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THIRD COUNCIL OF STATE, 1936





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COUNCIL OF STATE.

Wednesday, 26th February, 1936.

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

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

- ORDER OF FINANCIAL COMMISSIONER, PUNJAB, DISPENSING WITH LICENCE FORM L-10—SALE OF FOREIGN LIQUOR.
- 29. THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the order of the Financial Commissioner, Punjab, No. 5923-SR., dated the 22nd December, 1928, dispensing with Form L-10 of the licence for the sale of foreign liquor?
- (b) If so (i) Why has the Form of Licence L-10 been retained for the Delhi Province?
- (ii) What are the reasons for not adopting the procedure of the Government of the Punjab in Delhi? and
- (iii) Will Government state whether they propose to remove the anomaly created by the grant of licences in Forms L-2 and L-10 for the vend of foreign liquor under two different styles and terms? If not, why not?

 (See reply under question No. 33.)
- Sales of Foreign Liquors and Indian Manufactured Foreign Liquoes under Licence Forms L-2 and L-10, respectively, in Delhi Province.
- 30. The Honourable Mr. P. N. SAPRU: Will Government please lay a comparative statement of the sales in each kind of foreign and Indian manufactured foreign liquors separately by each licencee holding licence in Form L-2 and L-10, respectively, in the Delhi Province during the year 1934-35?

 (See reply under question No. 33.)
- STANDARD BOTTLES AS USED IN THE PUNJAB AND BOTTLES AS USED IN DELHI PROVINCE UNDER LICENCE FORMS L-11 AND L-15.
- 31. THE HONOURABLE Mr. P. N. SAPRU: Will Government please state whether the standard bottles as used by the Punjab Excise Department are also used by the licencees holding licence in Form L-11 and L-15 in the Delhi Province? If not, why not?

 (See reply under question No. 33.)
 - REASONS FOR DIFFERENT STANDARD SIZED BOTTLES FOR DIFFERENT DUTIES.
- 32. The Honourable Mr. P. N. SAPRU: Will Government please state whether licencees holding licence in Form L-15 in the Delhi Province use the Punjab Excise standard bottles only for those liquors whose

duty is Rs. 6-4-0 per L. P. gallon and use unstandard bottles for those liquors whose duty is Rs. 17-8-0 per L. P. gallon? If so, what are the reasons. for the different standard sizes of bottles for different duties?

(See reply under question No. 33.)

MESSES. Dyer, Meakin and Co., Distillers and Brewers.

- 33. THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: (a) Are Messrs. Dyer-Meakin & Co., Distillers and Brewers, the holders of licence in Form L-1 for the places where they carry on business within British India?
- (b) Are no restrictions imposed on them anywhere except in Delhi Province where they can only sell beer?
- (c) Did they apply to the Delhi Excise Authority in 1934 to remove the restrictions and to permit them to sell every description of produce of their distillery and brewery?
 - (d) Has the Delhi Excise Authority rejected the said application?
- (e) If the replies to parts (a) to (d) be in the affirmative, will Government. please state:
 - (i) the reasons for the imposition of restrictions by the Delhi administration; and
 - (ii) the grounds on which the application to remove restrictions was rejected?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. J. RAISMAN: With your permission, Sir, I propose to answer questions Nos. 29, 30, 31, 32 and 33 together. The information is being obtained and will be laid on the table in due course.

HOMOEOPATHIC SYSTEM OF TREATMENT.

- 34. THE HONOURABLE RAJA RAGHUNANDAN PRASAD SINGH: (a) Has the system of homeopathic treatment during the last two decades spread in India, especially in big cities and towns?
- (b) Are a large number of bogus degree holders practising without restriction?
- (c) Are certain persons getting bogus degrees of M.B., M.D., L.M.S., from foreign countries by sending a few rupees by postal order?
- (d) Do Government propose to put a check to the spread of such bogus degrees?
- (e) Do Government propose to start a Central Homœopathic College where medical education may be imparted? If not, why not?
- (f) Do Government allow bogus foreign degree holders to practise in allopathy medicine? If not, will Government be pleased to state the reasons why bogus homoeopathic foreign degree holders are allowed to practise in medicine in this country.
- (g) Do Government propose to frame strict rules prohibiting these bogus homoopathic foreign degree holders from practising in India? If not, why not?
- THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD: (a), (b) and (6). Government have no precise information.
- (d), (e), second part of (f) and (g). No. The suggestions are primarily for the consideration of Provincial Governments.

First part of (f). Covernment have so far not found it possible to legislate against this.

INDIAN STORES DEPARTMENT.

- 35. THE HONOURABLE RAJA RAGHUNANDAN PRASAD SINGH:
 (a) Was the Indian Stores Department created for the purpose of centralising all the purchases of Government stores? If so, will Government be pleased to state whether the State Railway authorities are empowered to purchase stores independently of the Indian Stores Department? If so, why?
- (b) Do Government propose to issue orders for the purchase of all Government stores for State Railways or for other departments through the Indian Stores Department? If not, will Government be pleased to state the reasons why the Indian Stores Department has been kept in existence and so much money is being spent on the Department?
- (c) Was the Indian Stores Department created for keeping a watch over Government purchases from Indian firms and for supporting indigenous industries? If so, what steps do they propose to take to stop the purchases for railways by the railway authorities themselves?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. G. CLOW: I would refer the Honourable Member to the reply given to a similar question which was asked by the Honourable Mr. Jagadish Chandra Banerjee on the 6th March, 1934, in this House.

MURACO BLACK PAINT.

- 36. The Honourable Raja RAGHUNANDAN PRASAD SINGH:
 (a) With reference to the reply given in the Legislative Assembly on the 24th November, 1933 to part (h) of starred question No. 1069 regarding "Muraco" black paint used on the East Indian Railway, will Government be pleased to state the date and the year when they decided to raise the period of workshop overhauls from two years to three years and the date and the year from which the rule was enforced on the State Railways?
- (b) With reference to the reply given on the 20th April, 1934 to question No. 50 in the Council of State will Government be pleased to state whether the Eastern Bengal Railway authorities have been purchasing this 3 per cent. carbon black paint for the last three years without calling for public tenders and, if so, will Government be pleased to state the reasons therefor? Do Government propose to enquire as to who were responsible for such purchases and state the names of such officers? If not, why not?
- (c) Has "Muraco" black been submitted to a comparative exposure test by the Government Test House, Alipore, with Indian Stores Department 20 per cent. lamp black paint? Was it found to be superior in durability to those simultaneously tested? If so, will Government be pleased to state the reasons why Messrs. Jenson and Nicholson's 3 per cent. carbon black ready mixed paint at Rs. 3 per gallon and their stiff or moist black paint at Rs. 9-7-0 per cwt. were not submitted to such a comparative exposure test and were not included among those tested along with "Muraco" black?

THE HONOUBABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL: (a) 1st April, 1931.

- (b) Yes: as the quality of the paint ordered had been found to give satisfactory results during the previous three years, Government do not consider that any action is called for.
- (c) "Muraco" special black, ready mixed paint has been subjected to exposure tests in comparison with Indian Stores Department 20 per cent.

lamp black paint and also on another occasion with other paints. It was not found to be the most durable of those tested.

With regard to the latter part of the question, stiff or moist paints are not subjected to exposure tests. In the case of the ready mixed paint, the reference is presumably to Jenson and Nicholson's "Special ready mixed paint for underframes and wagon bodies". This has also been tested by exposure.

IMPORT DUTY ON COCKS AND VALVES.

- 37. THE HONOURABLE RAJA RAGHUNANDAN PRASAD SINGH:
 (a) Are Indian manufacturers of brass and gunmetal cocks and valves handicapped by the present tariff?
- (b) Is 25 per cent. import duty levied on such components of brass and gunmetal as copper, zinc, lead, tin, etc.?
- (c) If so, will Government be pleased to state the rate of duty that is levied at present on imported brass and gunmetal?
- (d) Is the rate of duty on these finished goods lower than the duty levied on the raw materials required for the manufacture of brass and gunmetal in India?
- (e) Do Government propose to lower the duty on the raw materials or to increase the duty on the imported brass and gunmetal? If not, why not?

THE HONOURABLE MR. T. A. STEWART: (a) Government are not aware that this is the case. I would refer the Honourable Member to the Department of Commerce Resolution, dated the 28th March, 1925, on the subject of representations regarding tariff inequality.

- (b) Copper and lead are subject to an import duty of 25 per cent. ad valorem, tin to an import duty of Rs. 312-8-0 per ton, while zinc is admitted free of import duty.
 - (c) 25 per cent. ad valorem.
- (d) It is not clear whether the Honourable Member by "finished goods" means brass and gunmetal cocks and valves or brass and gunmetal. The import duty on brass and gunmetal cocks and valves is as follows:

Standard rate . . . 30 per cent. ad valorem.

Preferential . 20 per cent. ad valorem.

The rates of duty on the raw materials as well as on brass and gunmetal have already been stated.

(e) Government see no reason at present to make any change in the existing duties.

SUPPLY OF GUNNY BAGS BY SALT DEALERS.

- 38. THE HONOURABLE RAJA RAGHUNANDAN PRASAD SINGH:
 (a) Did the salt dealers use to supply gunny bags direct to Government whenever they ordered salt from Sambhar and other places?
- (b) Does Government now insist on the supply of gunny bags by local gunny bag dealers at Sambhar? If so, will Government be pleased to state the reasons why the salt dealers are being forced to purchase gunny bags from the local gunny bag dealers in Sambhar?
- (c) Are local dealers charging salt dealers excessive rates for such gunny bags?

(d) Do Government propose to stop this compulsory purchase of gunny bags from local dealers? If not, why not?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. J. RAISMAN: (a) Yes, until 1920. Since then the instructions have been that bags if not supplied by the Department should be supplied by the traders themselves through their local agents.

- (b) The answer to the first part of the question is in the negative. Traders have the option of buying bags from local bag dealers or of supplying their own bags through their own local agents. The second sentence of this part of the question and part (d) of the question do not therefore arise.
- (c) As there are no orders of the Department restricting the business to local bag dealers, the Government is not concerned with the price charged by such dealers.

IMPERIAL LIBRARY, CALOUTTA.

- 39. THE HONOURABLE RAJA RAGHUNANDAN PRASAD SINGH:
 (a) Have the authorities of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, decided to stop the issue of fiction in Indian vernaculars to readers other than research scholars?
- (b) Will Government be pleased to state the method that is being adopted for the verification of research scholars?
- (c) Will Government be pleased to state the reasons why this restriction has been put on ordinary readers?
- (d) Are such restrictions resented by the reading public who visit the Imperial Library?
- (e) Do Government propose to remove the restrictions on the reading public who visit the Imperial Library? If not, why not?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD: (a) Yes.

- (b) As no research scholar has so far applied for works of fiction the question of verification has not come up in a practical form. The procedure to be adopted in this respect will be considered.
- (c) The restriction has been imposed in pursuance of the desire of the Library authorities to limit the amenities of the institution to serious study. The Library is primarily intended to be a library of reference, and a working place for students.
- (d) No. On the contrary the restrictions are favoured by all serious students using the Library.
- (e) No. Government see no reason to interfere in this matter with the discretion of the Library Council.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: Is it suggested that fiction can never be serious?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD: There is no such suggestion. As I have already said, this Library is a library of reference. It is not a circulating library.

SCHOOLS IN NEW DELHI.

- 40. THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR SYED ABDUL HAFEEZ:
 (6) Are there nearly 21 schools in New Delhi with about 6,000 students?
- (b) Have the following schools their own buildings, the rest having hired premises:
 - (1) M. B. High School, New Deihi.
 - (2) M. B. Primary School, New Delhi.
 - (3) St. Thomas High School, New Delhi.
 - (4) Jesus and Mary High School, New Delhi.
 - (5) Modern High School, New Delhi.
 - (6) M. B. Girls' High School, New Delhi.
- (c) Can the total number of school-going students of New Delhi be accommodated in the schools having their own buildings? Are other schools required to meet their needs?
- (d) Have those landlords who have let out their premises to schools been served with notices by the Central Public Works Department, Delhi, asking them to get their premises vacated by schools and to let them out for residential purposes only?
- (e) If the answer to (d) is in the affirmative, did the Central Public Works Department, Delhi, consult the Education Department in the matter? If not, why not?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIE JAGDISH PRASAD: The information asked for by the Honourable Member has been called for and will be laid on the table of the House in due course.

STANDING COMMITTEE ON EMIGRATION.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I have to announce that the following Honourable Members have been nominated for election to the Standing Committee on Emigration:

- 1. Thé Honourable Mr. Bijay Kumar Basu.
- 2. The Honourable Sir Ramunni Menon.
- 3. The Honourable Mr. Mahmood Suhrawardy.
- 4. The Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna.
- 5. The Honourable Mr. P. N. Sapru.

As there are five candidates for four vacancies an election will be necessary, the date of which will be announced later.

STANDING COMMITTEE FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIES AND LABOUR.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I have also to announce that the following Members have been nominated for election to the Standing

Committee to advise on subjects, other than "Roads" and "Posts and Telegraphs" dealt with in the Department of Industries and Labour. They are:

- 1. The Honourable Sir Ramunni Menon.
- 2. The Honourable Mr. P. N. Sapru.
- 3. The Honourable Mr. Jagadish Chandra Banerjee.
- M. There are three candidates for two vacancies and an election will be necessary. The date of election will be announced later.

STANDING COMMITTEE FOR ROADS.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I have also to announce that the following Members have been nominated for election to serve on the Standing Committee for Roads which will be constituted to advise the Governor General in Council in the administration of the Road Account during the financial year 1936-37. They are:

- 1. The Honourable Mr. Mahmood Suhrawardy.
- 2. The Honourable Diwan Bahadur G. Narayanaswami Chetty.
- 3. The Honourable Sardar Buta Singh.
- 4. The Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna.
- 5. The Honourable Nawab Malik Sir Mohammad Hayat Khan Noon.
- 6. The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das.
- 7. The Honourable Kumar Nripendra Narayan Sinha.

There are seven candidates for three vacancies and an election will be necessary. The date of election will be announced later.

RESOLUTION RE RULES AND REGULATIONS IN HORSE-BREEDING AREAS.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN (West Punjab: Muhammadan): Sir, as this will be the first occasion when His Excellency General Sir Robert Cassels will be taking part in the discussion of a Resolution in this House, I consider it my duty to accord him a most cordial welcome and express my confidence that with the keen knowledge of Indian affairs and with the sympathy which he has all along shown towards the progress of the army in this country, every question which is moved in this House concerning the Army Department will receive sympathetic consideration at His Excellency's hands.

The Resolution which I have the honour to move today runs as follows:

"This House recommends to the Governor General in Council that he may be pleased to introduce the same rules and regulations in horse-breeding areas of the Montgomery district as exist in the Sargodha district".

The subject-matter of this Resolution concerns a small area of the Punjab, and before I discuss the merits of this question I think it would help Honourable Members in forming an opinion on those merits if I related in very brief words the history of horse-breeding development in this country.

[Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan.]

Sir, the Army Remount Department deserve the congratulations of all those Members who are interested in seeing that a large portion of this money which used to be annually spent on purchasing horses from foreign countries, mostly Australia, is being spent in this country as through the efforts of the Army Remount Department horse-breeding has considerably developed in India. It was some years ago that the Army Remount Department introduced a scheme in accordance with which some zamindars were given two squares of land each in the Sargodha district on the condition that they would keep a mare which would be approved by the Remount Department. The two squares come to about 50 acres of irrigated land on the canal. This colony consists of about 224,000 acres of land and the number of mares is about 10,000. time afterwards the Government wanted to extend the scheme to other districts and in the year 1922 they introduced the scheme in the Montgomery district. to which my Resolution relates. In introducing the scheme in the Montgomery district they made certain changes so far as the conditions in the Sargodha district were concerned and I beg to submit that those conditions are really very much discouraging—if I may be permitted to say so they mean very serious hardships on those poor zamindars. While in the Sargodha district they allotted two squares of land for each mare, in the Montgomery district they have allotted only one square, that is 25 acres. Naturally the question will be asked that when these people agreed to take land on these conditions why did they not object to getting a small area of 25 acres and why so many applications were forwarded for squares being allotted on horse-breeding conditions. The reasons are many. Mainly it is due to the acute unemployment in this country and the people naturally rushed at any opportunity which they could get where there was even the slightest chance of earning an honest liveli-The second reason is that in the year 1922 the rates were very much different from what they are today. Therefore an area of 25 acres also was a great attraction in those days when their income from one square stood approximately at about Rs. 1,000 a year. Now the income from the same square is hardly Rs. 200 a year. The other condition which does not exist in the Sargodha district but has been imposed on these colonists in the Montgomery district is that while in Sargodha these horse-breeders have occupancy rights over that land and when the father dies the eldest son succeeds to the property, in the Montgomery district it is only a 10-year contract. That is, on the expiry of 10 years, the Army Remount Department have the option either to renew the contract or to take away the land from the zamindar. Now this was probably done with a view to make the zamindars take a very keen interest in producing good horses. But, Sir, in the Sargodha district where this condition did not exist the colonists showed the same keenness as the Army Remount Department expected from them. As a matter of fact, Sir, the mere idea that there is no permanency, there is no security, and as the contract is only for a short period it prevents a man from taking any genuine interest in this horse-breeding and naturally makes a person less enterprising. There is no doubt that this 10-year contract acts as a great fear on the minds of these poor zamindars want of occupancy rights naturally do. The question is whether it is going to be the policy of the Army Remount Department in India to force these zamindars to produce good horses by holding out such threats as they would be turned outafter the lease is over or by giving them encouragement. As far as the question of giving them encouragement is concerned, I regret to say that the Government have done very little. I personally think that if the Government could persuade the big turf clubs and other organisations to purchase country-bred horses in preference to foreign horses, it would be such an encouragement to these people that without such threats they would be anxious to produce the

best horses. I would appeal to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief kindly to hold a searching enquiry into this matter and if he really finds that the conditions are considered a great hardship by the zamindars in that district, he would kindly take early steps to remove their legitimate grievances. I need not detain the House any further, but I would submit that in the Montgomery district those zamindars who are now horse-breeders were allotted one square of land in 1916 during the Great War. The reason was that most of those people had done splendid service in coming to the aid of the army and some of them had lost their lands on account of either water-logging or some other causes of nature and the Government with a view to help those martial classes allotted them 25 acres of land per head. At that time there were no conditions of horse-breeding and they were imposed about eight years later, that is, in the year 1922. Therefore there is no connection between the allotment of the first square and the allotment of this square which was given on horse-breeding conditions. I hope His Excellency will kindly consider my suggestion of holding a searching enquiry into this matter and promising that this grievance will be remedied if he is satisfied that it is a great hardship on. the zamindars.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: Sir, first I should like to thank the Honourable mover for the kind reference he has made to myself.

I have listened with attention to what the Honourable Member has said; and I am grateful for the complimentary remarks he has made regarding the work of the officers of the Remount Department in the Montgomery district. In view of these remarks, it seems to me to be rather a pity that the Honourable Member should consider it necessary to ask for any change in the rules and regulations for the horse-breeding areas in that district.

It is quite true there is a slight variation between the conditions in the Shahpur area and those in the Montgomery area. In the latter, the horsebreeding tenancy is for a period of 10 years, renewable for similar periods provided that the tenant has carried out his obligations satisfactorily. In the Shahpur area in the Sargodha district of the Lower Jhelum Colony the tenancies are governed by the rule of primogeniture, and as the Honourable Member is no doubt aware, there have in the past been considerable complaints about that system. The real apprehension in the mind of the Honourable Member appears to be that the Montgomery system does not convey sufficient certainty of tenure; but I think his fears on this point are greatly exaggerated. The colony is at present contented and singularly free from complaints. Good breeders are well aware that the system of extensible 10-year leases is merely a formality provided that they fulfil their obligations; and I can assure him that there is no shortage of applicants on the present terms for the few squares which become vacant from time to time in that area. Actually, the colony has only been in existence for a comparatively short period and only one lease has so far come up for renewal. Altogether there are approximately 3,000 breeders in the area, the large majority of whom are fulfilling their agreements satisfactorily; and it would no doubt be of interest to the Honourable Member to learn that, in the opinion of the Remount Department, they see no reason to estimate that more than one per cent., or less, of this number are in danger of being debarred from extending their leases.

