

# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

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TUESDAY, 1st MARCH, 1932

Vol. II—No. 7

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## OFFICIAL REPORT



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# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Tuesday, 1st March, 1932

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

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

### FACILITIES FOR EMIGRATION TO BRAZIL.

583. \***Mr. Bhuput Sing** (on behalf of Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh): (a) Is it a fact that the approximate number of Indians in Brazil is about 2,000; and are Government aware that Brazil is a vast country with abundant natural resources, and climatic conditions similar to those of India?

(b) Are Government aware that the Government of Brazil has opened her door on an equal basis, and without racial prejudice to all emigrants?

(c) Are Government aware that from 1926 to 1930 an annual average of one lakh of emigrants landed in Brazil from Europe, Japan, and other countries?

(d) Are Government aware that much propoganda is done in many European countries, and in Japan, with a view to encourage emigration to Brazil?

(e) Are Government aware of the existence of the Indo-South American Travellers' Aid Society, 189, Hornby Road, Bombay, which disseminates information on Brazil to intending emigrants and travellers?

(f) Do Government propose to explore the possibility of assisting the Colonial returned Indians to settle in Brazil by issuing necessary passports, and affording other facilities for emigration?

(g) Is there any officer located in Brazil to look after the interests of the Indians in Brazil? If so, who is he?

**Sir Evelyn Howell:** (a) Government are prepared to accept the information supplied by the Honourable Member as substantially correct.

(b) Government have no special information as to the general immigration policy of the Brazilian Government, but they are aware that it issued a decree prohibiting all foreign immigration for a period of one year with effect from the 1st January 1931. It is believed to be still in force.

(c), (d) and (e). Government have no special information.

(f) In view of the answer to part (b) Government do not consider that any useful purpose would be served by taking up the Honourable Member's suggestion at present.

(g) His Majesty's Ambassador in Brazil at Rio de Janeiro is responsible for looking after the interests of all British subjects in that country.

**TEST ROOMS IN THE NEW DELHI AND AGRA CENTRAL TELEGRAPH OFFICES.**

584. \***Mr. Bhuput Sing:** (a) Will Government be pleased to refer to starred question No. 581 of the 12th March, 1930, and state whether the fitting of the Test Room in New Delhi and Agra Central Telegraph Offices has proved, in any way, advantageous over the systems employed previously, if so, how?

(b) Do Test Rooms need, necessarily, additional staff to work them? If so, why and what such additional staff?

**Mr. T. Ryan:** Sir, as questions Nos. 584 to 590 inclusive all relate to the same subject, with your permission I shall deal with them together; and as my answer is rather long I would ask your permission to lay it on the table instead of reading it.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): I am afraid you have got to read it.

**Mr. T. Ryan:** Sir, because the term "Test Room" is somewhat misleading, and has, I think, misled the Honourable Member, I shall begin by giving a short explanation of what the Test Room system really is.

In all the big telegraph offices a great deal of the work is dealt with by high-speed telegraph apparatus which is both complicated and delicate. Part of this apparatus must necessarily be under the hands of the operative staff but other parts need not be on the instrument tables as has however generally been the practice in the past. This latter part of the equipment requires the constant attention and supervision of the technical engineering staff, both to supervise its regular operation and to correct defects as quickly as possible when they occur. The Test Room system, though its introduction represents an important change, does not represent any *fundamental* alteration in the system of telegraphy employed or in the methods of handling traffic; it consists essentially only in the removal from the telegraphists' tables of the apparatus not required in the actual manipulation of the sets, and its segregation, either in a separate room, or, at least, in a separate part of the instrument room where it can be under the close supervision to which I have already referred. This arrangement is, I am informed, the standing practice now-a-days in America; it has lately been adopted by the British Post Office at Leeds and at Glasgow; and I have seen an authoritative statement that it is likely to be extended to other large offices in Great Britain.

The advantages secured by this arrangement are, briefly, that it makes for improved speed in disposal of traffic by confining the operators' attention to the instruments which concern them and by facilitating technical control and the rapid elimination of difficulties in working.

I now proceed to answer the specific questions asked by the Honourable Member.

No. 584.—(a) In the case of the New Delhi Office no other system has been employed, as the Test Room system was adopted from the outset when the office was originally fitted. Experience both in New Delhi and Agra has shown that the Test Room system affords the advantages in working to which I have just referred.

(b) No.

No. 585.—(a) No special technical officers are engaged.

(b) In New Delhi, during the Delhi Season Rs. 1,847 per mensem; during the Simla season Rs. 1,694 per mensem; in Agra Rs. 3,056 per mensem; not allowing for the recent cut in pay.

(c) In New Delhi it would be the same as stated. In Agra before the introduction of the Test Room, the expenditure was Rs. 2,809 per mensem. The slight increase in the case of Agra is not necessarily connected with the introduction of the Test Room system.

(d) The cost of installing the Test Room in New Delhi was included in the original cost of the office and to calculate separately the cost of the Test Room at this stage would be practically impossible. As regards Agra, reference is invited to the reply given by the Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra on the 12th March, 1930, to item (b) of starred question No. 531 asked by Sir Muhammad Yakub in the Legislative Assembly.

(e) The information is not available, but there is no reason to think that the expenditure has increased.

(f) No.

No. 586.—(a) Yes. When Test Room and non-Test Room offices work in conjunction, nothing results beyond the normal transmission of telegrams.

(b) I have already answered the first parts of this question. The different telegraph systems employed by the Department are Morse, Baudot and the Teleprinter system, of which the first two have been employed for many years, and the last is still under trial. On the wireless circuit between Madras and Rangoon the Wheatstone system is also in use.

(c) No.

No. 587.—Telegraph Masters are members of the Traffic Staff who devote the whole of their time to Traffic duties which are mainly supervisory. By 'technically qualified officers', I understand the Honourable Member means members of the Electrical Staff who devote their time to technical duties consisting mainly of the regulation of the electrical equipment, the localisation of faults, etc. I do not understand the Honourable Member's concluding enquiry.

No. 588.—A Committee of departmental officers investigated the working of the Test Rooms. As a result it has been decided that, while there are certain disadvantages in the use of separate Test Rooms, it is clear that the system has many important advantages from the traffic and engineering points of view, and it has been decided that in fitting new large Telegraph Offices or refitting old ones, the system should in future be adopted with suitable modifications based on the valuable experience gained at New Delhi and Agra. The Electrical Engineer-in-Chief was not consulted before the scheme was adopted, but it had the approval of his superior officer, the Chief Engineer, Posts and Telegraphs. The Electrical Engineer-in-Chief was a member of the Committee to which I have just referred, and was a party to certain criticisms of the manner in which the test rooms had been installed and to recommendations for modifications in future practice.

589. No. Of all the circuits in New Delhi and in Agra one working circuit has been fitted in the Instrument Room in each station, the departure from the normal Test Room method of fitting being for comparative purposes. Arrangements are being made to fit these according to the standard Test Room method.

590. No. Government do not propose to abandon the Test Room system but rather to extend its use for the reasons I have already given.

**Mr. Bhuput Sing:** Will the Honourable Member in charge kindly inform the House whether such test rooms are established in any other big office in India except Delhi and Agra?

**Mr. T. Ryan:** Not in India, Sir. They have been introduced in the first instance experimentally in Delhi and Agra following the practice in America. It has also been adopted, as I explained, in the United Kingdom. The intention is to adopt the same system with suitable modifications as the result of the satisfactory experience obtained.

#### TECHNICAL STAFF AND COST OF TEST ROOMS IN THE NEW DELHI AND AGRA CENTRAL TELEGRAPH OFFICES.

†585. **\*Mr. Bhuput Sing:** (a) What special technical officers are engaged in working the Test Room at New Delhi and Agra Central Telegraph Offices? How many of each cadre? What are their respective salaries?

(b) What is the actual cost incurred, separately, on technical staff in both Test Rooms?

(c) What is the cost of staff, normally, with the Test Room eliminated?

(d) What is the additional expenditure on extra apparatus, fittings, etc., incurred on each Test Room, separately?

(e) What is the recurring maintenance charges, annually, on the upkeep of apparatus, plant, renewals, etc., hitherto, since the inception of the Test Room scheme for each centre? What were the recurring charges, previously, without the Test Room?

(f) Is it a fact that New Delhi and Agra, are possessed, virtually, of two Telegraph Offices each,—one, the Test Room, whilst, the other the Signal Office itself, causing thereby, duplicity of apparatus and staff and consequently a duplication in expenditure throughout?

#### RESULT OF INSTALLATION OF TEST ROOMS AT THE NEW DELHI AND AGRA CENTRAL TELEGRAPH OFFICES.

†586. **\*Mr. Bhuput Sing:** (a) Has the installation of the Test Room device in Agra and New Delhi, improved or accelerated, the real working capacity of the various systems of telegraphy employed? If not, what cause or justification is there for the super-imposition of the Test Room? What actually results when Test Room and non-Test Room Offices work each other?

†For answer to this question, see answer to question No. 584.

(b) What warranted the introduction of the Test Room? How has the Test Room simplified matters? What are the various telegraph systems employed by the department and how long have they been in use?

(c) Is it true, a working telegraph line, between the Test Rooms of Agra and New Delhi is kept aside and set apart, solely, to facilitate Test Room business? If so, has any revenue loss been sustained, hitherto, on this item alone? If so, what?

**UTILIZATION OF SERVICES OF TECHNICAL OFFICERS IN THE NEW DELHI AND AGRA CENTRAL TELEGRAPH OFFICES.**

†587. \*Mr. Bhuput Sing: How are the services of Telegraph Masters, also technically qualified officers, utilized in their respective technical capacity, in New Delhi and Agra offices? If not, why not?

**MERITS OF THE TELEGRAPH TEST ROOM.**

†588. \*Mr. Bhuput Sing: Has there been a departmental enquiry set up heretofore to examine the real merits and demerits of the Test Room? If so, what was the finding under each count? Was the Chief Electrician consulted before and after the scheme materialized? If so, what was his considered opinion in every aspect and in both instances?

**CIRCUITS OF TELEGRAPH LINES ENTERING NEW DELHI AND AGRA.**

†589. \*Mr. Bhuput Sing: Is every single working circuit or line entering both New Delhi and Agra Offices terminated at the Test Room and thence, extended or projected into its respective Signal Office? If not, what are the exceptions, if any, and reasons for departure in each case?

**ELIMINATION OF TELEGRAPH TEST ROOMS AT AGRA AND NEW DELHI.**

†590. \*Mr. Bhuput Sing: Are Government aware that by eliminating immediately the two Test Rooms altogether at the Agra and New Delhi Central Telegraph Offices, there would be a saving of another 50,000 rupees at least, annually, to a distressing budget? Do Government propose to abandon the Test Room at once? If not, why not?

**ALLOWANCES IN THE OFFICE OF THE RAILWAY BOARD.**

591. \*Mr. S. C. Mitra (on behalf of Mr. B. N. Misra): (a) Is it a fact that orders were issued by the Railway Board to discontinue all special and compensatory allowances in all offices including the Railway Board on and from 1st August, 1931.

(b) Is it a fact that the order was subsequently interpreted to apply only to subordinate offices and not to the Railway Board Office itself, the Central Standardisation Office, etc.?

(c) If the answer to the above is in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to say:

- (i) how many men are getting these allowances in the Railway Board Office, Central Standardisation Office and the Chief Publicity Office and what is the total cost per mensem on that account; and
- (ii) if they propose to discontinue these allowances forthwith?

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†For answer to this question. see answer to question No. 584.

**Sir Alan Parsons:** (a), (b) and (c) (ii). In April 1931, the Railway Board issued instructions to the Agents of State-managed railways and Heads of offices subordinate to the Railway Board that all special pay attached to particular posts should be considered as withdrawn with effect from the 1st July, 1931 unless specifically renewed. The intention was to bring each case under review. The instructions did not apply to compensatory allowances. Although the Chief Controller of Standardisation was not addressed officially, the instances in which special pay was attached to posts in that office were reviewed in the same way as other posts. The same procedure was followed in respect of posts in the Railway Board's Office.

(c) (i) The number drawing special pay at present is 22 and the cost is Rs. 2,700 per mensem. The cost of compensatory allowances of these establishments is Rs. 325 a month.

#### OFFICE HOURS IN THE OFFICE OF THE CONTROLLER OF RAILWAY ACCOUNTS.

592. **\*Mr. S. C. Mitra** (on behalf of Mr. B. N. Misra): Is it a fact that hours of office attendance have been altered only in the Controller of Railway Accounts Office from 10 A.M. to 5 P.M. whereas in the Railway Board the same hours continue?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** In the office of the Controller of Railway Accounts the office hours are 7 hours a day for 5 days in the week with a half hour recess making  $6\frac{1}{2}$  hours net, and on Saturdays 4 hours, no recess being granted. In the office of the Railway Board the office hours are 6 hours a day for 5 days in the week and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  hours on Saturdays, no recess being granted.

#### DISCHARGE OF TEMPORARY STAFF IN THE CONTROLLER OF RAILWAY ACCOUNTS OFFICE.

593. **\*Mr. S. C. Mitra** (on behalf of Mr. B. N. Misra): (a) Is it a fact that some six temporary men out of the temporary staff of the Railway Board's Office were transferred along with the statistical work to the Controller of Railway Accounts Office and were given promises by the Deputy Secretary, Railway Board, that they would be confirmed against the six posts in class two that they were carrying with them?

(b) Is it a fact that only one man was confirmed and that was also because he was a member of the minority community? If so, why?

(c) Is it a fact that the temporary staff in the Railway Board's Office are being provided for while these temporary men are being thrown out? Is it a fact that some of them are far senior to those in the Railway Board's Office?

(d) Is it a fact that men with more than 25 years' service are being kept while young and low-paid staff are being thrown out in the Controller of Railway Accounts' Office? Do Government propose to retain the young staff in place of those who have put in more than 25 years' service or those who are inefficient among the permanent staff?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** (a) The only assurance given to the 6 temporary men concerned was that they would not be adversely affected by the transfer.

(b) Only one man was confirmed because the efficiency and seniority of other temporary men already working in the Controller of Railway Accounts office had also to be considered.

(c) Owing to retrenchment the 5 remaining men in the Controller of Railway Accounts Office are being discharged. Temporary men in the Railway Board's office are also being discharged.

(d) I am informed that there is only one clerk with more than 25 years service in the Controller of Railway Accounts Office, but he is not approaching superannuation. The selection for discharges is being made strictly in accordance with the orders in the Railway Board's letter No. 683-E. G. of the 3rd March, 1931, and Government see no reason to alter these orders.

#### DISCHARGE OF TEMPORARY STAFF IN THE CONTROLLER OF RAILWAY ACCOUNTS OFFICE.

594. **\*Mr. S. C. Mitra** (on behalf of Mr. B. N. Misra): (a) Is it a fact that when some eight posts on account of the transfer of the statistical work in the Controller of Railway Accounts Office were permanently and provisionally filled, seniority and efficiency of all the temporary clerks was considered and those who were not considered were either junior or inefficient?

(b) If the answer to the above is in the affirmative, why are junior men being given preference over those who are senior and were provisionally confirmed?

(c) Are Government prepared to investigate the matter and reconsider the case of the temporary clerks in the Controller, Railway Accounts' Office, if not, why not?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** (a) Yes, except for persons on deputation from other offices.

(b) No junior men have so far been given any preference, though, I understand, that one comparatively junior clerk is being considered for preferential treatment on account of his exceptionally good work.

(c) No. Government are satisfied that their orders on the subject are being carried out.

#### ALLOWANCES OF DAFTRIES IN THE RAILWAY DEPARTMENT.

595. **\*Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury:** (a) Is it a fact that the Railway Department have cut down the allowance of daftries above Rs. 40 by half and have also cut down the pay of lower paid daftries according to certain other criteria—thus penalising men in both ways? If so, are they prepared to exempt lower paid daftries from the cut in accordance with the Honourable the Home Member's reply to starred question No. 375 on the 16th February, 1932?

(b) Are allowances of daftries counted towards pension? If not, why not?



**Sir Alan Parsons:** (a) The allowance of daftries above Rs. 40 has not been cut by half. The inferior staff in the office of the Railway Board are governed by the rules applicable to railway employees generally. The temporary reduction in pay of the inferior staff is as follows:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (i) When pay does not exceed<br>Rs. 30 . . . . . | half anna in the rupee for every<br>completed rupee. |
| (ii) When pay exceeds Rs. 30. . . . .            | one anna in the rupee for every<br>completed rupee.  |

(b) If the Honourable Member's question relates to personal allowance now termed personal pay, such pay will count towards pension provided the amount of pension does not exceed Rs. 20 per mensem.

**Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury:** In view of the fact that the other Government departments do not make any cut in the pay of the low paid daftries, will the Government reconsider their decision as regards the inferior staff in the Railway Board?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** The question was very carefully considered whether daftries in the Railway Department should be treated on the same footing as the daftries in the other civil departments and it was decided that it would be more just to treat them like other railway employees.

**Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury:** Does the allowance of superior officers count towards pension?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** I am afraid I do not understand what superior officers the Honourable Member is referring to.

**Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury:** In connection with my question whether the allowances of daftries count towards pension, I want to know whether the allowances of superior officers count towards pension, I mean officers above the rank of daftries?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** There is no distinction between one officer and another in the matter of the emoluments which count for pension.

**Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury:** In the case of what class of officers do the allowances not count for pension?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** I find some difficulty in following what the Honourable Member wishes to get from me. There are certain emoluments which count as pay for reckoning pension. There is no distinction between one class of officers and another in so far as the nature of the emoluments which count for pension is concerned.

**Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury:** I want to know if in the case of a certain class of officers the allowances do count for pension, why should they not count for pension in the case of the daftries?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** I have informed the Honourable Member that such allowances as personal pay count towards pension provided the amount of pension does not exceed Rs. 20 per mensem.

**Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury:** Do these daftries get Provident Fund and other benefits enjoyed by other railway employees?

**Sir Alan Parsons:** If the daftries are non-pensionable, they belong to the Railway Provident Fund and enjoy all the benefits of the Provident Fund as enjoyed by other railway employees.

TRAVELLING ALLOWANCES OF INFERIOR SERVANTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

596. **\*Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury:** (a) Is it a fact that travelling allowance for the family of an inferior servant of the Government of India is limited to only two railway fares when moving between Simla and Delhi at the time of the seasonal move of offices?

(b) Are Government aware that this puts out of pocket such of the inferior servants as have more than two family members?

(c) If so, do Government propose to remove this hardship? If not, why not?

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

(b) and (c). Until 1930 the grades of servants referred to used to receive only a double third class fare. In that year in recognition of the fact that this was inadequate for those of them who travelled with their families, it was decided to grant to all inferior servants in the Secretariat proper who move with their families one extra fare for a wife and another fare or two half fares for child or children, in addition to the two fares previously granted. Government do not consider that there is now any appreciable hardship that calls for removal.

**Mr. B. Das:** In case of persons having more than two wives, do Government also allow fares for two wives and more?

**The Honourable Sir James Orerar:** The rules are made to provide for necessities and not for luxuries. (Laughter.)

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ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO THE STANDING COMMITTEE FOR ROADS.

**Mr. President:** I have to inform the Assembly that the following six members have been elected to serve on the Standing Committee for Roads, namely:

1. Mr. G. Morgan.
2. Mr. Uppi Saheb Bahadur.
3. Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi.
4. Rai Bahadur Pandit T. N. Bhargava.
5. Rai Bahadur Sukhraj Rai.
6. Mr. N. R. Gunjal.

## MESSAGES FROM THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

**Secretary of the Assembly:** Sir, the following two Messages have been received from the Council of State. The first Message is:

"I am directed to inform you that the Council of State has, at its meeting held on the 29th February, 1932, agreed without any amendments to the following Bills which were passed by the Legislative Assembly at its meetings held on the 3rd, 12th and 22nd February, 1932, namely:

- A Bill to amend the Indian Companies (Amendment) Act, 1930, for a certain purpose,
- A Bill to repeal the Employers and Workmen (Disputes) Act, 1860,
- A Bill to extend the operation of the Wheat (Import Duty) Act, 1931,
- A Bill to amend the Indian Finance (Supplementary and Extending) Act, 1931, for a certain purpose, and
- A Bill to provide for the fostering and development of the wire and wire nail industry in British India."

