

Tuesday, 22nd September, 1936

THE  
COUNCIL OF STATE DEBATES

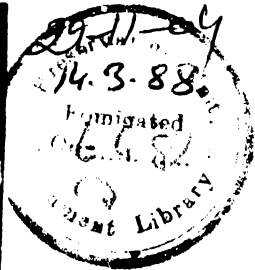
VOLUME II, 1936

*(21st September to 17th October, 1936)*

TWELFTH SESSION

OF THE

THIRD COUNCIL OF STATE, 1936



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# CONTENTS.

PAGES.

**Monday, 21st September, 1936—**

Address by His Excellency the Viceroy to the Members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly . . . . .	1—6
Members Sworn . . . . .	6
Death of Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain . . . . .	6—14

**Tuesday, 22nd September, 1936—**

Members Sworn . . . . .	15
Questions and Answers . . . . .	15—35
Message from His Excellency the Governor General . . . . .	35
Committee on Petitions . . . . .	36
Congratulations to recipients of Honours . . . . .	36—37
Governor General's Assent to Bills . . . . .	37—38
Resolution re relief to flood-stricken areas of the United Provinces— Negatived . . . . .	38—48
Resolution re Central Board of Public Health—Withdrawn . . . . .	49—51
Resolution re League of Nations—Adopted . . . . .	52—52
Resolution re prevention of the growth of communism—Moved . . . . .	53

**Monday, 28th September, 1936—**

Member Sworn . . . . .	85
Questions and Answers . . . . .	85—99
Congratulations to the Honourable Mr. M. G. Hallett on his appointment as Governor of Bihar . . . . .	99—102
Resolution re prevention of the growth of communism—Adopted . . . . .	102—40
Resolution re manufacture of cement by Government as a State monopoly—Withdrawn . . . . .	140—46
Resolution re lowering of grazing rates—Withdrawn . . . . .	147—53
Control of Coastal Traffic of India Bill—Motion to circulate, adopted . . . . .	153—57

**Wednesday, 30th September, 1936—**

Questions and Answers . . . . .	159—75
Statements laid on the table . . . . .	175—92
Bill passed by the Legislative Assembly laid on the table . . . . .	193
Congratulations to Mr. T. A. Stewart on his appointment as a Member of the Executive Council of the Governor General . . . . .	193—94
Resolution re new railway station at Hardwar—Adopted . . . . .	194—202
Resolution re cheaper milk and ghee for urban areas—Adopted . . . . .	202—10
Resolution re popularisation of the use of quinine among the masses— Withdrawn . . . . .	211—15
Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill (Amendment of section 406)—Motion to consider, negatived . . . . .	215—37
Durgah Khwaja Sahab Bill—Motion to consider, moved . . . . .	238
Statement of Business . . . . .	239

**Tuesday, 6th October, 1936—**

Members Sworn . . . . .	241
Questions and Answers . . . . .	241—52
Constitution (Amendment) Bill—Considered and passed . . . . .	252—73

	Pages.
<b>Wednesday, 7th October, 1936—</b>	
Member Sworn . . . . .	375
Questions and Answers . . . . .	375—89
Statement laid on the table . . . . .	289
Durgah Khwaja Saheb Bill—Considered and passed . . . . .	390—323
Resolution <i>re</i> application to India of the Poison Rules of Great Britain— Negatived . . . . .	324—28
Resolution <i>re</i> recommendations of the Tariff Board on the Cotton Industry —Adopted . . . . .	328—34
Resolution <i>re</i> advance of long-term credit to zemindars—Negatived . . . . .	334—47
Resolution <i>re</i> further contribution from the British Exchequer to defence expenditure in India—Withdrawn . . . . .	347—51
Resolution <i>re</i> protection to Indian-bred race horses—Negatived . . . . .	351—66
Statement of Business . . . . .	367
<b>Friday, 9th October, 1936—</b>	
Member Sworn . . . . .	373
Questions and Answers . . . . .	373—75
Statements laid on the table . . . . .	375—76
Motion for Adjournment <i>re</i> harmful effect to Indian trade due to de- valuation of Continental currencies—Not moved . . . . .	375
Bill passed by the Legislative Assembly laid on the table . . . . .	376
Statement of Business . . . . .	376—77
<b>Monday, 12th October, 1936—</b>	
Members Sworn . . . . .	379
Questions and Answers . . . . .	379—81
Bill passed by the Legislative Assembly laid on the table . . . . .	381
Indian Companies (Amendment) Bill—Motion to consider, adopted . . . . .	381—436
<b>Tuesday, 13th October, 1936—</b>	
Questions and Answers . . . . .	437—38
Bills passed by the Legislative Assembly laid on the table . . . . .	439
Indian Companies (Amendment) Bill—Considered and passed . . . . .	439—94
Bill passed by the Legislative Assembly laid on the table . . . . .	494
Statement of Business . . . . .	494—95
<b>Thursday, 15th October, 1936—</b>	
Short Notice Question and Answer . . . . .	497
Indian Tea Cess (Amendment) Bill—Considered and passed . . . . .	497—500
Geneva Convention Implementing Bill—Considered and passed . . . . .	500—01
Indian Rubber Control (Amendment) Bill—Considered and passed . . . . .	501—02
Bangalore Marriage Validation Bill—Considered and passed . . . . .	502—03
Indian Tea Control (Amendment) Bill—Considered and passed . . . . .	503—04
Red Cross Society (Allocation of Property) Bill—Considered and passed . . . . .	504—05
General Clauses (Amendment) Bill—Considered and passed . . . . .	505
Chittagong Port (Amendment) Bill—Considered and passed . . . . .	505—06
Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Bill—Considered and passed . . . . .	506—13
<b>Saturday, 17th October, 1936—</b>	
Questions and Answers . . . . .	515—16
Short Notice Question and Answer . . . . .	516—17
Death of Sir Lalubhai Samaldas . . . . .	517
Statement laid on the table . . . . .	517—18
Messages from the Legislative Assembly . . . . .	518
Durgah Khwaja Saheb Bill—Amendments made by the Legislative Assembly agreed to . . . . .	518—20
Farewell Speeches on the dissolution of the Third Council of State . . . . .	520—43

# COUNCIL OF STATE.

*Tuesday, 22nd September, 1936.*

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

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## MEMBER SWORN :

The Honourable Mr. George Hemming Spence, C.I.E. (Legislative Secretary).

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## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** I propose to allow the questions fixed for yesterday to be answered today and then we will take today's question. The rest of yesterday's list of business will stand till the next official day.

### IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA.

**1. THE HONOURABLE MR. JAGADISH CHANDRA BANERJEE :**  
(a) Are Government aware that the Imperial Bank of India in its different branches ; particularly at Narayanganj, Bengal, has entered into unfair competition with the other indigenous banks of the locality since the establishment of the Reserve Bank of India ?

(b) Are Government aware that the Imperial Bank has started indiscriminate rate-cutting in order to ruin the business prospects of smaller Indian banks which are working all over India and especially at Narayanganj, Dacca, a very big jute market ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. J. C. NIXON :** With the permission of the Honourable President I shall answer questions Nos. 1 to 4 together.

Government have no information. The matters referred to in the questions are within the powers of the Imperial Bank and Government have no power to interfere unless there is reason to believe that the provisions of the Imperial Bank of India Act are being contravened.

### IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA.

**2. THE HONOURABLE MR. JAGADISH CHANDRA BANERJEE :**  
Will Government be pleased to state :

- (a) How many branches have been opened by the Imperial Bank of India in Bengal since the establishment of the Reserve Bank of India ?

(b) Are they regular branches of the Imperial Bank ?

(c) Is it a fact that at Narayanganj, Bengal, the Imperial Bank of India has recently started a "Gudee" (a business shop of the old Indian style) at Netaiganj, the Indian business quarter, and has started rate-cutting in the sale of the Bank Drafts ?

(d) Are Government aware that the establishment of the "Gudee" of the Imperial Bank at Netaiganj and at several other places is interfering with the usual business of the other local banks ?

(e) Are Government aware that the rate-cutting by the Imperial Bank may end in the disastrous effect of ruining Indian banks and Indian business ? If not, do they propose to make immediate enquiry into the matter ?

(See reply to question No. 1.)

#### IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA.

3. THE HONOURABLE MR. JAGADISH CHANDRA BANERJEE :  
Are Government aware that the officers of the Imperial Bank of India have taken recourse to intensive canvassing and personal appeal from door to door among the Indian business people at Narayanganj, Mirkadim and other places ?

(See reply to question No. 1.)

#### IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA.

4. THE HONOURABLE MR. JAGADISH CHANDRA BANERJEE :  
(a) Is it a fact that the Imperial Bank of India is not maintaining a uniform schedule of rates in all its branches ? If not, why not ?

(b) Will Government be pleased to lay on the table a detailed schedule of rates in force in the different branches of the Imperial Bank ?

(See reply to question No. 1.)

#### PERCENTAGE OF APPOINTMENTS FIXED FOR MUHAMMADANS IN THE VARIOUS POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS CIRCLES.

5. THE HONOURABLE MR. JAGADISH CHANDRA BANERJEE :  
(a) What is the percentage of Muhammadan appointments in the Postal Service throughout the different provinces ?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state whether this percentage has been maintained in the Postal Service in Bengal ?

(c) Is it a fact that in the different postal districts of Bengal appointments have been made on the basis of different communal ratios ?

(d) Are Government aware that in the District of Dacca 71 per cent. of the appointments were given to Muhammadans till very recently ?

(e) Is it a fact that to keep this communal ratio intact non-Muhammadans appointed not only temporarily but also permanently, were discharged to accommodate Muhammadan candidates in the vacancies created by their discharge ?

(f) If the answer to the above be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state whether they contemplate taking any steps to rectify the situation ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. G. CLOW : (a) I lay on the table a statement showing the percentage of appointments now fixed for Muslims in the various Posts and Telegraphs Circles.

(b) Recruitment has been made strictly on the percentage in force.

(c) Yes, appointments were so made previously, but under the revised orders since issued a separate set of percentages appropriate to each Postal Circle has been prescribed as indicated in the statement I lay on the table.

(d) Yes.

(e) Owing to his not having received the revised orders of Government, the Postmaster of Dacca made one appointment which was not in accordance with these orders, and the clerk so appointed was subsequently discharged.

(f) The Director General, Posts and Telegraphs, proposes to provide for the discharged employee when a suitable vacancy occurs.

*Statement showing the percentage of appointments now reserved for Muhammadans in the various Posts and Telegraphs Circles referred to in part (a) of the reply.*

Circle.					Percentages reserved for Muslims.
Bengal and Assam	..	..	..	..	41-2/3
Bihar and Orissa	..	..	..	..	16-2/3
Bombay	..	..	..	..	12-1/2
Central	..	..	..	..	8-1/3
Madras	..	..	..	..	8-1/3
Punjab and N. W. F.	..	..	..	..	50
United Provinces	..	..	..	..	16-2/3
Sind and Baluchistan	..	..	..	..	58-1/3

INDIAN HOSTEL AT JERUSALEM.

6. THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR HAJI ISMAIL ALI KHAN : With reference to my starred question No. 40, dated 7th September, 1931, in the Legislative Assembly will Government kindly state :

(i) What amount of contribution has been received by the Supreme Muslim Council of Palestine from India to construct the new blocks of the building of Indian Hostel at Jerusalem ?

(ii) Whether it is a fact that the Indians in Jerusalem are not consulted in any way by the Supreme Council in connection with this new construction ?

(iii) Whether it is a fact that Indians are not allowed to see the accounts of that building ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR BERTRAND GLANCY : (i) £P (Pound Palestinian) 1179 302 Mills, the equivalent of which is Rs. 15,775-10-0 in Indian currency.

(ii) Responsibility for construction, including auditing of accounts, control of expenditure and issue of receipts has been entrusted to the local Awqaf Committee with whom is associated a Special Committee of local notables including the Sheikh of the Indian Zawieh, Hassan al Ansari.

(iii) No official Indian body is reported to have applied to see the accounts.

#### PROTECTION OF INDIAN INTERESTS IN PALESTINE.

7. THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR HAJI ISMAIL ALI KHAN : (a) Are Government aware that an Indian Association of Palestine has been formed by the Indians in Palestine which is also recognised by the Government of Palestine ?

(b) Is there any representative of the "Indian Association" in the Supreme Council who can watch Indian interests ?

(c) If the answer to part (b) is in the negative do Government propose to take measures for the protection of the interests of Indians at Palestine ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR BERTRAND GLANCY : The information is being obtained and will be communicated to the House when received.

#### PREPARATION OF A MANUAL OF ELECTION, RULES, ETC., WITH REFERENCE TO THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

8. THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR HAJI ISMAIL ALI KHAN : When do Government propose to publish the new Election Manual under the new Government of India Act ?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD : So far as Provincial Legislatures are concerned the question of the preparation of such a Manual is one for the Provincial Governments themselves. As regards the preparation of a similar Manual for the Federal Legislature it can only be taken up after the electoral orders and rules relating thereto have been framed.

#### COMMERCIAL POSSIBILITIES OF THE MANUFACTURE OF POWER ALCOHOL FROM MOLASSES.

9. THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR : Will Government be pleased to state :

(a) Whether it is a fact that the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has turned down a suggestion of its Sugar Committee for starting an experimental factory to find out the commercial possibilities of power alcohol produced from molasses ? If so, the reasons for the same ?

(b) Whether the Committee of the Indian Sugar Mills' Association in a letter to the Secretary of the Council asserted that the conclusion arrived at

by the Council regarding the commercial possibilities of power alcohol industry is erroneous ?

(c) Whether it is a fact that in Mysore a refinery is manufacturing power alcohol of 96 per cent. strength with great success ?

(d) Whether it is a fact that in many countries the use of alcohol as motor fuel has been introduced under official regulations ?

(e) Whether Government are prepared to make an experiment in the conversion of molasses into power alcohol ? If not, why not ?

(f) Whether Government propose to permit private concerns to make an experiment referred to in part (e) ? If not, the reasons for the same ?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD : (a) Yes. Because a detailed examination of the question in the light of the more recent data available showed that the proposal was not economic and that power-alcohol could not compete with petrol extracted in India as a motor fuel unless it were subsidized.

(b) Yes.

(c) That is not power alcohol.

(d) Yes.

(e) No, for the reasons stated in reply to part (a).

(f) This question, which raises important revenue problems, is under consideration.

#### METALLED ROAD TO ROSHAN CHIRAG, DELHI.

10. THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR HAJI ISMAIL ALI KHAN : (a) Are Government aware that Roshan Chiragh, Delhi, is an important historical place at Delhi where many pilgrims go to pay their respect at the Tomb of Hazrat Nasiruddin ?

(b) Is it a fact that the road to Roshan Chiragh, Delhi, is unmetalled and that no suitable conveyance can pass through this road ?

(c) If the answer to part (b) is in the affirmative do Government propose to construct a proper metalled road to Roshan Chiragh, Delhi ?

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

(b) The tomb is connected with the Delhi-Mehrauli metalled road by a *kacha* path about two miles in length, which passes through several villages. Government have no information as to the suitability of this path for vehicular traffic.

(c) Government are not aware that any special inconvenience is caused to the public for want of a metalled road. The path referred to is private property and the cost of converting it to a public metalled road would be unduly high. Government do not therefore propose to take up this question.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : To whom does this path belong ?



THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD : I have said it is private property. I do not know the name of the owner. I must ask for notice of that question.

TELEPHONE EXCHANGE AT BULANDSHAHR.

11. THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR HAJI ISMAIL ALI KHAN : When do Government propose to open a Telephone Exchange at the headquarters of the Bulandshahr District, United Provinces ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. G. CLOW : A telephone exchange will be opened at Bulandshahr when sufficient subscribers are forthcoming to justify the expenditure ; so far only two have come forward in spite of canvassing.

TERMINATION OF THE LIFE OF THE PRESENT LEGISLATURE, ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FEDERAL LEGISLATURE AND HOLDING OF ELECTIONS TO THE COUNCIL OF STATE UNDER THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

12. THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR HAJI ISMAIL ALI KHAN : Will Government kindly state :

(i) When the life of the present Indian Legislature will terminate ?