In any case, I hope the Honourable Member will agree that Government would be failing in their duty, in the interests of efficiency, if they were to allow bad breeders to continue. The Montgomery conditions were originally framed with meticulous care and with due regard to the weaknesses and failures of the

[His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.]

Shahpur system. I am afraid I cannot agree with him that he has made out any case for a radical alteration in those conditions. On the other hand, I can assure him that Government realises, just as much as he does himself, the desirability of retaining breeders who carry out their agreements satisfactorily. I can also assure him, although from what he has said such an assurance would appear to be unnecessary, that the interests of good horse-breeders will at all times receive the most sympathetic consideration from the officers of the Remount Department. In the circumstances, I trust that he will not consider it necessary to press the matter further.

Finally, I should like to say that I will certainly consider the suggestions the Honourable mover has made to me.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: Sir. I really find myself somewhat bewildered, whether I would be justified in withdrawing the Resolution or my duty to my constituency requires me to take a vote of this House on this Resolution. I hope His Excellency will forgive me when I say that the reply has been extremely disappointing. I have tried to explain to the House that this method of compelling people to produce good horses by holding out a threat that at the end of 10 years they will be deprived of the little holding upon which they are feeding themselves and their family and their children is a most unforgivable act of the Remount Department. I am further surprised to find that this horse-breeding scheme has been a failure in the Sargodha district. Sir, I would have very much liked His Excellency to give us any specific instance where the Sargodha colony has failed in producing the best horses. As a matter of fact, it is a fortunate coincidence that this Resolution has been ballotted for a day immediately following the great Horse Show held in New Delhi and the number of prizes which were carried away by mares from Sargodha is probably personally known to all those people who witnessed that show. I entirely agree that the treatment of the present officers in the Montgomery district is satisfactory but is that a reason why the system, however defective it may be, should be allowed to remain in force in that district?

As for His Excellency kindly giving me an assurance that he will consider the suggestions and will see what can be done I would just, with your permission, Sir, read out a passage from the record of last year's debate to show what value these assurances have. This is what His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief said on the floor of this House last year on this very question concerning the condition of horse-breeding colonies in these districts.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: But His Excellency has also stated at the end of his speech that he is prepared to reconsider this matter.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: Yes, Sir, I submit that this was the promise that was held out to me last time. It was said:

"In conclusion, I would like to say though on the larger question there can be no calteration the Government do recognise and have always recognised the need of the most sympathetic treatment in regard to this horse-breeding and the grantees and I think this is obvious from the sympathetic behaviour of the Remount Officers who have to deal with them. It is in that spirit that we will now examine every suggestion that has been made by the Honourable mover. The one that struck me most, I admit, was the possibility of having an advisory committee and I will examine that and will also see what action is necessary with regard to each suggestion that he has made as soon as we get it "from the shorthand writers of the House".

Well, Sir, I had made a suggestion that as they had standing committees for all the other departments, therefore why not have a standing committee for this particular matter in relation to the Army Remount Department, and this was the reply I received. Well, Sir, one year has passed and that committee was not appointed. So if the assurance simply means that for another year or unless somebody again raises this question, nothing practical will be done, I am afraid I shall not be able to withdraw the Resolution. But on the other hand, if His Excellency will kindly promise that he will start an inquiry straightaway, not through any non-official agency but through any officer he himself likes to depute with regard to the grievances of these horse-breeding colonies, I will feel grateful to His Excellency and will not press the Resolution. Otherwise I am afraid I must.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Resolution moved:

"That this House recommends to the Governor General in Council, that he may be pleased to introduce the same rules and regulations in horse breeding areas of the Montgomery district as exist in the Sargodha district".

The Question is:

"That that Resolution be adopted."

The Motion was negatived.

RESOLUTION RE MILITARY EXPENDITURE.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA (United Provinces Central: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I beg to move:

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that the relation of military expenditure to the average income in India should be the same as in the Dominions".

Sir, the demand embodied in my Resolution is not a new one. tion of reducing the military expenditure has been agitating the minds of our countrymen for a very long time and several resolutions have been brought before this and the other House in one shape or other. The purpose of the Resolution is to examine the economic condition of India and to see whether we are in a position to spend such a large amount on our military expenditure and what the other Dominions are spending for the same purpose. condition of India is well known to everybody. We are lagging behind the other Dominions and nations in out nation-building departments. literacy is practically negligible and it is one of the blots of British rule of about two centuries in India. The reason is that we have not got much to spend on our nation-building departments. The Government of India are spending 60 per cent. of our taxable income on military expenditure. On the other hand, the average income of an Indian is somewhere about Rs. 5 per head, whereas in Britain and other countries it is ten times as much. The famous all-white Commission—I mean the Simon Commission—have reported that the average income of an Indian is £8 per head against £100 per head in Britain. There are millions of our countrymen who do not get two meals a day. That is the condition of India. In the face of all this, Sir, we are spending enormously on our military equipment in comparison to the other Dominions. I have not got complete facts and figures for all the Dominions, but I have certain reports where those facts and figures have been given, and the members of the Committee, after examination of all the facts and figures, have definitely stated that we are spending, in comparison to the Dominions, the largest amount of our income on military expenditure. With your permission, Sir

[Rai Bahadur Lala Mathura Prasad Mehrotra.]

I will read one sentence only from the Report of the Capitation Tribunal. In his note of dissent, Justice Sir Shadi Lal says that all facts and figures-relating to all the Dominions were placed before the Committee and adds:

"It appears that the ratio of military expenditure of India to her public revenues is higher than in any part of the Empire or in any foreign country. Statistics supplied to us also show that in respect of certain colonies where troops are stationed, the Imperial Government have adopted the rule that the cost to be levied from them should not exceed one-fifth of the total assessable revenue of the colony concerned".

Sir, this is an authoritative statement. From this we find that we are spending a lot in comparison to the Dominions. It was about three or four months ago that an authoritative statement was made under the signature of four important persons and was published in the *Manchester Guardian*. It was signed by Mr. Percy Bartlett, Mr. Eric Hayman, Mr. H. S. L. Polak and Mr. F. C. Pratt. In that letter they say:

"An active and constructive policy of peace and reconciliation, internal and external, is India's most urgent need today. Such a policy would release for constructive purposes much of that heavy defence expenditure whose incidence on the net revenues in India is far larger than in any Dominion and even larger than in Great Britain".

Further on they say:

"There is no country in the world in which the need is greater for Government to apply their energies to the amelioration of the economic condition of the people".

Sir, they base their statement on another authoritative statement made in London in March last to the effect that there was at present no conflict of interest between Britain and the Russian Government on any of the main issues of international policy, and it is urged that the time has come for reduction of the very heavy Indian military expenditure which was said to be necessitated by the Russian menace to India. Sir, whenever this question has been pressed the oft-repeated reply of the Government is that we cannot reduce our forces on account of the menace from the frontiers. Now we are in a better position, as we learn from this statement that a kind of understanding has been reached between the Russian and British Governments. I have therefore brought this Resolution stating that it is time for the Government to reconsider its policy and bring about a substantial reduction in the army expenditure to bring it on a level with that of the Dominion Governments. For our part, Sir, we are of opinion that it was not on account of the Russian menace specially but on account of imperial policy that the strength of the Indian forces has been kept so high. The British Government is compelled to keep a large force in India to meet the needs of their imperial policy, and unfortunately the burden for that force falls on this poor country contrary to what has been done in Australia and Egypt.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Do you not think that you are anticipating the debate on the financial statement regarding military expenditure?

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASADMEHROTRA: I am not anticipating that. I am bringing up this point because it is quite a separate question.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: You have not yet come to the real point of your Resolution. You are only referring to general military expenditure.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA: The object is to bring our military expenditure to the level of that of the Dominions. In this connection I would just quote only one sentence from the Mesopotamia Commission Report, page 14. In that they said:

"The army in India serves an imperial purpose, because it is unquestionable that the British garrison in India is of incalculable value to the British Government and the Empire generally, in addition to the services it renders to India in particular. Without it, either the imperial garrison in the East would have to be increased, or an imperial reserve would have to be located in the East at the expense of the Home Government".

So that this view was also held by that important Commission, and we are of opinion that the object of keeping the military forces at such great strength in India is chiefly due to this imperial policy. Sir, the situation of Australia is not better than that of India. and it has not so large a military strength. What is done is that Britain keeps a large force at Singapore as a base of operations from where they protect Australia. What are they doing in Egypt? They are keeping about 10,000 British troops at the expense of the British Government and not of the Egyptians. So, what we demand is this. If the British Government considers it necessary on account of imperial policy to keep such a large number of British troops in India, they should do the same as they are doing in the case of Australia and Egypt and pay for their expenses.

We are also handicapped in other ways. In India after the Mutiny a ratio of 2 to 1 was fixed, and that ratio of British to Indian soldiers is being kept till now. Before the Mutiny the ratio was 5 to 1, and with all the gallantry and devotion to duty which our troops showed in the Great War on the fields of Flanders, and even though they went to the length of showing their loyalty when Muslims fought against the Turks, and with all the recognition of this loyalty on all sides, what is the result? The result is that the ratio of 2 to 1 is kept and they have not gone back to the ratio of 5 to 1 which prevailed before the Mutiny. Sir, I put certain questions during the last Delhi session and in reply received the information from Government "that a British soldier costs Rs. 850 per annum while an Indian soldier costs Rs. 285". is, a British soldier costs three times as much as an Indian soldier. So, Sir, by the reduction of British troops in India, or by even their substitution by Indian troops, we would get a large reduction in military expenditure. It is an irony of fate that in spite of the fact that expert committees after committees set up by Government have given their opinion that British troops should be reduced, but Government was not able to accept their recommendations. I would refer to the Shea Committee. We all know that it was composed of three lieutenant-generals, three major-generals, three colonels and two lieutenant-colonels, and they pronounced that complete Indianisation was a practical proposition within 30 years. May I ask with all submission, Sir, why the Report of that Committee, of their own experts, was not given effect to? Later on another committee was set up; it was presided over by Sir Andrew Skeen and it also expressed the opinion that by 1952 they can Indianise at least half the strength. That also was not given effect to. Sir, in 1921 the Government of India set up another committee, the report of which did not see the light of day until it was placed before the Defence Committee of the Round Table Conference. It was presided over by Mr. Thomas. In that Committee of 1921 there were two Indian Members of the then Executive Council, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir Muhammad Shafi. In that Committee too it was definitely decided that the policy should be changed and rapid Indianisation should be introduced in such a way as to bring about complete Indianisation in 30 years. The then Commander-in-Chief, Lord Rawlinson, in his autobiography in connection with this Committee has

[Rai Bahadur Lala Mathura Prasad Mehrotra.]

expressed his personal opinion and said how it was necessary for him to be of the same opinion. In his autobiography he says:

"I have agreed to recommend the reduction of three British cavalry regiments and five British infantry regiments when the internal conditions and the state of the Frontier admits. This is rather faster than I had intended to go in the first instance, but I could not resist the pressure when it came to considering the fact that we had 28 British and only 21 Indian battalions allotted for internal security. It was impossible to defend this proportion which dates from the post-Mutiny days. Now that we have decided to trust the Indians and lead them to self-government, we cannot justify an army of occupation".

These are the views of one of the Commanders-in-Chief in India. From all this the case for the reduction of military expenditure is very strong and we have no other way but to place the views before the Government and I hope that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will make out a thorough case to recommend it to the Government of Great Britain. I would therefore through this Resolution most emphatically urge upon the Government that they should bring down the military expenditure in relation to income on the level of the Dominions when the Russian menace is practically over and thereby reduce taxation and enable Government to spend larger sums on nation-building departments to remove the blot on their rule.

With these words, Sir, I move.

The Honourable Sardar BUTA SINGH (Punjab: Sikh): Sir, I regret greatly that I cannot support this Resolution. Indeed, taking into consideration the race for armaments in Europe, and the Asiatic Pact and Communist incursion in the name of Communist Russia, it is conceivable that we may have to increase our Defence budget. In any case this is not the time to think of reducing the defences of India as the portents all point the other way. The surest guarantee of peace is the strength of our armies. It is true we are poor, and we spend per head of population more of our income than any other country in the world. At the same time we inhabit in spite of our poverty a vast continent which carries roughly about one-fifth of the world population and our army numerically is the smallest in the world. I shall not be surprised if in the noxt few years the world situation demands an increase in our army rather than a decrease.

I am very sorry therefore that I cannot support this Resolution.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Dr. Sir NASARVANJI CHOKSY (Bombay: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, the Resolution before the House is rather vaguely worded inasmuch as it refers to the income and not to the population ratio of the Dominions and their outlay for defence. No data of their income are stated. A brochure on Some Facts and Figures about Indian Defence, 1933-34, was circulated to us, wherein the ratio of defence expenditure per capita was laid down thus: India was paying Rs. 1-8-0 only per head of the population; England was paying Rs. 30; though during the current year the average has come to Rs. 50. My Honourable friend the mover will no doubt be surprised to know that Rs. 186 crores is the total for the defence estimate of Great Britain this year; then the Dominions spend between Rs. 3-8-0 and Rs. 8; France Rs. 29-8-0; the United States of America Rs. 18-8-0; and Japan Rs. 6-8-0 though it has considerably expanded of late. It therefore shows that the arguments that have been advanced by the Honourable mover in support of his Resolution are not quite justifiable in their comparisons. There is one point more. Is it not a fact that the army in India.

has been reduced from 238,000 in 1914 to 183,000 in 1933? Sir, a further-pregnant statement at page 13 is worth consideration. It says:

"The plain fact is that about half the army in India would be incapable of taking the field in the war formations required for any campaign of modern dimensions".

The conditions to which the Honourable Member has referred bear no-comparison to those in India.

"The problems with which India is faced are without parallel in any other part. of the Empire".

Take for instance the case of Canada, Newfoundland and the Union of South Africa. Those Dominions have practically no fear of invasion by a foreign power. Australia, however, is differently situated and therefore it is that the British Government is spending an enormous amount of money not only in retaining a large body of troops but much more in creating Singapore as a large naval and air force base. In the Pacific a great eastern power has built fortifications in the shape of an inverted letter "L". One arm goes to and isdirected towards America; the other towards the Philippines and further south. Australia thus is very greatly perturbed with regard to its defence. It has also been announced that the defences of Hong Kong are to be strengthened as well. What then is the position of India today? Is it not a fact that India is being encircled by hostile elements, though ostensibly friendly? I have not heard of any agreement with the Soviet Government to which the Honourable mover has referred, that under no circumstances they would invade India. There also exist two countries which are concerned with India beyond the nort-west, viz., Inner and Outer Mongolia, originally Chinese domains. Outer Mongolia has been already absorbed by Japan and in Inner-Mongolia there are large interests of Indian traders who have been badly treated. There is consideral le confusion and even a clash between Soviet. and Japanese outposts. China sent out a special mission of inquiry in Khasgar and Skiangk under Sir Eric Teichman who has recently returned to India after an arduous overland journey. His report will be submitted to the Chinese Government who will communicate with the Sir, it would thus appear that everything is not British Ambassador. quiet beyond the north-western front. Further the Russian army now consists of 1,300,000 men. It is capable of expansion at any time to ten times as much. Germany is now fully armed. Every nation is fully armed. But the only nation that gave adherence to disarmament and to set an example to the world that it was quite genuine in its desire has had to pay a heavy penalty. Great . Britain in pursuance of this policy reduced her defence to such an extent that enormous expenditure has had to be incurred during the current year, as I have stated. Under these circumstances and looking at the way in which India is encircled and looking as well to the internal conditions of the country, it is doubtful whether it would be safe to reduce defence expenditure to any extent.

The Honourable mover says the time has come when the Indian Army should be Indianised in 30 years. Government have initiated the Indianisation of a complete brigade with all its ancillary services which is in process of accomplishment. More than that however it would be impossible to do until experience has demonstrated its success. Sir, only internal conditions are not as good as one would like them to be. We have before us the sad exhibitions of communal clashes in different parts of the country. Suppose, for instance, there was a great war and India was involved in it and simultaneously such conditions prevailed, what would be the fate of the country? May I remind Honourable members—I do not suppose many of them were even born—when in 1882-83 there was a

[Sir Nasarvanji Choksy.]

great scare created by the advance of Russia towards the frontier of Afghanistan to Pendjeh. The army was mobilised for the defence of Afghanistan and to prevent further Russian inroads. It is to be hoped that India will not have to face such another contingency. I do believe that the time is not yet ripe for making any further reduction in the army in the immediate future

Then, Sir, the Honourable mover made reference to nation-building departments. It is not that the army takes up so much of the revenue as to debar further progress in this direction, but defence has to be provided for. Should defence be insecure what becomes of your nation-building programme? So what India wants is security and internal peace and concord. Unless and until these prevail to inspire confidence for a number of years I do not see any probability of reduction in defence expenditure.

Sir, for these reasons, I oppose the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS (Puniab : Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I rise to support the Resolution which has been so ably moved by my Honourable friend Rai Bahadur Mehrotra. Sir, our army expenditure before the war was in the vicinity of Rs. 27 crores. The relations of the Government of India with the bordering countries were cordial enough before the war and now if I mistake not they are even more cordial and indeed are better than ever existed before. Sir, at the present time unfortunately the military budget, the defence budget expenditure per year continues to be about Rs. 47 crores, and in case we add Rs. 2 crores of deficit on strategic railways and another Rs. 2 or Rs. 3 crores of the defence expenditure which is now incurred by the civil departments, the figure will come to nearly Rs. 52 crores. This expenditure, Sir, is more than half of the total income. I. Sir, feel that this proportion of our military expenditure to our income is most unreasonable. All over the world, Sir, disarmament is the question of the day. Treaties are being entered into between the various countries in order to accomplish that object. I will ask my esteemed friend His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief what is being done in that connection in India. As far as I know, Afghanistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Persia and Siam are all on good and very friendly feelings with the Government of India. As far as the border areas are concerned, the recent expedition to the frontier has resulted in acquiring a most important strategical point of defence which was an objective of the past Commanders-in-Chief for a long time past. I have been myself in the tribal areas many a time and I find that there has been a distinct improvement in the mentality and in the behaviour of the people to keep peace there.

Sir, my friend the Honourable Sir Nasarvanji Choksy has referred to Soviet Russia and to Germany. Sir, since I was a child, in the Punjab in particular, everybody has been feeling for the last 70 years or more that a Russian invasion in coming off, but so far that bogey has proved false. And at the present time, Sir, when you have your friendly sovereigns ruling in the neighbouring countries, there is practically no danger to necessitate the maintenance of such a huge standing army. In case we go over the conditions of the other countries, we find that no where in the world, no where in any other British possession is there comparatively such a big standing army as we have in India. In India, Sir, I am sorry to find that most of the income goes into the pockets of the employees, whether they are civil or military. India's administration ought not to be run for the sake of feeding so many more employees but for the development of the country. Sir, in every other civilised country there is compulsory military training. Trust Indians and do introduce that

military training here. We all like and want British rule. There are some exceptions but their number is very small indeed. In case you introduce compulsory training in India you will find that several crores of people are ready to serve in the army. You can thus reduce the military expenditure very heavily. Some time back the Defence Department introduced the reservist system, why not enlarge upon it? In case compulsory military training is not possible at a near date, why not extend it to those who volunteer for it. The reservist system is much cheaper than maintaining such a huge standing army. Sir Nasarvanji Choksy has observed that Indianisation is going on in the defence force. That, Sir, is simply an eyewash. In case you consider the practical result achieved perhaps it will take centuries to Indianise the army The pace at which Indianisation is being done is too meagre and too inadequate

My Honourable friend the mover of the Resolution has told the House what the average income in India per head of population is and how it compares with the income per head in other countries. In the past, when the economic depression was not playing havoc in India, people did not much mind such a huge expenditure on the army. But, for the last few years, after the Great War, the tables have turned and the economic condition of the Indians is going from bad to worse every year. Taxation is increasing and people feel discontented. I am speaking as a zamindar, as an industrialist. and as a commercial man, and I feel that the taxation which we have to pay now is intolerable. Owing to the economic depression, owing to the poor condition of the people, crimes and discontent are increasing. The Honourable Sir Nasarvanji Choksy also said that there is need of the military to protect the civil areas. Most of the troubles which occur in the civil areas are due to communalism. Communalism has been created and forced upon India by the British Government for the cost of which they must hold themselves responsible. This communal policy in India, I beg to say, is the biggest blunder which any Government can commit and the sooner this communal policy is done away with, the more peace there will be in the country. I am now getting an old man. I find from my own experience that 10 or 15 years ago the relations of communities in India were very cordial. join each other in our festivities. But since communalism has been introduced. on the platform, in the councils and in local bodies these communities attack each other. It is a great pity, but for this the Government is to blame.