The second Message runs as follows:

"I am directed to inform you that the Bill to define and amend the law relating to partnership which was passed by the Legislative Assembly at its meeting held on the 17th February, 1932, was passed by the Council of State at its meeting held on the 29th February, 1932, with the following amendments, namely:

'1. In sub-clause (1) of clause 11, for the words "The mutual rights and duties", the words "Subject to the provisions of this Act, the mutual rights and duties" were substituted.

2. For sub-clause (6) of clause 30, the following sub-clause was substituted, namely:

'(6) Where any person has been admitted as a minor to the benefits of partnership in a firm, the burden of proving the fact that such person had no knowledge of such admission until a particular date after the expiry of six months of his attaining majority shall lie on the person asserting that fact.'

3. For sub-clause (4) of clause 69, the following sub-clause was substituted, namely:

'(4) This section shall not apply—

- (a) to firms or to partners in firms which have no place of business in British India, or whose places of business in British India are situated in areas to which, by notification under section 55, this Chapter does not apply, or
- (b) to any suit or claim of set-off not exceeding one hundred rupees in value which, in the Presidency-towns, is not of a kind specified in section 19 of the Presidency Small Cause Courts Act, 1882, or, outside the Presidency-towns, is not of a kind specified in the Second Schedule to the Provincial Small Cause Courts Act, 1887, or to any proceeding in execution or other proceeding incidental to or arising from any such suit or claim.'

Sir, I lay on the table the above Bill as amended by the Council of State.

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BILL PASSED BY THE COUNCIL OF STATE LAID ON THE TABLE.

**Secretary of the Assembly:** In accordance with the provisions of rule 25 of the Indian Legislative Rules I lay on the table a Bill further to amend the Code of Civil Procedure, 1908, for a certain purpose, which was passed by the Council of State on the 29th February, 1932.

## THE RAILWAY BUDGET—LIST OF DEMANDS.

### SECOND STAGE.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): Before taking up the Demands for Grants, the Chair wishes to invite the attention of Honourable Members to the large number of cut motions of which notice has been given. Honourable Members are no doubt aware that cut motions are usually divided into three categories. One is to reduce the amount of the Demand to a nominal figure of one rupee or less. Such motions are intended to refuse supplies for redress of grievances, and no motions of cuts of that character can be entertained except for that purpose. There are two ways of dealing with refusal of supplies with regard to each Demand. One is to oppose the whole grant and reject it; the other is to move a motion of reducing the Demand to a nominal figure. Motions for practical elimination of the whole grant cannot be moved for the purpose of drawing attention to any specific grievance. Attempts appear to have been made to get priority of discussion by moving for whole cuts, and in one case, Honourable Members will observe, the cut motion proposes to reduce the amount of Demand to one pie. It is obvious that no Honourable Member wishing to give notice of a cut motion could have possibly gone below that figure. This, it appears to the Chair, is not the right method of getting priority, and the Chair does not propose to allow cut motions for ventilating specific grievances in this form. All motions for practical elimination of the whole Demand will be entertained on the only ground that the Honourable Member wishes to refuse supplies because he does not approve of the whole policy underlying that Demand. In no other case such cut motions will be allowed.

The second form of cut motions is for the purposes of economy or effecting retrenchment. If any Honourable Member feels that the amount of demand asked for by Government is excessive, he is entitled to move that that amount be reduced by any sum he may decide to fix, with a view to effecting economy. While discussing such motions, it would be relevant to discuss only how that economy can be effected. Here again an attempt to get priority by proposing a large cut to ventilate a specific grievance will not be allowed.

The third form is to move a cut motion for a nominal figure in order to ventilate a specific grievance. Honourable Members are entitled to fix that nominal or token cut at such figure as they like, but having regard to the ruling which I have given to-day, and in order to facilitate the arrangement of priority for such motions it would be desirable if Honourable Members adopted a uniform figure of cut, say Rs. 100. In that case they would be able to ventilate a specific grievance. The Chair has noticed that in some cases Honourable Members have given notice of a cut motion trying to ventilate more than one grievance. In such cases it would be difficult for Honourable Members to exercise their right of vote. The Chair therefore desires that Honourable Members, in giving notice of cut motions, will restrict themselves to one specific grievance. There is no limit to the number of cut motions which an Honourable Member may wish to move for the purpose of ventilating specific grievances on the floor of the House. That being so, he should restrict himself to one grievance in each cut motion so that the House may be able to discuss and vote upon that one issue. I trust I have made the position quite clear in

regard not only to the Railway Budget but also in regard to the General Budget. The ruling which the Chair has given to-day will enable Honourable Members to give notice of cut motions in a manner which would facilitate the business of the House.

DEMAND No. 1.—RAILWAY BOARD.

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

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,75,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of ‘Railway Board’.”

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): The first cut motion stands in the name of Mr. Maswood Ahmad, who wishes to reduce the amount to one pie to ventilate a specific grievance, namely, the inadequate Muslim representation in railway services. In view of the ruling which the Chair has given to-day, I should like to ask the Honourable Member whether he will move that the Demand under the head ‘Railway Board’ be reduced to one pie and make it a motion for refusing supplies. If he wishes to do so the Chair will allow him to move it.

**Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad** (Patna and Chota Nagpur *cum* Orissa, Muhammadan): Sir, my idea was to discuss the policy about inadequate representation of Muslims.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): That cannot be done on this motion.

**Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad**: I have another cut for Rs. 100. May I move that?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): That the Chair will deal with each motion as it stands on the Order Paper.

**Mr. B. Das** (Orissa Division: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, may I draw your attention to the fact that the Honourable gentleman gave notice on the 29th February, and got precedence?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): The Chair has given its ruling on the point. If the Honourable Member does not wish to move this motion with the object of refusing supplies he cannot move it.

**Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad**: Then, Sir, I have got another cut motion of no confidence.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): The Chair has informed the Honourable Member that the cut motions as appearing on the Order Paper will be taken up one by one.

**Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad**: Then may I move for refusal of the whole Demand?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): The Honourable Member will be entitled to do so, but he will have to restrict himself specifically to the issue of refusal of supplies and will not be allowed to deal with any one specific grievance.

**Mr. B. Das:** Are you prepared to become a Swarajist?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): Order, order.

**Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad:** Sir, I bow to your ruling and will not move this motion.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): With regard to the next motion† standing in the name of Mr. Anwar-ul-Azim the same remarks apply.

**Mr. Muhammad Anwar-ul-Azim** (Chittagong Division: Muhammad-an Rural): Sir, I will not move it.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): The next motion is in the name of Mr. Bhuput Singh, who has given notice of a cut motion to reduce the total amount to one rupee without specifying any specific grievance. The Chair therefore assumes that the Honourable Member wishes to raise the question of refusal of supplies as a whole.

**Mr. Bhuput Singh** (Bihar and Orissa: Landholders): Yes, Sir.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): Then the Honourable Member can move it.

**Mr. Bhuput Singh:** Sir, I beg to move:

“That the Demand under the head ‘Railway Board’ be reduced to Re. 1.”

In moving this motion, I am actuated by various considerations, all of which I cannot deal fully within the limited time at my disposal. I shall try to deal with some of the salient features of the Railway Board. The Indian railways have fallen on evil days. The fall in railway earnings is only partly due to world wide trade depression but mainly a creation of the present bureaucracy. When the railways were earning a good profit a few years back, the bureaucracy, without paying any heed to the advice of the Indian Legislature, squandered the railway resources for benefitting a class of railway officers. They went on adding to the number of highly paid British officers one after another, so that Great Britain might be richer by as many Britishers as could be provided in Indian railways on fat salaries. Railway administration in this country has got a woeful tale at its back. All along the railways were being run at a loss and the Indian taxpayers had to pay heavily for such losses and it was only a few years back that they became profit earning. Just at that very moment, the railway finance was separated from the general finance, giving the railway authorities and Administrations a chance of adding any number of new appointments at the headquarters as well as on the different lines. This House since its creation insisted on the reduction of expenditure by reducing the number of Members of the bulky Railway Board, and insisted further that Indians should be trained in the different branches of railway administration so that they could have taken over the work now from the highly paid British officers, and thereby the cost of the top heavy

†“That the Demand under the head ‘Railway Board’ be reduced to Re. 1.” (More Indianisation).

[Mr. Bhuput Sing.]

railway administration would have been considerably reduced. But as usual with the present irresponsible administration they never paid any heed to these insistent demands, though the country has cried itself hoarse both in the press and on the platform as well as in this House. If they would have taken steps to find out real ways and means for the reduction of railway expenditure during the last ten or twelve years they would not have come to this state of penury in which they are at present.

Then coming to the general retrenchment schemes of railways, I am not at all satisfied that the Railway Board and Railway Administrations have done all that could have been done and was desired. Every one knows that all these years the railways had two separate scales of pay, one, a higher one, for the constituents of my friend the Honourable Sir Henry Gidney and another, a lower one for Indians whether Muslim, Hindu, Jain, Sikh, Christian or members of the depressed classes. But owing to the insistent demand of this House as well as of the public press and the political leaders outside, the railway authorities are taking steps to do away with this racial discrimination. But the method adopted by the railway authorities for removing this anomaly is on the contrary increasing the costs of the railway administration in so far that the pay of Anglo-Indians could not be lowered and consequently the pay of others has to be raised wherever possible.

Further, on my perusal of some of the figures for some of the railways, I found that the number of all higher appointments in the railways remains nearly the same this year as in the last year. In the Budget speech of the Honourable Member he flattered himself and the railway administration stating that vigilant watch is being kept over all the railway expenditure for pruning and axing, but if this be the sample of the vigilant watch that is being kept over railway administration I would rather cry halt as these instances are nothing but adding insult to injury.

Then in coming to the question of the fall in the earnings from the passenger traffic, I am to bring to the notice of the railway authorities two points, firstly the Honourable the Railway Member has admitted that now-a-days there is a tendency of the passengers travelling in a lower class; that being so I would ask him as to what arrangements he has made for this increased traffic in the lower classes. As far back as 1924, in reply to a question in this House, Mr. Parsons (now Sir Alan Parsons) stated that the cost of construction of different classes of carriages for passenger traffic will be made available to us. I tried to find it out, but subject to correction, I say that it has not been made available to us yet. If I could have those figures, I would have been able to prove that though third class passengers yield more earning and profit, still the Railway Administrations spend vast amounts of money beyond proportion to build these luxurious higher class carriages, though they are run at a loss. Moreover, the Honourable Sir Charles Innes made a statement in that year that in England first class fares are double that of third class fares whereas in India it is six times the third class fares, insinuating thereby that such third class passengers in India cannot expect to get the comforts that may be expected by such passengers in the United Kingdom and on the Continent. Here in India the cost of construction of first class bogies is surely much more than six times the cost of third class bogies. The net result being that even lower class passengers find that they do not get their money value worth of comforts in comparison with higher class passengers.

and as such they have taken to the road motors wherever available. Further, the incivility and inattention on the part of Anglo-Indian Station Superintendents and other staff to third class passengers is also one of the causes why passenger traffic is decreasing. Further, Sir, in order to divert the passengers from the road motors and buses, railways should take care to give more amenities by way of sleeping accommodation, provision of fans and other comforts for lower class passengers by which they can bring back their customers. I am sure, Sir, without some such methods being adopted, the passenger earnings will decrease year by year.

I want to say something about what my Honourable friend Mr. Chetty said about motor buses. I think the competition is very wholesome for the railways. Otherwise the railways will never look to economy and retrenchment.

For all these causes I think that the Railway Board is an unnecessary burden on the taxpayers' money. What I suggest is that the Railway Board should be totally abolished and the whole of the department should be entrusted to one Member of the Government to carry on the present duties. The whole of the civil administration of India is being done by Departments with one Member in charge with his two or three Secretaries; so I do not see any reason why the railway administration cannot be worked efficiently by a single Member with two or three Secretaries with expert knowledge, and that is the reason why I have moved this motion that the Demand under this head be reduced to Re. 1. Sir, I move.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad** (United Provinces Southern Division: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, this motion practically means that the Railway Board should be abolished; and from what we have been discussing during the last two years I for myself do not find any reason for its existence in the present form. I have been trying to find out whether the responsibility for efficiently running the lines rests with the Agents or the Railway Board. I put this question definitely in the Assembly, but I got no reply; and if the Railway Board do not take the responsibility upon themselves for the efficient working of the railways, I do not see any reason for their existence, and the motion of my Honourable friend is quite to the point. It has been pointed out, and I also said so briefly yesterday, that the Railway Board has been mismanaging the railway funds. During the last six years when the accounts were separated from the general finances they spent in the neighbourhood of 186 crores of rupees only on running the lines and about 45 crores on new lines. Now they said very clearly when they demanded sanction for these 45 crores, that these new lines would yield an income of from 5 per cent. to 13 per cent., different in different cases. But we find that they yield only 1 per cent., while the money was borrowed for them at 5.7 per cent. Who has got the responsibility? The Railway Board certainly has got the responsibility, and if they cannot explain on the floor of the House today the reason for this abnormal diminution in the income which cannot be explained by reason of general depressions alone, certainly there is no justification for their existence, and the motion which my Honourable friend has brought forward is quite justified.

The second thing is—and this is a thing which has to be considered rather seriously,—whether instead of having paid Members of the Railway Board, we should not adopt the system of the companies and have honorary members of the Board who may meet whenever the occasion demands and carry on the work in the same manner as the Directors of Company-managed railways are carrying on or as the Directors of other business firms



[Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad.]

are doing their work, and leave the actual administration in the hands of paid managers. In this case it will be necessary to have only a central office for the Agents, but that is not the subject before us at the moment. I am only mentioning it as an illustration as to how it will be feasible; instead of having many Agents for different railways, let them have only one central agency for all the railways and adopt their divisional organizations; I think, the time has come when we should consider seriously the reorganization of the Railway Board—the dismissal of low paid Indians is not the solution of the difficulty—and unless we refuse the grant altogether the Government are not likely to move in this matter.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai** (Sind: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I had no intention to intervene in this debate, but when my Honourable friend the Mover of this motion suggested that the Railway Board should be done away with altogether, I saw there was laughter from the Treasury Benches, and that has made me stand up and say a few words in support of this motion which should be considered very seriously. The Budget that has been presented tells a sad tale. It shows us that, after all the care and trouble the Honourable the Railway Member has taken to bring out the Budget, there is a clear deficit of 9½ crores, and therefore the matter cannot be treated with contempt as it is intended to be done from the other side. Sir, the reorganization of the Railway Board is a great necessity. We find that when matters are left in the hands of one Member assisted by some experienced and capable Secretaries, things are better done; but if they are left in the hands of many, they spoil them, because generally too many cooks spoil the broth. Therefore, Sir, I think that it is high time that the Railway Board was reorganized in such a way that certain posts, which are now kept in abeyance in the name of retrenchment, should be entirely done away with. Then again the question of the pay of the higher officers and the curtailment of their number has also to be considered very seriously. The present tendency is to abolish only the posts of subordinates and low-paid people. This creates discontent amongst them, and I submit that it is these subordinate officials who form the very backbone of the administration; it is the subordinate officials who prepare everything for the signature of the higher officials. In some cases we know that some of the higher officers merely sign the papers submitted to them by the subordinate officials. Therefore, these subordinate officials should be kept in good temper as they are a very useful body of public servants.

A word more I will say, Sir, with regard to collaboration of the motor service with the railways. Yesterday this matter was brought up first by our Deputy President. He pointed out that this motor service was doing great harm to the railways, but I think, Sir, it is a sound and wholesome principle to have healthy competition. If there is no competition, then the public suffer. What is the position now? The railways go on increasing from time to time rates and fares; in some places I find that they even forge the mileage. Take for instance mileage from one station to another; if the distance is only say 8 miles, their tariff shows 16 miles or even 18 and they charge fares on the latter mileage. In like manner it is left to the sweet will of the railway authorities alone to put up the rates and fares in any manner they like. Therefore, if there is competition, their eyes will be opened to the exact situation and they will try and improve the amenities of the travelling public. Now, the motor service

people are plying their service at cheaper rates, and naturally there is a cry from the railway side. Why should not the railways also curtail their rates and fares? Therefore, Sir, in order to keep the Railway Board under proper check and to make them realise the exact position, I think there should be healthy competition, and that competition should not be interfered with. These are my humble submissions, Sir.

**Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad:** Sir, I oppose the motion moved by my friend Mr. Bhuput Sing. There must be a central body to control the different railways in India. If the whole amount is rejected as suggested by the Honourable the Mover, how can the Railway Board be reorganized at all, I for one cannot understand.

Another suggestion made by my friend was that the Members of the Board should be honorary. I say that if we are to have Honorary Members for the Railway Board, it will be very difficult to get honorary clerks also. (Laughter.) (*An Honourable Member:* "You will have to pay them some bribes.") Sir, I think by rejecting the whole amount and allowing them only one rupee, it will mean the complete abolition of the Railway Board, in which case it will be very difficult to run the whole system. The Railway Board has retrenched its expenditure to a very great extent, if the one member remaining will also be retrenched, who will stand and make promises on the floor of the House. (Laughter.) With these words, Sir, I oppose the motion moved by my Honourable friend.

**The Honourable Sir George Rainy:** Sir, I have listened with great interest to what has fallen from my Honourable friend who has just spoken on this motion, but I confess that the grounds adduced by him for the practical omission of the Demand for the Railway Board are hardly adequate for such a very drastic step. I should like to take first one small point made by my friend Mr. Bhuput Sing. One of the grounds he gave as to why there should be no money for the Railway Board, and I presume, therefore, no Railway Board, was this. He said that I had pointed out that there was a strong tendency to travel one class lower; that being so he asked, why had we not made provision for the increased numbers in the third class. I imagine he supposed there was great accumulation there. But I regret to say that the tendency to which I referred is not merely that people travel one class lower, but a lot of people now do not travel at all. The actual figures for the numbers of passengers carried are—in 1929-30 606 millions, and in 1930-31 550 millions. I think that illustrates what I meant, for in truth we are carrying a much smaller number of third class passengers. My friend also referred to the competition of the motor buses. I should have hoped that the Railway Administration were entitled rather to sympathy in the matter than condemnation. It is not we who run the motor buses in competition with ourselves.

Then he referred to what he thought would be a better arrangement, namely, that in place of the Board the Department should be administered by a single Member of the Government. I do not know whether he intended any personal allusion in these words, because at present I believe I am the only "single" Member of Government, and I do not know whether it was his desire that I should always be the Railway Member. If so, I am grateful for the compliment, but I am afraid I cannot accept it as deserved.

[Sir George Rainy.]

Sir, my Honourable friend Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad raised some broader issues,—and made it evident that he was not satisfied with the way in which the railways were being administered. On various occasions in this House he had brought forward criticisms of our policy, and I understand his attitude. But when he said that he had never been able to obtain an answer to his question whether the Railway Board were responsible for the efficient management of the railways, I am rather surprised, because quite clearly the Railway Board are responsible to the Government of India for the efficient management of the railways, as the Government of India are responsible to the Secretary of State. There can be no question as to that responsibility, and I am at a loss to know what exactly my Honourable friend's difficulty is.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** On a point of personal explanation, Sir. Whenever this question was raised in the Assembly, the Government always replied that the Agents were responsible and not the Railway Board.

