be employed. The appointment was therefore converted into that of a first grade Assistant on Rs. 200—12—440, with effect from the 15th September, 1928.

RETRENCHMENT OF GRANT AND STAFF OF THE INDIAN RESEARCH FUND ASSOCIATION.

1083. *Mr. Muhammad Muazzam Sahib Bahadur : (a) Is it a fact that the Government of India contemplate cutting down the grant of 5 lakhs to the Indian Research Fund Association to Rs. 2½ lakhs annually ?

(b) If so, will Government please state whether they are also going to reduce the strength of the administrative staff ?

(c) Will Government please also say if they contemplate cutting down the scales of pay ? If not, why not ? Is it a fact that service under the Association is of a temporary nature ?

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain : (a) The question of reducing the grant to the Indian Research Fund Association is at present under the consideration of Government.

(b) and (c). It is for the Association to decide the strength of the administrative staff under it and the scales of pay to be given. Government understand that service under the Association is of a temporary nature.

STAFF OF THE INDIAN RESEARCH FUND ASSOCIATION.

1084. *Mr. Muhammad Muazzam Sahib Bahadur : (a) Is it a fact that there are now five clerks employed to carry on the work of the Research Fund Association in the central office while there used to be only one clerk in the years prior to the year 1925 ? If so, will Government please state what new necessity has arisen for this increase ?

(b) Are Government aware that all appointments to these five posts were made only in April last ? If so, will Government please say why in the interests of economy the new scales of pay which Government contemplate sanctioning for new entrants in future were not made applicable to these posts ?

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain : (a) As regards the first part of the question, Government understand that the Honourable Member's information is correct.

As regards the last part and part (b) of the question, the Honourable Member is referred to the reply already given to (b) and (c) of his question No. 1083.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE OFFICE OF THE INDIAN RESEARCH FUND ASSOCIATION.

1085. *Mr. Muhammad Muazzam Sahib Bahadur : (a) Is it a fact that the office of the Indian Research Fund Association is an entity quite apart from the office of the Director General, Indian Medical Service ?

(b) Is it a fact that a probationary period of six months is necessary before confirming a person transferred to another department or office ?

(c) Is it a fact that the first and the second assistants in the office of the Indian Research Fund Association, who were selected from the office of the Director General, Indian Medical Service, were confirmed without a probationary period of six months? If so, will Government state the reasons which dictated this departure?

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain : (a) Yes

(b) No.

(c) As regards the first part of the question, Government understand that the Honourable Member's information is correct. As regards the last part of the question, the reply given to (b) and (c) of his question No. 1083 meets it.

OVERWORKED RAILWAY STAFF AT BHATNI STATION ON THE BENGAL AND NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

1086. ***Bhai Parma Nand :** (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the following remarks of a first class Magistrate, at Gorakhpur, who tried the accused, under sections 101 Railways Act and 304-A, I. P. C., in the train collision which took place at Bhatni Station on the Bengal and North-Western Railway on the night of 24th November, 1928, in his judgment announced on the 5th March, 1929?

“ Before I finish I would like to give advice to the Railway authorities on one or two points. The evidence shows that the subordinate staff of Bhatni has to work 12 hours a day, but at the end of the week they are required to work for all 24 hours. This is not proper and no one should be made to work the whole day and night without a break.—“ Certain points at Bhatni have no indicators. These should be provided without further delay.”

(b) If so, will Government please state :

(i) whether steps have been taken by the railway authorities to discontinue the practice of making the staff work all 24 hours ;

(ii) whether indicators have been provided to the points at Bhatni ;

(iii) whether Government and the railway authorities propose to consider the advice to be generally followed at all stations ;

(iv) whether points at stations between Darbhanga and Narkatiaganj on this railway are not fitted with indicators ;

(v) whether the President of the Bengal and North Western Railwaymen's Association suggested to the Agent of the Railway that the points at those stations should be fitted with indicators and the Agent replied to the effect that he was unaware of any hardship felt, but would inquire ; and

(vi) if so, what has been the result of his inquiry ?

(c) How many points on this Railway are not fitted with indicators ?

(d) How many of such points are on the open line, over which trains carrying passengers run ?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons : (a) The Honourable Member's question is the first intimation Government have had of the Magistrate's remarks, and I should like to thank him for bringing them to our notice.

(b), (c) and (d). I am calling for certain information from the Agent, Bengal and North Western Railway and will communicate with the Honourable Member when it is received.

PRIVILEGES OF EMPLOYEES OF BENGAL AND NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY WORKSHOPS.

1087. ***Bhai Parma Nand :** (a) With reference to the reply given to unstarred question No. 324, part (d), on the 20th March, 1931, will Government be pleased to state whether the Agent, Bengal and North Western Railway, has been asked to consider the question of extending to the employees in the workshops of that Railway the privileges recently extended to the employees of the State Railway workshops ?

(b) If so, has the said question been considered by the Agent and what privileges have been extended to his Railway workshop employees and which of them have not been extended ?

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

(b) I have called for the information from the Agent, Bengal and North Western Railway and will communicate with the Honourable Member on its receipt.

INTERPRETATION OF A RAILWAY PROVIDENT FUND AND GRATUITY RULE.

1088. ***Bhai Parma Nand :** (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether the Agent, Bengal and North Western Railway, was authorised by the Railway Board to explain to the Secretary of the Bengal and North-Western Railwaymen's Association, the phrase, "proper authority" that occurred in the Standing Order No. 4, published over the signature of the Board's Secretary, to the then provident fund and gratuity rules ?

(b) If not, what authority did he hold to explain it and why was the Secretary of the said Association asked by the Railway Board, when he applied for interpretation of the said phrase, to refer the question to the Agent of that Railway ?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons : I am unable to understand the Honourable Member's question as the words "proper authority" do not appear in Standing Order No. 4 to the State Railway Provident Fund Rules. Nor have I been able to trace any correspondence with either the Agent of the Bengal and North Western Railway, or the Association mentioned by the Honourable Member on the subject.

PAY OF INDIAN GUARDS ON THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

1089. ***Bhai Parma Nand :** (a) What is the maximum scale of a guard's pay on the Bengal and North Western Railway ?

(b) How many of the guards get the maximum pay ?

(c) Is it a fact that none of the Indian guards on that railway get the maximum pay ? If so, why not ?

(d) What is the maximum pay which the Indian guards get there ?

(e) What is the number of Indian guards on that Railway ?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons : I have called for information from the Agent, Bengal and North Western Railway and will communicate with the Honourable Member on its receipt.

EXAMINATION FOR LOWER PAID STAFF OF RAILWAYS.

1090. ***Bhai Parma Nand :** (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether the examination of the lower paid establishment of the railways has been finished ?

(b) (i) If so, with what result ?

(ii) If not, when is the examination likely to be finished ? And why is it taking so long ?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons : (a) and (b). The examination of the wages of the lower paid employees of State-managed Railways and of some of the Company-managed Railways has been made and as a result the scale of wages has been improved on the following railways :

Eastern Bengal Railway.

East Indian Railway.

Great Indian Peninsula Railway.

Assam Bengal Railway.

Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway.

PROVISION OF A POST OFFICE NEAR THE TATANAGAR FOUNDRY.

1091. ***Bhai Parma Nand :** (a) Have Government received any communication from the General Manager of the Tatanagar Foundry Works addressed to the Postmaster General of Bihar and Orissa for the establishment of a post office near the Foundry works ?

(b) If so, will Government be pleased to state what action, if any, has been taken in the matter ?

Sir Hubert Sams : (a) and (b). Government have no information. The matter is within the competence of the Postmaster-General, to whom a copy of the question is being sent.

STATEMENT LAID ON THE TABLE.

RIOTS IN THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

Mr. E. D. Howell (Foreign Secretary) : As promised in my reply to a supplementary question, I lay on the table the answer to starred

questions Nos. 526 and 527 asked by Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer on the 17th September, 1931, regarding riots in the North-West Frontier Province.

526. (a) One only, *viz.*, Dera Ismail Khan in 1931.

(b) Kulachi on the 15th August, 1931.

(c) Government will await the report of the Commission of Inquiry.

527. (a) Five Hindus and two Muhammadans were killed in Dera Ismail Khan, and one Hindu and one Muhammadan in Kulachi. As regards the damage done to Hindu property, Government have as yet no reliable information.

(b) Muslims	..	..	..	..	..	55 per cent.
Hindus	..	..	..	..	..	42 per cent.
Sikhs	..	..	..	..	..	1½ per cent.
Miscellaneous	..	..	..	..	..	1½ per cent.

(c) This is under the consideration of Government.

(d) A subscription list has been opened and Rs. 10,000 promised, of which Rs. 2,000 has been paid by the Chief Commissioner and Rs. 500 by the Deputy Commissioner. As regards the balance, Sub-Committees of Hindus and Muhammadans have been constituted to collect the subscriptions but no sums are yet forthcoming. No application for relief has been received by the Deputy Commissioner except for the grant of a Government loan which has not been sanctioned. It is understood that a number of wealthy Hindu gentlemen have of their own initiative contributed towards the relief of the sufferers.

(e) Two special magistrates have been appointed to try cases arising out of the riots at Dera Ismail Khan.

343 Muslims have been arrested of whom seven have been discharged, and three sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment each. The cases of the others are under trial.

MESSAGE FROM THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

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

" I am directed to state that the Council of State has at its meeting held on the 28th September, 1931, agreed without any amendments to the following Bills which were passed by the Legislative Assembly at its meeting held on the 21st September, 1931, namely :

1. A Bill to amend the law providing for the immediate effect for a limited period of provisions in Bills, relating to the imposition or increase of duties of customs or excise, and
2. A Bill to provide for the protection of the heavy chemical industry."

OBJECTION TO INTRODUCTION OF A SECOND FINANCE BILL.

Sir Hari Singh Gour (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I should like to make a short statement with reference to the last item in today's Agenda. Honourable Members will remember that only three days back they passed a Resolution moved by my Honourable friend Mr. Chetty, the last clause of which runs as follows :

" With reference to the announcement made by the Honourable Finance Member about the introduction of a second Finance Bill, this Assembly is of opinion that proposals for taxation should not be made without giving due notice to Honourable Members, and that no proposal for taxation must be made in the present session."

I find that, in spite of the striking majority by which this Resolution was passed, the Honourable the Finance Member has announced his intention of introducing a new Finance Bill at five this afternoon. I wish to point out that the proposal to saddle this country with additional

taxation at this juncture is in our opinion both premature and inopportune. We think that, before Government embark on the proposal of fresh taxation, they should take this House into their confidence regarding the effect of their retrenchment proposals and the extent of the economies thereby expected or probable. Further, the Government have only the other day given effect to their new currency policy. The effect of its impact on the trade and finances of the country has yet to be seen. In England, which is faced with a similar situation, the Government laid their cards on the table and informed the people what retrenchments they had effected or were possible. It is only then that they demanded fresh taxation. That policy should have been followed here. It has not been followed, and we therefore enter our emphatic protest against the hasty, and we think panicky, measure based on no assured data. In this connection we are not forgetful of the fact that the Government have been saddling the country with additional taxes during the last two years, and which in the year of unprecedented depression admit of no expansion.

Sir Abdur Bahim (Calcutta and Suburbs : Muhammadan Urban) : Sir, I support the suggestion that has been made by my Honourable friend Sir Hari Singh Gour. It seems to me, almost inconceivable that after the Resolution that was passed only the other day by a very decisive majority, Government should introduce a Finance Bill at this session. I am of course perfectly aware that the Government of India have hardly any policy of their own. It is the Secretary of State who presides at Whitehall that dictates the policy of the Government of India, and the Assembly would like to know whether the Finance Bill, which the Honourable Member wishes to introduce at this session, has not also been dictated by the Secretary of State. Sir, this Assembly gave their fullest co-operation to the Government in introducing sufficient retrenchment in order to enable the Government to balance their Budget. We have only been partially able to go through our task, and as a member of one of the Retrenchment Committees,—not an unimportant one—I am in a position to state that a good deal more money can be found by means of retrenchment, than has yet been done. We are specially anxious that the Army Budget should be reduced properly, and if that is done there will be no difficulty for the Finance Member to balance his Budget. Sir, I cannot understand why there is this hurry. There is also, as has been pointed out, the question of the currency policy of Government. What the effect of linking the rupee to sterling—not gold but the paper sterling of England—at this juncture will be, we do not know yet. Surely Government ought to wait and see what effect this policy has. Government expect that linking the rupee to sterling is going to benefit India. If that is so, why cannot we wait and see to what extent India benefits? I submit, Sir, there is no justification for the Government to introduce any new taxation at this session.

The Honourable Sir George Schuster (Finance Member) : Sir, I will only ask your permission to say a very few words. It seems to me that the procedure is perhaps a little curious. I have apparently listened to two speeches which are replies to the speech which I am myself going to make this afternoon. But, Sir, I should like to say this that I am glad my Honourable friend has made this statement, because it gives me an opportunity of saying now that I do sympathise very much with a great deal that he has said. I think he will find when he listens to the statement which I will make this afternoon and which is already in the

[Sir George Schuster.]

Press,—so that my Honourable friend will believe that I have not cooked it in order to meet his remarks—I think he will find when he listens to that statement, that I have dealt with a great many of the points which he has raised ; and I hope I shall be able to convince the House that in spite of the objections which my Honourable friends have raised, objections which I myself feel very strongly, it was our duty to take the course that we are taking now. I should like particularly to mention the question of retrenchment. I had certainly never intended to stand up in this House and bring forward proposals for taxation until I had been able to satisfy the House that we have done everything possible in the way of retrenchment. I hope that when I make my speech this afternoon, I will be able to satisfy every Member in every quarter of the House that as far as that aspect of the matter is concerned, we on this side think exactly the same as Honourable Members opposite.

THE ANCIENT MONUMENTS PRESERVATION (AMENDMENT) BILL.

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

“ That the Bill to amend the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 1904, for certain purposes, be taken into consideration.”

Honourable Members will remember that this Bill was introduced by me early this session. They probably would like to know a little bit of the history of this legislation. The Act which this amending Bill seeks to amend was passed in 1904 and so far as I can see there was no Act on the subject which preceded that legislation. So it may be said that Indian legislation on the subject began with the beginning of this century. Honourable Members will remember that this was one of the things for which India can rightly be grateful to Lord Curzon. (Hear, near.) He not only founded the Department of Archaeology so to speak and thus raised India to a position of importance and eminence in the archaeological world of modern times, but he was peculiarly lucky in selecting the Director of Archaeology in the person of Sir (then Mr.) John Marshall who not only created and developed this Department, but who attained to very considerable eminence in the archaeological world of today. He not only founded the Indian school of Archaeology, administered the Department, and took pains to preserve ancient monuments, but laid up programmes of survey, exploration and excavation. Thanks to his efforts and the efforts of his colleagues, India today, as I have said before, occupies an honourable position in the archaeological world. The good work done by Sir John Marshall was not limited to doing his duty in this way but he proceeded further and imbued his Indian colleagues with the same spirit of self-sacrifice and enterprise and interest in this subject, which has enabled the Government of India recently to appoint the first Indian Director of Archaeology in the person of R. B. Daya Ram. In the beginning we were not really willing to, or at all events did not, spare much of our money to be devoted to archaeology and it was only recently that we were able to spare something like 5 lakhs a year for work connected with exploration, excavation and so

on. It has been felt for a long time that the archaeology of India went back to what as school boys we understood as, the period of our ancestors the Aryans coming into India. But the latest excavations indicate that it goes much further back and that what was at one time considered as prehistoric about a thousand years B. C., in the light of these excavations appears to be more or less recent. The excavations at Harappa and Mahen-jo-daro are able to take us as far back as 4,000 or 5,000 B. C. and it is very doubtful whether many of us, indigenous Indians, as we call ourselves, can claim to be the direct descendants of the civilised people of 4,000 or 5,000 B. C. However, that is by the way. Now we have fallen on more or less poverty-stricken days. The Members know full well that there is but one word which at once enlists the sympathies of the whole House on both sides, and that one word is not archaeology but retrenchment, with the result that excavation, exploration and survey have been definitely stopped and for several months past, as a matter of fact during this year, fresh recruitment is at a standstill. Many posts have been held in abeyance and I have practically made up my mind to act in accordance with the recommendations of the General Purposes Committee relating to this subject. That means that for the next two or three years, let us hope—and may be for many more years to come—we will not be able to spare any money for the work of exploration and excavation and will be able to maintain the existing ancient monuments to a less degree than we have been doing in the past. For the last five years and more there has been a proposal under consideration whether it is wise for us not to have a provision which would enable us to enlist the co-operation of scientific bodies, Indian as well as non-Indian, in this work of scientific excavation, and if so how we ought to proceed about it. There have been the usual objections, “it is our duty, why put it on to others?” Well, Sir, the field of this duty, the scope of this duty, is so vast that I am assured that in regard to such areas as have been surveyed up till now, if an attempt were made to explore them and funds of not less than 5 lakhs were invested every year in that additional work and we were hard at it for a hundred years, we would not be able to do more than 1 or 2 per cent. of the surveyed area that exists. Considering all these matters, and after consulting the Local Governments, I came to the conclusion that we ought to be imbued with the spirit of scientific brotherhood in the matter of ancient monuments or archaeology, because archaeology after all can be recent and ancient. The question is whether if co-operation from foreign scientists can be forthcoming, it is not wise to welcome it—no doubt on certain terms. The terms we had in mind were firstly that if excavation led to the discovery of a monument which was a fixture, naturally that must remain in India. Again if we came upon a monument of national importance and it was only one of the kind, naturally we could not let it go out of India. But in cases where there were detachable monuments and more than one of them, whether it was not right that those who come and spend their talent, their money and their energy in helping us to explore these vast areas, should not be given a part of the finds and whether we should not divide the whole finds between the central museum, the provincial museums and the man who comes and invests his knowledge, energy and money in the undertaking.

This in brief is the scheme of enlisting the co-operation of outsiders, non-Indians, in this venture. Why are we anxious to do so? There are two dangers which make it necessary to do something of the sort. The

[Sir Fazl-i-Husain.]

first is that in Sind where the Sukkur Barrage scheme is bound to do a great deal of good to the people, in passing it does a little harm too, because it raises the sub-soil level of water in the areas through which canals and sub-canals pass, with the result that these areas wherein ancient monuments may be existing are spoiled and the whole thing is wasted and ruined and the chances of excavating successfully are very much reduced. Then there are instances where the people who are on the spot have no eye for art and no care for archæology ; they have been known to unearth these ancient cities and excavate them for a very petty gain, unearthing bricks and selling them, with the result that in Harappa many a city which we could have excavated more or less in the condition in which it was four thousand or three thousand years B. C., we cannot piece together now.

These are the two reasons which necessitate our controlling excavation and securing the cooperation of other people in excavation work.

There is one thing more and that is we ought to control the work of excavation. At present it can be done by anybody, and when the people do not know how to do it safely, that is to say, without doing harm to the monuments, they do it badly and spoil them ; and then they are their own masters and they can sell them, export them, and do anything they like with them. There is a provision which enables us to declare a site as a protected area. It has to be acquired by Government no doubt ; but the monument is safe. I consider this control of excavation most essential in the interests of the future of archæology in India. I am not anxious that this Bill should be taken into consideration today, if there is any desire whatsoever on the part of any section of the House, even if it is a small one, that it ought to be first considered in Select Committee. There is no urgency about it ; it can wait for a few weeks, or even for a few months for the matter of that. But you have to decide what you want to do. I notice that there are two motions tabled, one for referring it to Select Committee and another for circulating it for expression of public opinion. As I have said, there is no question of importance or prestige about it. Do you really think that a large number of the public are very keenly interested in the two matters that I have mentioned ?

An Honourable Member : They ought to be.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain : They ought to be, I quite agree. But I look round in the galleries and it does not encourage me very much to hope that they are....

Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda (Ajmer-Merwara : General) : Why, look at the empty benches !

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain : There you are ; I see a very strongly representative body of Members in front of me, and therefore on the whole my own view is that the requirements of the case will be fully met if we had a good strong Select Committee on the subject. Moreover, circulation has a certain mark of inferiority about it—that you try to circulate what you do not want—and I trust that that is not really the feeling of any part of this House.....

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh (Muzaffarpur cum Champaran : Non-Muhammadan) : May I know one thing ? What according to the Honourable Member is the principle of this Bill ? If a motion for Select Com-

mittee is accepted, we will be accepting the principle of the Bill; and what according to him is the principle involved in this ?

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain : There are two principles : one is control of excavation to the extent of declaring an area to be protected, so that after that declaration non-scientific people or people who do not obtain permission of the proper authorities may not spoil it. That is the main principle. The second is whether it is not wise to have the co-operation of bodies other than Government, whether scientific bodies in India or outside, in order to help Government in the work of exploration. Whether that co-operation should be limited to Indians or should be extended to non-Indians is again a matter in which the Select Committee will have absolute discretion. If you apprehend that when you have referred the matter to Select Committee, I as Chairman will say, "This is all finished ; the foreigner has come in". I assure you that I have no such intention in the matter, and it would not be right. After all, neither I nor my Director General of Archæology are outsiders. Therefore if what I have submitted meets with the approval of the House, I assure you that I have no desire to rush the Bill in any way and I leave the matter in your hands.

Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda : Sir, I rise to move that this Bill, this very unwelcome Bill be circulated for eliciting public opinion thereon. It was with feelings of deep sorrow and pain that I read some of the provisions of this Bill, and it is with an oppressed heart and a feeling of helplessness that I rise to move my motion. The matter of the Bill is not only of the greatest, but is of vital importance to those who have the pride of their country in them, or who have even the slightest idea of their duty to the dead and to the living in this country. This Bill is not an honest attempt on the part of those who have instigated this measure, to compass their object. It is hitting below the belt. The Bill is so cleverly, so skilfully, so unfairly drafted as to conceal its real, sinister object behind a number of superfluities and details, behind a hypocritical show of solicitude for the preservation of the ancient monuments of India. The Bill is styled The Ancient Monuments Preservation (Amendment) Bill. Verily, its object is nothing more and nothing less than to amend, to alter, to modify, in fact partly to do away with the provisions for preservation of things, that exist in the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1904. The shade of Lord Curzon must be watching with sadness and sorrow the blasting of some of his dearest hopes, the destruction of the work, of which he was justly proud, and with the distinction of the initiation of which, his memory will in this country be associated for all time to come. And what is sadder still is that this should be planned by men among whom, if my information is correct, is to be found one, whom he selected to assist him in carrying out his laudable work, and who, he fondly hoped, would watch its progress with anxious care after he was gone.

Sir, the object of this measure is, to put it plainly, to legalise the removal from India of its most cherished possessions, its most sacred objects,—some of the remains of its ancient greatness,—its choicest treasures which nothing in the world can buy, which no price can secure. And the hypocrisy of it all is that this is sought to be accomplished in the name of preservation of India's sacred trust, in

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the name of scientific research, in the name of helping civilization. Sir, what great wrong has been done to any country, to any people but the perpetrators of it started to do it after trumpeting forth their earnest desire but to help their victims or to advance the cause of civilization and culture.