(ii) When the Federal Legislature will begin ?

(iii) When the election of the Council of State will take place under the new Federation ?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD : (i) On the establishment of the Federation.

(ii) and (iii). I am not at present in a position to furnish the information asked for by the Honourable Member.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Do I understand that until Federation comes there will be no election to the Council of State ?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD : I take it, Sir, that the term " Legislature " includes both the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. The life of the present Council of State will terminate shortly as announced by His Excellency but I cannot say when the life of the Legislative Assembly will terminate. All I know is that, whenever Federation comes, whatever Central Legislature is in existence at the time, its life will automatically terminate.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : Has any programme been made out in connection with the election to the Council of State ?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD : I think the matter is under correspondence with the Local Governments and I believe the dates will soon be announced.

CORONATION OF HIS MAJESTY THE KING EMPEROR.

13. THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR HAJI ISMAIL ALI KHAN : Will Government kindly state when His Majesty the King Emperor will visit India and when will the Coronation take place in Delhi ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. G. HALLIETT : No decision has yet been taken in the matter.

**PAYMENT OF MUNICIPAL WATER AND DRAINAGE TAX IN RESPECT OF THE SOLAR PHYSICS OBSERVATORY BUILDINGS, KODAIKANAL.**

14. THE HONOURABLE SIR DAVID DEVADOSS: (a) Have Government been paying municipal water and drainage tax in respect of the Solar Physics Observatory buildings in Kodaikanal and, if so, for how long?

(b) Are Government aware that the reservoir constructed by the Municipality for supplying the town with water is more than 150 feet below the level of the Observatory buildings and the houses of the Director, Deputy Director and staff?

(c) Is it a fact that the Municipal Council has made no attempt to supply water to the Observatory buildings for the last 25 years?

(d) Have Government objected to the levy of water and drainage tax?

(e) Is it a fact that some of the houses of the Observatory staff depend for their water supply upon wells which occasionally dry up during the hot season?

(f) Do Government propose to take any action in the matter and, if so, when, and what?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. G. CLOW: (a) Yes, since 1911.

(b) The Observatory grounds are at a higher level than the municipal reservoir; I do not know the exact difference in height.

(c) It is a fact that municipal water has never been supplied to the Observatory buildings and quarters in the past. A scheme for supplying water was devised by the Municipality in 1932 but it involved a contribution by the Government of India, and the matter was not pursued owing to the financial stringency then prevailing.

(d) The reply is in the affirmative. A representation was made to the Madras Government in 1922. While regretting their inability to exempt from the water and drainage tax any of the buildings situated in the old municipal limits, that Government exempted from payment of water tax those buildings which were subsequently brought within the municipal limits.

(e) Yes.

(f) The Director, Kodaikanal Observatory, has again addressed the Municipality in the matter and their reply is awaited.

**ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS AT KORKAI, MADRAS PRESIDENCY.**

15. THE HONOURABLE SIR DAVID DEVADOSS: (a) Are Government aware that Korkai was the capital of South India in the time of Alexander the Great and that Megasthenes, the Ambassador to the Court of Magada, visited it about 300 B.C.?

(b) Is the village of Korkai in the Tinnevely District on or near this site of the ancient Korkai?

(c) Are Government aware that excavations on the site of Korkai may throw considerable light on the history of South India?

(d) Are Government aware that old coins are being picked up in and around Korkai after the surface soil has been washed away by heavy rains ?

(e) Will Government be pleased to consider the desirability of making excavations on the site of Korkai in order to obtain valuable archæological information ?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD : (a) Korkai is said to have been the capital of the early Pandyas, but it is not known whether it was the capital of South India in the time of Alexander the Great or whether Megasthenes visited it about 300 B. C.

(b) Yes, the actual site is believed to be the village of Marumangalum near Korkai.

(c) This is possible, though it is understood that there are more promising sites.

(d) No, but they have made enquiries from the Local Government.

(e) Government will bear the Honourable Member's suggestion in mind. As he is aware, the excavation work of the Archæological Department has had to be greatly curtailed for financial reasons and is not likely to expand until the finances of the Government of India improve.

STEPS TAKEN BY GOVERNMENT FOR THE TAKING OVER OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE BENGAL AND NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY.

16. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA : Will Government be pleased to state what steps are being taken to take over the administration of the Bengal and North-Western Railway in view of the decisions of the Legislative Assembly ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL : The question is still under the consideration of Government.

BRIDGES DAMAGED BY FLOODS ON THE BENGAL AND NORTH-WESTERN AND EAST INDIAN RAILWAYS.

17. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA : (a) How many bridges have been damaged on the Bengal and North-Western Railway and East Indian Railway owing to recent floods in the United Provinces ?

(b) How long will it take to repair and renew them and at what cost ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL : (a) One bridge on the Bengal and North-Western Railway and two bridges on the East Indian Railway.

(b) The bridge on the Bengal and North-Western Railway was repaired in six days at a cost of approximately Rs. 28,000 and the two bridges on the East Indian Railway will take about nine months to renew and will cost approximately Rs. 12,000.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** Does that include the recent floods on the Grand Chord ?

**THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL :** No, this was over three weeks ago.

FLOODS IN THE UNITED PROVINCES.

**18. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA :** (a) Is Government aware of the unprecedented floods in the United Provinces, causing destruction of crops, animals and men and collapse of thousands of houses ?

(b) Do Government propose to allot Rs. 50 lakhs towards the relief of flood-stricken people ?

**THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD :** (a) There have been severe floods in the United Provinces.

(b) Government's position will be explained in connection with the Resolution which is to be moved on the same subject today.

EXCISE DUTY COLLECTED ON KHANDSARI SUGAR.

**19. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA :** (a) Will Government be pleased to state the amount of excise duty collected on Khandsari sugar during the year ending 31st March, 1936 ?

(b) Is it a fact that excise duty was collected on about 4,600 tons only against a total estimated production of over a lakh of tons ?

(c) Is Government aware that a few pan factories in the United Provinces were caught red-handed by Sugarcane Inspectors and prosecutors but were let off with only a warning ? If so, why ?

(d) Will Government be pleased to state how many such factories were prosecuted and let off by warning and how many were required to pay excise duty ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. J. C. NIXON :** (a) Rs. 60,000.

(b) Yes.

(c) and (d). Enquiries are being made and replies to these parts of the question will be laid on the table in due course.

SUPPLY OF WAGONS FOR THE TRANSIT OF MOLASSES AND SUGARCANE BY THE BENGAL AND NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY.

**20. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA :** (a) Will Government be pleased to state what steps have been taken for the supply of molasses tank wagons and of trucks on the Bengal and North-Western Railway for transit of sugarcane to sugar factories ?

(b) Is Government aware that there are no molasses tank wagons on the Bengal and North-Western Railway except those owned by Molasses Export Company ?

(c) Do Government propose to remove the above disadvantages of the greatest number of sugar factories situated on the Bengal and North-Western Railway ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL : (a), (b) and (c). In order to assist the sugar industry to dispose of its surplus molasses and as an inducement to the Indian Molasses Company to operate in this part of India, the Bengal and North-Western Railway agreed to the purchase of 150 second-hand underframes which were available in Java. These underframes were fitted with molasses tanks or containers which were, and remain, the property of the Indian Molasses Company. These tanks are available for traffic between factories and storage tanks at Paleza Ghat, Samaria Ghat and Mokameh Ghat.

Two hundred wagons suitable for the carriage of sugarcane were ordered last year and an additional 400 have been ordered this year.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA : Are Government aware that this Company has established a kind of monopoly and dictates its own prices to the mills ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL : The Indian Molasses Company started this traffic and unless some other company comes in with a similar offer to the Bengal and North-Western Railway, so far as I can see the Indian Molasses Company must have a monopoly.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA : Will the Government be pleased to draw the attention of the Bengal and North-Western Railway to the necessity of having their own wagons to supply for transit of molasses so that the monopoly should not be with this Company ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL : A copy of this question and the Honourable Member's supplementary questions will be sent to the Bengal and North-Western Railway.

#### RESULTS OF GOVERNMENT'S EXPERIMENTS OF MANUFACTURE OF ALCOHOL FROM MOLASSES.

21. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA : What are the results of Government's experiments of manufacture of alcohol out of molasses and how much longer will it take for them to come to a definite conclusion ?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD : No experiments have been made by Government for the reasons explained in reply to part (a) of the Honourable Mr. Kaliker's question No. 9 of today's date.

#### FREE SUPPLY OF MILK TO SCHOOL CHILDREN.

22. THE HONOURABLE RAJA SIR RAGHUNANDAN PRASAD SINGH : Will Government be pleased to say :

(a) What steps do they propose to take for giving effect in India to His Excellency the Viceroy's advice for the free supply of good milk to school children in municipal areas ?

(b) How many dairy farms, under Government control or otherwise, are there in each province in British India and where each is located? and

(c) What steps, if any, have they so far taken to prevent the slaughter of good cows and she-buffaloes throughout British India with a view to increasing the supply of pure milk and ghee?

**THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD:** (a) The Honourable Member will understand that the supplying of milk to children in municipal areas is a matter within the discretion of the municipal bodies themselves and that the great majority of municipal bodies in India lie within provincial limits. The main directions in which effect can be given by the Government of India to His Excellency's advice is, therefore, by doing whatever is possible to increase and improve the milk-producing breeds of cattle. Both of these are being pursued.

(b) According to information available there are 484 dairies in India, and a list in which the location of each is given has been placed in the Library of the House. Many of these so-called dairies, however, do not keep cows and merely act as retailers of milk and milk products.

(c) The slaughter of cows and she-buffaloes is a problem primarily in our big cities and is, therefore, municipal. In Bombay, Calcutta and Madras for example, it is understood that the following action is being taken.

The milk supply in Bombay is almost entirely from buffaloes and in view of the expense and difficulty of obtaining high-yielding buffaloes, more and more are being taken back to grazing areas by their owners or dealers. The movement is being assisted by a charge of Rs. 15 which is now being made on every buffalo slaughtered at Bandra slaughterhouse and by the reduction in railway freight for the transportation of dry cow-buffaloes to breeding areas. Attempts are being made in Bombay to allot an area outside the city for dairying and fodder production and for the development of a milk supply from outside areas where normal dairy farming can be carried on, the cows being regularly bred from, as long as they will breed, and the calves reared under normal healthy conditions. Action on the same lines in respect of Calcutta is under consideration. Most of the milk consumed in the Madras City is obtained from cows, many of which are maintained in city byres, but a considerable number of these are now taken back to Nellore for breeding purposes under a concession rate of Rs. 10 per cow.

#### STANDARDIZATION OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

23. **THE HONOURABLE RAJA SIR RAGHUNANDAN PRASAD SINGH:** Will Government be pleased to say what steps they have taken towards standardization of weights and measures throughout British India? What are the standard weights and measures at present in vogue in the different provinces?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. H. DOW:** The Honourable Member is referred to the Report of the Weights and Measures Committee, 1913-14, a copy of which is in the Library, and to the Resolution of the Government of India No. 9, dated the 3rd January, 1922, published in the Supplement to the Gazette of India of the 7th *idem*, embodying the conclusions of the Government

of India on the Committee's recommendations. The Honourable Member will see from that Resolution that, generally speaking the Government of India left it to the Local Governments to take such action as they thought advisable for the standardization of weights and measures. From the enquiries made by them in 1927, the Government of India found that considerable progress had been made by the Provincial Governments in this direction. Some of the Local Governments, *e.g.*, Bombay, the Central Provinces and Coorg, have enacted legislation for the standardization of weights and measures, while most of the other Local Governments have taken executive action for the standardization of weights based on the Indian Railway standard.

As regards the latter part of the question, Government have no more complete and up-to-date information than I have just given and what is contained in the documents to which I have referred.

**MAINTENANCE BY THE POSTMASTER GENERAL OF THE BENGAL AND ASSAM CIRCLE OF A LIST OF APPROVED CANDIDATES FOR CLERICAL APPOINTMENTS.**

24. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY : (a) Will Government please state whether the Postmaster General of the Bengal and Assam Circle maintains a list or lists of approved candidates for clerical appointments for recruitment by all the Postal Superintendents of his Circle ?

(b) Will Government please lay on the table of this House statements showing separately the names of approved candidates for clerical appointments as they stood at the end of the official year 1934-35 in the registers for such candidates in the Postal Divisions of

(i) Rangpur, (ii) Mymensingh, (iii) Jalpaiguri and (iv) Midnapore ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. G. CLOW : (a) No.

(b) As I have stated in answer to part (a), no such list is maintained even by the Postmaster General and neither my Department nor the Director General's Office has these particulars. I understand, however, that the Director-General is taking steps to collect the information and if the Honourable Member desires to see the names, that officer will be prepared to show the lists when they have been received.

**DEPUTATION OF APPROVED CANDIDATES TO THE CENTRAL TELEGRAPH TRAINING CLASS, CALCUTTA, FOR TRAINING IN TELEGRAPHY.**

25. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY : (a) Is it a fact that the Postmaster General of the Bengal and Assam Circle asked the Postal Superintendents twice during the official year 1935-36 to depute approved candidates for training in telegraphy in the Central Telegraph Training Class of Calcutta ? If so, will Government please state whether the Superintendent of Post Offices of Rangpur, Mymensingh, Jalpaiguri and Midnapore Divisions deputed the required number of candidates from the register of approved candidates maintained in their respective Divisional Offices ?

(b) Is it a fact that the Superintendent of Post Offices, Jalpaiguri Division, deputed to the Telegraph Training Class, Calcutta, six candidates at the first time and four candidates at the second time ?

(i) How many of these ten candidates were from the register of approved candidates of his division ?

(ii) How many were outsiders ?

(iii) How many in each batch of candidates were Hindus ? And

(iv) How many were Muslims ?

(c) Is it a fact that of the six candidates deputed to the Telegraph Training Class, Calcutta, by the Superintendent of Post Offices of Jalpaiguri Division there was not a single Muslim candidate or a candidate from the other minority communities ? If so, why ?

(d) Is it a fact that two Hindu candidates were again deputed at the second time when four candidates were sent to the Telegraph Training Class ?

(e) Will Government please state whether the selection of candidates made by the Superintendent of Post Offices of Jalpaiguri Division was in conformity with the Government Order regulating recruitment of candidates for clerical appointments in the Rajshahi Revenue Division ? If not, why not ?

(f) Will Government please state whether the approved candidates whose names were borne on the register of approved candidates of the Jalpaiguri Division prior to the deputation of ten candidates for the Telegraph Training Class, Calcutta, will have priority in getting appointments in the clerical cadre ?

(g) Will Government please state how many of the senior candidates mentioned above officiated or acted as clerks in postal service and for what period ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. G. CLOW : (a) The answer to the first part is in the affirmative. Government have not the particulars referred to in the second part.

(b) Yes.

(c) to (g). Government have no information, but a copy of the question has been sent to the Director General for such action as he may consider suitable. As it would seem that these parts of the question are based on a misunderstanding regarding the position, I might add that the deputation of a candidate to a telegraph training class does not constitute his appointment to Government service and consequently is not governed by the rules relating to recruitment for employment in Government service on a communal basis. The appointment of trained candidates to vacancies in the Department is subject strictly to the rules relating to recruitment on a communal basis.

THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY : With regard to the answer to question No. 25, part (e), will the Government please state if the Home Department orders for appointment can be operated if recruitment of candidates is not made according to the rotation prescribed by the Home Department ? Who is responsible for this disregard of the Home Department order ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. G. CLOW : So far as I am aware, there has been no disregard of Home Department orders. In my answer to that part



of the question, I tried to explain the difference between sending approved candidates who are not in Government service for a training class and actual recruitment. When the actual recruitment takes place, the communal orders apply, and those are strictly observed.

THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY : As I understand the Home Department order as prescribed has been misconstrued.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Order, order. You are not to argue. If you have any question to ask, do so.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Is there any cost to Government for training these people ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. G. CLOW : Yes.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Then if approved candidates are not available according to the communal proportion will not that have the effect of stopping recruitment ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. G. CLOW : In order to obtain approval you don't need to attend this training class. You are put on the list of approved candidates before being sent to the training class, and I believe attendance at the training class is optional and the qualification obtained there does not affect the recruitment at a later stage.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Am I to take it that appointments can be made of untrained men ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. G. CLOW : Yes, untrained in this particular matter. The test on which recruitment is based does not, I understand, comprise this particular element of the training.

