

Saturday, 19th March 1932

THE  
**LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES**

(OFFICIAL REPORT)

**VOLUME III, 1932**

*(14th March to 6th April, 1932)*

**THIRD SESSION**

OF THE

**FOURTH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,  
1932**



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# **Legislative Assembly**

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# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Saturday, 19th March, 1932.

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

## MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT.

### ALLEGED MALTREATMENT OF WOMEN POLITICAL PRISONERS.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): I have received notice from Sardar Sant Singh that he proposes to ask for leave to make a motion for the adjournment of the business of the House to-day for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the maltreatment of women political prisoners in the course of their transfer from the Delhi Jail to mixed Jails in the Punjab. Before I ask whether there is any objection to the motion, the Chair would like to invite the attention of the Honourable Member to the fact that under the rules governing the procedure of this House the Budget grants have to be put to the House at 5 o'clock to-day. Adjournment motions are under the Standing Orders taken up at 4 P.M. and discussed till 6 P.M. It is clearly not possible to have the adjournment motion and also secure compliance with the rules regarding the Budget grants. The Chair has therefore to ask the Honourable Member whether he would renew his request for leave for this adjournment motion on Wednesday next, and the Chair assures him that it will regard the motion on Wednesday as urgent, and that no difficulty will be raised in regard to the matter of urgency on that day. I therefore take it that the Honourable Member is agreeable (*Sardar Sant Singh*: "Yes") not to press it to-day but to renew his request for leave on Wednesday next when the House meets again.

**Sardar Sant Singh** (West Punjab: Sikh): I accept your suggestion, Sir, and I will renew it on Wednesday.

## THE GENERAL BUDGET—LIST OF DEMANDS—*concl'd.*

DEMAND NO. 23—INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT—*concl'd.*

**Mr. President**: The House will now resume further discussion on the grant for the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department.

**Diwan Bahadur Harbilas Sarda** (Ajmer-Merwara: General): I rise to support the motion moved by my Honourable friend Mr. Joshi. . . .

**Mr. President:** Mr. Joshi has moved no cut motion.

**Diwan Bahadur Harbilas Sarda:** He wanted to oppose the motion moved by the Honourable the Finance Member, and I want to support him in what he said.

Sir, I too have been connected with the Postal Conferences of my province, and I have some acquaintance with the grievances of the staff. I believe that the lower paid staff of the Postal Department is handicapped in many ways, and I do not want to do anything further to make their position worse. Retrenchment, so far as it does not affect or impair the efficiency of any service, is not only good but necessary, but if it in any way affects the members of a particular service in a most injurious way, then it is time to cry a halt, and I think the way in which the Government have dealt with some of the retrenchment proposals deserves condemnation. I do not want that masses of men, or even groups of men, or a number of men should be thrown out of employment at this time when things are very bad. I therefore think that any unnecessary retrenchment in the shape of dismissal or discharge of numbers of people should be discouraged and should not be taken in hand.

Sir, I would ask your permission to say something about the work of the Retrenchment Committees. I have been, and I am a member of the General Purposes Sub-Committee, and certain remarks were made yesterday, and before that, to the disparagement of the work of the Committee and the members of that Committee. Consequently, as a sort of personal explanation, as I have been connected with it, I wish to say a few words. The House will remember very well that last year in March, when the Honourable the Finance Member presented his Budget and the Finance Bill and proposed fresh taxation, from every part of the House, from every corner the cry went forth that fresh taxation should not be levied but that more retrenchment should be effected and thus money should be found to balance the Budget. The Honourable the Finance Member said that he had retrenched as much as he could, and that if the Members thought that there had not been sufficient retrenchment, he would invite Members to investigate the matter and to see things for themselves thus to find out that Government had done all that was possible. In a spirit of frankness and sincerity of purpose, which do him credit, he offered to appoint a committee to go into the matter, and Members on this side, the Leaders of Parties and others, accepted that offer in the spirit that they would thereby be able to do public service and serve the cause of their country. They offered their services to effect further retrenchment so that there might be no occasion for further taxation later on. In that spirit, those of us who were nominated to these Committees agreed to serve on the different Committees. Personally my opinion is that even if any of us agreed to serve on those Committees with the object only of helping the Government—even then I think the object was laudable, but, as I have said that, so far as I am aware, all of us agreed to serve on those Committees with the sole object of helping the country to obviate the necessity for further taxation by proposing further retrenchment. Sir, when my Honourable friend Sir Abdur Rahim agreed to serve on the Retrenchment Committee and accepted the Chairmanship of the General Purposes Sub-Committee, he did so at great personal sacrifice, not only financial, but of his time and energy, and the way in which he has worked, has evoked

admiration from all who know anything of the work of that Committee and who had occasion to read the two reports issued by that Committee. It has been said by an Honourable Member that the reports of the Committees should be thrown into the waste-paper basket. Sir, if anybody thinks so, it is not the fault of the reports of those Committees. I am sure that those reports are very valuable documents, and are looked upon as such by all responsible people who have read them. Not only that, but I have heard some very responsible officers say that the reports would remain valuable documents for use when financial questions arise again and when another retrenchment committee is appointed, as it is bound to be appointed in a few years. That being so, I only wish to say that the work done by the Retrenchment Committee is very useful and has been done in a spirit of public service only, and those who have worked there deserve praise, not condemnation. It is that spirit that inspired the work done by the Committees which co-operated in reviewing the expenditure in different departments. The General Purposes Committee went into the working of the different departments of the Government of India and considered the evidence placed before them with the greatest care, and such recommendations as have been made by that Committee were made in the public interest, and we expect the Government to pay proper attention to them and consider them with the same care with which the General Purposes Committee exercised to come to those conclusions, and it is our duty as members of the Committee and as Members of this House to press those points with all the force which we can command. It is a pity that certain retrenchment cuts which were proposed by my Honourable friend Sir Abdur Rahim were not pressed to a division yesterday. He would have found almost the entire Nationalist Party following him into the lobby if he had pressed that point to a division. That however is past. I have nothing further to say about that. I want to make it clear that whatever the Retrenchment Committees have done has been done in the best interests of the country and has been inspired by public spirit.

**The Honourable Sir Joseph Bhore** (Member for Industries and Labour):

I confess to having felt considerable surprise yesterday when Mr. Joshi raised his objection to the entire grant for the Posts and Telegraphs Department on the ground of cuts imposed upon the lower paid employees of the Posts and Telegraphs Department. I understood from what had previously fallen from the Chair that it was generally agreed by the whole House that Friday and Saturday were to be wholly and entirely reserved for the discussion of cuts and motions to secure retrenchment. I do not now propose to take any objection to the course which Mr. Joshi thought fit to adopt yesterday. It may be that he was perfectly within his rights technically. It may also be that perhaps I might have too nice a sense of the obligations attaching to an agreement which has been definitely entered upon. Since, however, Mr. Joshi took the fullest benefit of the facilities flowing from the agreement the day before yesterday, which you, Sir, will remember was allocated to the unattached Members of this House, I naturally thought that Mr. Joshi would equally rest content with honouring the obligations which were incidental to that agreement. Evidently, Sir, I have been mistaken. Labour as represented by my friend Mr. Joshi is evidently prepared to take all the benefits which it can receive and it is not prepared to subscribe to any obligation. As regards

[Sir Joseph Bhore.]

the subject-matter of Mr. Joshi's objection it is unnecessary for me to go into any detail. It has been completely replied to by the Honourable Member who followed him. I am very happy to have had so doubtful a champion as my friend, Mr. Amar Nath Dutt, who was himself a member of the Retrenchment Committee, and I need only add, Sir, that the cuts in question which were recommended by the Retrenchment Sub-Committee were cuts amounting to half an anna in the rupee on salaries and wages up to Rs. 30, one anna on those between Rs. 30 and Rs. 84 and ten per cent. beyond that. They resulted in a graduated scale of 3 and  $\frac{1}{4}$ th per cent.,  $6\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. and of 10 per cent., and I am sure that since the graduated scale appeals so much to so many Members of this House, they will see no objection to the cuts which have been imposed. I think it is a little hard for us on this side to be threatened on the one hand with the loss of lakhs of rupees, because we have not given effect to the suggestions of the Retrenchment Sub-Committees, and on the other to be threatened with the loss of crores of rupees because we are accepting the recommendations of the Committee.

Now, Sir, I turn to my Honourable friend Mr. Sykes. Well, Sir, I confess to a feeling of utter bewilderment when my Honourable friend was speaking. When I listened to him, a very unhappy feeling crept over me that perhaps the strain of the last few months was beginning to tell upon me and that I was rapidly qualifying for entry into a home for mental defectives. It was therefore, Sir, a matter of great relief when I found that you, Mr. President, were exactly in the same position as myself and if I remember aright you asked the Honourable Member whether he was speaking for or against the motion. I confess that my bewilderment continued until almost the end of that speech and then I understood my Honourable friend to say that he agreed with Mr. Joshi in not wanting any Posts and Telegraphs after the 31st March, and that the best way of remedying these cuts on the salaries of the lower paid employees was by dismissing the latter entirely, which is the result which would have followed automatically from the elimination of this grant.

I come now to Mr. Jagan Nath Aggarwal. I always listen to him with great and close attention whenever he has anything to say, but I confess that I was unable to follow the line of argument which he adopted yesterday. What he said was that he objected entirely to cuts on the lower paid employees of the department, though he admitted that this might result in very substantial saving. On the other hand equally strongly he objected to the recent increases in postal rates, which I am glad to inform this House, have resulted in a much needed increase in our revenue so far. Now, Sir, if on the one hand you are not prepared to take measures to increase your income and on the other hand you are not prepared to take measures to diminish your expenditure, then you are heading straight for bankruptcy, and if a bankrupt institution is not to be run by the general tax-payers, then the only alternative is that it should shut down and that in fact, Sir, is, I understand, what Mr. Aggarwal was prepared to accept since he said that he supported Mr. Joshi's motion. Sir, it is impossible for me seriously to deal with a position of this sort.

I come finally, Sir, to Mr. Ranga Iyer. In the flood of rhetoric which he poured upon the head of this devoted House during the last hour of a tiring day I did try to see if I could clutch at some straw to save myself.

I think I succeeded, because there was one sentence in his speech which seemed to me to require both criticism and explanation and that sentence was that hundreds and thousands of poor postal employees have been either retrenched or sent into the wilderness. Now, Sir, I have asked myself whether that statement is a correct representation of facts or whether it is a gross exaggeration. I challenge my Honourable friend to give me even the roughest estimate of the thousands of postal employees who, according to him, have been sent into the wilderness.

**Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer** (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I clearly stated that thousands of employees have been sent away under retrenchment and the Postal Department has not been an exception to the rule. I also stated that their salaries have been cut which the Honourable Member is trying to elude.

**The Honourable Sir Joseph Bhoré**: Well, Sir, seeing that I myself have referred to the cuts in salaries, I cannot understand how I can possibly be eluding that point. However, the only compiled figures which my friend Mr. Ranga Iyer would have had before him are those on page 6 of the statement of results of the retrenchment operations already circulated to Honourable Members, where it is noted that in the Posts and Telegraphs Department 31 officers, and 353 ministerial and other staff, of whom, I think, about 100 have retired voluntarily, and only 4 inferior staff were abolished or about to be abolished in connection with the retrenchment campaign. This gives a total of 388 men, out of a staff of about 132,000 belonging to the Posts and Telegraphs Department. These figures were compiled in February from the statements received from the heads of the service. Obviously, as many important retrenchment measures which had specifically been ordered. . . .

**Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer**: Will the Honourable gentleman state how many runners were sent away?

**The Honourable Sir Joseph Bhoré**: Sir, if my Honourable friend will allow me to give him further information without interruption, I should like to do so. I was saying that it would take time to give to the House the full effect of all these important measures which we are bringing in, but I have no reason to think that anything of the nature of a very extensive reduction of staff will be possible or will be needed. I think that it is surely significant that no complaints about retrenchment, apart from the complaints about the cut of pay, have reached the Director General from such bodies as the Postmen's Unions, and practically none even from individuals. Sir, I do not think any thing more is necessary for me to point out how wild and without foundation is the statement that hundreds and thousands of poor postal employees have been turned out into the wilderness. I do not think there is anything further for me to say and I will now leave it to the House to decide whether they will relieve my Honourable successor from the burden of administering the Postal Department during the next financial year. (Applause.)

**Mr. N. M. Joshi** (Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I think the Honourable Member has accused me of having broken an agreement. The agreement was arrived at, as you know, in order that the House should be able to

[Mr. N. M. Joshi.]

properly utilise the time at its disposal. So, when I found that the House had spare time at its disposal, I was entitled to make use of it. I have therefore broken no agreement. Moreover, Mr. President, even if I have broken the agreement, I did it for a very good reason. I am in the habit of looking after the welfare of other people; I am somewhat altruistic in tendencies. I thought some people receive very fat salaries and it is bad for them to be without any work.

**Mr. President:** Sir George Schuster to reply.

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster** (Finance Member): Sir, I have nothing to add.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 10,67,90,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department (including Working Expenses)'."

The motion was adopted.

#### DEMAND NO. 25.—INTEREST ON ORDINARY DEBT AND REDUCTION OR AVOIDANCE OF DEBT.

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** Sir, I beg to move:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,80,20,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Interest on Ordinary Debt and Reduction or Avoidance of Debt'."

The motion was adopted.

#### DEMAND NO. 26.—INTEREST ON MISCELLANEOUS OBLIGATIONS.

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** Sir, I beg to move:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 48,12,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Interest on Miscellaneous Obligations'."

The motion was adopted.

#### DEMAND NO. 27.—STAFF, HOUSEHOLD AND ALLOWANCES OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL.

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** Sir, I beg to move:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,91,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Staff, Household and Allowances of the Governor General'."

The motion was adopted.

#### DEMAND NO. 29.—COUNCIL OF STATE.

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** Sir, I beg to move:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 90,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of the 'Council of State'."

The motion was adopted.

**DEMAND No. 30—LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY  
DEPARTMENT.**

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** Sir, I beg to move:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,09,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of the ‘Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Assembly Department’.”

**Mr. N. M. Joshi:** Sir, I assure you that when I rise to oppose this motion I have absolutely no complaint against you as the head of the Legislative Assembly. But, Mr. President, I have some complaint against the Government for depriving this Legislature of one of its most cherished and valuable privileges, and that, Sir, is that whenever the Government enter into an agreement of a long-standing nature to incur expenditure, they should consult this House beforehand. At least a vote of this House is necessary to be taken before Government enters into that contract. I feel, Mr. President, that the Government of India have entered into such a contract, or are about to enter into such a contract with regard to the subvention to the N.-W. F. Province. I assure you, Mr. President, I do not wish to go into details on that question. I am simply saying that the Government of India have not paid sufficient attention to the privileges of this House. The Government of India, in my judgment, when they decided to give a subvention of about a crore of rupees to the N.-W. F. Province, should have placed a Resolution before this House . . . . .

**The Honourable Sir George Rainy** (Member for Commerce and Railways): Sir, on a point of order, I would ask for your ruling as to how far a question of this kind can be discussed on this particular vote.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): The Honourable Member is wholly out of order. The Chair would like to draw the Honourable Member's attention to Demand No. 78. The Government have come before the Assembly asking it to vote a definite amount for that purpose, and if that item is reached, the Honourable Member will be perfectly entitled to oppose that Demand and to give his reasons for doing so, but on the present occasion he is entirely out of order.

**Mr. N. M. Joshi:** Mr. President, may I just say one word . . . . .

**Mr. President:** Order, order. The ruling has been given and I do not want to hear anything more.

**Mr. N. M. Joshi:** May I say one word . . . . .

**Mr. President:** Will you please resume your seat. The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,09,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of the ‘Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Assembly Department’.”

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND NO. 31—FOREIGN AND POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** Sir, I beg to move:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,74,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of the ‘Foreign and Political Department’.”

**Mr. B. Das** (Orissa Division: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I wish to oppose this whole grant for the Foreign and Political Department. Sir, it seems that department is not responsible to this House, but is always irresponsible and always unconstitutional. Whenever it gets a chance to get out of the constitutional rut and usage, it takes advantage of that and it never recommends to the Governor General or the Governor General in Council the adoption of the constitutional procedure. Sir, most of the money which the Foreign and Political Department controls is spent on non-voted heads, and while a certain sum of money is spent on the voted side, that department generally tries to evade the constitutional procedure and does not consult this House. As an illustration, I may cite the case of the N.-W. F. Province. Sir, the Foreign and Political Department controls various other departments, such as the N.-W. F. Province, Baluchistan, Political and two or three other departments. If my Honourable friend, Sir Evelyn Howell and his colleague were alive to the situation and to the constitutional issue that was evolved, his first duty would have been to advise the Government to bring forward a motion to discuss the special subvention which has been put down in the Budget under Demand No. 78. My friend, the Foreign Secretary—of course we know what Foreign Secretaries and Foreign Ministers are (*A Voice*: “What are they?”), they are above constitutional Governments and above all constitutional practice—I think my friend, the Foreign Secretary, should have advised the Government to come to this House to ask its opinion whether a certain new constitutional procedure that is being adopted by that procedure of giving a subvention to the N.-W. F. Province cannot be discussed, and whether it ought not to take the assent of this House. Sir, my friend, the Foreign Secretary, should have moved the Government of India to adopt the constitutional usage. Sir, on this constitutional aspect I have got the support of various authorities. I have here a statement made by that old colleague of ours, Sir Sivaswami Aiyar, who is known to be a great constitutional lawyer and was the Advocate-General of Madras, and also a Judge of the Madras High Court. He said:

“If there is one fundamental maxim of constitutional politics more valid than any other, it is that any province which claims autonomy must be able to support itself financially. Dependence on doles or depredations is incompatible with a claim to independence. If the Central Exchequer is to meet the growing deficit in the administration of the Frontier Province, it is unquestionably entitled to have a voice in the administration.”