And, Sir, would you regard it as a piece of honest, fair work to smuggle this Bill into the Statute-book towards the fag end of a short session without consulting public opinion, without letting those, whom it deeply touches, have a chance of saying what they think of this sinister measure, and when half the elected Members of the House have gone home, and the minds of those who still remain in the House are occupied by urgent matters of grave financial and economic importance to the country ?

Sir, the ancient monuments of India and the antiquities that lie buried underground in his country are, so far as antiquarian matters are concerned, the only things left in the country of which Indians feel proud and which they are anxious to preserve against the inroads of the outsiders. Most of the rare and priceless antiquities, invaluable works of art, sculptures, paintings, manuscripts, precious stones that could be removed have already been taken away to England and other countries of Europe and America. Nearly all that could be removed has been removed out of India and there is little doubt that if it had been possible for European science and engineering skill to remove the Ajanta and the Ellora caves, the Taj, the Qutab Minar and the Adhaidin ka Jhonpra, the Sanchi Stupas and such other things, they should by this time have been found adorning London and other towns in Europe. Not satisfied with robbing India of all products of genius and works of art found on the surface, it is now sought to remove out of this country what lies buried underground. The Government of India, unsympathetic as they are—unsympathetic inasmuch as they did not care two straws for the ancient glory of the country and are utterly indifferent to its high cultural traditions,—are willing to stand by and see the country denuded of all those rare things that human genius could devise, invent or produce in this country, and are willing to allow all and sundry of the exploiters of Europe and America to excavate and take away its heirlooms and the remains of its ancient greatness—treasures which are either the products of the highest efforts of human genius or are, what is a matter of the gravest consequence, the remains of our great ancestors who have, and will continue to shed lustre on the name of our sacred Motherland as long as history endures, and whose memory we revere and whose lives are a perennial source of inspiration to us in our lives.

Sir, to have allowed our antiquities to be taken out of the country is the greatest injury that the Government of India have done to India. Sir, the things that have been and are sought to be taken out of India roughly fall into four classes.....

Mr. K. Ahmed (Rajshahi Division : Muhammadan Rural) : How are you going to stop it ?

Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda : (1) Sacred objects, such as the remains of founders of great religions, or other great men, whom large classes

of people worship or hold in religious reverence and respect. (2) Works of art such as sculptures, antiquities, paintings, frescoes, illuminated manuscripts, bequeathing to posterity results of centuries of work and labour, of thought—the achievements, intellectual and spiritual, of the pioneers of civilization, in science, literature, philosophy and art, that illumine the pages of history and constitute a most brilliant chapter in the annals of mankind. (3) Records of facts and events necessary and essential to a proper understanding and elucidation, not only of the history of India, political, social, religious and economic, but of the evolution of art itself in its multifarious branches, and the reconstruction of that history by proper research and piecing together of the results of such research in the various branches of human effort; for instance, coins, stone and copper plate inscriptions, sculptures, arch stones to show that true arches were known in ancient India, historic manuscripts found buried in mounds; and, fourthly, rare products of nature such as the wonderful *Kohi Nur*, the *Pitt*, the *Regent*, the first two being the greatest and the most glorious diamonds of the world, associated with the history of India in its various stages and the glorious deeds of the great men it has produced.

Sir, I am at present concerned only with objects which may come to light on excavations under a licence and are liable to be removed out of country. These objects all fall under the four classes enumerated above. In the first class are sacred objects. And I will give here two instances of the outrage,—a great outrage—that the Government committed against the people of this country.....

Mr. K. Ahmed : That is not outrage.

Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda : A few years ago a stupa at Shahji ki Dheri, near Peshawar, built by Emperor Kanishka in the second century, was excavated and the remains deposited there with the greatest reverence and religious veneration by leading Indians of that time, of one who is worshipped and venerated by more than a third of the human race at the present time, one who has shed ever-lasting lustre on this great and ancient land, one who has ennobled the lives and has been the solace of millions of human beings in the last 24 centuries, one of the noblest of men, the Great Sakyamuni of Kapilavastu, the Buddha, were removed from its sacred place of rest and sent out of India to Burma which is on the eve of becoming a foreign country to us.....

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain : I have not followed what the Honourable Member said.

Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda : The remains of one of the noblest of men, the Great Sakyamuni of Kapilavastu, the Buddha, were removed from its sacred place of rest and sent out of India to Burma which is soon to become a foreign country to us.....

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

Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda : In 1916, some of the relics,—remains of Buddha or other religious and holy men of India,—found in stupas at the Dharmrajika Stupa at Takshshila, modern Taxila, were given away to Buddhists of Ceylon, a foreign country, and removed out of India. Sending them to Burma or Ceylon, where Buddhism prevails is no

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palliation of the crime committed against India. Sir, these sacred remains are the property, not of the Government of India for the time being, not even the exclusive property of the present people of India but also of the generations of Indians yet to come.

Sir, Buddha occupies a permanent and the highest place in Hinduism. He is held to be the tenth Avatar or Incarnation of the Deity, just like Sri Ram or Sri Krishna. What country in the world except India has the right to keep in its sacred and reverential possession, the remains of the Enlightened, the Great Buddadeva, who was born in India, who lived all his life in India, and who died in India, and whose parents and ancestors all lived and died in India? Buddha was a product of India, son of Mother India in body and soul, the pride of India, and the crown of its glory. The glory of having given birth to Buddha and the privilege and honour of returning his mortal remains to the Mother Earth in this country belong to India; and it is the pride and privilege, the honour, and the duty of the sons and daughters of India to guard those remains for all time to come.

To exhume his remains from their sacred resting place and send them out of India is, I say in extreme humiliation and sorrow, the greatest outrage against our feelings of religious reverence and veneration—a sacrilege which an Indian and a true Hindu can never forgive or forget. Sir, Government have by these acts subjected an ancient people, which is living under its protection, to unspeakable humiliation and shame. I apologise for using strong language, but the occasion demands it, and we have felt this sacrilegious act as strongly as our weak, humiliated nature is capable of feeling.

And I say, Sir, that I would look with horror upon any attempt to exhume the remains of any Muslim saint in India. All Indians, whatever their faith and religion, whatever their culture, must and do look upon the remains of Muslim saints and Muslim great men that lie buried under mounds and ruins as sacred objects to be guarded and kept undisturbed by foreigners. I would condemn and resist all attempts to remove out of India to any country those sacred remains. It is the duty of all Indians to hold them as a sacred trust, and we regard it our duty to prevent their removal from India.

Sir, has any country, I ask, but Arabia the right to keep the sacred remains of the last of the Prophets? Has any country but England the right to keep the remains of the greatest of Englishmen, who though not held in sacerdotal or religious reverence, yet is the glory of England—the divine poet, Shakespeare? Would England or any other power dare think of removing the sacred christian remains from Jerusalem—because Jerusalem is now a non-Christian country—to Europe which is peopled by Christians? It has been said and believed generally that Government have dared to remove the sacred remains of Buddha from India and to deprive the country of its most cherished possession held sacred by its teeming millions, because Government can treat with contempt the weakness and the helplessness of a disorganised, disunited and a degenerate race. Sir, I do not hold this view. My belief is that Government, when they removed those sacred remains, were ignorant of the feelings and sentiments of the people of India, and did not view the matter in the light in which they should

have viewed it and are now sure to view it after the present discussion.

As regards Indian antiquities and works of art, Europe is full of them. All provinces of India have been ransacked, every nook and corner of it has been searched and antiquities and works of art that lay buried in various parts of the country or lay on its surface, metalware, sculptures, stone and copper plates, paintings, old jewellery and old pottery prehistoric or post-historic, have been taken away and the museums of England, France, Germany.....

Mr. K. Ahmed : On a point of order, Sir. Has this essay been composed by somebody at home, probably for some other occasion, any application to the motion now before the House ? The motion before the House is that the Bill to amend the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 1904, for certain purposes, be taken into consideration. My Honourable friend is giving a history of the ruins of ancient time.

Mr. President : Is it the Honourable Member's point of order that the speech which Mr. Harbilas Sarda is delivering is in order or not ?

Mr. K. Ahmed : Yes, Sir.

Mr. President : The Honourable Member is quite in order.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : On a point of order, Sir. The Honourable Member who just raised a point of order began by saying " This essay composed by somebody at home ". It contains an insinuation that the speech was not written by my Honourable friend Mr. Harbilas himself who is a great scholar, and I want you to ask him to withdraw that remark.

Mr. K. Ahmed : What I said was this, that the manuscript which my friend from Ajmer was reading was probably written for some other occasion has no application on the motion before the House. My Honourable friend did not catch what I said, and I always find that my Honourable friend Mr. Ranga Iyer catches hold of the wrong end of the stick, because I know that my Honourable friend is not always in equilibrium of the mind.....

Mr. President.—Will the Honourable Member state what he did say ?

Mr. K. Ahmed : What I said was that it was probably a composition prepared for some other occasion and not applicable to the motion before the House. (Laughter.)

Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda : I hope this House will be saved from the extravagances and frivolities of people like my Honourable friend.

Mr. President : Please go on.

Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda :and the museums of England, France, Germany, Denmark, Holland, Austria and America, full of them, stand mocking at our helplessness and powerlessness to protect our cherished possessions. The country has been denied of its old manuscripts, invaluable for a proper writing of the history of India, and tracing the evolution of its social polity or its economic annals. I will

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give two instances to illustrate the loss suffered by India in this direction. Kautilya's *Artha Sastra*, the standard work on Government and Economics in Sanskrit, unique of its kind, dealing with complicated problems of overseas and inland trade, international law and finance, was till recently a mere name. Several manuscripts of it were taken away to Europe but none was published. By a mere accident a copy of it fell into the hands of Pandit Shyam Sastri of Mysore and he published it. It then became known that there were several copies of the book in Europe.

Sir, when I was writing a history of Ajmer, my native city, in 1911 A. D., I could not find any book containing an account of Sher Shah's capture of Ajmer, the only book containing such an account was not to be found anywhere. I went to Calcutta and searched the Imperial Library, and the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; I went to the famous Khuda Bux Library of Bankipur; I examined the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and I wrote to Lucknow and Hyderabad, but all to no purpose. After a deal of enquiry, I learnt that only one copy of the *Tarikhi Daudi* was known to exist, and that was in the British Museum in London. Through the kind offices of Dr. Codrington, Mr. Edwards of the British Museum kindly had two pages of the work describing Sher Shah's visit to Ajmer photographed and sent to me and I was then able to complete the account I wished to give.

Then again, Sir, when I wrote my monograph on Maharana Kumbha, one of the greatest of the Maharanas of Chitor, I could find no old portrait or painting of him. Eventually I was able to trace an old portrait of him in the India Office Library in London, and I obtained a photographic copy of it.

Sir, this shows to what difficulties and troubles students of history, literature and art in India are put by the removal of antiquities and manuscripts from this country. This exportation of priceless treasures and heirlooms, which neither love nor money can produce or get, has been going on for a century and a half, and this Bill is going to help it further. Colonel Tod, the great historian of Rajputana, took away 800 boxes full of antiquities, sculptures, coins, manuscripts, inscriptions, some of which have not yet been wholly deciphered and identified and the results published. Twenty thousand Sanskrit manuscripts were sent away from Nepal to Oxford only a decade ago, and who knows what invaluable and now unobtainable works have thus gone out of the country. Students of archæology know that Sir W. Jones, Colonel Mackenzie, Taylor, Fleet. Ballantyne and others took away large collections of Sanskrit mss. and antiquities which are kept in the India Office Library, London. The Bodleian Library of Oxford, the Indian Institute of Oxford, the Trinity College Library of Cambridge, the Edinburgh University Library possess large collections of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian mss. taken away from India. The library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland contains thousands of such mss. and antiquities. Professor Buhler's large collection of Sanskrit mss. has found its way to Vienna and Hermann Jacobi's to Berlin. Germany is full of ancient Indian mss. and antiquities and works of art. The

libraries of Berlin, Tubingen, stuttgart, Bonn, Strasburgh, Gottingen, Wurzburg and Leipzig are full of them.

Sir, rather than allow any antiquities and finds to be taken out of India, the problem before Indians at present is how to get back all those antiquities, sculptures, mss., and works of art which have been taken away from India. Sir, when accounts are settled between England and India, whether an apportionment of the public debt of India is made between the two countries or not, I do hope and trust that India would insist on England returning all these treasures which are now kept in its various museums and libraries and which are the great heirlooms of the people of India.

It has been said in Palestine and Egypt, licences for exploration and excavations have been given to foreigners and that in the interests of research, the same may be allowed in India. Egypt is not quite independent, and foreigners have a controlling voice in its administration. But even in Egypt the licence to make excavations at Luxor in favour of Mr. Howard Carter was cancelled in 24 hours when it was suspected that Egyptian antiquities were being removed from Egypt. Is the Government of India at present in the hands of Indians to enable them to take the same action should an eventuality of a like character arise here? I would further say in reply that I should like to see foreigners secure such licences in England, France, Germany or America. Where a country is under foreign rule and is helpless, and has no controlling voice in its administration, this exploitation and legalised robbery has been permitted or tolerated. But, Sir, we have enough shame left in us to refuse to consent to and become parties to this robbery being legalized. I am told that exploiters from America are anxious to obtain licences to rob India of her treasures; that Dr. Stein and Sir John Marshall and others are anxious that licences should be given to foreigners. They have the support of foreign financiers and they wish to undertake this exploitation and carry away from our country our antiquities and sacred objects, which no nation with any self-respect or a sense of honour, or a sense of duty to the country and to its future generations would allow or tolerate.

It has been suggested that these finds would be better looked after in Europe and America and made good use of there. Sir, I would undertake to look after the valuable possessions of some of the protagonists of this doctrine. Would they give them to me? Why cannot the foreigners, if they are only honest and genuine students of archæology and are inspired only with a genuine love of research, excavate the mounds, but let the relics of India's glorious past, remain in India in her museums and libraries? Indians are more deeply and directly interested in them than any foreigners, however well intentioned.

Sir, if some of the material remains unutilised for the present, let it remain so. We will make use of it in good time, but let us not be deprived of its possession. It has also been argued that if there are duplicates of a thing, if there are two images of a deity or two coins, why should one of them be not allowed to be taken away. This argument is the argument of a robber against his victim, of the strong against the weak, and reminds us of the fable of the wolf and

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the lamb which we have all read in our childhood. Will England or America listen to an argument like this, and on the strength of it part with its priceless treasures. Is there not enough room in the far-flung provinces of this vast country for duplicates or triplicates to be kept? And are there real exact duplicates of any antiquity, except coins?

Sir, as the matter of this measure is by no means a matter of urgency, as no question of law and order and peace of the country is involved, as this is not a question of administrative stability, no harm will come to the matter if the Bill is taken up in January after circulation to the country. The rainy season has gone and no existing excavations will be affected and those not yet excavated will in no way be affected. I therefore request Government to allow this Bill to be circulated for eliciting public opinion, and not to smuggle it into the Statute-book. Government will be in a better position to judge of the consequences of the measure when they are in possession of the considered views of those whom it affects deeply and intimately.

I wish to make it clear that I am in no way against any excavation made in a proper and scientific manner. I will allow, even welcome, foreigners imbued with a desire to know things—not exploiters and wolves in the shape of lambs,—to come and help us in research work and make full use as freely as we ourselves can do, of all finds. But I oppose, with all the strength there is in me, the removal out of India of any of the finds whatsoever. My only object in making this motion is to enable public opinion to express itself on the question of giving licences to foreigners and the terms on which such licences may be given. Absolutely nothing is lost by giving the public an opportunity to express its view, and taking the Bill into consideration after three or four months instead of at once. I would therefore earnestly appeal to the Honourable Member in charge of the Bill to give the public in India a fair opportunity to consider the provisions and the implications of this measure.

Mr. J. C. French (Bengal : Nominated Official) : My ground for intervening in this debate is that for many years, apart from the duties of my profession, my principal interest and study has been Indian art, and in this country art and archaeology are very closely allied. As the Honourable Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh elicited in his question to the Honourable Member in charge of the Bill, this Bill has got two principles. The first is the scientific control of excavation and the second, whether the aid of private societies, both Indian and foreign, is to be enlisted to assist in the work of excavation.

Now, Mr. President, I venture to say that, as regards the first principle, we are all unanimous that excavations should be under proper control. It is the second point that is in dispute, whether the aid of private societies, and particularly private foreign societies, should be enlisted to help in the excavation of Indians hidden archaeological works. When I heard the speech of Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda, I quite appreciated his patriotic motives. Indeed one must realize that at first sight, on first impulse, one would say that they are correct; but first sight and first impulse, Sir, sometimes require correction after further consideration, and I venture to say, Mr. President, that it is so in the

present case. When my Honourable friend, Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda, got up, I expected to gather that he was well-acquainted with the museums of India. But from some remarks that fell from him in his speech, I think I must now doubt that supposition. The Rai Sahib said that nearly all that could be removed had been removed from India. Now I do not want to be egotistical and I do not want to say this as a means of obtaining cheap commercial advertisement, but, Sir, in the course of the last five years I have written two books on Indian art. Now without the photographs that I took of works which have remained in India, I could not possibly have written or published those books.

Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda : I said that what could not be removed has remained behind, but everything that was at the mercy of the exploiters has been removed. Such books as Dr. Vincent Smith and others have written are based not only on the antiquities, now in India, but also those removed to and kept in the museums of Europe.

Mr. J. C. French : I am very pleased to get that interruption from the Rai Sahib. Now there is a particular school of Indian art that is considered to be one of the finest ; in fact, Mr. President, that is the subject of my last book. Now that is a school in the Kangra Valley—the great Rajput school of the 18th century. Now most of my illustrations are taken from India from places in India from where they cannot be removed, *viz.*, the Calcutta Museum and the Lahore Museum. They could have been removed, but they have not been removed. It was through the medium of officers of Government that they were obtained—Mr. Percy Brown and Mr. Lionel Heaths. As regards certain other branches of Indian art, if anyone wishes to study them, he must come to India. I refer, first of all, to the famous Asoka school. Every Member of the House is familiar with the name of the school of Asoka. Every example of that art is in India, and anyone who wishes to study it has got to come to this country. The same applies to the art of the Gupta emperors. Every important example of the famous Gupta period is in India.

Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda : No. Do you know that the best illustration of Shiva's dance, illustrating the play of cosmic forces, is to be found in Europe and not in India ?

Mr. J. C. French : In what period of the Gupta empire is that ? (Laughter.) Mr. President, if the Honourable Member cannot give me the details, I must pass on to the next point. As a matter of fact the class of Indian art that has gone outside is that pertaining to the mediæval period, from about 800 to about 1300 A. D. Now the examples of the art of that period are so vast, that the quantity that has gone out of India would not be missed, as there is an enormous quantity of that school in existence. I venture to say, Mr. President, that, proportionately, no more Indian art has gone out of India than English art has gone out of England—I say that without fear of contradiction from any expert. Now there was another point in the Rai Sahib's speech that interested me and that was this. He complained that certain Buddhist relics have been taken out of Peshawar. He also complained that some ancient manuscripts have been taken out of India. Now, Mr. President, why were those taken out ? The reason was because the Government of India was powerless to prevent it. Now the object

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of this Bill is to give the Government in India power to prevent such things happening in the future (Hear, hear), and thus the Rai Sahib's very objection amounts to support of the Bill.

Well, Mr. President, to come back to Indian museums, I venture to think there are Members who know the galleries of the principal Indian museums, but I wonder how many of them have been underground to the cellars of the storeys down below. Now for any one image in the galleries, there are at least two in the cellars. Some Member might very well ask, why does not the Government send out all these things to the local museums all over the country? But Mr. President, that is very much easier said than done. What are required for a museum are several things. First of all, you have to have a strong pucca building. I am sorry to put it in that blunt way, but if you are going to keep a valuable collection safe in a building, you must have it in a building that is burglar-proof. The second thing you must have in a museum is a guard—a guard by day and a guard by night. I could give practical examples of valuable things in private custody in Bengal being stolen. I remember very well an image of the goddess Chandi in Eastern Bengal that had on it an inscription of the 8th century and which was undoubtedly a national treasure. I saw that image in a temple on the Lalmai hills, just 4 miles from Comilla town in Tipperah district. There was a temple on the top of that hill. I wanted the image for the Dacca Museum. But the man who put it on the temple said that it was an object of pilgrimage. That image remained for some months, but when I inquired about it again, I found that people did not go there for pilgrimage, and that the image had been stolen by thieves and melted down for the gold plating on it. Now that was a real national treasure gone! This example will show you how you must keep things properly, as otherwise they would disappear. The third thing you must have is a competent curator—and that is a thing which might not appear apparent to every Member unless he has considered the subject. If you do not have a competent curator, queer things happen; there are limitations which are substituted for the genuine things. I could give the House practical examples. It is rather a delicate subject, and so perhaps, Mr. President, I may pass on to my next point. My next point relates to my own experience in regard to these excavations. I remember 14 years ago in Bengal in the north of the district of Rajshahi there was a place called Paharpur where there was a big stupa covered with earth. 14 years ago it was simply an earthen mound. Now the Archæological Department worked upon it, and a whole, complete temple of about the 10th century has come to view, and they hope by going below to get Gupta remains. About 15 miles north-east of Paharpur there are ancient sites in the district of Bogra, and in particular there is a place called "Mohasthan". It is one mile square, rises 40 ft. above the alluvial plain, and you can see things protruding in it from the ground. Now if that were excavated, you would have most marvellous results, but where is the money? Then in the district of Bankura about 6 years ago I got a site put on the list of protected monuments, Serengarh on the Manbhurn border. In the district of Midnapore in the month of May this year I tried to get the Archæological Department to take charge of another place, but they

could not do it. I had intended to refer to some remarks of Sir John Marshall in the "Archaeological Survey of India" Report for 1926-27, in which he said that in many parts of India, at the present rate of progress, it would take a thousand years to gather the existing materials, but as my speech seems to take rather longer than I expected, I shall not inflict these extracts on the House.

As I said at the beginning, Mr. President, there is no need to stress the point that all excavation must be in skilled and professional hands. I think we are all agreed upon that and there is no need for me to talk of the tomb thieves of Egypt in the old days or about the thieves in the buried cities of Central Asia at present. But the point that I am stressing is the enormous advantages that are likely to be obtained by taking the co-operation of foreign societies. We have all heard of the Museum in Cairo and we may have heard about the new museums that they have re-started in Jerusalem and Baghdad. This museum in Cairo is about the finest in the world, and is full of magnificent treasures. All these things did not cost the Egyptian nation a pice; they have got them all absolutely free. There is no reason why India should not do the same. The rules which are going to govern these excavations have not yet been published. They have not yet been approved, but Mr. Page, the Deputy Director of the Archaeological Survey of India, has told me his ideas on the subject which are that, having been excavated and brought out of the ground by these private societies, certain things should be put aside as national treasures and the remainder shall be divided half and half between the society and the Government. The Rai Sahib inquired why these societies cannot excavate for nothing if they are really interested in history and archaeological research. The reason, Mr. President, is that a lot of these societies have got to be maintained by voluntary subscription, and when they go back they have got to show their subscribers some result. If they go back merely with notes, they will not continue to get any support. But if first of all national treasures are taken away and secondly half of what remains is taken by them, we may be sure that the people would be willing to afford all the expense and trouble.