RECRUITMENT OF CANDIDATES FOR CLERICAL APPOINTMENTS IN THE POSTAL DEPARTMENT AND PREFERENCE ACCORDED TO RELATIONS OF DEPARTMENTAL OFFICIALS, ETC.

26. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY : (a) Is it a fact that there was a Government Order that in making recruitment of candidates for clerical appointments in the Postal Department preference should be given to the relations of departmental officials, pensioners or deceased employees ?

(b) Is it not a fact that two of the four candidates deputed to the Telegraph Training Class at the second time by the Superintendent of Post Offices, Jalpaiguri Division, were relations of the two clerks of his own office at Jalpaiguri ?

(c) Will Government please state whether there were other candidates being close relations of the postal employees of the Jalpaiguri Division working outside the Superintendent's Office ? If so, why were they not selected ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. G. CLOW : (a) Yes, subject to the fulfilment of the conditions regarding the fitness of the candidate and the adjustment of communal inequalities. The order is still in force.

(b) and (c). I have no information regarding the relationships of the candidates, but a copy of the question will be sent to the Director General for such action as he may consider necessary. I would add, however, that the order referred to in the first part of the question has no bearing on the deputation of candidates to a telegraph training class as such deputation does not constitute recruitment to an appointment.

LEGISLATION FOR THE STATUTORY RAILWAY BOARD.

27. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA : Will Government be pleased to state when the legislation for the Statutory Railway Board will be brought forward before the Indian Legislature ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL : Such legislation can only be undertaken after the Federal Railway Authority has been set up.

PROBABLE DATE OF THE INAUGURATION OF THE FEDERATION.

28. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA : (a) Will Government be pleased to state the approximate time for the introduction of the Federal Legislature under the Government of India Act ?

(b) Is it likely to be introduced in 1938 ?

(c) If the answer to part (b) is in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state whether the Council of State elections are being held for the sake of a year and a half only ?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD : (a) and (b). It is impossible to forecast at this stage the probable date of the inauguration of the Federation.

(c) Does not arise.

APPOINTMENT OF INDIANS TO SUPERIOR POSTS IN THE FOREIGN AND POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

29. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA : (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether Indians will be appointed to posts of responsibility and power in the Political Department when it is separated from April, 1937 ?

(b) If the answer to part (a) is in the affirmative what will be their ratio in comparison to non-Indians ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR BERTRAND GLANCY : (a) Indian members of the Foreign and Political Department are eligible for all appointments on the cadre of that Department. No change is anticipated from April, 1937.

(b) Does not arise.

INDIAN EDUCATION IN KENYA AND UGI.

30. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA : Will Government be pleased to state what percentages of the

expenses on education are spent on Europeans and Indians by the Kenya and Fiji Governments ?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD : In Kenya, 28·5 per cent. of the provisional allotment for education in 1933 was for European education and 20·8 per cent. for Indian education. In Fiji, 15·5 per cent. of the net cost to Government on education in 1934 was incurred on European education and 29·8 per cent. on Indian education. These are the latest years for which information is available.

#### INDIANS IN KENYA AND FIJI.

31. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA : What is the proportion of Indian and European inhabitants in Kenya and Fiji ?

(b) Is it a fact that the Governments of the above Colonies have given definite assurances of equality of treatment ?

(c) If the answer to part (b) is in the affirmative has Government pressed this point ? If not, do they propose to do so now ?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD : (a) In Kenya, Europeans formed 0·57 per cent. and Indians 1·13 per cent. of the total estimated population as on the 31st December, 1934. In Fiji, Europeans formed 2·41 per cent. and Indians 42·18 per cent. of the estimated population on the same date.

(b) No.

(c) The ideal of the Government of India is that Indians in the Dominions and Colonies should have equality of status with other classes of His Majesty's subjects, and it is their constant endeavour to ensure realisation of this ideal where such equality does not exist.

#### *Manchester Guardian's* REPORT ABOUT COTTON PIECEGOODS TRADE POSITION.

32. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA : Has the attention of Government been drawn to the following passage of the report published in the *Manchester Guardian* :

“ Almost without exception, shippers to India have had a doleful tale to tell. The few telegrams that have been received have contained offers that have been hopelessly out of range. Unimportant lots of dyed goods, medium mulls, prints, and fancies have been booked, generally at cut prices, and mostly for the Karachi and Amritsar Markets, but the total has been negligible.

It cannot be said that the Indian situation is viewed with any degree of confidence.” ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. DOW : The answer is in the negative. The Honourable Member has not given particulars of the date of publication of the report referred to by him and Government are unable to trace it.

RETRENCHMENT ON RAILWAYS.

33. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA : (a) Is it a fact that proposals for the retrenchment of personnel on the railways are under contemplation ?

(b) If so, do Government propose to keep in view the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee about five years back, specially the principle of "equality of sacrifice" enunciated therein ?

(c) Is it the intention of Government to make 10 per cent. cut on the salaries of higher staff and to withdraw Lee concessions side by side with retrenchment of lower staff on the principle of "equality of sacrifice" ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL : (a) and (b). Adjustment of the numerical strength of categories in establishments to current requirements is proceeding involving in some cases the discharge of surplus staff.

(c) No.

GRANT TO PROVINCES FOR EDUCATION.

34. THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA : Has the attention of Government been drawn to the following passage in his address to the Convocation of Bombay University by the Acting Governor His Excellency Sir Robert Bell :

"Society and the State want more than proficient members of the professions, they want more than scholars, they want intelligent members of Society, well qualified to take their places in public life and to supply it with its leaders." ?

(b) What steps do Government propose to take to develop education in India for fulfilling the principle enunciated by His Excellency in the above passage ?

(c) Are Government prepared to give substantial grants to the provinces for diffusion of education ?

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD : (a) The text of the address referred to has not been received but Government have seen press reports.

(b) The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the resolution of the Central Advisory Board of Education on unemployment and educational reconstruction, a copy of which I lay on the table. The resolution was forwarded to Local Governments, and with regard to (6) of the resolution they were asked whether expert advice in organising the scheme of reconstruction recommended by the Board was desired. Practically all Local Governments have asked for such assistance and the Government of India are trying to secure it.

(c) The Honourable Member is no doubt aware of the constitutional position. Education is a provincial subject.

## CENTRAL ADVISORY BOARD OF EDUCATION.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE FIRST MEETING OF THE CENTRAL ADVISORY BOARD OF EDUCATION HELD IN NEW DELHI ON DECEMBER 19TH AND 20TH, 1935.

(i) *Unemployment and educational reconstruction.*

(1) While conscious of the great debt which is due to the education hitherto provided in India and of the part played by universities in promoting higher study and research and in training men and women for the service of India, the Board is of opinion that the following considerations, among others, necessitate a new attitude towards educational problems :

- (a) the increasing desire among educationists and others to bring about changes in the educational system in view of the altered conditions of life ;
- (b) the growing volume of unemployment among the educated classes ;
- (c) the emphasis laid on a purely literary form of instruction in schools ;
- (d) the inadvisability of too frequent examinations ;
- (e) the large number of 'over-age' pupils in the senior classes of high schools ;
- (f) the increasing number of students in universities, who are unable to benefit by university instruction and, in consequence, the difficulty in making satisfactory provision for the better qualified students and for research ;
- (g) the need of developing training of a more practical type than at present and of making provision for such training, especially for those with little or no literary bent, and of adjusting it to the scheme of general education ;
- (h) the advisability of developing a suitable scheme of rural education, by which boys and girls in rural areas shall be given such training as would develop in them a capacity and desire for the work of rural reconstruction ;

(2) The Board is of opinion that a radical readjustment of the present system of education in schools should be made in such a way as not only to prepare pupils for professional and university courses, but also to enable them, at the completion of appropriate stages, to be diverted to occupations or to separate vocational institutions.

(3) These stages should be :

- (a) *The primary stage*, which should aim at providing at least a minimum of general education and training and will ensure permanent literacy.
- (b) *The Lower secondary stage*, which will provide a self-contained course of general education and will constitute a suitable foundation either for higher education or for specialised practical courses.

In rural areas, the courses at this stage should be attuned to rural requirements. Some form of manual training at this stage should be provided, which would aim at the development of practical aptitudes, and be made compulsory.

- (c) *The higher secondary stage*, in which would be included institutions with varying length of courses ;
  - (i) preparing students for admission to universities in arts and science ;
  - (ii) for the training of teachers in rural areas ;
  - (iii) for agricultural training ;
  - (iv) for clerical training ; and
  - (v) for training in selected technical subjects which should be chosen in consultation with employers.

Where separate institutions are not possible for the diversified courses, some of them might be incorporated in a higher secondary course of enlarged scope which would permit a choice of alternative groups of subjects and would end in leaving certificates.

(4) At the end of the lower secondary school course there should be the first public examination.

(5) Candidates desirous of joining the subordinate, clerical services of Government and of local bodies should pass such qualifying examinations as might be prescribed by proper authority and should not be more than 19 years of age at the date of their examination.

The certificates granted to pupils completing other specialised courses should receive Government recognition.

(6) Expert advice would be of value in organising the scheme of reconstruction outlined above; and also for suggesting methods of training masters who would assist pupils and parents in the selection, by the pupils, of courses of study with due regard to their aptitudes.

(7) Each province should organise Employment Bureaux for the purpose of advising students and of eliciting support and guidance of employers interested in the problem.

(8) Every local Government should actively explore the possibility of finding new avenues of employment and occupation.

#### CONVENIENCES OF THIRD CLASS PASSENGERS AT HARDWAR STATION, EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

35. THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: (a) Is Government aware that Hardwar is one of the most important centres of pilgrimag in India?

(b) Is Government aware that the Advisory Committee, appointed by the United Provinces Government, for the improvement of Hardwar has made, from time to time, several representations in regard to the conveniences of third class passengers?

(c) What action, if any, has been taken to implement the recommendations of the Advisory Committee?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL: With your permission, Sir, I propose to reply to this and questions Nos. 36 to 39 together.

The question of accommodation at Hardwar was discussed by the Divisional Superintendent with certain gentlemen, among whom was a representative of the Improvement Advisory Committee. Certain proposals were made, and these were considered on the spot by the Chief Operating Superintendent, as a result of which improvements are to be started this year.

Government are not aware of the situation regarding the inter class waiting room, but this was, no doubt, considered at the time when the whole question was discussed. It is proposed to widen the down main platform and turn the existing goods shed platform into an island platform, after which the existing island platform will be removed. These alterations will necessitate the provision of a new overbridge.

The question of providing shelter on the platform and overbridge is under consideration. It is also proposed to improve the entrance to the station.

Owing to the considerable cost of these proposals it is proposed to carry them out gradually.

REMODELLING OF HARDWAR STATION, EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

36. THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: (a) Will Government please state whether the East Indian Railway do not propose to spend any sum of money on the remodelling of the Hardwar station? If so, what are the reasons for not providing a station for Hardwar?

(b) Do Government now propose to undertake to make the necessary improvement of the present station? If not, why?

(See reply to question No. 35.)

INTER CLASS WAITING ROOM, HARDWAR STATION, EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

37. THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: (a) Is Government aware that the stationmaster's house has been converted into an inter class waiting room at Hardwar and that this waiting room is at a considerable distance from the station platform?

(b) Are Government aware that this causes great inconvenience to the inter class passengers entraining and detraining at this station?

(c) Will Government state whether they propose to build a suitable inter class waiting room for ladies and gentlemen at this important station?

(See reply to question No. 35.)

PLATFORM AND OVERBRIDGE AT HARDWAR STATION, EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

38. THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: (a) Is Government aware that both the platform and the overbridge are unprotected at Hardwar and that all classes of passengers have to go over the island platform and the overbridge to the exit, and that this causes great inconvenience to them during the rainy season?

(b) Do Government propose to provide any suitable protection on the platform and overbridge?

(See reply to question No. 35.)

PARKING SPACE FOR MOTOR CARS, ETC., AT HARDWAR STATION, EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

39. THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: (a) Is Government aware that there is no place in the station limits at Hardwar for the halting of tongas, lorries and motor cars?

(b) Is Government aware that as a result of this passengers have to walk long distances through congested roads?

(c) Will Government be pleased to consider the provision of a suitable circulating area for the convenient movement of passengers inside the station limits?

(See reply to question No. 35.)

HARDWAR STATION, EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

40. THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: Will Government be pleased to state:

(a) The date when Hardwar station on the East Indian Railway was built, together with its cost?

(b) The date when alterations and additions were made together with the cost for each alteration or addition?

(c) The average number of passengers per day during the first year of the opening of the Hardwar station?

(d) The average earning of the station during the first year?

(e) The average number of passengers per day during 1934 and 1935?

(f) The average earning during 1934 and 1935?

(g) The particulars of alterations and additions made to the station building during the days of *melas* along with cost per *mela*? and

(h) The earnings of the station from *melas*.

THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL: (a) Hardwar station was built in 1886. The cost is not available.

(b) to (d). The information is not available.

(e) Figures are available only for the financial year 1934-35 and are as follows:

Daily average inwards passengers	.. ..	1,200
Daily average outwards passengers	.. ..	1,100

(f) Only the earnings of local outwards traffic from Hardwar during the financial year 1934-35 are obtainable and amount to Rs. 3,26,391 or an average of Rs. 894 per day.

(g) and (h). The information is not available.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Is it a fact that this Railway is giving a return of 9 per cent. on its invested capital?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL: I am afraid I must ask for notice of that question. I do not know.

MESSAGE FROM HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I have a Message to give to you from His Excellency. The Message runs thus:

PANEL OF CHAIRMEN.

"In pursuance of the provisions of sub-section (2) of section 63A of the Government of India Act, I, Victor Alexander John, Marquess of Linlithgow, hereby nominate the following Members of the Council of State to be on the Panel of Chairmen of the said Council of State:

In the first place, the Honourable Sir Phirze Sethna; in the second place, the Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das; in the third place, the Honourable Saiyed Mohamed Padshah Sahib Bahadur; and lastly, the Honourable Sir David Devadoss.

SIMLA,

The 18th August, 1936.

LINLITHGOW,

Viceroy and Governor General."

(The Message was received by the Council, standing.)



## COMMITTEE ON PETITIONS.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** Under Standing Order 76 of the Council of State Standing Orders, I am required at the commencement of each session to constitute a Committee on Petitions consisting of a Chairman and four Members. The following Members have at my request kindly consented to preside over and serve on the Committee. I accordingly have much pleasure in nominating as Chairman of the Committee the Honourable Raja Charanjit Singh and as Members, the Honourable Khan Bahadur Syed Abdul Hafeez, the Honourable Sir David Devadoss, the Honourable Mr. Satyendra Chandra Ghosh Maulik, and the Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala Jagdish Prasad.

## CONGRATULATIONS TO RECIPIENTS OF HONOURS.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** Honourable Members, it is the customary privilege of the President of the Council to offer on behalf of Honourable Members their congratulations and his own to Honourable Members who have been the recipient of Honours in the last Birthday Gazette. You are aware that the honour of Knighthood has been conferred on our Honourable friend Raja Sir Raghunandan Prasad Singh. (Applause.) He is well known to all of you as a comparatively old Member of this Council which he joined in 1930, that he is a highly respected Zemindar in Bihar and his munificence has been on a very large and liberal scale. His charity in his Province has been exemplary and this great honour of Knighthood has been conferred on him by His Majesty on account of the appreciation of his good work and his munificence.

The next person to whom I wish to refer is the Honourable Mr. J. N. G. Johnson. (Applause.) You are all aware that the honour of C. S. I. has been conferred on him by His Majesty. He is the Chief Commissioner of Delhi and those who have watched the progress of Delhi during the last five years will be unanimously of opinion that Mr. Johnson has been one of the best Chief Commissioners of that province. (Applause.) He has laboured hard for the improvement and betterment of the Province and particularly of the old city of Delhi. He has identified himself with the aspirations of the citizens of Delhi and on all sides we have heard encomiums about his liberal and well-organised administration. Moreover, he has become exceedingly popular in Delhi and only eight days ago probably you have heard that he gained extra popularity by refusing to agree with the Municipality and others to raise the franchise in that city from Rs. 3 to Rs. 5. I congratulate on behalf of all of you the Honourable Mr. Johnson. (Applause.) The bestowal of this high honour is I think only a precursor of many other honours to follow.