**The Honourable Sir George Rainy:** For the general direction of policy Government are undoubtedly responsible, and it is Government that must be called to account in the Assembly. There can be no question about that. Then he raised the question of the construction of new lines which were not paying an adequate return on the capital invested and had not fulfilled the anticipations which were formed at the time they were sanctioned. Apart from particular cases which were alluded to yesterday, there are general points that I want to make. The first is that of the lines the construction of which was sanctioned within the last ten years, very few have yet been open for five years, and as the estimates of probable traffic returns are supposed to be on the basis of what they earn five or seven years after they are opened, they have not yet reached a stage when a final judgment can be passed. But, apart from that, the economic conditions today being what they are, I should be very much surprised if any single railway was giving the return which might reasonably have been expected with the conditions existing five or even three years ago. As things are today, it is impossible that any of our lines should earn what we should have regarded as a normal return not so very long ago.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** I have got before me in Appendix F of the Report details of all these railways that have been constructed, and I notice that there is not a single line which is paying the income anticipated though many of them are in full working order, and the aggregate yield is 1 per cent.

**The Honourable Sir George Rainy:** The Honourable Member is merely repeating what he has already said. I was pointing out to him that in the economic conditions now prevailing it would be a very extraordinary thing if they were earning the return expected at the time they were sanctioned.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** But what is the limit?

**The Honourable Sir George Rainy:** I cannot see what my Honourable friend gains by merely repeating his accusation. He has already said that and we all understand him.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** May I just remind the Honourable Member? There is, after all, some limit to this depreciation, because the earning is 1 per cent. against the borrowing interest of 5·7 per cent. Can this be a limit which you can swallow?

**The Honourable Sir George Rainy:** I must say I do not see what my Honourable friend gains by merely repeating what the House has quite clearly understood to be his point.

(At this stage Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad again rose in his seat.)

I am afraid I cannot give way any further on this particular point to my Honourable friend.

Now, the general question raised as regards the alleged inefficiency of the Railway Board was this, how can they be efficient when there is such a large deficit? If that is to be the test, then I am afraid there is not a single efficient railway administration in the world today; and if there is, I do not know which it is. Let me here give a few examples. Let us take, first of all, the British railways. The receipts fell from 183 million pounds in 1929 by 10 millions in 1930 and another 15 millions in 1931, and if one reads the newspapers as regards the dividends paid by these railways, it would appear that they are very far from being financially successful at the moment. As regards Canadian railways, their gross receipts are down by 80 million dollars in 1930, while their operating expenses fell by only 52 million dollars. The same applies to the Australian railways. The deficit in the French State railways for the last year was announced to be 15 million pounds, and since that announcement the receipts have steadily fallen, and so on, through this list. It is not an isolated case of the Indian railways; it is a universal condition applying to railways all over the world.

Then, Sir, there is one small point raised by my Honourable friend Mr. Lalchand Navalrai. He said that the subordinates were the backbone of the railways, and I have not a word to say against that; as a matter of fact, I have testified again and again in this House to the respect in which I hold our railway subordinates, but I would submit that because the backbone is very important that is not a good reason for refusing supply to the brain.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** As the Honourable Member has not replied to my question . . .

**Mr. President:** (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): The Honourable Member cannot keep on interrupting in the way he is doing.

**Mr. Bhuput Singh:** The point is that the Railway Board is not carrying on the administration efficiently. So, what is the necessity of keeping up an establishment when it could be done by one Member . . . .

**The Honourable Sir George Rainy:** On a point of order, Sir. Is the Honourable Member entitled to reply on the amendment?

**Mr. President:** (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): It is not an amendment; it is a cut motion. The Chair held last year that in the case of Budget cut motions the Mover is entitled to reply.

**Mr Bhuput Sing:** If the Member in charge of the Railways has got only one portfolio, I think he can manage the railway administration better than by having a Railway Board with so many Directors, Deputy Directors and Assistant Directors. I therefore think that the Railway Board should be abolished. Sir, I commend my motion to the acceptance of the House.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): The question which I have to put is:

“That the Demand under the head ‘Railway Board’ be reduced to Rs. 1.”  
The motion was negatived.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): The next motion\* stands in the name of Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney (No. 11). If he wishes to move it, he will have to restrict his observations to showing how he proposes to reduce the amount of the grant for the purpose of economy to the extent of Rs. 50,000.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney** (Nominated Non-Official): Sir, before I move this motion, I would apologise to you for not being here at the beginning of your remarks when you gave your ruling, but if you will permit me, I propose to move my motion not merely as a censure on Government but to move it as a distinct cut in the grant demanded by the Railway Board to the extent of Rs. 50,000 and for a specific purpose—that is; that in my opinion the Railway Board has not properly controlled the carrying out of its retrenchment policy.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): The Honourable Member says he was not present on the occasion when  
12 Noon. the Chair gave its ruling in the morning. The Chair wishes to remind the Honourable Member that not so very long ago the Honourable Member had given notice of a similar cut motion of a lakh of rupees and there was a distinct ruling from my predecessor in office in regard to that cut motion. The ruling I gave to-day is practically on the same lines as was then given. The Honourable Member will be perfectly entitled to move his motion for the purpose of effecting economy to the extent of Rs. 50,000 and will be quite free to show how he proposes to do so.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** I thank you, Sir, for that explanation, but, notwithstanding that, Sir, I desire, with your permission, to move my motion because my desire is to show that retrenchment on Railways has been so incorrectly carried out that the work of the Railway Board could have been carried out just as efficiently with an expenditure of Rs. 50,000 less than its demand.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): The Chair has repeatedly pointed out that the Honourable Member will be perfectly in order in moving his cut motion if the speech which he makes in support will be for the purpose of effecting economy to the extent of Rs. 50,000.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** Do I understand that Honourable Members are prevented from moving cuts which would seriously affect the working of the Railway Department simply because the question of a

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\*“That the Demand under the head ‘Railway Board’ be reduced by Rs. 50,000 (Retrenchment policy and recruitment of minorities).”

policy is to be made the difference between a censure motion and a substantial cut motion. Otherwise we have no right to move a motion except a small cut of a rupee or Rs. 100. If you want to show that the railways are not functioning properly . . .

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): The Chair expects that every Honourable Member will be present in his seat when the Assembly meets. If the Honourable Member had been present here, he would have followed the ruling which the Chair gave in great detail, in order that there may be no misapprehension on the subject. The Chair has now to call upon the Honourable Member to move this motion, for the purpose of effecting economy, but not with the object of moving a vote of censure. The Honourable Member will have ample opportunity of dealing with censure motions on the numerous token cuts which appear on the Order Paper.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney**: I am sorry, Sir, that you found it necessary to make such remarks on my not being present here this morning. I cannot possibly be present in two places at the same time. I had been to the Air Force meeting this morning and have just left it.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): Order, order. The Honourable Member has been called upon to move his motion as an economy cut. If he wishes to move it, he is welcome to do so. If he is not, the Chair will pass on to the next item on the Order Paper. Does the Honourable Member wish to move it?

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney**: Sir, I am not moving this cut under those conditions and premises. I will speak on a later occasion.

*Representation of Muslims in the Railway Services.*

**Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad**: Sir, I beg to move that the Demand under the head 'Railway Board' be reduced by Rs. 100, to discuss Muslim representation in railway service. Before I discuss that point I want to say two or three lines about my Honourable friend Sir George Rainy. I should like to say that we are very sorry to know that this is the last Budget presented by my Honourable friend Sir George Rainy. I very much regret that a man with such a brilliant career is leaving us very soon, a man with great administrative ability and capacity, fair dealing and a smiling face. We shall miss his personality and tremendous power of explanation when he leaves us. Although he will be thousands of miles away, I can assure him that he will be never absent from our minds and we all wish him a long and happy life in his mother country. (Loud Applause.)

Now, Mr. President, the question of the paucity of Muslims in the railway services is brought year after year to the notice of the Government at the time of the Budget debates in the Assembly. Not only in the Budget debates, but by means of questions, private letters to the Railway Board and deputations also, and every effort is made by the Muslim Members of this House to impress upon the Government the injustice which is being done to them in not securing their proper representation in the railway services. But with what result? The result will be apparent from the figures which I shall place before the House later during the course of my speech. I do not know, Sir, why our entreaties, our questions, our speeches and deputations do not help us to secure our due

[Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad.]

representation in the railway services. The only answer that I can think of is that Government know that Muslims are a band of loyal persons and Government also know that they do not require anything except promises to secure their support and therefore there is no necessity of doing anything for the Muslims.

Mr. President, there is no doubt that the Government have been prompt in making promises, and we apprehend that even now our Honourable friend Mr. Hayman will rise up and add one more assurance to the long list of those assurances which his colleagues and subordinates have never thought fit to carry out. Personally I do not think that this policy of making promises which cannot be fulfilled is likely to pay in the long run, because the evil seeds of distrust which are being germinated in the minds of the young Muslims of this country are likely to prove very fatal and embarrassing to the Government. Now, let us see what Mr. Hayman said on this subject last year and how far he was able to give effect to what he promised. This is what he said :

"Every one of the Muslim Members who has spoken on the subject is dissatisfied with the present position. I am even dissatisfied and I am dissatisfied because the figures show that in the superior services and in the upper subordinate services the Muslims are very inadequately represented; and I think, Sir, it is the duty of Government to see that the declared policy is given effect to and it is the duty of the Railway Board to see that nothing is omitted to be done to give Muslims proper and adequate representation in consonance with the declared policy."

In spite of the dissatisfaction of Mr. Hayman, there has been no progress towards the increase of Muslim representation in the railway services. If the Railway Board are unable to give effect to their "declared policy" I shall ask them to leave their seats in a body to make room for others who will be able to control the situation better. (Applause.) At another place Mr. Hayman said :

"We will do this because we are anxious to see that the omissions of the past are not repeated and that Muslim interests receive adequate representation."

Mr. President, although he admits that there has been omission in the past, still he and his colleagues are not doing justice to the Muslims. He said at another place :

"I am also anxious to see that senior subordinates who are Muslims are put in as Head Clerks and Superintendents of offices when qualified and senior enough."

May I know what steps he took to give effect to this promise which was so generously held out with regard to this particular subject last year?

Mr. President, in my mind there are only two reasons for this sorry state of affairs. Firstly, either the Government are afraid of doing justice to the Mussalmans, or secondly the situation is so cumbrous and complicated that, in spite of their very best wishes and desires, they cannot give effect to the promises which are being made from time to time. (Hear, hear.)

Before proceeding with the figures, I will quote a sentence more from Mr. Hayman's speech. He said :

"But I give my solemn undertaking that I have this (Muslim representation) question at heart and I will push it forward with all the energy that I can command. I will be the 'driving force' in this question and I shall get the Agents of Railways to take my view and to rectify the existing defects."

I now proceed to show what the driving force of my Honourable friend represents to the material world. The annual Railway Report published for the year 1929-30 showed that the total number of Muslim employees on all Indian Railways and in the office of the Railway Board and other offices subordinate thereto on the 31st March, 1930, was 182,349 Muslims out of 817,733 total staff, *i.e.*, 22·17 per cent. and on the 31st March, 1931, 172,321 Muslims out of 781,130 grand total staff, *i.e.*, 22·06 per cent. I ask the Railway Board, Sir, to peruse the comparative statement at page 48 of Vol. I, of Railway Board's Report for the year 1930-31 and see for themselves that for all the "driving force" of my Honourable friend, Mr. Hayman, the result is that the Muslim percentage during the period of one year decreased by 11 per cent. Am I not correct? This is the improvement that has been made in Muslim representation on the railways.

Mr. President, those figures contain menials as well and let us now examine the figures for higher ranks and see the result of the solemn undertaking given by Mr. Hayman last year to do his level best for advancing the cause of the Muslims. I hope my Honourable friend, Bhai Parma Nand also will kindly note it. (Hear, hear.) On the State Railways, Sir, in 1929, the total number of gazetted officers was 1,309, and out of these 56 were Muslims, *vide* page 58, Volume I, of the Railway Board Report for 1929-30. In 1930, out of 1,258, the number of Muslims was 55, and in 1931, out of 1,218, the Muslims were 59 only *vide* page 55, Volume I, of the Railway Board Report for 1930-31. On Company-managed Railways, in the corresponding gazetted rank in 1929 out of 871, the total number of Moslem employees was 17 only, *vide* page 58, Volume I of the Railway Board Report for 1929-30.

**Bhai Parma Nand** (Ambala Division. Non-Muhammadan): How many were Anglo-Indians?

**Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad**: You may find out yourself from the Report on the same pages. My time is very limited. (Laughter.) In 1930, out of 876, the Muslims were 16 only, and in 1931, out of 859, the Muslims were 21 only, *vide* page 55, Volume I, of the Railway Board Report for 1930-31.

Taking the figures of both the State and Company-managed railways, *vide* pages 58 and 55 of Volume I of the Railway Board Report for 1929-30 and 1930-31, we find that in 1929 the percentage of Muslims was 3·85 per cent. and in 1931, that is two years after, it was 3·85 per cent. In other words a rise of '5 per cent. in two years. In the subordinate service among employees drawing Rs. 250 and above, the figures were as follows:

State Railways.—In 1929, out of 6,219, 312 only were Muslims (*vide* page 59, Volume I, Railway Report 1929-30); in 1930, out of 6,376, 322 only were Muslims and in 1931, out of 6,213, 324 only were Muslims (*vide* page 56, Volume I, Railway Report 1930-31).

On Company Railways, in 1929, out of 2,798, 56 only were Muslims (*vide* page 59, Volume I, Railway Report 1929-30); in 1930, out of 2,870, 67 only were Muslims and in 1931, out of 2,857, 67 only were Muslims (*vide* page 56, Volume I, Railway Board Report 1930-31).



[Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad.]

The percentage of Muslims in both the State and Company-managed railways taken together was 4·08 in 1929 and 4·81 in 1931 (*vide* pages 59 and 56, Volume I, Railway Reports 1929-30 and 1930-31). In other words a gain of ·23 per cent.

Sir, after clamouring for two years we could raise our percentage by ·50 in the gazetted ranks and by ·23 in the subordinate service. Let us now turn our attention to the fresh appointments that were made during the last three years and judge for ourselves how far we have been successful in our attempts to secure a larger proportion of appointments for the Mussalmans in the railway services.

On Class I Railways, the total number of appointments in gazetted ranks was 70 in 1928-29, out of which 4 were Muslims, in 1929-30, 5 were Muslims out of 48 vacancies actually filled (*vide* page 123, Volume I, Railway Report 1929-30), and in 1930-1931, out of 60, only 5 Muslims were appointed (*vide* page 114, Volume I, Railway Report 1930-31). Mr. President, you will be surprised to know that, in spite of so many promises, not a single Muslim was taken in the gazetted ranks on the Company-managed railways during the last three years. (Hear, hear.)

Taking the figures of all the ranks and of all the railways together, we find that the percentage of Muslims was 22·08 in 1929 and in 1931, it was 22·06, *i.e.*, in other words, our representation has gone down by ·02 per cent. in two years and by ·11 per cent. in one year.

Sir, the figures I have quoted above are of the period before retrenchment. After retrenchment, our percentage has still gone down. On the North Western Railway in the subordinate establishment our percentage after retrenchment went down by ·25 and on the East Indian Railway it went down by ·15 (*vide* Railway Board letter No. 3966-E., dated 2nd November, 1931). I shall deal with this question later when the retrenchment question will come up. I have given notice of a cut for discussing that aspect separately.

Sir, in spite of so many promises, I am really surprised to find that the figures I have quoted above have been allowed to continue and stay. It seems quite strange that in spite of so many assurances on the floor of this House and outside by responsible officials of the Government, things do not seem to change at all, and in certain directions they are certainly showing a diminishing return.

Mr. President, the House will realize now that we have got just cause for wonder as to when this snail's pace of progress—and in fact there has been a gradual decrease at certain places—the goal will be reached. I think at this speed it will take centuries for the Muslims to get their proper share in the railway services.

Before I proceed further, Mr. President, let me allude to a very important question that arises in this connection. The Muslims claim a majority on the North Western Railway and the Eastern Bengal Railway in the matter of their representation. Their reason is that in the provinces served by these railways their population forms a majority. Sir, when I touch this point that the Muslims on the aforesaid railways should be treated as a majority community and should be given majority rights, *viz.*, two-thirds of the total employments, I do not strike a new note.

Very recently our Honourable friend, Bhai Parma Nand, has in question No. 463 (e) asked the Government:

“Do Government propose to fix some percentage for the Hindus on the North-Western Railway where they are in a minority?”

It will thus be seen, Sir, that the great leader of the Hindu Mahasabha, namely, Bhai Parma Nand, agrees with me when I say that the Hindus on the North Western Railway should be treated as a minority community.

**Mr. Amar Nath Dutt** (Burdwan Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Both are equally bad.

**Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad:** 63·35 per cent. of Muslim population in tracts served by the North Western Railway and about the same percentage of Muslim population in the tracts served by the Eastern Bengal Railway are only recommended for 50 and 40 per cent. of the total employments on the aforesaid railways by the Special Officer of the Railway Board. It leads to a clear conclusion that the Hindus seem to be satisfied by their being treated, and that legitimately too, as a minority community, but the Government are anxious to give them the majority rights on those railways! A question arises, why should the Government be anxious to do so? The conclusion arises therefrom that it is because the Government have no genuine desire to improve the Muslim representation. Sir, Moslem India therefore cannot be satisfied with Mr. Hassan's Report. It gives Muslims much less than their due share. Sir, the Nehru Report was drowned in the river Ravi, and the low percentage recommended by Mr. Hassan will be drowned in the Jumna—the nearest river to the Railway Board. (Laughter.) Even this 50 per cent. on North Western Railway I believe will become 35 per cent. on the table of the staff member. Sir, Muslims cannot be satisfied without getting their due share, which should be fixed on our population basis at least on all the State-managed railways. We cannot accept even a '01 per cent. less than our population basis. This is a question of loaves and fishes and every community must get its due share. My Honourable friend, Bhai Parma Nand, wanted to know whether we want our representation on provincial lines. I say I want Muslim representation on a population basis of the area through which a particular railway runs. I want our due share on a population basis on State-managed railways. I am sure on Company-managed railways I cannot get even 10 per cent. of the higher services for the coming 100 years.

I do not want weightage in any railways, but I will be satisfied with a population basis. Sir, the Special Officer in preparing the Report was handicapped. According to my information he was never regarded as an officer of the Railway Board by the subordinate Divisional Superintendents and Agents. Every sort of obstacle was put in his way. Information was withheld in an unscrupulous manner. A remarkable instance of this is a letter issued by the Agent, North Western Railway, to the different Divisional Superintendents. Sir, it reads as follows:

“It is hereby emphasised in future that no other information is to be supplied or steps taken to compile the same on direct communication from Mr. K. M. Hassan, Officer on Special Duty, unless it has the approval of the Office.”

I do not know, Sir, if Mr. Hassan, Officer on Special Duty, is himself aware of these instructions.

[Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad.]

Although Mr. Hassan's Report falls short of our demands, still it contains much valuable information and proves that injustice has been done to the Muslims in the past and present and there is no chance of justice even in future, if the same system exists. I would like to pay a tribute to Mr. Hassan for his industry and the hard work that he brought to bear upon the enquiry himself.

The North Western Railway passes through the provinces where the population of Muslims is about 70 per cent. and the Eastern Bengal Railway runs through Eastern Bengal where also the Muslim population is nearly in the same percentage. In spite of this, our representation in the railway higher services is insignificant. If we go through Mr. Hassan's Report, pages 48 to 68, it will be quite clear that the percentage of Muslim representation in the higher services is very very low.