Another argument the Rai Sahib made was about the Tutenkhamen finds in Egypt. The whole of the Tutenkhamen excavations were Egyptian Government excavations, allowed to be carried on at the expense of Lord Carnarvon under the direction of Mr. Howard Carter. In the Tutenkhamen work there is no question of any private individual having the slightest claim or share. Everything went to the Egyptian Government, and this has been going since the year 1902. Therefore the Tutenkhamen example is quite beside the point.

Then another argument of the Rai Sahib was that there is no hurry over this, that all these things are under the ground and have been there for so many years and why cannot we leave them there until the January Session, and circulate the Bill?

Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda : I said there is no hurry for three months and the Bill can be taken up in January.

Mr. J. C. French : I hope to show that there is a hurry. Constantly these things are being injured. We have an example that Sir John Marshall pointed out that the Sukkur Barrage scheme has raised the level of the Mahen-jo-daro excavations and has interfered

{Mr. J. C. French.]

with the work of the archaeologists. All over India nowadays irrigation work has interfered with these things. Also we find in the last census that the population of India has increased and the pressure on the land has also increased everywhere. I have seen myself more houses being built and the earth being dug out. I venture to submit, therefore, Mr. President, that there is no time to lose and this Bill should be sent to the Select Committee as soon as possible.

Lastly, Mr. President, I venture to submit that it is not desirable to keep all your art objects in your own country. Some should go abroad to maintain the prestige of India and to inspire respect for India in other countries. No enlightened nation follows the policy of absolute exclusion in the import of art objects. I think that India may very well take an example from Japan. In Japan certain objects are marked as national treasures and they are not allowed to leave the country, but every thing else can be freely exported and imported as much as people like. In fact some of the finest examples of Japanese art have been allowed to leave that country so as to show people outside what Japan can do. I venture to say, Mr. President, that objects of art in foreign countries may be regarded as cultural ambassadors.

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan (Agra Division : Muhammadan Rural) : Sir, I was very much interested to listen to the very good and learned speech of my friend Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda. It was a very learned speech and it cleared many points, but I am afraid that it was not convincing on the point which we have for our consideration at present. It was a very patriotic, but at the same time an unpatriotic speech. His whole object was great patriotism, but the results of his speech and his arguments were coming to something unpatriotic. Here we have under the ground a great treasure for which I have been pressing in this Assembly for some time past that they should be excavated at Hastinapur. We do not know the real history and the real glory of the past days which existed at the time when we had the Mahabharata. All that glory and the civilisation which was ruined by the great war at that time could not be known to the present age except through excavations which we might make on these battle-fields.

Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda : I have never been against excavations. As a matter of fact I welcome them.

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan : Now, Sir, we know full well, and the Honourable Member in charge of the Department has made it quite clear, that the Government of India cannot spend more than 5 lakhs of rupees at present.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Hussain : No, at present nothing.

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan : Very well, but even with that 5 lakhs can you make any excavations ? Can you bring out the rich wealth that lies buried under the ground in India for the world to know its past glories and its past civilisation ? It is an impossibility. If no money had been coming from Government for these excavations, we would never have known of the wealth which was buried at Harappa and Mahen-jo-daro.

We would never have known of the civilisation that existed in India at one time.

Then one argument of my friend Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda was that nothing should go out of India. With that desire I have every sympathy as an Indian and I would not allow anything to go out of this country. But at the same time if this principle had been adopted by other countries, we would have never known of the richness of those countries. We would not have been able to compare the civilisation of Babylon four thousand years ago with that of Harappa and Mahen-jo-daro at the same period. We would have never known that these things, which have been excavated at Mahen-jo-daro, are four thousand years old. Now, small articles can go outside any country. Certainly you cannot take away the Taj, you cannot take away the Ajanta and Ellora caves. These things are permanent structures and will remain. They can only take some statue of Buddha or some statue of Kanishka which was found some time ago without a head. That showed something of a gone civilisation. When you find a statue of Kanishka without a head, you can know the history of the time by the dress and you can find out that this was the dress worn at that time. These are the things which have to be done and if the Indian Government cannot find money, they must be done by some other help. Petty things may get out of India, and it will be deplorable if Indians themselves are not ready to purchase them. I have got great sympathy with my friend, Mr. Harbilas Sarda, when he said that a lot of books which he wanted to read could not be got in India and they were finding a place in the British Museum in London or in Germany and other places. It is a pity it should be so, but that shows the callousness of the Indians themselves that they have allowed these things to go out of India. If they had any sympathy for the old art and old literature, they would never have allowed these books to get out of India. But this has happened not because of the fault of the foreigners, but because of the fault of the Indians themselves. A few years ago I myself saw at the Mall here there were two valuable books for sale, Akbarnama and Mahabarat, both illustrated books and written at Akbar's times and their price was Rs. 7,000 and Rs. 10,000 respectively. I found that no Indian was ready to purchase them. I had no money to purchase them. Otherwise I would have purchased them. Some agents of the museums must have purchased them and now my friend, Mr. Sarda, complains that the books have gone out. They have gone out because you were not willing to purchase them. The rich people of this country do not think of spending money in preserving such things in India. If Indians have a taste for old art and treasure, they should purchase such things and keep them in India. Now other countries have become rich and they have cultivated a taste for them. They are purchasing them. Time will come in the near future when Indians also will become rich and they can repurchase those books. Till then this thing must continue and will continue to go on and nobody can stop it. Egypt has been referred to and the Tutenkhamen's tomb—or whatever the correct name is—which has been recently excavated. Is Egypt worse for that excavation? On the other hand thousands of visitors from all over the world visit that country to see this excavation. If we have the same kind of thing done at Hastinapur or another old place, we may find something buried underground and thousands of travellers will come to this country and India will gain in its wealth and treasure and they will be things such as cannot be removed from here as apprehended by my friend, Mr. Sarda. The only thing for

[Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan.]

which my friend has been repenting is the bones of Buddha which have been taken away by the Burmese and he also said that because Burma is soon going to be a foreign country, therefore Burma should have no interest in Buddha's bones. Indians have not treated Buddha as well as the Burmans, and the Burmans have got every right to have Buddha's remains over and above the Indians and Indians have got no claim over and above the Burmans. Burmans being Buddhists have a better claim than the Indians. Then Babylonia has been referred to. Are the Arabs making the country rich and finding out the old preserves? Certainly not. If my friend is not ready to come forward, some scientists from outside will come and they will demand a share in the work. But he may rest assured that a thing like the Ajanta Caves or some house will never be taken away. Things which will be taken away will be knives, some earthenware, some statues which may be valuable in the eyes of the scientists but which may be of no value in the eyes of the laymen. A thing excavated at Mahen-jo-daro may not be worth more than one anna here but it may be of very great value in the eyes of the scientists. This Bill says that there should be a kind of rule made as to the share of the people who come to enrich the country and excavate the buried treasure. I do not think it is a right policy to circulate the Bill and I think all these objections which have been raised by my Honourable friend, Mr. Sarada, can easily be met in the Select Committee and the Select Committee will go thoroughly into this point and it will be as patriotic and will have as much regard to the Indian interest as the people to whom this would be circulated. The people to whom it may be circulated will say nothing except to give a general support. The Select Committee consisting of Indians will have great regard for things going out of India. With these few words I oppose the motion for circulation.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt (Burdwan Division : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : Sir, it appears to me that the discussion in this House on this matter has rather taken a side track, not confining itself to the real issue before us. After the very amiable and, I may say, the eloquent speech of the Honourable Member in charge of the Department of Education, many on this side of the House were almost tempted to be on his side. But, Sir, a few minutes later we found that the invitation of the Honourable Member to his parlour should not be accepted but should be refused. Sir, when my honoured and revered friend, Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarada, took up his cudgels on behalf of the sacred relics of our motherland, many on this side of the House did not appreciate him as he ought to have been appreciated. But later on as has been said by the English poet, Goldsmith, "Fools who came to scoff remained to pray". Sir, many of us who laughed and scoffed at my Honourable and revered friend when he was feelingly and eloquently stating his case about his country's sacred relics, those friends were silenced and became supporters of the very cause for which my Honourable friend was eloquently pleading in this House. That is as it should be. I was not at first very much inclined to support my Honourable friend, because I did not think it was at all necessary for us to have the Bill circulated, but I do not believe, as was observed by my Honourable friend on the other side, when looking at the empty benches, that people take much interest in archæology. May, I ask him how many people do take an interest in subjects which are scientific or technical in character? That is not any reason why we should not try and elicit the

opinion of those few who are entitled to speak on the subject and who have devoted their life-time to it as my Honourable and revered friend, Rai Sahib Sarda, has done. As my friend has already pointed out, three months' delay in having this Bill circulated and allowing those who can speak on the subject authoritatively to come forward and submit their views to the Government will not matter in the least. It will enable us in the Legislature to get their help, and with the help of learned scholars, historians and archaeologists, we could come to some decision as to what ought to be the enactment. As my Honourable friend has also pointed out, the rains have almost ceased, though not fully, and three months' delay will not spoil those ancient relics which have been lying underneath the soil for several centuries. The very fact that the Honourable Member in charge of the Bill, as also my Honourable official friend from Bengal seemed to be a little reluctant, rouses in my mind a certain amount of suspicion that there must be some motive behind the attempt to hurry this Bill. If I give expression to what I feel in matters which come from my friends on the opposite Benches, I may be permitted to observe that it is not my fault—it is theirs. It is their conduct that has not inspired in us that respect and that consideration which we ought to have and which we would wish to have. In fact we are at times carried away by the seductive smiles of my friends on the opposite side, such as my Honourable friend the Commerce Member. But be that as it may, at times we are enabled to think what ought to be, in spite of the invitation into their parlour or the seductive smiles of my friends over there. Here is a very simple thing—preservation of relics under the sacred soil of Aryavarta. My friend demands that they should remain in India ; and my Honourable friend over there says, let half of them remain in India and let half of them go to other countries. I cannot appreciate the arguments which he adduced for this course. It is said that half should be allowed to go to foreign countries so that it may inspire respect for the civilisation of India. If our civilisation, if our culture, if the deeds of our heroes of the past have not inspired sentiments of respect in the foreigners, I say that the relics taken from under the ground will certainly not inspire respect in the minds of foreigners for India and India's past. The one thing that tempts and has ever tempted the foreigners to come to this unfortunate country is not her civilisation or history, but her gold,—not silver, as my Honourable friend observes. So I cannot fall in line with the argument, that has been advanced by my Honourable friend from Bengal, that it will inspire respect for India's civilisation and history in the minds of foreigners. We do not want to inspire foreigners with respect. We would merely like them to leave us alone. I pray to them on bended knees leave us alone, so that in our land of birth we may be at least men with freedom and not the slaves that we are at the present moment.

In advancing his argument, my Honourable friend from Bengal has drawn a comparison of the excavations in Egypt of Tutankhamen's grave, and it was said that it was undertaken by the Egyptian Government. In reply to that I have only one thing to say if the Egyptian Government is a national Government, while in India there is not a national Government, and that is the main objection we have to your undertaking it. If by national Government is meant government by foreigners, certainly, you are welcome to say that India has a national government. But nobody out of bedlam would agree to say that the present Government of India is

[Mr. Amar Nath Dutt.]

a national Government. So it is rather adding insult to injury when you draw a parallel between this and Tutankhamen's excavations.

I could not follow exactly the argument that we have no time to lose. I do not know why we have no time to lose. The Honourable Member referred to certain excavations at Paharpur and other places and suggested that private societies would undertake excavation and they should get half of the finds. I for one would not part with a single particle of the sacred relics of our forefathers. My friend made reference to a certain image of Chandi that was found in a certain part of Bengal. He has not been able to realise the intense religious feeling of the Hindus which prompts them not to allow their gods and goddesses, excavated from underneath the soil, to be touched by the profane hands of the irreligious foreigner. That is a thing to which we object, and you should not undertake these excavations in this way with the help of foreigners. I welcome my friend over there, the present Director General of Archæology ; it is now safe in his hands, but formerly it was in the hands of a foreigner and I would not have any excavation done by a foreigner.

It has also been said that these excavations are cultural ambassadors. We know of political ambassadors and what havoc they have wrought in the political life of many a country which was subject to foreign nations ; and we would not invite cultural ambassadors to subdue our ancient culture. In fact our subjugation will become complete when we give way to cultural subjugation. It was not on the field of Plassey that India was conquered, but India was really conquered when her ancient culture and religion were swept away before the on-slaught of an alien culture and religion and India's subjugation was complete.

I shall now say one or two words in reply to my friend, Mr. Yamin Khan, who has been very hard on the Honourable the Mover of this amendment. He has characterised my revered friend the Mover as very unpatriotic. If my revered friend, Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda, who has devoted the whole of his life to the study of our ancient literature and history (Hear, hear), who has devoted the whole of his life to the amelioration of social evils in this country, and who has helped us with his wise and sage counsels in this Assembly for the last eight years, if he is unpatriotic, I would like to be one of his kind rather than of the kind of my Honourable friend on the other side. (Hear, hear.) My friend, Mr. Yamin Khan, pays lip sympathy for the remains at Harappa and Mahin-jo-daro ; we know too well what his sympathy means when he says that he has no objection to half of the relics going out of India because nobody can purchase them in India. I, Sir, for one moment suspect his patriotism and suspend judgment on his patriotism. With these words, I strongly support my Honourable and revered friend, Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda, in the eloquent and feeling appeal he has made to the House for the circulation of the Bill, and I hope he will have the support of the entire House.

Sir Hari Singh Gour (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions : Non-Muhammadian) : Sir, as I read this Bill, I find that it embodies two principles.....

Mr. President : Before the Honourable Member proceeds further, I should like to ask him how long he is likely to take.

Sir Hari Singh Gour : I shall be very brief, Sir. There are two principles embodied in the Bill ; one is to arm the executive Government to protect certain areas which are expected to yield archæological results, and the second thing is to enlist learned and other bodies to make excavations, which, as the Honourable the Mover of the motion has pointed out, is beyond the financial capacity of the Government of India. My friend Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda does not object to the first principle, namely, that you should protect all areas which are expected to yield archæological results. He is equally not opposed to the other principle, namely, that you should enlist outside co-operation for the purpose of excavations. These two principles being the basic principles of the Bill, neither he nor I can object to the Bill. But there is one matter of detail, and it is this, that when you enlist foreign aid and you wish to give them a *quid pro quo* for giving financial assistance for the excavations, you should make sure that all finds of archæological value having national importance do not go out of this country. That is, therefore, the crux of the whole question, and I think that question can be safely settled in the Select Committee. At the same time I would ask the Honourable the Mover that we might perhaps combine the two motions into one, and if the Honourable the Mover accepts, as he has accepted the Select Committee, he might perhaps by an executive order circulate this debate to the persons who are likely and competent to give an opinion upon the other question as to how far we should in the Select Committee allow these finds of archæological interest possessing national interest to go out of this country. If he does that, I do not think that there will be any opposition from these Benches to his motion, or rather to the motion for referring this Bill to a Select Committee, and at the same time we shall have sounded public opinion on the other question upon which Members on this side of the House, including the Mover of the amendment, feel strongly, namely, how far and under what conditions we should allow these national treasures to go out of the country. Therefore, I submit that this motion can be easily accepted by the Honourable the Mover of the motion, and we might perhaps save time by accepting that motion and that this matter could perhaps be concluded for the day. (Cheers.)

Mr. President : Is the Honourable Member, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, going to move his amendment ?

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad (United Provinces Southern Divisions : Muhammadan Rural) : I will move it, but I don't want to detain the House long, Sir.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain : Sir, I agree with almost every word that has fallen from the lips of Dr. Gour. We are not really at issue on any of the points which have excited the feelings and religious susceptibilities and sentiments and emotions of some of us who for many reasons, age among others, tend to become sentimental and emotional. There was absolutely no intention on my part to smile,—as a matter of fact I do not know how to—but I quite appreciate the sentiment that has been expressed by the Benches opposite that they look with suspicion on everything that comes from this side.....

Mr. D. K. Lahiri Chaudhury (Bengal : Landholders) : Who is responsible for this ?

“ That the Bill be referred to a Select Committee.”

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain : I think you are justified in doing so. I do not expect you to have confidence in me, but I do want you to have confidence in your own judgment. Can I rely on that ? Another thing that pleased me most was the openness of mind expressed by Honourable Members opposite. When I had placed my simple motion before them with such observations as I was able to make, they were good enough to say that they accepted that as the right thing to do, but the most well-thought-out and very carefully prepared speech of the Honourable the Mover of this amendment just took them off their feet. It was a fight between reason and feeling, and when such a fight is on, in most cases reason goes to the wall. Therefore, I assure Honourable Members that my friend, Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda and myself are not really at issue except on one point. We are agreed that there should be control ; we are agreed that there should be marshalling of all capital available for excavating ; we are agreed that all monuments of national importance should not go out of India ; we are not at issue on that at all. What we are at issue is about things which are not of national importance. He thinks that they should remain in India and the people who come from outside India should not take them away, while I find that if in ordinary work-a-day life I want a man to invest his money, his brains, and his energies, he must have a *quid pro quo* other than the mere satisfaction of scholarly.....

Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda : Who is to decide if a thing is of national importance or not, under the present Government ? That is a matter which only the representatives of the nation can decide.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain : The nation will no doubt have some one in authority to do that. This matter whether foreigners should be at all brought in is not a matter which is closed or settled. This is one of the points which the Select Committee will have liberty and time to discuss. The Select Committee may decide that foreigners should be admitted, and this House later may decide that they should not be admitted. Similarly, the Select Committee may decide that they shall not be admitted, but this House may upset or try to upset it here. Therefore, that is not a point which the acceptance of a Select Committee closes. I do not really see what we are quarrelling about. When I made my observations about the speech of the Leader of the Opposition, I said almost every word. I want to make it clear so that it may not be said that I agreed to something and afterwards did not do it. The Honourable Member said that to different persons or institutions the whole of the proceedings of to-day's speeches should be sent. I think what he really meant was that we should present the main issue.....

Sir Hari Singh Gour : Yes, yes.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain : And not all the speeches.

Sir Hari Singh Gour : No. That is right.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain : I will tell you why I do not want on an elaborate scale this publication for expression of public opinion. We all know it is so easy to inflame the public mind on matters where sentiment and feeling come in. People throw aside the real point under discussion and begin to talk of something else.

For instance, as regards these sacred relics, it never entered the mind of any member of the Archaeological Department that the sacred relics found in India by a foreign institution or individual could be possibly given away to it or him. It never entered my mind or the mind of any member of the Archaeological Department, and I must say that it was unfair on the part of the Rai Sahib when he gave the instance of Lord Budha's remains being given to Burma. I should not like to dwell on that point, but it was not a fair attack on the Government of the day which decided that matter. There was very good justification for it. Lord Budha belonged to India, developed his intellect, preached and converted the whole of India to his creed, and yet historians tell us that barring in Burma there are very few Buddhists to be found in the rest of India. Don't you think that the Government, which owed its obligation to that part of the country quite as much as to the rest of India, should have done so? As a matter of fact, I was not responsible for that order, but I have no hesitation in saying that if I were responsible for it, in all probability I should have done the same. (*Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda* : "That is my complaint.") It is quite possible that if my Honourable friend were in office he would not have done so. But I must ask him to remember that acts like these are done not with the object of injuring or hurting anybody's feelings. You must decide one way or the other, and as long as you decide with the best of intentions and after the most careful consideration, you cannot really take that as an argument that in future no excavations should take place or that nothing should go out. However, as I said, that was only by the way. The main thing is, here is this Bill which I still claim is an innocent one. There is but one point on which there is some difference of opinion between Members on this side and on the other. That matter is open to discussion and debate and decision in the Select Committee and I see really no reason.....

Mr. D. K. Lahiri Chaudhury : There is one section of the Bill on which I should like to have an assurance from the Honourable Member, and that is section 20A (c) which runs as follows :

"prescribing the manner in which antiquities found by a licensee shall be divided between Government and the licensee."

(*An Honourable Member* : "That is for the Select Committee.")

I should like to know what would be the attitude of the Government on this matter in the Select Committee.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Hussain : The attitude of the Government would be very largely guided by what the Members of the Select Committee feel. My own attitude I have mentioned already, and in no uncertain or equivocal terms. I want to be quite clear about these things. This is a thing which will be absolutely open.....

Mr. D. K. Lahiri Chaudhury : May I request the Honourable Member just to clear this issue a little further? I want to know what would be the attitude of the Government as regards this point.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Hussain : The attitude of Government will be that anything of national importance must remain in India. That is my departmental view, and also my own view. But still, as I say.....

Mr. D. K. Lahiri Chaudhury : But who will scrutinise this importance ?

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain : The matter will have to be left to the Director General of Archæology ; it won't be a matter which would rest with the Member in charge. Is that what the Honourable Member wants to know ? It must be left to the specialist. I do not see what other agency could be devised unless it be suggested that a committee of the Members of this House should decide a matter of this sort. That is all I think the Leader of the Opposition wanted me to say.

Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda : Sir, on a point of personal explanation as to what has been ascribed to me.....

Mr. President : I should like to ask the Honourable Member to state whether, in view of the assurance which the Leader of the Opposition has obtained from the Honourable Member in charge, he desires to withdraw his motion.

Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda : No. I want to explain what my view is, so that it may not be misunderstood by the House.....

Mr. President : Let it be restricted to a personal explanation only.

Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda : It has been said that we are all agreed, both the Honourable Member in charge and myself, that excavations may be made, that foreigners may be allowed to come and do the thing, but that there is only one difference between him and me, and that is that, while he says all finds of national importance may be kept here, and I say that *all* finds whatsoever may be kept here. In order that it is properly understood, all I have to say is that it is not for the Government—I object strongly to Government deciding whether a particular find is a matter of national importance or not. Just now, the Honourable Member in charge said that the removal of Buddha's remains is not a matter of national importance to them.....

Mr. President : The Honourable Member is not making a personal explanation. He is making a reply. He must restrict himself to a personal explanation ; otherwise I cannot allow him to go on.

Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda : My personal explanation is this. I have not agreed at all to the interpretation which my Honourable friend has put on my conditions.

(At this stage Mr. S. G. Jog rose to speak.)

Mr. President : I should like to put the question now, unless there is a general feeling in the House that further discussion should take place.

Several Honourable Members : Let the question be now put.