The next name to which I wish to refer is the name of Mr. J. C. Nixon. (Applause.) He has also received the distinction of C. S. I. this year. He was in our Council for a few months some time ago and we have the good fortune of seeing him back here. He is a man who prefers to work quietly behind the scenes and many of you do not know what good work he has been actually

doing. He has been one of the financial pillars of the Government of India and it is a matter of common knowledge that the Niemeyer Report was based on the spade work which Mr. Nixon did in the Finance Department. (Applause.) It was his collaboration of facts and figures that enabled the Niemeyer Report to be at once so satisfactory and successful. I heartily congratulate him on behalf of the Council and on behalf of myself for the great distinction which has been bestowed on him and which he richly deserves.

The last name which I have to refer to is that of Rai Bahadur A. L. Banerjee, our Assistant Secretary. (Applause.) He has received the high distinction of the Imperial Service Order. He has been nearly 32 years in the Legislative Department of the Government of India. He is the repository of all knowledge, rules and regulations pertaining to the Legislative Department. It is an honour well earned by the Rai Bahadur and we are all very gratified that this distinction has been conferred on him. (Applause.)

THE HONOURABLE RAJA SIR RAGHUNANDAN PRASAD SINGH : (Bihar and Orissa : Non-Muhammadan) : I thank you, Sir, and the House for so kindly congratulating me on the honour of Knighthood conferred on me. I value the appreciation of my friends and colleagues much more than the honour itself.

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. N. G. JOHNSON (Chief Commissioner, Delhi) : Sir, I am most grateful both to you for the kind sentiments you expressed and to the Council for the manner in which they have received it.

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. C. NIXON (Finance Secretary) : Sir, I cannot do better than ask you to take what the Honourable Mr. Johnson said as applying also to myself.

RAI BHADUR A. L. BANERJEE : Sir, I feel greatly honoured by your kind reference to my honour and I thank you and the Honourable Members of this House for this reference and the way in which it was received.

#### GOVERNOR GENERAL'S ASSENT TO BILLS.

SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL : Sir, information has been received that His Excellency the Governor General has been pleased to grant his assent to the following Bills which were passed by the two Chambers of the Indian Legislature during the Delhi Session, 1936, namely :

The Italian Loans and Credits Prohibition Act, 1936.

The Salt Additional Import Duty (Extending) Act, 1936.

The Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act, 1936.

The Payment of Wages Act, 1936.

The Decrees and Orders Validating Act, 1936.

The Cochin Port Act, 1936.

The Indian Aircraft (Amendment) Act, 1936.

The Factories (Amendment) Act, 1936.

The Indian Lac Cess (Amendment) Act, 1936.

(Secretary of the Council.)

The Indian Tariff (Amendment) Act, 1936.

The Indian Mines (Amendment) Act, 1936.

The Indian Tariff (Second Amendment) Act, 1936.

## RESOLUTION *RE* RELIEF TO FLOOD-STRIKEN AREAS OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

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

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to allot Rs. 50 lakhs towards the relief of flood-stricken people of the United Provinces."

The Resolution does not require much elaborate dealing from me, because Honourable Members of the House have been reading in papers what has happened in the United Provinces by the floods. Before I go into the details of the Resolution, I would like to submit that when I sent notice of the Resolution the floods in Bihar and the Punjab had not occurred, and therefore I confined my Resolution to the United Provinces alone. I notice an amendment from my colleague hailing from Bihar and I welcome it. Considering the financial aspect of the question, if the Government is prepared to distribute proportionately out of this Rs. 50 lakhs to the United Provinces, Bihar and the Punjab according to the losses incurred in those provinces I shall have no objection.

Now, Sir, I leave Bihar and the Punjab to the Members hailing from those provinces to deal with in connection with this Resolution. I will confine myself to what has happened in the United Provinces. The extent of damage caused by floods in the United Provinces is unprecedented. Thousands of lives have been lost by being swept away by the currents or buried under debris by the collapse of houses. Millions of livestock perished for want of food. Thousands of houses have collapsed, burying people with their belongings. Tens of millions of acres of land have become uncultivable and reduced to practically waste land with the destruction of the total crop on it. *Kharif* has been totally destroyed and as the water is still found in some of the fields and others are very wet, no preparation can be made for *rabi*. So the poor agriculturists have lost both *kharif* and *rabi* for the year. People have lost every belonging and been reduced to paupers in this area, without money, food or even clothing, and they cannot shortly rebuild their houses or arrange for ploughing their fields or sowing their seeds for the next crops. They are practically living on the bounty and generosity of public-spirited men and have nothing of their own to fall back upon. There can be no greater work of humanity at present than to give relief to the flood-stricken people of the United Provinces. Sir, I have got a number of photos with me from which Honourable Members can see that villages have been reduced to islands or submerged under water and boats are plying in the well-populated streets and lanes of the cities. Important lanes have become bathing

places and people cross the roads in boats when they go to the Lucknow University. The Chief Court of Lucknow was surrounded by water and a boat was provided at one of its corners. The Agra Province Zemindar Association, Allahabad, was surrounded by water kneedeep, and so were many other buildings in Allahabad, Jaunpur, Lucknow, and several other districts. Sir, the greatest damage was done in Gorakhpore where out of six tehsils five were in flood. About 1,500 villages were under water with 25,000 square miles of land affected by the flood in that district. I am giving most of the figures from the communiques issued by the Collectors and Commissioners of these districts. In Ballia 400 villages were affected by the floods with about 100 square miles of land. In Lucknow we find from the Deputy Commissioner's communique that 5,000 houses collapsed in the city alone excluding the suburbs and about 130 villages were affected with 30,000 acres of land. In Unao, according to the Deputy Commissioner's communique, 423 villages and 153,384 acres of land were under water. In the Kumaon Division, the floods came late owing to a heavy fall of rain and swept away the Harijan colony of Bamroli altogether and there is no trace of the colony in that place. The roads have been converted into ravines and many other villages have been swept away owing to landslides. Other districts affected were Ballia, Shahjahanpur, Sitapur, Benares and Mirzapur. In Mirzapur there was 22 inches of rain in 12 hours, and in a part of Benares 18 inches of rain in 12 hours and you will feel pity to hear that one primary school in my district collapsed with about 22 children and the teacher who was taking classes. In my town, Sir, the normal rainfall is 38 inches but this year we have had 50 inches above the normal rainfall. This is the condition in the United Provinces owing to the floods which I have briefly described. It is the bounden duty of the Government of India to set up a committee of inquiry of experts to find out the causes and remedies for the floods as they have done in the case of famine. In the case of famine, by better irrigation, more introduction of railways, co-operative societies, development of lands, they have greatly helped to reduce their occurrences. Now famines have been converted into floods and it is up to Government to set up an inquiry committee and devise means and discuss and inquire into such questions as soil erosion, buildings on a better plan and on a higher site, making embankments on low lands by the side of rivers, and a study of the history and economics of floods on the lines of that on famines, and so forth.

Before I proceed to the next point, I would like to acknowledge with thanks the help rendered by officials and non-officials in support of the flood-stricken areas in saving thousands of lives in villages. Official and non-official agencies combined on this occasion and rendered all possible help to save lives and livestock. Private organisations like the Gita Press at Gorakhpore and the Boy Scout and the Seva Samiti volunteers opened numerous relief centres and distributed food and clothes to thousands of flood-stricken people. The Gita Press, to its great credit, was distributing food for days together to 10,000 people every day at the centre and sending food into the interior for about 20,000 people. The public has also generously contributed to the Flood Relief Fund formed in these districts. Many zemindars have come forward to take up the task of rebuilding the houses in their own villages. All possible

[Rai Bahadur Lala Mathura Prasad Mehrotra]

efforts have thus been made locally both by the public and the Government of the United Provinces. The Government also gave Rs. 30,000 on this critical occasion for immediate relief and they are making inquiries to find out the extent of the damage done to crops so that they may give remissions in rent and revenue, and also distribute *takavi* loans. All this is not enough in the face of this disaster. Therefore, I, as representing the flood-stricken province, have come up to the Government of India to seek their help also. A pertinent question may be asked, "Why should the Government of India come forward to help a Provincial Government in such a matter?" I submit that the United Provinces Government had a deficit budget last year and they are expecting a greater deficit this year as stated by the Honourable the Finance Member of the United Provinces. If you add losses on account of floods, the deficit will be greater, because they will have to remit land revenue to the extent of several lakhs. Therefore, it is not possible for the United Provinces Government to shoulder all the expenses in such a calamity. The public have already contributed generously and the zemindars and business men are expecting very little income this year because their source of income has been stopped. Therefore, I am afraid that they will not be able to contribute as much as is demanded by the situation.

Now, let us examine the position of the Government of India whom I am requesting to contribute Rs. 50 lakhs for this purpose. It is the primary duty of every civilised Government to help its people at times of such calamities. Secondly, Sir, the Government of India had a surplus budget during the last two years, and according to the statement of the Honourable the Finance Member, they are expecting a surplus this year.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Where did the Finance Member make that statement?

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA: During the last Budget speech, Sir, besides, what is Rs. 50 lakhs to the Government of India when they budget for about Rs. 90 crores and when they can well afford to spend crores on objects of lesser importance in comparison to such calamities? I think there is absolutely no reason why the Government of India should not help our province at such a critical juncture. We all know, Sir, that the Pusa Institute was transferred in the teeth of opposition at the cost of lakhs. We all know, Sir, that last year, about Rs. 90 lakhs—I speak subject to correction—was set apart for Civil Aviation. For so many unimportant objects they spend lakhs and crores. I submit that this calamity of the United Provinces is more important than some of the objects I have related. I would even submit that the money can come from the Rural Development Reserve Fund established by the Government of India. I think there is still more than a crore in that Fund. If the land has become a waste, what will there be to develop? What will the Public Health Department do in recommending these homeless creatures to have ventilators in their houses when they have no houses, and to have mosquito curtains, etc.? That money can very well be utilised in the development of the land, in providing these helpless creatures with houses.

with capital, with seeds and with manures, and after that, the question of development on the lines laid down can be thought of. I will go further and request the Government to borrow money and help these flood-stricken people if they cannot find money anywhere else. The present necessity is greater than many others. Money is very cheap nowadays. It was only the other day the United Provinces Government floated a loan of Rs. 2 crores at 3 per cent. at par, and in about half an hour applications to about Rs. 5 crores were received. So, if money cannot be found from any other source, it can be borrowed and these people can be helped out of it.

Now, Sir, the floods are subsiding but there is a still greater danger ahead in the spread of malaria and cholera in epidemic form. If adequate measures are not taken, and they require money, I am afraid that these diseases will again levy a heavy toll on humanity in the flood-stricken areas. Moreover, the winter season is setting in and what will these creatures with no houses and no clothes do?

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** Please confine yourself strictly within the four corners of your Resolution, which refers to flood-stricken people only, and do not deal with malaria and other subjects.

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA :** Malaria and cholera are likely to come out of these floods. Thousands will die in the winter season if they are not provided with adequate shelter and clothing. So money is required for those objects very urgently. The floods in this respect are a greater calamity than earthquakes.

12 NOON.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** You have said all that before.

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA :** I am developing the point, Sir. In earthquakes people lose their lives all at once, but in floods people are dying a miserable and slow death from starvation and want of clothing, and if the Government of India could help Bihar and Quetta with crores of rupees at the time of earthquakes, as they ought to have done, it is their bounden duty now to come forward and help the flood-stricken areas of the United Provinces, Bihar and the Punjab. (*An Honourable Member:* "Why not Bengal?") Let the Honourable Member put up his case. As the time at my disposal is very short now I will close my remarks with an appeal to the Honourable Leader of the House. In conclusion I will appeal to the Government of His Excellency Lord Linlithgow, who has already shown his solicitude for the agriculturist and the poor, and the Honourable Leader of the House, who is himself a big agriculturist and hails from the province which is the worst affected by floods which have devastated it three times during a short period of three months, to accept my Resolution and grant Rs. 50 lakhs for mitigating the sufferings of the flood-stricken, down-trodden and dumb millions of His Majesty's subjects who have largely contributed to the coffers of the Government in the maintenance of the fabric on which the whole administration is based. I hope and trust my appeal will have the desired effect both on the Treasury Benches and

[Rai Bahadur Lala Mathura Prasad Mehrotra.]

the non-officials who have sought the suffrage of these people and come to this House as their representatives.

With these words, Sir, I move my Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA SIR RAGHUNANDAN PRASAD SINGH (Bihar and Orissa : Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I move my amendment :

“That the words ‘ and of Bihar ’ be added at the end of the Resolution.”

I am glad that my friend the mover of the original Resolution has already accepted my Resolution and I hope the House will also accept the same.

Sir, I need not dilate on the havoc created by the flood in my province of which detailed reports have appeared. Apart from the suffering caused to the people by the collapse of their houses, most of the crops standing in the field and stored in houses have been washed away. The condition of the cattle is most deplorable as most of the fodder has been destroyed by the flood. Most of the villages on the banks of a river are over-flooded and people who are rendered homeless have to take shelter either on trees or on high lands and railway lines. Several villages are submerged under water and a number of them were marooned. Most of the flood-stricken villagers have lost their cattle and seeds with the help of which they could have again fallen back on their occupation of agriculture. Sir, I must say that all organisations and even individuals did come forward to render help to these unfortunate people but that was not enough for the situation. The resources required to rehabilitate them is enormous and such resources can only be available from the State. The Government of Bihar, I must say, have done and are doing their best but, Sir, the Government of my province is generally run at a deficit and as such the financial resources necessary for rehabilitating the villages in Bihar is far less than what was required to meet the purposes of relief. Unfortunately my province has been visited by floods not once but twice this year and therefore the House will better imagine the harrowing condition of the flood-stricken people. The Central Government which has got vast resources at its back can justly be expected to come forward with financial aid and our demand, too, is a modest one. I join issue with the mover of the original Resolution and request the Government of India to grant a suitable amount to the Government of Bihar as well for rendering all necessary help to the people of the flood-stricken areas.

Sir, I am pretty certain that if the help which is most needed is rendered now, it will go a great way to re-establish the loyalty of these people to the Government. I take this opportunity also of appealing to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General who is ever ready to help the distressed to come to the rescue of these unfortunate people.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: The original Resolution was :

“That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to allot Rs. 50 lakhs towards the relief of floods-stricken people of the United Provinces ”

To which an amendment has been moved :

“That the words ‘ and of Bihar ’ be added at the end of the Resolution.”

The debate will now proceed both on the original Resolution and on the amendment.

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab : Non-Muhammadan) :** The Punjab also has suffered from floods and I owe a duty to my constituency in pressing the case of the Punjab.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** But you have not given notice of an amendment.

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS :** If you will kindly allow me to move an amendment I should like to include the Punjab along with Bihar. I hope Honourable Members will have no objection to my amendment even though I have not given due notice. My amendment is :

“That the words ‘and of the Punjab’ be added to the end of the Resolution.”

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** You have not given the usual notice, but as the matter is very small I am prepared to permit you to move the amendment if the Government Member has no objection.

**THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD (Education, Health and Lands Member) :** Sir, I have no objection but I really have no information about the Punjab at all and therefore I shall not be able to give any reply to my Honourable friend's observations. That is my only objection. If he is prepared to be content with his own speech and to no reply from me as regards the Punjab, I have no objection.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** In view of those circumstances I cannot allow your amendment.

**THE HONOURABLE SRIJUT HERAMBA PROSAD BARUA (Assam : Non-Muhammadan) :** I wish also to move an amendment to include Assam.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** There will be a similar objection and I disallow it.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. JAGADISH CHANDRA BANERJEE (East Bengal : Non-Muhammadan) :** I beg to move an amendment, Sir.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** I disallow that also.