Now I will deal with higher posts on different railways, excluding the Accounts Branch, Sir. In the Eastern Bengal Railway, in the subordinate staff the Muslim representation is 14·09 per cent. and in clerical office staff Muslims are 4·47 per cent. and on posts of rupees 150 or more in the same branch Muslims are '88 per cent. In other branches, Sir, in the Locomotive Department the Muslims form 44·28, but in the post of 150 or above Muslims are nil. In the Traffic Department (transportation) the percentage is 9·08 and in posts of 150 or above '95 per cent. In the traffic commercial department Muslim percentage is 19·13 and all on lower service. In the loco. carriage department 13·59 per cent. and on salary of 150 or above is '26 per cent. In locomotive workshop 1·06 per cent. In the Civil Engineering 7·87 per cent. while on posts of 150 or above 4·26 per cent. In the stores department 3·85 per cent., on higher post, nil. In medical department 18·12 while on higher post 7·69 per cent. only. I do not want to take up the time of the House in quoting from this book any further because the report is in the hands of all the Members of the House. I agree with my Honourable friend Bhai Parma Nand that Railway is a commercial branch, but I will add that it should not be the monopoly of one community because it is injurious for commercial branch. The condition in the Accounts Branch is also very unsatisfactory, rather worse than other departments. The great fun is, that in Dinapore Division of the East Indian Railway, in the accounts branch there is not a single permanent Muslim clerk. While Abdul Khalique, a graduate, is serving with matrics as a temporary clerk only, he is not given sufficient chance to show his ability. The condition of the Railway Clearing Accounts Office is also very unsatisfactory and Rai Bahadur Faqir Chand retrenched 33 per cent. Muslims from that office while at the time of appointment other communities were also included by him in this percentage of 33. I do apprehend that the Honourable the Railway Member will be prompt in making another assurance or declaration that some new committee or commission or some Advisory Committee is under contemplation of the Railway Board to examine the question in detail. But the committees and commissions we have had enough of, and it is now time that Government should sincerely and earnestly apply themselves to the question and see that their promises no more form a stock of scoundrel for the public. The prestige of the Government in this respect has gone very low and any more delay would make their position still more awkward.

Here I want to say one word about the question of efficiency. In this connection three issues arise. Firstly whether qualified Muslims are or were available in sufficient numbers or not. Secondly, whether Muslims have got the chance to qualify themselves and to show their ability and efficiency or not and thirdly when Muslims got the chance to qualify, what was the result. In this connection on the first issue I will quote from Mr. B. T. Singh's note. He carries on investigation on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway and he says that the D. S. stated that he would have no difficulty in securing Muslim candidates from these parts. About the North Western Railway, another Special Officer says at page 40 of Mr. Hassan's Report that:

"Information germane to this point was available only in the Lahore Division as no other Division has maintained the necessary records. In this Division alone 712 and 743 educationally qualified Muslims applied for the advertised posts in 1928-29 and 1929-30 respectively. There are roughly 20,000 subordinate posts on the N. W. Ry. and assuming a normal wastage of 4 per cent. the total number of vacancies that are likely to occur during the course of a year will be 800. "Now even if 50 per cent."—(I do not agree with him on 50 per cent. I want 63 per cent., Sir.)—"of these had been given to Muslims, 400 qualified Muslims would have filled them. After making the fullest possible allowance for all the factors that may lead to rejection, it will be seen that one Division of the N. W. R. could produce sufficient qualified Muslim candidates to fill all the vacancies that might have been given to them on the whole of the N. W. R."

Further he says on page 41:

"The argument of the dearth of qualified Muslims becomes untenable."

Now, as regards the second issue, I will say that the Muslims did not get a sufficient chance to show their ability and that no active steps were taken to increase the Muslim representation. According to Mr. B. T. Singh's note (*vide* page 42 of Mr. Hassan's Report), the D. S. stated that no active steps had been taken to increase the representation of minority communities in the subordinate services under his control. The Chief Personal Officer's note on page 45 of Mr. Hassan's report shows "No special facilities have been given to Muslims . . ." Special Officer in paragraph 165 says "My enquiries on other Railways show that no special facilities have been afforded to Muslims". Now, the third issue comes whether when Muslims get a chance, they qualify themselves or not:

"The figures of the Walton Training School speak for themselves. Out of all the Muslim students sent by the 7 Divisions of the North Western Railway for training during the period 1927—30 as many as 84 per cent., passed. These results are at once a tribute to the efficiency of the school and a credit to the students concerned and at the same time constitute a convincing proof of the fact that Muslims have not failed to utilize the opportunities that have been offered to them."

In conclusion I will make the following suggestions. The first suggestion is that a definite percentage on a population basis, *i.e.*, 39 per cent., should be fixed for Muslims on all the State-managed railways and on the Railway Board jointly. On the North Western Railway, 63 per cent., on East Indian Railway 40 per cent., on Eastern Bengal Railway 50 per cent., on Great Indian Peninsula Railway 10 per cent., and on the Railway Board 25 per cent., total 39 per cent.

The second suggestion is that minimum qualifications should be fixed for all posts lower and intermediate so that the question of efficiency may not come in the way.

[Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad.]

My third suggestion is that Muslims should be appointed on intermediate posts also in the same percentage mentioned above, in the first suggestion. I hope, the Honourable Sir George Rainy will leave behind as the crowning act of his eventful administration, a circular, the Rainy Circular, which will be the Magna Charta of Muslim rights in railway services so that he may be remembered in the years to come as the honest and conscientious Englishman who tried to do justice to the Muslims. (Applause.)

**Mr. President:** Cut motion moved:

"That the Demand under the head 'Railway Board' be reduced by Rs. 100 (Representation of Muslims in the Railway services)."

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** Sir, I rise to support this motion and my chief reason for doing so is this volume that I hold in my hand, Mr. Hassan's Report. I hold no brief for the Mover of the amendment, nor do I claim to possess any brief for the Railway Board. I desire to take a dispassionate view on this motion, and in doing so, I am actuated by certain principles which I think should control all institutions, especially one of such magnitude as the Railway Board, *i.e.*, justice to all communities. I am sorry, I cannot agree with the Honourable the Mover of this motion when he places the blame for the paucity of Muslim employees on Railways on the shoulders of the Railway Board, though it is not altogether blameless. With this preface, Sir, that I hold no brief for the Mover I will now try to explain my reasons for supporting his motion. There is ample evidence in Mr. Hassan's admirable Report to prove that the Railway Board has issued frequent instructions to the Agents of the various Railways and pointed out the measures which they should adopt in the recruitment of all communities including the Muslims. And there is also ample evidence, in this Report—in fact there is more than ample evidence,—to show, on Mr. Hassan's own admission, that the Railway administrations have not carried out the orders of the Railway Board. With your permission, Sir, I will now briefly refer to one or two parts of this Report. On page 46, in paragraph 157 he says:

"Detailed instructions were issued more than once to all the Railway administrations and when it was found that they had not produced the desired result the matter formed the subject of special discussion with the Agents and heads of departments . . . . . But in spite of all these measures it was evident that so far as the Muslims were concerned the policy of Government had not been fully carried out."

Here, Sir, is a serious indictment against the administration of Railways made by an officer specially deputed by the Railway Board. And I therefore lay the primary cause of this paucity of Muslim representation on Railways at the door of the Railway Agents. I go further and support this indictment by another statement made by Mr. Hassan on page 85 of his Report. This is what he says in paragraph 267:

"Experience has shown that the instructions of Government regarding the representation of minority communities have not in the past been given proper attention, and I am convinced from what I have seen and heard during the last ten months that unless there is an effective machinery to assist and advise the Railway administrations in carrying out the orders that the Railway Board may pass on this report there is not much likelihood of their being translated into action."

Now, Sir, here is the cause and here is the effect. But what actually is the present position? The present position is more than amply shown

in the figures that are to be found in almost every page of Mr. Hassan's Report. The Mover of this motion has placed before the House the inadequate position which Muslims occupy in Railway employment. Sir, it was in the year 1927 I think that I had the pleasure,—in fact I look back upon it with great pride and pleasure,—of drawing the attention of my Muslim brothers to their inadequacy in railway employment and I believe I am correct in saying that it was since then that they have interested themselves in demanding adequate representation on Railways. And, I am delighted to see the interest that is evinced today in this House. Sir, it is a necessary interest; indeed the demand made by this motion is absolutely essential. One has to scan the figures in this Report to realise the unfair way in which Muslims have been recruited in the past and are recruited even in the present. I shall not weary the House with any figures because the House I assume is familiar with them. But the clinching proof lies in page 78 which is solely devoted to Muslim representation on Railways. It is stated that though Muslims form over 26 per cent. of the whole Indian population, their total employment on Railways is 17 per cent. It is stated also that in certain parts of the north of India—Punjab—and Sind where Muslims predominate and constitute 71 per cent. of the population they form only 7 per cent. of the total employees on the Railways. If these figures are of any value as evidence they disclose how grossly inadequate is Muslim representation on Railways. This disparity of communal representation is accentuated when one examines the figures of the Railway Accounts Department. Here we find on page 91 that out of 5,858 appointments, 4,882, i.e., 83·33 per cent. go to Hindus. Examine the various Railways and you will find, as I stated in my speech yesterday, that in the East Indian Railway 92 per cent. of the posts in the Accounts Department go to Hindus, on the Eastern Bengal Railway 93 per cent. are held by Hindus, and the same sorry tale of Hindu monopolisation is repeated *ad nauseam* on the other Railways. It is not surprising, Sir, that a spirit of revolt and resentment has entered into the hearts of the Muslims and they are up and doing, for it is time they did so. I do not think the blame lies primarily at the foot of the Railway Board, because I can tell the House that I have repeatedly heard in my travels in India Railway officials complaining of the unnecessary interference of the Railway Board in their desire to enlist Muslims in adequate numbers on Railways. This alone is evidence that the Railway Board is anxious to help enlisting of Muslims on the Railways. That they are not enlisted is entirely the fault of the Railway administrations; and it is for that reason that in moving my cut yesterday of Rs. 50,000 I had in mind to cut the salary of one Member of the Railway Board.

In showing to this House the paucity of Muslims in the Accounts Department, it may interest those who have not taken the trouble to read Mr. Hassan's Report to note that of the higher Railway Accounts posts, the number of men who were given a higher initial pay is 37, and the whole of this 37 were Hindus. It will thus be seen that 94·41 per cent. goes to non-Muslims and the Madrasis secure 46 per cent. of it. I do not blame them for this preponderance because they show a distinct communal aptitude for figures and accounts; but if what Mr. Hassan has stated in this volume that there are a sufficient number of educated and qualified Muslims available for all Railway jobs, I see no reason why Railway Administrations should not be made to carry out Railway Board orders. And if the Railway Board find Railway Administrations disobeying

[Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney.]

their orders the offending officials should be sacked straightaway. It is ridiculous for the Railway Board to tell us that they control Railway Administrations when the Agents of Railways can chuck their orders into the waste-paper basket. And to show you that these orders are not carried out I will give you just one or two quotations from the opinions expressed by Railway officials who gave evidence before the Court of Inquiry. When asked about the interpretation of the word "efficiency" no two officers gave similar opinions. One man took it from the age point of view; another man took the total of censures on that man's record and divided it by the number of years of his service; another man had a special scheme of his own for assessing efficiency and inefficiency. And so there were many systems introduced in this matter of efficiency; no one man agreeing with the other as to what efficiency was and what inefficiency was. And with all respect to the Railway Board I do submit that it is in such matters that the practice of personal bias and favouritism comes into play more than this House realises. It is left to the option and the sweet whims and fancies of certain Railway officials to interpret efficiency by personal prejudice and bias. This has been brought to my notice so frequently . . . .

**Bhai Parma Nand:** Would you agree to the same principle of proportion of population being applied to the Anglo-Indian community?

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** When that question comes up, I shall remind the Honourable gentleman of the fact that it was an Anglo-Indian, *i.e.*, myself, who was asked to represent the grievances last week of the Indian Travelling Ticket Examiners of the North Western Railway; so he need not ask me that question.

**Bhai Parma Nand:** That was common to everybody.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** I shall deal with that when the time comes with a very suitable answer which I hope will satisfy my Honourable friend.

**Bhai Parma Nand:** Why not deal with it now?

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** I am not talking of Anglo-Indians now; I am talking of Muslims.

**Bhai Parma Nand:** I am talking of the principle.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** You can talk as much as you like.  
(Laughter.)

**Mr. President:** Order, order.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** By my support to this motion I do not wish to say that Muslims should be pampered and favoured, but they should not be denied adequate employment on Railways such as is the case today. I do submit with all respect to the Railway Board, especially to the Honourable the Member in charge of Railways—and I do not know of any officer who has a higher sense of justice than the retiring

Member, Sir George Rainy, because in many of the cases that I have brought to his notice he has personally inquired into them and I have seen myself the high sense of justice shown by him—I say the time has come when this system of monopoly of giving 90 per cent. of the appointments to one community, should stop; there can be no rest between the various communities if this monopolisation is allowed to continue. It must be stopped and Mr. Hassan has proposed a very effective way of dealing with it. I do not think it is always right to introduce the population ratio because there are certain appointments which demand a certain degree of education and others which do not; and in these latter cases the total population should be taken.

I wish to stress another point. The Mover of this motion struck a true note, and Mr. Hassan has struck a much truer note in his Report, when he advocates that Mussalmans should be recruited in larger numbers in the intermediary posts; because from my experience I have found that those Departments in which the head clerks and the Superintendents of Offices are Hindus, and particularly if those jobs are not advertised—Railway Administrations differ in their systems of recruitment a fact which Mr. Hassan has also brought out clearly in his Report the inevitable result is that these Head Clerks and Superintendents who are Hindus bring in their own relations and the result is that there is a preponderance of Hindus in such appointments. This is really the root cause of the whole thing; and I say with all respect to the Railway Board that it is up to them to see that that system of recruitment is absolutely stopped.

I ask again, why has not the Railway Board been able to obtain figures for the Company-managed Railways as regards communal percentages? I opine if those figures are obtained and added to the figures of the four State Railways in which there are 65,000 jobs, the totals will disclose such a state of affairs that the Mover of the Resolution will be able to show that there is still less employment of Muslims on Railways. As it is unjust to have a monopoly of one department by one community, so is it unjust to exclude a community who deserve well of the British Empire and of the Government as well as of the Railway Board as do the Muslim community.

**Sirdar Harbans Singh Brar** (East Punjab: Sikh): Sir, I may at the outset make it clear that I am not in any way opposed to the claims made by my sister community the Muslims for a due share in the administration of the Railway Department. But what surprised me most during the debate today and when I saw the notice of censure motion yesterday was this. One used to hear in times past of unholy alliances, better heard of in another continent of this globe, I mean Europe. We had a bit of it in the Round Table Conference towards its close. And now we have the gallant Knight, Sir Henry Gidney, trying to form with the Muslims an association more or less on the lines of a mutual admiration society . . .

**An Honourable Member:** The same as the Sikhs are trying to do with the Hindus.

**Sirdar Harbans Singh Brar:** I refute the suggestion on behalf of the Sikhs. The Hassan Report, which was copiously read by the speakers before me, has brought out one glaring dereliction of duty on the part of the officer



[Sirdar Harbans Singh Brar.]

who wrote it, namely, that in spite of the fact that he was appointed to safeguard the interests of the minorities—all minorities and not only the Muhammadans—in page after page we see the word “Muslim” alone: I have marked at least one hundred times in 100 paragraphs the word “minority” is absolutely forgotten in dealing with the question of minorities: in this Report only Muslims are dealt with. I have read every word of it . . . .

**Mr. Muhammad Anwar-ul-Azim:** On a point of order, may I inquire . . . .

**Sirdar Harbans Singh Brar:** I refuse to give way.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): On a point of order the Honourable Member has to give way. What is the point of order?

**Mr. Muhammad Anwar-ul-Azim:** May I inquire whether this is not a joint report by Mr. Hassan and Mr. Singh? That is what I wanted to know.

**Mr. President:** That is not a point of order.

**Sirdar Harbans Singh Brar:** My friend interrupts me on a point of order to say that this is a joint report. There is no doubt a reference by Mr. Hassan to a couple of notes in his Report by one Mr. Singh. I am sure that that gentleman does not represent the Sikh community in this respect. He is not there as a Sikh: Hindus, Rajputs and Mahrattas and others have got “Singh” after their names. So that does not in any way mean that he was a party to this unholy alliance.

**Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury** (Assam: Muhammadan): Turn to page 76.

**Sirdar Harbans Singh Brar:** I will come to that. If you cultivate an attitude of patient expectancy, you will find that everything comes in time. We have had it admitted by the Railway Department that in the lower grades, say under Rs. 30, most of the revenues of the department are absorbed; and we have also got it admitted that that chivalrous community, the Muslims, are in an overwhelming majority in those grades. So, out of the revenues, even before the communal representation has been introduced, they have been getting more than their ordinary share from the income of the railways.

As regards the intermediate grades where Sir Henry Gidney pointed out that Hindus have 92 per cent. I have got figures taken from the Report as regards intermediate grades getting Rs. 150 and over, and there I find the major portion . . . .

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** On a point of personal explanation, Sir. I am sorry the Honourable Member has misunderstood me: I did not say that of the intermediate grade as a whole: I said in the Accounts Department they had 92 per cent.

**Sirdar Harbans Singh Brar:** Just as the Muslims, the Mahrattas and the Sikhs can claim a special position in the art of warfare, so the Hindus of Madras have by their sheer ability specialised themselves in accountancy, a department more technical than of mere ordinary common-sense. So those people have specialised in that branch and they only can properly discharge the duties of that particular branch. So rightly they have got more than on a population basis they would be entitled to. It is not their fault. So are we in the Army. Now more Muhammadans and Sikhs and other minorities are trying to take to mathematics. At the suggestion of Sir George Schuster I drafted a question yesterday inquiring how many minority representatives have got M. A.'s in mathematics in the different universities during the last ten years. And that will tell us what fair representation they could demand on the ground of efficiency in that particular branch.

**Maulvi Muhammad Shafee Daoodi** (Tirhut Division: Mubammadan): M.A. is not the minimum qualification required.

**Sirdar Harbans Singh Brar:** I have also drafted a question asking for the number or numbers of minority communities who have qualified themselves as Chartered Accountants and in more specialised accounts. Sir, I was talking about the intermediate grades of Rs. 150 and over. My friend Mr. Maswood Ahmad put forward a claim of 63 per cent. for his community on the North Western Railway. I find, Sir, that if on the North Western Railway 63 per cent. is given to Muslims, 19·8 per cent. to Anglo-Indians, 23·9 per cent. to Europeans; and then it comes to over a 100 per cent. for the three communities alone, what to say of Hindus, Sikhs and other minority communities? I find from the Hassan Report itself that on all the Railways the Anglo-Indians who are much less than 1 per cent. of the population, to be more accurate 0·35 per cent., have got their percentage in the intermediate grades of Rs. 150 and over from 20 per cent. to over 40 per cent.; nowhere are they less than 20, and at many places they are over 40 per cent. It is not the Hindu who is the usurper of the fair share which the minority communities could demand, but it is that community which neither claims to be Indian nor European (Laughter) in dividing the bites from both that is getting a major share. Now that community which has got a percentage ranging from 20 to 40 per cent. Mr. Hassan considers should have reservation even in the future, not on merits but merely for the sake of establishing that alliance, so that they should back the claims of the Muslims in order that they may get all that they ask for themselves. They are trying to establish a principle which is far-reaching and dangerous because they are telling others, "All thine is mine and mine is of course mine"—that is what it really comes to. If the Anglo-Indians are to get what they are getting today, if Europeans are to be retained in the same proportion in which they are today, and if Muhammadans are to be given what they demand, then it will mean that Europeans and Anglo-Indians will have what they have, and all the rest will go to the Muslims, but what about the other communities? Sir, the Sikh community has rendered services to the Empire in no less degree than the community which my friend Sir Henry Gidney represents. The Sikhs have fought in all the battlefields in all the continents including the North West Frontier Province and Afghanistan and they have contributed no less but much more than their numbers could afford. In the Punjab

[Sirdar Harbans Singh Brar.]

where they are only 14 per cent. they are contributing about 40 per cent. to the land revenue and water rates, and in the war too they have not lagged behind in contributing their man power. They contributed one-eighth of the total recruiting in India where they are only 1 per cent. The same is the case in engineering, railways and telegraphs. Now that community is to be denied any safeguard of its rights by Mr. Hassan. This is what he says in his Report:

"Sikhs form nearly 1.23 per cent. of the population of India and it is obvious that any reservation in their favour will lead to the same practical difficulties as in the case of Parsis. They are, however, concentrated in certain portions served by the North Western Railway. In other parts of the country where they are to be found their population is so extremely small as to be almost negligible."