Mr. President : I accept the closure. The question is that the question be now put.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President : The question is that the Bill be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinions thereon.

Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda : If the Honourable Member agrees to circulate my speech by executive order along with the Bill, the implications of the Bill will be understood, but not otherwise. The Bill

has been so skilfully and cleverly drafted as to hide the real principle of the Bill.

The Assembly divided :

AYES—24.

Abdoola Haroon, Seth Haji.
 Abdur Rahim, Sir.
 Aggarwal, Mr. Jagan Nath.
 Chandi Mal Gola, Bhagat.
 Dutt, Mr. Amar Nath.
 Hari Raj Swarup, Lah.
 Jog, Mr. S. G.
 Kyaw Myint, U
 Lahiri Chaudhury, Mr. D. K.
 Murtuza Saheb Bahadur, Maulvi Sayyid.
 Parma Nand, Bhai.
 Patil, Rao Bahadur B. L.

Puri, Mr. Goswami M. R.
 Reddi, Mr. P. G.
 Reddi, Mr. T. N. Ramakrishna.
 Sarda, Rai Sahib Harbilas.
 Sen, Mr. S. C.
 Sen, Pandit Satyendra Nath.
 Singh, Kumar Gupteshwar Prasad.
 Singh, Mr. Gaya Prasad.
 Sitaramaraju, Mr. B.
 Thampan, Mr. K. P.
 Uppi Saheb Bahadur, Mr.
 Ziauddin Ahmad, Dr.

NOES—50.

Abdul Qaiyum, Nawab Sir Sahibzada.
 Ahmed, Mr. K.
 Allah Baksh Khan Tiwana, Khan Bahadur Malik.
 Anwar-ul-Azim, Mr. Muhammad.
 Azizuddin Ahmad Bilgrami, Qazi.
 Bajpai, Mr. R. S.
 Banerji, Mr. Rajnarayan.
 Crenar, The Honourable Sir James.
 Dalal, Dr. R. D.
 DeSouza, Dr. F. X.
 Dyer, Mr. J. F.
 Fazl-i-Husain, The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir.
 Fox, Mr. H. B.
 French, Mr. J. C.
 Graham, Sir Jancelot.
 Griffiths, Mr. G. I.
 Hezlett, Mr. J.
 Howell, Mr. E. B.
 Iahwarsingji, Nawab Naharsingji.
 Ismail Ali Khan, Kunwar Hajeer.
 Jawahar Singh, Sardar Bahadur Sardar.
 Knight, Mr. H. F.
 Lal Chand, Captain R. B.
 Lall, Mr. S.

Leach, Mr. F. B.
 Maswood Ahmad, Mr. M.
 Misra, Mr. B. N.
 Montgomery, Mr. H.
 Moore, Mr. Arthur.
 Mukherjee, Rai Bahadur S. C.
 Pandit, Rao Bahadur S. B.
 Parsons, Mr. A. A. L.
 Rainy, The Honourable Sir George.
 Rajah, Rao Bahadur M. C.
 Rama Rao, Rai Bahadur U.
 Row, Mr. K. Sanjiva.
 Roy, Mr. S. N.
 Sahi, Mr. Ram Prasad Narayana.
 Sams, Sir Hubert.
 Schuster, The Honourable Sir George.
 Sher Muhammad Khan Gakhar, Captain.
 Shillidy, Mr. J. A.
 Studd, Mr. E.
 Tait, Mr. John.
 Talib Mehdi, Khan, Nawab Major Malik.
 Todd, Mr. A. H. A.
 Yakub, Sir Muhammad.
 Yamin Khan, Mr. Muhammad.
 Young, Mr. G. M.
 Zulfqar Ali Khan, Sir.

The motion was negatived.

Mr. President : I should like to ask Honourable Members whether they are prepared to get the amendment for the Select Committee formally moved and have it put to the vote or whether they want some further discussion.

(Cries of "No discussion.")

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad : Sir, I rise to move :

“ That the Ancient Monuments Preservation (Amendment) Bill be referred to a Select Committee consisting of the Honourable Member in charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, Mr. Ramsay Scott, Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan, Mr. N. N. Anklesaria, Rao Bahadur Chaudhri Lal Chand, Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda, Seth Haji Abdoola Haroon, Mr. J. C. French, Mr. B. N. Misra, Mr. Amar Nath Dutt, and the Mover, and that the number of Members whose presence shall be necessary to constitute a meeting of the Committee shall be five.”

The motion was adopted.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Ten Minutes to Three of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Ten Minutes to Three of the Clock. Mr. President in the Chair.

DEMANDS FOR SUPPLEMENTARY GRANTS.

MISCELLANEOUS.

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

“ That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 3,57,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1932, in respect of ‘ Miscellaneous ’.”

Inadequate Representation of Bengal at the Round Table Conference.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt (Burdwan Division : Non-Muhammadian Rural) : Sir, I beg to move :

“ That the demand for a supplementary grant of a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,57,000 in respect of ‘ Miscellaneous ’ be reduced by Rs. 3,56,999.”

Mr. B. Das (Orissa Division : Non-Muhammadian) : Sir, I wish to raise a point of order. The practice here has been to give token cuts of Rs. 100 and some of us have given token cuts of Rs. 100 to discuss other important matters. I now find that my friend whose grievance is the non-inclusion of more members from Bengal in the Round Table Conference wants to cut out the whole grant except Re. 1. How are we going to discuss the various motions of which we gave notice, probably earlier than Mr. Dutt ? I hope you will rule, Sir, that the matter can only be discussed on a Rs. 100 cut, and that Mr. Dutt's cut should take its own place on the Agenda.

Mr. President : Any Honourable Member is entitled to say that he will give only one rupee against a demand of Rs. 3,57,000 made by Government, but in that case he will have to deal more with the financial aspect than with a particular grievance.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt : Sir, I am glad that Mr. Das's objection has been overruled. (Laughter.) In a manner it has been overruled, and the President has pointed out in what way I should discuss the motion. And probably my Honourable friend knows that I know as much of the rules and conventions of this House as he does. (Voices of, “ You know more.”) Yes, I probably know more.

Sir, I shall place before the House the reasons why this supplementary grant is required. You will find from the Blue Books that have been given to us, that Rs. 3,27,000 is for the Round Table Conference. Travelling expenses amount to Rs. 1,84,000 and other expenses are Rs. 1,36,000. Then again linked with these are two other things, viz., special commissions for inquiry ; i.e., the North West Frontier Province Subjects Committee, Rs. 23,000 and the Sindh Financial Inquiry Committee, Rs. 14,000. I shall ask the House not to accept this Rs. 23,000 and Rs. 14,000, for the Round Table Conference was not accepted by the people of this country, I mean the real people who count ; and the Government brought about a settlement between the representatives of the people and those that will participate in the Round Table Conference, and that was only a few days ago here, when negotiations were going on between that great man Mahatma Gandhi and the Government of Lord Willingdon. Up till then the real people of India were not in the Round Table Conference. There might have been people of whom the less said the better. Some words were coming to my lips but I shall restrain myself from uttering them. So you will find, Sir, that this North West Frontier Province Subjects Committee and the Sindh Financial Inquiry Committee were offsprings of the deliberations of the Round Table Conference which did not contain any real representative of this country but contained representatives of the people of England and men of their choice from India. That being so, Sir, we cannot sanction any grant whatever for these two items. I have therefore submitted my reasons for taking away Rs. 37,000. Now I come to the balance of Rs. 3,20,000. This is a large amount. Of this the travelling expenses come to Rs. 1,84,000. Now, Sir, those who are really bent upon having constitutional Government here and who want to have self-determination as the basis of the constitution to be framed for India will be reluctant to get their travelling expenses from the Government. Apart from that, who are the people that have been sent ? Have you been careful in adding the names which will command the confidence of the people of this country in the future constitution that is to come ? No. I say, Sir, here as representatives of the people we will be justified in at least throwing out any demand which the Honourable the Finance Member, instigated by others, has been compelled to put here. We know that the Honourable the Finance Member will be the last man on earth to ask for money unless he is compelled to do so. I know that his hands and feet are tied up by the bureaucratic rope. Therefore he has been compelled to bring this before us. In fact, if he had been a free man, I am sure he would not have asked us to grant this demand. It will be seen that to the list of members who were selected for the Round Table Conference originally there have been added some other names from other provinces but none from the province of Bengal. I do not know whether this is meant as a penance, when you ask us to contribute Rs. 1.84 lakhs for the Round Table Conference. I do not know whether it is meant as a penance for the sins of Mir Jaffer and Omichund. We have to make great sacrifices before we can have Swaraj ; we have to pay a price for freedom. The reason for which I am asking the House to refuse this grant will be acceptable to the Honourable the Home Member, because he hails from another province. He does not know whether Bengal is an important province or not and he thinks that Bengal might easily be neglected. I know that unless you had that sort of feeling for Bengal for the state of things there, you would not have done

[Mr. Amar Nath Dutt.]

this. Be that as it may, I submit, when you had got additional members from other provinces, I ask you what are your reasons for not having included any member from Bengal. You have not added a single individual from Bengal to the already selected list which was to your liking. You do not want the real voice of Bengal to be represented in the Round Table Conference although you know that Punjab and Bengal ought to send more members than any other province in India. I think I am not betraying any secret when I say before this House that when I enquired how the representatives from Bengal were selected, what was the method and what was the reason, the reasons and the explanation given were such which did not appeal even to that Honourable Member who was instrumental in selecting them.

Mr. President : Order, order. May I draw the Honourable Member's attention to the fact that he is concentrating on making out a provincial grievance. He is not dealing on financial grounds with the large reduction he advocates.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt : In these days of financial stringency, when we cannot agree with the Honourable the Finance Member and he finds that people, who have great respect for him, have to go against him and vote against him, I submit that to bring a demand for this huge amount, and that for other expenses—I do not know what these other expenses are—the Government of India have also "other expenses" for the C. I. D.,—is not proper. But as the Honourable the Finance Member has asked for a grant, I will give him only Re. 1, the total amount to be reduced being Rs. 3,56,999.

Mr. B. Das : I do not agree with my Honourable friend, Mr. Amar Nath Dutt, in coming at this late day of the year to oppose the wholesale grant to the Round Table Conference, because this grant was included in the Budget last session and my friend passed it even without giving notice of a cut. I think to-day we are not to face the situation when we can do away with the allowances of the members of the Round Table Conference, but we are to face the point whether the present Round Table Conference is the right one and really representative. I think we have to discuss the subject from that point of view alone.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qalyum (Nominated Non-Official) : I do not know whether I am justified in taking part in this debate since I happen to be one of those unfortunate people who have to attend the Round Table Conference, but it is something else which makes me get up and say a few words. Sir, as far as expense over the Round Table Conference is concerned, the suggestion of holding the Conference originally came from a party of which the Honourable the Mover of this cut, Mr. Amar Nath Dutt, was a member. This original suggestion for holding the Round Table Conference was from the Swaraj Party which was then in ascendancy in this House and of which, as I have just said, the Honourable the Mover was a leading Member! The idea of course was that the Congress would take part in the Conference, but if none of the Congress people took part in the Conference last year, at least this time we find the authorised representative of that party attending the Conference in London just now; and if the Congress

which is the foremost political party in this country is represented at that Conference and its accredited spokesman is at present engaged in its deliberations, we should not, I think, grudge them this little expense over its members when there is every possibility of their coming to some sort of solution of our difficulties. This is a point to be considered, though it really does not concern me much.

It is however in connection with that small item of expenditure for the North West Frontier Province Subjects Committee, that I should like to remind the House that it was a well organised small committee, short-lived and hard-worked, which carried out its task within two months. But for that committee, this House would have always remained in doubt whether expenditure over that province was not very very extravagant. Now, that the report of that Committee is before the House, Honourable Members, who read it, will find that even that much-maligned province is not as extravagant in its expenses as it was generally supposed to be. Moreover that report will assure the Honourable Members as well as the general public that the people of that province have been found, as a result of this Committee's sifting inquiry, to be quite fit for any constitutional advance when compared with the rest of India ! If that knowledge has been gained with this small expense, I hope the House will not grudge it. That Committee has removed a good many doubts and suspicions about the efficiency of the administration as well as the capacity and ability of the people to take part in the Indian constitutional advance, and I am sure that the result of that very sifting and careful inquiry must have convinced this House that the province is fit to take its proper part in the political life of India. For these reasons I hope the House will have no hesitation in passing that very small item of expenditure.

The Honourable Sir George Rainy (Member for Commerce and Railways) : Sir, my Honourable friend, Mr. Amar Nath Dutt, accused me this morning of a seductive smile. I am afraid I must accuse him of seductive words intended to lead this House in a most regrettable direction. I admire the skill with which he tried to weave together the various points in his case, but I am confident that he did not succeed in persuading the House to withhold the provision, altogether or almost altogether, for the expenses of the delegates to the Round Table Conference. I am so confident of that that I do not propose to argue the case at length. I will only ask my Honourable friend one question. It is this ; he has left one rupee ; for who is it intended ?

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt : It is for those members who were originally appointed.

The Honourable Sir George Rainy : I think the House would have been grateful to my Honourable friend had he been able to enlighten it on that most interesting point.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt : Sir, I have heard my friends, Mr. B. Das and Nawab Sir Abdul Qaiyum ; their arguments are that the original Round Table Conference which was constituted was the right thing and whatever has been done in pursuance of that and other committees which followed it was the right thing to be done.

Honourable Members : No, no.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt : My friend relied upon the original sanction, but he forgets that sanction was not the sanction of the people. That sanction was had, because we knew on this side of the House, and they knew it also on the other side, that they had the forty nominated members and others of their way of thinking and that we had been left alone, severely alone, by our former colleagues and so this thing was passed. My friend Mr. B. Das and I are two strange bed-fellows ; we were not of the same camp ; our ways of thinking are not the same and we cannot forget even in our calmer moments that we belong to different stock. I do not know whether my friend was nettled because of the allusion to representation from Bengal only, for I find that the cut coming next is that of my Honourable friend who complains not only of the non-representation of Orissa, his own province, but also the non-representation of the Merchants' Chambers, and Federation. So he wants to safeguard the interests of every association with which he is connected, and he will not support me when I ask for the proper representation of my own province, I beg to submit that I am not convinced by the arguments of my Honourable friend on the other side, or of my friend from the North West Frontier Province or of my friend from Bihar and Orissa. I do not like to withdraw my motion.

The Honourable Sir George Schuster : Sir, I have nothing to say.

Mr. President : The question is :

“ That the demand for a supplementary grant of a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,57,000 in respect of ‘ Miscellaneous ’ be reduced by Rs. 3,56,999.”

The motion was negatived.

Mr. President : As regards the next amendment† standing in the name of Mr. Goswami Puri,—is he here ? (*An Honourable Member :* “ He is not here.”)

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt : May I move it on his behalf ? Sir ?

Non-participation of the Representatives of the Federation of Indian Merchants' Chambers and Industries in the Federal Structure Committee and the Round Table Conference.

Mr. B. Das : Sir, I beg to move the motion standing in my name, which is as follows :

“ That the demand for a supplementary grant of a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,57,000 in respect of ‘ Miscellaneous ’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

Sir, since I gave notice of this motion, events have so shaped that the Government of India and the British Government have seen their way to permit the delegates of the Federation of the Indian Merchants' Chambers and Industries to make their journey to participate in the Round Table Conference, but it is due to the obstinacy of the Government of India or those who advised the Viceroy and those who advised Whitehall and the Secretary of State, that to-day no accredited representative of the Indian Mercantile community takes part in the Federal Structure Committee. All of us have read in the papers that when the Secretary of State, after declaring the rupee as being linked to the sterling, invited the delegates to the Round Table Conference present to meet Sir Henry

† “ That the demand for a supplementary grant of a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,57,000 in respect of ‘ Miscellaneous ’ be reduced to Re. 1 (non-inclusion of a Bengali in the Orissa Boundary Commission).”

Strakosch, supposed to be a great authority on Indian currency matters being at the India Office, he thought fit to omit to invite Mr. Ghanshamdas Birla, one of the accredited representatives of the Federation of Indian Merchants' Chambers, and Mr. Ghanshamdas Birla was not present, and all of us know what sort of statement that gentleman, I mean Sir Henry Strakosch, made. He said that if the rupee were not allowed to be linked to sterling, the rupee would go down considerably and would be worth 6*d.* only. I do not know if that gentleman is paid from the Indian Treasury, if so, I hope he will not be paid for the sort of economic knowledge that he possesses, which is really a menace to India. Sir, I have been told not to press this motion, but I thought that the Government of India would have advised that Mr. Ghanshamdas Birla should deputise on behalf of Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas at the Federal Structure Committee. Press news from London states that Mr. Birla has given a watching brief at the Federal Structure Committee. The advisers of the Secretary of State are so much afraid of Mr. Ghanshamdas Birla that they do not want Mr. Birla to take part in the Federal Structure Committee pending Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas's arrival. This is a great national calamity for India and for Indian mercantile interests. I shall give the House one example. When in that Committee where the Secretary of State invited all the delegates and they discussed about the rupee being linked to sterling, no member made any statement, and I can say this much, that if Mr. Ghanshamdas Birla or Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas had been present, they would have surely made a statement, then and there, as we demonstrated on Saturday last, and we told the Government and the world what was the national viewpoint of India.

Sir, as I began, while I congratulate the Government of India and the British Government, for, at last sanity has dawned on them, for having invited the accredited representatives of the Indian mercantile community, I condemn their action for keeping out Mr. Birla from the Federal Structure Committee and from his participating in private and public conferences where India's fate was decided and where it was allowed to be declared that the rupee would go down to 6*d.* if it was not linked to sterling.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt : Sir, what is sauce for the gander is also sauce for the goose. The Honourable the Mover of this motion would not support me in my proposition about Bengal, but his heart bleeds for those merchant princes, and therefore wires were sent across the seas and the whole Council Chamber vibrated with the voice of this so-called voiceless Chamber of Commerce, and they succeeded in getting representation at the Round Table Conference. Now, comes another demand that they should have been represented at the Federal Structure Committee. My friend forgets that the Federal Committee was constituted long before these three members of the Chamber were added to the Round Table Conference. (*An Honourable Member :* "But new Members were added subsequently.")

Mr. B. Das : My friend does not know the actual facts.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt : I admit I do not know the facts as well as he does, but I know some of the facts which if disclosed would not be either to the interests of this House or of the country at large. But this much I know that this non-participation does not require any censure to be passed on the Government. If the Government have given

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you three seats at the Round Table Conference, you ought to feel grateful. I only pleaded for my province. However, they have denied it, and though I am not grateful, I am not vindictive, but I plead for justice only. Sir, this cut or censure motion comes with bad grace from a gentleman who belongs to that Chamber whose demands have been fulfilled, and therefore I would ask my friend that with that grace which is characteristic of him, save and except on this occasion, he should withdraw his motion.

The Honourable Sir George Rainy : Sir, my friend Mr. Dutt has made my task an easy one. He has dealt so fully with the various aspects of the case that I must be brief. I think when my friend Mr. Das put down an amendment on the paper he had two objects in view, one to bring about the full representation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce which he wanted to see, and second to have an opportunity of telling Government just what he thought about it. Now, my friend has attained both his objects, and in these circumstances I suggest to him that he might gracefully withdraw his motion.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh (Muzaffarpur *cum* Champaran : Non-Muhammadian) : What about the representation of Orissa ?

Mr. President : Does the Honourable Member wish to reply ?

Mr. B. Das : Sir, knowing as I do the temper of the House, and knowing also that my friend Mr. Amar Nath Dutt wants to mislead the House, I do not wish to press my motion to a division.

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

Non-representation of Orissa at the Round Table Conference.

Mr. B. Das : Sir, I beg to move the motion standing in my name, which reads thus :

“ That the demand for a supplementary grant of a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,57,000 in respect of ‘ Miscellaneous ’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

Sir, while I find my friend on the right, who represents Bengal and has got six seats at the Round Table Conference, is clamouring for an additional seat, I find Orissa has been completely ignored for the last Conference as well as for the present Round Table Conference. I will just enlighten my friend Mr. Amar Nath Dutt that his province is represented by Mr. Basu,—I believe he is a friend of Mr. Amar Nath Dutt—Sir P. C. Mitter,—are they not Bangalies ? If my friend wants more, I do not mind his getting more representation, but I say his province has been adequately represented at the Round Table Conference, while Orissa goes unrepresented. Sir, in the last Round Table Conference the Rajah of Parlakimedi, a landholder from the Madras Presidency, whose name was published in the State papers as the representative of the Indian landholders, was allowed in his other capacity as an Oriya to represent Orissa. I must take this opportunity to testify to the fact that he did his utmost to help the Oriya interests. But to-day he has resigned his membership of the Round Table Conference, and has accepted another position in a Commission appointed by the Government of India through the instrumentality of the Round Table Conference, and no Oriya has been allowed to replace him. From the newspaper announcement we find that another landholder of Madras, the Rajah of Bobbili, has been substituted in place of the Rajah of Parlakimedi.

Sir, of the new provinces that will come into existence as the result of a change in the constitution, Sind and Orissa will be two, and I find that Sind was represented at the First Round Table Conference and is also represented at the second Round Table Conference. I wonder why the Government have ignored the claims of Orissa unless my Honourable friend the Leader of the House, who knows that excellent passage in the late Lord Curzon's speech in the House of Lords, that the Oriyas were not an agitating people, and that if they were, they would have achieved their object long, long ago, of the constitution of a separate Orissa Province, probably thought that the Oriyas were not agitators, they had not joined the terrorist criminals, they were co-operating with Government, though from the side of the Opposition, and therefore that the Government could safely ignore their claim. Sir, I ask for bare justice from the House. I ask whether the Oriyas have not an equal claim with Sind to be represented at the Round Table Conference? Even my Honourable friend, Nawab Sir Abdul Qaiyum, who represents the North West Frontier Province, which is at present working under different circumstances but claims to become a province with complete self-government institutions under the new constitution—my Honourable friend represents that province, and why is it that the Oriya claim has been ignored? Does my Honourable friend the Leader of the House, who advised the two Viceroys to make such choice as they thought fit, think that the Oriyas have nothing to contribute at the Round Table Conference, whether to the constitution of a separate province for Oriyas, or to the greater goal of constitutional freedom for India? Sir, I think the Government should regret their action in ignoring the claims of Oriyas for the last 1½ years, and I hope that they will now nominate an Oriya to the Round Table Conference.