I come now to the Air Force. When the Air Force was introduced, if I mistake not, His Excellency the then Commander-in-Chief assured this House that the introduction of that force and its increase will result in economies in the army because cavalry and other units will be considerably reduced and there will thus be a saving. On the other hand, we find that there has been no material saving. The salaries of officers which the Army Department are now paying are too high. The Lee concessions and other concessions along with it impose an intolerable burden on India. The University Training Corps were lately introduced, but the pace of their progress is as slow as possible. We are exceedingly grateful to His Excellency Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode for the establishment of the Military Sandhurst at Dehra Dun, but I regret to observe that the outcome of that College will enjoy a lower status in the commissions than those people who are commissioned out from England. That is the feeling of the majority. We feel that although the College has been established at the ardent desire of Indians and by the efforts of Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, a stigma has been placed on it by lowering the status of its products.

The Honourable Sir Nasarvanji Choksy has also observed that there is a danger from Mongolia. As far as I know, the relations of the Indian

[Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das.]

Government and the British Government with the Japanese Government are very cordial. It is the Japanese Government who are greedy for the annexation of Mongolia. They are the people who are said to be in great superiority in their tactics and warfare in Mongolia and through their diplomatic actions they have been able to gain a great deal of influence in Central Asia. But as long as they are friendly with the British, the British have got no fear of any invasion from Mongolia. There have been peace agreements between the Germans and the Soviet, and Italians and other countries. Why should not the British Government enter into such agreement with Russia, Japan and Persia in order to pursue a policy of disarmament? Sir, even our Most Gracious Imperial Majesty, the late King-Emperor George V, in many of the messages which His Majesty sent to India has said that

"The defence of India against foreign aggression is a duty of common imperial interest and pride".

Why not follow it? We are grateful to the ex-Commander-in-Chief for getting the War Office to bear a small share of the cost of the troops in India. That share which the British Government bears in the defence expenditure of India is extremely inadequate. Yet, Sir, when in the words of the late King Emperor the defence of India is a matter of imperial concern, I see no reason why, particularly in the present economic condition of India, the War Office should not make a much bigger contribution? There is an army of occupation in Egypt. Why not treat the British Army in India as an army of occupation and let its expenditure be borne by the British Government? Sir, we all feel that the present amount of Rs. 47 crores plus Rs. 2 crores for strategic railways plus a couple of crores in other indirect manners is extremely high. Will His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief explain in what respect there has been a change in the relations of countries bordering ours resulting in the possibility of an invasion of India? Why should the army expenditure in India rise from Rs. 28 crores to Rs. 52 crores? We have not been given any explanation for this. Conditions on the frontiers, on the other hand, have improved. Why, then, is this increased extra expenditure continued to be imposed on India? Why has the military expenditure practically been doubled? When the invasion bogey has been trotted out-

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: You have already exceeded your time limit.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: With these-remarks, Sir, I strongly support the Resolution and beg of His Excellency to introduce the reservist system and compulsory training in order to effect a huge economy in the defence expenditure.

*The Honourable Mr. HOSSAIN IMAM (Bihar and Orissa: Muhammadan): Mr. President, the Resolution, as it has been worded, is so mild that I do not see any reason for any section of the House to oppose it. We have moved, before this, resolutions about economy campaigns and about different methods of recouping expenditure, either through a grant from England or from other sources. But this time my Honourable friend Mr. Mehrotra has left the means to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. He simply wants to have the end, and knowing the old principle that the end justifies the means, it does not matter to us what particular measure His Excellency

^{*}Not corrected by the Honourable Member.

the Commander-in-Chief takes as long as we arrive at the desired conclusion. May I remind His Excellency of the golden example which his predecessor has set? When he came to India he found military expenditure standing at something like Rs. 55 crores and when he left it was in the neighbourhood of Rs. 47 crores, a magnificent reduction of Rs. 8 crores. May we hope that His Excellency's term of office will be as economic and that he will live up to the reputation which his predecessor has set up? It is a noble precedent and worth following and I do hope His Excellency will follow it. That action of our late Commander-in-Chief endeared him to the heart of India, in spite of differences of opinion on other matters, and on Sir Robert Cassels we have greater claims because he belongs to the Indian Service.

Sir, various methods have been discussed by Honourable Members whereby reduction may be effected. It is for experts like His Excellency to decide which is the least defective—we cannot have perfection—of the methods suggested to him. The necessity of relieving the general taxpayer from a part of the burden of military expenditure is one which has been admitted, I am happy to say, by the Military Department. Therefore, in support of my statement I should like to read a few words of His Excellency Sir Philip Chetwode on page 219 of our reports on the 24th September, 1935. Referring to the grant made by the British Government towards the cost of military expenditure in India, His Excellency said:

"I think it was in March, 1934 I said on behalf of the Government that we thought India had only obtained bare justice in the award which she has got".

Again, Sir, in another part he said:

"So far from the Government of India and myself opposing this contribution from England, at any time from the time it has been mooted we not only supported it but we did our best by briefing Counsel to appear before the Committee and put forward every possible argument which might influence the Tribunal, and we actually did our best toget more".

That shows that we and the Military Department are at one on the question that the contribution made by the British Exchequer towards the defence cost of India ought to be augmented. The only difference between the nonofficial and official side lay in the fact that, while we were a little impatient to have everything now, the Government thought that after having received something it is always a better policy to wait and consolidate and then advance. Those are always the military tactics and they have followed them even on this occasion. I for one do not think that the military authorities are to blame for the slow pace at which expenditure has been reduced. Knowing the inability and powerlessness of the people of India, we should not forget that even the officials are not the officials of a sovereign State or even of a Dominion. They have their own shortcomings and their own restrictions. They can only act in the interests of India as far as they are permitted to act. The first and primary consideration which guides the strength of the Army in India is the duties which are allotted to it. If the duty of the Army in India was to fight a third class power, then the military authorities would reconsider their dispositions and could reduce the strength. But, as we know, the duties of the British Army in India are more comprehensive and involve holding their own even against a first class power for some time.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: May I ask you to confine yourself within the scope of the Resolution?

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Sir, the reduction of expenditure cannot be brought about without there being a change in the policy

[Mr. Hossain Imam.]

of the Government and the duties of the defence forces. Because we all admit that with the duty which is now imposed on the British Army in India there is very little possibility of reducing the expenditure. Therefore we wish to attack the root cause of the trouble, which is the duty of defending India for a certain time against even a first class power. Unless and until you absolve the Indian Army from that duty, as Sir Philip Chetwode many times pointed out, it will be impossible for us to reduce the strength of the army by even one unit.

Now, Sir, I come to the question whether that duty has been imposed on any other part of the British Empire or not. I challenge the Government to cite the example of any Government under the British Crown which has been saddled with this duty of defending itself for a time against a first class power until reinforcements arrive from Great Britain. The British Government has in its generosity done wonders. One of the wonders is in Egypt, where an army of occupation is maintained without charging the Egyptians a penny. The curious thing is that in 1930 there was a quarrel whether that army, which costs Egypt nothing, should even remain in Egypt. We, Sir, should welcome an army of ten or twenty thousand to be stationed in India at the cost of England. If the Government is so anxious to maintain an army outside the British Isles for the safety of the British Empire, they could not find a better place for it than our own unfortunate country.

Sir, then there is another question which I should, with your permission, like to tackle. It is the question of the army maintained by the Indian States. During the last two or three years we have seen papers from the Military Department giving particulars of the strength of these State forces, of their various formations and other matters of interest. We are very grateful to the Army Department for that brochure, but may I ask that in the picture of the defence of India, British India alone should not figure. The army maintained by the Indian States, should they be brought to the level of a first class army under the guidance, supervision and control even by the military authorities or it should be abolished and the princes be asked to make a contribution to the Imperial Defence Fund and that contribution may be regarded as appropriation in aid of the defence head as is done in England. Any grant coming from other heads is regarded as appropriation in aid. expenditure of the Indian States is not a negligible sum. The estimate made by the official authorities in India is that the sum involved is more than Rs. 2 crores, whereas the non-official estimate is about Rs. 6 crores. Whatever it is, I venture to suggest that this is not a negligible sum and one to be brushed aside. Indian States have no enemy-

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I would ask you not to refer to Indian States. Those armies are held under special treaties with the Crown.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: May I remind you? Sir, that the defence of India is a task involving not British India alone but Indian States as well, especially is it pertinent when States like Kashmir and Kathiawar do not make even an indirect contribution to the revenues of India in the shape of customs. They are being defended without any cost to them——

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: They pay for the increased $\cos t$ of imports.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: They keep the duty to themselves and do not make any contribution. (An Honourable Member: "Not the maritime States.)"

Sir, I was referring to the fact that in the defence picture no part of the defence forces should be disregarded. If you have that army, take advantage of it and include it in your defence forces and consequently reduce that part of expenditure on the British India side which is being incurred because that army is not effective.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: Advantage has always been taken of the State forces.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: State forces have fought in the war; if they are looked after, they will do very well; there is nothing inherently bad about them.

Sir, the policy of Indianisation, as has been pointed out by my Honourable leader, has not been followed. We had during the last session to complain of the method whereby the pace of Indianisation has been slowed down by the abolition of non-commissioned officers. These devious methods on the face of them have nothing particular to stigmatise it; the result has been to retard the progress. We therefore request the Commander-in-Chief to take whatever steps he likes, whatever method he wishes to adopt to live up to the reputation of his predecessor and reduce expenditure in the like manner.

Sir, I support the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. SHANTIDAS ASKURAN (Bombay: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I rise to support the Resolution on principle: I am sure, Sir, that elected, nominated or Government side, all will agree to the principle. Sir, it is a question of difference of opinion as to how to economise the expenses. My friend the Honourable mover of the Resolution is strongly of opinion that the British Army should be reduced. I, as one coming from Bombay side, have not seen the position on the Frontier and I am not therefore able to give an opinion on that. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is the best judge of the proportion in which the army should be kept. Of course I am sure that His Excellency is satisfied with the loyalty up to now which the Indian Army has shown. Up to now the principle has been accepted and adopted of reducing the army. Therefore how to reduce, when to reduce and to what extent to replace the British by Indian troops—I think it is much better to leave these matters to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. Now, the ratio of pay between the English and the Indian Army is about Therefore if a replacement of 10,000 is made in the 60,000 British troops, it will effect a saving of Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 lakhs. In an army budget of Rs. 50 erores, I do not attach much importance to Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 laklis. Of course, every saving is welcome. Sir Nasarvanji Choksy has given us the ratio of the expense per head of the population in the different countries, but he has overlooked one point. In England the ratio is very big; but they have to protect the Dominions, Colonies, and so on. The ratio in Japan is Rs. $6\frac{1}{2}$ as against Rs. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in India per head of the total population. The population of Japan is only one-sixth or one-eighth of India. We should also remember how much Japan has developed and increased her trade and industry with that force, which India has lost—we used to trade a lot with other countries.

I now come to another point. Will His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief inform this House if there is any country where 45 per cent. of the total

Mr. Shantidas Askuran.1

pay of the soldiers is paid to their officers, Rs. 4 crores we pay against Rs. 9,10 lakhs for the total force? Is there any country where about 21 per cent. of the total pay of the soldiers is spent at the headquarters, where they are sitting in their palatial offices? Is there any instance of this kind in the world? I would also like to know from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief whether in time of peace, when not even a pound of gunpowder is used, Rs. 35 crores or about four times more than the pay is spent on overhead charges. There are a hundred and one ways of minimising the expenditure, which is very badly wanted.

With these words, Sir, I support the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (United Provinces Southern: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, the Honourable Sardar Buta Singh and the Honourable Sir Nasarvanji Choksy have opposed this Resolution. With Sir Nasarvanji Choksy I have a certain amount of sympathy. He is suffering from a complex and that complex is the Soviet complex and therefore he cannot see things in their proper perspective. Sir, personally my sympathies are with pacifism; my sympathies are with reduced armaments. I do not believe in this race of armaments which is going on everywhere in the modern world. Therefore I cannot agree with the militarist point of view. I suffer from no Soviet or communist complex. The real antidote against communism is a bold and courageous policy of social reform. Therefore the point of view that I should like to press is this. Within one year Provincial Governments of an autonomous or semi-autonomous character will be functioning in this country. This year some of the provinces are faced with a deficit. Others are in rather a precarious condition from a financial point of view. We want, Sir, a rapid development of social services; we want more funds for the social services. How are provincial ministers and how are provincial legislatures to deal with this demand for the development of social services? The only elastic sources of revenue that we have in the country are customs and the income-tax and we cannot have any contribution so far as income-tax is concerned to the provinces from the centre until the army expenditure is reduced. If the army expenditure romains at its present level it is quite clear that provinces will not be able to get any share of the income-tax receipts and provincial ministries and prowincial legislatures will be able to achieve nothing. Therefore, Sir, the question has got to be approached from the point of view of the Indian taxpayer. The question has got to be approached from the point of view of the toiling millions of this country—millions who cannot have even one proper meal a day. If it is necessary for you to have this large army then England must contribute something towards the cost of this huge army. We do not control our foreign policy. It is the British Government that controls our foreign policy.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Order, order. I have allowed Honourable Members a certain amount of latitude this morning but I must not under the guise of this Resolution allow a general debate on the military policy of the Government of India. The Resolution is of a specific character and I must say that so far only one Honourable Member, Mr. Shantidas Askuran, has confined himself strictly to this Resolution. In order to save time and as you will all have another opportunity of discussing very shortly the military policy of the Government of India, I would request Honourable Members who now follow to strictly confine themselves within the scope of the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: Thank you, Sir.

At the First Round Table Conference there was a special committee appointed to go into this question of Indianisation and there was a memorandum submitted by some very moderate men—I think Sir Provash Mitter was one of the signatories to the memorandum and Sir A. K. Ghaznavi was another. They presented this memorandum to the First Sub-Committee and they pointed out that the total cost of the British garrison is in the neighbourhood of Rs. 27 crores-I forget the exact figure-and they wanted the whole cost of this British garrison to be borne by the British exchequer. Well, these were very moderate men and as my friend the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam has pointed out, Sir Philip Chetwode, the late Commander-in-Chief, had himself some sympathy with that point of view. It is also a fact that before the Tribunal appointed to inquire into the question of financial adjustment between India and Britain, the Government of India themselves pressed for a larger contribution than has actually been given to us by Great Britain. Therefore, Sir, we should like the Government of India if the British Government is not prepared to reduce the strength of the British Army in India (although we think that the British Army can be reduced with safety in this country), is to take up this question of contribution by Britain to India. We suggest that they should take up this question of the contribution from the British exchequer to the Indian revenues. It is because I want this question to be taken up by the British Government that I am emphasising that we have no control over our foreign policy and therefore it is fair that the British Government who control our foreign policy should contribute something towards the defence of this country.

Sir, with these words, I support this Resolution.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: Well, as we have heard, Sir, this Resolution recommends a reduction of defence expenditure. There is nothing actually in the wording of the Resolution itself to indicate the grounds on which the recommendation is made, except the bare fact that the Dominions spend a smaller proportion of their income on defence than India Before I go on to deal with the speeches made in support of the Resolution, I must first of all explain to the House exactly what it means. There is no necessity to quote a large number of statistics. The plain fact is that India. as a whole, spends about 25 per cent, of her national income on defence, while it will be sufficiently accurate for the present purpose to take it that the Dominions spend—on the average—about 5 per cent. What the mover's proposition amounts to therefore, if taken literally, is that India's defence expenditure should be reduced from somewhere about Rs. 45 crores to something in the neighbourhood of Rs. 9 crores. Well, such an extreme proposition has as far as I know never been placed before Government on any previous occasion—least of all in this House which has a reputation for not advancing wild and impossible proposals. Nor do I suppose for a moment that this is what the Honourable Member really meant. In fact it is clear from his speech that it is not. I merely suggest that the Resolution might have been more carefully worded. What the mover and those who followed him want to know is whether any reduction of defence expenditure is possible; and, as far as I could gather, the only fresh ground on which they themselves think that such a reduction should be possible is that there is now less danger than there used to be of an attack on India by a certain great power.

Now, Sir, I do not propose either to give this House a lecture on the military problems of the Dominions as compared with those of this country, or to embark, even if I were permitted to do so by the rules of the House, on

[His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.]

any discussion of our relations with foreign powers. The mover's case, however, contains two such glaring fallacies that I must expose them before proceeding further.

The first fallacy is that defence expenditure in India is maintained at its present level owing to fear of attack by some great power.

The second is that, if that fear is removed, it should be possible to reduce our defence expenditure to something approaching the level of certain countries whose situation and military problems bear no relation whatsoever to those of this country.

As regards the former point, it is unnecessary to consider whether it is right or wrong to assume that there is no danger of an attack on India by any great power—in Europe or anywhere else. The point is—and the Honourable Member only has to read the Report of the Capitation Tribunal to see it for himself—that the army in India is not maintained on a scale calculated to meet external attack by any great power. It is responsible only for internal security and for the defence of India against the minor danger of local aggression on her frontiers: and it is maintained only on a scale sufficient to meet these dangers. There has been no suggestion that these dangers have been reduced; nor indeed is there any ground for such a suggestion.

On the latter point, I can only say that it is ridiculous to compare the defence liabilities of India with those of Australia or New Zealand, surrounded as they are with thousands of miles of sea; or with those of Canada to whom the only land approaches are through the territory of a friendly power with noterritorial ambitions. The point is adequately summed up in the concluding paragraph of Chapter II of the pamphlet entitled Some Facts and Figures about Indian Defence.", which I would invite Honourable Members to study once more, even if they have read it already:

"There is no point (says this pamphlet) in proclaiming that this nation or that is not in any way animated by warlike motives, when the hard fact is that it has doubled its army or trebled its defence expenditure; and it is even more futile to argue that it is wrong for India to spend so many millions on defence because Canada or Australia, for instance, spend only a fraction of that amount. The problems with which India is faced are without parallel in any other part of the Empire; and the argument is on a par with the assertion that it should be unnecessary to wear warm clothes in the Arctic Circle because people on the Equator are able to do without them ".

That, Sir. brings me to the larger and more important issue arising out of this Resolution.

The last seven years have witnessed an enormous reduction in the cost of Indian defence—a reduction which at one point reached the truly remarkable figure of over Rs. 11 crores below the budget for 1930-31. The reduction itself was started and carried through in an atmosphere of world depression and at a time when general disarmament was a live issue. Today we live in quite a different atmosphere. Re-armament is the order of the day. His Majesty's Governments in Great Britain and most of the Dominions are faced with the need for increases in strength and much-delayed improvements in equipment and armaments which will involve very heavy extra expenditure. It is indeed curious that the mover should have seen fit to refer to the analogy of the Dominions at a time when more than one of them have doubled, and more than doubled, their defence expenditure in the last two years.

And what of India? Those who are never tired of saving that our defence expenditure is dictated by imperial considerations are perhaps wondering why we are not engaged at the present moment in raising the strength of our army in India. We are not doing so because, as far as I can foresee at present, the defence of India does not require such an increase: but we cannot afford to stand still. A considerable part of the reduction of expenditure made during the last few years was secured by using up reserve stocks and postponing expenditure on new and up to date equipment and on buildings. We have not allowed the efficiency of the armed forces to deteriorate, but the temporary expedient of living on our own fat cannot go on indefinitely and there is a certain amount of leeway to be made up, and certain adjustments to be made. The present Finance Member and his predecessor have both made it clear that the budgets of the last few years cannot be regarded as representing a new permanent level of defence expenditure. The fact is that if our forces are to be kept, as I am sure the House would wish them to be kept, in a state of efficiency and properly equipped for war, there must be an increase rather than a decrease in our expenditure. I am afraid I shall have disappointed my Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam, but it would be clearly wrong for me to hold out any false hopes in that direction and after what I have said I hope the House will agree with me that this is emphatically not the moment to ask for a further reduction in the cost of defence.

Sir, I must oppose the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: What are the factors which have made His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief or the Defence Department to continue the raised expenditure from Rs. 27 crores to Rs. 47 crores? What were the factors which have resulted in practically doubling the military expenditure as compared to pre-war times? What has been the change in the relations of the neighbouring countries and the change in the border, territorial conditions, etc.?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: I must have notice of that question. Sir.

RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA THE HONOURABLE MEHROTRA: Sir, only two Honourable Members have opposed my Resolution and the points they raised have been thoroughly replied to by the speakers on this side who have supported the Resolution. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief was pleased to remark that there were no grounds in the Resolution on which this reduction was sought. It is impossible to give grounds in a Resolution of this nature on which reduction is sought. We have made it plain in our speeches that we want a substantial reduction. I have suggested one or two ways and I have left it to His Excellency himself, who is the best judge how to reduce the expenditure. Our object is only this, that considering the condition of India, it is not proper to spend such a large amount, which His Excellency has put at 25 per cent. of the revenues of the whole of India. If we consider only the taxable revenue of the Government of India. we are expending 60 per cent. on military expenses. His Excellency was also pleased to remark that the Dominions are considering an increase in their military expenditure. They can well afford to do so when they are spending only 5 per cent. of their revenue on military expenses and have hitherto spent such large amounts on their nation-building departments. Consider the state of literacy in the Dominions and in India; it is only a drop in the ocean. Similarly,

[Rai Bahadur Lala Mathura Prasad Mehrotra.]

their expenditure on public health and other nation-building departments has been relatively much greater than that on military expenditure. Apart from this, their income per head is much greater than it is in India. So, in view of all these facts, even if they increase their military expenditure by one or two per cent., it will be quite legitimate for them to do so.

The other point His Excellency was pleased to raise was about the danger of attack. I do not find that there is any such immediate 1 P.M. danger for India. It has been made a bogey for the last 50 or 60 years. In respect of Russia, the relations between Great Britain and Russia are better than they have been for some years back. India is also protected on all sides, save one, by the sea, and for that one side it is not necessary that we should keep British soldiers in such large numbers, when Indian soldiers have proved their gallantry and devotion. Even if we substitute a decent number of Indian soldiers for British and bring the ratio to what it was before the Mutiny, there would be substantial savings. Then, as my friend from Bombay observed, there are so many other directions in which economy can be observed. Where there is a will there is a way. If Government is determined to make economies, they can do so. They have already during the last three or four years economised to the extent of Rs. 7 or Rs. 8 crores, and they could easily reduce the expenditure by a like amount in the near future. My chief object is that there should be a substantial reduction in army expenditure and the money thus saved should be spent on the nation-building departments.

With these words, Sir, I press the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Resolution moved:

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that the relation of military expenditure to the average income in India should be the same as in the Dominions".

The Question is:

"That that Resolution be adopted ".

The Council divided:

AYES-17.

Askuran, The Honourable Mr. Shantidas. Banerjee, The Honourable Mr. Jagadish Chandra.

Barua, The Honourable Srijut Heramba Prosad.

Ghazanfar Ali Khan, The Honourable Raja.

Halim. The Honourable Khan Bahadur Hafiz Muhammad.

Hossain Imam, The Honourable Mr. Jagdish Prasad, The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala.

Kalikar, The Honourable Mr. V. V. Khaparde, The Honourable Mr. G. S.

Kidwai, The Honourable Shaikh Mushir Hosain.

Mehrotra, The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala Mathura Prasad.

Mitha, The Honourable Sir Suleman Cassim Haji.

Padshah Sahib Bahadur, The Honourable Saiyed Mohemed.

Ram Saran Das, The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala.

Sapru, The Honourable Mr. P. N.

Sinha, The Honourable Kumar Nripendra Narayan.

Suhrawardy, The Honourable Mr. Mahmood.

NOES-31.

Akbar Khan, The Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Nawab Sir Mahomed. Akram Husain Bahadur, The Honour-Afsar-ul-Mulk Mirza able Prince Muhammad. Basu, The Honourable Mr. Bijay Kumar. Buta Singh, The Honourable Sardar. Charanjit Singh, The Honourable Raja. Chetty, The Honourable Diwan Bahadur G. Narayanaswami. Choksy, The Honourable Khan Bahadur Dr. Sir Nasarvanji. Clow, The Honourable Mr. A. G. Commander-in-Chief. His Excellency the. Devadoss. The Honourable Sir David. Ghosal, The Honourable Sir Josna. Ghosh Maulik, The Honourable Mr. Satyendra Chandra. Hafeez, The Honourable Khan Bahadur

Hallett, The Honourable Mr. M. G. Ishrat Husain, The Honourable Saiyid. The Honourable Jagdish Prasad, Kunwar Sir. Johnson, The Honourable Mr. J. N. G. Kameshwar Singh of Darbhanga, The Honourable Maharajadhiraja Sir. Maqbul Husain, The Honourable Khan Bahadur Shaikh. Maung Aye, The Honourable Captain. McIntyre, The Honourable Mr. W. T. Menon, The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir Ramunni. Noon, The Honourable Nawab Malik Sir Mohammad Hayat Khan. Parker, The Honourable Mr. R. H. Raghunandan Prasad Singh, The Honourable Raja. Raisman, The Honourable Mr. A. J. Russell, The Honourable Sir Guthrie. Stewart. The Honourable Mr. T. A. Thomas, The Honourable Mr. E. F.

Williams, The Honourable Mr. A. deC.

The Motion was negatived.

Haidar, The Honourable Khan Bahadur

Sved Abdul.

Shams-ud-Din.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Both these clocks in the Council are not correct. I think this will be a convenient time to adjourn.

The Council then adjourned for Lunch till a Quarter Past Two of the Clock.

The Council re-assembled after Lunch at a Quarter Past Two of the Clock, the Honourable the President in the Chair.

RESOLUTION RE EMPLOYMENT OF "DUFFERIN" CADETS.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (United Provinces Southern: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I rise to move the following Resolution:

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that whenever mail contracts with the shipping companies are renewed, definite conditions be attached to the grant of mail subsidies out of the Indian exchequer about the adequate employment of Indian apprentices and officers in ships belonging to such companies, and that he may be pleased to take further steps as may be necessary—

- (a) to ensure that the shipping companies trading regularly on the coast of India take at least two 'Dufferin' cadets as apprentices for training and also employ in their ships qualified officers and engineers trained in the 'Dufferin' and by recruiting annually at least 50 per cent. of such officers and engineers from qualified 'Dufferin' Indian eadets;
- (b) to induce the Peninsula and Oriental and other shipping companies which receive mail subsidy and patronage of the Government to employ duly qualified Indian 'Dufferin' cadets as officers on their steamers in adequate numhers."

Sir, it will be within the recollection of this House that on the 17th of this month I put certain questions in regard to the "Dufferin" cadets and their employment in shipping companies. Sir, the answer to those questions will be found at page 17 of

[Mr. P. N. Sapru.]

Volume I, No. 2 of the Council of State Debates. I will at a later stage of my speech invite the attention of the Council to certain figures supplied to me by the Honourable Mr. Clow in the replies which he gave to my question.

Sir, one of the terms of reference of the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee which was appointed by the Government of India on the 3rd February, 1923 was that they should consider what measures could usefully be taken

"for the establishment of a Nautical College in Indian waters for the purpose of training executive officers and engineers of ships".

The Committee recommended that a training ship should be established in Indian waters and that this ship should be in the form of a Floating Establishment and that it should be maintained by the Government. The Committee before making this recommendation enquired by a circular letter addressed to the Managing Agents of the British India Steam Navigation Company, the Asiatic Steam Navigation Company, the Scindia Steam Navigation Company and the Moghul Line whether they would be prepared to accept for training on board their steamers a certain number of Indians as apprentices from the training ship to be established in Indian waters and employ them when they proved efficient and satisfactory as apprentices and successfully passed their Board of Trade qualifying examinations as mates and masters. the Committee received an encouraging reply from these shipping companies. They intimated that they would be prepared to take these cadets as apprentices in their ships and that they would be prepared to take them also as officers when they were duly qualified. The point that I want to emphasise is that when a decision was taken that there should be a ship established for this purpose it was emphasised that opportunities would be available for these cadets for employment as officers. The Committee realised the importance of providing careers for these mates. Their point was that it was no use establishing this ship and then leaving the men who were trained on this ship to find careers for themselves. And on page 15 they say:

"While appreciating the readiness expressed by the existing lines to take Indian apprentices and to employ them as officers after they have been fully trained, we have come to the conclusion, after careful consideration, that the success of the scheme we are proposing for the training and future employment of Indian lads so trained should not be left to chance or the goodwill of shipping companies. We are, therefore, providing in our recommendations for the coastal trade that before a license is granted to any company an undertaking must be given that apprentices will be taken to the extent of at least two per ship subject to a maximum of 60 for any one company, and that Indian officers and engineers as they become eligible will be employed up to the extent of 50 per cent. of the total number of officers and engineers employed. In this way it is hoped in course of time to bring about the complete Indianisation of the superior personnel of the coastal mercantile marine".

So that, Sir, the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee recognised that the question of the future employment of these cadets should not be left to the goodwill of the shipping companies. They thought that there should be some law or regulation requiring compulsory employment of officers in order that the scheme they had suggested might become a success. Sir, it was in 1925 that the Legislative Assembly adopted a Resolution for the establishment of a training ship in Indian waters and it was in 1927 that the training ship was established in the Harbour of Bombay. Then, Sir, the question as regards the prospects of employment of these men who were to be trained in this training ship was exercising the thoughts of all concerned and the then Viceroy,

Lord Irwin, made the following appeal in his speech at the annual session of the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Cawnpore on the 6th December, 1926:

"Of equal importance to Indian shipping is the question of its personnel. There has for some time been a very natural desire on the part of Indians to take a greater part in the transport systems of their country. The Government has accordingly decided to establish a training ship at Karachi next year, and the Board of Trade have agreed to recognise the course, on the same footing as the Nautical Colleges in England for the purpose of certificates of competency. It is, however, no use training Indians in this way unless they have a career open to them. I hope, therefore, that British shipping companies will co-operate to make the training ship a success by giving fair opportunity of employment to Indian cadets".

I want to emphasise these words:

"It is no use training Indians in this way unless they have a career open to them".

The question of subsequent employment after they had been trained was regarded as of fundamental importance by His Excellency Lord Irwin. Sir. the Governing Body of this training ship has also always realised the importance of subsequent employment of these cadets and I understand that Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas was given an assurance that the Government of India would not hesitate to take suitable action if these cadets did not get employment as officers after they were duly qualified. The Governing Body also, it appears, obtained assurances from the British India Steam Navigation Company, the Asiatic Navigation Company, the Moghul Line, the Nourse Line and the Scindia Steam Navigation Company that they would employ duly qualified cadets of the training ship as officers on their vessels. The Peninsula and Oriental Company, however, were rather reluctant to give any undertaking that they would employ these men as officers in their ships after they had duly qualified themselves on the "Dufferin". I do not say that they said that they would not employ them. That is not what I say. But they did not express any readiness to employ these men, after they had been duly qualified, in their ships plying in Indian waters. The point that I would emphasise is that the attitude of the Peninsula and Oriental Company in this matter is regrettable. The Peninsula and Oriental Company has been enioving the patronage of the people and the Government of India. They carry the mails and they are paid certain amounts for the carriage of those mails. We may call it a subsidy or anything else. But the fact remains that they enjoy the patronage of the people and the Government of India. Under the Lee concessions also they enjoy certain benefits. Therefore, their attitude in regard to this matter is, to put it mildly, regrettable.

Again, in 1928, Lord Irwin made the following observations at the annual session of the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta:

"On the same occasion I spoke of a question of vital concern to Indian shipping, the question of its personnel, and the natural desire on the part of Indians to take a greater part in the transport systems of their country. To help to meet this claim the 'Dufferin' Training Ship was established, and I should like to acknowledge the assistance of British shipping companies in helping to start the ship and the interest that their representatives take as members of the Governing Body. It is also a cause for great satisfaction that shipping companies should have shown themselves willing to take 'Dufferin' cadets as apprentices, and I carnestly trust that Indian cadets will prove their capacity and will eventually find employment by companies which have given them their apprentice training ".

In 1929, Sir George Rainy, the Commerce Member, conveyed this assurance to the Members of the Indian Legislature:

"While anxious to avoid giving the impression that employment is assured to every passed apprentice, Government desired to emphasise the opportunities of employment which exist for those apprentices who give satisfaction".

[Mr. P. N. Sapru.]

Now, Sir, the position is that today, out of 99 cadets who joined the training ship in 1927, 1929 and 1930, 15 did not follow the sea career. the remaining 84, three joined the River Survey, five took to the engineering line, seven were taken into the Bengal Pilot Service, one entered the Royal Air Force, four were taken in the Royal Indian Navy, and one was absorbed by the Calcutta Port Commissioners. Thus, 21 cadets out of these 84 found employment in service other than service affoat. It would not be possible for shore establishments to absorb so many cadets year after year. Vacancies were k ept open in the Bengal Pilot Service which took seven cadets at a stroke. In future years, they will not be able to take more than two per year. Of the remaining 63 cadets, 29 are serving as officers afloat. Twenty-two of them are serving in the Scindia Steam Navigation Company and four are serving in the British India Navigation Company. We have therefore a balance of 34 Twenty-four will have completed their sea time by the end of last year and it will be clear therefore that employment will have to be found for 34 cadets as officers during the current year. This is a rather serious problem. to solve, for unless the British shipping companies implement their promise, and employ these cadets as officers on their vessels in adequate numbers, it would be difficult to secure employment for these cadets, and unless these cadets are employed, the training ship will not achieve the object for which it was started. Sir, the Governing Body of this training ship has been alive to the importance of this question. In 1931, the Governing Body held a comprehensive enquiry and came to the conclusion that the prospects of employment were uncertain. In 1935, the Governing Body again realised that the problem of employment was becoming serious and they appealed to the Government of India to use their influence with the shipping companies to persuade them to employ these cadets as officers in larger numbers. Now, Sir, this ship was not intended to be in the nature of a public school. It was intended to be an establishment for the training of Indians as naval officers. in ships operating in Indian waters, and if we were to try and solve the problem by giving a different turn to the education that is being given to them in this ship, we would not be keeping to the spirit of the declarations that were made when this ship was started. In a communication issued by the Department of Commerce on the 25th November, 1935, it was stated that it should be borne in mind that the object of the training ship was to train boys for a sea career and not add one more to the educational institutes of the country designed to train boys for ordinary vocations. Now, parents when they send their boys to the "Dufferin" have to spend some money on educating them. It costs a parent about Rs. 5,000 to have his son trained in the "Dufferin" and he sends his boy there in the hope and expectation that he will receive employment after he has been properly trained. It will therefore be wrong. after having held out this hope to him, to tell him that he must look upon it as a sort of public school and that the boy must find a career for himself and that Government cannot help him to find a career. Therefore, the position is that the time has arrived when Government should take some action. I am suggesting that Government should carry out the recommendations of the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee. I cannot lay my hands at the moment on the exact paragraph in the Committee's recommendations, but I have taken the recommendation embodied in the Resolution from the Committee's report itself. It is their definite recommendation that conditions should be attached to the grant of mail subsidies out of the Indian exchequer, and clause (a) too is a recommendation of the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee. Now, Sirso far as the Peninsula and Oriental Company is concerned, it is not employing

at present a single Indian officer. According to the statement which was supplied to us by Mr. Clow, the Peninsula and Oriental Company has been getting large amounts from the Indian exchequer for the carriage of mails. In 1924 the amount paid was £20,100; in 1925, £21.775; in 1926, £23,870; in 1928, £27,599; in 1930, £31,323; in 1931, £30,244. This was for mails. So far as payments for parcel mails is concerned, the amounts were these. In 1926-27, £10,782-19-2; in 1927-28, £12,427-3-5; in 1928-29, £12,080-1-6; in 1929-30, £12,361-13-4; in 1930-31. £10,506-19-10; in 1931-32, £9,575-9-7. Sir, I have got the figures for the earlier period also but I will not trouble the House with those earlier figures. The point that I would emphasise is that it is no use training these men and then saving to them, find a career for yourself. It is no use merely taking them as apprentices. We want them alsoto be employed after they have obtained their second mate's certificate as officers, and it is not an unreasonable request that British shipping companies, which are operating in Indian waters, should be under an obligation to employ a certain proportion of Indians, duly trained and duly qualified Indians, as officers on their ships. I am not raising any question of coastal reservation. I am not raising any question of licensing these ships. What I am suggesting is that companies which receive patronage, as the Peninsula and Oriental. Company does and as the British India Steam Navigation Company which takes our mails to the Persian Gulf and Straits Settlements does, should be under some obligation to take Indians as officers on their ships. The question of the Peninsula and Oriental Company contract will come up for review in 1939. The Honourable Mr. Stewart will correct me if I am wrong and I should like him and the Department of Commerce to bear in mind this grievance of the Indian public when the question of the renewal of the contract is taken up in 1939. We do not say "employ unqualified men", but we do say that the Peninsula and Oriental Company should be more responsive to the Indian demand in this matter. After all it is a very reasonable demand; we are not asking for something impossible; we are not asking for something which is very extreme or very unreasonable. They have been enjoying our patronage for a very long time and they have made money out of this country. They are making money out of this country. Why should they not give some facility to the nationals of this country for serving as officers in their ships?

That is, Sir, my Resolution and I do not wish to take up the time of the House unduly. I hope, Sir, that this Resolution will meet with adequate response from the Honourable Mr. Stewart and the Commerce Department.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR (Central Provinces: General): Sir, I have to move an amendment to this Resolution of my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru. I request you to suspend the Standing Orders and if you will permit me I will move it.

The amendment is:

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that all possible steps be taken to ensure that employment be found for duly qualified 'Dufferin' cadets in shipping companies operating in Indian ports".

The Honourable the PRESIDENT: It is really not in the nature of an amendment at all. It is in the nature of an alternative Resolution. But I am prepared to consider the question of suspending the Standing Order on two conditions: firstly, that the Government Member has no objection and, secondly—it appears to me a more reasonable proposition—if the Honourable Mr. Sapru is prepared to accept your Resolution, the alternative Resolution, in substitution of his. If there is agreement on both these points, I shall probably allow it.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: I am prepared to accept it.

THE HONOURABLE MR. T. A. STEWART: I have no objection.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I suspend the Standing Order and will allow the debate to proceed on the substituted Resolution which runs thus:

"This Counci! recommends to the Governor General in Council that all possible steps be taken to ensure that employment be found for duly qualified 'Dufferin.' cadets in shipping companies operating in Indian ports".

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR: Sir, I warmly thank my Honourable friend Mr. Stewart for accepting this alternative Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: He has not yet accepted it; he has no objection to your moving it.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR: I am sorry, Sir. I further anticipate that he may accept it, because it is a very sensible and innocent proposition.

Sir, the principle of creating an Indian personnel for sea service was accepted as long ago as 1925. My Honourable friend Mr. Sapru has given us the history in his speech and he has told us that Lord Irwin and the late Commerce Member, Sir George Rainy, accepted the principle that these cadets trained in the "Dufferin" should find an avenue of employment in British shipping companies. That shows that the Government have already accepted the moral responsibility of finding an avenue of employment for these cadets. But the present history is rather disappointing. The figures stated by my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru show that there are about 33 cadets of whom six who have taken the necessary qualification for competence are not employed and 27 who are likely to take the certificate in a month or two have to be employed by these companies. It is really a matter of surprise that the British shipping companies who have been patronised by Government in connection with carrying of mails and in connection with carrying other things have not found it convenient to employ these cadets. I understand that these British shipping companies allow these cadets to act as apprentices on their ships, but they do not engage them as officers. That is the crux of the whole situation. We want these qualified cadets to be appointed as officers, deck officers and officers in the engineering line of these ships, so that the large amount of money that has been spent on this institution by Government, by the public and by the guardians of these cadets should not be wasted and these youths of the country should find employment in these companies. Sir, in 1934, I understand Sir Joseph Bhore, the then Commerce Member, while presiding over the prize distribution of this ship said:

"The Dutterin was in a very special sense a nation-building enterprise which commanded the enthusiastic support of every patriot Indian and of e ery Britisher who vishes to see this country shoulder her responsibility in every phase of her life."

It sometimes occurred to me, Sir, that perhaps these cadets were not fully qualified and therefore these companies could not see their way to employ them. But the certificate given by Sir Joseph Bhore and other high authorities clearly show, Sir, that they do not lack the necessary qualifications which should debar in any way their appointment as officers on the ships of these companies. If, Sir, these companies do not employ these cadets, these cadets certainly will not find any avenue of employment in other companies because I understand the Scindia Steam Navigation Company has already engaged 21 cadets. So

they will not find any avenue of employment anywhere else and they will have to return to their normal field in civil life. And if these things occur, the very object of starting the "Dufferin" will be frustrated.