I shall now quote the comment on this from my old friend, Mr. Kelkar—whose absence from the floor of the House most of us deplore so much—in the *Maratha* of the 13th March:

“In budgeting a subvention of one crore of rupees to the N.-W. F. Province the Finance Member has betrayed the Legislative Assembly. It may be considered as an act of generosity of the British Government, but to our mind it is simply an extreme violation of the principle of financial control. There cannot be a sense of responsibility in a Provincial Government which has to depend upon the Central Government to the extent of about two-thirds of its expenditure.”



Later on, it comments :

“ We know that the voice of the Members of the Legislative Assembly will be lost in the wilderness, but we hope that there would be a general discussion on this question, as it would be of great help to understand the exact position of the Federal Government in the future constitution of India.”

Sir, it is that aspect to which I want to draw the attention of this House, and I want to point out how my Honourable friend, the Foreign Secretary, in not attending to this constitutional aspect of the question, has betrayed the confidence of this House. Sir, I am not opposed to the subvention. I very much welcome that my friends from the N.-W. F. P. have got this subvention of one crore. Yesterday when I was taking an opportunity to raise a discussion on the question of the subvention, some of my friends on the left shouted ‘No’. These friends of course are new to the House and they forget that in the good old days when this House, influenced by the Bray Committee’s Report, was against granting constitutional reforms to the N.-W. F. P., I was one of the few stalwarts who always stood up and supported the grant of reforms to the N.-W. F. P., but yesterday it was an irony of fate that I was not allowed to raise a discussion and was treated as a communalist. Let me make it clear at the outset that I am for a subvention; I am not only for a subvention to this province but to every new province which may be created hereafter and also to every old province. We may all be in need of the Central Government’s assistance. During the General Discussion of the Budget, I raised the issue that Government should amend the constitution so that it will be possible for them to give a subvention to any new province; and what we find here is that the Government have got it out by the backdoor of a budget speech and want to give it to only one particular province. Why did not the Foreign Secretary take the opportunity to bring out the constitutional aspect?

One more point: Devolution Rules 14 and 15 must be amended. Who is going to amend them, the Honourable the Finance Member or the Foreign Secretary or the Government of India? It is most reprehensible on the part of Government to give a subvention to the N.-W. F. P. without settling the constitutional aspect of subventions. Subventions must be general and not specific. Do they want that when the Orissa Province is constituted, it would not get any subvention? Do they think that I will come with a begging bowl to the Treasury Benches for a little grant of a few lakhs? I want the Government to look into the constitutional aspect involved in this particular issue. I know my Honourable friend the Finance Member is going to bring forward a Resolution to discuss the financial questions arising out of the Howard-Nixon Report about the separation of Burma from India. Why did not the Leader of the House bring forward a similar motion to discuss the constitutional aspect of subvention to N.-W. F. P.? The procedure that the Government have adopted strikes at the very root of the future Federal Government whether it is evolved in the way that Government propose or whether it is evolved in the way that we on this side of the House want. On these grounds, Sir, I oppose the grant to Foreign and Political Department.

**The Honourable Sir George Rainy:** Sir, I propose to deal with only one aspect of the question discussed by my Honourable friend, Mr. Das, and that is his complaint that the House has not been given a proper

[Sir George Rainy.]

opportunity to discuss this question. Now, the view that Government have taken from the start has been that the natural right and constitutional course was to put the subvention down in the estimates for the first year, and that the whole matter could be adequately and properly discussed on the Demand presented by Government. More than that, we have done our very best during the last week and this week to arrange that the discussion on the Demand No. 78, North-West Frontier Province, should take place in this House. Repeatedly during the discussions which took place between the parties and the Government Benches, in order to see what arrangements should be made for carrying on the business of this week, I drew attention to the importance of this particular Demand and the desirability that it should be discussed at an early date in the week. More than once I thought I had succeeded in bringing about that arrangement. But in the end it found no place in the agreement between all the parties in this House and I did not feel that in these circumstances Government could press the matter further, because the very last thing I should be willing to do would be to raise objections on the part of Government to an arrangement which had commended itself to all parties in the House. Since this subject, the omission of which from the programme I greatly regret, had been fully brought to the notice of parties, it was impossible to say that they did not have it in their minds. I want to make it very clear that it was the desire of Government that the matter should be discussed, and they took every means in their power to bring about that result.

**Mr. N. M. Joshi:** I am glad I am getting this opportunity early in the morning to speak, especially after I was not allowed to do so once before. The Honourable the Leader of the House states that the House had a full opportunity of discussing this subject. I feel that the Leader of the House was not even fair to himself when he says that the House had a full opportunity of discussing this subject adequately. The question of a subvention to North-West Frontier Province is not only a question of amount, as the Report of the Committee goes into certain other matters. If the North-West Frontier Province wants more money than is provided for in the Budget to-day and if the Assembly is not willing, they propose that the matter should be arbitrated by some third party. Now, if those conditions to the subvention are laid down, they could be laid down only in a Resolution. That was the point which I wanted to make, namely that the proper way of bringing forward a proposal of this kind is not by putting it into the Budget, but to move a Resolution so that the conditions attached to the subvention could be discussed and could be settled.

One word more about the failure of the Foreign Secretary to give a reply to one of my speeches during the discussion on my motion for reduction of the grant for the Executive Council. I suggested to him that he should secure labour representation in the Provincial Council to be established in the North-West Frontier Province. He has not given me a reply and I wish he would give me a reply at least now.

Thirdly, I seek your assistance and guidance on a point of order. We as Members of the House have certain privileges. The Honourable the Leader of the House rose to a point of order. I do not suggest that he

wanted to choke off discussion. I do not suggest that at all because he himself made a speech on that point, but the point on which I seek your assistance and guidance is this, that if a Member feels that he has a right to speak on a point of order and if the Chair gives a decision, which the Chair is perfectly entitled to do, even without hearing a Member, what I feel is this, if the Chair gives the decision without hearing the Member, I always held that the decision of the Chair was provisional because the Member has a right to be heard even on a point of order.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): The Honourable Member has been a Member of this House for a very long time. I take it that the Honourable Member is fully aware of the Government of India Act which governs the constitution and the rules and Standing Orders made thereunder. The Honourable Member should study those carefully if he has not done so already, and he will find enlightenment on the point he has raised.

**Sir Hari Singh Gour** (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I had taken upon myself a vow of silence in view of the pact into which all parties had entered, a pact which Mr. Joshi, whose unattached group had the lion's share of the four days for discussion, broke yesterday. That being the case, I have no doubt my friends to my left and behind me stand equally released, and as they have some cuts dear to their hearts they will be at liberty to move those cuts independently of the pact which my Honourable friend Mr. Joshi has contributed so much to dissolve. Speaking on the point the Honourable the Leader of the House has raised, that he placed the question of the subvention to the North-West Frontier Province upon the estimates, I am afraid the Honourable the Leader of the House has not exactly understood the objection of my friend Mr. B. Das. His objection was that, before you can formulate any proposal as to the grant of a subvention, much less the amount, you should have come to this House with a Resolution, and after this House had given you a mandate, it was then for you to decide as to the amount and nature and period of the subvention. That is what Mr. B. Das wanted, and on that point there has been no reply. As a matter of fact the reply of the Honourable the Leader of the House contradicts that very principle which my friend Mr. B. Das stands for. Unfortunately he has put it lower down, and it of course comes in the natural course lower down in the estimates as No. 78. The Honourable the Leader of the House knows full well that No. 78 generally falls to the lot of the guillotine, and consequently there cannot be any fair discussion. But in fairness to him I must say that he was anxious, and so were we, that the question of the North-West Frontier Province should come up during the four days that were allotted for the discussion of the policy. But the Honourable the Leader of the House knows that when you have a subvention given to a particular province persons interested in that province must naturally stand up against any discussion. Supposing the subvention had related to Orissa from which my Honourable friend Mr. B. Das comes, I am sure that Mr. B. Das would have moved heaven and earth to thwart any discussion that would raise the propriety of the question of a subvention to his own province. I am not therefore surprised that there has been an attack made upon our general rule that we should give a portion of the four days to the discussion of the North-West Frontier Province by friends who are opposed to any discussion, because they are apprehensive of the fact that the question about the policy and the amount of subvention:

[Sir Hari Singh Gour.]

might be raised on the floor of the House. Therefore I submit that it cannot be said that this House had any fair chance of discussing the subvention. If the subvention had been for a period of one year, the matter would have been serious, but it becomes far more serious when the proposal of the Government is that this subvention is to have a life of three years. Therefore I submit that we on this side of the House, and our successors after we have gone, must not be understood to be bound by the estimates if they are passed under head No. 78, and that the question as to the general policy, the amount and the period for which subventions should be granted will still remain an open question which this House and its successor would be free to discuss and decide upon.

**Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer:** Sir, I rise to associate myself with every word that my friend Mr. B. Das has uttered on this occasion. It is fortunate that it has been given to us to-day to stand united on the question of the subvention, even though we hold divided views on the question of reforms, divided views exploited out in the country by papers particularly unfriendly to me and advertising a disunion which does not exist. If my conduct has led to that misapprehension, I humbly apologise to the Leader on my right. However on the question of reforms we are divided; on the question of matters of subvention we are united, divided not in regard to the goal but in regard to the details. This is a fundamental question of the reforms on which we are united. We have not considered in detail the question of the reforms. Therefore we frankly exchanged thoughts, and I again express regret if this exchange of thought had led to an opportunity for an exploitation in the Anglo-Indian Press, particularly malicious so far as I am concerned.

Sir, in regard to the subvention, I may clearly say that this subvention cannot be handed over only to one particular province because that particular province has no responsibility to this House but to an authority outside this House. For instance, if my friend's province, the province of Orissa, is made into a separate province, notwithstanding the fact that every obstacle has been put in its way of separation during the last so many years and also by the exclusion of competent men like Mr. Das even from their legitimate right as assessors to that Committee, if a separate province of Orissa is created, that also is going to get a subvention which the Sind province is going to get. I am not at all standing in the way of the subvention. I do not oppose the subvention, and I want my Mussulman friends to understand it with regard to the North-West Frontier Province. Once you agree to a separate province, a subvention becomes necessary. But this House exists and it is for the Foreign Secretary and for the Foreign Department to introduce a precedent and consult us. We would not have stood in the way but we want to lay down a general rule and a general policy. I do not want to take more time but my friend Mr. B. Das in his admirable evidence which is now public property before the Orissa Committee has said:

“I have mentioned that statutory provision must be made for subvention to provinces from the Central Government. This is necessary as some province and certain tracts known as backward areas have remained underfed and undeveloped owing to bad finance from the Centre. If provincial finances remained ‘inelastic and insufficient’ in case of all the provinces, in case of Bihar and Orissa they remained spoon-fed from the outset.”

Yes, Bihar and Orissa had always been treated as a Cinderella province, and when Orissa is separated from Bihar, Mr. B. Das, the stoutest

champion in and outside this House of the rights of Orissa to separation, will have to see to it that a subvention in the proper form is granted. Sir, our statement on the floor of this House to-day is a request and at the same time a warning to the Government not to neglect those who cannot be neglected. Once you accept that policy of separate provinces, you are committed, and as you have got to commit yourselves in the case of Orissa, you will have to give a subvention to Orissa like every other province.

**Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan** (Agra Division: Muhammadan Rural):

Sir, when the Members of all the Parties met in the Western Hostel to decide whether a particular question should be discussed, we had unanimously decided that if any Honourable Member wishes to bring in any particular question, that discussion should come up on the day or the period which is allotted to that particular party; or in case it is taken up by any Honourable Member who does not belong to any party, then it must come up at the time which was put at the disposal of the unattached Members. As a matter of fact, I myself was whole-heartedly for giving some time for the discussion of this particular question. And I say for this half a day was allotted; but when we found that unanimity was not to be reached on this point and it was found that there were

12 Noon. two Honourable Members who wanted a discussion on this question, one my Honourable friend Mr. Das belonging to the Nationalist Party, and the other Mr. Joshi, who claimed a share as an unattached Member, it was decided by all the Members present there, that either the Nationalist Party should have this discussion within the time placed at their disposal, or if Mr. Joshi wanted to raise it, then he must forego his period which he wanted for the discussion of the labour question, and the Members were quite prepared to give him this latitude. This was clearly decided, and certain Members were not willing to take up this discussion on Friday or Saturday because they thought that they were not going to be present, and their request was that if this discussion came on, it must come earlier within the four days allotted for policy questions. I do not know how this compact which had been reached unanimously by the House and which had been agreed to for the last five days can be broken.

**Mr. B. Das:** On a point of explanation, I have exercised my right as a Member of this House to oppose any grant which in my own conscience I think fit to oppose.

**Mr. President:** No one has taken any exception to it.

**Mr. Amar Nath Dutt** (Burdwan Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): On a point of order, may I know whether we are discussing any Demand for Grants or discussing what took place outside this House, in the Western Hostel or elsewhere?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): The Chair is glad that the Honourable Member, Mr. Amar Nath Dutt, has raised this question. Since yesterday the Chair has tried to invite the attention of Honourable Members to the fact that this House is concerned with public business only which comes before it for decision and cannot deal and ought not to deal, with matters which may happen inside parties at their meetings or even inside any meetings held by Honourable Members.

[Mr. President.]

outside the House. The Chair carried out the agreement to which the whole House subscribed that the first four days shall be allotted for the purpose of discussing token cuts. The Chair was prepared to extend that period if a special cut was to be discussed by the unanimous vote of the House. That arrangement has been carried out to the letter and the Chair regrets that extraneous matter is being brought into the discussion. The Chair has not been strict in restricting the discussion, but the Chair trusts that Honourable Members will carry out their primary function of dealing on the floor of the House with business of a public character.

**Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan:** Sir, I am glad that the objection came from Honourable Members of the Nationalist Party to the speech I was making; but if they had listened carefully to the speech of their own Leader who had raised this point, who had said that this was the compact and it had been broken, which is all I was putting before the House and before Honourable Members, I say we must stick and ought to stick to it as a solemn promise given to certain Members who do not happen to be present in this House to-day. If any Honourable Member wants to raise any question on which he has given a guarantee to the whole House that he will not introduce it on the floor of this House, and then he says, "I can get up to exercise my right although I have given a promise . . . .".

**Mr. B. Das:** I never gave any promise to anybody.

**Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan:** As soon as you, Sir, were pleased to put before the House that this was the arrangement and no Member got up to raise any objection to it, I take it that that was agreed to by every Member who was present; and if any Member says he was not present, it is his lookout if he was not present. But after having come to a certain understanding with certain Honourable Members that a particular question would not be discussed, then to come up at once all of a sudden and raise this question when nobody suspects that there will be a discussion on that point, is not fair; and I put it to Honourable Members that it is not treating those Honourable Members fairly who do not know that this will be coming up for discussion now . . . . .

**Mr. B. Das:** I want your ruling on a point of order, Sir, whether Honourable Members who are not members of any party on this side of the House can restrict the action of different parties and groups.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): The Honourable Member does not seem to have understood even the ruling that the Chair gave. This House is not concerned with anything that has happened inside parties; but the House is concerned with the agreement which the House reached unanimously on the floor of the House. The Chair expects that Honourable Members instead of discussing these matters will conform to the arrangement to which the House unanimously agreed.

**Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** Does a suit for breach of promise lie, Sir?

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

**Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan:** I do not want to go more deeply into that controversy at this time. Even if this be a question of subvention, if my honourable friends like to say, "Oh, we are agreed to give this subvention, but we want to assert the rights of the House", that point could be raised subsequently at some other time and not at this time and at this stage.