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS :** Sir, I heartily support the Resolution which has been so well moved by my Honourable friend Rai Bahadur Mathura Prasad Mehrotra. The request there being a modest one I think will be accepted by the Government. Whenever there is any small rising on the Frontier Rs. 50 lakhs is the minimum amount which the Army Department generally spends and in the way in which money is found for such expeditions money can also be found for flood relief. In the Punjab, Sir, although my amendment has been disallowed, I might mention for the information of the House as well as of the Government that due to very heavy floods, particularly in the river Ravi, the districts of Lahore and Sheikhupura have suffered very badly and if my information is correct as many as 58 villages have been affected and some washed away altogether. The flood visited these unfortunate villages at midnight and in the case of village Trandji in the Sheikhupura district the people had to save their lives



[Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das.]

by the use of boats at midnight and they lost their all. Sir, an inquiry into the causes of the flood is necessary. Some of the reasons which led to these floods in the Punjab are perhaps known to the Government. One of them is the denuding of forests which led to the instantaneous rush of water from the hills to the plains and thus caused very heavy floods. The second reason is training works and it was mostly due to the training works of the Ravi bridge that in the Shahdara tehsil of the Sheikhpura district the greatest damage was done. The Irrigation Department have made protective works for their channels and the unfortunate villages which came in between the canal and the river Ravi also suffered the most and in particular on the Upper Chenab Canal in the Shahdara tehsil of the Sheikhpura district. The saving of the irrigation channel resulted in the destruction of villages. I wish, Sir, that an enquiry be made and remedial steps taken and that the modest sum of Rs. 50 lakhs is allotted to the three provinces, the United Provinces, and equity demands to Bihar and the Punjab as well.

With these words, Sir, I support the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR NAWAB CHAUDRI MUHAMMAD DIN (East Punjab : Muhammadan) : Sir, the vagaries of the monsoon this year have been very marked. Whereas the United Provinces, Bihar, Bengal and Ravi villages in the Punjab have suffered devastation as the result of abnormal floods, Rajputana, Gujarat and Kathiawar are in the grip of the more drawn-out misery of famine. Although the September rains have mitigated the hardships to some extent, still the prospect is not free from anxiety. Our needy fellow-men in the affected areas are entitled to our sympathy. Sir Harry Haig has been doing his best for the distressed villages in the United Provinces and the Government of India should do what it can to render financial assistance to those provinces for the relief of the unfortunate people.

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD (Education, Health and Lands Member) : Sir, I hope I shall not be accused of a want of sympathy or of not realising the seriousness of the floods which have afflicted certain provinces if I do not deal with this Resolution in the picturesque way that has been adopted by the mover, my friend Rai Bahadur Lala Mathura Prasad Mehrotra. He gave us during the course of his discourse some astronomical figures of loss in the United Provinces. He said—I think I have taken down his words correctly—that thousands of lives were lost, that millions of livestock were swept away, and so on and so forth. Well, Sir, I saw the very detailed press communique which was issued by the United Provinces Government, dated the 24th of August, in which the whole flood situation in the United Provinces was reviewed, showing the loss both in life and in cattle and the damage done to crops as also the measures taken by the Local Government to relieve distress. Now the figures actually given by the United Provinces Government as regards loss of human life is only about 50 instead of thousands. These were due not to drowning but to the collapse of houses. As regards cattle, instead of millions the loss reported is 2,500 cattle. I am quite prepared to admit that a great deal of damage has been done to the *Kharif* crop, also that a large number of houses have collapsed. I am also prepared to admit that these

floods will cause a great deal of distress and that this distress is such that measures of relief are required. But the point that this House has to consider is whether the measures which have already been taken by the United Provinces are adequate, whether they have got themselves enough funds to meet the requirements of the situation and I hope before I have finished that I shall be able to prove to the House that the United Provinces Government have taken adequate measures and that they are fully prepared to meet any situation which may arise as a consequence of these floods. I understand from this press communique that they have already given over Rs. 30,000 for gratuitous relief, over Rs. 2 lakhs have already been distributed in loans, that they have given instructions to their forest officers to supply fodder and bamboo and fuel either free or at reduced cost. They have instructed their revenue officers to tour and report to the Government the extent of the damage caused to the crops and what relief is required as regards remissions of rent and revenue. Local relief committees have been formed in the areas which have been affected. Apart from this, my Honourable friend has probably forgotten that under the Devolution Rules there is such a thing as a Famine Relief Fund in the United Provinces. Under these rules the annual assignment which the United Provinces Government have to make to this Fund is Rs. 16 lakhs and the minimum amount they should have in the Fund is Rs. 55 lakhs. From the figures which we have received of the actuals on the 31st March, 1935, the United Provinces Government has in the Relief Fund Rs. 55.11 lakhs. So that any reasonable expenditure which we may expect in the future can certainly be met from this Fund. The Government have applied to the Indian Peoples' Fund of which I happen to be the Chairman and they have asked for a grant of Rs. 25,000 from that Fund. The meeting of the Fund will take place on the 3rd of October and I am sure that the request of the United Provinces Government for assistance from that Fund will be sympathetically considered.

As far as Bihar is concerned, there again they have got a Famine Relief Fund. Actually at the end of March, 1935 they had a sum of Rs. 18 lakhs in that Fund and the Bihar Government have also applied to the Indian Peoples' Fund and they have asked for a grant of Rs. 40,000 and they have based their request on the ground that about 8,000 houses had collapsed during the floods and they say that the rate of Rs. 5 per house for 40,000 houses is a reasonable demand for the Bihar Government to make. To show in some ways the unreality of this discussion, my Honourable friend started with a Resolution saying that Rs. 50 lakhs should be given to the United Provinces. An amendment was moved by the Member for Bihar and my Honourable friend, the Leader of the Opposition, wanted to bring in the Punjab as well. My Honourable friend, with a generosity which somewhat surprised me, said he was quite prepared to distribute this Rs. 50 lakhs, which he originally wanted for the United Provinces, proportionately between Bihar and the Punjab. Fortunately, the amendments of the Members from Bengal and Assam were ruled out of order, otherwise my Honourable friend would have equally been prepared to distribute the Rs. 50 lakhs among all the provinces in India if such an amendment had been moved! I do not think that my Honourable friend has established during the course of his remarks

[Kunwar Sir Jagdish Prasad.]

that the extent of the damage to the United Provinces is such that the Government of India should make an additional contribution of Rs. 50 lakhs to supplement the resources of the United Provinces Government. The United Provinces Government are fully aware of their responsibilities; they have taken adequate measures to deal with the situation, and I join with my Honourable friend in acknowledging the great work that was done by the local officials during the difficult times of the floods and by non-official agencies. They are quite prepared to meet the situation and we are satisfied that there is no need for the Government of India to share this responsibility with the Provincial Governments. I hope that the House will be satisfied that all that is possible is being done by the Provincial Governments concerned and that they need be under no apprehension that adequate measures will not be taken for the relief of the distressed.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA MATHURA PRASAD MEHROTRA : Sir, I regret to note that the Government of India is not prepared to help the United Provinces and other provinces during this calamity. I do not know, Sir, why the Government of India came forward to help the Bihar and Quetta sufferers at the earthquakes in those places. Obviously the Famine Relief Fund referred to by the Leader of the House was not meant for earthquakes and floods and why does he think that this can be applied in flood relief? I have not got the Devolution Rules at present with me, otherwise I would have shown that the Fund is especially earmarked for famine relief and not for these unprecedented calamities.

Then, Sir, the Honourable Leader of the House was pleased to refer to the United Provinces Government communique. Sir, in that communique they say that the calamity is widespread and it is not possible for the Government to shoulder the whole burden of loss unassisted. They have also said, Sir, that the great landowners and other citizens in the district of Oudh have come forward to rebuild their houses in their own villages. Further they say that there is a shortage of fodder for cattle and they will not get adequate fodder till the new grass springs up. So, Sir, what is to be done during this period? The reports that have been received are not complete. I may give two definite figures in which the loss of life comes to about 50 as given in the communique. Twenty-two children with their teacher lost their lives by the collapse of a primary school at a distance of 14 miles from my town. Six persons in the town itself died on account of the collapse of houses. That makes 28. The Government will not deny that the whole of the village of Bamroli consisting of 22 lives was swept away and none was saved. That brings up the figure to 50, not counting the loss in other districts and especially at Gorakhpore where five out of six tehsils have suffered in the floods. So, Sir, it is very difficult to rely on these figures when the calamity lasted for weeks together and the floods came not once or twice but three times in the United Provinces.

Sir, when the communique was issued there were also articles published in the *Leader* and other papers of the province that contradicted the reports received through Government agency and therefore, Sir, it is very difficult to rely on the actual figures given in the communique. The Government itself

has said that these are the facts as far as information is available, and you know, Sir, how difficult it is to get correct information at such times. I, Sir, do not think that the Local Government will be able to shoulder the unexpected burden that has fallen on them as mentioned in the communique. Of course, I do not know if they have approached the Government of India for help. But, Sir, I, as representing the province, thought it my duty to bring this Resolution forward and I hope the Members of this House will support it and see that it is carried by this House.

Sir, with these words, I commend my Resolution to the acceptance of the House.

**THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD:** Sir, there are two points to which I should like to reply before the Resolution is put to the vote. The first point raised by my Honourable friend is that the Famine Relief Fund could not be applied for the relief of damage caused by floods. I can assure my Honourable friend that it can be so applied. The second point was with regard to the statement made by the United Provinces Government that they could not, unassisted, meet the situation. Sir, I should be prepared to lay a copy of this communique on the table of the House, but if I may be allowed to complete the sentence, the sense in which these words were used are quite different from what my Honourable friend wishes to convey to the House. What the United Provinces Government said was:

“It is not possible for Government to shoulder the whole burden of relief unassisted by private charity and effort”.

They did not say that they cannot meet the situation except with the Rs. 50 lakhs or a proportionate share of it from the Central Government. I should like again to point out to the House that in discussing a matter of this kind, when a question is raised whether a particular communique issued by the United Provinces Government is correct or not, it is impossible for me here to be able to challenge a statement made by a Member on the floor of the House. I am sure there will be another meeting of the United Provinces Legislative Council before it is dissolved, some time in October or November next and I think that that would be the proper forum for a detailed discussion as to whether the various things done by the United Provinces Government were or were not adequate. So far as my information goes—and I can only rely on the information which we have received from the United Provinces Government and from their communiqués—we are perfectly satisfied that all that is possible has been done and will be done and that there is no need for any further assistance from the Government of India.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM (Bihar and Orissa Muhammadan):** On a point of information, Sir. Is the Honourable the Leader of the House prepared to assure us that if the United Provinces Government require some help from the Government of India, the Government of India will give the matter their sympathetic consideration?

**THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD:** That is a hypothetical question.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT:** In the exercise of my discretionary power, I will first put the original Motion to the Council.

[Mr. President.]

The Question is : that the following Resolution be adopted :

" This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to allot Rs. 50 lakhs towards the relief of flood-stricken people of the United Provinces."

The Council divided :

AYES—15.

Barus, The Honourable Srijiat Heramba Prosad.	Mehrotra, The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala Mathura Prasad.
Buta Singh, The Honourable Sardar.	Naidu, The Honourable Mr. Y. Ranganayakalu.
Ghazanfar Ali Khan, The Honourable Raja.	Padshah Sahib Bahadur, The Honourable Saiyed Mohamed.
Gounder, The Honourable Mr. V. C. Vellingiri.	Raghunandan Prasad Singh, The Honourable Raja Sir.
Hossain Imam, The Honourable Mr.	Ram Saran Das, The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala.
Jagdish Prasad, The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala.	Sapru, The Honourable Mr. P. N.
Kaliker, The Honourable Mr. V. V.	Suhrawardy, The Honourable Mr. Mahmood.
Maung Aye, The Honourable Captain.	

NOES—29.

Akram Husain Bahadur, The Honourable Prince Afsar-ul-Mulk Mirza Muhammad.	Ishrat Husain, The Honourable Saiyid.
Arthur, The Honourable Mr. C. G.	Ismail Ali Khan, The Honourable Kunwar Haji.
Ayyangar, The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Narasimha Ayyangar Gopalaswami.	Jagdish Prasad, the Honourable Kunwar Sir.
Banerjee, The Honourable Mr. Jagdish Chandra.	Johnson, The Honourable Mr. J. N. G.
Charanjit Singh, The Honourable Raja.	Menon, The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir Ramunni.
Choksy, The Honourable Khan Bahadur Dr. Sir Nasarvanji.	Muhammad Din, The Honourable Khan Bahadur Nawab Chaudri.
Clow, The Honourable, Mr. A. G.	Nixon, The Honourable Mr. J. C.
Commander-in-Chief, His Excellency the.	Noon, The Honourable Nawab Malik Sir Mohammad Hayat Khan.
Devadoss, The Honourable Sir David.	Pandit, The Honourable Sardar Shri Jagannath Maharaj.
Dow, The Honourable Mr. H.	Parker, The Honourable Mr. R. H.
Ghosal, The Honourable Sir Josna.	Ray of Dinajpur, The Honourable Maharaja Jagdish Nath.
Glancy, The Honourable Sir Bertrand.	Russell, The Honourable Sir Guthrie.
Hafeez, The Honourable Khan Bahadur Syed Abdul.	Sethna, The Honourable Sir Phiroze.
Haidar, The Honourable Khan Bahadur Shams-ud-Din.	Spence, The Honourable Mr. G. H.
Hallett, The Honourable Mr. M. G.	

The Motion was negatived.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : As the original Resolution has failed, the amendment also necessarily fails.

## RESOLUTION *RE* CENTRAL BOARD OF PUBLIC HEALTH.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT:** In view of the pronouncement made by His Excellency the Governor General yesterday, I hope you will be brief.

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

“ This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to constitute a Central Board of Public Health on the lines of the Central Advisory Board of Education for the purpose of co-ordinating and stimulating public health activities in the country.”

Sir, I did not realise when I gave notice of this Resolution that it would be the subject of an announcement by the respected head of the Government. If you will permit me to say so, Sir, His Excellency has been taking since his arrival in this country a great deal of interest in the development of services on which our future as a nation depends, and our thanks are due to him for the interest which he is taking in the development of these services. It has become unnecessary for me, in view of the announcement which was made by His Excellency yesterday, to make any long speech on this Resolution, but there are just a few points on which I should like to be enlightened, and there are also a few suggestions which I should like to make so that the Board might serve the purpose for which it is intended. I hope that in the constitution of this Board care will be taken to see that non-officials are given adequate and substantial representation.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM:** (Bihar and Orissa : Muhammadan) : A majority.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU:** As my Honourable friend says, a majority.

Then I should like to say that women should not be ignored in appointments to the Board. I think women can contribute a great deal to the discussion of public health questions and it will be good if we can have some of our sisters on this Advisory Board.

I should like to make a suggestion in regard to the location of research centres. We have a research centre at Kasauli, and if I read the announcement aright, it is intended to have a new research nutrition centre. I think these centres ought to be situated at central places, and when I speak of central places I have places like Delhi and Calcutta in mind. In Calcutta there is a large body of medical men and a big University, and places like Calcutta and Delhi which are central places would be more suitable than, say, a place like Kasauli. I hope the location of these research centres will be at central places like Delhi or Calcutta.

**THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA:** (Bombay : Non-Muhammadan) : Or Bombay !

**THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU:** Well, I do not mind Bombay, though it is a little far off from us in the United Provinces, and we of the United Provinces would certainly and definitely prefer Calcutta or Delhi.

**THE HONOURABLE SIR DAVID DEVADOSS:** (Nominated : Indian Christians) : What about Madras then ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU :** Madras is even further off.

Another direction in which we need to stimulate activities in this country is the campaign against malaria. I was alarmed to find from the Report of the Public Health Commissioner that a million deaths a year are due to malaria alone, that nearly 20 per cent. of the total death roll is attributable to malaria. There is urgent need for a nation-wide campaign against this curse of malaria and I hope that this Public Health Board will stimulate research and activity in regard to malaria.