I further understand, Sir, that promises in the past were given by these companies to employ these cadets on their ships as officers but from the figures just now quoted by my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru it seems only four cadets have been employed by the British India Steam Navigation Company and practically no cadet has been employed by the Peninsula and Oriental Company. I therefore appeal, Sir, to the Government that they should impress upon these companies to employ more cadets who have duly qualified themselves for the post and if these companies refuse to accede to this normal request of the Government, they should find a way to impress upon them that these cadets should not be forced to return to ordinary civil life. I therefore, Sir, propose this alternative Resolution for the acceptance of the House as well as of the Government.

With these words, Sir, I submit my Resolution for the acceptance of the House.

The Honourable Khan Bahadur Dr. Sir NASARVANJI CHOKSY (Bombay: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, the Mercantile Marine Training Ship "Dufferin" is an institution for all India but I should say it is especially the child of Bombay inasmuch as Bombay has taken a great deal of interest in its working, administration and success. The annual report for the year 1935 indicates that there were 44 officers who had passed out of the training ship, acquired the second or first mate certificates and were eligible to go on foreign ships. Besides that, six of the cadets have joined the Royal Indian Navy. That the question of finding posts for them is now receiving the full consideration of the Government of India and the Governing Body is indicated by a paragraph in the report on page 10:

"Both the Governing Body and the Government of India are very carefully watching the position regarding future employment in the mercantile marine, more especially as the number of qualified officers increases".

That shows that the Government of India is alive to the importance of the question. It is quite possible that they will take every possible care to see that the men who pass out get employment. Otherwise, of course, if suitable employment is not found for all, it might be said that the experiment has not proved as successful as was anticipated. I agree with the amendment moved by my Honourable friend Mr. Kalikar and trust the House will have no objection to adopting it.

The Honourable Sardar Buta Singh (Punjab: Sikh): Sir, I wish to lend my whole-hearted support to the amendment. A start has been made, but it is a very small start indeed of giving training to our youth in the art of navigation. India with a long coast line depends entirely on the British Navy for defence. Any day we may be called upon to defend this coast line; it is therefore essential that we should have a fairly large number of trained officers who are employed in coastal shipping and who may be available for the Indian Navy. The shipping companies that are at present monopolising the coastal trade ought to employ "Dufferin" cadets largely. Since they have failed to do so, it is but proper that Government should require that these companies should recruit annually officers and engineers for their ships from qualified "Dufferin" Indian cadets.

THE HONOURABLE MR. JAGADISH CHANDRA BANERJEE (East Bengal: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, the Resolution that is before the House does not bring anything new but reiterates only a portion of the recommendations of the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee which was appointed in February, 1923 and submitted its report in 1924. That Committee recommended amongst other things the establishment of a training ship in Indian waters for the purpose of training young Indian boys as deck officers, and they recommended the establishment of a ship in Bombay. The Government of India was not, as usual, satisfied with the report of the Committee and, as usual, for shelving this very important question imported one Captain Sayer for his expert opinion on the subject. The expert generally agreed with the recommendation of the Committee but stated that he would prefer the Government of India to sanction scholarships for Indian boys, willing to be ship officers, so that they may be trained in the ships "Conway," "Worcester" and "Pangbourne." However, the Government of India agreed with the recommendations of the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee and purchased the ship called "Dufferin" and equipped her with everything necessary to train Indian boys for being employed as deck officers. Sir, in discussing this particular Resolution I do not like to go beyond the scope of the Resolution though I would have preferred to discuss the question of the establishment of a mercantile marine and all the recommendations of the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee's Report, for the reservation of coastal trade. However, Sir, I would refer the House to paragraph 15 of the report which deals with the question of the ways and means for the employment of Indian cadets after their training. In the course of that discussion it is stated as follows:

"The Secretary of State in Council might be asked to extend the same facilities to selected cadets from the Indian training ship to join the Bengal Pilot Service as is at present extended to cadets from the 'Conway,' 'Worcester' and 'Pangbourne'."

This shows that the Committee did not stop by only recommending that Indian boys should be trained as officers but they also considered as to how best openings may be created for them after they were trained. In this connection I would like to refer again to paragraph 23 of the said report where the Committee stated as follows:

"Having provided for the education and training of young Indians for sea life it is necessary to consider what their prospects should be of obtaining employment".

Sir, I give credit to the Committee for taking into consideration from beforehand as to how best to employ the cadets. The present Resolution only aims at the same object. Sir, the opening of employment in the Bengal Pilot Service is limited. I am glad that a couple of years ago some "Dufferin" cadets were appointed to the Bengal Pilot Service. But thanks are due to the European Chambers of Commerce in India who raised a hue and cry against the employment of such cadets in the Bengal Pilot Service. Government as usual being susceptible to European criticism have gone back and practically stopped recruitment of Indian cadets to the Pilot Service. Sir, it only proves how uphill the task is to find employment for these Indian cadets unless some sort of compulsion is put on the European and Indian business men and shipping companies to accept a fixed quota of Indian officers wherever such companies get the mail carrying contracts. A company, either Indian or British, can never expect to get any help from Indian revenues unless they are willing to give us this concession. I therefore feel very strongly that some formal and binding arrangements must be made with the Peninsula and Oriental, British India Steam Navigation and other shipping companies engaged in the coastal trade for giving practical training to our cadets on their ships and also for giving employment to such cadets after the period of apprenticeship. If the

are not prepared to do it, then no contract for the carriage of mails should be given to such companies. I have therefore very much pleasure in supporting the substituted Resolution of my Honourable friend Mr. Kalikar which, to my mind, makes the very minimum demand.

THE HONOURABLE MR. T. A. STEWART (Commerce Secretary): Sir, before dealing with the Resolution moved by the Honourable Mr. Sapru and the amendment——

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: It is not an amendment; it is a substituted Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. T. A. STEWART: I beg your pardon, Sir—the substituted Resolution moved by the Honourable Mr. Kalikar, I wish to take this opportunity of contradicting as emphatically as I can the suggestion which has just been made, namely, that Government have reversed their declared policy of Indianisation of the Bengal Pilot Service. On the contrary, they have recently taken an opportunity to re-affirm that Indianisation of that Service is, and continues to be, their policy.

Sir, the Government of India regard with the fullest sympathy the idea underlying the Honourable Mr. Sapru's Resolution. If, for reasons which I shall give, I find myself unable to accept the Resolution in that form, I trust that he and other Honourable Members will understand that the differences between us are differences not of principle but of method. The problem before us is apparently twofold. One part of it is the training of apprentices who have received their preliminary training as cadets in the "Dufferin." So far as I am aware, no difficulties in this regard have ever arisen in the past. That, I think, is the case.

The Honourable Mr. P. N. SAPRU: The problem is only in regard \mathbf{t}_0 the officers.

THE HONOURABLE MR. T. A. STEWART: Yes, it is only in regard to the officers. That is the problem with which we are faced. At the end of last year, i.e., in December, the figures were these. Out of 44 officers who had obtained their certificates of competency, 42 were in employment. It is realised, however, that the next batch will in the near future be, from day to day, qualifying and we are presented with the difficult proposition of finding employment for those officers. The estimate of the Managing Committee of the "Dufferin" is that assuming that recruitment goes on at the same rate in the future as in the past, there will probably be 10 officers for whom there will be no vacancies. Before going on to consider the Honourable Mr. Sapru's solution of this problem, I would refer to a suggestion that was made—I think by the Honourable Mr. Kalikar—that British companies, after employing cadets until such time as they have acquired their certificates of competency, then turn their backs on the cadets and take no further interest in them. I am not here to hold a brief for the British companies, but I would like to refute the accusation which is implied in that statement, namely, that we in the Government of India have acquiesced in what can only be termed, if the accusation is true, a callous neglect of the assurances which had previously been given by those companies. If you will bear with me, I will give some figures regarding the cadets who were employed by the British India Steam Navigation Company. We have made a point of endeavouring to find out, as far as possible, what has happened to the cadets who have passed through the [Mr. T. A. Stewart.]

"Dufferin," Of the first three batches, 23 cadets were trained as apprentices by the British India Steam Navigation Company. There are at present three of those serving as officers in British India ships: five of their best boyswere taken for the Bengal Pilot Service; one to the River Survey Service in Calcutta; two to the Scindia Steam Navigation Company; answers are awaited from three cadets to whom posts have been offered; two having just completed their apprenticeship have made no application for employment; one boy is too young and has yet to sit for his examination. Of those who are definitely either not employed or not employable by the company, or elsewhere these are the figures. One refused a job that was offered to him; one unfortunately could not pass the medical tests; one resigned from the job he had and one deserted; one has been found entirely unsatisfactory for further employment. I think, Sir, that in the face of those figures it can hardly be held that there has been any callous neglect of the "Dufferin" cadets by the British companies. You may be interested in this connection to hear this quotation from a letter written by the Manager of a British company operating in Bombay. This is a company which had previously recruited its apprentices from those two famous training ships, the "Conway" and the "Worcester." The Manager writes:

"Our previous sources of supply, namely, the 'Conway' and 'Worcester' have completely dried up since 1932, at any rate one of the reasons being that they feel that preference is given to the 'Duf'erin' boys".

If the "Dufferin" boys feel that they are not being treated as well as they might, they may be comforted to know that their competitors from the "Conway" and "Worcester" are feeling very much the same.

Now, let me turn to the remedies suggested by the Honourable Mr. Sapru-Those admittedly he has taken from the recommendations 3-15 P.M. of the Mercantile Marine Committee. But in the Mercantile Marine Committee's Report these recommendations found a place in a scheme for the reservation of coastal shipping and the licensing of shipping on the coast. But coastal reservation I submit, Sir, is no longer a live issue, and the Honourable Mr. Sapru has not explained, in the first place, how in the absence of a system of licensing and coastal reservation these suggestions are to be enforced. But assuming that they could be enforced, let us take the first of them, that is to say that it should be made a condition of the grant of a mail contract that a certain number of apprentices should be trained and officers employed. Now, it is unfortunate that the word "subsidy" has been introduced into the discussion. I know my Honourable friend is not responsible. It was the phrase (An Honouruble which was used by the Mercantile Marine Committee. Member: "And His Majesty's Government".) I am quite willing to admit that the phrase "subsidy" has been used by His Majesty's Government, but not necessarily in the same circumstances. I was going to explain that a subsidy carries with it the idea of something for nothing, a grant in aid. Had the sums which are now characterised as subsidies been in reality something for nothing or grants in aid, then we might have been able to do something. But, as it happens, these really are contract payments. They are payments for services rendered, and if in addition to the condition that the ships must carry mails to certain time tables you are going to impose an extra condition, it is quite possible that the companies will say, "Well, what is the quid pro quo; are you going to pay us a real subsidy?" I can understand that if that is the position the Director General of Posts and Telegraphs who is charged with the administration of a commercial department might protest very vigorously against his profit and loss account being encumbered by a charge of this sort

There is another point. Suppose you did make it compulsory that the companies carrying mails should as a condition train cadets and employ ex"Dufferin" officers. There seems to me to be a possibility that companies which have hitherto voluntarily done so would take the opportunity of saying, "We shall do so no longer". I mention these possible difficulties in order to show that there are difficulties, but I would remind the House and my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru that both here and in another place a promise has been given that before the mail contracts now held by the British India expire in March, 1937, the fullest consideration will be given to the possibilities of providing further occupation for ex-" Dufferin" cadets through the bargaining power that we enjoy in granting a contract.

The Honourable Mr. Sapru's next proposal is that each ship in the coasting trade should train at least two cadets and should recruit at least 50 per cent. of its officer personnel from ex-"Dufferin" cadets. Now if he will forgive me, I will indulge in a little arithmetic. I estimate that there are about 80 ships in the coastal trade, including runs to the Straits and to the Persian Gulf. That means that there would be 160 cadets in training at one time. Their training last for three years, so there would be a yearly recruitment of 53 and a yearly batch ready for employment of the same extent. Now these 80 ships have on the average five officers each, counting the captain, that is to say, in all 400 officers. Let us take it that a sea career extends to 25 years. It follows therefore that there would be 16 vacancies a year. Fifty per cent. of those it is proposed should be allotted for ex-"Dufferin" cadets. Fifty-three are ready trained; the number of posts available is eight. I think my Honourable friend must admit there is something wrong with his scheme.

I turn now to the suggestion that steps be taken to induce the Peninsula and Oriental and other shipping companies to employ duly qualified "Dufferin" cadets. Now I wish the Honourable mover and the other speakers who supported him had been good enough to suggest what steps can be taken. One possible step, of course,—it is the only one I can think of,—is that you should say to the Peninsula and Oriental Company, to the Ellerman and Anchor Lines, that unless they employ ex-"Dufferin" cadets they will carry no Government cargo. Well, I don't think that the amount of Government cargo carried on these ships is of a very large amount.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: Or Government mails?

THE HONOURABLE MR. T. A. STEWART: I am coming to the question of mail. It is quite possible that they would say, "All right, keep your cargo, get a more convenient ship ". You might have some difficulty in getting that ship. And then how much further on would you be? Suppose you did say, "We will give our Lee concession passages to the Italian line, we will carry our cargo on the Hansa line". Do you think either of those lines would employ one "Dufferin" cadet? I am quite certain they would not. (An Honourable Member: "But they are foreigners".) Well, what is the alternative? lump together the Peninsula and Oriental and other British lines. If you don't use them you have got to have their foreign competitors. I think therefore that it would be very ill-advised to attempt to do anything by way of compulsion. The result would simply be a recoil upon our own heads. I have said, however, that the Government of India are in sympathy with the idea underlying the Honourable Member's Resolution. Some time ago they realised the difficulties with which "Dufferin" cadets were likely to be faced and they have already taken steps to impress these difficulties as forcibly as possible on all shipping companies operating on the Indian coast. We have not yet got any considerable number of replies, but so far, from one company which has

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bitherto not employed "Dufferin" cadets as officers, I have received the assurance that, other things being the same, they will give preference to "Dufferin" cadets who are suitably qualified. I have also received information that one company has already offered three officerships to cadets and are awaiting their reply. Though, Sir, as I have explained I am unable to accept on behalf of Government the recommendations in the form set out by Mr. Sapru. I feel that the substitute Resolution moved by the Honourable Mr. Kalikar expresses admirably the feelings and policy of the Government of India themselves and I am therefore prepared to accept that substitute Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Substitute Resolution moved:

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that all possible stepsbe taken to sngure that employment be found for duly qualified 'Dufferin' cadets in shipping companies operating in Indian ports".

The Question is:

"That that Resolution be adopted".

The Motion was adopted.

RESOLUTION RE INSCRIPTION OF NAGRI CHARACTERS ON HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VIII'S COINAGE.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA JAGDISH PRASAD (United Provinces Northern: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I beg to move the following: Resolution:

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that all His Majesty King Edward VIII's coinage in India shall bear an inscription of its value in the Nagri character".

At the outset I must make it clear that my intention in moving this Resolution is not to raise the Urdu-Hindi controversy. Nothing could be farther from my mind. In fact the form in which I had given notice of this Resolution was as follows:

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to see to it at the time of the issue of His Majesty King Edward VIII's coinage in India that the rupee and such other coins as do not at present bear an inscription of their value in Nagri do bear in future such inscription in the Nagri character also".

All that I intended and all that I intend is that all coinage in India should bear an inscription of its value in the Nagri character side by side with inscriptions in any other languages that it may bear. I hope that the form in which the Resolution has been admitted by the Honourable the President and in which it stands on the order paper bears the same interpretation.

Having made my intention clear in this matter I now come to the reason which has prompted me to bring forward this Resolution. Sir, the sole reason is that I feel that Hindi is a language which is very widely known in the country.

THE HONOURABLE SIR DAVID DEVADOSS (Nominated ! Indian Christians): Not in the south.

THE HONOURABLE MR. BIJAY KUMAR BASU: Not in Bengal.

THE HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NAWAB SIR MAHOMED AKBAR KHAN: Not in the north at all. In the Punjab nobody understands.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA JAGDISH PRASAD: I understand that Hindi is prevalent in the following provinces in India: Ajmer-Merwara, Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Bombay, except Sind, Central Provinces and Berar, Delhi, Madras, the Punjab and the United Provinces. I do not say that the entire population of these provinces are Hindi-speaking. but a considerable section does know the Nagri script. I think that it is only in the provinces of Baluchistan, Burma, North-West Frontier Province, Sind, Coorg, and the Andamans and Nicobar Islands that the Hindi language is not prevalent. So that it will not be wrong to say that the population of those provinces where the Nagri script is prevalent comes to over 33 crores out of the total population of India of over 35½ crores—taking round figures. Thus by far the largest number of the people of India understand the Nagri script. In fact a large number do not know any other script. Hence it is very important that all coinage in India should bear an inscription of its value in the Nagri character side by side with the inscription in English, Urdu or any other language. At present nickel coins, namely, coins of the denomination of one anna, two annas and four annas, do bear an inscription of their value in the Nagri character side by side with inscriptions in other languages. And so do our currency notes. But it is the rupee and other silver coins of smaller denominations that do not bear an inscription of their value in the Nagri character. Why the silver coins should not bear an inscription in the Nagri character passes one's comprehension. I think, Sir, the omission of Nagri inscription on our silver coins is an injustice to that section of the population which can read only the Devnagri script and I consider that the number of such people is very large indeed. I therefore request the Government kindly to see to it that all King Edward VIII's coinage in India bears an inscription of its value in the Nagri character side by side with inscriptions in other languages.

Sir, I move.

The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I rise to support this Resolution which has been moved by my Honourable friend Rai Bahadur Lala Jagdish Prasad. It appears to me, Sir, that some of the Honourable Members of this House have not listened carefully to his speech. The Honourable mover in moving the Resolution has made it quite clear that by moving that Resolution he aims at the addition of Nagri characters, and he does not create or want to enter into any sort of Urdu-Hindi controversy. (An Honourable Member: "That is in disguise".) That is not in disguise. I say to my Honourable friend that the forms of Urdu character on the coins can be equally discussed because our Madras friends will say that the great majority of them do not understand them.

(At this stage the Honourable the President vacated the Chair, which was taken by the Honourable Sir David Devadoss.)

But, Sir, why I support this Resolution is that the coin should be such that its value can be read by the majority of Indians. I know, Sir, that in the Punjab of course Hindi is not so well understood as it is in the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and other provinces. But I say, Sir, take the case of the Punjab. We are not entering the controversy that Bengal should have Bengali characters and the Punjab should have Punjabi characters

[Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das.]

and Sind should have Sindhi characters, and what we say is that the coin must be in those languages which are most read. Nagri, I say is one of the scripts which are most readable by Indians and so the request of my Honourable friend is modest. I think, Sir, it is just. I do not say take away the Urdu characters. I say retain the Urdu characters but as Hindi characters are much more readable even than Urdu, we ought to have them as well on these coins and with these words, Sir, I support the Resolution and hope my Honourable friends will not enter into the language controversy of the various provinces.

THE HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NAWAB SIR MAHOMED AKBAR KHAN (North-West Frontier Province: Nominated Non-Official): Sir. I had no idea of participating in the debate and I never came with the idea of replying to the two Honourable gentlemen on the opposite benches, but the thing is that they must bear in mind that the Government has given a clear undertaking and that is that when Shah Alam handed over the Dewani of Bengal after the Battle of Buxar, the Government of India clearly gave an undertaking that all the official correspondence will be carried on in Persian or Urdu and Arabic characters. That is, Sir, the pledge that the Government gave us and, Sir, on that we take our stand. Sir, whatever might happen today-you can go and see all the vernacular offices using Persian and Urdu-it has never been Hindi, it has never been Nagri. Well, Sir, we are trying to have a lingua Indica and the language for India is Urdu and not Nagri. My Honourable friend says it is not a controversial subject. I say it is full of difficulties. This is a subject which no Muhammadan will ever put up with. The characters here in the court are Arabic characters and those Arabic characters must remain because it is a pledge given by the Government of India. Hunter in his History of India clearly lays it down that the Government gave to Shah Alam a clear undertaking that all the court work in the vernacular language would be carried on in Persian and Urdu characters. Well, Sir, I do not know what has prompted my Honourable friend to bring this Resolution forward ! If they are not sectarian, then what are they, Sir? Well, Sir, tomorrow I will bring in another Resolution and I will say that I want on the coinage something to be written in Pushtu. Another man will say that he wants the inscription to be Gujarati. A third person will say he wants the inscription to be in Telugu: a fourth in Tamil: and a fifth in Bengali. Well. Sir, how many languages are there and where will be the space on the coin? It is a ridiculous proposal and it is simply preposterous to bring a Resolution of this nature in this House. Well, Sir, with all the force at my command, at least I appeal to my co-religionist Muhammadans that they should be careful not to lend their support to a Resolution of this nature.