So he says:

"In view of this it does not appear to be necessary to fix any definite percentage for Sikhs either. All that is necessary is to instruct the Agent, North Western Railway, to review the position of Sikhs every three years in the subordinate cadre of the North Western Railway and see if any special action is called for when the exact nature of the action can be considered."

But as regards Anglo-Indians he says:

"All the arguments that I have advanced fixing a percentage for Parsis and Sikhs apply in the case of Anglo-Indians too, but it must not be forgotten that in view of the Indianisation now going on in all the Railway Departments and in all the different grades, it is certain that Anglo-Indians will not be able to maintain their present position very long."

Their present position is now over 40 per cent., and not 2 or 3 per cent. If from much less than one per cent. they have already got 40 per cent., it will take at least 40 years to worsen their position, and by that time I think that communal representation will cease to exist. Therefore, Mr. Hassan says this:

"In view of these facts it may be considered desirable to give the Anglo-Indians a higher percentage than their population ratio warrants. What should be the exact measure of protection and how it should be given will have to be very carefully considered" and so on.

But he says they must have protection.

So, Sir, I would suggest to my sister minority community, the Muslims, that it is not fair always to rub one arm, to always damn the Hindus, to always say that they have got the monopoly of power when facts and figures show that all the places which they want both in the intermediate and higher grades are not mostly occupied by the Hindus but by other communities. It should be their rightful claim to demand a fair share for their community in the services, but they cannot claim a preponderating share in the services. Now on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway in the intermediate grade the Hindus are only 21 per cent.; on the North Western Railway they are only 31 per cent.; on the East Indian Railway they are only 21 per cent. I am speaking of Rs. 150 per mensem and over grades alone. On the Eastern Bengal they are 45 per cent.; that is the only railway in which the percentage of Hindus may be slightly higher, and on all the State railways combined except Burma Railways the percentage of Anglo-Indians in grades of Rs. 150 and over per mensem is 32 per cent., which is higher than the percentage of any other community. On all the State railways combined, Hindus are only 26 per cent., Indian Christians 4, Muslims 4, Europeans 26.5 and Anglo-Indians 32.6 . . .

**Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad:** May I know, Sir, from where the Honourable Member is quoting these figures?

**Sirdar Harbans Singh Brar:** I have taken these figures for all the grades on all railways from Rs. 150 and over.

**Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad:** From what page, what book?

**Sirdar Harbans Singh Brar:** I have collected these figures from Mr. Hassan's Report. I have myself calculated these figures. (*Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad:* "Will the Honourable Member see pages 48 to 96 of Mr. Hassan's Report?") Yesterday my Honourable friend Mr. Sykes asked, why should not the pay of the lowest paid men on the **1 P.M.** railways be reduced because agricultural labourers only get about Rs. 7 a month. But he forgets that an agricultural labourer, in addition to getting Rs. 7, gets food also. That is the custom among the agricultural population.

**Mr. E. F. Sykes** (Bombay: European): On a point of personal explanation; when a figure such as Rs. 7 is mentioned, it is the total remuneration. When part of the wage is paid in kind, the cash portion of his wages is much less—probably not more than two or three annas.

**Sirdar Harbans Singh Brar:** The agricultural labourer gets food in addition to cash wages—in the rural areas the cash wages are not on a monthly basis; they are on a daily basis. Since the last two or three years the cash wages have been about 4 or 5 annas per day except during the harvest days when the man gets a little more. But on an average he gets about 5 annas a day, and in addition to that he gets food both morning and evening. So, it is not the labourer in the railway services whose wages should be reduced. It is the fat salaried official who gets 400 times the pay of a labourer, who should surrender a portion of his salary. It is all very well for these people to say, oh, the salaries of these poor Indians should be reduced. But I submit that it is the high paid official who gets many times more than he can fairly demand or can get in any other country but India, whose salaries deserve to be drastically reduced.

Sir, as regards Mr. Chetty's suggestion of yesterday, I do not want to enter into it now because we are talking about communal representation, and I will deal with it on some other cut.

As regards this cut of my Honourable friend Mr. Maswood Ahmad, for a fair share to their community, that is all right and should be supported, and I have no grievance personally against it—that they should get about 20 per cent. or whatever other percentage is decided upon, on the State railways. His community did not get a fair field for many years for their young men to be employed. It may partly be due to the education of these men, but I think for the last some years there have been a good number of Muslim young men available to be selected for appointment. It has not been possible for them to get any, partly due to less recruitment, and partly it may be due to lack of advertisement. So, I think we should join with them in claiming that they should get a fair share, but at the same time I maintain that no community should be badly treated, and Anglo-Indians should not have all to themselves. With these few remarks I support Mr. Maswood Ahmad's claim for representation of the Muslim community, equally expecting reciprocity in the case of Sikhs.

**Mr. R. S. Sarma** (Nominated Non-Official): Mr. President, I generally do not take part in these communal wrangles, but if I have chosen to waste a minute or two of the time of this House this morning, it is because I am anxious to offer a word of appeal especially to the Members of the European Group in this House, in regard to this particular matter. My Muhammadan friends from Bengal in this House and outside know very well that, whatever limited and humble opportunities I have had as a Member of this House and as the editor of a newspaper in Calcutta, I have employed those opportunities for advocating the just claims of the Muslims of our province . . . . .

**Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** May I know what is the name of that newspaper?

**Mr. R. S. Sarma:** That is the *Bengalee*. I have been often interrupted by my Honourable friend Mr. Amar Nath Dutt and told that I am a nominated Member and do not represent Bengal, and I throw out a challenge to him. I am willing to resign my nominated seat if my Honourable friend resigns his seat and I am willing to contest his seat in the election, and I bet that I shall defeat my friend by a thundering majority. Whenever the Government are attacked and the Hindus are attacked for not playing the game regarding the appointment of Muhammadans in larger numbers in the public services, our Muhammadan friends always find not strange but very familiar bedfellows in non-official Europeans in this House, and this morning our Honourable and gallant friend Sir Henry Gidney spoke as a champion of the Muslim community and said that there was not a single Muhammadan assistant in the higher accounts service of the railways. I want to ask one simple question, for every Member of the European Group here is a representative of a very big European mercantile house either in Calcutta or Bombay, and all of them are masters in their own offices, and I want to know what is the proportion of Hindus and Muhammadans which each of them appoints in his own office. Sir, if I can speak a little lightly, I myself put this question to a big European friend of mine last year as to the number of Muhammadans he had in his own office. He said he had one, and when I asked him why he had him, he said it was because he was the only man who could bring him beef sandwiches for his lunch. (Laughter.) Therefore, I say before they condemn the Government and condemn the Hindus, the Members of the European Group should, instead of paying lip service to this principle, give a lead to Government by employing more and more Muhammadans in mercantile offices.

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

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

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**Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** There is a saying in Bengali, that when you have nothing to do, perform the Ganga Jatra ceremony of your uncle, *i.e.*, take your uncle to the Ganges and perform last rites. It appears to me that in this session having nothing to do, we are following the same method. We have not the Finance Bill, and not much legislation, this session.

My Honourable friends over there have taken that responsibility. Therefore we have nothing else to do but to perform the Ganga Jatra ceremony of the Railway Board. Many things have been said during the general discussion as well as today about the incompetence and irresponsibility of the Railway Board in not fulfilling the promises which have been so often made by the Honourable the Commerce Member and also the Members of the Railway Board. Frankly speaking, I am not convinced of the correctness of any such charge and the idle legislators, having nothing else to do, have been indulging in a communal wrangle which is a painful sight for the nationalists, Hindus and Muhammadans alike, I wonder why one of the communities, against whom all these charges are levelled, that they are appropriating positions of trust and influence, cannot rise to the height of the occasion and generously say, "Here you are my brothers, come and take what you like". If they cannot do that, I submit the talk of nationalism is only a camouflage. It would not have been necessary for my friend Mr. Maswood Ahmed to flatter the Commerce Member, characterising his work as the crowning event of his life. People here have been showering praises on him. If I had a chance, I would also have said a few words and paid my tribute to the devoted services of the Commerce Member, but I would not go the length of flattering him in order to get some advantage for my community. As I said before we have nothing very serious to do this session and so we have taken to this Ganga Jatra business.

My friend Mr. Sarma has given me a challenge and has offered to resign his seat and turn his back on his constituency, the Viceregal Lodge, to contest my constituency. (*An Honourable Member*: "Have you accepted the challenge?") Is it possible to beat my Honourable friend in his victorious march? I remember the day when my friend from South India came with slippers on with hardly anything to cover his body and has risen to his present eminent position as the editor, printer, publisher and, may I add, subscriber also of *the Bengalee*. I am not such a fool as to think that I can have any chance if he chooses to oppose me. If he condescends to do so, this will be the last occasion, when I can say a few words in this august Assembly, and I beg to be excused for intervening in this debate. I know the Government are not much perturbed over this cut because they have been trying to do their level best to give the Muslim community as much as possible in the present circumstances. (*An Honourable Member*: "Not at all.") The difficulty with my community has been that there are anti-Hindu Hindus, pro-Muslim Hindus and indifferent Hindus. These are the three classes into which my community is divided. As regards my friend's community, there is no difference between my friend Mr. Shafi Daoodi and Mr. Anwar-ul-Azim, and they ask with one voice for their share. Let them get it. I for one will not stand in their way, but what I would implore them is not to wash dirty linen on the floor of this House. After all in the services not one per cent. of our people are employed. That being so, we ought not to quarrel with each other. My friends may be justified in asking for their fair share, but this is not the way to ask the Government, because I understand the proper function of a cut motion is that it is in the nature of a censure motion.

We cannot certainly accuse the Government of having been partial to any community. It is the exigencies of the case. The Hindus took to English education earlier than the Muhammadans did, and I admire

[Mr. Amar Nath Dutt.]

the Muslims for not taking to English education in preference to their own culture and education unless obliged to do so by the exigencies of the political situation, and that was the reason why for about half a century they were behind the Hindus, and that is probably the reason for any inequality, which there might be. Now that they are taking in larger numbers to English education, they will of course get their share. But for that I do not think my Honourable friend the Commerce Member need be flattered or need be accused and told that, "You have not done so, you have not kept your promise", or my Honourable friend, Sir Alan Parsons, or my Honourable friend, Mr. Hayman, need be accused—of course Mr. Hayman has been accused of being a member of a minority community which has monopolised a large proportion of the posts for his own community, but the charge is hardly fair, because there are certain posts in the railways, as it must be admitted by any fair and impartial critic, for which members of the Anglo-Indian community have a more special aptitude than those of any other community. (*Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney*: "Thank you.") It must be admitted—and I hold no brief for that community—that they are peculiarly fitted for certain posts, and one must remember that they do not encroach upon other departments in the same proportion; it is only the Railways and the Telegraphs for which they have a special aptitude. (*Mr. S. C. Mitra*: "What is the special aptitude?"). Well, they can endure long hours in the railway trains and privations (Laughter), and this cannot be denied. (*Voices*: "Question.") We Hindus should not grudge them that, and I would request my Muhammadan friends not to grudge it too, because, if we are really qualified to take up the duties of a guard, or the onerous duties of a big commercial station, certainly the time will not be far distant when we shall get such jobs. So on the plea of the representation of a particular community, it is hardly just and fair that we should accuse the Railway Board or the Railway Member for it. There is one other fact I should mention. I was grieved to find that my Honourable friend, Bhai Parmanand, also wants communal representation against which I have always stood and against which I shall stand till the end of my life, because I do not believe in that.

**Bhai Parmanand**: I do not want communal representation. I want everything on a national basis, on the merits of efficiency.

**Mr. Amar Nath Dutt**: Thank you, but what I understood was that he said that the Hindus were not properly represented on the North Western Railway.

**Bhai Parmanand**: Quite so.

**Mr. Amar Nath Dutt**: I shall be very grateful if there are at least some nationalist Hindus and not anti-Hindu Hindus or "indifferent to Hindus" or pro-Moslem Hindus. Sir, then again there is the question of efficiency. That is also a thing to be looked into. My friends of the Muhammadan community will please realise that before Mr. Fazlul Haque they will not find in the Calcutta University Calendar a Muhammadan gentleman passing the M.A. examination in mathematics. That was the first occasion; and still when you take the figures, you will

find that very few of the Muhammadan graduates have passed the M.A. examination in mathematics. (*An Honourable Member*: "There are plenty of them. How many do you want?") Sir, the percentage will not be anywhere near the percentage of their population. My friend may contradict me, but I make bold to say that the percentage will not be even one per cent. of the graduates. Sir, if you take up the number of passes in a particular year of the Calcutta University among the graduates, you will not find that even 5 per cent. of them are Muhammadans, while their population in Bengal is over 50 per cent. I would therefore ask them and I would request the Government also to do all that is possible to have the spread of education among Muhammadans being made easier so that my Muhammadan brethren may come up in larger numbers as graduates. I know and my friend, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, who is himself a wrangler I believe, (*an Honourable Member*: "He is.") must also know—I see he is taking notes—and I challenge anybody in this House to contradict me, that the passes from the Indian universities of the Muhammadans are in the same proportion as they ought to be, and for that state of affairs, I think more facilities should be given to the Muhammadan community. But of course I think no sane man would ask the Government to have the percentage of passes increased also in the same proportion in their favour in the universities, whether they pass or not, or that since Bengal contains more than 50 per cent. Muhammadans, therefore the percentage of the B.A. passes among Muhammadans also must be over 50 per cent. (Laughter.) I think this demand has never been made by our Muhammadan friends, but from private conversations I gather that they want that they ought to have more facilities for education. That is a demand which is very just and fair, and they have my sympathy. Now as soon as larger numbers of educated men come from that community, they will no doubt be appointed in a higher proportion. I would ask my friends to pardon me and not to misunderstand me if I relate one instance of what happened in a particular Government office. The ordinary Hindu graduate does not expect to get high salaries, and most often he will be satisfied with a simple clerkship on Rs. 70 or Rs. 100, but amongst my friends of the Muhammadan community I fear they generally will not be so satisfied. If they are mere pass B.As., many of them will think they ought to get whatever the brilliant graduates of other communities alone can aspire to. In that particular office the question came up in a concrete shape, and the officer had to observe that:

"I require officers of a certain calibre whose education cannot be less than that of a graduate of a university; but if that graduate happens to be a Muhammadan, he expects something better than what I can offer him, and that is the reason for paucity of Muhammadans in my Department."

Therefore I would ask my Muhammadan friends not to be so ambitious as that. (Hear, hear.) I remember that even my Honourable friend over there who stood first being bracketed with Gopal Chunder Das—I do remember the year—he also did not pass the M.A. examination in mathematics.

**Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum** (Nominated Non-Official): We can supply M.As., B.As., and B.Sc.s., in Mathematics and Sciences from the Islamia College, Peshawar, for the whole of India.



**Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** From where? Peshawar? Well, we shall be very glad, but my idea was that the Muhammadans, being a very emotional race and fond of their own civilization and culture, took up the study of literature and of the holy Koran and of poetry more than these earthly subjects like mathematics, physics, chemistry and other subjects and that that was the reason of the inequality in numbers. But now that they see that these earthly riches are as much necessary if not more necessary than spiritual benefit, they are getting on. I would suggest, and I hope they will not take me amiss, that they should take proper steps for more educational facilities being provided for their community, and when that is forthcoming, certainly they will get the share of public appointments to which they are entitled. But let them not forget one thing, when coming to accept State service in British India, they ought to remember that they are nothing else than British Indian subjects where there is no distinction of caste, creed or colour, be he an Anglo-Indian, be he a Sikh or a Muhammadan or a Parsi. To one other community my humblest tribute is due and that is the community of my Honourable friends Sir Cowasji Jehangir and Mr. H. P. Mody. That community never claims, never asks for any communal representation and still you find that they have been in the vanguard of Indian political progress as well as in offices for whatever posts they are qualified. I ask my Muslim friends to emulate the example of that small community resident mostly in the Bombay Presidency, who never claim such communal representation, and that will be in the fitness of things and then we will be able to join hands with each other and march onward on the path of progress and will not have to heckle or disturb the Honourable the Commerce Member or for the matter of that Sir Alan Parsons or Mr. Hayman.

**Khan Bahadur Haji Wajihuddin** (Cities of the United Provinces: Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I rise to support this cut with a view to register the protest of the Muslim community against the persistent and deliberate attempts made by the Indian railways to ignore their claims. I am indebted to the Government of India, especially the Honourable Member for Commerce, for their kind and friendly feeling towards the Muslims, but it is our misfortune that promises made by them are never realised and their kind intentions of giving to Muslims their due share are never translated into practice by those who are responsible for the management of railways. The inadequate representation of the community to which I belong has been a long-standing grievance. Deputations have waited on officials, and fair promises have been made of righting the wrong, but they have seldom gone beyond the circular stage. Government issued circulars to Agents of Railways to restore Muslim equilibrium in railway service. I understand that Agents in their turn issued circulars to the heads of various departments under them, and perhaps the latter issued circulars to Divisional Officers, and there they lie as dead letters. In the matter of the upper branches of the service, whose appointments lie in the hands of the Government of India, something is done even though inadequately to console the Muslims, but in the matter of subordinate service, the claims of Muslims are deliberately ignored and Muslims, in spite of their proverbial loyalty, receive a step-fatherly treatment from the *ma bap* Government. Pressed by the volume of Muslim feeling on this subject, Government appointed a Special Officer to investi-

gate the problem of Muslim employment on railways. I would quote a few paras. from Mr. Hassan's report. Para. 144, page 41 says:

"It will be seen that there was nothing seriously wrong with the recruitment rules that Muslims with the necessary qualifications for the posts to which recruitment is largely made were always available, that they did not miss the opportunities which were offered to them and if in spite of all this they are still inadequately represented, it would appear that they were not given a proper share in recruitment in the past. In making these observations I have not lost sight of the statement made by the Agent N. V. R., who informed the Railway Board in 1928, that better qualified Muslims were not willing to start in the lower grades and expressed the opinion in 1929 that a vast majority of them did not want railway service.

The same explanation, namely, the dearth of qualified Muslims, has always been put forward by other Railway Administrations to account for the present inadequate representation of the Muslim community. In view, however, of the fact that complete records community-wise of applications have not been maintained on any of these Railways and the posts were not advertised, it is not possible to give the exact number of those who applied for appointment or who would have applied if all the posts had been advertised. But whatever was the case in the past is more or less a question of academic interest. We are now really concerned with the future and it is this aspect of the case which needs careful consideration. The only reason why I have examined this point of view is, that if it is established that Muslims have in the past been denied their proper share in recruitment for no fault of their own, it will strengthen the case for any special measures that may now be decided upon for improving their position. It will not then be a case of favouritism but an act of tardy justice, if a fair proportion of the recruitment is reserved for them till such time as they secure their proper position and special steps are taken to ensure that there is no loophole for evading the policy of Government."

With reference to the remark of my Honourable friend Mr. Amar Nath Dutt I would quote para. 147 of the Report:

"As regards Calcutta I can vouchsafe for the accuracy of this statement from my personal experience, however, limited, as Statistical Officer, East Indian Railway. During the period of four years that I was in Calcutta I never felt the slightest difficulty in securing qualified Muslim candidates and they were appointed in all the grades from Rs. 30 upwards. If Muslims could be found in Calcutta to serve on the E. I. R., there is no reason why they should not be found for the E. B. R. It is interesting to note in this connection that a Selection Board was held last year on the E. B. Railway to select candidates for the post of Sub-Assistant Surgeons. A large number of candidates were interviewed and finally 4 were selected in order of merit for recommendation to the Agent for appointment. Two out of these four, including the man at the top were Muslims and it was the unanimous opinion of the Selection Board that the Muslim candidates were superior to non-Muslims. If there is no lack of qualified Muslims for posts requiring technical qualifications, it is not I submit unreasonable to presume that for posts which do not require any technical qualifications but only a Matriculation Certificate, there is not dearth of suitable Muslim candidates."