On the merits of the question, I would say that whatever may be the position of different provinces, I have no grievance if the Government come and show that a case is made out very clearly in favour of granting a subvention for any other province: we will not hinder that or dispute their right to get money. But, I must say that the North-West Frontier Province stands apart from every other province in this matter: and that point is that it is the province which bears the whole burden of defence from attack outside and it is the guardian of India; that province has been treated as the guardian of India. Even when the reforms were given in the past that province was not given any reforms because it was thought that their circumstances differed from the rest of India. and while they bear the whole burden, they cannot produce so much money as to meet those expenses which are necessary in view of the defence of India, which is not the concern of one province but of entire India. If any money is required over and above that expenditure for the purpose of protecting the rest of India I think the rest of India will be justified in giving a subvention to the Frontier Province and the Frontier Province will be perfectly justified in demanding from the other provinces some money for a concern which is not their own but of others also. That is the position. I do not think it will serve any useful purpose to the country or of those who have the interest of the country at heart to discuss this question at this eleventh hour in this shape: if they do so they will be doing the greatest disservice if they indulge in this controversy. My advice on this point is that it will be much better in the interests of the Assembly and of the country that this question be not dragged up now; but I will not be averse to this question being discussed thoroughly at a later time at a later stage in some other way . . . . .

**An Honourable Member:** After everything is over?

**Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan:** It is going to be over and it will not be stopped. With these words I do not agree with the proposal which has been made.

**Sir Hugh Cocke** (Bombay: European): I move that the question be now put.

**Mr. President:** On the Order Paper there is an amendment\* in the name of the Honourable Member, Rao Bahadur B. L. Patil. Does he wish to move it?

**Rao Bahadur B. L. Patil** (Bombay Southern Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): For the reasons stated, I do not wish to move my amendment. Sir.

**Sir Abdur Rahim** (Calcutta and Suburbs: Muhammadan Urban): Sir, the principal question raised by the Honourable Member on my right was that the House had not been given a proper opportunity to discuss

\*"That the Demand under the head 'Foreign and Political Department' be reduced by Rs. 1,33,000."

[Sir Abdur Rahim.]

the question of the subvention. His main case seemed to be that a question like this should be brought forward by Government in the form of a Resolution, and in support of his proposition he quoted the opinion of Sir Sivaswami Aiyer, but so far as I could follow him, I do not think that opinion bears upon this question at all. The opinion of Sir Sivaswami Aiyer was to the effect that no province can ask for autonomy or should be granted autonomy unless it is financially self-contained. That is a proposition of a wide character, to which I am not prepared to give my assent, and I am quite sure on a little consideration the House will agree that it is too wide a proposition. We are sure in the near future to have a federal system of Government which will include British India, and I hope British India alone, and in that case it will be the duty of the Federal Government to see that each province is financially self-contained. For that purpose it should be possible for the Government at the centre, which controls the finances of entire India, to see if there is any deficiency in any province, and then to make up that deficiency. I do not think that is a proposition which can be disputed. In the abstract it may be said that,—“If you want to be autonomous, you must be self-contained”. But in the circumstances of India, even my friend Mr. B. Das must admit that it is not a practical proposition. For instance, Mr. B. Das himself wants that there should be a subvention granted to his province if that province is separated from Bihar. I am perfectly sure that the House will agree with me that if a proper case is made out for Orissa, there will be no difficulty in granting a suitable subvention for that province. I do not wish to discuss on the present motion the merits of the case of North-West Frontier Province, but the fact must be borne in mind that ever since the North-West Frontier Province was separated from the Punjab and was made a separate province, the Government of India's finances had to bear considerable burdens; as a matter of fact, the amount that has been granted is very much less than what the Government of India have been granting ever since the separation. The Haig Subjects Committee went into the question and proposed a larger grant, and I am not at all satisfied that the province will be able to carry on properly within the limits of the grant of one crore proposed by the Government. I believe the Subjects Committee proposed a grant at present of one crore and 46 lakhs, to be increased afterwards as necessities may arise.

Now, as regards whether the question should be brought up by Government in the shape of a Resolution, I wish that my friend Mr. B. Das had been able to cite some authority. I must admit I have not had the time to study the question myself, and if that is the proper procedure, I am sure the Government should have adopted it or ought to do it. But this much must be admitted by those who have been in negotiations with the Leader of the House as regards the arrangement of business with respect to the Budget and also with regard to other matters, that he was anxious throughout to give full opportunity to the House to discuss this important question . . . . .

**Mr. B. Das:** That establishes my case.

**Sir Abdur Rahim:** Mr. B. Das also knows, at any rate, some Members of his party know, that we of the Independent Party raised no objection to that course, and we were in fact willing to help him .



**Mr. B. Das:** I said that yesterday.

**Sir Abdur Rahim:** If some of the Honourable Member on his left raised objection yesterday to his proposal, that was no fault of our party. We have strictly abided by the arrangement that was arrived at with the Leader of the House. Therefore, so far as that question is concerned, we cannot be blamed in any way. I do not wish now to discuss the point raised by my friend Mr. Yamin Khan whether the Nationalist Party ought to have taken advantage of the day allotted to them in order to discuss this question . . . . .

**Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan:** I did not say that. I said that the point was raised when we met together that either Nationalist Party should take the opportunity to discuss this question on the day allotted to them or they should forego it. That was our decision. I was entirely for allotting half a day for discussing this question.

**Sir Abdur Rahim:** I did not want to misrepresent my friend, I support my Honourable friend Mr. B. Das to this extent that for discussing questions of such importance proper opportunity should be given. But as regards the question whether the subject should be brought forward in the form of a Resolution or not, I am not at present prepared to offer any opinion. We all recognise that the Leader of the House was anxious throughout to give a chance to the House to discuss this question properly.

**Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** Sir, thirty years ago I remember an Indian politician living in London wrote to a great Indian here stating that we have fallen upon such evil times that Chamberlain is our genius in politics and Rudyard Kipling is our poet. To-day I am reminded of the saying of that great man here, because I see that we have fallen on such evil times within the past two years that we talk of party agreements and party politics only forgetting the higher and nobler policy of those who preceded us in this House. Sir, here every one of us, defying the mandate of the greatest political institution in India has come in, on his own ticket. We know our worth; we know that we do not owe allegiance to anybody save and except probably to ourselves. That being so, I doubt whether it was very wise for such a heterogeneous mass to come to any understanding . . . . .

**Mr. President:** The Honourable Member should remember that the House is discussing the question of a grant to the Foreign and Political Department.

**Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** Yes, Sir. I oppose this grant, and when I oppose this grant, I must criticise the statement of my Honourable friend Mr. Yamin Khan, the Leader of a great party in this House,—a Leader who has won his laurels both from the Government and probably from the members of a certain community. Be that as it may, he said that the North-West Frontier Province should have a subvention, by which I understand a money aid from other provinces. If that be so, his reasons do not seem to be perfectly clear to me. The reason given is that they are the guardians of the whole of India. In what sense are they the

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guardians of the whole of India? (Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan: "They protect Bengal".) I fail to understand, perhaps save and except that it has got several passes through which the people residing there allow other people to come to the sacred land of Aryavarta and reduce us to the condition in which we are at the present moment. Instead of calling that province the guardian province of this great continent, I say that it is a danger zone, a menace to Indian freedom and liberty, and it were far better if that province was wiped off from the map of India, at least from the map of British India. (Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad: "And made independent".) (Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan: "And annexed to Bengal".) And annexed to Bengal for cultural needs, because no other province needs moral and intellectual culture more than this province. I claim some experience of the North-West Frontier Province. I lived there in my childhood, and I have seen it in later times also, and I know the people of that province too well. (At this stage there were several interruptions.)

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

**Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** If we are to pay Rs. 146 lakhs for this province, why don't you pay the same amount for the province of Assam for its development? It is all very well to take it from the pockets of Bengal. You have taken income-tax, you have taken jute and everything. It is all very well to pilfer others pockets and become rich at their expense. It also gives us an opportunity of posing as patriots and benefactors of a certain community. I for one oppose this grant with all the emphasis that I can command, and I will not be a party to it, and if it were in my power I would not grant any such aid to any province whatsoever. Every province should be financially self-contained and able to maintain itself if it wants to participate in the coming federation of India, which my Honourable friend, the Leader of the Independent Party, has foreshadowed in his speech. With these words, I oppose the grant.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad** (United Provinces Southern Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): The last speaker has raised an issue which I am sure the people of the North-West Frontier Province would accept with the greatest pleasure. He says that that province should be wiped off from the map of India; it means that it should be made independent. If a proposal of that kind were made, it would receive the heartiest support of the people of that province, but I doubt very much whether my Honourable friend's constituency would return him again. On this issue let us consider the question of the subvention from another point of view. My friend has taken it for granted that we are starting a new province and having a subvention for its extra expenditure. If my Honourable friend has read the book supplied to us, in which a detailed statement of the various expenditure is given, he will find that we are spending on that province already a sum of over one crore of rupees. It is not a new expenditure. It is an expenditure which we have all along been incurring, and the only thing for which the Finance Department is responsible is that they have arranged the figures in a different way; it is only a question of book keeping; it is only really a question of re-arrangement of budget figures. Therefore, my Honourable friend may raise the issue of the subvention when the constitutional question of India is before the House, but on this particular question, when all that is done is that all the money that

we are already spending and for which we have been voting grant under different Demands is put together under one head,—it is really not new expenditure, it is really not a new policy; it is not really a new expenditure. Therefore, all this question of a subvention at the present moment to my mind is out of consideration . . . . .

**Bhai Parma Nand** (Ambala Division; Non-Muhammadan): It was all given to the North-West Frontier Province when it was under the control of the Central Government, under this Assembly, but it is now a separate province altogether.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad**: As regards the voting of the Assembly, whatever subvention we can give, we cannot give without the vote of this Assembly. The only question is how that vote is to be given. At present, we are giving the votes under six or more different items,—under the head "Foreign and Political", under the head "Irrigation", under the head "Forest", under the head of "Education" and the various other heads. Instead of giving the votes under various heads, we are only required to give the vote under one head, and I do not see any fundamental point of difference. To my mind all the discussion about the constitutional issue in connection with this matter is out of order; it does not arise. What we are doing now is that we are incurring the expenditure under one head, the North-West Frontier Province. In fact, I raised this question two years ago that we do not know what the expenditure on the North-West Frontier Province really is and we ought to be grateful to the Honourable the Finance Member that he has put all these Demands together under one particular item, and to my mind this is not a new expenditure and it does not raise any question of policy.

**Sir Evelyn Howell** (Foreign Secretary): I trust you will not regard me as impertinent if I begin my remarks by pointing out, as you, Mr. President, have just reminded the House, that the question before them is one relating to the Foreign and Political Department, whereas the actual subvention comes under a lower head, No. 78, North-West Frontier Province, and if Government had any desire to stifle discussion on the subject, it might perhaps have been possible for me to raise a point of order whether this discussion was in order under head No. 31. That I did not do so I think has proved that, as the Leader of the House has pointed out, Government took a great deal of trouble to give the House every opportunity to discuss this question, a question of the greatest importance and magnitude, and if the House did not avail itself of that opportunity, the Government is not to blame.

My Honourable friend Mr. B. Das has not to-day actually raised the point of constitutional procedure or legality, but a few days ago, speaking in this House, he said:

"The view is authoritatively held in India" (and I hope authority means the Treasury Benches) "that it is not permissible" (he is here quoting from the Simon Commission Report) "to incur expenditure from central revenues on provincial subjects, or to make assignments from central to provincial revenues for expenditure on a provincial subject, except in so far as such expenditure represents payments for services rendered by the Provincial Government."

Sir, the actual facts with regard to the legality of the action taken by the Government, which Mr. Das then impugned, are that under the Government of India Act, section 45A, the Governor General in Council can

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make rules classifying subjects, and it is perfectly true that, when he has done so, he cannot, without making fresh devolution rules, direct the payment of provincial charges from central revenues but under the same section you find that the Governor General have plenary power to allocate revenues or other monies to the Provincial Governments, and there is no illegality whatever in the action which has been taken with regard to this subvention for the North-West Frontier Province.

Again as my friend Dr. Ziauddin has just reminded the House, the amount of this subvention is not new expenditure. Central revenues have been bearing all these charges and in point of fact a great deal more. The amount of the subvention is rupees one crore a year, but the amount recommended by the Haig Committee was, I believe, Rs. 1,17 lakhs, and the actuals of the past few years have been considerably in excess of that figure. There is therefore nothing new about it. It is only to be done for three years or until such time as the new constitution comes into force.

**Sir Hari Singh Gour:** May I interrupt the Honourable Member? I think the Honourable the Finance Member might be able to make a correct statement. Do I understand it aright that the subvention exceeds by 2½ lakhs of rupees, the amount that was given in previous years. I speak subject to correction, but I hope that the Honourable the Finance Member will be prepared to make a statement in view of the fact that Dr. Ziauddin assumed that the amount of the subvention is exactly the amount that is now given.

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** May I reply to that point? The position is this. The figures that my Honourable friend the Foreign Secretary has given are perfectly correct, but as I explained to the House, we were faced with this position that we had to try to introduce into the expenditure of the North-West Frontier Province a measure of retrenchment which corresponded with that which has been undertaken by the Central Government in their centrally administered areas and by the Provincial Governments on the basis of that reduced expenditure, that is to say, allowing for all the retrenchments which we thought the North-West Frontier Province ought to introduce. The net amount which they would have got from the Central Government would have been 97½ lakhs, but that 97½ lakhs was arrived at after very substantial reductions in the rate of expenditure for the current year. We got to that figure of 97½ lakhs and then in order to give them some margin with which to undertake the additional expenditure, part of which was inevitable when the province was starting, we fixed the amount at the round sum of 100 lakhs. Therefore you can say the position is this, that if the North-West Frontier Province had remained in exactly the same position as it is now, the Central Government would have been expending a net amount of 97½ lakhs on the province. Under the new arrangements, the Central Government will be expending 100 lakhs on the province next year.

**Sir Evelyn Howell:** I am grateful to the Honourable Member for correcting me, if I was in error, and for giving an authoritative statement on the subject.

I was on the point of saying that I do not think there is any general disposition in any quarter of the House to question the necessity for doing something in the nature of that which has been done. Clearly, Sir, the North-West Frontier Province could not be deprived of its heritage for very much longer. We have heard from all sides the necessity for treating that province in matters of controlling its own destiny, matters of reforms in fact, exactly on the same footing as the other provinces. If it is a part of British India, it clearly has a right to do so, and it has been found in the light of past experience quite impossible for it to do so solely from its own resources. The Haig Committee went very carefully into this point and you will see that its conclusions were that the province could not be expected to be self-supporting for various reasons—because of its size—it is such a small unit of administration compared with the other provinces,—because of its situation, right up on the Frontier where beyond a certain line you get into tribal territory, where there is no taxation and no law and no order, and also because of its great intrinsic importance, by which almost every question that arises in that province has a knack of developing with extraordinary rapidity into an all-India question, in which all parts of the House are vitally interested. I do not think that there is any general desire on the part of the House to know exactly how this crore is to be allocated when the province has got it, but I have no doubt that the Honourable the Finance Member will be able to answer that point better than I can. I therefore say nothing more than simply ask the House “What else could Government have done, than that which they have done?”.

There was one other point which my friend Mr. Joshi raised, but I am not sure that I should be in order now in answering his question about labour representation in the North-West Frontier Province, and I therefore will not trespass into that field unless you give me permission to do so.

**Mr. President:** The Honourable Member can reply to that point, if he wishes to and the Chair will not object.

**Sir Evelyn Howell:** Mr. Joshi's point was that no provision had been made for the representation of labour in the North-West Frontier Province Council.

**Mr. K. Ahmed** (Rajshahi Division: Muhammadan Rural): There is no labour there.

**Sir Evelyn Howell:** My friend Mr. Kabiruddin has given the first point of my reply. There is no labour. The Royal Commission on Labour did not think it necessary to visit that province. It is true that there are a number of labouring persons there, as in any other country in the world, and when the framework of the Provincial Council was being considered, attention was drawn to that point and the local authorities were consulted. The unofficial Committee which the Chief Commissioner nominated to consider the matter also gave it their attention and recorded the opinion . . . . .

**Mr. N. M. Joshi:** May I ask whether there was any representative of labour on that unofficial Committee or whether the Committee consisted only of landlords and capitalists?

**Sir Evelyn Howell:** It consisted of the gentlemen whom the Chief Commissioner thought proper to consult. Whether there was any representative of labour or not I do not actually know, but I dare say not. Anyhow, they decided that it was unnecessary and therefore the point was not pressed. The third point is that even in the Punjab, which is much more advanced than the North-West Frontier Province, there is, I believe, no actual labour representative in the Punjab Council, and the North-West Frontier Province has been clamouring for a long time past to be like the Punjab in all possible respects. Lastly the point made by my friend Mr. Joshi, with which I have a great deal of sympathy, is being brought to the notice of the Franchise Committee, which is about to visit the North-West Frontier Province, and I have no doubt they will look into the matter while they are there.

**Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury** (Assam: Muhammadan): I very much welcome this opportunity of discussing this question. There is not the least intention, as Sir Hari Singh Gour seemed to suggest, of shirking or thwarting discussion on this issue. I believe that there is such an overwhelmingly strong case for the subvention for the North-West Frontier Province that we should not be afraid of the subject being discussed in all its aspects. We are grateful to Mr. Das for bringing this issue before the House. His perseverance has prevailed and we have got an opportunity of discussing this important subject, just on the eve of the introduction of reforms in the Frontier, it is necessary that this House should examine the constitutional question of the extent of the responsibility of the Central Government towards the finances of the North-West Frontier Province and the manner in which they intend to discharge it.