The Honourable Mr. BIJAY KUMAR BASU (Bengal: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, when this Resolution was moved I hardly thought that it was meant to be a serious one or that Rai Bahadur Jagdish Prasad was in a serious mood, but after the interpretation put on his speech by the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition, I have no hesitation in saying that it has been conceived in a very serious mood. I had no idea, Sir, up till now that anybody in India, be he literate or illiterate, when he handles money ever wants to read the inscription.

(At this stage the Honourable the President resumed the Chair.)

Whether this is a rupee or any other coin, whenever it comes into your hands you know what the value of the coin is almost by intuition. I have never heard of any difficulty in recognising the value of a coin even by an illiterate man. If my friend the Honourable mover could give us an assurance that with a Nagri inscription on a rupee it will be worth a rupee and four annas I would certainly ask everybody to accept the Resolution, but I hardly think that will be the effect.

Another thing. Sir, calls for some comment. I am very sorry that even in a matter of this nature my Honourable friend, Sir Akbar Khan of Hoti, of all people should try to give it a communal bias. He has described the proposition as ridiculous and preposterous because according to him Persian was the court language. May I, with all humility and with all friendly feelings, describe his giving this purely innocent matter a communal turn as ridiculous and preposterous?

The Honourable Mr. A. J. RAISMAN (Government of India: Nominated Official): Sir, when I first read this Resolution, I thought that what the Honourable mover had in mind was that all coins which do not at present bear an inscription in Nagri should in future have one and that would have meant that not merely the silver coinage but also the bronze coinage would have been the subject of this recommendation. The Honourable mover in moving this Resolution did not however say anything about bronze coinage,—the lower coinage. Because the nickel coins at present do bear both the Nagri as well as the Persian and also the Bengali and Telugu characters. Those interested in numismatics might perhaps be interested to note, if they hold a two-anna piece up, that the Urdu is in the north, the Telugu is in the south, the Bengali is in the east and the Hindi is in the west.

The Resolution in the form in which it stands would therefore appear to refer both to bronze and silver. I shall just say a few words first about the position in regard to the bronze coinage, that is to say, the half anna and quarter annas pieces. There are quite a lot of interesting facts about the history of bronze coins in this country, and one thing which happened in the course of that history is that the vernacular nomenclature became curiously confused, so that some of these old coins, many of which are still current, have got the word "pie" or "paisa" meaning different things. There has been a definite confusion. The word has had different meanings in the course of the last 200 years and it would be impossible to use that term again on modern currency. The result is that if we wanted any vernacular inscriptions on the bronze coins, we should have to put "One quarter anna" or "one half anna", or "one-twelfth anna" on what we call "pies"—the twelfth of an anna and if we were to attempt to run this even in only two vernaculars, the pies, in order to be legible, would soon become a coin about the size of a motor car wheel. (Laughter.) However, my Honourable friend did not deal with the bronze coins and I do not want to make a great deal of a point which he did not actually bring forward. I take it that he was content that the bronze coinage should not be so dealt with. As the same time, it would of course not be logical to deal with silver coinage in one way and leave the bronze coinage as it is.

Now, turning to the silver coinage, the position is this. I ought first to conention to the House that rupees have not been coined since the year 1923

[Mr. A. J. Raisman.]

and it is not possible to say at present when their coinage will be resumed. I believe Honourable Members are aware, in connection probably with the discussions relating to the Reserve Bank, of the position about the quantity of silver rupees in India, and of course the question of coining new rupees does not arise every year, so that, in any case, it is not a matter which is necessarily one for immediate consideration. What I would like to point out is that the main consideration in devising a design for the coin is usually a historical or numismatical one. The coin has a significance in the history of a country just as a stamp has, and continuity in an artistic and aesthetic question of this kind is an advantage. Now, it so happens that the design which is at present on the reverse of the rupee is one which has been widely recognised to be one of great aesthetic beauty. This design, as it now stands, ranks very high amongst numismatic designs. If we were to attempt to introduce further vernacular inscriptions into this design, it would obviously—if you look at it be necessary to alter it considerably, because, on the design, as it is now, there is very little room for further inscriptions, and the Nagri characters, unlike the Persian, do not lend themselves very well to a quasi-decorative treatment.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: Can you not change the design?

The Honourable Mr. A. J. RAISMAN: I was pointing out that the design is one which was evolved after considerable thought, and is one which happens to commend itself exceedingly well now and to be of great artistic value. In other words, it is a design which, besides being based on historical tradition, is also intrinsically a good design, so that, ordinarily, one would require very strong reasons for departing from it—strong reasons of a utilitarian or possibly of a sentimental kind. If you see a rupee side by side with a two-anna piece, you realise that the two-anna piece is a crude and ugly coin whereas the rupee (apart from its additional value which of course makes it more attractive) is definitely a beautiful coin. I have here an example of the two pieces of coinage. On the one we have got four vernacular inscriptions and it is, from the numismatist's point of view, an exceedingly un-aesthetic production, whereas the rupee is a very fine coin.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: The intrinsic value of the silver rupee is 50 per cent. while that of the ugly small coin is practically at par.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: That does not affect the question at all.

The Honourable Mr. A. J. RAISMAN: If I may say so, Sir, that is if it were true entirely irrelevant. If there is any serious consideration attaching to a discussion about the design of a coin, it must, I suggest, be very largely one of historical tradition and aesthetic value, and from both these points of view, the arguments against the adoption of my Honourable friend's Resolution are strong. There has also been obviously in the House today by nomeans a unanimous sentiment on the subject so that one could see—

THE HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NAWAB SIE MAHOMED AKBAR KHAN: There are also the pledges given by the Government.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. J. BAISMAN: I do not want to go into that particular passage of Indian history. I am not resting any part of my case on the history of the adoption of Urdu as a court language. That is not really directly relevant. It may perhaps be analogous but it is not relevant to the case. (An Honourable Member: "A pledge is a pledge".) There was no pledge as far as I am aware in regard to Government coinage. But what is clear is that, in order to make a change in a matter of this kind, one ought to be moved by a strong consideration, which as I say might be one of a unani. mous national demand. I venture to suggest that one could hardly put this suggestion on that basis, and if there is no strong reason for a change, then the position is that we would prefer, and it would be good policy and in accordance with tradition in dealing with these matters, that there should not be a change. However, I will say this, that certain feelings on the subject have been expressed in this House and if and when the Government of India come to review this subject I have no doubt that they will take into account the views expressed in this House on the possibility of changing the design. Further than that I would not go.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA JAGDISH PRASAD: Sir, at the outest I must tell my Honourable friend Nawab Sir Akbar Khan that I had absolutely no intention to raise a communal controversy of the nature referred to by him. I simply want that all coinage which does not at present bear an inscription in Nagri should bear it along with the Urdu inscription. I do not see any difficulty in that, when in the case of the nickel coins the inscriptions are in no less than four languages, I cannot understand why our silver coins should not bear an inscription in Nagri side by side with the Urdu and English inscriptions.

Now. Sir, the Finance Secretary has pointed out some difficulty about redesigning the rupee, if my suggestion were to be accepted. I think that with the accession of His Majesty King Edward VIII, we will have a new coinage and it is not very difficult to design the rupee and other silver coins so as to include an inscription in Nagri along with the inscriptions in Urdu and English. However I am thankful to the Honourable Mr. Raisman for giving an assurance that when a change in design was felt necessary the Government would bear in mind the feelings that have been expressed from this side of the House in the matter of the inscription on the coinage. In view of that assurance, Sir, I have no desire to press my Resolution.

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

DURGAH KHWAJA SAHEB BILL.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN (West Punjab Muhammadan): Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill to make better provision for the administration of the Durgah and the Endowment of the Durgah Khwaja Moinuddin Chisti, generally known as the Durgah Khwaja Saheb, Ajmer, be taken into consideration".

Sir, when I introduced this Bill in the last Simla session I hardly expected that the reception it would receive would be so unanimous, universal and cordial. Since that date I have been flooded with literature from all quarters of India, even from beyond the Frontier, supporting this Bill. In fact the literature sent by various leading men is so voluminous that it was impossible for me to bring it into this House. Therefore I have contented myself with bringing a few hundred telegrams which are in support of the Bill.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Surely you are not going to read them?

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALLKHAN: Well, Sir, I do not think it will be necessary for me to read all the telegrams. I will only ask the indulgence of the House to let me read a few telegrams which are of special importance.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: They are written to you by private individuals?

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: They are from presidents of various societies, as such, and from leading men.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: That may be, but what special value will that have in a debate of this nature when you are moving consideration of the Bill?

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: The value of these telegrams is that I think the Honourable Members should know that Muslim opinion in India accepts the principle of this Bill; because naturally when I ask the House to vote for consideration of this Bill I am asking the House to commit themselves to the principles underlying the Bill, and to prove that the principles are acceptable to the Muslim community at large. I have therefore to show that that opinion has been expressed through representative channels.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: You can mention the names of the bodies from which you have received telegrams, but there is no necessity to read their contents.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: Very well, Sir, I will obey your ruling and I will not read the contents of these telegrams.

Sir, before entering into the details of this measure, with your permission I would like to inform the Honourable Members in how much reverence and respect this place to which the Bill relates is held by Muslims all over India. The brief history of this great Saint is this.

The Saint Hazrat Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti (May God bless his soul!) came to India some time about the end of the Twelfth Century A. D. and was in Ajmer in the year 1194 A. D. The Saint's fame for piety spread all over the country during his stay at Ajmer and excelled that of all the saints who had come to this country before him. The King Shamsuddin Altamash himself became a disciple of a disciple of the saint, namely, Hazrat Khwaja Qutbuddin Bhaktiyar Kaki (May God bless his soul!) whose Durgah is known as Qutub Sahib ka Durgah in Delhi. The number of the poor, down-trodden and spiritually afflicted people of all classes and communities who were attracted to the Saint for spiritual solace ran into millions. That is why he is known as the Sultan-ul-Hind or the spiritual king of India to this day and his tomb is the resort of the distressed, the unhappy, the high and the low alike of all communities-Muslims, Hindus, Parsis, etc., who look upon the tomb with equal awe and reverence. There is an Urs or anniversary of the Saint held for six days in the month of Rajab every year which is attended by at least 50,000 people of all classes and grades of society from every part of India and abroad, including the members of the trans-border tribes, whose interest in the affairs of this nstitution may be judged from the fact that among the telegrams which I

have received in support of this Bill no less than 150 have come from the North-West Frontier Province and the tribes beyond the north-western border of India. Hazrat Khwaja Sahib died some time during the rule of Shamsuddin Altamash at the age of 97 years. The tomb of this Saint was built by Shamsuddin Altamash, King of Delhi, and the dome by Sultan Mahmud of Mandu. Later on additions were made by the Moghul Emperors and recently by His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, Sir Usman Jah, a noble of Hyderabad, His Highness the Nawab of Rampur and various other devotees and rich men of the country.

After the reign of the Slave Dynasty of Delhi. Ajmer passed under Rajput rule, and very little is known of the history of this period except that the descendants of the Saint, owing to the unsettled conditions of the place, and the ill-treatment of the ruling race, migrated to Malwa. The Moghul Emperors paid the highest respect to the tomb. Akbar the Great travelled on foot all the way from Agra to Ajmer out of reverence and awe. His son Jehangir, who stayed at Ajmer for three years, put a ring in his ear indicating enlistment among the humble slaves of the Saint. Among the biographers of the Saint is also the Princess Jahanara Begum—

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM (Bihar and Orissa: Muhammadan): On a point of order, Sir. How is this relevant to the consideration of the Bill?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: He is just prefacing the history and he is perfectly in order.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: I am sure, Sir, whatever little difference of opinion we may have regarding the various clauses of the Bill, so far as the matter which I am now laying before the House is concerned, even my Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam will agree with me.

The endowment to which this Bill relates was made by the Emperor Shah Jehan in 1637 A. D. and the management of this Durgah was directly in the hands of the King Emperor. That is why in the Wakf deed you do not find any indication of how the property should be managed. Up to the time that the British came, the arrangements were directly in the hands of the rulers themselves. (An Honourable Member: "Question?") Now, Sir, my friend says that he questions this authority. I will wait with great interest to hear from him as to whether the facts are different.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: You have a very long speech to deliver. I would therefore advise you not to take any notice of these interruptions.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: Thank you very much, Sir. I will ignore them.

When the British occupied Ajmer in the year 1818 the management of the Durgah was placed directly in the hands of the British and the British officers used to make all arrangements for this Durgah. This thing continued till 1863, and here in this connection, with your permission, Sir, I would like to read out what the conditions were and how this Durgah was managed. The Government passed an Act, the Madras Act of 1817 and the Bengal Act of 1810, according to which all the temples, mosques and other holy places of worship were taken under the direct control of the British administration. Naturally there was a strong agitation in England against this method adopted by the

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British Government and as a result of that agitation, another Act was passed in 1863 according to which the Government was required to make a searching enquiry with respect to all places of worship and instead of themselves interfering with the management of religious places to appoint committees to administer those religious places. In accordance with that the Government appointed what is now known as the Durgah Committee. Now, Sir, the constitution of this Durgah Committee is There are altogether five members; two of them belong to the Khadim community (meaning servants—servants of that holy tomb for the last so many generations); the third is a representative of the Mutawalli, the fourth is the representative of the Dewan, also called Sajjadanashin and the fifth is an independent Muslim. This independent Muslim is elected by the votes of the Muslims residing in Ajmer town within a limit of five miles of the Durgah. The Khadims are elected by the Khadim community and the other one is the nominee of the Mutawalli. I would have strongly condemned the method of election proposed by the Government and the constitution of this Committee, but I might forgive them because in 1867 they did not have any real or proper conception of what an election system is. A man framing rules for election in 1867 would hardly have the same opinion which a man has now in 1936. That is why, Sir, the election rules which they have framed for the appointment of such an important committee will be amusing to most of the Honourable Members here. Whenever any vacancy occurs, a notice is put on all the public places that such and such member has died, and I may here mention that the term of the members of the Durgah Committee is their lifetime. a member always a member unless death takes him away from amongst us, and whenever he dies a notice is put up that a vacancy has occurred in the committee and election will take place on such and such date. All the people who are interested in the election are asked to collect in a particular place up to 11 o'clock. When the clock strikes 11, the door is closed and two or three men are posted outside the door and those people who have collected inside walk out one by one and then they are asked: "Whom do you want to vote for?" and after everybody has marched out of the enclosure, votes are counted and the man who gets the largest number of votes is declared the successful candidate.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Under what notification is this the rule?

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: I will read out the constitution of the Durgah Khwaja Sahib.

"Order by His Honour the Lieutemant-Governor, North-Western Provinces.

NOTIFICATION.

No. 602-A., dated the 22nd February, 1865".

My Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam will find it in the Ajmer Regulations, Volume M to P, page 785, which lays down:

"Under section 10. Act XX of 1863, the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor is pleased to prescribe the following rules for filling any vacancy which may hereafter occur among the members of a committee appointed under the Act above named to superintend the maintenance of any mosque, temple or other religious establishment.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: You need not detain the House with these details. Under clauses 7 and 8 of the Bill you have made special arrangements; so there is no necessity to refer to these things.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: I know that Honourable Members are satisfied with my proposed method of election, but I wanted to read this for the benefit of my Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam.

Now, Sir, coming to this Bill. As I submitted in the beginning, this Bill has received universal approbation, but I must be honest and frank and should not take all the credit to myself. As a matter of fact, the credit for bringing this Resolution should be divided equally between the Government, I mean the Political Department, and the Honourable Muhammadan friends of the Council of State, many of whom are present here today. As a matter of fact, Sir, when this Bill was given to me originally, rather when I was asked to bring this Bill in the Council of State——(An Honourable Member: "By whom?")——By some very highly respectable gentlemen whose names I will read out presently. (An Honourable Member: "You did not bring it yourself?") I did bring it myself but it was in consultation with and at the instance of many respectable gentlemen. Well, Sir, this is a representation which is very important and I am sure Honourable Members will be interested to hear it.

"It is an established fact that the Durgah Khwaja Sahib of Ajmer is the refuge of the distressed and unhappy and the centre of devotion of the prosperous and the learned; and that the management of the wak jof the Durgah is not only unsatisfactory but also tamentably inefficient. Two reasons have been assigned bythe District Judges, Ajmer, who have had occasions from time to time to pass orders in the matters connected with the Durgah Sharif.

Firstly.—The formation of the Durgah Committee on wrong principles and on the wrong interpretation of the word 'interested', and

Secondly.—The non-publication of accounts duly audited during the 60 years of the existence of the Committee. That all the members of the Durgah Committee are life members is a further breach of the rule observed by all elective bodies in these times where Government of private and public institutions is left in the hands of popular opinion. Therefore it is very necessary that the account of the Durgah Sharif be audited under Act XLII of 1923 and that the majority of the members for the 'beneficiary' class be replaced by the majority of the members for the 'independent' class and elected for three or five years'.

Now, Sir, this has been signed amongst others by some of my Honourable colleagues who are present here today and who, I am sure, will strongly support the Bill which I am now moving before the House. The Honourable gentlemen who signed this, Sir, include the Honourable Mr. Mahmood Suhrawardy, the Honourable Nawab Sir Mahomed Akbar Khan——

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I do not think it is necessary to refer to these matters because the mere fact of their signing will not prevent them from differing on the Bill.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: Sir, I have no interest in saying that the people should not change their views. I am reading from this printed pamphlet, but I have the original signatures before me and if you will require it I will lay it on the table. To proceed with the names of the signatories, Sir,—there is the Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Ali Baksh Muhammad Hussain, the Honourable Khan Bahadur Nawab Chaudri Muhammad Din, the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam of Bihar and Orissa, the Honourable Nawab Sahibzada Sir Syed Muhammad Mehr Shah, who is now a

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Member of the Legislative Assembly, the Honourable Khan Bahadur Hafiz: Muhammad Halim, and the Honourable Saiyed Mohamed Padshah Sahib-Bahadur of Madras. Well, Sir, these are the signatures of which I have got the originals before me and in order that no person may have any doubt, I am going to lay them on the table for Members' inspection.

Now, Sir, this was the first consideration which persuaded me to bring in this Bill in the House. The second consideration was, Sir, that a representation agreeing with the principles of my Bill and finding fault with the present constitution of the Committee was signed by some highly respectable leaders of the Muhammadan community in the year 1931. These leaders included the late Maulana Mohammad Ali, Dr. M. A. Ansari, Maulana Mohammad Shafi Daodi, Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Khan, Maulana Haji Hafiz Ahmad Said Sahib, Nazim Jamit-ul-ulama-i-Hind, Delhi, Khwaja Hasan Nizami, Mufti Mohammad Mazharullah Sahib, Sahibzada Haji Shaikh Mohammad Rashiduddin, President of the All-India Jamitul-Quraish, Maulvi Syed Murtaza Sahib Bahadur, Sir Abdul Halim Ghaznavi, Mr. Mohammad Anwarul-Azim, Mr. (now Sir) Mohammad Yamin Khan, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, Mr. Mohammad Azhar Ali, Khan Sahib Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha, Khan Bahadur Makhdum Syed Rajan Bakhsh, Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhry, Captain Sardar Sher Mohammad Khan—

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: It is not necessary to read all the names because you know they blow hot and cold!

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: Well, Sir, so these people who are the leaders of India have signed a pamphlet approving the principles of this Bill.

Now, Sir, may I, with your permission, turn to the Government in the Political Department and read out what opinions they have expressed with regard to the present constitution of the Committee and the state of affairs now prevailing?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: That will be more valuable.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: Thank you very much, Sir.