Sir, it is rumoured that the Government of Bihar and Orissa did not press for an Oriya representative at the Round Table Conference. But I find that two more Beharis have gone to the second Round Table Conference, I mean Maulvi Shafee Daoodi and Sir Ali Imam. So, Bihar has got four and Orissa has no representative at all, while in the despatch which the Government of India wrote to the Round Table Conference their view is that Oriyas should have a separate province of their own. Sir, I claim here my right not as an Oriya but as an Indian, and I want that as an Oriya I should contribute my best for the remodelling of the constitution of India and Orissa as well.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt : It would not have been necessary for me to rise on this occasion but for the little mud flinging which my Honourable friend Mr. Das had at Bengal. He has read before you certain names which I had studiously avoided, and he has added the name of one gentleman who, although bearing a Bengali name, has not belonged to Bengal for the last three generations and whose forefathers had migrated from Bengal to the Punjab nearly a century ago. Sir, I won't say a word against those eminent gentlemen whom you have been pleased to select in your wisdom, but at the same time I beg to state that they are not representatives of nationalist Bengal or of the Bengali people.

Sir, I will not oppose my Honourable friend Mr. B. Das in his demand for a representation of his province in the Round Table Conference for the framing of the future constitution of India. From the point of view of intelligence, culture and education, I can well say that the

[Mr. Amar Nath Dutt.]

Oriyas can also contribute something towards the framing of a constitution for India. Any one holding opposite views surely does not know the people of Orissa, and his knowledge must have been derived from other than those who are the educated people of Orissa. Sir, I think that Orissa must have representation and I support my Honourable friend in his demand.

Mr. B. N. Miara (Orissa Division : Non-Muhammadan) : I beg to support the cut moved by my Honourable friend Mr. B. Das. The number of delegates to the last Round Table Conference was 52, and if you take province by province, there are eight major provinces in India, and the province of Bihar and Orissa deserved at least 8 seats, and Orissa in that case would have got half. We have not got even one quarter, or one-eighth, or even any decimal portion, .000, etc. Our position is this. The Leader of the House and the Government have totally ignored the province of Orissa. The Rajah of Parlakimedi is, strictly speaking, a representative of the landholders or zamindars ; he never represented Orissa proper. Even now, the present Round Table Conference has been increased in number by 16 members. In that case our proportion becomes much more, but you will find that the Rajah of Parlakimedi is not on the Round Table Conference now. Therefore, we have no representative at all there. Sir, I think Orissa must necessarily be represented in the Round Table Conference in view of the recent formation of the Boundary Commission and in view of the formation of a new province for Oriyas. In the last Simla session I submitted in this very House that the Oriyas had a very important question to be settled which has been pending for the last 30 years since the time of Lord Curzon. Sir, there is still time for an Oriya to be selected to represent Orissa proper at the Round Table Conference, and I would earnestly appeal to the Government to rectify their error. (*An Honourable Member* : "Why don't you suggest names?") I think the Government can select any man whom they think suitable. I do not object to their selecting anybody so long as they satisfy the Oriyas. There is still time. I think the Government of India have committed a grave error in not taking notice of the cry raised in the last Simla session and throughout in several shapes. I heartily support the cut motion moved by Mr. Das.

The Honourable Sir George Rainy : Coming as I do from the province of which Orissa forms a part, I should be very sorry indeed to think that I was in the position of defending a wrong to Orissa, but I do not think I am in that position. Orissa was represented, as my Honourable friend has admitted, at the first sitting of the Round Table Conference. I do not think that either of my Honourable friends from that province, who have spoken, have sufficiently appreciated the importance of what is going on at present, that is to say, the work of the Orissa Boundary Committee, the appointment of which was announced a few days ago. I think all Honourable Members will realise that while that Committee is sitting and until its report is received, it is not at all likely that the Round Table Conference will occupy itself with the special problem of Orissa. I have no doubt that the Raja of Parlakimedi, who represented Orissa at the last Conference, has realised that it would be more useful for his own province and for its interests if he devoted

his attention to the Boundary Committee than that he should go to London at the present time. I think the work of that Committee must be of extreme importance in the settlement of the question which my Honourable friends have so much at heart. That is where the key of the situation is at present and for the moment from the special Oriya point of view, London does not count very much. When the work of the Committee is over and when the time comes for the Conference to consider the Oriya problem, then I think my Honourable friends might very well press for the representation of Orissa at the London Conference when that question is discussed. For the moment I would put it to them that their remonstrance or proposal is not timely. At the moment the important question will come before the Boundary Commission and that is where the prominent men of Orissa can best serve their province.

Mr. B. Das : I listened to the Honourable the Leader of the House, coming as he does from my own province, with the greatest respect, but I feel that he has not met the points I advanced. He suggested that the Oriyas are only interested in their domestic problem of the separation of Orissa and not in the greater and bigger problem of India's destiny. He has done an act of unkindness to the Oriya people by suggesting that and I think it might have created a wrong impression on the Members of this House. Under the circumstances I cannot withdraw my motion and I press it.

Mr. President : The question is :

“ That the demand for a supplementary grant of a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,57,000 in respect of ‘ Miscellaneous ’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

The motion was negatived.

Inadequate Representation of the Landlords and Zamindars at the Round Table Conference.

Lala Hari Raj Swarup (United Provinces : Landholders) : I beg to move :

“ That the demand for a supplementary grant of a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,57,000 in respect of ‘ Miscellaneous ’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

I have taken this opportunity to express the grievance of the landlords of India in general and of the United Provinces in particular about their inadequate representation at the Round Table Conference. We have two complaints, one is about the inadequate representation of landlords at the Round Table, and secondly the manner in which they, if any, have been chosen. I was looking up the list of members of the Round Table Conference, and I could not find which of them has really been nominated to represent the landholders of India. In the other House a Resolution was moved the other day and the Honourable Member in charge replied that the Maharaja of Darbhanga and Sir P. C. Mitter of Bengal and four others, whose names he did not care to mention, were appointed to represent the landholders of India. I had a talk with the Nawab of Chhattari and the Maharaja of Darbhanga. The latter said that he represented the Hindus of Bihar and not the landholders. (Voices : “ No.”) That is what the Maharaja said. There is no other Hindu at the Conference from Bihar, and the Nawab of Chhattari said that he was there in his official capacity of Home Member of the United Provinces Government.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh : Is not the Maharaja of Darbhanga the president of the Landholders' Association ?

Lala Hari Raj Swarup : He is, but he has not been nominated in that capacity. Since the last Conference, we feel that our case is going by default and except for a short speech by Sir P. C. Mitter, whom I wish to thank on behalf of the landholders, nobody took up our case at the Conference. I would not have taken this opportunity to place our grievances before this House, but the events of the last few months have put us to alarm. The Congress in their Resolution about fundamental rights have said that they are for the interests of tenants and not of landlords. They even went to the length of suggesting that they should do away with the permanent settlement of Bengal and the zamindar class as a whole. This is what they say :

“ Some members of the Committee strongly favoured the insertion of a clause abolishing the permanent settlement and the zamindari system. It was not included as in the view of the majority the clause relating to the revenue system and land tax would give the right to the future legislature to consider all such proposals.”

Then very recently Mahatma Gandhi, in his speech at the Federal Structure Committee of the Round Table Conference, said that he does not want to give any special representation to the landlords. He was not for any special representation of any class. At one place, however, he said that there should be a clause in the constitution providing that if the constituents failed to elect representatives of certain classes, as for instance, women, Europeans and representatives of Commerce, they should be selected or nominated by the Legislature. There is no mention, Sir, in this clause about landlords. Whether they have separate constituencies or not, and whether they are elected from General Constituencies or not, no representation is to be given to them. Now a Resolution was moved in the other House for claiming an adequate representation at the Round Table Conference, and the Member in charge said that, “ The proper opportunity will come to press your claims before the Franchise Committee which is to be appointed ”. We admit that we can put forward our claims before that Committee, but the broad principles will be decided in London, and the Franchise Committee, which will be appointed only in accordance with the recommendations of the Round Table Conference, will not be able to go into the fundamentals and will only carry out the policy decided in England. If the Round Table Conference decides that there should be no special representation for us, then the Franchise Committee cannot accord representation to the landholders as such. Sir, it is a general principle that representation goes by taxation. If you look at the Budgets of the various Provincial Governments, you will find that one-half of the provincial revenues of the Provincial Governments comes from land revenue which is paid by the landholders of India ; and, to ignore the landholders of India on the Round Table Conference, Sir, is doing a grave injustice to this class. The Government of India, Sir, whenever we represented our case to them, said that the nominations have been made by His Majesty's Prime Minister and that they are not responsible for these nominations. Sir, when they ask for money from this House, I urge that they should feel their own responsibility towards ourselves : and when certain additions have been made to the list of delegates to the Round Table Conference very recently, I say that that must be on the advice of the Government of India. We represented our case several times to Lord Irwin and also to the present Viceroy and Governor General. His Excellency very sympathetically

said that the Government of India would give us adequate representation; but, Sir, when we looked into the list, we did not find our community adequately represented through our representatives. With these few words, Sir, I wish to place our protest on record.

Mr. Bhuput Sing (Bihar and Orissa : Landholders) : Sir, I rise to support the cut motion which has been moved by my Honourable friend, Mr. Hari Raj Swarup. Being myself also a representative of another landholders' constituency, I owe it to myself to support him wholeheartedly in this matter. Like him, I have also keenly felt the injustice of the inadequate representation of our interests on the Round Table Conference from my province of Bihar and Orissa as well. Sir, I know it as a fact that the oldest premier institution in India of landlords and zamindars, I mean the British Indian Association of Calcutta, has repeatedly pressed upon the attention of His Majesty's Government as well as that of the Government of India, the fact of the inadequate representation of the land-owning classes in India on the Round Table Conference, but all that, Sir, yet to no effect.

Sir, we, the land-owning classes, have not only always stood by the Government through thick and thin *as a class*, but have always, by our timely, regular and periodical payments of the land revenue, enabled them to carry on their administration smoothly. (Ironical Cheers from some Honourable Members.) We have handsomely contributed towards all their loans, and have influenced our people to contribute towards them largely. We also pay heavy amounts as income-tax year by year. We have very often, Sir, exercised a healthy influence upon the body politic in times of unrest. Then, by payment of the various kinds of cesses we have enabled the district authorities everywhere to keep the roads and public works in good and satisfactory condition. But, Sir, notwithstanding all these services, as we have been quite averse to any sort of political agitation, either in the Press or on the platform, lest our great stakes in the country might be prejudiced in any way, the Government of India have always turned a deaf ear to all our representations. Sir, the Government of India evidently lay great store by political agitation, and they in fact respect those who clamour for rights, and they are afraid of those who have got a strong organization, because it is my firm conviction that, if only the landlords and zamindars of India had combined and pitted the weight of their wealth and substance into an extensive political agitation inside the country for a recognition of their legitimate claims and aspirations, they could have in no time made the Government recognize them, just as the Federation of Indian Merchants' Chambers and Industries have been able to do. But that, Sir, is an impossible dream in the present disintegrating condition of our land-owning classes and I shall content myself therefore by supporting the motion of my Honourable friend in giving vent to our grievance pointedly only in this House.

Mr. Goswami M. R. Puri (Central Provinces : Landholders) : Sir, I rise to support the cut motion of my friend Mr. Hari Raj Swarup.

I regret to bring to the notice of this House that, in spite of the promises made by the Government last year on the questions of the Raja of Kollengode, Government have not cared to give an adequate representation to the landholders of India in the second Round Table Conference.

[Mr. Goswami M. R. Puri.]

This Round Table Conference, since it is devoid of an adequate and true representation of landholders, may afford any good thing to India, but we are sure, Sir, that we are not going to get anything better ; on the other hand it is very likely that we may get something worse.

We are at a loss to know why our class is so ignored both by the public and by the Government as well. (Laughter.) In fact it is our class, Sir, which contributes a major portion of the whole contribution to the Government *Khazina*, but in spite of this fact, our class is ignored as anything ! India is an agricultural country, and in fact our class claims the first voice. (Hear, hear.) As a representative of the zamindars of the Central Provinces and a joint Secretary of the Landowners Group in the August Assembly, I protest against this dark business, often successfully carried out. From the floor of this House I wish to bring to the notice of the Government, Sir, that as long as the landowners are not properly cared for, no good constitution will be acceptable to this class. (Hear, hear.) It may be argued by the Government that some of the Round Table delegates are big landholders of India ; but I shall be the last man to admit this version. The Government might have included some big zamindars, but I venture to say, without any hesitation, that they are not our true representatives in the real sense. During the first Round Table Conference, Sir, we had a bitter experience that these representatives did not care even to put our case before the Round Table Conference. What of fighting for us, then ? Sir, it is an open secret that our class is sinking down and down, and it is a matter of regret that the Government are ignoring us in such matters which are so highly important. As a landlord, I am here to record my emphatic complaint. We demand little, but we insist upon what we demand, because we are on the right side. We must get a better representation.

The interests of our class are as united as of the other classes of people. I hope, Sir, that I have sufficiently succeeded in briefly impressing upon this House, the justice for this cut motion and I sincerely appeal that at least the non-official Benches will lend their unanimous support.

The Honourable Sir George Rainy : Mr. President. I daresay the House will realize that it would be imposing a somewhat difficult task upon a Member of the Government to deal with every one of these cuts upon their merits, and to say that an ideal distribution between all conceivable interests had been attained, more especially because, as the House is well aware, the responsibility for the selections rests with His Majesty's Government and does not rest with the Government of India. I had not the heart to make this general point when the question of Orissa was raised. As my friends Mr. Das and Mr. Misra know, I have a soft spot in my heart for Orissa, though not in my head, I hope. (Laughter.) But I think this cut provides the natural opportunity on which I must make two general points, first, that the responsibility does not rest with the Government of India, and second, that if an angel had come down from Heaven to make the selection, I believe the number of cuts moved upon this occasion would have been just as numerous as they are. (Laughter.) I am sure, Honourable Members of the House realise how extraordinarily difficult it is in the case of a Conference of this kind to give the representation one might wish to give to all the various

important interests concerned in the future of India. And even if it were possible to disregard the question of numbers and make the Conference very numerous, we should still not satisfy anything like all the interests, for each of them would consider that the representation accorded to it was inadequate. I would not say one word to underrate the importance in the future of India of the great land-holding community. But if their feeling is that their case will be inadequately presented at the Round Table Conference, and that there are not sufficient delegates to state it adequately, I think they are unduly apprehensive. After all at a meeting, such as the Round Table Conference, it is not a question of counting votes ; it is a question of weighing opinion. And I am confident that those members of the Conference who can fairly claim to speak for the land-holding community will be perfectly able to put their views forward effectively, and it is not in the least probable that their views will be overlooked or ignored.

I would press upon the House the importance of the considerations I have urged, because while one Member may be interested in one particular motion for a cut and another Member in another motion, each of them may be able to perceive the flaw, if not in the cut that he has moved himself, at any rate in the cut that was moved by his friend. I thought I had noticed a little earlier in the afternoon that perhaps my friend Mr. Das's eyes were open to the weaknesses in the cut moved from his right, and Mr. Amar Nath Dutt's eyes to the weaknesses in the cut moved from his left.

I think that practically completes all that I have to say on this motion.

Lala Hari Raj Swarup : Sir, the Honourable Member just now said that in the Round Table Conference it is not a matter of counting votes and any one having sympathy with the landholders is entitled to represent their case. That is correct, but we feel that the proceedings of the last Round Table Conference have revealed that nobody has taken any interest in our case there and we feel that our case is going by default. We only wish that they had nominated such zamindar members as had the confidence of the landholders in India and could adequately represent our case at the Conference, especially in view of the fact that a special attack is being made on our rights here and also in England ; and such provisions should be proposed in the new constitution as would not allow to take away our proprietary rights from us. With these few words, Sir, I beg to submit that I am not inclined to withdraw my motion.

Mr. President : The question is :

“ That the demand for a supplementary grant of a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,57,000 in respect of ‘ Miscellaneous ’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

The motion was negatived.

Inadequate Representation of Mussalmans in the Federal Structure and Minority Committees and the Round Table Conference.

Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad (Patna and Chota Nagpur *cum* Orissa : Muhammadan) : Sir, I beg to move :

“ That the demand for a supplementary grant of a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,57,000 in respect of ‘ Miscellaneous ’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

[Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad.]

Sir, the sins of omission and commission committed in the selection of the personnel of the Muslim delegates to the Round Table Conference are legion. The Muslim delegation is neither effective nor adequate. The differential treatment accorded to the Hindu Congress and to the Muslim Conference is a glaring example of the invidious distinction made by the Government in dealing with the sister nations of India. Not only was the Congress given the right to select its own representatives, but this right was extended to the Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce also, while not a single association of Muslims was asked to select its representatives. Our elementary right has been totally denied and this is the reward. I admit, Sir, that amongst the Muslim members there are politicians, great men of reputation and well educated and influential persons. There are great patriots and well-wishers but, Sir, they are not our representatives nor are they the representatives of any Muslim organisation. The Muslims are anxious for their religious safeguards, but not a single person has been nominated from amongst the all-India *Jamiat-ul-Ulema*. The *Jamiat-ul-Ulema* is an all-India organisation with its centre at Cawnpore. May I ask Government who represents them and who will press the religious points of view in the Round Table Conference? India is an Eastern country where religion is above all. If the religious safeguards will not be settled entirely to the satisfaction of our *Jamiat-ul-Ulema*, we Mussalmans cannot accept any form of Government or any constitution by whomsoever devised. As the general body of the Round Table Conference is not meeting till the first week of November, it still remains in the hands of the Government to undo the wrong and redress the grievances of the Mussalmans by empowering the all-India *Jamiat-ul-Ulema* at Cawnpore to select its own nominee for nomination by the Government. Sir, this is not the question of a province or of a section of a community, but rather this is a question of the whole of Muslim India. This is the last opportunity, Sir. I do my duty and warn the Government in time. If Government want to satisfy Mussalmans and want to know our religious feelings, they must consider the question coolly.

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

Sir, the other example of inadequate Muslim representation is this that the North-Western Frontier tribal area and Baluchistan and Central Provinces have not been represented at all. The representation of Bengal is very poor. While nearly half the Muslim population of British India lives in Bengal alone, only two Muslims have been elected from there. Important men of Bengal like the Honourable Syed Abdul Hafeez who represents 20 million Muslims of Bengal in the Council of State have been ignored by the Government. Sir, when I see that people not knowing English well have been nominated from amongst us, how can I satisfy myself that the Muslim representation is effective?

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt : Who does not know English? Our information is that they are all well versed in the English language and literature.

Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad : That may be, but my information is otherwise. I request my Honourable friend to see the list again and especially the list of new recruits carefully.

Sir, I have proved the inefficiency and inadequacy of Muslim representation in the Round Table Conference and I hope Government will try to redress Muslim grievances.

With these words, Sir, I move my cut.

The Honourable Sir George Rainy : On this particular cut I can only say a very few words. The general considerations that I urged when the last cut was moved have their bearing on this cut also. But I think my Honourable friend who moved this motion will realise that there is a special difficulty in dealing with this particular cut on the merits, because the point he raised was not so much that the numbers of the Muslim delegation were inadequate, but that he did not consider that the right men were selected. Now quite clearly I think that is an extraordinarily difficult proposition to put before this House and ask it to vote on it. Throughout this afternoon the House has shown the greatest reserve and its appreciation of the importance of the issues involved, and has not pressed any of these motions so far to a division. I do sincerely hope that my Honourable friend, on this occasion also, will see his way not to press his motion to a division, because we are not the tribunal by which a question of this sort can be settled.

Mr. Deputy President : Is the Honourable Member prepared to withdraw the motion ?

Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad : I am not satisfied with the reply given and I am not prepared to withdraw the motion.

Mr. Deputy President : The question is

“ That the demand for a supplementary grant of a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,57,000 in respect of ‘ Miscellaneous ’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

The motion was negatived.

Non-representation of the Jain Community at the Federal Structure Committee or the Round Table Conference.

Mr. Nabakumar Singh Dudhoria (Calcutta Suburbs : Non-Muhammadan Urban) : Sir, I beg to move :

“ That the demand for a supplementary grant of a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,57,000 in respect of ‘ Miscellaneous ’ be reduced by Re. 1.”

Sir, I am constrained to move this cut to give printed impression to a particular grievance of our community. The community to which I have the honour to belong, I mean the Jain Community—a minority community—no doubt in the country—finds no representation either in the Federal Structure Committee or on the Round Table Conference. I think there will be no gainsaying the fact that in the commercial life of the country, members of my community play not an insignificant part. My community has never cared for the loaves and fishes of Government service, but has wholly occupied itself with trading and commercial pursuits. It is for this reason that Lord Ronaldshay, in one of his books, has stated that nearly one third of the wealth of the country passes through the hands of the Jains. There are many well-known commercial magnates in my community who have great stakes in the country and who can very well hold their own against people of other trading classes. The European

[Mr. Nabakumar Singh Dudhoria.]

merchants throughout the country will vouch from the fact what an important community ours is in the existing commercial and business life in the country. Then, Sir, members of my community have ever been known to be loyal and peace-loving and averse to all sorts of agitation. Members of my community have also freely and unstintedly given towards all public charities and have contributed largely towards all Government loans. Sir, a prominent member of my community from Bombay, who is a friend of my family, went on the Simon Commission in face of the violent opposition of the country, to represent our interests there. Such being the case, and especially when trading rights of the different commercial communities in India are going to be discussed and settled in the Federal Structure Committee and the Round Table Conference, we feel really aggrieved as a community that in the matter of our vital interests, the Government should overlook our claims of representation altogether. If it is not yet too late, I am confident the Government will see the reason of my grievance and set right the omission by putting on the forthcoming Round Table Conference a member from my community.

Sir, I beg to move the cut that stands in my name.

Mr. B. Das : Sir, I want to ask the Honourable Member one question. Is not Mahatma Gandhi a member of the community to which my Honourable friend refers? (*Several Honourable Members :* "No.") Is not Mahatma Gandhi's whole doctrine based on *Ahimsa* (non-violence), the doctrine of the Jains?

The Honourable Sir George Rainy : I would not say a single word to underrate the importance of the community on behalf of which my Honourable friend has spoken. But this particular cut does illustrate the difficulty of giving representation to all the interests and communities in this enormous sub-continent of India, when the number of delegates must be limited to something less than 100. It is impossible to constitute a conference of that kind without a number of omissions, which some Members will feel to be unfair. If cannot be helped, and I can assure the Honourable Member that Government do fully appreciate the importance of the Jain community. I trust that my Honourable friend will find it possible not to press his motion.

Mr. Deputy President : The question is :

"That the demand for a supplementary grant of a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,57,000 in respect of 'Miscellaneous' be reduced by Re. 1."

The motion was negatived.

(Mr. Amar Nath Dutt rose to move his motion.*)

The Honourable Sir George Rainy : On a point of order, I would submit that on this particular cut, at any rate, it is incumbent on my Honourable friend to show how the failure to enquire into the causes of the agricultural distress is related to the expenses of the Round Table Conference.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt : It is related in this way. In the Round Table Conference, the fortunes of those agriculturists are being decided

"That the demand for a supplementary grant of a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,57,000 in respect of 'Miscellaneous' be reduced by Rs. 100. (Not inquiring into the causes of the agricultural distress to relieve the same.)"

and they have no representation there and at the time of the present distress, you should not, at the cost of the tax-payers, send any man to England for the luxury of claiming a constitution which does not provide for relief of the agricultural distress in the country but which on the other hand enhances it by the addition of heavy burdens. I hope my Honourable friend, the Commerce Member, will be satisfied with this explanation of mine.