I would quote para. 244 at page 78:

"Muslims form 26.52 per cent. of the population of India and more than 38 per cent. of the population of the area served by the four State-managed Railways. A reference to the statistics would show that their representation in the subordinate services on the four State-managed Railways is 17.53 per cent. and if a census were taken on the company Railways their percentage will be found to be still lower. Whatever the causes of their inadequate representation, it is obvious that they are the only minority community which stands in urgent need of special protection, at least till such time as its representation becomes adequate."

I may be allowed to quote another paragraph of this Report, paragraph 250 on page 80. It says:

"As has been pointed out in paragraph 144 of Chapter II of this report, there is ample evidence forthcoming that Muslims have not in the past received their proper

[Khan Bahadur Haji Wajihuddin.]

share in Railway service and this has been to a large extent to the benefit of the majority community. That Indianisation of the superior services cannot for reasons which need not be stated here encourage any hope in Muslims of faring better in future is evident from their position in that Department which has practically been Indianised. In view of this and also in view of the fact that the population figures of the majority community include a substantial proportion of depressed classes who do not have and are not likely to have for some considerable time, a share in the subordinate services commensurate with their strength, it will not be unreasonable to fix 38 per cent. of all the subordinate posts for Muslims on the four State-managed Railways. But I recommend only 35 per cent. because it is possible that Government may consider it desirable to give a certain weightage to some other minority community."

Sir, in the commercial traffic and engineering departments of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway the ratio of Muslim employees does not reach even 1 per cent. In the headquarters offices of this railway there are nearly a thousand clerks, but not five of them are Muslims. How unfairly it deals with the Mussalmans may best be judged by one single instance. Sir Robert Maclean when Agent of this line appointed a highly qualified and well connected young Mussalman as Chief Food Inspector. He reorganised the catering arrangements in a most successful manner and received unstinted praise from all his superior officers, including the Chief Commissioner of Railways. But after two years of meritorious service, the retrenchment axe cut down his official career, and in spite of the fact that he was the only Muslim in the commercial department of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway drawing a salary of more than Rs. 400, he was quietly sent away as an ugly figure in this Hindu-ridden railway. I understand Mr. Rusell promised to find him employment, but four years have passed without his ever getting a job. Indeed they offered this young graduate, who started his official career on Rs. 475, a guard's or a ticket collector's job, whilst a score or two of novices were appointed as Traffic Probationers. The Special Officer of the Railway Board, Mr. M. K. Hassan, placed his name first on his list of recommendations, and last year the deputation of the Muslim Members of the Assembly and Council of State which waited on the Honourable the Commerce Member, submitted strong recommendations but without result. Indeed such is the indifference of this railway to Muslim claims, that on their various Advisory Committees there is not a single Muslim member, as if the Muslims do not travel on this line and do not trade with it. But I have quoted the Great Indian Peninsula Railway by way of example. It is practically the same on all other railways. And yet we are told that Government are doing their best to render unto Caesar what is Caesar's. Sir, we ask for nothing more than our bare rights, our due share of representation in the services of the country. But our claims are ignored because we are docile and loyal children of Government. As the Central Muslim Association of Calcutta told the Viceroy, the idea is gaining ground in the country that the only way to redress wrongs is to approach Government with a bomb with one hand and claims in the other. I beseech Government to prevent this idea from gaining a foothold in the hearts of the Mussalmans.

With these remarks, Sir, I support this motion.

**Sir Abdur Rahim** (Calcutta and Suburbs: Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I have been reluctant to intervene in this debate, but there can be no doubt that the question that has been raised is one of considerable political

importance. The issue has assumed such importance that it really cannot be ignored by any one who has at heart the interests of the country. Sir, I wish to make it clear first of all that it is not a question between Hindus and Muslims nor is it a question between the majority community and the minority community. In proof of the statement that it is not a question between Hindus and Muslims I will cite the non-Brahmin movement of Madras. I was present at the birth of that movement and I know how it has progressed. Those who are in the know are aware that it was the exclusion or practical exclusion of the non-Brahmin community of Madras from the public services that led to the growth of this movement; and the movement exists and I am sure will continue to exist and grow stronger unless questions of representation of the various sections of the people in the State services as well as their representation in the political bodies of the country are properly settled. Sir, the non-Brahmins are Hindus as much as the Brahmins, and yet because a small section of the people had the monopoly of the State services, it was naturally felt as a very great grievance by the other section, and they had to organise themselves in order to secure a solution. I believe that by organisation they have been able to secure very great success. And I would advise my fellow religionists in this Assembly that by merely putting questions now and then or passing Resolutions or moving motions like this they are not likely to attain their object. I will give you one fact. Apart from the railway service, which I shall come to at once, let us take the Secretariat of the Government of India, of which I have had some experience lately. Will any Member of this House believe that of the Muslims of Bengal there are only two junior assistants in the entire Secretariat of the Government of India? And yet that is a fact. Who is to blame for this state of things? I think the blame must partly rest with the representatives of the Muslims of Bengal in this Assembly. Sir, the facts are well known; take the facts that have been placed before us by Mr. Hassan's Report. There can be no doubt as to the accuracy of those facts, and is it very difficult to understand the significance of that story? Then again what is the state of things regarding railway service in Eastern Bengal? Can that be a satisfactory state of things? It has been said by one Honourable speaker that the Muhammadans of Bengal cannot produce qualified candidates, but any one who knows the facts knows that it is not true. Qualified graduates among the Muslims of Bengal, whether in mathematics or in literature or in history or anything else can be had for even Rs. 90 a month. There is no lack of Muslim candidates; nor can there be any doubt that if they are given a chance they are able to prove their efficiency,

3 P.M. to do as good work as men from any other community. This is as I have said a big political question, and it is not going to be solved by counting the number of graduates of one community or another, whether so many men pass an examination in mathematics or any other subject. It is not that. It has to be looked at from a very broad point of view. I believe the Government of India fully realise that. As I have said look at the non-Brahmin movement. Nobody can say that nowadays the non-Brahmins that are to be found much more largely in service in the Madras Presidency have proved less efficient. I have known members of that community who, in point of ability in many spheres of life, compare favourably with men of any other community; and I venture to say also that the Muhammadans, given a chance, can prove themselves as efficient as members of any other community.

[Sir Abdur Rahim.]

Another proposition I lay down is that this is not a question of majority and minority. Take this railway service. As a matter of fact the Anglo-Indian community, which is a minority community, holds a very large proportion of appointments in that service. The question is really one of proper administration; and if the matter is carefully and constantly borne in mind, the position can be solved; but not otherwise. There is no ready solution, no hard or fast rules by which you can solve at once a question that has been agitating the people, the different sections of the people, for so long. The railway service is of very great importance because the State-managed railways of India are the largest employers of labour in this country, educated as well as uneducated. As regards the uneducated labour, I take it, there is not much discrepancy as regards the sections of the people from which it is drawn, but when you come to educated labour, it is a very different story altogether. The educated men of certain communities do not find a proper look in the Railway Department. I do not say for one moment,—I would be the last person to suggest for one moment—that the Government or the Railway Board do not recognise the importance of the question. Indeed a formula has been formulated, and it has been repeated on the floor of this House by more than one Honourable Member of the Government; but the practical question is, is it constantly borne in mind by the persons who have actually the making of these appointments? Mr. Hassan rightly points out in his Report, where I think he cannot be fairly charged with having shown any bias, that the persons who are in charge of the different departments of the Railway Administration are apt to overlook this matter in the daily work of administration. For that purpose it is necessary, and I think it has been suggested, that some machinery has to be devised by which the administrative authority could be kept constantly in touch with this question, so that it may ultimately be solved. But it has never been the claim or the case of the Muslim community as regards the railway service or any other service as a matter of fact, that their unqualified men should be given preference to qualified men drawn from any other community. That has never been the case, and if that were the case I should be the last person to support it. But, given a sufficient number of qualified men available for employment, it only requires some attention on the part of the authorities making the appointment to see that the State patronage is properly distributed. It is not a question which can be lightly brushed aside as one of loaves and fishes. It is a question of employment affecting a very large number of people.

My friend, Mr. Amar Nath Dutt, has waxed very eloquent as regards the need for the spread of education among Muslims. I say as regards the need for the spread of education, it exists not only in the Muslim community but in the Indian community at large. The percentage of literacy is so insignificant throughout the whole of India that to say that one community is more advanced in education than the other among the Indian communities is really to overlook the essential and real facts. No doubt the Muslim community, at least in Bengal, took to English education later than members of the other communities, and that partly accounts for the fact that they have lagged behind in obtaining their proper representation in the services. But there have been other factors in connection with this question which I do not think I should be justified in going into on this

occasion; for the fact still remains that for various historical reasons education among the Muslims, in Bengal especially, has not advanced as rapidly as in the other communities. But for some time past, at least in the last twenty years, the community has been perfectly alive to the fact and they are now advancing very rapidly in the matter of secondary and higher education; so much so, as I have already mentioned to the House, that there is no lack now of qualified men being available for employment in the various State services, including the railway services.

There are certainly technical departments in which of course high technical qualifications being necessary, the field of selection is limited. So far as these departments are concerned, and so far as these appointments are concerned, it may be that in some of them qualified candidates are more abundant from one community than from another. I would not think my community, for instance, would in the least grudge a larger number of men being taken in those departments from any other community. It is not a question of jealousy. The only question with which the community is concerned is that their educated men should get a proper chance in the State services, and so far as the spread of education is concerned, I know the history of education in Bengal and I know how much the spread of education in Bengal has been due to the fact that men knowing English were wanted for services in the State. As a matter of fact, one of the arguments very often put forward against the system of education now prevalent in that province is that Government have created universities and a particular system of education mainly for the recruitment of clerks and subordinate officers in the Government. Since, however, the universities began to turn out men who knew English and were qualified for a certain class of work, the general effect has been very greatly to spread education throughout the province. It has enlarged the educated class in Bengal, and similarly if the Muhammadans are given proper opportunities in the various services of the State, then that very fact will provide a very strong stimulus to the spread of education among Mussalmans. I make a present of this fact to my friend, Mr. Amar Nath Dutt, who has been advising and lecturing to us so eloquently on the need for education in the Muslim community. Sir, my anxiety is that this question should be regarded as an important political issue which we all ought to approach in the right spirit with a view to its solution and not to throw obstacles in the way of its solution. The question will exist, and will continue to trouble both the Government and us so long as it is not solved, and it cannot be solved, if it is approached and dealt with merely in a recriminatory spirit, in a communal spirit, and not with a view to solve it; I do appeal to my friends on my right to deal with this question in that spirit. As I have pointed out, it is not really a question between one community and another, it is not even a question of majority and minority communities, and I have given illustrations to prove this fact; the question is one of proper administration and it is very much mixed up with bigger political issues, and therefore it ought to be the anxiety of all of us to approach it in a spirit which will lead to a proper solution and not to further complications.

**Mr. A. M. Hayman** (Government of India: Nominated Official): Sir, I intervene at this stage in order to place before the House certain facts and figures which I consider to be of importance in relation to the discussion on the motion before the House. I want first to say that this

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question of the proper and adequate representation of Muslims in the railway services is one that has been engaging the attention of Government very seriously for the last three years. I made many statements giving undertakings in this House in reference to this question. The Honourable Sir George Rainy when he met a deputation of Mussalmans also gave certain undertakings to them. Now, Sir, I desire to convince the House that when Mr. Maswood Ahmad tries to represent that Government do not keep their promises, or that they are getting a bit slack in this matter, that he is not stating the position accurately to the House. Sir, about September or October last year we wrote a very complete letter to Mr. Maswood Ahmad in which we detailed all the undertakings that Government had given on this question either in this House or to the deputations that waited upon Sir George Rainy. We stated each undertaking and we stated what Government had done in respect of each of those undertakings. Now, Sir, a copy of that letter to Mr. Maswood Ahmad has been laid on the table of the House, and I would ask Honourable Members to spare the time to read that letter, because they will find, I think, that Government have paid the greatest possible attention, and urgent attention, to all the undertakings that were given . . . . .

**Sir Abdullah Suhrawardy** (Burdwan and Presidency Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): Why don't you read out that letter to the House?

**Mr. A. M. Hayman:** I am perfectly prepared to read it to the House, but I think that when a long letter has been placed on the table of the House it is for Honourable Members of this House to read it.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** We are tired of your accounts; we want facts.

**Mr. A. M. Hayman:** My Honourable friend will certainly get facts from me. I sympathise with Muslims in this House and the Muslims outside this House when they feel disappointed in the matter of representation of Muslims in the services. They had, I suppose, some reason to expect that in the course of two or three years the number of Muslims in the service would have jumped up very considerably and also the numbers in the upper subordinate grades. Sir, if you take the figures as they now stand and compare them with the figures relating to previous periods,—I have got the figures here,—the number of Muslims as compared with the total number of employees.

**Mr. Muhammad Anwar-ul-Azim:** On what date is that please?

**Mr. A. M. Hayman:**

31st March, 1929, total number on all class I Railways . . . . .	774,515,	Muslims . . . . .	173,980
		percentage . . . . .	22·4
31st March, 1930, total number on all class I Railways . . . . .	783,902,	Muslims . . . . .	177,777
		percentage . . . . .	22·6
31st March, 1931, total number on all class I Railways . . . . .	746,111,	Muslims . . . . .	167,476
		percentage . . . . .	22·4

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** From what book are you quoting?

**Mr. A. M. Hayman:** I have taken these figures from the Administration Report and the Appendices to the Administration Report of the Railway

Board. I have given the figures for 1929, 1930 and 1931. Now, I would like to analyse these figures by just quoting the figures relating to State-managed railways over which the Railway Board have a full measure of control. What I mean by this is that the Railway Board cannot issue detailed instructions regarding recruitment for Company-managed railways as they could for State-managed railways. Now, the figures in respect of State-managed railways are:

Total number in 1929 . . . . .	468,275 ;	Muslims . . . . .	131,233
“ “ 1930 . . . . .	470,544,	“ . . . . .	134,298
“ “ 1931 . . . . .	434,654,	“ . . . . .	124,413
	<i>Percentages.</i>		
In 1929 . . . . .			28·02
1930 . . . . .			28·5
1931 . . . . .			28·6

I would draw the attention of Honourable Members to the fact that the figures for 1931 show the Muslim representation is slightly higher than in 1929-30. Now, Sir, the point I wish to make is this. The total number of employees has fallen . . . . .

**Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad:** Will you kindly refer to page 48, Vol. I of the Report for 1930-31? The figure on 31st March 1930 was 182,349 Muslims out of 817,735 total, and on 31st March 1931, 172,321 Muslims out of 781,130 total. So we decreased by 11 per cent.

**Mr. A. M. Hayman:** I am quite prepared to take up the case in the way the Honourable Member desires later on if I have time, but for the present I desire to place before the House facts and figures taken from published documents in a manner which I consider to be important. The point I wish to make is this, that the total number of employees has fallen due to the retrenchment that has had to be made on railways. We have been losing crores of rupees in our railways, and we had to cut down our expenditure to the utmost possible extent. We have had to cut down our expenditure by some crores of rupees. Now, for every rupee of expenditure in our revenue working expenses 8 annas ordinarily represents establishment cost, and it must necessarily follow that we have had to make a very big cut in our establishment charges, and this necessarily has involved the discharge of a large number of employees. Far from being a question of recruiting more establishments—and it is only when you recruit more establishments that you can hope to remedy the defect in the representation of Muslims in the railway services—we have had to make discharges. Indeed, Sir, we had to deal with realities. We had to face realities, we had to consider how we would best protect the Muslims who were inadequately represented in the services when we were dealing with the most distressful question of the discharges of railway employees.

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

We did not leave things to chance. As soon as the Railway Board became aware that discharges of railway employees on a large scale would have to be undertaken, it issued instructions to the Railway Administrations giving them a lead as to how the discharges should be made, and an important instruction was given in those orders to the effect that nothing should be done which would act detrimentally to the interests of communities inadequately represented in the services.



**Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury:** Was it followed in the North Western Railway?

**Mr. A. M. Hayman:** I shall answer you presently. If one studies the figures of Muslim representation in the services, one will certainly be convinced that they are inadequately represented, though a certain amount of improvement has taken place in recent years. The point is this. Many of our Muslim employees were employees of comparatively less service than members of other communities, and if the Railway Board had not issued that instruction to which I have just referred, and if, therefore, in consequence discharges went by the rule (which could have been more easily applied by every officer who had to apply it) that is, by the strict rule of length of service—instead of finding from the figures of 1931 that the number of Muslims in the service on State-managed railways was a somewhat higher percentage than in the previous year, you would have found it very considerably lower. Now, I wish to claim that Government have faced the question squarely, have taken urgent action in this matter, have looked at realities, and have done in difficult circumstances all that they could reasonably be expected to do in order to protect the interests of the Muslims, who I admit are inadequately represented in our services.

I have been asked just now what had been done on the North Western Railway in respect of this question of retrenchment of establishments on that line. I happen to have a note with me and I will just read a few words from it.

**Bhai Parma Nand:** What do you mean by adequacy (*An Honourable Member:* "or 'inadequacy'.") or inadequacy of Muslim representation? Will you kindly explain?

**Mr. A. M. Hayman:** When a large community like the Muslim community has, for example, only 4 per cent. of the upper subordinate posts in our Railway department, I am perfectly convinced in my mind that they are inadequately represented.

**Bhai Parma Nand:** With regard to the total, what is the rule that you will follow? You quoted 28 per cent.

**Mr. C. C. Biswas** (Calcutta: Non-Muhammadan Urban): What is the proportion of Muhammadan contribution to the traffic earnings on the railways?

**Mr. A. M. Hayman:** This, Sir, is the note I have got about the North Western Railway, and I have compiled it from an independent source, and I think that Honourable Members who would read Mr. Hassan's Report on the same point will find that it agrees substantially with what he has said. Here is what my note says:

"It would be as well for me to explain how the orders of the Railway Board were actually applied on some of the State-managed Railways. On the North Western Railway the question of safeguarding interests of minority communities in the course of retrenchment was discussed at two meetings of the Divisional Personnel Officers of the Railway where the necessity of taking suitable measures on this behalf was impressed upon them, and as a result of this meeting, instructions were issued by the Agent that the percentage of Muslims and other minority communities must be maintained in the same proportion as it was before the retrenchment started. For this purpose, the staff were divided into three categories, namely, workshop employees, inferior servants, other subordinate staff."

The result of the action taken by the Personnel Officers and the headquarters personnel establishment of the North Western Railway was to bring about the following results. In the subordinate staff, on the 31st March, 1931, when intensive retrenchment began, the percentage of Muslims to the total number of employees was 25.65. On the 30th June, 1931, when the intensive retrenchment stopped, it was 25.40. In the case of the workshop staff, the corresponding percentages were 62.4 and 63.6, and in the case of inferior servants, they were 61.9 and 61.1. The percentage of Muslims to the total establishment was 55.84 on the 31st March, 1931, and 55.88 on the 30th June, 1931. Now, these figures bear evidence that the greatest care has been exerted in applying the orders relating to this matter of retrenchment. When these figures came before me, I decided, having regard to the fact that there was a fall from 25.65 to 25.40 in the subordinate establishment other than the workshop establishment, that the case wanted some further investigation, and that in one respect some more Muslim employees had been discharged than should have been discharged if the orders had been fully applied. The Railway Board, Sir, then issued instructions at once to the Agent of the Railway Administration to adjust the discrepancy.

**Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad:** Have you taken any disciplinary action against these officers?

**Mr. A. M. Hayman:** I will answer that presently. The Railway Board issued orders at once to the Agent of the Railway Administration that, in taking back the discharged employees, some Muslims should be taken back earlier than the Hindus and other communities so that the proper representation of the Muslims might be obtained as quickly as possible.

Now, Sir, my Honourable friend Mr. Maswood Ahmad has asked me, "Have you taken disciplinary action against those who did not apply the order of the Board strictly?" I would answer him in this way. Although the Railway Board found it necessary in this one instance to give instructions to the Agent to make a certain readjustment, the Railway Board were convinced, that the Divisional Personnel Officers and the Personnel Branch of the North Western Railway at Headquarters had paid very great attention to the matter, that the officers had paid personal attention to the matter, and on the whole, they deserved to be congratulated for the excellent results they have obtained. (*An Honourable Member:* "By the Muslims.")