But, Sir, I am afraid from the little experience I have of this Political Department that they are too elever and will always find a way out of the difficulty. Although any other Department of the Government of India would have found themselves so much pinned down by these opinions that they would have no other course but to heartily support this Bill. I am very doubtful about the attitude of this Department. Now, Sir, this is what was said in the course of a judgment by Mr. E. B. Howell, District Magistrate, Ajmer, who later became Foreign Secretary:

"I cannot refrain from the comment that this case presents a striking picture of the management of the Durgah, the holiest Muhammadan shrine in India, which, if anything, might have been expected to enjoy some degree of immunity from the unbridled rapacity of its attendants. But with a manager slovenly careless and unbusinesslike to the last degree, besides being by no means above suspicion in the matter of honesty, the greedy horde of his underlings have matters all their own way".

And now I will most humbly appeal to all the Honourable Members to pay attention to the sentence that I am going to read:

"and if the great one to whom the shrine is dedicated can still take cognisance of mundane matters he must contemplate with profound melancholy the degeneracy and incompetence of his modern representatives".

This was the opinion that was expressed in 1908 by Sir Evelyn Howell who was at the time District Magistrate at Ajmer.

And now I will read further, Sir, the opinion expressed by Mr. A. T. Holme, I.C.S., in his judgment, dated 26th March, 1910. He observed:

"All that I can say on that point is that from official experience, I believe that there is a very considerable body of Muhammadan opinion which desires to have a really independent Durgah Committee and to abolish the tyranny, wastefulness and dishonesty which must inevitably characterise the administration of the Durgah affairs by such a hody as the existing Committee".

The third opinion is that of the late Sir Charles Watson, Political Secretary. He wrote:

"I share the opinion of my predecessors that the present constitution of the Durgah Committee is lamentably ill-fitted to secure the conservation of the shrine in the interest of the worshippers as a whole. Past experience has shown that the President, who is the only independent member, is powerless in the face of combinations among and quarrels between the other members who are more interested in securing profit to themselves than in using the revenue of the shrine for the charitable and religious objects demanded by an enlightened public opinion. The remedy is to have the Notification of 1867 and Act XX of 1863 amended by legislation".

That is the remedy, Sir, which he suggests. I personally thought—that after receiving all those opinions from their own officers—officers of such great experience—it was both the legal and moral duty of the Government of India to move in the matter and to have brought forward a Bill to effect all these changes. Having failed in their duty, they should welcome this opportunity which has been offered by me by bringing forward a private Bill which would remove all the difficulties which have from time to time been pointed out by these great Political Officers. The other point where all my Honourable friends will agree is that we will be justified in resenting any interference by the British Government in the internal matters of our religious institutions. The present constitution of the Committee is forcing the Government, against their own will, to interfere. Only two years after the Act was passed in 1867, the Commissioner, much against his wishes, had to intervene to stop private quarrels going on between the members of the Committee. As long as Government do not help in passing legislation which would place the control of this shrine in the hands of disinterested and independent Muslims, the present state of affairs is bound to continue and the Government will have to interfere:

I think I have said enough with regard to the opinions expressed by the Political Department and Honourable Members of this House. The second criterion by which a Bill is judged whether it is popular or unpopular is the Press. I do not know whether, in this frenzy of opposition, some of my Honourable friends will not try to minimise the importance of Press opinion in this country. I personally have very great regard and respect for Press opinion, particularly when it happens to be unanimous and there is not a single paper which has dissented in this respect.

THE HONOURABLE SAIVED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUB (Madras: Muhammadan): Question?

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: Sir, you can question it, but I would be very much interested to know, and will feel grateful to my Honourable friend if when his turn comes he will read out extracts from some responsible paper. Now, I have got here cuttings from all the papers——

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Order, order. I will not allow you to read extracts from newspapers. This Council is not guided by newspapers.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: If I am not permitted to read any of these extracts, Sir, I will obey your ruling, but I hope you will kindly give me permission at least to read out the names of the papers which have supported this Bill. Without saying what opinions they have given, I will only read out their names—I will just mention the names of the papers which are in favour of this Bill.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: The difficulty will then arise that if you read the names of some newspapers, the other party will read the names of other newspapers which have published criticisms against the Bill.

THE HONOUBABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: I have promised that I will not read any newspaper extracts. I will just read out the names only.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: You can mention the names if you think it is of any value.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: Thank you very much, Sir. The Ahsan, Lahore, the Inqilab, Lahore, the Medina, Bijnaur, the Tarjuman-e-Serhad, the Haqiqat, the Khilafaat, the Akhlaque, Agra, the Alaman the Wahdat, the Ciril and Military Gazette, Lahore, the Statesman, New Delhi, the Times of India, the Bombay Chronicle, the Star from Allahabad.

THE HONOURABLE SAIYED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR : Are these all the papers in India ?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I warned you at the commencement not to take any notice of this opposition.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: Thank you very much, Sir.

With your very kind permission, I would now like to read this letter, which has been signed by almost all the leading Muhammadans of the Punjab, supporting this Bill, and that includes people belonging to all schools of thought—extremist, nationalist, pro-Government or whatever they are. Honourable Members will, I am sure, be interested to hear a few names, because they are leading personalities, and it will give them great satisfaction to feel that in supporting this Bill they are also winning the approbation of these people.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I think you will be rendering greater service to the Council if you speak on the principles of the Bill and convince Honourable Members that the principles embodied in the Bill are sound rather than referring to the opinions of others.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: I was going to lay the greatest stress on the merits of the Bill but, after all, Sir, there are two mentalities. Some people are influenced by the opinions of others for whom they have great respect and regard and some would like to form their own opinions.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Members of Council have their own opinons.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: I have no doubt they have.

Coming to the merits of the Bill, Sir, the real operative clauses are very few and they can be described in a very few words. The House is asked to express an opinion whether (a) they would prefer an independent Committee to this interested Committee and (b) whether they would have proper electoral rolls prepared and election held on modern lines or they would like the mediæval system of closetting all the people in one enclosure and taking them out one by one and asking their votes. As a matter of fact, this Bill does not sponsor any new principle. The principles are the same as those which are already in existence. The Committee and the elective system are already there. There are five members and they are elected. There is also adult franchise. According to the rules, anybody who is above 18 years of age is entitled to come and vote. After the people have got the benefit of adult franchise. why should my Bill deprive them of such a benefit? That is why, Sir, it is too early for me to discuss the details. But if any motion is brought by any Member for referring the Bill to Select Committee for making any reasonable modifications, I would welcome the motion.

THE HONOURABLE MR. BIJAY KUMAR BASU (Bengal: Nominated Non-Official): Would there be female franchise also?

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: And what about the Hindu donors?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT (to the Honourable Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan): Why do you give way? If you give way you must expect to be interrupted.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: As a matter of fact, Sir, I attach so much importance to the subject-matter of my Motion that I am afraid of incurring the displeasure of any Honourable Member. (Laughter.) I do not therefore want to disappoint them. I will readily give way if any one makes an attempt to ask me a question.

Therefore Honourable Members must naturally decide whether it is preferable to have an independent committee properly elected or to continue with things as they are. The time is coming when Muslim opinion in India will with one voice demand that all the religious endowments all over India, whose value runs into crores of rupees, should be placed under popular control. Coming from the Punjab as I do, I realise and appreciate the advantages which a community can derive by having their religious places under their direct charge. Sir, it was not many years ago that the Punjatb Government passed what is called the Sikh Gurdwara Act. Under tha Act the control of all the religious places of the Sikhs was handed over to the Sikh community, with the result that we find the Sikh community now as strong as any other community in India.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Why not then for the entire Muslim community?

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: The question is asked by Mr. Hossain Imam why not such a measure then for the whole of India? May I inform him that Ajmer is the only directly administered area and legislation concerning Ajmer can only be brought in the Central Legislature Legislation concerning places of worship in different provinces can easily be brought in the Provincial Councils. And naturally, Sir, if I were to make an attempt to bring in legislation of an all-India nature in this House, there would be the serious objection taken that inasmuch as the Provincial

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Councils contain a larger number of elected members with much smaller constituencies, they are the most suitable places to pass legislation of this kind affecting religious shrines in their jurisdiction. And now when I have confined myself to this one little place which is directly under the Central Legislature an objection is raised as to why I have not brought in a measure for the whole of India. There is nothing to prevent my Honourable friends bringing in legislation for the whole of India, if they so desire, and I can assure them that without reading what they write I will support any Bill provided its intention is to transfer the control of Muhammadan sacred places to the hands of competent, honest and disinterested elected representatives of the people.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Why not for the Delhi Jama Masjid?

THE HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NAWAB SIR MAHOMED AKBAR KHAN (North-West Frontier Province: Nominated Non-Official): Why not have a minister for waqfa?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: May I ask Honourable Members to allow the Member in charge of his Bill to speak? You will all have your opportunity at a later stage to controvert his arguments.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: I am extremely grateful to you, Sir, for this kind protection, but I may assure you that these interruptions by my friends on the right and left really prove very useful. The Honourable Sir Mahomed Akbar Khan has made the suggestion that we should have a minister for waqfs. I do not know, Sir, whether he has studied the fact that the present constitution would allow us to bring forward a Bill that we should have a minister for waqfs. I think the number of ministers is limited and all departments of Government are distributed among them and I do not think there will be room for the suggested minister. But if the constitution permits, I can assure you that I will support such a measure, and I will go a step further and say that nobody will be more delighted than myself if the Nawab Sahib were to become the first minister in charge of this portfolio, because he has all along taken a very keen interest in the welfare of his community, particularly in all matters concerning their religion.

Now, Sir, there is one other remark which, with your permission, I shall make about an Honourable colleague of mine, the Honourable Mr. Mahmood Suhrawardy. I shall be failing in my duty if I did not pay him the compliment of saying that if any credit attaches to this movement to pass this legislation, he should be regarded as the pioneer of the movement and not myself. I am not referring only to signatures, which have been contributed by many people.

THE HONOUBLE THE PRESIDENT: We are not distributing credit at this stage!

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: Sir, among the numerous papers which I have with me I find that the Honourable Mr. Suhrawardy was the first person to raise the question of the Durgah Sharif on the floor of this House by asking searching questions which made it impossible for Government to get away from the real issue.

THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY (West Bengal: Muhammadan): Those were questions but I did not move a Bill!

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: Sir, if the Standing Orders and Rules and the rigid control which you have over this House had allowed an expression of opinion in question time, I am sure he would have suggested that a Bill should be brought. But within the scope of the rules he went to the greatest lengths he could in asking a question which reads as follows—

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: How is that relevant to the Bill? As I have said, there is no question of giving credit at this stage. You can apportion all credit afterwards. Will you confine yourself to the principles?

THE HONOUR BLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: Coming back to the contents of the Bill, you will observe that in the Statement of Objects and Reasons attached to this Bill, which brief statement I would ask all the Honourable Members to read carefully, I have said that there is no other consideration for bringing this Bill except what is contained in that statement, which runs as follows——

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: They have all read it.

THE HONOUBABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: I am sorry, Sir, but in discussing the Motion that the Bill be taken into consideration, I have thought it my duty to emphasise such portions of the Bill which I think require emphasising. Therefore I am not going to read out the whole Bill but I will confine myself just to one or two sentences. The objects of the Bill are merely to bring about a desirable change in the constitution of the Committee. Now, if my Honourable friends differ from me on a matter of detail, i.e., in regard to the number of members, what should be the franchise, what should be the qualifications of voters, what should be the qualifications of candidates, I may assure them that I will certainly accept whatever suggestions they may make. I have no particular idea with regard to these details, except this, that the Committee should consist of independent Muslim members. Here, Sir, I may be permitted to remove one misunderstanding which might have arisen in the minds of some of my Honourable friends, although I personally think that there is no legitimate ground for such a misunderstanding arising, I may say that the Bill is not at all intended to interfere with the vested interests or the rights of those people who have been enjoying such rights for a long time. As a matter of fact, the source of income of the Durgah may be divided into two parts, one is the revenue from the villages and the rent from the houses in Ajmer, and the other relates to the offerings which worshippers going there make at the Durgah. According to the present custom which I believe is correct—and I am speaking subject to correction on this point, because on all other points I have made searching enquiry, the civil courts also have given decisions that those offerings are divided into two parts, half of which goes to the Dewan and the other half distributed by the Khadims. I have intentionally left that income alone, because I personally think I would be really committing a sin if I deprived those people of the little livelihood which they, who have been or whose ancestors have been serving this great sacred institution for so many generations and for so many years get from these offerings. Inadvertently, Sir-

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Do not these people get wages ?

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: No, Sir, they do not; their income is only that which the worshippers offer. That is why I have left that income absolutely out of the scope of my Bill. There are 1,200 families and those 1,200 families are not to be starved by any piece of legislation and the rights which they have been enjoying for generations together must be left alone.

THE HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NAWAB SIR MAHOMED AKBAR KHAN: With your permission, Sir, may I ask the Raja Sahib a question? Does Islam permit that you should become slackers and that you should depend on the offerings?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Order, order. This does not arise at this stage. Will you (to the Honourable Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan) please proceed?

The Honourable Raja GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: If inadvertently something has been put into the Bill which interferes with the legal existing rights of any particular individual or class, I may assure my Honourable friends that I will be the last person to insist upon such a thing remaining in my Bill. Therefore, Sir, I would request them not to kill this measure, not to nip it in the bud. By doing that they may have just a temporary pleasure that they have won or they are victorious or they have defeated me, but I may tell them that we are answerable for our actions to our constituencies, to our community, and, above all, to God; and therefore in the name of God I would be each my Honourable friends to consider each and every clause of this Bill dispassionately and without imparting any heat or any irrelevant element into the matter.

Before I conclude, Sir, I would submit that the real controversial question in this Bill is the question of Mutawalli being hereditary. As a matter of fact this is the only controversial point in this Bill and I may assure you that if that point was not contained in the Bill there would have been no opposition-not that anybody is personally interested one way or other, but because naturally if a Bill is brought to deprive a man, who claims that he has got hereditary rights, of those hereditary rights straightaway by a stroke of the pen, naturally I can understand some Honourable Members being hesitant in supporting such a measure. In the first place, I beg to submit that I would like to know the clause which affects the question of Mutawalli being hereditary or otherwise. There is no denying the fact that under section 3 of the Act of 1863 this Religious Endowment Act was only to be applied to the places where the post of Mutawalli was not hereditary. That is laid down in that section, and if my Honourable friends would like me to read the section I will gladly do so, but I think we will have an opportunity later when we go into these details. Here it is sufficient to say that whatever position the Mutawalli enjoys at present under the Act of 1863 he will continue to have it; I would not like anything to be included in the Bill which would adversely affect that position. It is a subject-matter of controversy in the law courts and I would leave the courts to decide this question. That question we can amicably settle. May I request Honourable gentlemen to consider whether there is any justification for opposing this measure or adopting any such tactics which would logically mean the killing of the Bill or that the Bill should not be passed at this session. As we all know, this is going to be the last session of the Council of State, and whatever stage of the Bill we may reach this session it will lapse after this Council adjourns. Anybody who wants to reintroduce this Bill shall

have to take all the trouble over again from the beginning. In view of these considerations I would beg of them to unanimously adopt some solution by which we can arrive at an amicable decision. So much about my Honourable Muhammadan friends. Now, Sir, with your kind permission, I would make an appeal to my non-Muhammadan friends who are here in this House. Some people think that the best policy for the non-Muhammadan members in the matter of legislation of this kind is to remain neutral. I personally think that this will be a very wrong principle to adopt, particularly by this Honourable House, because what would it mean? It means that we in this country really want a constitution which would set up two separate Legislatures, one consisting purely of Muhammadans, another consisting of Hindus, and the Bills concerning Hindus would be disposed of by the Hindus and the Bills concerning Muhammadans by Muhammadans. I do not think there is any Honourable Member here who would desire such a thing to happen. Now, we are all here to give our verdict jointly on anything which is brought on the floor of the House. Therefore non-Muhammadan members should sit like unbiased judges; they should listen to both sides, they should carefully read the literature-

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: These remarks are a little bit premature; they may be made after the consideration stage is finished.

The Honourable Raja GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: I quite realise the mistake, Sir. I request you to be generous hearted to allow me to repeat these remarks at the third reading of the Bill. I am not going to make these remarks any further.

Sir, when this question of heredity is settled, then what remains in the Bill is, I believe, only one other point where there may be some controversy and that is that while in the Bill which I have now introduced I have proposed instead of five members, seven members of the committee, out of whom one shall be elected by the Khadims, one will be a nominee of the Dewan Sahib and five will be Indian Muslims. Here a question may well be asked: Why have you given one nomination to the Dewan Sahib and no nomination to the Mutawalli Sahib? This is a matter upon which there can be an honest difference of opinion.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: It is not necessary to go into these details at this stage.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: Sir, this was the only point which was controversial—some of my Honourable friends were interested—and I just wanted to say one word about it and then finish. I personally feel that a *Mutawalli* is an executive officer of the committee and I know of very few instances where an executive officer will sit on the committee and will also vote on his own actions.

Now, Sir, I am very grateful to you, and I am much obliged to my Honourable friends for giving me such a patient hearing. I am sure I must have very nearly exhausted their patience, and now I would only appeal to them to carry on this debate in a friendly and cordial spirit and to see whether we can do anything for the betterment of our community.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Motion made:

"That the Bill to make better provision for the administration of the Durgah and the Eudowment of the Durgah Khwaja Moinuddin Chisti, generally known as the Durgah Khwaja Saheb, Ajmer, be taken into consideration".

As Honourable Members know we have a very important meeting of the Empire Parliamentary Association this evening at half past five, I therefore propose to adjourn the debate on this Bill till the next non-official day.

The Council then adjourned till Five of the Clock on Friday, the 28th February, 1936.

COUNCIL OF STATE.

Friday, 28th February, 1936.

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

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE NEW HOWRAH BRIDGE.

- 41. THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR: (a) Did a deputation of some members of the Legislative Assembly wait upon the Honourable the Commerce Member and the Honourable the Member for Industries and Labour regarding the question of the new Howrah Bridge contract? If so, when?
- (b) Has apprehension been expressed in certain quarters that the contract for the construction of the bridge might be placed outside India to a non-Indian tenderer?
 - (c) Who is the final authority in placing the contract with a tenderer?
- (d) Do Government propose to take steps to ensure the placing of the contract in India with an Indian tenderer? If so, what steps? If not, why not?

THE HONOURABLE MR. T. A. STEWART: (a) Yes. On the 15th February, 1936.

- (b) Yes.
- (c) The Howrah Bridge Commissioners, subject to the approval of the Local Government.
- (d) No. For the reason I have just stated the matter is not within the competence of the Government of India.
- TOTAL NUMBER OF OFFICERS IN THE SUPERIOR SERVICE OF THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT OF STATE-MANAGED RAILWAYS.
- 42. THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: Will Government be pleased to state the total number of superior officers in the Medical Department of State-managed Railways? How many of these are (a) Europeans, (b) Anglo-Indians, (c) Hindus, (d) Sikhs, and (e) Muslims?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL: The total number of officers in the superior service of the Medical Department on the Statemanaged Railways including one Malariologist is 41.

They are as follows:

Europeans .			•		13
Anglo-Indians		• .	•		3
Hindus .			•		17
Sikhs .			•		3
Muslims .	•		•		4
Indian Christian	в.			•)

THE HONOURABLE MR. SATYENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH MAULIK: Will the Government be pleased to state the number of Chief Medical Officers on State-managed Railways?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL: As there are five Statemanaged Railways, there must be five Chief Medical Officers.

THE HONOURABLE MR. SATYENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH MAULIK: How many of them are Hindus and how many Muhammadans?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL: There is one Muhammadan, I think, and there is also one Hindu.

PRESENTATION OF THE GENERAL BUDGET FOR 1936-37.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. J. RAISMAN (Government of India: Nominated Official): Sir, I rise to present the statement of estimated expenditure and revenue of the Governor General in Council for the year 1936-37 in respect of subjects other than "Railways".