Mr. Deputy President : Order, order. Motions of a similar nature have been attempted to be moved in the past and a ruling has been given in the past on such motions. It has been clearly ruled that on a debate on supplementary or excess grant only those questions can be raised of expenditure which are covered in the demand under question, and as I understand from the Leader of the House that the question relating to agricultural distress is not included in this demand under discussion, the Honourable Member's amendment is out of order.

Mr. K. Ahmed : But, Sir, is it not a fact that this motion is already on the Agenda and the President himself has allowed this motion ? Now does it lie in the hands of the Deputy President to say this, regard being had that the notice of that amendment was given two days previously within which time the objection could have been taken ? That period being over, objection cannot be entertained.

Mr. Deputy President : The Honourable Member has been in this House for over nine years.

Mr. K. Ahmed : Eleven years, Sir.

Mr. Deputy President : The Honourable Member has been in this House for 11 years and he must by now have understood the rules and Standing Orders of this House. The fact that a motion appears on the Order Paper does not mean that the Chair has allowed that motion. A point of order can always be raised when a motion is attempted to be moved and it is always open to the Chair to rule that motion out of order.

Mr. K. Ahmed : Practice and custom play an important part. And this is the practice, and rules and Standing Order, that.....

Mr. Deputy President : Order, order. Does the Honourable Member mean to question the ruling of the Chair ?

Mr. K. Ahmed : No, Sir. But if an.....

Mr. Deputy President : The Chair has given its ruling and the Chair cannot allow the ruling to be discussed and questioned.

(Mr. Amar Nath Dutt rose to move the motion standing in the name of Mr. Goswami M. R. Puri.*)

The Honourable Sir George Rainy : I should like to raise a point of order on this particular cut also. The supplementary demand which has been moved by my Honourable colleague does not, I understand, contain any provision for the Orissa Boundary Commission.

Mr. Deputy President : If that is so, the motion is out of order.

“ That the demand for a supplementary grant of a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,57,000 in respect of ‘ Miscellaneous ’ be reduced by Rs. 100. (Non-inclusion of a Bengali in the Orissa Boundary Commission.) ”

Representation of Non-Brahmins and Bombay Karnatak at the Round Table Conference and the Minorities Sub-Committee.

Rao Bahadur R. L. Patil (Bombay Southern Division : Non-Muham-
madan) : Sir, the motion that stands in my name runs thus :

“ That the demand for a supplementary grant of a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,57,000 in respect of ‘ Miscellaneous ’ be reduced by Rs. 50.”

The point I want to make out is this : that by certain acts of commission and omission on the part of the Government of India the tax-payer of India is made to pay, over and over again, large sums of money for the same purpose. This is the point I want to make out. Let me go back to the year 1930. In that year in the July session of this Assembly, Member after Member protested on the floor of this House that the Round Table Conference was not representative and did not include the Congress. It was pointed out and contended that the delegation at the Round Table Conference would not be fully representative and serious results might ensue. The Government of India then did not pay a moment's attention to what the Honourable Members of this House on this side then said. What was the result ? The Round Table Conference went on without the representation of the Congress, and to-day what is the position ? To-day the representatives of the Congress have been invited and they are attending the Conference at London. Whose fault was this ? I submit it was the fault of the Government of India. Had they then paid a moment's attention to what the Honourable Members on this side of the House contended and urged upon them, we would not have been faced with this supplementary demand for a large sum of money. That is the point which I want to lay at the door of the Government.

Then I want to take this opportunity to raise my little finger of warning to the other side. I beg to submit that they are going to commit a similar mistake now. I want to urge that the omission on the part of the Government at the present moment is this : that no representation has been given to the Kannada-speaking people living in different districts of the Bombay Presidency, Madras and Coorg : and also there is no representation at all of the non-Brahmins of Bombay, Deccan, Berar and the Central Provinces. The third thing which I want to raise under this motion is this, that His Majesty's Government in England have not been pleased to appoint any Non-Brahmin on the Minorities Sub-Committee now sitting in England. I know that the Honourable the Leader of the House will put before us two answers to my point : the first is this, that it is the Government of His Majesty that has got the right to invite delegates to the Round Table Conference, and that His Excellency the Governor General is not primarily concerned with this matter. To this I can very well answer that formally it may be true, but as a matter of fact I cannot bring myself to believe that it is really so. I believe that it is the Government of India that take the initiative in this matter, and that it is on their recommendation that the selection is made. The second answer is this, that it is not possible to give representation to various interests if they represent a single interest. I beg to submit that it is possible for the Government of India to select such members who can represent not only particular interests but also other interests of a general character.

With regard to the non-representation of Non-Brahmins in the various provinces, I need not say much. All the Honourable Members know fully,

and perhaps better than myself, what the non-Brahmin movement stands for and what it has achieved in the past and what its grievances are. But I should like to confine myself to the grievances of the Kannada-speaking districts of Bombay, Madras and Coorg. At the very outset I can submit to this House that the principle of redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis has been conceded by the Joint Parliamentary Committee. They have held in their report—paragraph 246—that it is essential for the proper working of responsible Government that the future Indian administrative units should be distributed on a linguistic basis. They have further held that the present distribution of administrative units is not based on any sound reason or object. They have been so far merely historical accidents. In the next place, I should like to submit that the finding of the Reforms Enquiry Committee which submitted its report some years later is similar. Lastly, I should like to mention some of the activities of the several Legislatures in India in regard to this point. The matter was once mooted in the Council of State and thereafter it was said by the Government that the matter should be first agitated in the local Legislatures. I am fortunate in mentioning to this House that the Legislative Council of Madras and the Council of Coorg have passed Resolutions recommending to the Government of India that early steps should be taken to form a separate province for Kannada.

For all these reasons, I beg to submit that though this was an important matter, though there was a popular demand on the part of the people, the Government of India did not care to send at least one or two delegates who could represent this matter as well as other matters of public interest before the Round Table Conference. Sir, I beg to move.

Mr. S. G. Jog (Berar Representative) : Sir, to begin with, I must congratulate my friend Mr. Patil upon having moved this cut and having given me an opportunity of saying a few words on this cut. It was extremely unfortunate on my part or for reasons very well-known to myself that I have not given any cut for reducing the expenses of the Round Table Conference for two reasons. One reason is, I was a Member of the Standing Finance Committee, and when the proceedings were going on there, I had committed myself and sanctioned the amount, and it would have been very inconsistent on my part to speak against the things which were done in the Standing Finance Committee. My loyal friends at least know that there is room for repentance, and it gives one an opportunity of undoing what has already been done. I must congratulate my friend for one thing, because he has given me an opportunity of saying a few words on this Resolution by including my province in his Resolution. It is no doubt a sort of encroachment upon my rights, but I welcome it in the sense that he has given me an opportunity of ventilating my grievance also. I am not pleading for the non-Brahmin community, for I have no desire to bring in communal matters on the floor of the House. I do not know exactly what are the grievances of the Karnatak non-Brahmins or of the non-Brahmins in other parts of the Presidency, but so far as my province goes, it is not a case of inadequate representation, but it is a case of no representation at all. I have written in newspapers so many times, and even on the floor of this House I have explained to the House the anomalous position of the province to which I have the fortune or misfortune to belong. You all know how my province has been treated for the last so many years. It is a province of whose administration it is very

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difficult to speak. Some people say it is British India, while others say that it is not British India.....

Mr. K. Ahmed : Berar is leasehold property.

Mr. S. G. Jog : It is a leasehold property under the treaties that passed between Lord Curzon and His Exalted Highness the Nizam, but it has been also agitated in the Press, and it has been held for all practical purposes that Berar is a part of British India. But when you move the British Government and ask for any rights, they say, "You are not British India, we are sorry we cannot do anything for you." When His Highness the Nizam makes a claim to the property, the British Government say, "We have to guard the interests of those people who have been under our protection and care for the last so many years". This is a position under which my unfortunate province is labouring for the present. We have no proper representation ; our grievances are not redressed, and it is really a question as to what is to be done about this province for which there is no parallel in the history of India, as to what is to be done under the new constitution, and when so many momentous issues are to be decided at the Round Table Conference, a province like Berar, the population of which is 34 lakhs, the income of which is 2 crores, goes unrepresented. I had no desire to ventilate the grievances of my province but since an opportunity has been given to me by my friend, I take this occasion to ventilate the grievances of my province, and as was observed by my friend Mr. Misra and by some other friends, it is not yet too late, and I think it is just possible for Government to rectify their mistake and give my province an opportunity of being heard and taking part in the momentous questions that will be decided and discussed in the Round Table Conference. I support this cut which has been so ably moved by my friend Mr. Patil.

The Honourable Sir George Rainy : Sir, I am somewhat apprehensive that in my attempts to answer the speakers on the various cuts I am getting into the danger of being called to order by the Chair on the ground of repetition. But, Sir, I am afraid that the only attitude I can take up on this cut is substantially the same as the attitude I have taken on others. It is really not possible by a vote of this House to deal with alleged inadequate representation or non-representation of a particular interest or a particular area or a particular community, because the final judgment must depend upon the relative importance of a large number of communities, areas and interests, and until we had considered the claims of all of them, we should not be in a position to say whether the non-representation of a particular community was a mistake or not. I fully appreciate the importance of what my friends have urged with regard to the areas and the communities referred to in the motion for the cut, but I would once more suggest that they would be well advised not to press them to a division on the present occasion.

Rao Bahadur B. L. Patil : Sir, my reply is this. There appears to be some misunderstanding on the part of the Honourable the Leader of the House. My motion did not ask for representation of any particular community, and I must say that the non-Brahmin community is a community which represents the masses of India and who form about 95 per cent. of the population.

Then I should like to point out that it would be false economy on the part of Government to restrict representation now as they have once done

in the past. I fully endorse what my friend Mr. Jog said, namely that it is not yet too late for the Government of India to review the representation of the various interests and communities, because we see from the Demands for supplementary grants that the full Round Table Conference will meet in the last week of October. Therefore, I would point out that the Government will be justified in spending the tax-payers' money if they only give full representation to the various interests. I ask the Honourable the Leader of the House to tell me whether he would be justified, when there is a popular demand on the part of the people that they should be heard on the momentous occasion in London, in telling us that he is not able to give representation. At whose cost is the Round Table Conference meeting? It is a straight question which I am putting to the Honourable the Leader of the House. If it is at the cost of the ratepayers and tax-payers of the country, then I say it is the right of the people of India to demand that they should be heard on this momentous occasion.

Mr. Deputy President : The question is :

“ That the demand for a supplementary grant of a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,57,000 in respect of ‘ Miscellaneous ’ be reduced by Rs. 50.”

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Deputy President : The question is :

“ That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 3,57,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1932, in respect of ‘ Miscellaneous ’.”

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Deputy President : I understand that the Government would like to have an adjournment of the House till the time when the Finance Bill is presented. I would like to know from Honourable Members whether they have any objection. (*Several Honourable Members ; “ We have no objection.”*)

The Assembly then adjourned till Five of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled at Five of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

STATEMENT ON THE FINANCIAL POSITION.

The Honourable Sir George Schuster (Finance Member) : I rise to make a statement on the financial position and on our plans for dealing with it, in somewhat unusual and difficult circumstances. On the one hand it is necessary that we should not delay in restoring equilibrium between revenue and expenditure. On the other hand the foundations on which we have to base our estimates are at the moment fluctuating owing to the changes which have come upon our currency position in the week which has just passed. But the very nature of that change makes it all the more necessary that our internal financial position should be sound—for once a country's currency is cut adrift from the moorings of a stable standard such as Gold, it is particularly necessary to avoid getting into any sort of inflationary position resulting from a failure to balance current expenditure with current revenue. If we can convince the world that our internal budgetary and monetary position is sound, then

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with our favourable balance of trade we shall be able to preserve confidence in our currency and save the country from those disasters which some Honourable Members who spoke on Saturday professed to apprehend. Therefore we must take immediate steps to ensure clear and solid foundations for our internal position.

But the very fact that the steps must be immediate, creates its own difficulties. In the first place, we have to present to the Legislature an emergency plan with very short notice. I can assure the House that we do this with the greatest possible reluctance. We recognise that Honourable Members may be put to very great inconvenience by any sudden change in plans, but I am sure that they on their side will recognise that we must put the public interests first, and that if the public interests make it imperative to take a certain course of action, Government ought not to hesitate to ask the members of the Legislature to make any sacrifice involved. Nevertheless, when I have said this, I must also add that, so far as it is consistent with what we consider to be our duty as a Government, we will do our utmost to meet the convenience of Honourable Members. And in this respect I should like to say at the outset of my speech that we have taken account of the last portion of the motion of my Honourable friend the Deputy President which was passed by a large majority in this House on Saturday, and that we are prepared to act on the suggestion which emanated from the non-official benches in the course of the debate on that motion.

We have to get through business which we consider to be in the national interest but our desire is to put it through in such a way as best suits the convenience of this House. We very much appreciate the tone and spirit in which Saturday's debate was conducted, and we believe that we can detect in the attitude of the whole House a desire to take a full share of responsibility in the present emergency. That here will be criticism of some of our proposals I cannot doubt, but I believe that it will be fair criticism—and fair and honest criticism we shall always welcome.

Then I come to the second of the difficulties to which I have referred resulting from the necessity for immediate action. It is quite clear that in present circumstances it is impossible to prepare accurate estimates of what our revenue is likely to be in the next 18 months. The course of the exchange value of sterling and of the rupee is uncertain, while no one can yet foretell what the reactions in the world of England going off the Gold Standard will be. I am sure that I shall be told in debate that in these circumstances it is not fair to come before the country with a programme of taxation ; or that my estimates are unreliable and that I cannot justify the taxes which I am proposing. But I have explained the reasons why we cannot wait, and I would most earnestly appeal to this House, and through them to the country, to respect those reasons. It has seemed to us that the only sound course is to take our estimates as we had been able to foresee them before the events of last week and to put before the House a plan which would produce equilibrium on the basis of those estimates.

Then there is another difficulty, resulting from immediate action, in that we have not yet had time fully to consider the reports of the various

Retrenchment Committees and to work out plans based on them. Honourable Members are aware of the circumstances in which these reports have been received. They were formally submitted on Saturday, 19th September. A sub-committee of Council commenced their consideration the very next day—Sunday. Then on Monday we found ourselves landed in the crisis which has been so much before the House in the past week, and further consideration of the reports has therefore been retarded. I shall have to deal with these reports in a later portion of my speech, but I should like to make clear at the outset that we shall approach all these proposals with the firm intention of giving effect to them to the utmost extent possible. I should also like at this early stage to express my great appreciation of the work which has been done by all the Honourable Members who have served on these committees. They have been working like slaves, or, as one Honourable Member put it to me at the last meeting of the main committee, “like devils”, and I can assure the House that their labours are appreciated. I have every confidence that as a result of a general scaling down of expenditure which the recommendations of these committees, if carried out, will effect, the finances of the Government of India will be established on a more secure basis than has existed since before the war, and that by these efforts a position will have been produced which will not only make it possible to establish a new Federal Government on a sound foundation, but will leave a margin available for the development of those nation-building services for which the Provincial Governments will mainly be responsible. That, however, is looking to the future, and before we emerge from the dark and tangled jungle of our present difficulties into the clear air and sunlight to which I have cast my imagination forward, we have to accomplish a period of hard and self-sacrificing labour. I will not say unpleasant labour, for, although many of the immediate effects are unpleasant, I will not describe the task as a whole as unpleasant, for it is one which is essentially constructive in its nature, and merely involves self-restraint and determination for the sake of that India which we are serving, and in the hope of better times to come. Let us now address ourselves to the immediate task.

Revenue Prospects.

Tax Revenue.—The returns of the first five months indicate that we shall fall short of our Budget estimates for customs by at least Rs. 10 crores, the heaviest reductions being under cotton piece-goods, sugar, silver, spirits and liquor, excise on motor-spirit, iron and steel and in the jute export duty. As regards income-tax, we expect a deficit of 1½ crores; while on salt we expect a reduction of about 8 lakhs. This brings the total deficit on tax revenue to 11 crores 33 lakhs.

Commercial undertakings.—As regards the Railways, traffic returns to date show a very disquieting position. Without attempting to give an exact estimate now, we must clearly accept the fact that it will be impossible for the Railways, in spite of all their retrenchment measures, to make any general contribution to the budget until the present economic depression completely passes. At present it looks for the current year at least as if they will not only have to use the whole of the remaining balance of their reserves, now standing at Rs. 525 lakhs, but also to draw further on their depreciation fund to the extent of about Rs. 160 lakhs in order to meet the interest due on Government advances. It is highly important, if possible, to reduce freights on agricultural products at the

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present time, and, if it could be done, it would certainly be in the public interest to find a method for easing the Railway position through the present period of extreme depression. Whether it will be possible to relieve the Railways in any way so as to enable them to reduce charges remains to be seen ; but, when our taxation proposals are considered, this aspect of the position should be kept in mind. For the present I can only say that we shall not get any Railway contribution this year, and for this reason Rs. 5.36 crores drops out of our budget.

Under Posts and Telegraphs a fall of 18 lakhs is anticipated in revenue, after taking into account additional receipts from enhanced parcel rates and revised scale of fees for insurance of postal articles introduced with effect from the 15th June and 15th August 1931 respectively. A saving of 6 lakhs is expected under Working expenses, leaving a net deterioration of 12 lakhs. Honourable Members will recollect that we estimated for a Budget deficit of 147 lakhs, so that the position here is extremely unsatisfactory. If the recommendations of the committee presided over by my Honourable friend, Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, for investigating the possibility of adjusting the accounts of the Posts and Telegraphs were accepted, the budget deficit of 147 lakhs would be reduced to 92, but that of course represents merely an adjustment in the Government accounts and no improvement as regards the financial position of the Government as a whole. I shall revert to this matter again.

Finance headings.—Owing to the cancellation of treasury bills in the Currency Reserve and the utilisation of sterling securities in the Reserves for meeting the requirements of the Secretary of State, the receipts under Currency and Interest show a falling off of 34 lakhs.

The emergence of a revenue deficit in our Budget, and in the Budgets of the Provincial Governments, and the replacement of treasury bills in the Currency Reserve by treasury bills in the hands of the public as a result of cancelling redundant currency, have not only increased the amount of our borrowings by treasury bills, but also have been the cause of higher discount rates. The charges for discount on treasury bills have therefore increased by 221 lakhs. A reduction of 12 lakhs is anticipated under Interest on ordinary debt in India on account of operations of the Depreciation Funds. The saving of 56 lakhs (representing one half year's interest on the outstanding amount of the War Loan liability) realised from the acceptance of His Majesty's Government's proposal on the principle of the Hoover plan has been partly counterbalanced by the increase of 40 lakhs on interest on the sterling loan of £10 millions raised early in the year.

Owing to the deterioration in the position of Provincial Governments and the Railways, the charge under the heading Interest on other obligations on account of interest on their balances will be reduced by 10 lakhs.

There will be an automatic increase in the provision for Reduction or Avoidance of Debt of 12 lakhs on account of the amount of treasury bills outstanding with the public on the 31st March, 1931, being 10 crores more than was assumed in the budget.

The net result of all these factors is that under the Finance headings our position will be adversely affected to the extent of 2.29 crores.

Under Extraordinary receipts we have to provide for a reduction of 23 lakhs, as under the Hoover plan we shall have to forego 9 months' Reparations receipts. As already noted, however we have, against this, a saving on the interest on our own War Debt of 56 lakhs.

Civil Expenditure.—As regards Civil expenditure we have unfortunately some items which have not been provided for. These include exceptional items such as the loss owing to the heavy return of nickel coin from circulation due chiefly to the prevailing depression. This accounts for no less than 43 lakhs which according to our practice has to be debited to the budget. Then again there is a good deal of expenditure in connection with the Round-Table Conference and the various commissions of enquiry in the North West Frontier Province and elsewhere which have had to be set up in order to carry out recommendations of the last Round-Table Conference. As against these items we shall have some savings in the current year owing to reductions which have been made (apart from the special retrenchment proposals, to which I shall refer later); but these will probably not be sufficient to offset the items of deterioration which I have mentioned. On all these heads we feel it necessary to anticipate a deterioration of about 23 lakhs.

To sum up, the total deterioration in our income and expenditure is :

- 11.33 crores in tax revenue,
- 5.48 crores on commercial departments,
- 2.29 crores on general Finance headings,
- .23 crore under Extraordinary receipts,
- .23 crore under other heads including Civil expenditure.

As the budget provided for a small surplus of 1 lakh, on the basis of the present estimates, there will be a net deficit of 19.55 crores.

Prospects for 1932-33.—As far as we can see at present, there seems to be no justification for expecting any large improvement in the budgetary position next year. In fact, income-tax revenue may be considerably less than in the current year. On the other hand, there will be a saving of 48 lakhs in the interest payments on the outstanding amount of our War Loan liability.

I have already dealt with the factors of uncertainty which affect any estimate that we can give at present. But we consider that the only safe line to take now is to estimate that conditions will not substantially improve at least before the end of the next financial year, and that we must reckon again on a deficit of 19½ crores for 1932-33.

Putting the deficit for the current year and next year together, we have a gap to fill of 39.05 crores. If we are, straight away, to establish a really sound position, we need to devise a plan which will provide us during the remainder of the combined two-year period, either with reductions in expenditure or with increased revenue to fill this gap. That is, indeed a task of extreme difficulty. We have a two years deficit to deal with, but we have only 18 months left during which new measures can operate. Nor is even this period fully available, for although new taxation can be made effective from the beginning, there must be some considerable delay before the full results of our retrenchment plans can be met.

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Three lines of action.

This is the position, and the line of action which we have to take to deal with it may be divided into three distinct lines.

First, reductions in expenditure due to more economical organisation of Government departments and restriction of activities.

Secondly, an emergency cut in salaries.

Thirdly, fresh taxation.