The position on other State-managed railways is somewhat similar. Definite detailed instructions were not actually issued by the Agent of the East Indian Railway to his officers as to how that order of the Railway Board was to be applied, but on that Railway, except the crew staff, there were little discharges in other branches, and Mr. Hassan, under my instructions, approached the Agent of the East Indian Railway and got him to consent that he (Mr. Hassan) would work together with the other officers of the railway in order to secure the interests of the communities inadequately represented when discharges were taking place in the crew staff. Here I would invite your attention to what Mr. Hassan says in paragraph 7 of his Report:

"I also assisted the East Indian Railway in the reorganisation of the crew staff. The re-grading of about 1,500 men from 14 to 7 grades and fixing their seniority was

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not an easy task and kept me and an officer of the operating department occupied for about a month. The principle that was adopted in re-grading the staff and fixing their seniority worked out so well that the interests of the minority communities in general and of Muslims in particular were fully safeguarded and each community also got its reasonable share in the higher appointments.

Much the same close attention to the question was paid on the Eastern Bengal Railway. Of the Great Indian Peninsula, we have not yet got full details. Mr. Hassan himself, who was to visit the railway and get me information, has not yet found the time to do so, but the table of figures show that on the whole the interests of every community has been very well safeguarded. Now, Sir, I think I have put enough before the House to convince the House that Government have been paying serious attention to this question of inadequate representation of Muslims in the service.

**Bhai Parma Nand:** What is the exact percentage of Muslims to the total service?

**Mr. A. M. Hayman:** I have nothing more to add on this point to what I have already said. I should like now to make one or two observations in connection with the remarks from previous speakers who spoke on this motion. My Honourable friend Mr. Maswood said that Company-managed railway paid very little attention to the question of recruiting Muslims in the superior services, and that in the last three years not a single Muslim had been recruited to the superior services of the Company-managed railways. I want to correct an incorrect statement made by Mr. Maswood. I find that in the year 1930-31, in the annual Report of the Railway Board, page 53, Volume I, Company-managed railways recruited six Muslims to their superior services.

**Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad:** I refer to gazetted.

**Mr. A. M. Hayman:** In the Company-managed railways, superior service corresponds to gazetted service. In the 1929-30 Report, page 57, you will find that two Muslims were recruited. In the 1928-29 Report, page 65, you will find that three Muslims were recruited. I am not discussing the question whether that number was adequate or not. I just wanted to correct an incorrect statement made by Mr. Maswood that in three years not a single Muslim was recruited by the Company-managed railways for their services.

**Dr. F. X. DeSouza** (Nominated Non-Official): Does the Railway Board have any control over the Company-managed railways?

**Mr. A. M. Hayman:** The Railway Board have got the Company-managed railways to agree that they will follow the policy which the Government laid down soon after dealing with the Lee Commission's Report, and that is that efforts should be made to recruit as quickly as possible 75 per cent. of officers in India to the superior posts, and any reader of the Railway Administration Reports will find that in the last three years Government have been pressing upon Company-managed railways to recruit Indians up to 75 per cent. of vacancies. They will find that in the staff chapter of the Administration Report . . .

**Dr. F. X. DeSouza:** The Financial Commissioner told us that he was helpless.

**Sir Alan Parsons** (Financial Commissioner, Railways): I think the question to which the Honourable Member referred dealt with the subject whether we had any powers over Company-managed railways to get them to recruit from particular communities. There we have no powers whatsoever. We have of course occasionally a certain amount of influence.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai**: Have they ever carried out the suggestions that are made by the Railway Board?

**Mr. A. M. Hayman**: Again I would ask Honourable Members to study the Reports for the last few years. They will find that the percentage of recruitment of Indians to the superior services on the Company-managed railways is steadily on the increase.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai**: What is the percentage?

**Mr. A. M. Hayman**: The figures are in the annual Report. I could easily read them to the House. Page 53 of the Report for 1930-31, Volume I, at the bottom in the first table. You will find there the percentage of Europeans to the number of vacancies. In 1929, it was 44. In 1930-31, it was 50. That shows that there has been an increase of 6 per cent. in favour of Indian recruitment.

Now, Sir, I will pass on from this point. My friend Sir Henry Gidney said that Mr. Hassan's Report had disclosed that the Agents of Railway Administrations were not paying proper attention to this question of the adequacy of representation of Muslims in the services. Now, Sir, I am quite sure that the gallant Colonel will at once admit that he did not state the position accurately when I point out to him what is written in the first paragraph of Mr. Hassan's Report. It was due to the efforts of the Railway Board, who examined this question seriously and vigorously, that they were able to say definitely that they felt that the Agents of the Railway Administrations had in the recent past not given proper effect to the policy of Government.

**Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad**: If you see page 56 of the Report of 1929-30, you will find that there is not a single Muslim, non-gazetted or in the officer class. I will give you other figures when I reply.

**Mr. A. M. Hayman**: Is the Honourable Member talking about superior establishments?

**Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad**: In the statement showing the number of permanent vacancies which occurred among officers in Class I on Company-managed railways, in column No. 11, you will find Muslims are nil, nil, nil.

**Mr. A. M. Hayman**: That is so, but I take my figures from page 57. I think I should explain to the House that there are two statements relating to the Company-managed railways in the annual Report for 1929-30. The statement to which my Honourable friend, Mr. Maswood, refers relates to the permanent recruitment and no Muslim was recruited to the permanent establishment of Company-managed railways in that year, but I pointed out to him that there was recruitment to the temporary establishment. Mr. Maswood tried to make out that no Muslim was taken

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into the superior service. I challenged that statement. I would like to say a word or two now on Mr. Hassan's Report. I want the House to understand that Mr. Hassan has dealt only with the subordinate establishments of the State-managed railways and has excluded from his figures workshop establishments, even though some of these latter get rates of pay varying from Rs. 40 to Rs. 120 or thereabouts, and his figures also exclude all inferior servants. I feel it only fair to the House to give a summary which I have made from Mr. Hassan's figures. The following table shows the ratio of the various communities to the subordinate establishments as a whole on the different railways and it is prepared from the mass of figures in Mr. Hassan's Report:

	N. W.	E. I.	E. B.	G. I. P.	All the four rail-ways taken together.
Hindus . . . . .	57·57	67·3	76·47	64·12	64·96
Muslims . . . . .	24·98	17·47	14·09	10·09	17·53
Anglo-Indians . . . . .	4·3	8·22	6·06	8·96	6·90
Europeans . . . . .	3·88	5·58	2·65	3·98	4·28
Indian Christians . . . . .	·81	·85	·45	9·69	2·82
Sikhs . . . . .	8·01	·52	·24	·33	2·68
Parsis . . . . .	·45	·06	·04	2·83	·81

(N. B.—Depressed classes are included in the figures for Hindus. Classes other than those detailed are insignificant in numbers.)

I shall explain why I have abstracted these figures. I have made the abstract as I think it will be useful to Members when the House considers this question again when the Government are able to place before it, or before the Central Advisory Council for Railways, their proposals on the recommendations made by Mr. Hassan. Before I sit down, Sir, I just want to say this, and I want to say it in the hope that I may be able to remove from my Honourable friend, Mr. Maswood's mind (*A voice*: "Or brain.") any suspicions that we do not treat this question seriously.

**Sirdar Harbans Singh Brar:** What about your solemn oath to the Muhammadans?

**Mr. A. M. Hayman:** Sir, I am not afraid of the accusations of Mr. Maswood Ahmad that we have not been serious in handling this question. Mr. Hassan, Sir, submitted his Report to the Railway Board on the 16th February. I wonder if my Honourable friends know that Mr. Hassan's Report consists of 281 printed pages, excluding the mass of statistics, which themselves stand about 6 ft. high. I say, Sir, that the Railway Board have placed their recommendations on this important question before the Government of India after having studied Mr. Hassan's Report of 281 printed pages

within a week of receiving Mr. Hassan's Report, and it now rests with the Government of India to consider how they propose to deal with the recommendations made by Mr. Hassan and the Railway Board.

**Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury:** What are those recommendations?

**Mr. A. M. Hayman:** The recommendations of Mr. Hassan, chiefly the one concerning a fixed percentage reservation for Muhammadans.

**Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury:** May I know what are the Railway Board's recommendations on that to the Government?

**Mr. A. M. Hayman:** The Railway Board's recommendations are now before Government and I am not in a position to inform the House of what they are.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** May I ask whether the Railway Agents have carried out the recommendations of the Railway Board or not?

**Mr. A. M. Hayman:** My information on the subject, which is borne out by correspondence in my office during the last six months and by personal visits to the Railway Administrations, is that they are now carrying out strictly the policy laid down by Government on the subject of the recruitment to the services of communities which are inadequately represented.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** After Mr. Hassan's Report was published?

**Mr. A. M. Hayman:** No,—after the Board took action some time ago.

**An Honourable Member:** Then why did you appoint Mr. Hassan?

**Mr. S. C. Mitra** (Chittagong and Rajshahi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): What about those who are excessively represented like the Anglo-Indians?

**Mr. A. M. Hayman:** I do not propose at this stage to speak on questions which I consider are not directly relevant to the motion before the House. My Honourable friend, Sirdar Harbans Singh, spoke of the inadequacy of the Sikh representation in the services. He will find that Mr. Hassan has dealt with this very fully when he refers to the representation of Sikhs on the North Western Railway. I have got with me figures which will also prove that we have during the last few years done everything possible to recruit Sikhs to our superior establishments, I do not propose to read the figures out unless Honourable Members desire me to do so.

I think, Sir, I have now covered all the ground which it is necessary for me to cover. There were some very important remarks made by my Honourable friend, Sir Abdur Rahim, and some important remarks by my Honourable friend, Mr. Amar Nath Dutt. They touch on question of policy. I am quite sure the Honourable Sir George Rainy will refer to them when he speaks on this motion.

**Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad:** There is one point which I wanted to be elucidated. I challenged that there had been a decrease by .11 per cent. in Muslim employment—*vide* page 48 of Volume I, Report of the Railway Board. I did not get a reply.

**Mr. Deputy President:** Order, order. The Honourable Member will have a chance of replying to the debate.

**Mr. C. C. Biswas:** Sir, Government having themselves raised the Frankenstein monster, they now find themselves at a loss how to lay it. Therefore, we need not waste any sympathy over them. (Hear, hear.) Sir, if you start introducing these communal questions in the matter of filling up public positions, you are bound to be up against difficulties which you will find you cannot solve; and the more you try to placate communities as such, the greater will be the difficulties you will find yourselves in. That has been your experience so far, and that will be your experience more and more, as the days go by. Sir, I do not know if proceeding at the rate we are doing, we shall ever come to the end of our troubles. A simple, probably the only solution, I sometimes think, would be this, so far as the railways are concerned. Have everywhere throughout the country at least four parallel sets of railways; one for the Mussalmans (Laughter), one for the Anglo-Indians, one for the Indian Christians, shall I say, and one for the nondescripts including the Hindus; and let it be the rule, Sir, that each of these different railways will be manned exclusively by members of the particular community concerned; and, mark you, it should also be the rule that the earnings of each particular line should be contributed solely by that community, so that no community will be entitled to claim more than it pays by way of revenue to the State! (Laughter.) Otherwise I do not know how you can solve these interminable communal difficulties. (An Honourable Member: "Then keep up your monopoly.") Sir, my Mussalman friends naturally want a percentage of posts in relation to their percentage of population. When, however, you come to the Anglo-Indians, that criterion must forthwith be discarded! (Laughter.) Why, because if you look at the population, their percentage is somewhere near .035, whereas their percentage of employment in the subordinate staff of the State-managed railways comes to something like 6.90 per cent.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** On the subordinate staff according to population, it must be 7.5 per cent.

**Mr. C. C. Biswas:** I am taking that from Mr. Hassan's Report, the Report which my Honourable friends opposite are swearing by.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney:** It comes to 3.05 per cent. of the total population.

**Mr. C. C. Biswas:** It makes very little difference. That particular figure may be wrong, but the main fact remains, which I am sure my Honourable friend Sir Henry Gidney will not be able to controvert, that the percentage of employment which they enjoy in the railway service is very much out of proportion to their percentage of population. The point which I wish to make is this. In the case of Muslims, it must be on a population basis, but when you come to the other community, it must be on a different basis! The Anglo-Indians, it is said, have been trained in a particular way. their methods of life are of a special description, and they have got, so to say, vested interests in the railway service, and it would be a great injustice to take away anything from them! Therefore, whether it is under-representation or over-representation, so far as the favoured communities are concerned, they must not only continue to be favoured, but more and more favours must be heaped upon them! That

seems to be the policy. And the beauty of it is that if you want to redress Muhammadan inequality, you must take it not out of the community which is over-represented, but you must take it out of the Hindus! That seems to be the main object of my Honourable friends over there. I say, this will not do; and after all, if you are really so anxious to monopolise or to secure a larger share of the State appointments, it may be that a time will come when you will rue the day that you asked for these favours; you will find that State appointments will possibly have demoralised you, as they have demoralised other communities. However, that is by the way. Assuming for a moment that these are something worth having, these Government appointments, that they should be the be-all and the end-all of your existence in India, assuming that, I say, if you are to work it out on a fair basis, it will not be right for you to confine yourself to one Department, the railways, for instance. Why not take all the State services, and find out how it works? Take the Police, for instance, where I believe the Muslims are over-represented. The inequality or the under-representation in one service may be compensated by over-representation in another. I say, if you are going to proceed on those communal lines, the only fair course for you to take is the average based not merely on one particular service, but on all the different services, and then other things being equal or nearly equal, I do not mind your accepting population as the basis. But be it not the case of "Heads I win, tails you lose". Fix upon some principle or other, and be done with it, and try to apply that principle, but do not trot out any number of principles or try to start new theories, whenever it suits you, only to justify in some way or other your claims to more and more of these appointments. That is all I wish to point out. I do not desire to go into the figures given by Mr. Hayman. His figures may please some; they may not please others. But let us look at the question from the broad point of view. It is not well to be perpetually clamouring for these appointments on a communal basis. I am quite sure if all the sections of the House, irrespective of communities or creeds, unite in regarding efficiency as the sole test of appointments, that would be something very desirable, something which we ought to feel proud of and something which will bring us nearer to that United India which we all have in view. I was just glancing through this Report, and I find Mr. Hassan quotes the Queen's Proclamation. I could not help smiling, for, if there was one document which set the Queen's Proclamation at naught, it was this. Possibly I am doing him an injustice, for he was simply trying to carry out a policy which was dictated to him by the Government of India. That may be so, but still the fact remains that if you once break away from your moorings, and your anchor ceases to hold, you do not know where you will find yourself, into what rocks or shoals you may find yourself stranded.

**Shalkh Sadiq Hasan** (East Central Punjab: Muhammadan): Sir, it is really with a very heavy heart that I rise to speak on this cut. I am a nationalist, and anything which weakens the cause of nationalism really hurts my feelings, but I think in speaking on this point, I am really strengthening the cause of true and real nationalism. For this reason, I will briefly allude to the past history of India, our glorious motherland. Every one who knows about the history of India knows about the glorious Empire and great arts which existed in times past. Industries flourished in those days, and if we compare the India of the present day, it is nothing but a shadow of the past. I will give you one reason why India lost her



[Shaikh Sadiq Hasan.]

past glory. India lost her splendour when one set of people tried to keep down another set of people. My family belonged originally to a high class Hindu caste and I am proud to be the descendant of the old Brahmins, but all the same I do say that it was my caste that kept down the depressed classes, and when the Muhammadans invaded India, these depressed classes were quite willing, if not to fight with the invaders, at least to silently side them and thus overthrew this great bureaucracy of the Hindu caste. Sir, when the Muhammadans came I would justly admit that the early Afghans did not rule as well as they should have done because they were foreigners, and it was only in the days of Akbar and Shah Jehan, in the days of those grand Moghals that they felt that they were part and parcel of India. Then I would say that until 150 years back, the Hindus and Muslims did not treat one another in a fair manner, with the result that we find the English people came. Unless we people here, instead of talking platitudes and talking just like my Honourable friend Bhai Parma Nand, are prepared to do justice to each other, the result will be the same as what happened in the past and you will find the Muslim community as annoyed as were the depressed classes in the past. I would ask some of my friends who talk so glibly and who talk so much of equality and efficiency, I would ask them whether they have done any justice to the depressed classes during the last 5,000 years. How have they kept down 60 millions or 70 millions of men up to this time? Even now I want to ask my Honourable friend Bhai Parma Nand who wants to take these depressed classes into the fold—he is very anxious to take them so that they may fight against the Muslims—I want to ask my Honourable friend Bhai Parma Nand what have the Hindus done to uplift those people. We find these depressed classes in the Punjab. They have got a general electorate with the Hindus in the Punjab. Have they ever sent any representatives of the depressed classes to the Council except to make a mockery of them? It was only when Congress wanted to oppose Government in the Councils that they sent one or two to make a mock show.

4 P.M.

Now, Sir, some people always talk of loaves and fishes. Why they ask are these Muslims so anxious for the loaves and fishes. Sir, it is a question of "haves" and "have nots". Those people who have will always say to the people who have not, "Why are you anxious about the loaves and fishes?". Such is the cry of capitalists everywhere in the world. They would not like to give an iota to the people who are poor. Such was the cry of the aristocrats before the French Revolution or in the days of the Csars in Russia. Certainly they do not want to yield because if they give something to the other people, they will lose. For this reason they always cry that the demand for loaves and fishes is absurd. But if they will themselves give up these loaves and fishes, we will very much welcome them and will be very glad. Then, Sir, there is another point. It is not only a question of loaves and fishes, it is something more than that. It is the question of a proper share in the administration of the country. Sir, as I said, I am a nationalist and I do not like the foreigners to be here, but I certainly would not like them to be replaced by Hindus only. I would like to say that Hindus and Muslims and all the other classes in the country, Parsis, Sikhs, Christians and depressed classes should all live in a just and amicable manner. It is not for one class to say that the Muslims should not demand a share in the administration

of the country and so on. It is a great thing to have a share in the administration of the country. The English people, after all, are not taking very much in the shape of salaries from the revenues of the country, but all the same we do not want to see them here because they hold the administration of the country and it is humiliating for my countrymen to be held in serfdom. In the same way it would be humiliating for the Muslims to be held in serfdom by any other community. Of course in this matter of employment I cannot throw the entire blame on my Hindu friends; I would also throw the blame on the British Government. If the British Government wanted to help the Muslim community, they could do so. They sent 50,000 Indians to jail during the last civil disobedience movement and they have sent about 35,000 people to jail during the present movement, and the Government which could do so could also stop the recruitment of other communities if they wanted to do it. But they are not keen on doing it, and perhaps they have got their own motives. Sir, I am glad to find my Honourable friend Bhai Parma Nand a great advocate of nationalism. I would be very convinced of his nationalism if he gave up his Vice-Presidentship of the Hindu Mahasabha, which is a most anti-nationalist body, like some of the Muslim bodies. How can he talk of nationalism? What I am saying is that you cannot ask people to think non-communally while you are doing it yourself. What I am really driving at is, that I do not want the lion's share for my community. I would certainly oppose any Mussalman who says that he should have the lion's share in these services. But what I do say is that Muslims should have their just share and this should not be opposed by any one.

**Bhai Parma Nand:** What is that just share?

**Shaikh Sadiq Hasan:** We can sit together and settle that after discussion.

**An Honourable Member:** What about the Anglo-Indians?

**Shaikh Sadiq Hasan:** I would say about Anglo-Indians, Sikhs and depressed classes that no community should have more than its due share. But there is one thing which you have to admit, and that is that the Anglo-Indians have not got any share in the other services of the country. I would say about the depressed classes that I am very keen that they should also have their due share. It is not fair that we the Muslims only should take our own shares, but we should also strongly press the claims of the depressed classes, and it will only be just and fair for us to do so.