Before I say anything on the question of the subvention, I want to impress one very fundamental fact on the Members of this House, the fact which there is a tendency to ignore. When this province was created in 1901, it was not created in response to any demand for a separate province. It was created on the ground of Imperial policy in all-India interests and it is being maintained as a separate province, not to satisfy the aspirations of the Frontier people, but it is being maintained as a separate administrative unit in accordance with the general scheme of Frontier policy of the Government of India. Now having created that province, having created the child, the Government of India cannot ignore its responsibility for its maintenance. (*Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh*: "What about other provinces?") It has attained to political adolescence now and it is demanding some freedom and autonomy in the management of its own affairs, but that is no reason why it should be deprived of its rightful inheritance. The fact that from being a centrally administered area it is now being transformed into a political unit with control of its own Budget does not alter the material circumstance of its strategic position and its special claim on the Government of India. To create the province on the ground of Imperial necessity, and then to ask it to stand on its own legs, to be self-supporting, to bear unaided the heavy burden of overhead charges of a provincial administration is most unfair. If the province has been created to serve Imperial needs and purposes, the Central Government must bear the necessary cost of the administration. I may remind the House that the Bray Committee, while it recommended the introduction of reforms into the Frontier province, said that its finances ought to be an Imperial charge.

Now, Sir, as regards the subvention, it seems to me that there is a curious misunderstanding on the part of some Honourable Members as to the true character of the subvention. Some of my Honourable friends seem to be under the impression that because of the introduction of reforms into the Frontier province, the Government of India are going to make a gift of a crore of rupees to that province to balance its Budget. I can assure my friends, Sir, that the Government of India is not paying one single penny more than what they have been paying for the past so many years, and, if anything, they now propose to pay very much less. As regards paying a contribution for its deficits, they have been paying that contribution for the last 30 years; there is nothing new in it, and it is not a new departure. (*Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh*: "But we have been controlling the administration.") I am coming to that. Sir, this subvention is nothing but our old ugly friend. "Contribution to deficits" dressed up in the bridal robe of a subvention.

My Honourable friend, Sir Hari Singh Gour, has said, we are paying 2½ lakhs more than we have been paying during the previous years. I shall give you the figures for the previous years. Sir, taking the central and the provincial heads of expenditure together :

In 1927-28, the deficit was 206 lakhs,

In 1928-29, the deficit was 231 lakhs.

In 1929-30, the deficit was 254 lakhs,

In 1930-31, the deficit was 290 lakhs.

Now taking the expenditure on the provincial heads alone :

In 1930-31, the deficit was 129 lakhs;

and in the Budget estimate for the year 1931-32 provision was made for a deficit of 104 lakhs, and this subvention is only for a crore this year. Now Honourable Members must not run away with the idea that the Government are paying all this money for the uplift of the province. Nothing of the kind! In the year 1929-30, if you turn to the Administration Report of the North-West Frontier Province you will find that the Government of India spent on the Frontier Watch and Ward 145 lakhs, under Political 24 lakhs, under Police 29 lakhs, under Education only 19 lakhs, under Medical only 6 lakhs and under Public Health the paltry sum of Rs. 1,05,000.

Now the only difference between the payment of a contribution in previous years and the subvention on the present occasion is this, that while in previous years the expenditure was being sanctioned by the Central Government or the Central Legislature under different sub-heads, this year they are placing at the disposal of the North-West Frontier Province a lump sum which is calculated according to the Budget figures of the previous years. This, Sir, is only a natural corollary to the introduction of reforms into the Frontier Province. The Haig Committee recommended that this subvention ought to be declared to be a source of the provincial revenue under Devolution rule 14 and it ought to be made a statutory charge. The North-West Frontier Province Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference also made a similar recommendation, I shall read out the recommendation of the Sub-Committee :

"This Sub-Committee is satisfied from the figures placed before it that under the subjects which will be expected to be classed as provincial this province will show a large financial deficit. It follows that the Provincial Government will require financial assistance from central or federal revenues. The Committee suggests that there should be a

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preliminary expert investigation into the allocation of expenditure between the central and provincial heads to supply the basis from which the financial subvention from central or federal revenues may be calculated. This Sub-Committee apprehend that if the subvention be paid annually by the central or the provincial legislature, the substance of provincial autonomy in the province will be impaired. It suggests that that difficulty might be met by an agreed convention that each financial assignment should remain undisturbed for a number of years."

Now my friend, Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh, asked me why should we pay the subvention while we place the administration and the expenditure of the province under the control of the provincial legislature. Sir, this question surprises me. So long as this irresponsible bureaucracy was controlling the finances of the province and spending crores of rupees, to pay the deficit every year not a word was uttered by my Honourable friend. (Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: "But this House was controlling the Budget.") And now when our own countrymen in the new Frontier province are going to control it, a hue and cry is raised.

Now, Sir, with regard to the amount of the subvention. If the House accepts the position that the Central Government have got the responsibility for the finances of the North-West Frontier Province, let us see how they propose to discharge it. In my opinion, Sir, the subvention is totally inadequate for the requirements of the province. (Hear, hear.) The Haig Committee suggested 117 lakhs as the basic figure for this subvention. They calculated it on the basis of the existing revenue and expenditure and the normal growth of expenditure. This did not take into account schemes of educational expansion or sanitary improvement which the Government had pledged to undertake, but taking all these schemes together they recommended not 117 lakhs, as my friend, Sir Evelyn Howell, said just now, but 146 lakhs which had to be increased every year by 4 lakhs till it reached a maximum of 162 lakhs. That is the position.

Now a word about the need for this excess grant. In the Summer of 1930 a deputation of the frontier people waited on the Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province to impress upon him the necessity of incurring more expenditure on the nation-building departments and to bring the administration of the province into line with that of the Punjab. The Chief Commissioner assured them that he would aim at securing for the province the same standard of administration as that which obtained in the Punjab. He also assured them that their standard of taxation would not be higher than in the Punjab. Now, Sir, in education the Frontier people are very much behind those of the Punjab. I will give you some figures from the report of the Hartog Committee. During the years 1917-22 the total number of male pupils in the recognised institutions has increased in the Punjab by 33.8 per cent. and in the North-West Frontier Province it has increased by 18 per cent. Between 1922-27 it has increased in the Punjab by 103 per cent. and in the North-West Frontier Province it has increased by 26 per cent. Between 1917-1927 it has increased in the Punjab by 172 per cent. and it has increased in the North-West Frontier Province by 48 per cent. As regards the total number of pupils in the recognised schools, the percentage of increase in the Punjab between the years 1917 and 1922 is 31.3 per cent; in the North-West Frontier Province it is 19 per cent. Between the years 1922 and 1927 the increase in the Punjab is 96 per cent. and the increase in the North-West Frontier Province is 27 per cent. Between 1917 and 1927 the increase in the Punjab is



128 per cent., in the North-West Frontier Province it is 53 per cent. As regards the total number of recognised institutions in the province, in the Punjab the increase has been between the years 1917 and 1927, 115 per cent., and in the North-West Frontier Province the increase has been only 9 per cent. As regards the direct and indirect expenditure on the recognised institutions in the province, the increase in the Punjab between the years 1917 and 1927 has been 164 per cent., whereas in the North-West Frontier Province, it has been 101 per cent. Then, Sir, if we take the proportion of the male scholars to the total male population, the percentage in the Punjab is 10 per cent., whereas in the North-West Frontier Province it is only 6 per cent. From these figures it will appear to the House that the Frontier has still a great leeway to make up as regards education. Still, in this subvention the Government make no provision for the educational expansion in the province. Therefore for the two or three years that the subvention will remain in existence, the nation-building departments will be starved.

Now, Sir, let us see what the Financial Secretary has said about the subvention. In the Explanatory Memorandum circulated to the Members by the Financial Secretary, he says:

"The North-West Frontier Province Subjects Committee also listed a large number of projected schemes of expansion involving recurring and non-recurring expenditure, which it presumed would be taken into account by the Government of India at the time of determining the amount of the subvention. In the present state of the finances of India and of the world it is impossible for either the Central Government or any Provincial Government in India to contemplate embarking on an ambitious programme of expanding activities, and it has had to be recognised that these could find no place in a subvention which is to operate at the most for the next three years."

Sir, here the Financial Secretary is looking at the problem merely from the point of view of an accountant. He has ignored the wider and the more vital aspect of the question. To spend money in order to bring the primitive and warlike people of the Frontier within the orbit of modern civilisation may ultimately prove more economical than the Financial Secretary seems to realise. One school established, one hospital opened will in the long run lead to one military post closed in the Frontier. In this connection, I should like to read out to the House an extract from the evidence given by Sir Denys Bray before the North-West Frontier Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference. This is what Sir Denys Bray said:

"It would be, for instance, a grim thing if the future Minister for Education were suddenly to say 'The pressure on our own schools is so great that we cannot find any room or these trans-border fellows'. Similarly, with our hospitals. We have just built magnificent hospital in Peshawar. The Government of India were induced gradually and under great pressure to make an adequate subvention towards it, and"—(*I would draw your special attention to this sentence, Sir*)—"the argument I had to use the whole time was that this hospital is serving all-India interests. We want it to be open to the trans-frontier men. There is no greater civilising influence than a good hospital. Its influence will extend far beyond Peshawar into the transfrontier and beyond into Afghanistan."

What I am trying to suggest is this. All-India has great interest in the Frontier Province. It is right therefore that All-India should foot a very large part of the Frontier Province Bill. It is doing it now. It will have to do it under whatever regime it is set up."

Now, Sir, the Government of India are not only cutting down the expenditure of these nation-building departments but they are doing something more. As the result of their mal-administration all these years, they are leaving to the reformed Frontier Province a legacy of 10,000 Ordinance

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prisoners. These prisoners will have to be fed and clothed out of the attenuated resources of the Frontier Province. The Frontier under the reforms will be financially in a very much worse position than it was in pre-reform days. The inadequacy of funds will hinder the development of the Province. And like the magician who produces rabbits out of empty hats, the Minister will be expected to produce progress and prosperity out of the empty exchequer. He is bound to fail and the result will be that people will come forward and say that the reforms in the Frontier have been a failure. If the Government are desirous of making them a success, then I think they ought to take the earliest opportunity of revising the subvention and fix up the amount at the figure suggested by the Haig Committee.

**Major Nawab Ahmad Nawaz Khan** (Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I thank all the Members who have taken part in this important question of the subvention. To me it seems that many Members who have opposed the subvention have trodden over the old ground and used the same old arguments which we have been hearing for the last ten years. Every objection that has been raised has already been given a very good reply several times. So, there seems to be nothing new on which I should like to give any reply to those who have opposed and criticised the subvention. So far as the technical side is concerned, the Government Member has given a full reply. The main point to which I would respectfully like to draw the attention of the House is that it is not right on the part of Honourable Members to deprive us of the right to govern ourselves when the province is going to be raised to the status of a Governor's province and when we are about to be given a full share in the responsibility of expenditure there. Honourable Members know very well that this is the smallest amount of money which we are going to get this time. There was no objection taken when the province was given a greater amount of money. However, I do not wish to create any controversial question but I should like to tell the House the plain fact that most of these arguments were based simply on communal lines. (*Voices: "Not at all."*) If that is not the case, I think the Honourable Members ought to have said that objections were raised in a technical way and not to deprive the province of its rights.

I am glad that some Honourable Members support the principle of giving the subvention to my province, but some for the sake of  
1 P.M. procedure want to oppose the subvention.

**An Honourable Member:** Nobody opposed.

**Major Nawab Ahmad Nawaz Khan:** My Honourable friend, Mr. Amar Nath Dutt, opposed it. He spent his childhood there and perhaps the general impression of childhood is sweeter, but the impression of his childhood is quite the reverse. He wants to take revenge for it in his advanced age. If you compare the N. W. F. P. with any other province you will find the services that the people are doing to India and to the British Empire—this word may please somebody or it may displease some others which I do not mind—the services that we the people in the

N. W. F. P. are doing to Government and to the peoples of India are very great. If you go there and see things for yourself, you will come to the conclusion that the Government have not wasted money on that province. Unquestionably it is a Muslim province. I cannot deny it. But that Muslim province is a source of great help to the Imperial policy of Great Britain and for the good and for the safety of the British and the Indians in the British Empire. The great help that the people are giving is the result of the good treatment of the British officers there. We do not want any other rule there except the British rule. I may clearly say that even if the King of Afghanistan or the King of Persia were to ask us to come under their rule, we will refuse to do so. Our loyalty to the British is a source of safety for India. If the people of N. W. F. P. had liked to come under any other rule than the British, it would have been then a source of great danger to India both internally and externally. So far as I know the province is loyal to the Government and to the interests of the Indian nation comprised of all classes and communities. I do not want to speak only about Muslims. My Honourable friend Bhai Parma Nand, who is sometimes accused, or shall I say honoured, by being described as an advocate of communal questions and interests, must be thankful of the poster or advertisement that I gave him yesterday. In the N. W. F. P. we, the Muslims, are very friendly to other communities and we look after the interests of the non-Muslim communities there. In an informal Committee where I was a Member I pressed that the fifth seat should be given to the Hindus. I asked my friend Sir Abdul Qaiyum to join with me in the request, and he did so, with the result that the fifth seat was obtained for the Hindus. But one thing I must make plain, and that is that we all wish to remain under the British rule. We cannot join and we have not joined and we shall never join any anti-British movement or with any anti-Government movement there.

**Sardar Sant Singh** (West Punjab: Sikh): Even if the Government are unreasonable?

**Major Nawab Ahmad Nawaz Khan:** It is all a legal quibble, my dear friend. I can give you a reply.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): The Honourable Member has got into the habit of addressing individual Members. He must address the Chair.

**Major Nawab Ahmad Nawaz Khan:** You allow other Honourable Members to break the rule. When they break it, I have also to do the same.

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

**Major Nawab Ahmad Nawaz Khan:** With due respect I shall obey. I was saying that we, in the N. W. F. P., are doing very great service to the safety of the Indian Empire. If the people there had liked to join they would have joined the independent tribes whole-heartedly with any movement that was anti-Government or anti-British. Then you would have seen lakhs and lakhs of Indian money, rightly or wrongly, poured into the

[Major Nawab Ahmad Nawaz Khan.]

N. W. F. P. and also thousands and thousands of soldiers rushed from every Cantonment of India for the safety of India. You would have found thousands of people killed there. I was in London last year and I was thankful, along with many other friends, that the King of Afghanistan was just and neutral towards us. When there was the Congress movement launched all over the province and when the organizers of the movement were trying their best to obtain recruits to their movement, there was no response from the people. On that occasion if the King of Afghanistan, or some independent tribes, had shown the slightest activity against you, it would have been found that munitions and soldiers would have been brought in there from many places making these camps big like Delhi. It was on account of the wise policy of the British Government in spending lots of money there as to make the people there friendly and loyal to the British rule, it was on account of this policy that the people are of peace-loving habits. You should never say for a moment that money is wasted there or that money is spent recklessly.

**An Honourable Member:** What about Ordinances?

**Major Nawab Ahmad Nawaz Khan:** If it is not irrelevant, I am ready to reply to any question my dear friend.

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

**Major Nawab Ahmad Nawaz Khan:** Sir, if I may give a reply, with your permission, to my Honourable friend, I will say about the Ordinances, that they are the very things we want. By these Ordinances, the Government have averted a lot of trouble to the public from the Congress, which has been conducting a lot of harmful propaganda against the Government there. We could not control the people there, I mean the riff-raff, but not the gentlemen there. I do not care to discuss that question at any further length, but I come now to the question of the subvention. Having full regard to the interests of retrenchment, the Honourable the Finance Member has given us only this amount. It is much less than what the Committee recommended. However I am thankful to Government for this subvention and I will be thankful to the House if they grant this subvention without division and without further criticism.