It has always struck me that one of the defects of our education is that in our schools there is no teaching of nutrition and very little teaching of hygiene. Now, hygiene and nutrition are subjects which ought to be compulsory subjects in the primary and secondary stages of our education and I hope that the question of providing a place for them in school curricula will be taken up both by the Public Health Board and by the Central Advisory Board of Education.

Finally, I feel that we need educative propaganda in rural areas in regard to public health matters. It is necessary that there should be vigorous propaganda and I desire that the Board should devise some effective machinery for this propaganda.

Sir, I hope the Honourable Sir Jagdish Prasad will be able to enlighten us in regard to the constitution of the Board and on some of the points which I have raised.

I move my Resolution with these words.

**\*THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** Mr. President, before I commence my remarks on the Resolution itself, I should like to congratulate my Honourable colleague Mr. Sapru on his good fortune in having given notice of a Motion which was accepted before it was moved.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** Not accepted, but forestalled

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** It is a good fortune which I think has not been shared by any other Member of the Legislature so far.

As regards the constitution of the Board, I have only one word to say. The Government of India who form these Boards generally make their announcement of their composition without giving the Houses an opportunity to discuss the matter. I would request the Honourable Leader of the House, if it would not put him out, to place the scheme which he has in mind before the two Houses for discussion. Inasmuch as our votes and our resolutions are not binding on the Government, he will not in any case be inconvenienced thereby. But it would give us an opportunity of giving our opinion and perhaps we might be able to amend or modify in certain respects.

With these words, Sir, I support this Resolution.

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\*Not corrected by the Honourable Member.

**THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD** (Education, Health and Lands Member) : Sir, I should like to state for the information of the House that this question of having a Central Board of Public Health has been engaging the attention of the Government of India for a number of years. In 1921 they had a Central Board of experts, officials and non-officials, but unfortunately after meeting only once it was dissolved due to financial stringency. My distinguished predecessor, the late Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain, brought up the question again in 1927 and he thought that it was necessary to have in India itself some organisation which would co-ordinate the activities of provinces and do work similar to that which is done by the Health Section of the League of Nations for the different nations. Sir, really the credit for initiating this proposal belongs to the late Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain. Unfortunately after a great deal of discussion and after schemes had been prepared, the matter could not be proceeded with because of the lack of funds. Now, we are in the fortunate position of having accomplished what was thought of so many years ago. As regards the constitution of the Board, the matter is still under consideration, but I have no doubt that in its composition non-official opinion will certainly be most adequately represented. I should also think that in a matter like this we shall very carefully consider the suggestion made by my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru about having women on the Board. As regards the question of the location of the Research Institutes, it is a question of cost very often. We have laboratories in Kasauli ; we have invested a great deal of money there. So I cannot promise that we shall scrap these existing institutions and bring them to Delhi because that means very much additional expenditure. But in regard to the location of future Research Institutes, we shall consider all relevant points such as that the place should be accessible and should be in a central situation. The other point that was raised was that the House should be given an opportunity of discussing the scheme as a whole. The Assembly will certainly have an opportunity of knowing what the proposals are, because before the Board is constituted a certain amount of expenditure will be necessary and probably the scheme may have to go—I am not quite sure—to the Standing Finance Committee. Money will have to be voted by the Assembly, but I can assure Honourable Members that the records of the Government of India in regard to the constitution of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research and the other body, the Central Board of Education, is such as I hope will lead Honourable Members to think that what we shall do will not be unacceptable to them. That is all that I can say. I am very glad that it has been possible for us to have these three central organisations to co-ordinate activities, first of all the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research so far as agriculture is concerned, then we have the Board of Education so far as education is concerned and now we have got the Board of Public Health—a want which was keenly felt, and therefore I take it that my Honourable friend will withdraw the Resolution as what he wants has already been done.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU** : Sir, I ask for leave to withdraw the Resolution.

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



## RESOLUTION RE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM (Bihar and Orissa : Muham-  
madan) : Sir, I move :

“That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to give notice of withdrawal from the League of Nations on behalf of India and to stop forthwith payments of annual contribution.”

Before I commence my remarks on this Resolution, I wish to remove some misconception that might exist in the minds of my friends. It is already nearly three minutes to one and I shall therefore not take up too much of your time. Some of my friends might be under the misconception that my Resolution is an indirect support of the action taken by Italy, Japan and Germany, the States who have seceded from the League. But there is a world of difference between a man who is dismissed and a man who resigns. A man is dismissed because he has committed some crime or done something wrong. Germany and Japan have withdrawn from the League because they were aggressors, and the League would have turned them out if they had not left of their own accord ; while we are resigning from that body because we find that it is not fulfilling the objects for which it was formed and as it is not up to the mark. Then again, Sir, some designing person might misconstrue this Resolution as a disbelief of India in the ideal of world peace and security. That too, Sir, would be a wrong interpretation of my Resolution. No Indian can say that he does not believe in the ideal of peace and security. But it is one thing to have a belief in it, and altogether another thing to trust that those persons who are carrying on this work are doing it rightly with good intentions. If I may be pardoned, Sir, I might say it is like this ; that if we are shareholders in a company and we find that the managing agents are mismanaging it, there are two options open to us, either to dismiss the managing agents if we have the power to do it, or if we have not the power to do it (as is the present case in India as well as in the League of Nations), then the only course that we can adopt is to get out and to cut our losses as much as we can. It is with this view that I have brought forward this Resolution.

The League of Nations, as it was conceived by Dr. Woodrow Wilson was an ideal thing, was a thing which, if it had been honestly carried out, if it had been followed up in a spirit of sacrifice which it required, would have been of tremendous good to the world. It would have really outlawed war as the Kellog Pact tried to do. But even from the very conception of the League, the difference between the ideal and the actual began to take shape. To those people who are conversant with the history of the League of Nations, it is not necessary for me to point out that the League of Nations Commission (1919) interfered and intervened at every stage to change the picture as drawn by Woodrow Wilson until we had the finally approved plan as now existing. But I may point out two features of great importance. When France proposed at the time the League constitution was in a nebulous state that it should be endowed with an international army, the European bloc, with the exception  
of Great Britain, was in favour of it. Great Britain, in the  
person of Lord Cecil, prevailed upon Dr. Woodrow Wilson  
to veto this proposal. The result was that the League when it took shape was an ineffective body. Another question, Sir, which Japan brought forward was to recognise the equality of nations. A great majority of the people

composing the Commission were prepared to adopt this and at this stage Great Britain alone stood out and vetoed it. I have instanced just two things to shew that from the very beginning the League as conceived and as shaped differed greatly. When the League was formed, Sir, it started with a beat of drums and propaganda throughout the country and it received an ovation because the world at that time was sick of war. People realised then that brutality and barbarism were not dead yet, there was still very much of them left in the European continent, and the atrocities committed in the name of civilisation by submarine warfare or by means of aerial warfare were worse than anything barbarians had committed in past ages. With this realisation in the minds of the general public the ideal of a world peace and of world security was received with acclamation and ovation from every side. But the imperialistic powers who had the shaping of things in their hands tried from the very beginning to make the League and its Covenant indefinite, flexible, diplomatic, and experimental, instead of having what is required in dealing with human beings, *i.e.*, definite, logical and rigid.

The objects for which the League was formed were many but, if one may be allowed to select, *there were five main objectives for which the League was formed, in each and every one of which during the course of these 16 years, the League had proved to be a failure* except one, and that I shall deal with afterwards. *The first ideal* which the League had as embodied in Article 8 was *disarmament* and the subsidiary item in it of the nationalisation of the armament industry. I need not weary the House with a recital of all its failures from 1923 onwards. Suffice it to say that for the moment the armament race is growing stronger and stronger. No one asked the League the question whether armaments were being increased or whether the League gave its permission or not. The original compact was that whatever was decided would be decided for a period of ten years, and that if in the interval any power wanted to modify it, it would have to come before the League. That has not been applied by any power. Then, Sir, the question of the nationalisation of the armament industry has not been taken up in any country. There is only one solitary example in the whole world after the establishment of the League of a country that has nationalised the armament industry, and that is France. It did it in order to economise in its expenditure and not in pursuance of the League's policy. That, Sir, is one item. Even the small restriction in armaments that we had before the present race of armaments was due to unilateral or other pacts entered into by the other powers. For instance, the naval expenditure was reduced not under the auspices of the League but as a result of a gentleman's agreement in which powers outside the League participated. *The League has miserably failed in its first objective.*

Then, Sir, we come to the next point which the League had taken up, namely, *the prevention of war and the amicable settlement of disputes between the nations as laid down in Articles X to XVI.* The less said about that the better. The efforts of the League from the very commencement up to the present day have been, if I may be pardoned for saying so, disgraceful. Even from the very beginning, Sir, I can trace that wherever there have been successes those successes have been due to influences outside the League. Take, for

[Mr. Hossain Imam.]

instance, the first question that came up before the League, the quarrel between Albania and Serbia. That was decided amicably because indirectly France was interested in the cause of Serbia and Albania had Italy to back her. So in order to save these big powers from becoming embroiled the League of Nations intervened and made an amicable settlement. But when questions came up in which the big powers were not involved on both sides the League sat tight as it has done recently in the case of Italy and Abyssinia. This is what the League has been doing all along. Poland without any justification occupied Vilna. The League saw it and the League condoned it. Again, when Italy was the aggressor at Corfu, the League gave a lame excuse and condoned it because a big power was involved in it. And this sort of thing has been going on all along. My information is that about 35 disputes were referred to the League during these 15 or 16 years and many of them were of such a petty nature that they were settled without the intervention of the League by the parties themselves. And in some of them the League oppressed the parties who were in the right with the result that as they had no champion they sat down and accepted the unrighteous settlement. But we, Sir, do not belong to the Continent of Europe. We have to see what the League has done when it has had to deal with the cases of countries outside Europe. The South American wars are fresh in our minds. The League did nothing there. The League might say they were unable to do anything because they had accepted the Monroe Doctrine in Article 21. That is some sort of an excuse. Then we had these troubles of China with Japan, and Manchuko. There, the League took every step, they sent out commissions, they made inquiries, they did this and that. It did everything possible except taking effective steps to stop the quarrel, and their excuse was that the site of the war was far off and that the great powers who formed the main pillars of the League were unable to take part in that war. We saw that a country like China which had been a member of the League for so many years was robbed and bled white by another power without any of the machineries of the League like economic sanctions being resorted to. If they were not prepared to go to war, the least they could have done was to go in for sanctions as they did in the case of Italy.

The crowning shame is the question of Abyssinia *versus* Italy. I need not dwell on this at length because it is too fresh in our minds. One word will suffice. Abyssinia was sacrificed because it had belief in the League's potentialities. If Abyssinia had realised that the people who formed the League were not sincere in their promises, and that they had other axes of their own to grind, they could have settled their differences with Italy at the cost of parts of their country. But the European diplomacy of the great powers would not allow them to do so. What was this farce? Sir Samuel Hoare (the brilliant Secretary of State for India, whose monumental work on reforms is there), was sacrificed and made the scapegoat of the British Cabinet because he had the honesty to say to Abyssinia that she cannot expect help. Then there was a hue and cry in England. Instead of fighting to safeguard Abyssinia, England was so weak that she could not even carry on the sanctions afterwards, that she had to beg of Italy to allow trade parts and clearing arrangements to be made, and it is Mussolini who has had his own way.

British traders are going to re-start trade on their own account. The latest thing is that perhaps Abyssinian delegates are to be debarred from entering the League in order to facilitate the re-entry of the arrogant dictator of Italy, and to let him have his own way. Is it conceivable that 52 nations of the world are powerless in the face of the domination of one man over their will? Or is it not right to conclude that all this is a sham and that the European powers, for their own needs—goodness only knows what it is—do not wish to impose their will? They are making a great mistake. Do they think that they will satisfy Mussolini or Hitler by their weak-kneed policy? They will only be increasing their demands. They are now asking for one thing, and the next day they will ask for more. I had great faith in Britain. Britain had been the champion of all the down-trodden people, and more often than any other country has gone out of its way to safeguard the liberty of other countries. But at the moment British policy is so weak that one wonders if they have lost their navy and their army. *The League's failure to prevent wars is self-evident.*

I now come to the other two main objects for which the League was formed, *one was the safeguarding of the minorities.* When the map of Europe was being changed, 100 million people got liberty and an independent form of government, with the result that 32 million people who were formerly majorities were converted into minorities and placed under the new Government that had been formed. We were told in the Treaty of Versailles that provisions were made for their safety and their religious, economic and other needs. I would like to dilate on this point but as my time is so short, I shall not take up much time. I will only read out the opinion of an authority on the subject. The minorities, Sir,—

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: What are you reading from?

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: I was going to quote the opinion of an author on the subject—*The League of Nations in Theory and Practice*, by C. K. Webster and Sydney Herbert, but I shall not. The minorities, Sir, had this misfortune that they had nobody to take up their case; that finding that Members of the Council were not prepared to take up the question of these unfortunate people, the League adopted the procedure that it will receive petitions. But these petitions are shifted from one place to another and the inquiries on the basis of those petitions are so one-sided that *the competent opinion of all the European writers on the subject of minorities safeguard is that the League has proved a failure.* The minorities have not even this confidence that their case is heard and adjudicated upon. It is a different thing when a case is referred to a judge and it is decided against him. But to feel that your case does not even reach the judge and you are all the time under suspense is something worse than cruelty. That is what has happened in the case of minorities.

Now I come to the mandates. There I am on surer ground. The League of Nations had three kinds of mandates—A mandate, B mandate and C mandate. I am particularly concerned with A mandates in which were included Syria, Palestine and unofficially Mesopotamia. I call it unofficially because it has not formed the subject of any mandate as such. Originally it was conceived

[Mr. Hossain Imam.]

that an A mandate should be given only for all the territories of the former Ottoman Empire. My authority for this is the official publication of the aims and organisation of the League of Nations in which the mandates have been divided into three kinds. Now, in these A mandates the League gave out that the object was to have a Government which would have the interest of the people in its mandate very much to the fore and it would be its duty to establish the people on their own legs as soon as may be possible. Now what has happened? Mesopotamia, over which no mandate was given, has got self-government first of all, and the two countries over which a mandate was given and which were placed under the ægis of the League are faring distinctly worse than a country not placed under the League's guidance. As regards Syria, as you know, the French Government have been considering the framing of a constitution for that country for a long, long time. Every now and then we hear that a scheme is ready and it will be given effect to. They were asked to give it a national constitution within three years of the signing of the Treaty by Article 2 of the mandate, and in all these 16 years that has not been done. That is the effectiveness of the League.

As regards Palestine, it is really a disgrace that such things should be allowed to happen. They were part and parcel of the same Empire. The people belong to the same Arab nationality as the Syrians and other people belong. Mesopotamia can have a Government of its own; Syria is going to get a liberal constitution; but poor Palestine can get nothing. As I have said, the working of the League has been infructuous and experimental. We were told that Palestine would be made into a national home for the Jews. But Article 2 of the Palestine Mandate lays down that the mandatory is responsible for the development of self-governing institutions and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of the inhabitants of Palestine irrespective of race or religion, and it was assured that the rights and privileges of other sections of the population would not be prejudiced. These two provisions have been outraged. Palestine has been for 16 years under the management of His Majesty's Government and what has happened? What material benefit has accrued to the people, the indigenous people of Palestine? A scheme has been imposed upon the people for making it into a national home for Jews. Have you heard of any country which is already thickly populated on which another nation has been superimposed? It was said of the Jews that they have historic associations with it. We admit that. But would Englishmen be prepared to vacate their country and allow the Celts of Ireland, who were the original inhabitants of England, to come over and occupy their land to the exclusion of Englishmen? You can colonise virgin countries or sparsely populated countries may be foisted with additional populations, but how can you impose this sort of thing on a country already groaning under a heavy population. Yet that has been going on right under the nose of the League. In one single year 61,000 Jews have gone in through the authorised door, and Palestine officials themselves have estimated that the annual illicit importation of Jews amounts to 4,000 or 5,000. If I had time I would read out portions from the 29th Session of the League's Permanent Mandates Commission, in which you would find that even officials of the mandatory power are involved in this

struggling of Jews. And yet when the people of Palestine ask for the stoppage of Jewish immigration for the time being till they can consider what to do next, the British Government thunder that they will impose martial law. Martial law you can have, but what is the good of having the League of Nations there? What would be the difference if it were a conquered country just like India is? We were told that mandates would be a guarantee that the people so placed under it would be under the protection and be the concern of the whole of civilisation. Article 22 says :

“ that the well-being and development of such people were the sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust shall be embodied in this covenant ”.