Reduction in Expenditure.—I will deal first with reductions in expenditure, and I put this first because Honourable Members knew that I have throughout attached primary importance to this line of action. I may say that after the last Budget discussions I registered to myself a Resolution that I would not come before this House and ask them to vote any fresh taxes until I could feel myself to be in a position to satisfy them that we, on the Government side, were going to give effect to the maximum possible measures of retrenchment. In these circumstances I am sure all honourable members will appreciate that if I put forward the whole of our present programme at a time when the Government has not yet completely worked out its retrenchment plans, so that all the details cannot be displayed before the House, I do so only under the compelling hand of necessity. But I would ask them also to appreciate that it is only the details which are lacking, and that we are determined, as I have already said, to approach all these proposals with the firm intention of giving effect to them to the utmost extent possible. Variations in subsidiary matters there must be, and where essential public interests are concerned Government must have time to weigh fully the considerations at stake, but our aim and intention is to adhere as closely as possible to the recommendations of the committees. I hope that before the discussions of our present proposals are finished and before the House is asked to record any final vote as regards new taxation, we shall be able to put before them a more definite and detailed plan. I feel that Honourable Members are entitled to ask for this, and that we have no justification in putting plans for taxation before them except under the most solemn pledge of effecting the maximum reduction of expenditure. I feel no hesitation in taking this line because it is the right line in the public interest. Any improvement that we can effect by way of reduction of expenditure is a certain improvement; but any improvement that we seek to make by increasing taxation depends entirely on our estimates being realised, and, in the present conditions, with reduced purchasing power, and when the effects of the reduced gold value of the rupee on imports are still unknown, estimates, particularly of customs revenue, are, to say the least, highly uncertain. Having said this I will turn to a statement of what we expect to achieve by way of retrenchment, and I will be as definite as possible.

As regards Civil expenditure, apart from commercial departments, an enormously preponderating portion falls within the scope of the General Purposes Sub-Committee. The General Purposes Sub-Committee took up first a selected set of subjects which *prima facie* offered the most likely scope for retrenchment. The measures recommended by the Sub-Committee for this portion of the field would produce savings estimated at about 120 lakhs. For my present purposes I am taking as the estimated

aving, this figure, reduced by a margin of 20 lakhs, representing what we estimate may be the charge for compensation and recurrent pensions payable in respect of officials whose posts are abolished. Thus we reckon to get a net saving of about a crore on this part of the field. We have also to take into account the grants for those departments (largely the main-administrative and revenue-collecting departments) which have not yet been examined by the General Purposes Sub-Committee. Over this part of the field the scope for retrenchment is more restricted. In respect of it we estimate that we shall be able to effect a net saving of about 90 lakhs, including an automatic drop of about 23½ lakhs in the expenditure on Census operations, but taking into account something for compensations, etc. This is only an estimate, and in making it we have anticipated that the sub-committee will be guided by the same principles that they have applied in dealing with other departments. While it is necessary for me to put in some estimated figure for my present purpose, we rely on the help and recommendations of the General Purposes Sub-Committee in regard to these departments just as much as we have relied on them for those which have already been examined. If they can find economies of greater extent than we have estimated, so much the better. If their final recommendations fall short of our figure, then we shall have that much to make up in some way or other. The difference can hardly be of such magnitude as to effect our general plan, and when I have completed my presentation of the general plan it will I think be clear that there is sufficient margin available.

Recommendations of the other Retrenchment Sub-Committees (other than those for Railways and the Army) indicate measures for improving the Civil position for 1932-33, as compared with the budget for the present year, by a gross sum of about 97 lakhs. Taking into account compensations, etc., we propose to count on a net improvement of 60 lakhs under these grants.

Out of the retrenchment measures to which I have referred we expect to realise savings of about 30 lakhs in the current year.

Military Expenditure.—Now I come to the Army—and before I get to details I must make some general remarks. I have in the past incurred some criticism in this House for venturing to express my appreciation of the helpful way in which I had been met by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and his principal staff officers. I am as little anxious as any Member of a Government could be to expose gratuitous targets for attack, but I should fail in my duty and I might even say in all sense of decency, if I did not take this occasion to express publicly what I feel about the way in which the Army authorities have helped in the past months. I am sure the members of the Army Retrenchment Sub-Committee who are present here to-day will not quarrel with me when I say that they have been impressed with both the efficiency and helpfulness of the Chief Staff officers whom they have seen. To unofficial Members of this House the Army has hitherto been a closed book. It has been fully opened now at least to the members who have been on the Retrenchment Committee. I think that they have been impressed by what they have read in it, and that discussions on the Army will hereafter be conducted in a clearer atmosphere and with better understanding on both sides.

The military authorities have been working throughout in very close touch with their Retrenchment Sub-Committee, and have been examining all possible methods of economy. The great majority of the measures

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proposed by the Committee have been accepted in principle ; indeed many of them had already been initiated by the military authorities. We have given His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief a free hand as to the methods by which retrenchment should be effected with the minimum loss of efficiency. The Army Retrenchment Committee has not yet explored all parts of the field and estimates have had to be included for the savings here. There is therefore possibly some room for further improvement while some of the measures recommended may lead to greater reductions in future years. For the present the Army authorities guarantee for next year a net reduction of 4½ crores. These reductions, therefore, for which we hope, will produce a net defence budget for 1932-33 of Rs. 47.40 crores, as compared with Rs. 51.90 in the current year, and with the stabilised budget figure, of Rs. 55 crores two years ago.

In mentioning this figure, I must make it clear that :

- (a) It includes a reduction of Rs. 1.75 crores of non-recurring expenditure on the special programme of re-equipment which, though very necessary and important from the point of view of efficiency, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has, in view of the present financial crisis, agreed to postpone.
- (b) It does not include any allowance for cuts in officers' pay. I shall deal with the possibilities from this separately.
- (c) It does not include any savings which may accrue from reduction of troops, except that of a small reduction on the Frontier.

In accordance with resolutions of the Round Table Conference, the question of the future strength of the Army in India is under examination by the Committee of Imperial Defence.

What this really amounts to is that in 2 years without impairing the strength of the fighting forces without taking into account the possibilities of a temporary cut in officers' pay, Army expenditure will have been reduced from 55 crores to 47.40 crores. This, Sir, is I submit no mean achievement ; it has been done quietly, and without the imposition or display of Royal Commissions. It has been achieved by hard patient work and co-operation between the Army Department, the Finance Department and the chosen representatives of this Assembly. That, I submit, is the right way to work out economies, and brings credit on all concerned.

Emergency cuts in pay.—I now come to the difficult question of an emergency cut in pay. Let me state at the outset the general conclusions reached by the Government as part of the plan which I am now presenting.

These are :

First, that any cut applied must be general and on a fair basis.

Secondly, that it should be of a temporary nature not extended beyond the need of the present exceptional emergency. Its justification is in the need for a common sacrifice in a national emergency. Although it may be said that the subordinate ranks have gained from the low level of prices, there is as yet no proof of a substantial fall in the cost of living of many classes of Government servants.

Thirdly, that it should not in any way affect pension or provident fund rights.

We have given a great deal of thought to the way in which a cut should be applied, and after the most searching consideration of all sorts of graduated scales we have come to the following conclusions.

We think, first, that a simple plan is best, and that although it may be necessary to exempt pay below a certain low limit at the bottom, a uniform scale is really the fairest and best in the public interest.

We consider that the rate should not exceed 10 per cent. in any individual case, and that, as I shall explain later, this should include the enhancement of income-tax now proposed. For the general Government services we think that the limit of exemption should ordinarily be about Rs. 40—perhaps a bit higher, perhaps a bit lower. I ought, however, to mention that special considerations may have to be applied to a great commercial undertaking like the Railways, but the maximum will not be exceeded in any case.

I may, however, here interpose that I am pleased to be able to say that His Excellency the Viceroy has decided that he will impose upon himself a cut of 20 per cent. (Applause) and that for ourselves, the members of his Council, we will surrender 15 per cent. of our pay. (Applause.)

The action to be taken by Provincial Governments in regard to officers within their rule-making powers will be for their own decision, but we have little doubt that they will recognise the desirability of attaining throughout India as large a measure of uniformity as possible. In this connection I may mention that uniformity is particularly desirable in the police service, and since Local Governments are far more concerned in this matter than the Central Government, we shall not reach final conclusions in this case until after further consultation with them.

I must also refer to the fact that it does not lie within the power of the Government of India to take decisions as regards all the officers within its service. Certain officers have been guaranteed their rights under the Government of India Act and these cannot be altered without legislation in the British Parliament. As regards other officers, their position is governed by Fundamental Rule 23, and can only be altered under rules made by the proper authorities. For the great bulk of officers, the rule-making power now lies with the Government of India and Local Governments, subject to the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council. There are certain officers, however, in regard to whom the Secretary of State in Council has himself to make the rules. The position is, that we have received the assurance of the Secretary of State that he will sanction the rules which we, or Provincial Governments, may make in those cases where we or they have the power. Further, in regard to officers protected by the Government of India Act, or in regard to whom the Secretary of State has himself to make rules, I am authorised to say that His Majesty's Government are satisfied that a financial necessity exists amounting to a national emergency, which requires that a reduction should be made in pay, and that His Majesty's Government have undertaken to introduce legislation in Parliament at the first practicable opportunity. The legislation would be of an emergency character, and would authorise the Secretary of State in Council to reduce the salaries of officers protected under the Government of India Act for a limited period and subject to a maximum of 10 per cent. which would be inclusive of the enhancement of income-tax contained in my present financial proposals and subject to a discretionary power for the Secretary of State in Council to make exceptions

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in cases of hardship. It would apply to the special class of protected officers serving under Local Governments as well as under the Government of India Act. Officers not specifically protected by the Government of India Act, but in regard to whom the Secretary of State has himself to make rules, would be treated on the same lines as the protected officers.

This is a general description of our plan, and we shall explain our proposals in greater detail at a later stage in the discussions on the Finance Bill—particularly as regards the exemptions which may be made in the lowest grades.

We think that it should be practicable to impose the cuts from December 1st next. It must be clearly explained that there is no intention that they should remain operative beyond March 31, 1933. They will not be continued beyond that date without further examination of economic conditions; and if economic conditions so required or permitted, we should re-consider them before that date.

And that brings me to a point of essential importance in this matter. A cut of this nature must be regarded as a very exceptional measure which can only be justified in very exceptional circumstances. It is nothing less than a direct variation of the conditions under which an officer enters the Government service, and it must be remembered that the security of those conditions represents an essential attraction of service under a government. It would be fatal to the public interest if that sense of security were destroyed. Therefore no variation can be justified except in a real national emergency and when it is quite clear that all other measures have been fully tried. Even so it is necessary to examine the case still further. We must test the emergency by an examination of the causes which have created it. In the present case it was clear that the emergency had arisen from an unprecedented fall in prices of those commodities which India produces and on which the revenue of the country depends. The value of commodities had fallen too low in terms of money, the value of money had gone up too high. But in the last days a change has been made in the basis on which the value of our money, or our unit of currency, depends. The results of this, or of any general economic recovery producing an improvement in the revenue position, may make it necessary to reconsider the justification and necessity for this cut. It is of course clear that a general decline in the gold value of the rupee would affect all servants of Government alike, while I might further mention incidentally that if, on the other hand, the rupee had been detached from sterling and the value of the rupee had either appreciated or declined in relation to sterling, there would have been some difference in the case of certain classes of officers of which Government would have had to take account.

However that may be, or might have been, what I have to say now is that in the conditions on which we have to base our present estimates, we and His Majesty's Government consider an emergency cut on the lines already indicated to be absolutely essential.

As regards the financial effect of cuts on the scale which we propose, I have estimated the position roughly as follows for the purpose of my present financial plan.

Civil.—We put the total saving for 1932-33 at 115 lakhs, and for the four months from December 1st of the current year at 35 lakhs. This includes savings on the personnel of the Posts and Telegraphs Department.

Railways.—The saving on Railways will be very substantial. I refrain from giving an exact figure pending the final settlement of a plan. In any case it will not directly affect my present proposals, for we consider that any saving effected by a cut in pay on the Railways must be utilised to improve their own internal position, and that it cannot be translated into any improvement of general revenues. As I have already stated, a cut in fact will only be justifiable during the continuance of the present emergency, and during such period we cannot in any case rely on receiving any general contribution from the Railways. It is in our opinion essential that if they have any margin it should be made available for reduction in freights on agricultural products.

Army.—As regards Army officers, the same cut would apply to them as to Civil officers of the Government. We estimate a saving of 75 lakhs in 1932-33 and 25 lakhs for the four months of the current year from December 1st. I may note that if this saving is effected it will reduce the expenditure of the Army next year to 46.65 crores.

Abolition of Salt Credit System.—I have now dealt with the first two lines of action, first, General Retrenchment, secondly, cuts in pay; and before I come to the third—which is new taxation—I have to mention another measure which is in the nature of an expedient to improve our revenue position over the next 18 months.

We have been studying since the end of the last Budget session the possibility of effecting an immediate increase in our salt revenue by reducing or abolishing the credit system. After careful examination of the question in consultation with the officers of the Salt Department, we came to the conclusion that, subject to giving fair notice to trade, we might justifiably terminate credits altogether. We have accordingly notified the gradual termination of the system by limiting credits to 3 months as from the 1st October 1931, and discontinuing the grant of new credits altogether from the 1st March 1932. This means that we shall actually collect in the current year and again in next year 15 instead of 12 months' revenue on all salt issued under the credit system. I expect our revenue will be increased by one crore each year on this account. This of course involves no real increase either in taxation or revenue. It only means that we shall, during the next 18 months collect 24 months' revenue on credit salt. After that we shall be entirely on a cash basis.

Taxation.—I must now turn to the third measure—new taxation. Here our plan is very simple, and though unpleasant, I hope that Honourable Members will on the whole recognise it as fair.

General Surcharge.—The main plank of our proposals is to put a temporary surcharge on all existing taxes, with the exception of customs export duties, for these could not without detriment to our export trade be included. With this exception, the surcharge will apply to all customs and excise duties (including salt) and to the income-tax and supertax. The surcharge which we propose is 25 per cent. on the existing rates in each case.

The principle is uniform, but as regards the income-tax there is an administrative difficulty inasmuch as the tax, although only imposed as from October 1st, has to be collected on a 12 months' basis. It would lead to great hardship in case of salaries or other income taxed at the source if we were to supplement deductions already made by a retrospective increase.

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at the full rate of 25 per cent. Therefore we propose that the surcharge for the current year should be 12½ per cent. on income-tax, but it will be collected at this rate on the whole year's income.

New Taxes.—Apart from these general surcharges, we are forced to include certain new taxes. As regards income-tax, we consider that in this emergency there is justification for reducing the exemption limit and imposing a small tax of 4 pies in the rupee on incomes between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,000 per annum. For the same reasons as I have explained already in connection with the surcharge on the existing income-tax, the rate will be imposed at 2 pies for the current year and 4 pies for next year.

The remaining special increases or new taxes which we propose are in regard to import duties. I will deal first with the increases in existing duties.

We propose to increase the import duty on artificial silk piecegoods from 20 to 40 per cent. and on artificial silk yarn from 10 per cent. to 15 per cent. We also propose to increase the duty on brown sugar from Rs. 6-12-0 to Rs. 7-4-0 per cwt. This follows the Tariff Board's recommendation. As regards boots and shoes, we propose that there should be imposed as an alternative to the 20 per cent. duty a minimum of 4 annas per pair. The duty will thus be 20 per cent. or 4 annas a pair whichever is the higher. We also propose to increase the duty on camphor and on electric bulbs from 20 to 40 per cent. As regards all these articles the surcharge will be levied on the increased duty.

Then there are three items formerly on the free list on which we think it justifiable to impose a small duty on revenue grounds. The result of the surcharges imposed in last Budget and proposed now is that the level of the general revenue tariff has been increased from 15 to 25 per cent. There is, therefore, some justification for adding a 10 per cent. duty to articles hitherto free.

We propose to put duties of 10 per cent. on machinery and dyes, and of ¼ anna per lb. on raw cotton. I must expect criticism of these duties especially from the cotton mills, and I must acknowledge that their imposition may appear to be in some ways inconsistent with previous policy. The justification must be the need for revenue, while as regards the cotton mills we may claim that on balance their position will be improved by our surcharge proposals, for under these the import duties on cotton piecegoods will be increased by one quarter. This more than offsets the burden of ¼ anna per lb. on goods made from imported cotton, and affords an effective answer to possible criticisms on the grounds to which I have referred.

I have one more word to say as regards the income-tax proposals. In considering the cut to be applied to the salaries of Government officials we considered what total reduction of their emoluments could fairly be imposed. If the general rate of reduction is to be 10 per cent., that represents what we think fair, and if further increases of income-tax were to be added, that would go beyond the reasonable limit. We therefore propose that increases of income-tax, both by way of surcharge on existing rates or by way of imposition of a tax for the first time on salaries from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000 should be merged in any general cut which we are imposing or which the Provincial Governments may impose.

Postal rates.—Apart from measures of taxation we propose some enhancement of the inland postal rates, namely to increase the existing rates in respect of letters and postcards by one-half. That is, the rates for inland postal letters will be 1½ annas instead of 1 anna (Laughter) and for postcards 9 pies instead of 6 pies. This enhancement should produce 73 lakhs in a full year and should go a long way to cover the deficit of 82 lakhs in the working results of the department which would, as I stated before, be left even if the recommendations of the Posts and Telegraphs Accounts Enquiry Committee are accepted.

Summary of the plans.

I may now summarise the effects of all these plans :

For the current year we shall improve the position as follows :

(Figures in lakhs of rupees.)

Special retrenchment programme ..	30	
Cuts in pay—Civil ..	35	
Military ..	25	
Total cuts and retrenchment ..		90
Anticipation of salt revenue ..		160
Extra taxation—		
Customs—New or increased duties ..	154	
Surcharges on existing taxes ..	331	
Salt—Surcharge ..	21	
Income-tax nett ..	205	
Total new taxation ..		711
Increased Post and Telegraph charges ..		37
The total improvement is thus ..		938
Against an estimated deficit of ..		19,55
We should thus close the year with a deficit of ..		10,17
On the other hand, in 1932-33 we should have the following improvements :		
Retrenchment measures—Civil ..	250	
Military ..	450	
Cuts in pay—Civil ..	115	
Military ..	75	
Total cuts and retrenchment ..		890
Anticipation of salt revenue ..		100
Extra taxation—		
Customs—New or increased duties ..	310	
Surcharges on existing taxes ..	662	
Salt—surcharge ..	85	
Income-tax—nett ..	353	14,10
Increased Post and Telegraph charges ..		73
The total improvement is thus ..		24,73
Against an estimated deficit of ..		19,50
We should thus close the year with a surplus of ..		5,23

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We should thus close the current year with a deficit of 10.17 and the next year with a surplus of 5.23.

That is to say, the combined result of the two years will be a deficit of 4.94.

We consider that we are justified in regarding this deficit as covered by making during this period of exceptional stress a reduction of about 2.47 in each year from the provision for Reduction or Avoidance of Debt. Even after making this deduction, this provision will amount to 4.43 in the current year and about 4.68 in 1932-33. When it is remembered that the portion of our debt which is not covered by productive assets or cash balances is no more than 194 crores this may fairly be claimed as an adequate Sinking Fund allocation during a period of exceptional depression.

But I may put the position in another way which throws up in a still more favourable light what we are proposing. I have explained that on present estimates the combined deficit for the two years is just over 39.05 crores. We may fairly say that half the current year's deficit has already been incurred—say about 9.80 crores. If we look at our task as one of having to make a new budget for 18 months, starting with October 1st, we should have to find means for filling a gap of 29.25 crores. We are actually providing for finding improvements of 34.11 crores over the next 18 months. Therefore we are not only providing a balance for that period, but we should have a surplus of 4.86 crores towards making up the deficit of 9.80 crores on the first half of the current year.

If these forecasts are fulfilled, then even if there is no improvement in the economic position, the Finance Member, when he presents the Budget for 1933-34, will find himself in possession of a surplus of 5.23 crores and he will be able to make a substantial easing of the burdens.

It is perhaps forecasting events too much to say in what order these reductions should be made. But there are certain principles which we consider must be observed. Relief must come first in restoring the emergency cuts in pay and secondly in taking off the surcharge on the income-tax now to be imposed. I think we may predict with as much certainty as is possible for any such forecasts that these special impositions will not in any case be extended beyond March 31, 1933.

This is the picture, but I must add a few words before I leave it. Much will be said about the increase in the burdens of taxation. But I want the public to appreciate that we are not so much increasing the total amounts of taxes levied as providing by increasing the rates for collecting the same amount of revenue.

Our difficulties have not in any way been caused by an increase in expenditure. Quite the contrary. We have in fact to face three things—a drop in the yield of the current taxes, a drop in the revenues from commercial departments, and a deterioration under the Finance headings. The first we meet mainly by increasing the rates of the taxes; and the last two by retrenchments. I want Honourable Members to give particular attention to a table which I will circulate with copies of my speech in which I analyse expenditure and revenue and show in parallel columns tax revenue and net administrative expenditure. By the latter I mean the net

expenditure on the Army and all other heads charged to revenue with the exception of the debt services. They will find here the true record of our achievements and proposals. This figure of net administrative expenditure will, according to our plans, have proceeded as follows :

(Figures in crores of rupees.)

1930-31	..	..	..	79.67
1931-32	..	..	..	74.66
1932-33	..	..	..	65.95

If this can really be achieved, then we shall be able to congratulate ourselves on having put matters on a really sound basis.

Conclusion.

Then I want to add something as to the reasons for the present measures. I referred at the outset of my speech to the dangers, now that we are divorced from a gold standard, of any inflationary action for the purposes of meeting the current expenditure of the Government. If once that process starts, it may be impossible to save the country from a complete collapse of its currency. That has been the experience of all countries whose currencies collapsed after the War. They all went through the same process. Budgetary deficits, met first by borrowing ; then a reluctance of the public to subscribe to government loans or treasury bills ; then recourse to the note-printing press and inflation to provide funds to meet current public expenditure ; then collapse in confidence in the currency, notes printed faster and faster until the amounts reached astronomical figures, and finally the complete disappearance of any value to the currency at all. *We want to erect a solid barrier against the possibility of India getting on to that slippery slope.* That is the essential justification for our proposals. We have heard much talk in the last days about the disappearance of our currency reserves. But no currency reserve can be large enough to stand up against a lack of confidence in the currency. Reserves are only valuable to tide over temporary difficulties. The real safeguard must be confidence in the soundness of a country's financial situation. If a country meets current expenditure with current revenue, and if, further, it has a favourable balance of trade, then it can face all the vicissitudes of fortune with confidence, and its actual currency reserves are of minor importance.

That brings me to the last thing which I have to say to-day. I knew that our proposals of taxation will be criticised. But I will appeal to all critics, either in this House or outside it, not to criticise them hastily or unfairly. We believe that we are doing the right thing for India—that in these critical times, and looking to the years before us, when we have to meet heavy loan maturities both external and internal, the matter of vital importance is to preserve the trust of the public of India and elsewhere in the soundness of our financial position. Let honourable members, by all means, examine our proposals with searching criticism, but I would appeal to them, with all the emphasis which I can command, to do or say nothing which will lead the outside world to suppose that they have not a full sense of their responsibility, or that they do not believe that the paramount duty of every man, who has India's interest at heart, and who can in any way influence the situation, is to preserve intact that financial

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stability on which the whole fabric of the country's life depends. (Applause.)

THE INDIAN FINANCE (SUPPLEMENTARY AND EXTENDING) BILL.

The Honourable Sir George Schuster (Finance Member) : Sir, I move for leave to introduce a Bill to supplement the Indian Finance Act, 1931, and to extend the operation of its temporary provisions.