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

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

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**Mr. B. N. Misra** (Orissa Division: Non-Muhammadian): Sir, with regard to this controversy, I have to say a few words. Much has been said about the subvention to the North-West Frontier Province and about Orissa. I am not speaking in a spirit of envy because the Frontier Province got it, but in a different spirit. Probably, Sir, you know the custom in Indian dinners of *Bhojanasabha*, where you don't ask for the food yourself

directly, but you ask that it should be brought to your neighbour-guest so that you may be served. That is the spirit in which I speak now and not in a spirit of opposition because a subvention has been given to the North-West Frontier Province. Much has been said about that province. It has been said that that province protects India from foreign invasion. Sir, our own memory is very treacherous and it is our greatest enemy. It may not be known to all that my province of Orissa is the Middle Eastern Frontier Province. Before Christ, about 200 B. C., it was King Kharabela and King Raktabahu of Orissa that saved our country, India, when there was an Ionian invasion from the seaside, and prevented them from entering the country. Sir, I think I can claim with greater force that if there is a Frontier Province which has saved India from foreign invasion it is my province of Orissa, which prevented the entry of foreigners through the sea. My Honourable friend Mr. Yamin Khan spoke of the North-West Frontier Province as the guardian angel and all that. The fact remains that all the Muhammadan invasions and other invasions were made through that country, which allowed invaders to come in from that side. But it is my province which protected India from all the invasions and attacks from the seaside. Even very recently during the German War the German battleship "Emden" came and shelled Madras and when it came to Puri it was stopped. Of course people who are superstitious say that it was the Lord Jagannath who is not the god of any single province or community, but the Lord of the Universe, that stopped it, but the fact remains that its further progress was stopped near the Puri coast. So even very recently foreign invasion was prevented. Therefore I say that Orissa should be treated as a frontier province,—the Middle Eastern Frontier as I call it. It is that province which requires protection, but the attention which has been paid to that province is well-known to all. Sir, the Government deserve our thanks for they have appointed a Committee for the formation of a province. But, Sir, they have done it in a very half-hearted manner. Sir, mark the wording of the reference to the Committee, "If an Oriya Province is to be formed what will be the boundaries of the province and what will be its effect on other provinces". Sir, mark that small word "If". If the Government have not after 30 years of struggle decided to have a province, what is the use of finding out all this about boundaries and so on? Was it done in the case of the formation of the Provinces of Bihar and Orissa and Sind, etc.? This is a stepmotherly treatment to Orissa and shows that Government have appointed this Committee with great reluctance as a show. Sir, if they have not made up their mind why have they brought a man from 6,000 miles away as a member, and one gentleman from Assam, and a millionaire from Bombay? When they have to make a province, they should do it well, not in this half-hearted manner. Say definitely without "If".

**Mr. President:** Order, order. The Honourable Member is speaking on the Foreign and Political Department and he is hardly in order in discussing the formation of the Orissa Province.

**Mr. B. N. Misra:** Sir, I am talking of the middle Eastern frontier and it deserves attention. The other day His Excellency the Viceroy in addressing us spoke as follows:

"The course suggested is the grant of a Central subvention to the North-West Frontier Province. The need for such a subvention and its probable amount are under inquiry by my Government. It is our intention to consult the Indian Legislature when the details have been worked out."

[Mr. B. N. Misra.]

Sir, I am speaking about the Government's attitude. His Excellency did not speak a word about Orissa, and the Foreign and Political Department have not treated the case of Orissa with as much attention as they should have done. I think when my turn comes, I shall speak about that also; but I say they have not paid as much attention to the middle Eastern frontier, though they have paid a great deal of attention to the North-West Frontier. I think the middle Eastern frontier deserves more attention from other parts of India and other parts of India must remember that my province has done more than the North-West Frontier has ever done. I began by saying that memory is treacherous; the past is always forgotten; past gratitude for benefit received is always forgotten; people deal with the present; but I hope my friends will remember when the claim of Orissa is pressed.

**Several Honourable Members:** The question may now be put.

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

The motion was adopted.

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** Sir, I do not intend to trespass very long on the time of the House in dealing with what has passed in this debate. You, Sir, according to this House a very full latitude, have in fact allowed the question of the subvention to the North-West Frontier Province to be somewhat fully discussed on this vote of 7 lakhs for the Foreign and Political Department. We on these Benches really welcomed the line which you allowed the House to take; but I must crave a certain amount of indulgence from the House in that I had not myself expected that this question would be fully debated this morning and that my opportunities for collecting my papers in the luncheon interval were interrupted by other and more pleasurable occupations. I trust the House will take that as some explanation of my not dealing very fully with this subject. In any case I think it would have been difficult to attempt any full exposition now. In the first place I would like to congratulate my Honourable friend Mr. Das on the success which he has in the final end achieved in getting this subject discussed. I understand my honourable friend had perhaps a double motive in moving as he did in this matter, and I think I can sympathise with him in both sides of that motive. In the first place, I think he wished to ensure that a matter of great public interest should be brought before the House for discussion. In the second place, he desired somehow or other—I am not quite sure by what exact lines—but I feel sure he desired somehow or other—to peg out a position which would in future be favourable to his own beloved province of Orissa. I am sure we all of us sympathise with the Honourable gentleman and with the Honourable Member who has just spoken in their affection for their motherland; and if they can benefit that part of India without casting an unduly heavy burden on the rest of India, I am sure we should all welcome their success.

I think the House has already had put before it a full account of the attitude which the Government have taken in this matter, and I feel sure that all Honourable Members are satisfied that it was our earnest desire to give the House an opportunity for discussing this very important question. We did consider very carefully how it could best be brought up; and whether

we were right or whether my Honourable friend Mr. Das is right, I hope he will accept it from me that, after very careful consideration, we felt that the proper and logical way of bringing up this question was in connection with the Demands for grants; and that if we offered to the House sufficient time for the discussion of the Demands for grants, it ought to be possible with goodwill on every side, and with a business like use of time, to arrange for a really thorough debate on the whole subject. We have certainly done our best; and if the debate has not been such as to satisfy everybody, no Members in this House regret it more than we do.

I was very interested in the speech that was made late in this debate by my honourable friend, Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury. He had obviously gone very carefully into the financial aspect of this question and had arrived at the conclusion that in all the circumstances the subvention which we are proposing now is not adequate to meet the needs of the situation. I have already dealt with that question in my Budget speech; and I am sure that the House will appreciate what I then explained, namely, the very great difficulty in which we were placed in fixing a subvention just now. On the one hand we certainly wanted to give the new province a fair start. On the other we could not ignore our obligations to the rest of India; and it would have been impossible to justify starting a province off with a subvention under the present economic conditions, which would have left them in a position to undertake expenditure on a scale which the rest of India had had to deny themselves. Therefore we had to go very carefully into the whole question, and without now attempting to go into the details I would inform the House that there were full discussions between the Finance Department and the Foreign and Political Department and representatives from the North-West Frontier. And I think that it was recognised that in all the circumstances the subvention which we now propose was reasonable and fair. It is very difficult to say what the future is going to be and how it is going to develop. I can only say this, that if the House listened with appreciation to what fell from Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhuri, I hope that, if the Government should at any time consider that the subvention was inadequate, the House would look at the matter as sympathetically as my honourable friend who spoke on that subject. I cannot say more upon that now.

There is just one small point which I would like to clear up in this connection, because inadvertently I think I gave information, which was not in every detail accurate, to my honourable friend the Leader of the Nationalist Party when he asked me what was exactly the additional expenditure this year. I gave him the figure of 2½ lakhs and I told him that that was arrived at in this way; that we had in considering the North-West Frontier Budget cut down the net amount that was required to 97½ lakhs; and then we decided in order to give them some little margin to play with to make it up to a round sum of 100 lakhs and so we had added 2½ lakhs. But I did not make clear that before arriving at the sum of 97½ lakhs, we had actually included in the estimates of expenditure, two items which are new items, which would not have been included if this new constitutional arrangement had not been proposed. One of these items is 2½ lakhs for the new administrative machinery, the Legislative Council and all that sort of thing, and the other is one lakh for new Public Works staff; because it is now proposed that two extra civil divisions should be created and the Public Works service should be taken over by the province from the military

[Sir George Schuster.]

engineering services. That in a sense does not represent extra expenditure, because in the normal way the military engineering service would have been paid establishment charges on account of the work they undertake; but actually in the forthcoming year new works will be so restricted that to some extent one can say that one lakh expenditure might not have been put on to the North-West Frontier Province Budget unless that change had taken place. So really the sum and substance of the matter is this, that we have added  $2\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs as a margin, and we have included two new items, one of one lakh and one of  $2\frac{1}{4}$  lakhs to meet new needs. The total therefore that we have added to what would otherwise have been budgetted for if the province had remained directly under the Central administration, is the total of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  plus 1, plus  $2\frac{1}{4}$  lakhs, that is to say, a total of 6 lakhs. That is exactly the position, but I would remind the House that those 6 lakhs are added to a very severely reduced Budget, as we have cut down the Budget provision in proportion to what has been done in the rest of the field which is administered by the Government of India.

I think the House will not require anything further from me on this subject. I would merely repeat that on a subject of very great difficulty we have tried to keep the balance fair between the interests of India and the interests of the new province, and that we have tried to give the House an opportunity to discuss the matter. Indeed I feel that after what has happened today, perhaps Honourable Members, at any rate those who are here, will feel satisfied that the issues have been ventilated and that their main purpose has been served.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,74,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Foreign and Political Department'."

The motion was adopted.

#### DEMAND NO. 32—HOME DEPARTMENT.

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** Sir, I beg to move:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,48,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Home Department'."

**Sirdar Harbans Singh Brar** (East Punjab: Sikh): Sir, instead of moving my amendment, I propose to oppose the Demand as a whole.

**Mr. President:** Then you are not moving your amendment?\*

**Sirdar Harbans Singh Brar:** No, Sir. I oppose the grant for the Home Department on account of the unsatisfactory manner in which they have carried out the administration of the Ordinances and for pursuing a policy of ruthless repression throughout the country. Everyday early in the morning one can see on the first page of the newspapers headlines such as "Lathi blows here, dispersal of processions there, maltreatment of ladies" and things of that kind. Not a single day passes without such sensational and sickening news, and this is all due to the very bad administration of the Government. In the jails political prisoners are badly treated. At

\* "That the Demand under the head 'Home Department' be reduced by Rs. 86,000."



Mooltan jail particularly, we have seen from the papers, that political prisoners were placed alongside of prisoners suffering from tuberculosis, and in spite of protests on this score, political prisoners are still sent to Mooltan jail. How detrimental such an association will be to the health of political prisoners, will be clear from the news sent by the correspondent of the *Tribune* and published in its issue of the 5th March:

“Tubercular patients in Multan Jail.

Danger to political prisoners.

T. B. cases should be segregated.

In the New Central Jail, Multan, there are a large number of ordinary prisoners suffering from tuberculosis. This is a great danger to A and B class political prisoners and State prisoners who are in that jail and who are putting up in the neighbouring barracks. The political prisoners, it is reported, have made a request that prisoners suffering from the above disease should be transferred from that jail.

Besides the Multan Municipality considers the presence of such a large number of such patients so near the city as a danger to the public health of the town, especially in view of the fact that the death rate from this disease in Multan is already alarming. At a meeting held on the 29th February, it passed a resolution asking the Punjab Government to kindly see that tuberculosis patients are removed from this jail.

It is hoped that higher authorities will take immediate action in the matter and order the transfer of all patients suffering from this disease from the Multan jail. In the interest of prisoners suffering from consumption as well as in the interest of other prisoners it is necessary that T. B. cases should be segregated and kept in a separate jail.”

The prisoners have also made a representation separately complaining about their being grouped together with prisoners suffering from tuberculosis, and I do not wish to dwell at length on what we read this morning in the papers about the forcible transfer of lady prisoners from Delhi, because it will come under a motion for adjournment next week, but the news was very depressing indeed and showed in what savage manner even the lady political prisoners, highly respectable, A class lady prisoners, are dealt with by the police.

Now, I come to other happening more or less of the same kind. In Madras we have heard of Dr. Paton, and even the Secretary of State has expressed regret over the incident, but we have never heard any regret expressed either by the Madras Government or by the Government of India. Mrs. Gandhi had been placed in C class, now altered into A class, similarly Mrs. Shyamlal Nehru, wife of an ex-M. L. A. and a relation of Pandit Motilal Nehru is also treated in the same way. (An Honourable Member: “Mrs. Jamnalal Bajaj.”) And here I am reminded by an Honourable Member that Mrs. Jamnalal Bajaj is also similarly treated. Sir, if this is the way in which the Government of India are carrying out the administration of the Ordinances, ordering *lathi* charges and opening fire almost every day at one place or the other, if this is to be called moderation and restraint, then I do not know what they will do when they give up that moderation and adopt really extreme measures. The next step will be to resort to artillery and machine guns. I hope that such a thing will not happen. Not only in carrying out the administration of the Ordinances,

3 P.M. the mentality of the Magistracy and the police has undergone a great change, but even in other spheres of life a feeling of hatred is shown by those in authority. An incident recently took place in the place which I represent but where I do not any longer live, I mean Ferozepore. There was a meeting of the District Board at which the

[Sirdar Harbans Singh Brar.]

Deputy Commissioner who is the official Chairman was present and the meeting was held on the 6th of January. We carried a proposal as a measure of retrenchment and decided to dispense with the services of all persons who have served 25 years or are over 55 years. We did not mean to apply the rule to any particular individual, but it was intended to apply to all persons who were above 55 years of age, though among them was a favourite of the Deputy Commissioner. We have an official Chairman. In Punjab we have not the privilege of having even an elected Chairman of the District Board even though local self-government has been a transferred subject for the last 12 years. That motion was carried. The Deputy Commissioner did not take any objection. But on the 6th evening or the 7th morning we saw promulgation of the Ordinances. The next meeting was held on the 6th February and the Deputy Commissioner, without any previous notice to the Members and on that very day when we entered the hall at 11 o'clock, put on the Agenda Paper a resolution rescinding our resolution of the 6th January. That was the mentality brought about by the Ordinances. Next to me was sitting a member of the Punjab Council, an advocate of long standing, the Vice-President of the District Board, but a nominated member. I was sitting next to him and the Deputy Commissioner was near him. The Deputy Commissioner told him, "I ask you to support this resolution and vote for it". He asked, "Why? Is it an order?". In the hearing of everybody in the District Board hall, he said, "I order you as a nominated member to support and vote for this resolution". That is the way in which the magistracy change with the issue of the Ordinances by the Government. On the previous occasion we discussed the matter at great length, and we carried the motion by an overwhelming majority—out of 40 members we carried it by a majority of 13 or 14. At that time he was quiet and did not do anything. That is the way in which the magistrates change with the issue of these Ordinances. In the jails in the winter of January and February, they had just a barbed wire compound, and tents which the military considered unfit for further use were pitched there, and the political prisoners were put in there with one blanket on. I myself went to the jail, the Superintendent was there, the Magistrate too, and the Public Prosecutor who was coming there to a case in the jail. There the prisoners said, "Sir, we get only two *chappaties* a day which are not sufficient, and the food is not good". Those are the complaints of people who are in the jails which are administered by the Home Department here and the Home Departments in the provinces. Even though they are administered by the provinces, the ultimate responsibility is here, as jails are still a reserved subject. Even Lord Lothian said in the House of Lords that repression is no remedy. Political discontent needs political cure, but the noble Lord's agents in the Government of India appear to think otherwise. Not only that, even Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has said the same thing, but here not only do they consider repression a remedy, but the administration of that repression goes beyond the limits of any civilised humane treatment. A few days ago we had continuously *lathi* charges in the Chandni Chowk. I myself, like my Honourable friend Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh, happened to visit those places. The policemen with regulation *lathis* fell upon the crowd like vultures. They even came on the other side of the Clock Tower though people were collected only in the compound of the Municipal Hall.

It appeared to a disinterested spectator that the police had almost run amuck, but the Home Member protested in this House that they are doing these things with the utmost moderation and restraint and that the minimum of force was being used. But people go to the hospitals with serious injuries inflicted upon them by the *lathi* blows dealt by these policemen. If more bamboo pulp is used for paper, I think the Government of India may be at a loss to get *lathis* enough in India to beat the Congressmen with; they may have to import them, because bamboo will be very much in demand for paper. (Laughter.) Sir, Mr. Lloyd George also has laid down that the wishes of the inhabitants must be the supreme consideration. That applied even to countries like Africa. But here when we want self-determination, we are considered as agitators; we are considered as breaking law and order, and we are treated as rebels and beaten with *lathi* blows. Is that the way in which the Government, which claims to have come to India for giving law and order and to bring us to a realisation of self-government, should behave? I am at a loss to understand why that should be the treatment meted out to a constitutional movement like the one which the Congress has launched. How can we, on these sides, at all, having come here as the representatives of the people, be parties to voting supplies to a Government. . . . .

**Mr. President:** Will the Honourable Member speak a little louder?

**Sirdar Harbans Singh Brar:** Yes, Sir. This morning we heard from the gallant Member from the North-West Frontier Province that the people of that province like the Ordinances and that they are welcome to them.

**An Honourable Member:** It is his personal opinion.

**Major Nawab Ahmad Nawaz Khan:** I said for law and order.

**Sirdar Harbans Singh Brar:** Not many days ago we heard from an equally important authority, I mean Maulvi Muhammad Shafee Daoodi, one of the leaders of the Muhammadan community . . . . (*An Honourable Member:* "He is not.") Nobody can deny it. (*A few Honourable Members:* "We deny it.") Sir, he went to the North-West Frontier Province at the invitation of His Excellency's Government and made enquiries into the administration of the Ordinances. What he said is in complete contradiction of what the noble Nawab from that part of the country has said. Maulvi Muhammad Shafee Daoodi said:

"I came close to some young men and I found that they had a much more sorrowful story to tell. They said:

'You have come at the right moment. We are stripped naked, beaten, practically to such a degree that we are not able to move about, and then we are put in cold water'."