But what is all this but a farce. The League has disgracefully failed in its trust. If the League was genuine, if it was effective, if it had succeeded in performing any of the tasks with which it was entrusted, we, Sir, although a subject nation, would not have objected. We would have been glad to help the League in whatever little way we could to make it more effective. But we are not prepared to tolerate just anything which masquerades under a benevolent name.

Another point, which I made at the beginning is, that the League has been a success in one respect alone and that is in social and economic welfare under the League Labour Organisation. And here I would like to inform my friends that membership of the Labour Organisation is not dependent on the membership of the League. Germany was a member of the Labour Organisation of the League six years before she joined the League of Nations, and if we resign from the League there is no reason why we should secede from the Labour Organisation; just as Brazil has resigned from the League but is still a member of the Labour Organisation of the League. Therefore, Sir, we are prepared to remain within and utilise whatever is good in the League, but we do not wish to be associated with the League itself which has failed in its allotted task.

With these words, Sir, I move this Resolution.

The Council then adjourned for Lunch till a Quarter to Three of the Clock.

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

THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA (Bombay: Non-Muham-  
madan): Sir, I beg to move the following amendment :

“ This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that steps be taken to have the amount of our annual contribution to the League of Nations substantially reduced and preferably from this year ”.

Recent events in connection with the war between Italy and Abyssinia brought into prominence the question whether the League should be continued or not. There can be no doubt that the League's inability to prevent the war has given it a severe blow. India has been a member of the League ever since its inception and has extended to it her co-operation in all its activities. She has been making a large contribution to the expenses of the League, though that contribution has placed an additional burden upon her

[Sir Phiroze Sethna.]

comparatively limited financial resources. There is at the present moment a feeling in India that it is not worth while making this large contribution and that the time has come when the Government of India should at least make it plain that it must be considerably reduced for the advantages we have gained so far or may gain hereafter have not been and will not be in keeping with the contributions that we make. Although an original member of the League, India has never yet been made one of the nine non-permanent members of the Council of the League nor has any Indian so far been appointed to any post of control or direction due principally to the fact that the principal posts are filled according to diplomatic and political considerations nor is the number of Indian employees as large as it should be as compared to other nationals.

I am notwithstanding against the abolition of the League for even if the League has within recent years failed in its main purpose of preventing war at least amongst its own members it does not follow that it will continue to fail in the future as well. Already efforts are being made for placing it on a proper footing which let us hope will restore to the League its original strong position. It will be more advantageous to have a League even such as it is at present rendering efficient services in directions other than the prevention of war rather than to have no League at all and it is therefore that I am against the Resolution. Again, it is not easy to become a member so that if by any chance we withdraw now it will be very difficult to re-enter. If once the League is put on a proper basis it will be a distinct loss if at that time we are denied permission to join it. This important point should not be forgotten. At the same time I feel there is really no justification for the very large contribution which India has been making to the expenses of the League.

Till recently India paid 1,670,670,85 gold francs as her contribution and as the gold franc is about fourteen annas in our money our contribution amounted to more than Rs. 14½ lakhs per annum. Out of more than 50 members only four other members of the League make larger contributions than India. They are the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland which pays the equivalent of Rs. 24 lakhs in our money. Then come France and Russia which pay equal amounts, about Rs. 21 lakhs each. The fourth country which pays more than India is Italy. Its contribution is about Rs. 18 lakhs but one does not know if it has paid its contributions for the years 1935 and 1936. The House would like to know the total of the contributions per annum by all the members of the League. This amounts to 28,279,931 gold francs or roughly Rs. 2½ crores. Each member pays a certain number of points or units out of a total of 931 points. India's share was 56 points but since last year it has been reduced to 55. Even this reduction of one point will amount to a saving of roughly about Rs. 26,600. Our share used to be 56 points but it was reduced by one point in the meeting of the Assembly held in 1935 which of course is insignificant.

Honourable Members will remember that Lord Lytton who led the Indian Delegation to the Ninth Assembly of the League of Nations in 1928 made a

strong effort to get our contribution reduced. In his speech in the Assembly on the budget, he said (I am quoting the summary of his speech as given in the Interim Report of the Indian Delegation to the Ninth Session of the Assembly of the League):

“ That India was probably the country whose Government found the most difficulty in justifying the contribution due from her. The proportion of the League's work which could be represented as being of benefit or interest to India was far from corresponding with India's share in its expenditure, which was higher than that of any State, not permanently represented on the Council. The fact that the amount of her contribution could be employed for important national services, for which funds were needed was not the whole difficulty. There was a view in India, as in other Eastern countries, not only that the League did not carry out much work of value to Eastern countries, but that its tendency was to strengthen European interests at the expense of those of other continents and races. If the League might now be regarded as firmly and finally established in Europe, that was by no means the case in Asia. It was important that the work of those who were supporting the interests of the League and its ideals in the East could be brought into direct contact with the work of the League, and the more the League demonstrated that it worked as much and as impartially for Asia as for Europe, the less would be heard of financial grievances. The best solution lay along the line of increasing collaborations between East and West. But pending such a development, the claim for a limitation of the financial burden involved in membership of the League was in the case of India, an urgent one which needed to be received with greater sympathy and attention. Every increase of the financial burden, without a corresponding extension of the sphere of work, increased the difficulty of maintaining that membership of the League was worth the price ”.

Lord Lytton said that the League might be regarded as fairly and finally established in Europe. He could not have dreamt for a moment that within only six or seven years, the whole edifice of the League would be threatened with utter collapse.

The League certainly cannot be defended for the part it played in the ruthless war carried on by Italy against Abyssinia. It had previously failed to prevent war between Japan and China, also between Bolivia and Paraguay and in the last struggle Italy went on making preparations while the League was simply talking and discussing. Abyssinia, a member of the League has been conquered by Italy which is another member of the League, and the League has already raised the sanctions and virtually reconciled itself to one of the gravest and most flagrant international wrong perpetrated in history. The vacillation on the part of the big European powers including of course Great Britain has brought about the fall of Abyssinia and the collapse of the League. Mr. Stanley Baldwin has admitted that the situation is “ bitterly humiliating ” and he will be forced to accept this annexation as a *fait accompli*. It is said and rightly that Ethiopia's annexation has made Western civilisation stink in the nostrils of every decent minded person and the League of Nations' part in the affair can only be described as despicable. The League has proved a veritable death trap to Ethiopia.

When the League was established it was hailed as a momentous event, heralding the dawn of a new era of international peace and security. There was a general feeling that a great institution was established whereby war would be prevented and peace would be maintained, at least among those nations which became its members, but even at that time there were critics who condemned the League as a fraud and a conspiracy of some of the big powers to



[Sir Phiroze Sethna.]

maintain their supremacy. Article 10 of the Covenant, in particular, evoked considerable adverse criticism inasmuch as it was thought that it sought to perpetuate the existing territorial distribution of the world and provided against subject or conquered countries from asserting their just national claims.

The one and only sanction that could have been effectively applied against Italy during the war and brought Mussolini to a halt in his career of aggression, namely, the oil sanction, was not applied at all, because even powerful League members, with all their professions of loyalty to the Covenant feared that it would accomplish what was both the avowed object of the League and its primary duty. The application of the oil sanction would, in all probability have led to a war between Italy on the one side and the other members of the League on the other. But the situation was such that such a war in defence of the League and in vindication of all that it stands for, would have been perfectly justified, both on political and moral grounds and there can be no doubt whatever that its result would have been complete victory for the League.

Within the last fortnight there has arrived in India to advise the Indian Princes an eminent international jurist Mr. W. H. Wadhams. He had a hand in framing the Covenant of the League along with the late President Wilson. In an interview he gave to the *Times of India* in Bombay he said :

“ Easy gradual actions were not contemplated by the Covenant which provides for effective co-operative action against the aggressor, and such action cannot be effective unless it is applied by the united will of the members of the League ”.

We realise that the world's expenditure on armaments today has more than doubled itself. Great powers and smaller States are vying with one another in making preparations for war. The reconstruction of the League must aim at preventing all this. It cannot however be denied that the European atmosphere today is filled by, and polluted with, dread of another world war, which they fear may break out at any moment, particularly between Germany and Russia and engulf the whole of European society and civilisation in irretrievable destruction. In the *Daily Express* some weeks back a correspondent has made a prophecy in these words :

3 P.M.

“ I calculate from the figures of the Bible that September 20th, 1936, will be a day of great importance to the Jews and that Armageddon, the last Great War, will start on October 6th, 1936 ”.

That date is not far distant but let us devoutly hope and pray that the writer will prove a false prophet.

The root causes which have reduced the prestige of the League to its present important position are to my mind four :

First, the Treaty of Versailles of which the Covenant of the League is an integral part is not a fair treaty. Some of its provisions contravene the great principles laid down in the fourteen points of President Wilson. So long as that Treaty is not revised, the Powers and States which are aggrieved by it will be tempted

to break the Covenant. The unfairness of the Treaty has now been generally recognised and yet strange to say no attempt is made to revise it.

Second, the European nations are bound to be torn by rivalries and jealousies so long as some of them continue to pursue their imperialistic designs and ambitions. The only way to remove these rivalries and jealousies is to recognise that every nation, whether highly civilised or yet to become highly civilised, has an inherent right to independence or at least to self-government, and to reconstruct the entire human society on this equitable basis.

Third, many members of the League have no genuine faith in the League such as it is.

And fourth, the procedure of the League is so dilatory that no prompt action can be taken against an aggressive member of the League.

So long as these root causes of the failure of the League continue to operate, the League can never achieve its object and inspire confidence. It can only be a pale shadow of the League as it should be.

My last argument in support of my amendment has reference to the financial condition of India, and the many national services which still await development for want of funds. This is a point which I need not elaborate. Honourable Members must have read the *Indian Financial Inquiry Report* by Sir Otto Niemeyer. From that Report, it will be seen, how necessary it still is to economise our financial resources. Our financial resources must be economised and utilised to the best advantage. They must not be frittered away on objects which are not urgent or substantial or essential. The saving of even a few lakhs that may be effected by reduction in the contribution made to the expenses of the League can be more profitably spent in the country itself. The League is at present a costly luxury. The expenses on the League of Nations is a fit object for economy and I earnestly appeal to Government to take steps for getting reduced substantially our contribution. I have added the words "preferably from this year" because any reductions in the past were given effect to only a long time after they were proposed and agreed upon.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Original Resolution moved:

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to give notice of withdrawal from the League of Nations on behalf of India and to stop forthwith payments of annual contribution"

since which an amendment has been moved:

"That the following Resolution be substituted for the original Resolution:

'This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that steps be taken to have the amount of our annual contribution to the League of Nations substantially reduced and preferably from this year.'

The debate will now proceed both on the amendment and on the original proposition.

THE HONOURABLE MR P. N. SAPRU (United Provinces Southern: Non-Muhammadan): Mr. President, the House knows that it is rarely that I

[ Mr. P. N. Saprū. ]

differ from the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam. He and I seem always to think alike but on this question I must say that I cannot agree with him. He has made out with the ability which characterises his utterances in this Council a strong case against the League of Nations and if after hearing his speech I still feel that his case is essentially weak then all I can say is that the arguments, though clever, did not appear to me to be really and in fact strong. They looked strong but they were not really strong.

Now, Sir, I will at once say that I agree with most of the criticisms against the League. The League has been in recent years the subject of much criticism and of much ridicule. It was ineffective in dealing with Japan. It was still more ineffective in dealing with Italy. Italy has swallowed up Abyssinia and Britain, France and all the League powers have not been able to save Abyssinia from the loss of her independence. There are many mutual jealousies among the European powers. These mutual jealousies prevent effective co-operation among nations and we are really where we were in 1914. The League system of collective security, one can reasonably say, has broken down in so far as nations are still as distrustful as they ever were. But, Sir, the establishment of the League in itself showed that an international consciousness was growing. We are living in a very, very imperfect world. What do, after all, the criticisms against the League come to? They come to this, that human nature is very imperfect, that the reality is sometimes ugly whereas the ideal is often beautiful. All those criticisms one may agree with. But the real point is this. Shall we be helping the cause of international co-operation, of international goodwill, by withdrawal from the League at this juncture? I have always thought, Sir, that it was a wise move on the part of Mr. Montagu to have found for India a place on the League of Nations. Situated as we are, our international status is bound to have repercussions on our domestic status, and therefore I think, from our point of view, the League membership is valuable. It is valuable because it enables our statesmen to come into contact with some of the international figures of the world. It helps them to broaden their outlook; it helps them to enlarge their information on foreign affairs; and it gives to our country a body of men who are conversant with foreign affairs. It is said that we must withdraw from the League because we do not want to be pawns in the game of imperialist powers. The House knows that I am not an imperialist myself. There is no one who has a more genuine horror of imperialism and all that it stands for than myself. But I ask myself this question, and I have had no answer to this question from the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam. How will India's withdrawal from the League help India? Shall we be able to control our own foreign policy if we withdraw from the League? Our foreign policy, whether we remain a member of the League or whether we refuse to remain a member of the League, will be determined not by us but by the British Foreign Office and by the British Cabinet. Therefore, Sir, so far as withdrawal from the League is concerned, that will not help us to achieve what Mr. Hossain Imam desires and what I also desire, namely, control over our own foreign policy. If we are not able to get control over our own foreign policy, if we still continue to be dominated so far as foreign affairs are concerned

by the British Foreign Office, then what is it that we get by withdrawal from the League of Nations? If we withdraw from the League of Nations, we shall deprive ourselves of such opportunities as the League offers to us of co-operating in the social and humanitarian work which the League has been doing for the last 15 or 16 years. I know, Sir, the International Labour Organisation is a separate organisation in a way. India can be a member of the International Labour Organisation and yet refuse to remain a member of the League of Nations. I know all that. But certainly, our withdrawal will mean that we shall have less opportunities of influencing opinion in the League. We shall have less opportunities of coming into contact with vital world problems. Sir, I agree, as I said, with many of the criticisms which have been levelled against the League by the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam. I am not a supporter of the foreign policy of the National Government. It is to us in India a matter for genuine regret that the sanctions were not applied with greater vigour against Italy and that the sanctions have been raised. Reference was made by the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna to the Treaty of Versailles. There is no doubt that most of our troubles are due to that inequitable peace. But, Sir, here again, I would say this that while I look upon that peace as essentially unjust I would not be prepared to advocate a revision of that peace so long as Hitler and Mussolini pursue the policies they are pursuing. My attitude would be this. I am prepared to deal with a democratic Germany on a new basis. The concessions that I would make to a democratic Germany or the concessions that I would make to a democratic Italy, I would not make to a Fascist Italy or a Nazi Germany. This ought really to be the attitude of Britain and this really ought to be the attitude of France. We must refuse to consider the question of the revision of the peace treaty until we have a new Germany and a new Italy to deal with. I know that these countries are becoming very aggressive. Fascism is a very serious danger and as one who has a real horror of Fascism, who hates the Fascist mentality, I feel that the only way in which we can deal with these Fascist countries is by showing that we are determined not to make any concession to Fascism in any shape or form. The future of democracy, Sir, is very dark. In Spain, we find today a liberal administration fighting for its very existence. The rebels are having the upper hand. There is the policy that France and England are pursuing towards Spain—the policy of non-intervention. I regret to say that that policy of non-intervention is not being followed by Germany and there is reason to believe that the insurgents have the indirect support of the Nazis in Germany. The position therefore is a very very difficult and complicated one. We have to reform the League. If we give up the League altogether we give up the ideal for which the League stands. There is danger that withdrawal from the League would make us also forget the ideals for which the League stands. I know it is a very imperfect instrument in a very imperfect world for carrying out the high ideals for which it was founded. But if the instrument is imperfect, let us try to make it as perfect as we can. It is not by a policy of what I might call non-co-operation with the League that we shall be able to effect those changes which we desire to see effected in the international policies of the world. It is really by co-operation with the progressive elements in the League, with the progressive elements outside India, that we shall be able to further the ideals

[Mr. P. N. Saprú.]

for which we think the League of Nations must stand. The real issue is this, should we give up the endeavour to reform the League in despair and go back to the pre-war days of international anarchy, or ought we as men who value the ideal set to discover the causes which have made the League not answer the ideal and work for such changes in its constitution as would make it a real, a mighty instrument for international peace and international justice? I have no hesitation in saying that I would reform the League and not end it. I have no hesitation in saying that I do not rejoice in its difficulties, that I wish it well and that my sympathies are with those who do not seek to end it but who wish to reform it, who wish to make it a real instrument for peace and international goodwill. It is said that the League is an instrument in the hands of imperialist powers. Well, Sir, how will withdrawal from the League help us in our fight against imperialist powers? (There was an inaudible interruption from the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam.) I do not know, Sir, that Britain is the greatest sinner, and I do not know that Britain today is responsible for the failure of the League. I think the real responsibility for the present position rests, not primarily with Britain, but with Italy and Germany. I blame British policy to some extent. I do not agree with the policy of the National Government. My criticisms against the National Government's policy would be identical with the criticisms of Major Attlee or Sir Herbert Samuel or Mr. Archibald Sinclair. I think the present National Government has not been consistent in its support of the League ideal. I think the present National Government by its vacillating policy, by its policy of compromise with Mussolini—because really it comes to that—has weakened the League. I agree with all those criticisms, but I do also think that if there is war in future it will not be Britain who will be responsible for the war; it will be the Fascist countries; it will be Germany and Italy who will be responsible for it. And therefore I do not see how India's vote will add to the strength of the imperialist powers. I think if we withdraw what will happen is that we shall deprive ourselves in the future of such opportunities as we have today to gain insight into foreign politics. We shall deprive ourselves of opportunities of co-operation in the social and humanitarian work of the League, and therefore we shall do our country no good.