Finally, Sir, I would say that the Railway Board has done one thing for which I am very thankful to them, and particularly to Mr. Hayman, the Member in charge of the staff, and that is that they have made a proper inquiry into Muslim grievances. Not once or twice, but many times memorials were sent, interviews were granted and from the Press and platform and on the floor of this House the question of inadequacy of Muslim representation was impressed upon Government during the last ten years. The reply invariably given was that Government were very anxious to employ more Muslims, but the difficulty was that Muslims with the requisite qualifications were not available. The representatives of the Muslim community knew that the information which was supplied to the Government was not correct, but they did not possess any definite figures

[Shaikh Sadiq Hasan.]

- to convince the Government. It must be said to the credit of the Railway Board that they had a proper inquiry made into the subject by one of their officers with the result that is known to the House.

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

So far as we are concerned, it did not require Mr. Hassan's Report to explode the theory of paucity of qualified Muslims, and now that Government have got a report from their own officer, let us hope that this plea will never again be put forward by any one in future in justification of the paucity of Muslims in railways or in any other services of Government.

It is no use now discussing the past, because it will not increase our number, but it will only add to bitterness, will preclude a calm examination of the question which is essential not only for the Muslim community but also for the country as a whole. We have to consider what action should be taken for the future. And in this connection I would like to invite the attention of the Railway Board to the figures given by Mr. Hassan in chapter 3 of his Report. I do not wish to weary this House by referring to them here in detail, but a mere glance will convince any fair-minded person that Muslims are very inadequately represented in the subordinate services generally and the upper subordinate posts particularly; and unless some steps are taken, there is no hope that Muslims will ever get the representation which their education, population and share in political life of the country entitles them to. The Railway Board have tried—and I must say faint-heartedly—to increase the Muslim representation in the services under their control during the last six years by means of circular letters and instructions; but as is evident from the figures given in Mr. Hassan's Report, these have failed in their objective. It will be seen from the memorandum which the Railway Board circulated last year to the Members of the Legislative Assembly in connection with the representation of Muslims in the services, that a senior European officer also arrived at the same conclusion at which Mr. Hassan has arrived; that it is necessary to fix a definite percentage for Muslims if it is really intended to increase their representation. Here is a unique opportunity for the Government to prove their *bona fides* to the Muslim community and a splendid chance for the great Hindu community to show their sense of justice. I have great admiration for some of my Honourable Hindu colleagues who are true patriots in not offering opposition if Government are prepared to take action on any such lines. Speaking on behalf of my constituency, I would state most emphatically that, unless a just percentage is fixed for Muslims, there is absolutely no chance of their being adequately represented in the railway services. Any delay will give rise to genuine misgivings amongst the educated Muslims as to the *bona fides* of the Government in this matter and would lead to agitation which may have serious effects, because our claims are based on justice and we do not want any more than our share. I would therefore appeal to the Honourable the Railway Member and the Railway Board to take their courage in both their hands and do justice to the Muslim community.

Finally, it will be seen from the Report that unless qualified Muslims are recruited in large numbers in the intermediate grades, there is no chance of their being adequately represented in the upper subordinate

grades. I would therefore most strongly urge on the Railway Board a certain percentage in the vacancies in these grades should be given to capable and efficient Muslims till such time as the representation in these grades becomes adequate. With these observations I resume my seat.

**Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer** (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Non-Muhamadan Rural): Sir, I congratulate my Nationalist Muslim friend on the frankness with which he spoke. We are living in difficult times and the difficulty which confronts us can be solved only by candour. My friend, Mr. Biswas, was candid; and my friend, the Honourable Mr. Sadiq Hasan, was equally candid. I do not question his nationalism and I do believe he does not question the nationalism of my friend, Mr. Biswas. This is purely a national question which is facing the Nationalists. A similar question, as you are no doubt aware, faced Canada when it was in the throes of dominion autonomy, when it was undergoing the birth-pangs of dominion freedom. I am not embarrassed by this debate at all. I in a sense welcome this debate. I know there are people who think it is a painful debate; painful it certainly is; but raised in pain the nation shall be delivered in freedom. I therefore do not utter one word of condemnation. I welcome this debate. I do not share the pessimism of my friend, the Honourable the Leader of the Independent Party who perhaps thought this was not the place for a discussion of this kind. I believe this will not be the place for a discussion of this kind after a few years, perhaps within a few years . . . . .

**Sir Abdur Rahim:** I never said anything like that.

**Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer:** I am glad to know that he did not say anything like that. I was not present when he spoke (Laughter): I thought my information was correct: I was told that he had stated that this discussion should not have taken place on the floor of this House. I am extremely glad that he welcomes a discussion on the floor of this House. It is much better to have a discussion . . . . .

**Sir Abdur Rahim:** I said the discussion should be in a different spirit.

**Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer:** He wanted the discussion in a different spirit, not perhaps in a communal spirit. There was a time when my Honourable friend the Leader of the Independent Party was in his less regenerate and more communal days discussing this thing in a big conference at Aligarh, when he stated that he feared that the Hindus, perhaps the extremist Hindus, wanted the expulsion of Muslims from India, as the Moors were expelled from Spain; and when I criticised that statement, I welcomed that frankness out in the country. Always such candour and candid talk is calculated to improve the state of things. Even so, even if strong words have been used in this debate, I welcome them because we have to fight out this problem; we cannot fly away from this problem. What happened in Canada? If you read Lord Durham's Report, you will find that Canadian French and Canadian Englishmen fought like cats and dogs; they would not meet each other in the Canadian clubs in one club; they would not go to the same schools; the Canadian French and the Canadian English sent their sons and daughters to different schools. If you read Lord Durham's Report, you will find that the children of Frenchmen and Englishmen fought each other in the streets. Lord Durham says with sorrow that they met only in one place and that was

[Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer.]

in the court of law; and there too for the utter obstruction of justice. Things have not become so bad in India; and after the speech of my friend, Mr. Sadiq Hasan, I am convinced things will never become so bad in India. He is not forgetful of his past; he took delight in saying that Brahminic blue blood flows in his veins. It requires some courage, it requires some faith in the nationalism of the country to come forward and say a thing of that kind. That shows to me, as by a flash of lightning, that beneath the frothy surface of communal discussion great currents of unity are at work. As I said before, and as I say now, we must bury the hatchet. It is a bad thing, this communal representation in the services. But good or bad, just as Canada went through it, I am prepared to go through it; and I know by over-feeding the communalists with communalism, I will make them disgusted with communalism. I am out to satisfy the minorities . . . .

**Mr. B. Das:** Not Colonel Gidney?

**Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer:** Including Colonel Gidney. My friend, Mr. Das, says "Not Colonel Gidney?". I say including Colonel Gidney, for if India is to be free, the tyranny of the majority will be the worst form of tyranny. As Gibbon said of one of the Roman tribunes they "talked the language of patriots but walked in the footsteps of despots". Let it not be said then of majorities that they propose to trample on the minorities; but there are majorities and majorities and minorities and minorities. It is not a racial or a communal question; it is more a provincial question, for in the Punjab the Hindus are in a minority. And when the railways traverse places where the Punjabi Hindus are in a minority, I would expect my Muslim friends to remember the Hindu minorities of the Punjab.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** Remember the Sindhis also.

**Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer:** My friend over there, the staunch champion of the Sindhis, says "Remember the Sindhis also". Sir, if we approach the question from that point of view, we need not be ashamed of this debate; we need not be sorry for this debate. Sir, the strawberry grows underneath the nettle and wholesome berries thrive and ripen best under such conditions. (Cheers.)

**Maulvi Muhammad Shafee Daoodi:** Sir, after what my friend, Mr. Ranga Iyer has said, I think we should close this debate and discuss the question on its merits. He has been eloquent in putting the case of all the communities that inhabit this vast country, and I really congratulate him on the way in which he has spoken. It is this courage which will help to solve this problem. Our esteemed friend, Sir Abdur Rahim, gave us his mind quite clearly and quoted an example from the Brahmin and non-Brahmin communities of Madras which should have satisfied my friends on all sides. This is certainly not a question which should create bickering amongst us. It is a question of the share which every community should have in the administration of our railways which traverse this country. I hope my friends on the other side will agree, and especially my friend Bhai Parma Nand will agree that the Muslims are really very inadequately represented.

**Bhai Parma Nand:** I want to have a definition of adequate or inadequate share.

**Maulvi Muhammad Shafee Daoodi:** If my friend Mr. Hayman cannot convince my friend from the facts and figures he quoted, I for one cannot convince him—I am not a master of all these facts and figures,—but what I find is this. When the Muhammadans felt very much aggrieved on this question, they represented their grievance to you in the Assembly, to the Honourable Member for Railways in his office and so on, and special officers were appointed who have published their Report.

**Bhai Parma Nand:** Could you tell me what is the share that you want?

**Maulvi Muhammad Shafee Daoodi:** I have read portions of this Report which relate to this question.

**Sir Abdullah Suhrawardy:** I will answer the Honourable Member's question for Maulana Shafee Daoodi. We want an equitable share; we want an equal share which will break the monopoly or undue preponderance of one community over another.

**Mr. President:** Order, order.

**Maulvi Muhammad Shafee Daoodi:** I have read portions of this Report, and I find it contains a complete answer to your question. . . .

**Bhai Parma Nand:** Because the Report is written by a Muhammadan officer.

**Mr. President:** The Honourable Member should address the Chair.

**Maulvi Muhammad Shafee Daoodi:** The percentage of Muslims in different railways and in different localities has been given, and it is not that other minorities have been ignored. The question of Sikhs, Anglo-Indians, Parsis, in fact of every minority community has been dealt with in very great detail.

**Sirdar Harbans Singh Brar:** No, it is not so.

**Maulvi Muhammad Shafee Daoodi:** You may not agree with the conclusions which that officer has arrived at, but he has dealt with the whole question in a very able manner. I have very carefully considered it and come to that conclusion. Now the Report also says what advantages or disadvantages the Anglo-Indians have or will have in future; the Report does not conceal that fact from you. . . .

**Mr. President:** Order, order. The Honourable Member should address the Chair.

**Maulvi Muhammad Shafee Daoodi:** Now that Honourable Members are in possession of these facts contained in this Report, we should consider how far the recommendations made in this Report can be given effect to. That is the whole question. If you dispute any facts contained in the Report, that is another matter; but I find that, after the long discussion we have had over this question, no facts contained in the Report have

[Maulvi Muhammad Shafee Daoodi.]

been disputed. You may of course dispute the conclusions, and you have disputed them, but you have not disputed any facts contained in the Report. Now the Railway Board is in possession of these recommendations as to how the members of the Muslim community can be promoted to upper grades because of their appointments in the intermediate grade, as to how the percentage can be increased without causing any inconvenience to those already employed in the railways, and what steps should be taken to increase the percentage of Muslims in the railway services, I would appeal to my friends on this side who have a great desire to create a good atmosphere in the country which might be helpful to the solution of the difficult and knotty problems confronting us, to look into the matter very dispassionately and calmly and see if they can also help us in asking the Railway Board to accept the recommendations contained in this Report. I would ask my friends to bear in mind that the Report does not say that the full percentage of population should be given to Muslims. Although in one place the Report says what the percentage of Muslims is in the area in which the North Western Railway traverses, still the demand is not 38 per cent., it is much less; it is 35 per cent. So I would appeal to my friends to look into the matter in a different light, and not in the light in which they have been looking at it till now. After the advice given by Mr. Ranga Iyer, we have no quarrel with our friends on that side, but we have to come to some conclusion. I don't want to say that you should agree to the representation of Muslims in the Railways to an unfair degree, but I find from this Report that the percentage recommended is just lower than the percentage due to Muslims on a population basis. For that reason I would appeal to my friends to be indulgent enough now to close this debate and have from the Railway Board an assurance as to what they are going to do on this Report. This is the most important thing which would assure the minorities as well as the Muslims so far as their claims are concerned.

**Diwan Bahadur Harbilas Sarda** (Ajmer-Merwara: General): Close the debate now.

**An Honourable Member:** I move, Sir, the question be now put.

**Mr. President:** I accept the closure.

The question is that the question be now put.

The motion was adopted.

**The Honourable Sir George Rainy:** Sir, I do not think the House will expect from me a long speech on this occasion, and certainly I should not be prepared to follow some of the speakers who have spoken into the very wide area which they entered. I do not say for a moment that their speeches were not relevant to the issue which we are considering—they were eminently so—but on this great communal question, this great problem which is facing India, I think the anxiety which fills the minds of those of us who sit on the Treasury Bench is, lest anything we should say, should add to the already sufficiently formidable difficulty. This is pre-eminently a national question on which Indians may very naturally concede to Indians a certain freedom of speech, but personally I always regard it as an extraordinarily difficult field to enter with any hope of being able to improve things and not make them worse.

Sir, I think I may congratulate the House on the tone of the debate to which we have listened, and I should like to refer specially to the speech of my Honourable friend the Leader of the Independent Party. It did seem to me that, if some of these difficult communal problems are to be solved, it is very much in the spirit in which he approached the problem that they will be solved. By mentioning him specially, I would not wish to be understood to be criticising any of the other speakers. Naturally, of course, in a debate when a number of Members have spoken from all quarters of the House from different points of view and with a different outlook,—naturally there may be a touch more of acerbity in some than in others, but there is nothing surprising in that. I agree with my Honourable friend, Mr. Ranga Iyer, that it is not a debate which we need regret.

Now, to turn to the more immediate question, the speakers who opened the debate, my Honourable friend, Mr. Maswood Ahmad, and my Honourable and gallant friend, Sir Henry Gidney, announced to the House their discovery that the policy of the Government as regards recruitment from communities not adequately represented was not being properly carried out, and the implication clearly was that we were very much to blame for that. This discovery did not come to me with any flush of glad surprise because I discovered it myself a year ago, and if I may read what I said in introducing the Budget last year, Honourable Members will see that this is so. What I said was this:

“Special enquiries have been made in three of the principal railways. The Government of India have come to the conclusion that adequate steps have not yet been taken to give effect to the policy of the Government, and that further measures are necessary and must be introduced at a very early date.”

Therefore, when Mr. Hassan's Report—I should like to pay a tribute to the industry and ability with which it has been written—when it came to us, the fact that it reported that the policy had not been always fully carried out did not come to me with a shock, or as anything of which we had not had a shrewd idea before. One must recognise of course the practical difficulties of working the kind of system which we have been endeavouring to work. It is not altogether easy—unless, as Mr. Hassan proposes, we should have fixed percentages—it is not altogether easy to carry out the policy when the execution has to be entrusted to a number of officers and authorities scattered all over the country. But the crucial point is this; if it appears to us that the policy is not being fully carried out, what practical steps can we take to see that it is carried out? Now, Sir, when I spoke on this subject a year ago, although a number of ideas had been advanced I did not feel myself that the issues had been thoroughly cleared up, and it is the advantage of having before us Mr. Hassan's Report that we now have presented to us definite issues on which, before very long, definite decisions will have to be taken. There are two aspects of the case which I regard as on the whole the most important and most urgent. One of them was alluded to by my Honourable friend Sir Abdur Rahim in his speech last year, and I think he also touched upon it again this year. That is, question is whether the recruiting authorities, when they are recruiting through selection committees, are sufficiently in touch with the communities concerned, so that the best candidates from a particular community are brought to their notice. I have felt for a long time that that might be a direction in which our system was not working quite satisfactorily. Now that we have Mr. Hassan's



[Sir George Rainy.]

Report, I propose to bring the matter before the Central Advisory Council for Railways so that we may see whether we can work out some system of a committee, attached to each of the railways,—or possibly for a particular railway which passes through several provinces there may have to be more than one committee—which will bring to the notice of the railway authorities candidates who clearly possess the qualifications which the railways require from all candidates for a particular class of appointment. That is one line on which I think a good deal could be done to make our policy effective. The other is a practical proposal which Mr. Hassan has made,—that we should reserve a definite percentage of appointments on each of the State-managed railways for Muslim recruitment. My Honourable friend Mr. Hayman has told the House that the recommendations of the Railway Board were already before the Government of India, and we will do our best to deal with the matter expeditiously. Those who look back at my speech last year will see that it raised a question which I foresaw must inevitably be raised. The general rule under which we are working in the Government of India is the reservation of one-third of the vacancies for the redress of marked communal inequalities, and what I said in my speech last year was that, when you are dealing not with an all-India service, but with a particular railway, conditions vary so widely that it is quite a fair question to raise whether some adjustment of our ordinary formula is not required. It is to that question that we are applying our minds, and I certainly shall be very disappointed if, before I hand over charge of my office, we have not arrived at any rate at a provisional conclusion on the matter.

Now, Sir, my Honourable friend, Sirdar Harbans Singh Brar, in his speech to which I listened with great interest, referred to an unholy alliance, and as his eyes were directed to a particular quarter of the House, I imagine he had in mind some union between two sections of the centre Benches. To my great apprehension and dismay, before he sat down, it appeared to me that he was himself acceding to the alliance to which I will not apply any epithet whatever. From what fell from my Honourable friend, Mr. Shafee Daoodi, I gathered he was sanguine or at least hopeful that perhaps the whole Opposition would enter this same alliance. Mr. President, if that were to be an augury that the parties in India are going to get together and settle their communal differences, then those of us who sit in the Treasury Benches would have more cause for satisfaction than any one else. I hope that the alliance, not the unholy alliance, but the real alliance will accomplish itself and prove effective. (Applause.)

**Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad:** In reply I want to say only a few words. The first is this. In connection with the figures collected by Sirdar Harbans Singh I will ask my Honourable friend to read Mr. Hassan's Report. My second point is that in the Report to which my Honourable friend referred, he will find many quotations from Mr. B. T. Singh who was a colleague of my friend Mr. Hassan. So the Report is not of Mr. Hassan's only but a member of Sikh community is also responsible for it. The other point is that some of my Honourable friends said that there are very few Mussalmans who are M.As. in mathematics. Mr. President, may I ask how many Mussalman M.As. in mathematics they

require. I will supply them, Sir, I can give them as many Muhammadans as they want, M.As. in mathematics, from my province of Bihar only, for the whole requirement of all the railways in India. Another point that was mentioned is the alliance. We Muhammadans are ready to have holy alliances with all the inhabitants of India. We are ready to have an alliance with our Sikh friends, an alliance with the depressed classes, an alliance with our Hindu friends and an alliance with all the other communities of our Mother country. I am thankful to all the Honourable Members who have sympathised with my motion and at least agreed that our representation in the subordinate and in the gazetted grades is quite inadequate and insufficient, though one or two Members may not know the meaning of the words "adequate" and "inadequate". I will advise them to consult dictionaries for the meaning of these words.

I assure my friend Mr. Hayman that all the figures quoted by me are supported by the Railway Administration Reports for 1929-30 and 1930-31, and if he has got any doubts about any figures I can quote pages and volumes to him. I do not want to waste the time of the House by repeating the same figures with authority now. But my Honourable friends would have marked that when I interrupted my Honourable friend Mr. Hayman and I stated the pages of the Railway Report for 1929-30 my friend took shelter under the words "temporary job".

I want to say just one or two words more. I am sorry that my friend did not reply to the point that I emphasized four times—once in my speech, twice in the speech of my friend Mr. Hayman and a fourth time when he finished his speech, that our percentage in spite of so many promises was reduced by .11 per cent. When he finished his speech, I drew his attention to that point. On page 48 he will find that our percentage has gone down and this percentage was before the economy campaign. His statement that it was after economy campaign is incorrect.

I said in the beginning of my speech that so many promises are made every year and there will be another promise this year also. He did as I thought. Here I may quote one Urdu proverb:

*"Yaqin unke wāde per karna parega,  
Yeh dānista dhoka to khana parega."*

That means, "I will have to trust her promises and deceive myself knowingly once more". Now, Sir, after the assurance given by my Honourable friend, with the permission of the House, I wish to withdraw my motion.

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

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, the 2nd March, 1932.