That is the way the people have described the administration of the Ordinances and how they welcome it and I had it on the authority of Sir Abdul Qaiyum that the younger generation in the Frontier do not like it. The noble Nawab may have welcomed it, but he has no authority to speak of the people of the Frontier as a whole. (*Major Nawab Ahmad Nawaz Khan:* "The majority welcome it.") Government must realise that the people who were considered the stand-by of the Government, their families have now joined the movement and have gone to jail. That should be an eye-opener to the Government, that the movement is not restricted to that one great organisation known as the Congress. Even persons outside it who were considered the stalwarts of the Government, the members of their families have gone to jail. As I see from the papers, a daughter-in-

[Sirdar Harbans Singh Brar.]

law of the late Sir Ganga Ram has gone to jail. The son of my friend, Mr. Bhagat Ram Puri, M.L.A., has gone to jail as dictator of the Lahore Congress. When people like this join hands with the Congress to demand from the Government the right of self-determination, the right to have their own Government, then Government should realise that the movement is widespread and has been carried to every homestead throughout the length and breadth of the country. If the C. I. D. is efficient, then they can find that even Government servants who are the agents of the Government and who draw heavy salaries from the Indian exchequer are dissatisfied with the way in which the administration of the Ordinances is carried out. As my friend Mr. G. P. Singh pointed out, two ex-M. L. A.s Mr. Nilkantha Das and G. C. Nag, have gone to jail and the treatment meted out to them is very bad. Many of them are in C class. The Zutshi sisters of Lahore, the daughters of an Advocate of Allahabad, who are all graduates and one of them was a professor in Government College have been very badly treated and have been put in the C class. If this is the method in which Government are going to conduct the administration by treating badly the future mothers of the persons who will hold the reins of administration, it is a very sad picture of the civilization which they have brought out to this country. The British Government and their sub-agents, the Indian Government, have never learnt by experience. They tried to carry out the same policy in America, in Ireland, in Egypt and they did not succeed. We have the example of America, and Ireland, and I think India will not be long in repeating the same experiment, and it is only when the people also resort to force that the Government will surrender power. Their statesmanship and experience ought to have taught them that what did not succeed in the past is not likely to succeed in future. They cannot suppress a nation of 350 millions of people by oppression. The movement may quiet down for a month, two months, a couple of years, but they cannot crush the spirit which is engendered in every man and woman in the country that they must be masters of their own destinies and of their own country. Even the great Lord Morley, to whom we owe the first reforms, said that moral and intellectual conditions are not the only motive force in a community, nor are they even the most decisive, political and material conditions set the limit at which speculation can do either good or harm. Government know that they have brought us to a condition of things which has reached that limit. They have brought us to the limit, and they must note that the present state of things can only do harm and no good. It is advisable for them, even now, although two months have passed since the inauguration of the present policy, to retrace their steps, and to come again to the old reality of things which they realized last year this very month when they announced to us that the method of negotiation and conciliation was the best.

(At this stage Mr. President vacated the Chair, which was taken by Sir Hari Singh Gour.)

I wish, Sir, that, like last year, they would even now retrace their steps and give up ruling by Ordinances, give up the maltreatment meted out to the best sons of the land who have gone into the jails, and discuss at what is an oval rather than round table with the real representatives of the people all combined, liberals, nationalists and the representatives of that great and mighty organization, which commands the largest

backing, I say, throughout the length and breadth of India, the Congress, and whose sole delegate is known to everybody as the most peace-loving man on the face of this globe (Hear, hear), and whose honesty and desire for peace is not doubted by even his bitterest opponents. Sir, he is, as was so truly said by that great Empire statesman, General Smuts, whom the Commonwealth of British nations have come to recognize as one of the greatest statesmen of the British Empire, he is the only man in India who can deliver the goods. Sir, even General Smuts said that it is Mahatma Gandhi and he alone who can deliver the goods on behalf of India. (Mr. K. Ahmed: "What about the Hindu Mahasabha?") And, Sir, General Smuts said this from personal experience of his, because he had to deal with the same Mahatma in another field in earlier days. He knew the man about whom he was speaking; and the British Government even have set apart that good, that noble, that useful advice given by him for retracing their steps and coming to grips with the realities of the situation and meeting together and evolving a formula for the solution of the problem. Repression, Sir, has not succeeded in any country. Spain and Greece tried it and failed; Portugal tried it and has not succeeded. It was tried in Ireland and it failed. Here this is being tried. I say the Government will have to retrace their steps, and I am sure that the time will not be long, though at this moment we are not likely to meet with any response in this direction from the Honourable the Home Member—when the Government will have to retrace their steps, when, I say, the methods of negotiation and conversation will again have to be followed. If so, why delay the agony? Why not come at once to the issue before the country and all meet together and deliberate on the supreme issue and give up the rule by Ordinances and abandon this ruthless policy which nobody can possibly like? Sir, the attitude of the Government of India appears to me to be such as can be put in one sentence:

Invention is exhausted, reason is fatigued, experience has given judgment, but obstinacy is not yet conquered.

**Pandit Satyendra Nath Sen** (Presidency Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir I rise to join my Honourable friend, Sirdar Harbans Singh Brar, in opposing the entire Demand in respect of the Home Department, on account of its utter failure to preserve law and order in the country by their mishandling the present political situation. Sir, the present policy of Government is one of wilful and unalloyed repression, while true statesmanship, as followed by men like Lord Irwin, demanded it otherwise. Sir, it is an undeniable fact that at present we are being ruled not by ordinary laws but by Ordinances—Ordinance after Ordinance, one Ordinance followed by another Ordinance *ad infinitum* and *ad nauseum*. I confess that I failed to keep pace with them, and after closely studying only a few of them, I had to give up the subject in despair and in disgust. Sir, from the point of view of political emancipation, I do not grudge this repressive policy of Government, because that will only act as a hastening agent for the purpose of political emancipation. But what I do object to is that by their repressive policy, Government have made the country quite unfit for living in, at least for peace-loving citizens. Sir, the only thing that remains to be done by Government is to amend that section of the Government of India Act, which confers on the Members of the Legislature some little right and privilege to enter into a fruitless discussion of the Government's policy on particular days and within a particular arena.

[Pandit Satyendra Nath Sen.]

Sir, what has been the effect of these Ordinances? My life is not my own, my property is not my own. My property is being snatched away, my bank deposits are being snatched away. As to personal safety, the less said, the better. (Hear, hear.) The newspapers are teeming with innumerable instances, and I am not going to cite one or two out of innumerable cases, and thus to minimise the gravity and the seriousness of the situation. Sir, not to speak of men, even women are being roughly handled. Even women in an advanced state of pregnancy are not being spared. It was only three or four days ago that we came across a newspaper account that a woman named Dhana Lakshmi gave birth to a child in prison. This birth in prison reminds us of a similar birth in prison about 6,000 years ago in Muttra which delivered the country from the tyranny prevailing there at that time. Sir, is there any Indian who has not been directly or indirectly affected by these inhuman atrocities, and with our nearest and dearest ones thrown into prison with their limbs maimed and injured, do Government expect that we can co-operate with them like good boys for long? Sir, in the matter of repression the present Government have beaten all previous records. We are believers in the Puranas. In the Puranas we have read the story of Jarasandha who threw into prison hundreds of chiefs who ventured to open their lips against his tyranny. We have also read the story of Kamsa who, apprehensive of danger from all quarters, like the present Government, ordered a massacre of innocents. We have also read the story of Ravana and the stories of Shumbha and Nishumbha who committed outrages on women. Needless to add that they were destroyed by the divine hand in due course. Sir, each of these had only one charge against him, but the present Government have to their credit all the three charges combined together. And what has been the result? They have to face opposition even from unexpected quarters. While speaking on the Press Bill during the last Simla session, I charged the Government that they have spoilt and misled our young men. I am now here to say that they have exasperated our young women also. I am almost prepared to say that they have spoilt our young women. Sir, young Hindu girls with revolvers in their hands are shooting human beings. (Mr. K. Ahmed: "Whose fault was that?") That is the fault of the present repressive policy of Government. My friend, Mr. K. Ahmed, with his characteristic levity, which is no respecter of occasions, has come forward to interrupt me and I prefer to let him alone. Sir, who will be the worst sufferers from this sort of tyranny? It is not the British people but the people of this country who will be the sufferers. The Britishers may at most be compelled to shift to another part of the globe but the culture and training which will be left by them will go on disturbing the peace of the country for centuries to come. Sir, my reference to the Ordinances may be interpreted to mean that we enjoyed much happier days before the promulgation of the Ordinances. Not a bit of it. In this connection I shall read out a few lines from the report that was published in the *Liberty* of Calcutta on the 8th October 1931 regarding the treatment of the Police towards three schools in the district of Chittagong. This is the report submitted by the Secretary, Sarostali H. E. School, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal:

"At 10-30 A.M., on the 31st day of August, 1931, a large posse of Gurkhas led by two European officers entered the school premises and beat mercilessly right and left all the students of classes III to X, after barricading the compound, even the staff Members.

having their due share of the bayonet and baton wounds. The boys fled from room to room in panic and then from inside to outside and then again, from out to in, still under pressure of constant beating, till finally most of them were kicked out and back again kicked in. In this confusion, we were only silent onlookers. When the boys ran into Headmaster's room terror-stricken, he could scarcely afford any protection to any. A great majority of them had had their clothes taken off, their shorts torn to pieces, some in the melee running hither and thither stark-naked, their books and umbrellas and everything else left behind. The school house is now deserted by the boys and perhaps we won't be able to run the school for some days. Some deadly hurt on the head were profusely bleeding, drops of blood yet staining the floors of the school house.

It is a pity that this indiscriminate beating went on in spite of our producing three boys on demand by the officers. All the books were then scattered away, shutters, glass-panes and many furniture, were badly damaged."

Now, with regard to another school, Rahatali School, a similar report goes on. I shall quote only a few sentences from it:

"The military officers then went to the classes X, IX, and VIII and asked the Assistant Headmaster to explain to the classes that they had come, under the orders of the Government, to punish the boys for taking part in the Ram Krishna-day demonstration. These being explained to the boys, the military then entered the class-rooms and flogged all the Hindu boys indiscriminately. Some of the boys were bleeding profusely and two or three boys fell senseless on the floor."

Sir, in their hurry and excitement they lost all sense of decency and reasonableness, because the report goes on to say:

"They also struck some Muhammadan boys on the heads along with them. The Assistant Headmaster then sent for the doctor and arranged for first aid to the injured after which several gentlemen of the locality and members of the Managing Committee, came and witnessed the horrible sight."

There is also another report to the same effect but I am not going to take the time of the House by quoting from it.

Sir, I asked a question on the floor of the House on this subject and the Honourable the Home Member came forward with the reply that the enquiry was not yet completed. I think it will never be completed. Comments are superfluous. This is the brilliant record that the Home Department has got behind it and with this record they have come forward to ask the House to vote for a grant for that Department. I propose that the grant be refused.

**Mr. N. B. Gunjal** (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Made a speech in Marathi, a translation of which will be found later as an appendix to these proceedings.

**Mr. T. N. Ramakrishna Reddi** (Madras ceded Districts and Chittoor: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, it may be asked, what has this policy of handling or mishandling the present political situation in the country by the Government got to do with the Demand for grant for the Home Department? I shall submit that it has got every relationship with it. I would request the House just to look back to the second Round Table Conference. In the midst of this Conference there happened to be a general election in England, and we all know that the Conservatives were elected to Parliament by a thumping majority. Then we suspected that the whole policy of the Government in India might change and our suspicion grew into alarm when we saw that it was not Mr. Bannan but Sir Samuel Hoare who became Secretary of State for India. We know that Sir Samuel Hoare is a merchant prince and is entirely in the hands of the Lancashire

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people. We know that Lancashire trade has suffered enormously from this boycott movement, and so we on this side think that the whole repressive policy of the Government pursued at present after the second Round Table Conference was entirely dictated by the Great Moghul in England. Now, Sir, what was the state of affairs in India when Mahatma

Gandhi returned from the Conference? At the Round Table

4 P.M.

Conference Mahatma Gandhi, who was the sole representative of the Congress, was now and then giving expression to his opinion that it was not possible to get any substantial reforms from the present Government in England and that he would be forced to revive the civil disobedience movement in India. Sir Samuel Hoare was not slow to tell his country that the Government of India was fully armed to meet any emergency that might arise in India after Mahatma Gandhi's arrival if the movement of civil disobedience was revived. Now, Sir, we shall see the condition of the country when Mahatma Gandhi returned. There was, it is alleged, a sort of no-tax campaign or rather preparations for a no-tax campaign going on in the United Provinces. It was also said that there was a red shirt movement in the North-West Frontier Province. If these are proved to be facts, they are to be considered as abnormal phenomena. I am not at present dealing with these abnormal phenomena that took place in a particular province, nor am I speaking of the alleged or supposed terrorist movement that was existing in Bengal. All this Government have been armed with special powers to deal with. But I am speaking of the normal phenomena in which this movement was expressing itself in the country. Broadly speaking, the movement has been expressing itself in two or three activities, namely, peaceful boycotting of liquor shops, peaceful picketing of foreign cloth shops, and meetings held in furtherance of these objects. These are the ordinary activities which the Congress people have been pursuing, and I submit there was absolutely no justification for the promulgation of these Ordinances, one after another, in quick succession, to meet this so-called emergency. At the beginning of this session, the Government distributed to us volumes of printed matter justifying the action taken by the Government in promulgating these Ordinances in various provinces. In those volumes I find there are only a few lines, about three lines, devoted to the situation that was obtaining in the Presidency of Madras which in the opinion of the Government justified the promulgation of these Ordinances. I make no apology to the House for reading those three lines *in extenso* because it is so short and distressingly sweet. These are the actual words:

"The Madras Government report that while Congress have worked contrary to the spirit of Delhi settlement, they have, generally speaking refrained from breaking the letter. In particular, they have not been so far ostensibly responsible for any rural agitation since the settlement, but individual Congress hotheads have spoken guardedly of a no-tax campaign in connection with the resettlement operations in progress in Kistna and Godavaries."

This is all the justification of the Government for promulgating these extraordinary measures in the Presidency of Madras. The Congress people have not gone into the rural parts; there was absolutely no Congress movement in rural parts; they have kept the letter of the Pact; but the Government say that some people have taken it into their heads to spread a sort of no-tax campaign in the Godavari and Kistna Deltas. I may explain in a few words what that sort of campaign is. During these days



of economic depression the Government of Madras enhanced the water rates in those deltaic areas by three or four times. Naturally the ryots and others affected by this enhancement made representations to the Government not to levy those abnormal taxes at this time, and some leaders also took up the cause of the ryots and they were holding meetings here and there and sending representations to Government. That is all that was taking place; Government simply gave the name of no-tax campaign to the movement. Just as one would give a bad name to a dog to hang it, so they gave the name of no-tax campaign to this movement in order to suppress and stifle the legitimate expression of grievances of the people; and we find that one of our *ex-M. L. As.* Mr. N. G. Ranga is in jail on account of this. Government is least justified in the Madras Presidency in putting these Ordinances into force, and it is there that the Ordinances are worked with the greatest vigour. I am not speaking, at this late hour, about the every day occurrences of the *lathi* charges and breaking of skulls and other things, because everybody in this House is familiar with what is taking place in the country. But I shall refer only to a few glaring instances of the way in which Government have been handling this situation. I will take one instance, the Swadeshi Exhibition in Madras. On Xmas eve there was a big Swadeshi Exhibition organised near the Congress House in Madras, and it was opened by one of the greatest and most revered sons of India, Sir M. Visveswarayya; and the Exhibition went on for some days. Just as it was about to be closed, about the 10th January,—just one day previous to its closing,—the police under the orders of the Police Commissioner or some other like authority came and drove away the shopkeepers and others and bundled up all the goods and refused to deliver them. The very next day the Exhibition would have closed automatically, but just one day earlier the Government took this high-handed action to put down the Khaddar movement. This clearly shows that the Ordinances are not so much directed against suppressing any terrorist movement, but are really intended to suppress this boycott movement in order to help the Lancashire and foreign trade.

Then comes the case of Dr. Paton which has become a matter of history by this time. He is a Scotch nobleman who has settled in this country and sacrificed everything and placed all his large property at the service of this country. In a place called Tiruppattur in the Madras Presidency, where I had the pleasure of visiting him, he has opened a big hospital, distributing medicine free to all poor people, and he has also opened some agricultural farms just to encourage the local agricultural development, and thus he has been devoting himself to this philanthropic work. He happened to hear so many reports from Madras about the beating of the picketers by the police and breaking of heads, and so he wanted to see whether he could open a hospital at Madras to treat those persons who were receiving injuries under *lathi* charges. With that idea he went to Madras, and while he was passing on the road he was beaten and coloured water was turned upon him with a hose pipe and his clothes—which by the bye were Khaddar—were soiled. Government did not leave the matter at that, but added insult to injury by framing certain charges against him, saying that he had posted some people for picketing and that he was lecturing about the boycott movement. These charges were quite unfounded and they were subsequently withdrawn, and we know the subsequent conduct of the case, and even the Secretary of State the other day had to admit it was a mistake of the Government.