Sir Hari Singh Gour (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I am sure that every part of this House will offer its respectful thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy for setting a noble example of surrendering 20 per cent. of his salary. (Applause.) I wish that that good example had been followed by his Councillors and the members of the superior services. Then they would have followed the precedent of their mother country. (Hear, hear.) But they have not done so.

Sir, I do not propose to deliver a long speech on this occasion, because my heart is full and I am sure that every Member who has his duty to perform towards his constituents must feel staggered at the Budget proposals of the Honourable the Finance Member. We had suspected that something untoward was going to be proposed to-day, but no one had any conception of the thorough-going plunder—I cannot use any milder expression—of the poor man's money, of the man who sends his postcards and his letters, and of the poor clerk who lives on the verge of starvation. They have been taxed and surcharged in taxes and increases in the rates of postage.

If the Honourable the Finance Member was faced with a difficulty, he was not faced with a difficulty only this year. He was faced with a similar difficulty two years back when he increased the taxes of this country to the tune of Rs. 5½ crores. We then told him, Honourable Members will remember, that it was time that he set his house in order. Last year again, when there was a deficit of over Rs. 15 crores, we reminded him that he could not expect this House to give him the support he needed for additional taxation unless the whole of the national expenditure was overhauled. Sir, that proposal of ours was not given that earnest consideration which would have resulted in substantial economies. It is not for me or for the Members of this House to criticise the premature proposal as regards the possible economies to be effected in national expenditure. The Honourable the Finance Member has himself pointed out that his estimate of retrenchments is only an estimate, whereas his proposals for further taxation are a dead certainty.

Sir, I should have expected, that, following the precedent of the House of Commons and of His Majesty's Government in England, he would have first completed a survey of the various Departments with a view to effect retrenchments and laid upon the table of this House his concrete proposals as to the extent and measure of retrenchments

effected in the civil and military expenditure of the country. But he has not done so. As I pointed out this morning, the Government of India, willingly or unwillingly, have embarked upon a new currency policy, and the Honourable the Finance Member assured this House that the result of that new currency policy would be to improve the trade and the financial resources of the country. Well, Sir, if that be so, I submit that this is an extremely inopportune time to embark upon a financial statement not only covering the rest of the present financial year but also the next year 1932-33. Sir, when we came here we came here to transact the ordinary routine business which is generally transacted in the short Autumn Session in Simla, we had not the slightest idea that we should be presented with a Budget for the next 18 months, and still less had we any idea that that Budget would disclose such a ghastly condition of the Indian finances, of which the greatest pessimist in this House had no conception. The Finance Member has congratulated the military authorities upon consenting to small cuts resulting in economy to the extent of 4½ crores of rupees. Honourable Members on this side of the House have cried themselves hoarse in saying that these small cuts are not what the representatives of the people demand. We want a complete reversal of the military policy of the Government of India. We know, Sir, to what extent we have the sympathy of the members of the Government of India and we know that our difficulties are not here, but from a country overseas, and we therefore feel that we should be guilty of a grave dereliction of duty if we did not recall that fact once more today. We expect that by the reduction of the white troops and by other economies in the military expenditure of this country, there should be a saving of at least 10 crores of rupees in the Military Budget. Sir, the Geddes Committee made percentage cuts and we want that the civil expenditure of the Government of India should be similarly subjected to all round cuts.

The Finance Member has referred to the *ad interim* reports of the various committees. We are not here concerned with the details of the cuts. Last year we suggested that there should be an all-round ten per cent. cut in the civil expenditure of the Government of India, and we suggested that whatever might be the details of the various cuts effected in the civil and military expenditure of the Government of India, they should be sufficient to balance the Budget in the ensuing year, which would be the case if the Government of India seriously tackled the military problem and made the cuts in the civil expenditure. I therefore submit that the present time is premature and inopportune for the levying of additional taxation. We gave this morning a preliminary warning to the Government of India to hold their hand till the Delhi Session, either in November or February or March, but the Government of India took no heed. The Finance Member has referred to my friend Mr. Shaumukham Chetty's Resolution on this subject. Sir, that Resolution is my completest vindication for opposing leave to the Honourable the Finance Member. That Resolution passed by a telling majority in this House asked the Government to formulate no proposals involving additional taxation during the Simla Session. They have flouted the considered opinion of this House and, out of self-respect, I ask every elected Member in this House to vote for refusing leave to the Honourable the Finance Member.

Sir Abdur Rahim (Calcutta and Suburbs : Muhammadan Urban) : Having heard the statement made by the Honourable the Finance Member, I must confess that it is almost impossible for us to know where we stand. We all expected that the statement that he was going to make was not likely to cheer us, but we did not expect that it was going to be as dismal as it has proved to be. The whole procedure adopted by the Government on this occasion is, I submit, entirely wrong. The Government had no business to introduce a Budget statement for 18 months at this Simla Session. This is taking us at a great disadvantage. Government know fully well that the attendance on this side of the House for various reasons is not by any means complete and for them to have put forward serious proposals of this character when attendance is by no means full is neither fair nor justified. One would have thought that the taxation that had been already imposed upon the country was sufficiently heavy, but the new proposals for additional taxation are something which it was impossible to anticipate would be put forward by the Finance Member. In the Delhi Session we on this side of the House made it perfectly clear that we would not listen to any further proposals for taxation until every avenue had been explored for all possible retrenchment of the expenditure of Government of India, and we wish to stick to our Resolution. We pointed out then that so far as the military expenditure was concerned, it should be considerably reduced in order to help the Finance Member to balance his Budget. I am afraid that, in spite of the help that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has been able to give, the proposal for reducing the military expenditure by only 4½ crores does not satisfy this side of the House at all. It is clear to every one of us on this side of the House that India cannot bear the burden of a standing army of this magnitude at all and we are also convinced that there is no justification for maintaining such a huge army. There have been some reductions made by the Army Retrenchment Committee, but even they have not been able to explore all available means for effecting economies in military expenditure. They have not had the time. Not only that. The terms of their reference were so restricted that it was not possible for them to do what is just and fair to the country.

Sir, take another instance, the other Sub-Committee of which I have the honour of being the Chairman, the General Purposes Retrenchment Sub-Committee. We have dealt with only a few subjects, and more than half still remain. We have been able to make proposals for economy to the extent of Rs. 1,21,00,000 already ; and I am surprised that the Honourable the Finance Member tells us, that as regards the remaining grants, he is able to estimate a further economy of only about 70 lakhs. Sir, I venture to think having gone a great deal into the matter, that much greater economy should be possible in the remaining Demands,—much greater than has been estimated by the Honourable the Finance Member. Lastly, Sir, from the very beginning our Sub-Committee was apprehensive that so far as what the Finance Member calls the administrative Departments are concerned, they would not be treated on the same basis as the other Departments which we were asked at first to scrutinise. I am conscious, that the Honourable the Finance Member has stated that if we are able to effect further economies, he will have no hesitation in accepting them. If so, what then is the good, when these Retrenchment Committees have not been able to complete their inquiries, of his saying that he is not in a position to make a fair estimate of what it is possible to effect by way of

economy in the expenditure of the Government of India ? Sir, he has now proposed taxation of a most drastic character affecting every article of necessity, affecting the poor man still more perhaps than the richer classes. He has estimated certain receipts. But he knows that his estimates on the previous occasion have not been justified at all,—they have not been realized. What reason has he to think that his present expectations will be realized ? I submit that he is making guesses, and this is not the time, this is not the occasion, howsoever he may feel compelled by the necessities of the financial situation, to bring forward proposals of a drastic, nay, disastrous character. Sir, we will all oppose leave being granted to introduce this Finance Bill.

Mr. Arthur Moore (Bengal : European) : Sir, I can quite understand that the very unpalatable announcements which we have had to listen to this afternoon should produce a shriek of pain from my Honourable friend Sir Hari Singh Gour. Nevertheless, notwithstanding what has fallen from my Honourable friend, it is perfectly obvious to all of us that these very important announcements do deserve our most serious consideration. None of us would like at the present stage—while we are ready to give every undertaking and to do everything we can to assist Government in this emergency—to commit ourselves to all these proposals in detail. But, Sir, that is a totally different thing from the proposition put forward by the Leader of the Opposition,—that we should refuse introduction to the Finance Bill in a great national emergency. (*Voices* : “ Louder, please ”.) (*Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer* : “ We have not so far followed you ”.) Has my Honourable friend thought of the effect upon the world, and on the constitutional prospects for India if, in this great national emergency, this House rejects an emergency Finance Bill out of hand, without proceeding to discuss it ? Sir, my Honourable friend compared the procedure here with the procedure in England. I understood him first to say that the Government were not following the excellent example which H. E. the Viceroy had set us and also the example which had been set at home. Well, I did gather that the Members of Government were imposing a heavy cut upon themselves and were proposing a heavy cut upon all servants of Government. But he went on to say that the Government in England, in the similar emergency which is confronting them as it is confronting most Governments, had acted in a totally different manner,—that they first put forward their retrenchment proposals, and only afterwards their taxation proposals. But my Honourable friend is entirely misinformed. Parliament was hastily summoned during the recess, and the Government put before Parliament, when it met, both their economy proposals and their taxation proposals ; therefore I cannot say that he has made out his case. But now I would draw attention to the very astonishing difference, which will strike the whole world, between the attitude of the British Parliament in that emergency and the attitude that the Leader of the Opposition invites this Assembly to adopt in the present emergency ; and I would warn my Honourable friends opposite that if they were to follow my Honourable friend's suggestion and, without further discussion, refuse the introduction of this Bill, it would produce most disastrous repercussions not merely in England, but in America and Europe as regards the reputation of this Assembly. (*Ironical Cheers and Laughter from the Non-Official Benches.*) (*Mr. Lalchand Navalrai* : “ Who told the Honourable Member that ? ”) (*Mr. B. Das* : “ A nightmare ! Our reputation will be quite safe ! ”)

Mr. President : Order, order.

Mr. Arthur Moore : My Honourable friends may laugh.

Mr. B. Das : We laugh at our exploitation by you !

Mr. President : Order, order. Mr. Moore, please go on.

Mr. Arthur Moore : Members opposite may laugh, but I warn them that if they were to succeed in persuading the House to adopt the course advocated by the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition, they would have reason very seriously to regret the decision at a later date when the new constitution was being discussed, and it could be said that, in this tremendous national emergency, the House had, out of hand, refused supply. (Loud Applause.)

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan (Agra Division : Muhammadan Rural) : Sir, I join other Honourable Members in congratulating H. E. the Viceroy on surrendering 20 per cent. of his salary, and I also congratulate the Members of his Executive Council on their surrendering 15 per cent. of their salary.

Mr. B. Das : What were your recommendations ? 20 per cent. !

Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan : But, Sir, after listening to the decision Government have reached as far as retrenchment is concerned, as announced by the Honourable the Finance Member, I have been a little bit disappointed. I think, Sir, that the retrenchment which has been decided upon by the Government goes far below the retrenchment which had been suggested by the main Retrenchment Committee. I think, Sir, under the present circumstances and under the conditions which have been disclosed to-day in this House by the Honourable the Finance Member, it was Government's duty to adopt at least the moderate retrenchment which had been proposed by the General Retrenchment Committee unanimously. Any retrenchment below that will never be acceptable to this House. If those suggestions cannot be accepted by the Government in these circumstances, then Government can never accept the recommendations of the Committee which they themselves have formed. The proposal for the appointment of the Committee and the names of the members appointed came up from the Honourable the Finance Member himself, and he ought to stick to the retrenchment which had been proposed by the same persons who had been appointed by him. Beyond that, the Assembly will be willing to consider other proposals. I am fully alive to my responsibility, and I shall be quite willing to lend all my support provided Government are willing to accept the recommendations which are unanimously proposed by the Retrenchment Committee.

There are some proposals which have caused me some surprise, and I think all the avenues have not been explored. I am not going into the details of those proposals which are contained in the speech of my Honourable friend the Finance Member, but I think there are several of them which we cannot accept. In any case I must make my position clear that I am not going to be led by mere sentiment into opposing even the introduction of this Bill at this time or refusing to consider this question at this time of national emergency. We are ready to consider it, but we will examine each and every proposal on its own merits and we will see whether anything can be accepted on behalf of the people or not. Therefore we will not oppose the introduction, as I understand that the consideration

of this Bill is going to take place after about a month and half, some time in November, in Delhi. That has not been made clear, but if that is so, we will not oppose the introduction.

The Honourable Sir George Schuster : Sir, I might start by replying to the observation which was made by my Honourable friend Mr. Yamin Khan. It is our intention to meet as far as possible the convenience of the Legislature in arranging for the further discussion of this measure. We understood that it would be for the convenience of the majority of Honourable Members if further discussions in Simla were postponed and if the discussions were resumed in Delhi at the beginning of November. I think my Honourable friend who spoke last has carried matters rather too far in suggesting an interval of a month and a half. I hope he did not mean to suggest that it should be as long as that. I think that it ought to take place at the very beginning of November at the latest.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai : But there are holidays in the first week of November.

The Honourable Sir George Schuster : I am not attempting to speak with any great accuracy. I quite realise that there may be events from day to day of which account has to be taken. But I am suggesting that we shall not have adequate time unless we recommence discussion at the beginning of November or near that date.

Mr. D. K. Lahiri Chaudhury (Bengal : Landholders) : For many Honourable Members the beginning of November will not be suitable and the middle of that month will be the best time.

The Honourable Sir George Schuster : I shall be very glad to see my Honourable friend afterwards, if he has anything to say.

Before I attempt any sort of reply on the general theme which has been taken up by the speakers on the Opposition, I should like to clear up what appears to be a very great misunderstanding as regards our attitude towards retrenchment. I thought that I had made it abundantly clear that we had decided to give full effect to the retrenchment proposals. I always speak with studied caution ; I never wish to say anything that I do not know that I am perfectly capable of fulfilling, and I therefore added reservations to the effect that we could not commit ourselves now in the advance of detailed examination to accept every single item of the recommendations of the Committee in the terms in which they were made. I think all Honourable Members must appreciate that that is a reasonable attitude to adopt. They themselves in many cases have not been in full agreement about their recommendations. They themselves have made it clear to me, certainly many times in conversation, that it was not within their knowledge exactly how certain things would work out on the administrative side. We retain responsibility for that, and we must reserve to ourselves the right to examine these proposals. Having said that I want to say again—I thought I said that with sufficient emphasis before—that it is our intention to accept in the main all the proposals which have been made.

Then, Sir, I was criticised by my Honourable friend the Leader of the Independent Party, whose work I most gratefully acknowledge as Chairman of the most arduous and troublesome of all the sub-committees, for not having included a sufficiently large estimate for the possible economies in that part of the field which his sub-committee has not been able to

[Sir George Schuster.]

examine. If he is right, no one will be better pleased than I. I trust that he will get down to work with his committee in October and will present us with his final recommendations before the end of October, in which case I shall be able to stand up in this House when we resume the discussion of the Finance Bill and be able to tell the House that I have underestimated the economies possible in the remainder of the field and that therefore it is in some degree possible for us to modify our plans. If my Honourable friend is able to put me in that position, no one will be better pleased than I. I thought I had made it abundantly clear that we are waiting for his further recommendations and that we wish to act on those recommendations just as fully as we propose to act on those we have already received.

Sir, as regards the main case, it is very difficult for me to enter into a long argument now and I am sure Honourable Members will not expect it. I have stated my case as fully, as clearly and as honestly as I could. I quite sympathise with the feelings of Honourable Members opposite. They are faced with an exceedingly unpleasant task. I do not believe that there is a single one of them who is influenced by personal considerations in this matter. They have their responsibilities to their constituents and it is that of which they are thinking now. I would however ask them also to recognise that, however much they hate me or hate my proposals, they cannot hate the task which I have had to perform more than I do myself. Sir, if one sits, as I have often said, in opposition without responsibilities to face, it is an easy task to put upon the shoulders of Government the responsibility for every unpleasant and distressing circumstance that occurs. But surely all Honourable Members must recognise that we, like practically every Government in the world, are now beset by a difficulty over which we have no control. We have done exactly what the British Government did. What did they do? They did not give the Houses of Parliament any warning. They had to summon them hastily together to meet an emergency just in the manner in which we have dealt with the present emergency here. They had to call Members back just at the time when, for a short period of the year, they are ordinarily taking their holidays, for meeting the emergency. They knew that in a case of national emergency personal convenience could not be taken into account. I do appeal to all Honourable Members, although they often take the view that they and we are irresponsible in dealing with national interests, I do ask them to take the view that they have a very heavy responsibility now. It is useless to tell us that we ought not to have brought up a measure like this in a session when normally no important business is done. How can we help it? We did not know this emergency was coming in the urgent form in which it has come. Every Government has tried to hold out as long as possible and in the end has had to face it by the sort of measures that we have had to introduce now. I ask Honourable Members to look round and examine the finances of every country in the world to-day, to examine the emergency measures which every other country has had to introduce. In our case, they are, I fully admit, very heavy and very severe. But I would return to the last passage of the speech which I delivered in making my financial statement and ask Honourable Members to give it full and fair consideration and not to jump to hasty criticism, however much force there may be in the case of those who have spoken opposite. Even my Honourable friend, Sir Hari Singh Gour, cannot argue

for a moment that we could possibly have dealt with the present situation more by means of retrenchment. We have 19 crores to find. He says, cut down the Army. Are you going to send every British soldier away from India with six weeks' notice? It is ridiculous to make such suggestions. I ask Honourable Members to face facts. (Hear, hear.) Some Honourable Members laughed when the Leader of the European Group spoke of the impression which would be created abroad. Sir, Honourable Members are now transacting business at a very critical period in India's history. There are many people who are prepared to say, in opposition to those of us who are striving towards constitutional advance—there are many people who are prepared to say, "What is the use of talking of constitutional advance when the representatives of the people behave in so irresponsible a manner?" I ask all Honourable Members to think very carefully of the impression that would be created, if at a time like this, when we are only asking the House to do what every other Government has had to ask its popular Legislature to do, if when you are asked to take action which must be taken if the credit and solvency of the country is to be maintained, if at a time like this, however much you may criticise the details or the form of action which we propose, you take the line that the Government have no right to ask you even to take action of any kind. I ask Honourable Members to think what the impression on others will be, and I—if I may say so—as a well-wisher of India, as one who believes in constitutional advance, I would appeal to you not to make the task of those of us, who are trying to work for India, harder than it is at present. (Applause.)

Mr. President : The question which I have now to put is :

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to supplement the Indian Finance Act, 1931, and to extend the operation of its temporary provisions."

The Assembly divided :

AYES—57.

Abdul Qaiyum, Nawab Sir Sahibzada.	Ishwarsingji, Nawab Naharsingji.
Ahmed, Mr. K.	Ismail Ali Khan, Kunwar Hajee.
Allah Baksh Khan Tiwana, Khan Bahadur Malik.	Jawahar Singh, Sardar Bahadur Sardar Knight, Mr. H. F.
Anklesaria, Mr. N. N.	Lal Chand, Captain R. B.
Anwar-ul-Azim, Mr. Muhammad.	Lall, Mr. S.
Azizuddin Ahmad Bilgrami, Qazi.	Leach, Mr. F. B.
Bajpai, Mr. R. S.	Montgomery, Mr. H.
Banerji, Mr. Rajnarayan.	Moore, Mr. Arthur.
Bhargava, Rai Bahadur Pandit T. N.	Morgan, Mr. G.
Crerar, The Honourable Sir James.	Mujumdar, Sardar G. N.
Dalal, Dr. R. D.	Mukherjee, Rai Bahadur S. C.
DeSouza, Dr. F. X.	Pandit, Rao Bahadur S. R.
Dyer, Mr. J. F.	Parsons, Mr. A. A. I.
Fazl-i-Husain, The Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir.	Rafiquddin Ahmad, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Fox, Mr. H. B.	Rainy, The Honourable Sir George.
French, Mr. J. C.	Rajah, Rao Bahadur M. C.
Graham, Sir Lancelot.	Rama Rao, Rai Bahadur U.
Griffiths, Mr. G. I.	Row, Mr. K. Sanjiva.
Heathcote, Mr. L. V.	Roy, Mr. S. N.
Hezlett, Mr. J.	Sahi, Mr. Ram Prasad Narayan.
Howell, Mr. E. B.	Sams, Sir Hubert.
	Schuster, The Honourable Sir George.

AYES—*contd.*

Scott, Mr. J. Ramsay.
 Sher Muhammad Khan Gakhar, Captain.
 Shillidy, Mr. J. A.
 Studd, Mr. E.
 Suhrawardy, Sir Abdullah.
 Sykes, Mr. E. F.
 Tait, Mr. John.

Talib Mehdi Khan, Nawab Major Malik.
 Todd, Mr. A. H. A.
 Yakub, Sir Muhammad.
 Yamin Khan, Mr. Muhammad.
 Young, Mr. G. M.
 Zulfiqur Ali Khan, Sir.

NOES—43.

Abdoola Haroon, Seth Haji.
 Abdur Rahim, Sir.
 Aggarwal, Mr. Jagan Nath.
 Azhar Ali, Mr. Muhammad.
 Bhuput Sing, Mr.
 Chandi Mal Gola, Bhagat.
 Chetty, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham.
 Chinoy, Mr. Rahimtoola M.
 Das, Mr. B.
 Dudhoria, Mr. Nabakumar Sing.
 Dutt, Mr. Amar Nath.
 Gour, Sir Hari Singh.
 Gunjal, Mr. N. R.
 Harbans Singh Brar, Sirdar.
 Hari Raj Swarup, Lala.
 Ibrahim Ali Khan, Lt. Nawab Muham-
 mad.
 Jog, Mr. S. G.
 Kyaw Myint, U
 Lahiri Chaudhury, Mr. D. K.
 Lalchand Navalrai, Mr.
 Maswood Ahmad, Mr. M.
 Misra, Mr. B. N.

Mitra, Mr. S. O.
 Mody, Mr. H. P.
 Muazzam Sahib Bahadur, Mr. Muham-
 mad.
 Murtuza Saheb Bahadur, Maulvi Sayyid.
 Patil, Rao Bahadur B. L.
 Ranga Iyer, Mr. C. S.
 Rastogi, Mr. Badri Lal.
 Reddi, Mr. P. G.
 Reddi, Mr. T. N. Ramakrishna.
 Sarda, Rai Sahib Harbilas.
 Sen, Mr. S. C.
 Sen, Pandit Satyendra Nath.
 Singh, Kumar Gupteshwar Prasad.
 Singh, Mr. Gaya Prasad.
 Sitaramaraju, Mr. B.
 Sohan Singh, Sirdar.
 Sukhraj Rai, Rai Bahadur.
 Thampan, Mr. K. P.
 Tun Aung, U
 Uppi Saheb Bahadur, Mr.
 Ziauddin Ahmad, Dr.

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Sir George Schuster : Sir, I introduce the Bill.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, the 30th September, 1931.