- 2. The broad picture from the background of which these figures of public finance stand out is one of a continuance of modest and unspectacular, but none the less persistent, recovery from the depths of the catastrophic depression into which India, in common with the rest of the world, was precipitated barely five years ago. Since then, despite the proofs of its extraordinary power of resistance to economic stress which India has provided, we have hardly ventured to count with confidence on any improvement which was not actually in sight, or to reckon any ground as reconquered until we were actually setting our feet upon it. It is only necessary to look round the world as it is today, and particularly at the present plight of many countries less fortunately situated than India, to realize the justification for this attitude of caution.
- 3. This in brief is what has happened in regard to the estimates for 1934-35, and as we shall see later, for the current year. When Mr. Tallents presented the estimates in this House a year ago, it was anticipated that the year 1934-35 would end with a surplus of Rs. 3,27 lakhs. The final accounts actually disclosed a surplus of Rs. 4,95 lakhs, or Rs. 1,68 lakhs more than we had dared to hope. The main contributing cause was an excess over the revised forecast of Rs. 1½ crores under Customs and Excise, due to an unexpectedly large volume of trade in the closing months of the year.
- 4. Honourable Members will perhaps recall that it was finally agreed, in the course of last year's Budget proceedings, that after certain other non-recurring objects had been provided for, the whole of the unallocated surplus of the year 1934-35 should constitute a Fund for the Economic Development and Improvement of Rural Areas. The amount of this unallocated surplus was then expected to be about Rs. 1,13 lakhs, but as a consequence of the

improved results which I have just mentioned, the figure now turns out to be Rs. 2,81 lakhs, the whole of which is therefore transferred to the Rural Development Fund. In September last a paper was circulated showing that out of this fund Government had allocated Rs. 15 lakhs for the improvement of the Co-operative Movement and Rs. 92½ lakhs for grants to the Provinces on schemes approved by the Government of India. The balance in the fund therefore stands at Rs. 1,73½ lakhs, and before proceeding further, I shall now explain to the House the way in which it is contemplated that this sum should be utilized.

- 5. In the first place, it is proposed to make four grants for objects directly connected with the economic improvement of rural conditions and the amelioration of village life. These are:
- (1) A grant of Rs. 30 lakhs for Agricultural Research. Of this Rs. 10 lakhs represents the amount still due to the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research of the block grant of Rs. 25 lakhs originally promised to it when it was established. The remaining Rs. 20 lakhs will be used to finance urgent schemes including sugar cane research, and investigations into the dairying side of animal husbandry.
- (2) A grant of Rs. 10 lakhs to the Indian Research Fund Association, the amount to be devoted mainly to schemes connected with the prevention or cure of malaria, which is such a blight on the health of India's rural population.
- (3) A grant of Rs. 5 lakhs for the benefit of cottage and small scale woollen industries. As was recently announced, the Government of India were not satisfied that a case for protection of the woollen industry had been established, and indeed an important section of the industry made no attempt to present its case. But Government agree with the view of the Tariff Board that the cottage and small scale industry could derive great benefit from technical advice and assistance in marketing arrangements, and they propose to provide Rs. 5 lakhs to be spread over 5 years for this purpose. The schemes financed from this grant will be in the hands of the provincial Departments of Industries.
- (4) A grant of Rs. 20 lakhs to the Fund for capital expenditure on the development of broadcasting. The value of this medium for instruction on agriculture, sanitation and other matters of prime concern to the villages is now generally recognized, and this additional grant will assist the further development which is necessary in order to make these advantages more widespread than at present.
- 6. When these grants have been made there will remain in the Fund Rs. 1,08½ lakhs, most of which will probably be allocated to the Provinces, in the same way as the previous Rs. 92½ lakhs, for expenditure on schemes to be approved by the Government of India. Honourable Members have, I think already been furnished with a description of the schemes which have hitherto been approved. The Government of India are now awaiting further detailed information of the actual progress of these schemes, which they expect to receive very shortly. It will then be possible to review the position and see what modifications are desirable in the conditions of the grants. While the Provincial Governments are of course much more closely in touch with local conditions, the Government of India realize their responsibility for seeing that the money is spent in the most useful and effective way. I may add, Sir, that they intend to keep the legislature fully informed of their decisions and of the manner in which they intend to proceed.

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- 7. The total of the sums which are thus to be devoted to various forms of rural amelioration is, I suggest, an impressive amount when viewed in relation to the resources of India, and I have no doubt that Honourable Members of this House will agree as to the desirability of spending money on these objects. The field for effort is of course tremendous, but we may reasonably hope that the activities directly financed will in turn provide a stimulus which will result in an ever widening circle of benefit to the villager.
- 8. That finishes what I have to say about the year 1934-35. I turn now to the figures of the current year 1935-36. Here too the revised forecast shows a surplus of Rs. 2,42 lakhs instead of Rs. 6 lakhs which we anticipated a year ago. Whereas in the Budget we estimated a Revenue of 82.99 crores and an Expenditure of 82.93 crores, we now expect that the Revenue will amount to 86.52 crores and the Expenditure to 84.10 crores. I will now indicate the main causes of these variations.
- 9. On the revenue side the total excess is Rs. 3,53 lakhs, of which the main component is Rs. 1,85 lakhs of additional revenue from the import duty on sugar. The estimation of the revenue from imports of sugar has always been a matter of extreme difficulty, liable to be grossly falsified by the results and to produce fluctuations which may be a source of serious embarrassment in a budget of the total dimensions of the Indian budget. When your total revenue is in the neighbourhood of Rs. 80 crores and you have a single item which is liable to fall short of your expectations by as much as 3.16 crores, as happened so recently as 1931-32, it behaves you to treat that item with the utmost caution. It may be thought that it is a comparatively simple matter to subtract from India's total consumption of white sugar the total Indian production, and thus arrive at the margin available for imports. But that would merely mean subtracting one variable and unknown quantity from another. We have never known the exact dimensions of India's total consumption—or only have an approximate idea. Similarly while we know pretty well the capacity for factory production of sugar in India we have no accurate means of estimating how much is produced otherwise than in factories, that is in Khandsaris. On the facts as we now see them we consider that there must have been a sudden rise in total consumption, and that while factory outturn is exceeding our expectations as proved by the excise figures, Khandsari production has declined. The result is that imports have been maintaining themselves at a figure only slightly lower than that of last year. although the imports in January of this year show a marked decline and are only two-thirds those of January 1935.
- 10. Besides the import duty on sugar we anticipate excesses in various other Customs heads and also from the excises on sugar and matches. A notable feature is a large drop in the receipts from cotton fabrics of British manufacture but this is more than made up by the duty on non-British imports, mostly of course from Japan, which did not fill up its quota last year and has been making up leeway. We also hope to realize Rs. 40 lakhs more than our original estimate on Income-tax, another index of trade recovery.
- 11. Further pointers of the same kind are first the greater absorption of small coin, which is likely to produce a surplus of Rs. 16 lakhs under the heading Mint and secondly an improvement of Rs. 19 lakhs under Posts and Telegraphs. This improvement is due in the main to increased sales of stamps and additional receipts from trunk telephone calls, as well as to lower rates of interest. We budgetted for a deficit of Rs. 13 lakhs, but now expect instead a surplus of Rs. 6 lakhs.

- 12. I said just now that the revised forecast of expenditure in the current year was 84·10 crores against the original estimate of 82·93 crores, an increase of Rs. 117 lakhs. The main causes are the following:
 - (i) Extraordinary payments.—Here Rs. 41½ lakhs represents the expenditure which is expected to be incurred from civil funds in connection with the Quetta earthquake. This covers all the special arrangements for extra police, public health, the protection of property in the ruined city and the labour and plant required for salvage and site clearance operations. It also includes a contribution of Rs. 10 lakhs to H. E. the Viceroy's Quetta Earthquake Relief Fund, and provision for assistance to the rural population to repair their irrigation channels.
 - (ii) Interest.—Here a number of different factors are likely to result in a net charge of Rs. 10.63 crores against Rs. 10.39 crores originally estimated, i.e., a worsening of Rs. 24 lakhs.
 - (iii) Currency and Mint.—The increase of Rs. 10 lakhs, due to a larger demand for currency notes and small coin, is outweighed by the revenue increase which I just mentioned.
 - (iv) Miscellaneous adjustments.—The increase is due mainly to the additional payments which will have to be made to the jute growing provinces because of the extra yield of the jute export duty, of which they receive half.
- 13. I shall now explain to the House how it is proposed that the surplus of Rs. 2,42 lakhs, with which the current year is expected to close, should be dealt with. In the first place we propose to allot Rs. 45 lakhs to a special fund for assisting the two new provinces of Sind and Orissa to meet the initial expenditure which they have to incur on providing themselves with the necessary official buildings. It was originally contemplated that the amounts should be advanced and that interest should be charged on the loans until they were repaid. But to do this would be to treat them less favourably than the existing provinces, which started off on their careers with an equipment unencumbered by such debt. Moreover an initial handicap of this kind would have to be taken into account when the subventions which provinces are to receive are being assessed, and assistance would have to be given to meet it, an unnecessary complication of a simple issue. Of the amount of Rs. 45 lakhs, to which the Government of India's contribution will be strictly limited, Rs. 171 lakhs will be given to Sind, which already has a considerable number of the necessary buildings, and Rs. 271 lakhs to Orissa. which starts off with a lesser equipment.
- 14. This leaves a balance of Rs. 197 lakhs available from the anticipated surplus of the current year. Before explaining how we propose to use this balance I must ask the House to look forward a little into the future and to visualize the situation with which the Government of India will be faced in the first year or two following the establishment of provincial autonomy, which we may assume will begin in April, 1937. In the first place, Burma will be separated, and the separation will leave us Rs. 23 crores worse off than we are now. In the second place, a beginning will have to be made of those financial adjustments between the Centre and the provinces which the new Constitution entails. We cannot of course at this stage attempt to predict the results of Sir Otto Niemeyer's inquiry, but it would not be prudent to assume that any lesser sum than Rs. 2 crores will be necessitated by the initial adjustments. Of this worsening of at least Rs. 42 crores we may perhaps, in a spirit of reasonable optimism, reckon that a continuance of the

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present improvements in revenue, together with some reduction in interest charges will in the course of the next two years make good to us the greater part if not the whole. Thus on the basis of the existing level of taxation, and of the present rate of improvement of revenues, the income and expenditure of 1937-38 would roughly balance. But there is another factor in the situation of which Honourable Members will become aware when I have explained our proposals for the coming year—a factor which will have the effect of postponing by one year the date by which we may expect that our revenues will have grown to the figure which is adequate to meet the charges involved by the coming into effect of provincial autonomy. So in order to enable ourselves to shoulder the new load from the start without incurring a deficit we propose that this balance of Rs. 1.97 lakes should be transferred to a Revenue Reserve Fund, which will be available to tide us over the difficulties of the first year of the new regime. Thereafter we think it justifiable to hope that the continuance of present tendencies will place in the hands of the Government of India resources adequate to enable it to fulfil in reasonable measure the obligations which may be imposed on it at that stage of the new constitution.

- 15. I come now to the estimates of revenue and expenditure for the coming year 1936-37. We have budgetted for a total revenue, excluding railways, of course, of 87.35 crores, or Rs. 83 lakhs more than our revised estimate for the current year. Of this 54.82 crores represent the estimated customs and excise receipts, which allow for a decrease of Rs. 1,60 lakhs on imports of sugar and an increase of Rs. 1.71 lakhs on other items. I have already explained to the House the position regarding sugar. Slowly but surely—and at times not very slowly either—indigenous production, under the stimulus of the protective duty, has expanded its market and ousted the imports from abroad, and all competent observers are agreed that the day is now rapidly approaching when India will be completely self-supporting. In these circumstances, when the end is virtually in sight, and the only room for argument is whether it will come to-morrow or the day after, what reliance can we place on imported sugar as a source of revenue? In each of the last two years it has exceeded our expectations, and this time it may well elude us again but on the other side. We have taken a figure of Rs. 2 crores, which in the circumstances of the present moment is if anything an optimistic figure. From the excise on indigenous production we look for Rs. 1,96 lakhs, an increase of about 15 per cent, over our revised estimate for the current year.
- 16. The only other revenue items which I would mention are Incometax and Currency receipts. Under the former we are reckoning on the more favourable condition of trade to yield us 17.60 crores or Rs. 80 lakhs more than the revised estimate of the current year. Under Currency receipts the estimate of Rs. 81 lakhs includes Rs. 65 lakhs as the Government of India's share of the profits from a full year's working of the Reserve Bank.
- 17. The total expenditure for 1936-37 we have placed at 85 30 crores. This is Rs. 1,20 lakks higher than the revised estimate for the current year. The notable features are a decrease under Interest and increases under Miscellaneous Adjustments, Civil Administration and Defence. The increase under Civil Works is due largely to the increased payments to the Road Fund consequent on the increased yield of the duty on motor spirit.
- 18. Under Interest the figure is 9.20 crores, a reduction of nearly Rs. 1½ crores on the revised figure for 1935-36. The reason is that we shall be getting

the full benefit of the conversion operations of the current year, while at the same time we hope to repay £16.8 millions of 5½ per cent. Sterling Stock which matures next year without floating a fresh loan. Actually the improvement is over Rs. 2 crores, but owing to a change in the method of accounting relating to the Indian Military Service and Indian Civil Service Family Pension Funds Rs. 62 lakhs, representing the interest on the balances in those funds, has for the first time been charged under this head. I may add that the same change results in reductions totalling Rs. 54 lakhs under the headings of Military and Civil Pensions.

- 19. The increase under Miscellaneous Adjustments is due to the provision of Rs. 1,58 lakhs for sub ventions to Sind and Orissa, Rs. 1,08 lakhs for Sind and Rs. 50 lakhs for Orissa. As Honourable Members are by this time aware it has been decided that these two provinces shall come into being on April 1st, 1936, before the inception of Provincial Autonomy. It has been recognized that for some years subventions to these provinces will be inevitable, and the definitive size of those subventions will be determined by His Majesty in Council after Sir Otto Niemeyer's report has been taken into consideration. The present subventions are purely provisional in their nature and are in no sense intended to prejudge the issue. They are merely intended to provide the provinces with small opening balances and enable them to carry on for the first year without incurring a deficit.
- 20. Of the increase of Rs. 64 lakhs under Civil Administration Rs. 11 lakhs is accounted for by the fact that during the current year the cut in pay was still operative on one out of the twelve monthly pay days. Then there are Rs. 18 lakhs for two public health schemes in Delhi. One relates to the method of dealing with the refuse of Delhi, a matter which, as Honourable Members are aware, has provoked strong criticism. A provision of Rs. 13 lakhs has been made for this. The other Rs. 5 lakhs is to permit of a start being made with a scheme for dealing with the sewage, the existing system having been found to be inadequate and defective. The progress of the development of Broadcasting will require a further Rs. 4 lakhs, and under Civil Aviation, where increased maintenance charges follow on the capital programme, we have provided an additional Rs. 5 lakhs.
- 21. The Defence Budget stands at 45.45 crores, but this includes Rs. 60 lakhs for reconstruction at Quetta and Military stores consumed as a result of the earthquake. The remaining figure of 44.85 crores would seem to compare favourably with the present year's figure, but this is partly due to the change in the method of accounting for the Indian Military Service Family Pension Fund. The correctly comparable figures show that there will be an increase of Rs. 21 lakhs, of which Rs. 5 lakhs is due to the restoration of the remaining half of the cut in pay of British soldiers. The remainder of the increase is more than accounted for by an increased provision of Rs. 20 lakhs for ordnance stores. Honourable Members will recollect that it has been repeatedly pointed out in recent years that the present budget figures cannot be taken as representing permanently the normal level of Defence expenditure. There have in the past been surplus stocks of ordnance stores which are now almost exhausted, and the cost of replacement means an inevitable increase.
- 22. Besides the provision of Rs. 60 lakes relating to Quetta in the Defence Budget, there is a provision of Rs. 40 lakes on the Civil side under the head "Extraordinary Payments". Of this Rs. 12 lakes is for the continuance of special establishments and site clearance operations and Rs. 28 lakes for reconstruction. I may mention here that during the current year we estimate that we shall have spent Rs. 411 lakes from Civil funds, and Rs. 36 lakes

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from Army funds on relief, temporary housing and salvage and on the beginning of clearance operations. By the time we have finished clearance and are ready to begin reconstruction we shall have spent nearly a crore. The cost of the reconstruction, both Civil and military, is at present, estimated at something over Rs. 7 crores, but as the work will take 7 or 8 years to carry out, the incidence of expenditure is unlikely to be more than a crore in any single year. That in fact is the rate at which it is contemplated that the programme of reconstruction will proceed.

- 23. In-view of the criticism which has already been made of the method of financing the reconstruction of Quetta from revenue, the Honourable the Finance Member is explaining in another place the principles on which this policy is based. I will here only indicate briefly the main reasons for such a course.
- (1) The work will not be productive of any receipts from which the interest and amoritization charges of a loan could be met.
- (2) We have in recent years made a reduced provision of only Rs. 3 crores for the reduction and avoidance of debt. We cannot now hope for an early resumption of the contributions from Railways to genreal revenues, which would have enabled us to bring the Sinking Fund provision nearer to its former level. We should therefore avoid an increase in the unproductive debt.
- (3) If we borrowed to pay for Quetta, the full burden of the additional load would fall on the years which follow the completion of the work. Those will be the years in which the Centre will be due to be distributing a portion of its income-tax receipts to the provinces, and we should do nothing to increase the financial difficulties of that stage, or to diminish the amount ultimately available for the provinces.
- 24. Under Posts and Telegraphs we are counting on a continuance of the improvement, and a revenue of Rs. 38 lakhs higher than our revised estimate for 1935-36. We have put the gross receipts at 11.88 crores and working expenses at 10.93 crores, so that the figure for net receipts is Rs. 95 lakhs. Against this the interest charges are Rs. 80 lakhs, so that we estimate a net surplus of Rs. 15 lakhs. The expenditure includes an enhanced provision of Rs. 2 lakhs for providing improved postal facilities in rural areas. I may add that it has been decided that the depreciation fund should henceforth be replaced by a fund for renewals and minor improvements. This will take over the existing depreciation fund of Rs. 3,17 lakhs. The annual contributions will be fixed for periods of five years, and for the first five years it has been calculated that Rs. 25 lakhs will be an appropriate figure. This compares with Rs. 29 lakhs provided last year for the depreciation fund.
 - 25. I may now summarize the estimates for 1936-37 as follows:-

Revenue Expenditure	Crores. 87·35 85·30
Surplus	2.05

This then is the margin which we consider to be fairly available for reduction of taxation, and I shall now state what the proposals are.

26. In the first place we propose to go as far as this surplus permits towards meeting the claim for the abolition of the emergency taxes upon income. The complete removal of the present surcharge of one-sixth on income-tax

and super tax would cost Rs. 2,76 lakhs per annum, while the abolition of the tax on incomes between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,000, which ranks with the surcharge as an emergency impost, would cost a further Rs. 47 lakhs.—Rs. 3,23 lakhs in all. We cannot therefore remit the whole of this taxation. What we propose is to abolish entirely the tax on lower incomes and to reduce by half the present surcharge, which will therefore be one-twelfth instead of one-sixth. The cost of the proposed reductions is Rs. 1,85 lakhs, and this leaves us with only Rs. 20 lakhs of the surplus for 1936-37 of which it may be said that Rs. 15 lakhs consists of the estimated surplus under Posts and Telegraphs.

- 27. In the second place, therefore, we propose to make a concession in postal rates which is modest in cost but which we believe will be very widely appreciated we propose to increase the weight of the one anna letter from a half to one tola, and to charge an additional half anna for every additional tola. This will cost Rs. 13 lakhs a year, and will therefore dispose of nearly the whole of the estimated surplus of Rs. 15 lakhs on the Posts and Telegraphs budget.
- 28. That, Sir, brings me to the end of my speech. In these proposals the prime necessity of maintaining India's credit and husbanding her resources to meet the demands of a new regime have been kept in view. Subject to this guiding consideration, they give such relief as is possible from the burden of direct taxation, while from the fortunate accrual of an unforeseen excess a further measure of benefits is distributed to the millions who dwell in the villages of India. (Applause.)

STATEMENT OF BUSINESS.

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD (Leader of the House): Sir, during the next week the Council will sit only on Friday, the 6th March, on which date, as Honourable Members are aware, there will be the general discussion of the Budget.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Honourable Members, before I adjourn the Council to the 6th March, I wish to point out that on that day the general discussion of the Budget will take place. As a rule there are many speakers on that day and I have therefore decided to convene the Council at 10-30 A. M. instead of the usual time 11 A.M. I also wish to point out that this will necessitate a slight modification in the time of the taking of the group photograph and I set Honourable Members will be present for the group photograph punctually at 10-15 A.M. on that day. The Council will now adjourn.

The Council then adjourned till Half Past Ten of the Clock on Friday, the 6th March, 1936.

CORRIGENDUM.

In Council of State Debates of the 18th September, 1985, page 97, in the answer to question No. 61 for "calculation" read "calculations".