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In spite of all that, the Government have not taken it into their mind to express regret to the person himself. There is one more incident I wish to state, and that is the beating of Mr. Sambamurti. He is a revered man of Andhra Desa; while he was attending a meeting about the beginning of this year, the police, without any provocation and without serving any notice that the meeting was unlawful or any such thing, came and beat him till he became unconscious.

We are also familiar with the "thali" incident; that is, a lady who was convicted by the court at Talacherri was asked to remove her *thali* to pay up the fine. For a Hindu lady *thali* is considered as a very sacred jewel, and though it is not very costly it is removed only on the death of her husband, such thing has occurred in open court. A wave of indignation passed throughout the length and breadth of this country and yet the Government did not take proper action against the offenders. They were satisfied that the magistrate was wrong and he expressed his apology to the Government. Well, Sir, we are now quite familiar with the policy of vicarious retribution which the Government are employing, in asking the father to pay the fine of his son, or asking the mother to pay the fine of her daughter, but we have not yet heard this vicarious acknowledgment of apology in any part of the civilized world. In this case the wrong is personal and the apology must satisfy the person wronged. It is absolutely no consolation for the poor woman who is rotting in jail, if some apology was given by the magistrate behind her back. Such things are taking place in the name of law and order, and this is the way in which the Ordinances are being worked day in and day out, and it is stated that they are worked with moderation and with restraint. I clearly see, Sir, that the present policy is not directed so much by the Government here as it is dictated by the Home Government and by the Secretary of State. Hence I support the motion to cut down the whole Demand for the Home Department.

**Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer:** The question may now be put, Sir.

**Mr. Chairman** (Sir Hari Singh Gour): The question is that the question be now put.

The motion was adopted.

**The Honourable Sir James Crerar** (Home Member): Sir, I must express a very considerable measure of surprise at the course which this debate has taken. From the notice of motions received I understood that the matter which Honourable Members opposite, who were specially concerned with this particular Demand, desired to raise related to the measures which had been taken for retrenchment in the Home Department and also general questions of the secretariat machinery which should affect, more or less, all departments of the Government of India. Consequently, Sir, the speech of the Honourable Member who spoke first in this debate, though I regret to say that practically three-fourths of it was inaudible to me, did occasion me very much surprise. It appeared to me that the questions which were being raised were precisely the same questions which were earlier raised in this House, which we debated for nearly two whole days and which were disposed of by a majority of this Assembly. That being

so, Sir, and in view of the fact that at this earlier stage I already had occasion to trespass very long upon the patience and indulgence of this House, I do not think that I should be tempted to swerve from the course of virtue on this occasion by inflicting upon the House a long re-statement of matters which have already been stated as clearly and as fully as is possible for me to do. In truth, Sir, I do not think that there was anything that was stated today, any incident of the various incidents which were referred to today—any arguments employed or any speech made today—which might not more properly, if at all, have been brought forward in the course of the previous debate. The House will, therefore, I am sure, absolve me from any discourtesy to Honourable Members opposite if on this occasion I record my opinion that it would not be proper for me to repeat to the House once more a defence on the policy of Government which was debated at great length and which was approved by a majority of the House six weeks ago.

**Mr. Chairman:** The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,48,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of ‘Home Department’.”

The motion was adopted.

#### DEMAND NO. 33—PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION.

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** Sir, I beg to move:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,33,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of ‘Public Service Commission’.”

**Mr. K. P. Thampan** (West Coast and Nilgiris: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, the motion that I have to make is that the Demand under the head ‘Public Service Commission’ be reduced by Rs. 1,23,000. I really do not know whether I shall be able to do justice to this subject within the short time that I have at my disposal, but I will try my best to confine my observations to the salient points and briefly deal with them. Sir, the Public Service Commission was constituted by way of implementing section 96C of the Government of India Act. That section provided for the appointment of Public Service Commissioners to discharge such functions as by rules the Secretary of State might delegate to them. The appointment of the Members is made by the Secretary of State, their salary is fixed by the Secretary of State, and their tenure of office is also fixed by the Secretary of State under rules. The Public Service Commission as at present constituted consists of a Chairman and four Members; the Chairman gets Rs. 5,000 per month as salary and the Members get Rs. 3,500 each. This body has got a Secretary who is paid Rs. 1,250 and also a special pay of Rs. 400 per month, and the entire cost of the Public Service Commission comes to about Rs. 3,72,000 as budgeted for next year. The officers cost Rs. 2,22,000 and odd, and the balance is for meeting the establishment charges, contingencies and such things. The General Purposes Sub-Committee, which was so ably presided over by our esteemed and distinguished friend, Sir Abdur Rahim, went into the whole subject and suggested as many as 10 points for the consideration of Government, clearly making out that the expenditure of this branch

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could be reduced by Rs. 1,36,200. The Government, however, accepted only a reduction of Rs. 13,200, and my motion relates to the balance of Rs. 1,23,000; that is why I have said that the Demand be reduced by Rs. 1,23,000. The case has been very well made out by the General Purposes Sub-Committee, which is set out at pages 65 to 73 of their valuable Report. The Sub-Committee recommends in the first place that instead of having five Members on the Commission, their number might very well be reduced to three. That is the main recommendation, and that is the chief item which will go to reduce the expense on the Public Service Commission. The Commission themselves agree that they can very well carry on with three Members. They say:

"It cannot be said that the volume of the Commission's work requires as many as five Members and so far as the volume of work is concerned it 'could be done equally well with three Members'."

When the authority affected by the proposal says that the whole work can be managed by three Members, I really do not understand why the Government should not accept it. Instances have been pointed out by the General Purposes Sub-Committee as to how Service Commissions are being worked in Madras or other places. I am myself acquainted with the conditions prevalent in Madras. We have a Chairman and two Members of the Public Service Commission. The establishment and other paraphernalia is not half as much as you find here. The General Purposes Sub-Committee also refers to such Commissions in other parts of the British Empire. The British Commission itself consists of a Chairman and two Commissioners, one of whom acts also as Secretary. The South African and Canadian Commissions are believed to have only one Member and the Australian Commission two. Reference is also made in the Report to the Bill which was introduced in the Punjab Legislative Council, but I do not know whether it has been passed into law or not. Now, what we are concerned with is this; a specific recommendation was made by the Retrenchment Committee that the number of Members should be reduced to three, and the Public Service Commission themselves have accepted that proposal. But, Sir, Government do not accept it. Why? The only objection, so far as I could see, that was put forward against that proposal, was that the reduction of the number of Members to three would disturb the confidence of the European members in the services. Questions affecting discipline and such other things have to be referred to the Commission, and the I. C. S. and other European members, it is afraid, will demur to the European element being reduced in the Commission. That aspect of the question has been effectively answered by the Public Service Commission itself. If you will allow me I can not do better than read a line or two from the Report. This is what the Commission themselves say:

"The experience of the last five years shows that the Indian and European Members of the Commission are equally anxious to do justice to the members of the services whether European or Indian. The Indian Members of the Commission are as careful as the European Members to do justice to European appellants. If the past is a safe index of the future, it is not unreasonable to hope that a majority of Indians on the Commission would not prove detrimental to the interests of European officers."

I can not therefore understand why the Government should persist in keeping five Members on the Commission. Of course, I am aware that one Member is on leave and that his place has not been filled up. But

you will find there is a provision for all the five Members in the Budget for next year. Another objection which the Home Department has raised is this, that the proposal requires the sanction of the Secretary of State. I know that not only this branch of administration but the whole administration of the Government of India is subject to the superintendence, direction and control of the Secretary of State. There was no difficulty for the Secretary of State to approach Parliament and to get passed an Act which enabled the Government of India to reduce by 10 per cent. the salaries of the statutory services. But this does not require that. If the Government of India will only see their way to accept the proposal, they can easily get the permission of the Secretary of State. Therefore, that kind of plea would not hold good. The fact of the matter is, they do not want any retrenchment to be made in this department.

There is another aspect of the question which the Government of India have to consider. We have effected large retrenchments in the services, and the chances are that for at least two or three years to come the Government of India will not have to make fresh appointments; at any rate, the work of the Commission will not be as much as it used to be. I understand that retrenchment at the rate of 10 per cent. has been made in the personnel of all departments of the administration. The Commission will not have that amount of work as it used to have before. I do not propose at this late hour to go through *seriatim* all proposals of the R. S. Committee. I only say due consideration has not been given to them. At this time of acute financial distress, when the country has been burdened with unbearable taxation, when all avenues of retrenchment are being explored, if the Government are really earnest in their desire to effect retrenchment, it is imperative that such reasonable proposals as have been put forward by the Retrenchment Committee should be accepted.

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

Before I conclude, I wish to refer to another aspect of the matter which I consider is very important. The Public Service Commission, as constituted at present, is a purely advisory body. It has not got supreme powers, or in other words, it is not a body which has got a final voice in the matters that go before it. I really do not know whether the framers of the Government of India Act intended that it should be so. At any rate section 96-C of the Act is not capable of that interpretation. It is very often complained by our public men that what is given by the Parliament and by our benign Sovereign is whittled down by the rules framed by the Secretary of State. I find on reference to Professor Keith's book on responsible Government in the Dominions, that in all the Dominions the Public Service Commission has got absolute rights, and I am quite sure that in adopting the same model the original idea of the framers of the Government of India Act was that the Public Service Commission in India also must be endowed with such supreme or plenary powers. There is no necessity to have Members on the Commission with such salaries as they are now drawing if their function is purely advisory. I do not think any man worth his salt will accept the position of a Member of the Commission which can only tender advice. The salary of the Chairman is Rs. 5,000, which is the salary of a Chief Justice of a High Court, Unless there is a finality in regard to matters referred to the Commission, so long as it has not supreme or absolute powers, it will not be

[Mr. K. P. Thampan.]

worth while for any respectable man to accept a place on it. (*An Honourable Member*: "There is money.") There are only very few people among men of the highest public standing with whom money counts. The point I wish to make is that, so long as this Public Service Commission continues to be a body of advisers, it is not worth while keeping them. That is my humble opinion.

I do not propose to take the time of the House by reading certain extracts from Professor Keith's book regarding the constitution of the Public Service Commissions in the Colonies and in the Dominions. My desire is that the Public Service Commission in India must also be of the same model. So long as that is not done, the provisions of section 96-C of the Government of India Act will not be fulfilled and it is not worth while to maintain such a costly body in this country. With these few words I commend my motion to the acceptance of the House.

**Mr. G. S. Ranga Iyer:** Sir, I must congratulate my Honourable friend Mr. Thampan on taking up this motion. We had almost feared that this motion would come under the guillotine, and I express my deep and sincere gratitude to the Leader of the Independent Party for having co-operated with us in enabling us to reach this important cut. It may be that this will be the last cut that will be discussed to-day, and I hope that I will leave at least ten minutes for the Honourable Member to reply. But this, Sir, is in a sense more important for the achievement of Swaraj itself. For we want Swaraj first in the Public Service Commission. The same Swaraj that we have got, so far as the High Court is concerned, the same independence and integrity that we have, so far as the post of Auditor General is concerned,—the same integrity, the same independence, the same status and the same position should be accorded to the Members of the Public Service Commission. Unless that position is accorded, it would lead,—and I do not cast any reflection at present on a single Member of the Public Service Commission—to jobbery. It will detract from the purpose for which the Public Service Commission is appointed. That purpose is nothing less and nothing else than purity in filling jobs. Sir, in this unfortunate country there has been such a thing as making men get jobs not because they are necessarily qualified, but because of other considerations. If those other considerations were not in existence, my friend Mr. Yamin Khan would not have stood up and pressed for his own communal privileges, for after the position that was conceded by this House last year, here at any rate I am not going to rake up my exception to it. Then there is my friend, Colonel Gidney, who time and again says that his community does not find so much favour as it used to do. It is good that his community does not find so much favour as it used to do, because the Public Service Commission has been appointed. Sir, Swaraj is coming to this country. Federalism is on the horizon, and I would ask the Government to tell me straightaway that they will communicate with the Secretary of State and give the Public Service Commission the same position as the Public Service Commissions in the Colonies. It should not be tied to the apron strings of the Secretary of State for India. My friend Sir Hari Singh Gour said in his speech the other day that we want an immediate advance in the direction of responsibility. The same could be said with even more correctness about the Public Service Commission.

We want an immediate acceptance of the position of absolute and unmitigated independence for the Public Service Commission. Mr. Thampan has spoken with his usual ability and clearness. He is a great public man, was a newspaper proprietor in Madras when I was a humble sub in his own newspaper. With his large public experience, and with his great career in the public life of Madras and his work on the Provincial Council of which Members are not aware, he was looking forward to giving this lead. If his health had permitted him, he would have put his case even more strongly than he did, because he has accumulated information on this subject. Government must make up their mind here and now that they will communicate to the Secretary of State all the points that Mr. Thampan has placed before them. Another point in this connection is that Government must decide that no Member of the Public Service Commission will be eligible for any higher job.

**Sardar Harbans Singh Brar:** Or any lower job.

**Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer:** My friend, with his usual sense of humour, thinks that men will prefer even lower jobs to unemployment. Yes, they should not be given a higher job or a lower job. After their service, they must be banished into the wilderness of pension, and unless that is agreed to, the Commission will not be independent. They will yield to the pressure of—I do not say of the Government as a body nor individual high officers of Government,—but their own ambitions for once you place before the Public Service Commission higher ambition, you will impair their efficiency, an efficiency includes not only the term integrity but also the term independence. Why do the Government not give the Auditor General any other job? Why do they retire him? The same consideration must prevail in regard to the Public Service Commission. Sir, a Retrenchment Committee which is performing its job with its usual, what I may call, leisured zeal, a Committee which carried on its work right through 8 or 9 months, as if an immediate production of a complete report was not a valuable thing, a Retrenchment Committee whose members have drawn allowances which do not reflect credit, allowances of over Rs. 2,000, should hide its head in shame, because it has cast a reflection on this side of the House that we fellows, who go to retrench, raise a discussion that there should be retrenchment for the Retrenchment Committee. The Retrenchment Committee should hide its face in shame as contrasted with the work which the Hope Committee executed in England. They finally recommended that there should be three Members of the Public Service Commission, a very good recommendation, an excellent recommendation, a result which could have been accomplished in one week. To achieve this recommendation they have taken such a large space of time, only because its leadership, its Chairmanship is afflicted with that senility which is not the proper phase for Chairmanship of a Committee which should execute its work, only because its Chairman has lost his admirable vigour which we expected of him, only because of what the Retrenchment Committee has at last stated, what after all I could have stated in one week, what my Honourable friend, Mr. Chetty, could have stated, what my Honourable friend, Mr. Neogy, could have stated, or my Honourable friend, Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh, if he was a member (Laughter) could have stated. After so much labour you want to do that much. Sir, the work of this inglorious Committee is belated. My surprise is that these gentlemen have been afflicted with the double dose of moderatism. (Mr. B. Das: "My Committee has not yet reported: why do you singularize?") I am at

[Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer.]

present concerned with Sir Abdur Rahim's Committee. Sir, Mr. B. Das says that his Committee has not yet concluded its work. Sir, my Honourable friend, Mr. B. Das, has not yet had the advantage and honour of having been an Executive Councillor such as my friend, Sir Abdur Rahim, has had. (Laughter.) Sir, this Retrenchment Committee has insulted the intelligence of the House by saying that there should be a body of three Public Service Commissioners. Why should there be three Commissioners is what I cannot understand. Sir, I think one man ought to have been quite enough, but if there is a communal issue, then have one Hindu and one Muhammadan, because the Public Service Commission is only an advisory body. Why have an Englishman on that Commission? Not that I am against Englishmen, but I would retrench all Englishmen on that Commission because their recommendation after all goes up before another body. Let there be only one Hindu and one Mussalman, whomsoever you like, let them be the worst of communalists or the best of nationalists, I do not care; let them be men drawn from the public service of the country, but I say there should be only two, and not three as recommended by this wretched Retrenchment Committee of which Sir Abdur Rahim is the head, who, licking the boots of a foreign Government, says that here should be three men.—one Hindu, one Mussalman and one Englishman—otherwise, where do the three come in? Now that is exactly what I want to know. (Sardar Harbans Singh Brar: "What about the minorities?") My Honourable friend, Sardar Harbans Singh Brar, asks, "What about the minorities?" If only you think of the minorities, they are, Sir, a legion in this land. Sir, Lord Birkenhead once said that so far as India was concerned, her future was on the knees of the gods and the gods were legion in that country. Sir, I refute that proposition of Lord Birkenhead, for unity in diversity underlies our religion. There is one godhead behind so many gods, but unfortunately I am not in a position to say yet about the minorities that there is that underlying unity among them, but if there are minorities, then the proper thing would be to cut down the salary of every Member of the Public Service Commission to Rs. 500 a month and give my friend, Sardar Harbans Singh Brar's community representation on the Commission. Sir, that salary is what Mahatma Gandhi recommended, and here is a Committee presided over by Sir Abdur Rahim—whose record is over there in the Bengal Council, his record of how he crossed the T's and dotted the I's of his Government alike in regard to repression and oppression—and this Retrenchment Committee wants to oppress us with a load of salary to which we are not agreeable. I stand, Sir, in the same position, so far as the salaries of the Public Service Commissioners are concerned. I take my stand on the same ground as Mahatma Gandhi. Why did not this Retrenchment Committee, if it was an honest body and not a mealy-mouthed flatterer of Government, if it was a really honest body.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): If that is the Honourable Member's view, he could have moved an amendment to the grant for the Public Service Commission by reducing it to a figure which would be sufficient for employing a smaller number of Members on a monthly pay of Rs. 500 each. It was perfectly open to him, instead of indulging in this sort of criticism, to put constructive work before the



Assembly and to say that he wants to go much beyond what the Retrenchment Committee has recommended.

**Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer:** Thank you, Sir. I always value your suggestion as you yourself know: and if I did not put forward a constructive suggestion, it is because my purpose is frankly destructive. I do not want to give them one single penny; I want to refuse them the entire supplies . . . . .

**Mr. President:** Certainly you can if you like to oppose the motion.

**Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer:** Sir, I do oppose the whole motion, but I want to do that in such a manner that my reasons may be known to all. I am refuting the reasons given by the Honourable gentleman of the Independent Party, who has run away from the debate after producing his report! I am opposing the recommendations of a gentleman who wants to give fat salaries to the Public Service Commissioners which my poor country cannot afford. I hope I have your authority and your permission to make that suggestion with the same kindness and courtesy which you have always shown when the refusal of supplies is raised. I am sorry I could not raise more refusals of supplies on this occasion, but I hope when the occasion comes in future, then though it may be that I would draw the fires of both sides, as my record during some past years would show, I shall not hesitate to stand and perform my duty alone and solitary, ploughing the lonely furrow on the floor of this House. (Hear, hear.) Sir, I have never been afraid of that position. I stand before an audience much greater, much mightier than the puny audience I am addressing today. My words, Sir, are being heard in the gallery, but they are also being overheard out in the country: and, Sir, a man who has not yet become very old (Hear, hear), one on whom the chilling penumbra of old age and second childhood has not begun to set, I have to look a little wider than the elderly gentleman sitting on that side of the House. Sir, I value the freedom that my party has given to me on this occasion, because these things had not been made party questions; otherwise I should have bowed to their verdict and observed a vow of silence. Sir, so long as I am in the trammels of office and party bondage, I cannot function fully; but so much for that.

Now I did not give a token cut, because I do not believe in token cuts when I have reason to oppose a motion completely. That is why I did not make a constructive suggestion. Sir, you cannot construct unless you are prepared to destroy. Supposing I want to build a big palace where you are sitting, I have to pull down your seat, Sir, before I build a palace there. Now supposing I want to reorganize the Public Service Commission, I have first to tear it from its foundations, and reduce the Commissioners' salaries and that is what my Honourable friend, Mr. Thampan, said when he was talking about the policy. Why should we be dictated to from Whitehall? Why should we play the part of a gramophone reproducing the orders of Whitehall? So far as the Public Service Commission is concerned, why should there not be men on it like my esteemed friend, Sir Hari Singh Gour—a distinguished man, with a legal and judicial intellect,—because that is the position of a Judge? A man who has been able to handle cases so skilfully all his life as Sir

[Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer.]

Hari Singh has handled cases, a legal author, a man who can weigh the pros and cons of things, a man who can give impartial justice, Sir, such a man should have been on the Commission! Here is a man, a sedate man, who has not yet had opportunities of being on any of these Commissions! (Loud Laughter.) Sir, he would not have cared for a salary. Money is no consideration to him. (Laughter.) He says he is fabulously wealthy, but the honour of being Chairman of the Public Service Commission he would not, I dare say, have declined, if he was freed from the trammels of Whitehall. Would he have declined Rs. 500 if Mahatma Gandhi had imposed it upon him, and the position was a judicial position of honour? (*An Honourable Member*: "Would my Honourable friend, Sir Hari Singh Gour, have accepted Rs. 500?") You do not know my Honourable friend so well as I do (Laughter)—Sir, he would. Money has not been any consideration with him. For that matter, have not our great public men like Mahatma Gandhi, or for that matter that great leader, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, spurred "filthy lucre" for service? But I am talking of a lawyer, a competent lawyer, an eminent jurist. It is a place for an eminent jurist and it is not a place for men who are in Government service or have retired from Government service. The salary of the Members of the Public Service Commission should be reduced. Sir, supposing, for instance, you retire from the position of the Presidentship of the Assembly some day when you choose to retire, for we want you here as long as God can spare you in that seat, then that will be a position for you. You will not care for salary. You will care then to serve the cause for which your whole life has been devoted and you will then be able to say that for Rs. 500 an Indian can serve on the Public Service Commission and through that Public Service Commission create such a purity in public service that it would be the ideal thing for which all of us have been aspiring.

Sir, now I wish to quote to you from A. B. Keith as to what is happening in the Colonies. (Interruption from Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh.) My friend, Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh, says that only four minutes are left and I should look sharp. Therefore, I must look sharp; I bow to his suggestion from behind. I hope it will very soon be from in front. But, Sir, I find the quotation is long, and therefore I shall not quote it. I am very grateful all the same to my Honourable friend, Mr. Thampan, for having placed this quotation at my disposal and several other quotations. For instance, he gave me the quotation that a Public Service Commissioner could be removed only by an address of both Houses of Parliament. That is what is happening in the Commonwealth of Australia with better models than those of Canada to follow. Why should such a thing not happen here? Why should the Secretary of State, Sir Samuel Hoare, like his predecessor, Mr. Wedgwood Benn, dictate to us about the Public Service Commission from Whitehall? I would ask Government to tell me all about it.

**Mr. S. C. Mitra** (Chittagong and Rajshahi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I do not know whether the Honourable gentleman who spoke last supported or opposed the motion of my friend Mr. Thampan. He gave an economy out as we suggested to retrench the number of the Commissioners by two. Out of five Members we wanted to have only

three. The position was that one man should represent the services, another should represent the Hindus, and the third should represent the minorities, including the Mussalmans. I do not care to follow my friend Mr. Ranga Iyer in his vituperations against Party leaders. It is not possible that a sane man should go after a mad dog. If a mad dog bites at random everybody that passes on a road, then passers-by should not be expected to bite the dog. (Laughter.) All that the people may be expected to do is to save themselves and to go to a safer place. Now, it seems that without any rhyme or reason he abuses all people of importance. His leader may think himself flattered today by his eulogy, but he was rebuking his leader the other day, no less than he is Sir Abdur Rahim, today. . . .

**Sir Hari Singh Gour:** I wish to say that I am thoroughly ashamed of it myself.

**Mr. S. C. Mitra:** As regards the main point, I would like to repeat that the intention of the General Purposes Committee was that three men were sufficient and they are able to represent all the parties. At present out of these five Members, three are Europeans, and even if the two Indian Members unite, they are in a permanent minority and helpless to protect Indian interests. They can never out-vote the block majority votes of the Europeans. So, let it be on a fair basis. Let there be one gentleman who has experience of the services, the other man representing the Hindus and the third representing the minorities. This was the viewpoint from which we suggested a reduction and I find that my friend, Mr. Thampan, has also supported it from that standpoint alone. Government, on the other hand, contend that they require more than three men. But the reply is that in the self-governing Dominions there are not even three; in some cases there is only one.

(It being Five of the Clock, Mr. President put the motion.)

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That the Demand under the head 'Public Service Commission' be reduced by Rs. 1,23,000."

The Assembly divided:

AYES—23.

Aggarwal, Mr. Jagan Nath.  
Bhuput Sing, Mr.  
Das, Mr. B.  
Dutt, Mr. Amar Nath.  
Gour, Sir Hari Singh.  
Gurjal, Mr. N. B.  
Hari Raj Swarup, Lala.  
Jha, Pandit Ram Krishna.  
Jog, Mr. S. G.  
Joshi, Mr. N. M.  
Kyaw Myint, U.  
Laladhar Chaudhury, Seth.

Neogy, Mr. K. C.  
Ranga Iyer, Mr. C. S.  
Reddi, Mr. T. N. Ramakrishna.  
Sant Singh, Sardar.  
Sarda, Diwan Bahadur Harbilas.  
Scott, Mr. J. Ramsay.  
Sen, Mr. S. C.  
Sen, Pandit Satyendra Nath.  
Singh, Mr. Gaya Prasad.  
Sykes, Mr. E. F.  
Thampan, Mr. K. P.

## NOES—51.

Acott, Mr. A. S. V.  
 Ahmad Nawaz Khan, Major Nawab.  
 Allah Baksh Khan Tiwana, Khan  
     Bahadur Malik.  
 Allison, Mr. F. W.  
 Anklesaria, Mr. N. N.  
 Azizuddin Ahmad Bilgrami, Qazi.  
 Bajpai, Mr. R. S.  
 Banerji, Mr. Rajnarayan.  
 Bhore, The Honourable Sir Joseph.  
 Brown, Mr. R. R.  
 Clow, Mr. A. G.  
 Cocke, Sir Hugh.  
 Cosgrave, Mr. W. A.  
 Crerar, The Honourable Sir James.  
 Daial, Dr. R. D.  
 DeSouza, Dr. F. X.  
 Dudhoria, Mr. Nabakumar Sing.  
 Fox, Mr. H. B.  
 French, Mr. J. C.  
 Gidney, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry.  
 Graham, Sir Lancelot.  
 Gwynne, Mr. C. W.  
 Heathcote, Mr. L. V.  
 Howell, Sir Evelyn.  
 Ishwarsingji, Nawab Naharsingji.  
 Ismail Ali Khan, Kunwar Hajee.  
 Jawahar Singh, Sardar Bahadur  
     Sardar.

Lal Chand, Hony. Captain Rao Baha-  
 dur Chaudhri.  
 Macqueen, Mr. P.  
 Moore, Mr. Arthur.  
 Morgan, Mr. G.  
 Mujumdar, Sardar G. N.  
 Mukherjee, Rai Bahadur S. C.  
 Nixon, Mr. J. C.  
 Noyce, Sir Frank.  
 Pandit, Rao Bahadur S. R.  
 Rafiuddin Ahmad, Khan Bahadur  
     Maulvi.

Rainy, The Honourable Sir George.  
 Rajah, Rao Bahadur M. C.  
 Rama Rao, Diwan Bahadur U.  
 Rau, Mr. P. R.  
 Ryan, Mr. T.  
 Sahi, Mr. Ram Prashad Narayan.  
 Schuster, The Honourable Sir George.  
 Seaman, Mr. C. K.

Sher Muhammad Khan Gakhar,  
     Captain.

Studd, Mr. E.  
 Tait, Mr. John.  
 Wood, Sir Edgar.  
 Yamin Khan, Mr. Muhammad.  
 Young, Mr. G. M.

The motion was negatived.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,33,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Public Service Commission'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND NO. 84—LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,93,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Legislative Department'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND NO. 35—DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, HEALTH AND LANDS.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,25,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Department of Education, Health and Lands'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 36—FINANCE DEPARTMENT.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 9,32,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of ‘Finance Department’.”

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 38—COMMERCE DEPARTMENT.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,39,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of ‘Commerce Department’.”

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 39—ARMY DEPARTMENT.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,54,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of ‘Army Department’.”

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 40—DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIES AND LABOUR.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,42,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of ‘Department of Industries and Labour’.”

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 41—CENTRAL BOARD OF REVENUE.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,45,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of ‘Central Board of Revenue’.”

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 42—PAYMENTS TO PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS ON ACCOUNT OF ADMINISTRATION OF AGENCY SUBJECTS.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,44,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of ‘Payments to Provincial Governments on account of Administration of Agency subjects’.”

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 43—AUDIT.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 85,46,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Audit'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 44—ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 50,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Administration of Justice'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 45—POLICE.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,83,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Police'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 46—PORTS AND PILOTAGE.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 10,54,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Ports and Pilotage'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 47—LIGHTHOUSES AND LIGHTSHIPS.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 11,43,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Lighthouses and Lightships'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 48—SURVEY OF INDIA.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 14,79,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Survey of India'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 49 —METEOROLOGY.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 15,26,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Meteorology'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 50—GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,56,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Geological Survey'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 51—BOTANICAL SURVEY.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,35,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Botanical Survey'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 52—ZOOLOGICAL SURVEY.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 81,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Zoological Survey'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 53—ARCHÆOLOGY.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,86,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Archæology'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 54—MINES.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,16,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Mines'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 55—OTHER SCIENTIFIC DEPARTMENTS.

**Mr. President:** The question is :

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,68,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of ‘Other Scientific Departments’.”

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 56—EDUCATION.

**Mr. President:** The question is :

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 11,84,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of ‘Education’.”

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 57—MEDICAL SERVICES.

**Mr. President:** The question is :

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,13,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of ‘Medical Services’.”

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 58—PUBLIC HEALTH.

**Mr. President:** The question is :

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,59,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of ‘Public Health’.”

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 59—AGRICULTURE.

**Mr. President:** The question is :

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 9,49,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of ‘Agriculture’.”

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 60—IMPERIAL COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH  
DEPARTMENT.

**Mr. President:** The question is :

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,42,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of ‘Imperial Council of Agricultural Research Department’.”

The motion was adopted.



## DEMAND No. 61—CIVIL VETERINARY SERVICES.

**Mr. President:** The question is :

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,02,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of ‘Civil Veterinary Services’.”

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 62—INDUSTRIES.

**Mr. President:** The question is :

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,48,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of ‘Industries’.”

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 63—AVIATION.

**Mr. President:** The question is :

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,72,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of ‘Aviation’.”

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 64—COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE AND STATISTICS.

**Mr. President:** The question is :

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,60,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of ‘Commercial Intelligence and Statistics’.”

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 65—CENSUS.

**Mr. President:** The question is :

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,79,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of ‘Census’.”

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 66—EMIGRATION—INTERNAL.

**Mr. President:** The question is :

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 23,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of ‘Emigration—Internal’.”

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 67—EMIGRATION—EXTERNAL.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,69,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Emigration—External'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 68—JOINT STOCK COMPANIES.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,14,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Joint Stock Companies'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 69—MISCELLANEOUS DEPARTMENTS.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,40,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Miscellaneous Departments'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 70—INDIAN STORES DEPARTMENT.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,01,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Indian Stores Department'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 71—CURRENCY.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 45,32,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Currency'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 72—MINT.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 21,60,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Mint'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 73—CIVIL WORKS.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,82,15,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Civil Works'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 74—SUPERANNUATION ALLOWANCES AND PENSIONS.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 58,30,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Superannuation Allowances and Pensions'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 75—STATIONERY AND PRINTING.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 39,40,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Stationery and Printing'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 76—MISCELLANEOUS.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 10,12,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Miscellaneous'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 76-A —EXPENDITURE ON RETRENCHED PERSONNEL CHARGED TO REVENUE.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 19,25,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Expenditure on retrenched personnel charged to Revenue'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 77—REFUNDS.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 84,12,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Refunds'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 78—NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,00,18,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of ‘North-West Frontier Province’.”

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 79—BALUCHISTAN.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 27,00,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of ‘Baluchistan’.”

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 80—DELHI.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 44,32,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of ‘Delhi’.”

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 81—AJMER-MERWARA.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 13,53,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of ‘Ajmer-Merwara’.”

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 82—ANDAMANS AND NICOBAR ISLANDS.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 31,49,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of ‘Andamans and Nicobar Islands’.”

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 83—RAJPUTANA.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,19,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of ‘Rajputana’.”

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 84—CENTRAL INDIA.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,88,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Central India'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 85—HYDERABAD.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,71,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Hyderabad'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 85-A —ADEN.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,17,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Aden'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 86—EXPENDITURE IN ENGLAND—SECRETARY OF STATE.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 19,16,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Expenditure in England—Secretary of State for India'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 87—EXPENDITURE IN ENGLAND—HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 23,35,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Expenditure in England—High Commissioner for India'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 88—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON SECURITY PRINTING.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Security Printing'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 89—FOREST CAPITAL OUTLAY.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Forest Capital Outlay'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 90—IRRIGATION.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Irrigation'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 91—INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 23,13,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Indian Posts and Telegraphs'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 93—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON CURRENCY NOTE PRESS.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Currency Note Press'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 94—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON VIZAGAPATAM HARBOUR.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 55,52,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Vizagapatam Harbour'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 95—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON LIGHTHOUSES AND LIGHTSHIPS.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Lighthouses and Lightships'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 96—COMMUTED VALUE OF PENSIONS.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 31,28,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of ‘Commuted Value of Pensions’.”

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 96-A—EXPENDITURE ON RETRENCHED PERSONNEL CHARGED TO CAPITAL.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 23,00,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of ‘Expenditure on retrenched personnel charged to Capital’.”

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 98—INTEREST-FREE ADVANCES.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 66,34,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of ‘Interest-free Advances’.”

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 99—LOANS AND ADVANCES BEARING INTEREST.

**Mr. President:** The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 12,71,31,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment, during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1933, in respect of ‘Loans and Advances bearing interest’.”

The motion was adopted.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, the 23rd March, 1932.