I have got nothing more to say except this that I am opposed to the Resolution of Mr. Hossain Imam. The Resolution of Sir Phiroze Sethna however stands on a different footing, and my sympathies are with his Resolution. If our contribution can be reduced it ought to be reduced. We are really paying more than we should.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab : Non-Muhammadan) : I rise to support the main Resolution. Sir, when the Great War was fought the policy of the British Government was that right is might. Being a business man I go by the results. I know that the objects underlying the formation of the League are very noble, but what do we find in practice? If I rightly understand opinion in this country, it is that the League is simply meant to protect the white nations and to ignore the coloured ones. The matter of the League's indifference in the matter of the Abyssinian war has been greatly felt here. My information is that it was at the request

of France that the British Government became indifferent, when Mussolini threatened France in regard to the enforcing of sanctions. I do not know why the British Government did not do the right and just thing? We all know that the announcement of a certain policy made Sir Samuel Hoare resign because of the resentment it aroused in Parliament. Yet we know that that very policy which he announced and which was then so greatly resented in Parliament was eventually carried out in the spirit and exceeded in practice.

In face of the policy that for the sake of a coloured nation there should be no war amongst white nations we cannot expect much from the League of Nations. What is happening in China? China is a member of the League and it has requested the British and other members of the League to bring the aggressor to his senses; but nothing has been done. The aggression is going on. I do not know if it is because of their Far Eastern policy that the British Government have taken up an indifferent attitude; but they cannot deny the fact that in the case of China also the League is proving a failure. Sir, when these sanctions were passed, Canada proposed that an embargo should be placed on exports to Italy of steel, petrol and coal, but this proposal was turned down by the British and that made the rest of the sanctions ineffective. Sir, my friend Mr. Sapru says that we want control of foreign policy and then our remaining a member of the League will be of material use. As far as my views go, we do not want any control over foreign policy, but what we want is equity and justice and when we do not get equity and justice, we do not want to waste money over being a member of an institution which, though it has very noble objects but in practice is totally ineffective in helping the coloured nations. I might further say that our fear is that as far as the Government of subject races is concerned, and as far as the Asiatic countries are concerned, there is no pronounced policy of the League of Nations except that in the Covenant they say generally:

“by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another,

by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations,

by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments”.

and so on. But we go by the actual facts. I hope the Honourable Member in dealing with this Resolution will tell us in face of the pronouncement of Sir Samuel Hoare cited above what practical advantage we will gain by continuing as a member of the League and why has the League so far miserably ignored the claims of the coloured nations? I might further say:

“It is true that some of the very nations which helped to create the League have refused to submit important international interests to the League's arbitration, and so this is convincing evidence either that the creators of the League themselves have no faith in its ability to deal with really important problems or that, from the beginning, they never intended to allow an independent national body to share in the settlement of matters affecting their own vital interests”.

This fact shows that the people who created the League themselves have not got full confidence in the League, otherwise such things would not happen. Sir, I myself think that an institution like the League is a very noble and a very

[Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das.]

important one. It is not a new thing. Even in Vedic times there was such an institution in existence. We find, Sir, that even in the *Yajurveda* it is stated :

“ May there be peace in the sky, peace in mid air, peace in waters, peace in medicines and peace in vegetables. May all the powers of nature bring us peace. May God vouchsafe us peace. May peace and peace alone reign everywhere. May that peace come unto us ”.

Sir, it is a very noble institution I admit, but unless some definite assurance is given that the unjust policy that I have mentioned will be put right and unless there is improvement in the impartial working of the League, I will not be able to advise that we should bear any more the burden of contribution.

With these words, Sir, I support the main Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. H. SPENCE (Legislative Secretary) : Sir, it will, I am sure be a matter of keen regret to all Honourable Members—and it is a matter of particularly keen regret to myself—that the nature of the business under transaction in another place has rendered it impossible for the Honourable the Law Member to come to this Council today and state Government's case on this Resolution. I can only hope that any inadequacy in my own presentation of that case will not obscure the compelling character of the grounds which have led Government to conclude that they would be doing a grave disservice to India if they adopted the course recommended in the original Resolution moved by the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam.

I think, Sir, that before addressing myself to the main issue, I should refer very briefly to the fact that the Honourable mover's Resolution contemplates cessation of the payment of the contribution simultaneously with the giving of notice. This is a very small point, but I would mention that withdrawal from the League is regulated by paragraph 3 of Article 1 of the Covenant, the effect of which is that if India gave notice of withdrawal, she would remain a member for the two years following the giving of notice and during those two years she would remain liable to pay her contribution. I suggest, Sir, that it would be wholly out of keeping with the Honourable mover's highly idealistic attitude in this matter if he suggests that India should default in that obligation. However, that is entirely by the way. The question of payment or otherwise of the contribution during the period of notice will not arise if notice is not given and the Council will, I hope, agree that notice should not be given.

I confess, Sir, that I had done the Honourable mover the very serious injustice of anticipating that he would base his case to a considerable extent on the argument that India should get out of the League because she gets no material advantage in return for the expenditure entailed by her membership. To his credit it must be said that he adduced no such argument. In fact the ground on which he based his case was a complete negation of that argument. But, Sir, the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition introduced that argument when he asked me specifically what practical advantage India will get by continuing as a member of the League. Well, Sir, I do not admit that India gets no practical advantage from her membership of the League, but that is not the point that I desire to stress. The reply to the question put by

the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition—the essential point—is that the question betrays a complete and lamentable misconception of the whole nature and object of the League and of the motive for membership thereof. The League is not a species of benefit society which you join in the hope that you will get an adequate material return ; it is not a question of paying two annas a week and getting a turkey at Christmas or a goat on the day of Bakrid. The League is a great international organisation and the motive for membership is the individual member's obligation and privilege to play her part in that organisation—

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS :** Does it now show impartiality.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. G. H. SPENCE :** I am afraid I have got a lot of ground to cover and I cannot afford the time to give way. That great international organisation was created in the words of the preamble to the Covenant :

“ in order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security ”

and I think I can claim the support of the Honourable mover of this Resolution himself when I say that it would be simply contemptible to suggest that India should withdraw from such an organisation for the sake merely of a financial economy.

At this stage, Sir, I think it will be convenient to deal with a matter on which considerable stress is often laid—the matter to which the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna's amendment is directed. I refer, Sir, to the size of the contribution. Well, Sir, Government themselves feel that in this matter India has some cause of complaint and they were disappointed at the slenderness of the relief recommended by the recent Allocation Committee. But, Sir, this is a matter in which I must ask Honourable Members to preserve a sense of proportion. A country which for the purposes of representation in the governing body of the International Labour Office has been included among the members of chief industrial importance cannot in the nature of things expect to be assessed to anything but a very substantial contribution and the most favourable recommendation which it appeared at all reasonable to anticipate was a reduction of say 10 units in lieu of the reduction of two units recommended by the Committee. I would emphasise, Sir, that there is not the smallest reason to suppose that the Committee approached India's case, which was duly placed before it, with any feeling of prejudice whatsoever. The Committee was faced with a task comparable in principle with but vastly transcending in magnitude and complexity, the task which recently confronted Sir Otto Neimeyer and the Council knows that a Neimeyer Report never satisfies any of the parties affected thereby. Moreover let not the Council forget that India's position in this matter has progressively improved. She was originally assessed at 65 and later at 60 units. The revised scale of 1925 allotted her 56 units out of a total of 937. The distribution in 1934 of surplus units accruing from the entry into the League of Russia gave India a reduction of one unit, leaving her assessed at 55 units out of 931, while if the recent Report of the Allocation Committee is approved—as we may assume that it will be—she will be assessed at 53 units out of 935. The unit is worth



[Mr. G. H. Spence.]

very roughly a quarter of a lakh and if India had got the maximum reduction appearing to be in any way probable she would have been better off than she will be under the Committee's proposals to the extent of some Rs. 2 lakhs. I think, Sir, that no one in this Council will suggest that India should leave the League because arguably she will be paying the League Rs. 2 lakhs more than she should.

That, Sir, is my reply to any Honourable Member who may desire to use the size of India's contribution as an argument in favour of withdrawal from the League. The Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna's amendment postulates that India will remain in the League and thereby condemns the original Resolution. I therefore welcome the fact that the amendment has been moved. But, Sir, for compelling practical reasons it is impossible for Government to accept the amendment as it stands. The Honourable Member desires steps to be taken to have the amount of the contribution reduced *preferably from this year*. Well, Sir, the contribution for 1936 is a *fait accompli* and obviously nothing can be done to alter it. What about 1937? The proposal placed before the forthcoming Assembly of the League (the Assembly which opened yesterday) will undoubtedly be that the report of the Committee be adopted. This proposal will be subject to the Assembly's rule of procedure requiring decisions to be taken by a unanimous vote. A single adverse vote, therefore, would defeat the proposal and the only conceivable consequence of the Indian Delegation recording an adverse vote would be the continuance for 1937 of the existing scale. In other words, India by opposing the Committee's recommendations would merely lose the reduction of two units recommended by the Committee.

Well, Sir, what about the future? The Allocation Committee conceived itself to be charged with the duty of divising a scale representing a satisfactory settlement which might be expected to endure for several years. The Committee has, however, entered the *caveat* that it would be unfair to the general body of Member States if the Committee's recommendations with regard to the States, conceived to require special temporary relief by reason of temporary financial conditions, were regarded as permanent. In the upshot the Committee expressed themselves as inclined to submit that the first revision should not in any case be made before 1939. It may be anticipated that the general line taken by the Committee in this connection will be endorsed by the Assembly of the League and the Council will, I believe, agree that for India to agitate her claim for further reduction in the period intervening before further general revision is undertaken would in the absence of some specific new development be at once inherently inappropriate and calculated to prejudice the prospect of a reduction when the next revision is undertaken. At the same time, Sir, Government do feel with the Council of State that India's contribution is too large and they are fully with the Council in their desire to get it reduced, and I am prepared to undertake on behalf of Government that, in any event when the next revision is undertaken, and before that date if what is in their opinion an opportune occasion presents itself for re-opening the matter, Government will use their best endeavours to secure a further substantial reduction.

If, Sir, the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna still desires that his substituted Resolution should be adopted, I shall be perfectly prepared to accept it on behalf of Government if he will agree to omit the words " and preferably from this year ". If we accepted the Resolution with those words included it would clearly be disingenuous as nothing could be done this year.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : You want to delete these words " and preferably from this year " ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. H. SPENCE : I do not ask that a further amendment should be moved at this moment, Sir. If after I have concluded the other remarks that I have to make, the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna finds it possible to meet us on this point, I suggest that formal amendment be then moved.

THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA : Mr. President, I accept the suggestion made by the Honourable Member.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. H. SPENCE : Well, Sir, I now return to the original Resolution moved by the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam. He took, Sir, the only line which requires a serious reply. He said in effect that if the League had lived up to its ideals there would of course be no case for the withdrawal of India or any other member, but that in fact the League has manifestly failed most deplorably to live up to those ideals and in particular (a point on which he laid great stress and naturally) that the League's handling of the Italo-Abyssinian crisis has branded it as an institution of which no country true to the League's own ostensible ideals should desire to be a member. Well, Sir, I should be quite incompetent to, and I am not going to attempt to, traverse the Honourable mover's history. I admit, of course, that a very weighty indictment can be made and has been made by the Honourable mover against the League's achievements. Many failures, general and specific, can be charged against it. At the same time, I submit that a case for withdrawal from the League on these grounds is very definitely not sustainable. In the first place, Sir, is it so entirely certain that from the point of view of the League the Italo-Abyssinian affair exhibited nothing but sheer failure and futility ? Is it not at least possible that the historian of the future will find the primary significance of this painful episode not in the final failure but in the fact that for the first time in the world's history some 50 countries did combine to take certain measures, detrimental for the most part to their own individual interests, with no other object than to implement a decision of the League and protect from unjust aggression a country in whose fate few, if any, of the countries combining in those measures had any direct individual interest ? Well, Sir, whatever the answer to that question and conceding to the Honourable mover and the other advocates of withdrawal that the League's handling of the question must be written down as sheer and simple failure, how did the League re-act to the failure and what is the League now doing ? All Honourable Members must be aware that at the Assembly of the League which opened yesterday the whole position will be reviewed and earnest efforts will be made to alter, if necessary, the provisions of the Covenant and in any case existing methods as to ensure so far as humanly possible that if the League is not now capable of implementing the primary purpose of its existence it will hereafter

[Mr. G. H. Spence.]

become so. I suggest, Sir, that for this Council to pronounce in favour of withdrawal at this juncture with these efforts to cure existing defects at this very moment in progress would be more than inopportune; it would betray a levity of outlook which in view of the Council's reputation for sobriety of judgment I would venture to describe as inconceivable. In this connection, Sir, I think it relevant to observe that of the 57 States who were members of the League at the commencement of the Abyssinian crisis—I exclude Paraguay who had given notice of withdrawal before the commencement of the crisis—three States only, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Honduras, have given notice of withdrawal. Assuming their notices to have been inspired by the outcome of the Italo-Abyssinian crisis, is there any reason for India to take a line from these particular countries? Is it not much more pertinent to India's course of action that Egypt is on the point of seeking admission to the League? Moreover, Sir, apart from any argument based on what is now happening at Geneva, I believe that no Member of this Council will deny—and certainly the Honourable mover, on his own showing, does not deny—that an effective League of Nations would be an inestimable boon to the world and that at no time has there been a greater need for an effective League of Nations than now. Secondly, Sir, I do not think any one in this Council will deny that one of the main causes making for any ineffectiveness that can fairly be charged against the League as it exists today is its lack of universality. The Honourable mover desires India to choose this moment for withdrawing from the League. He says he is getting out of the League because the League has failed in its ideal. That would not be the construction adopted by the world. The world would say that India was repudiating the ideal of an effective and universal League.

I think there is one other point which I ought to refer to. I have endeavoured to meet the Honourable Member's idealistic ground that India should get out of the League because the League is not worth belonging to. I trust I have succeeded in convincing some Honourable Members that that argument should be repudiated. I would put it to the Council, Sir, that from the point of view of her own—not material advantage—but progress in the world, for India to leave the League would be most extraordinarily deplorable.

It is often said that considerations applicable to other members of the League have no relation to India because India's theoretically separate membership of the League is a mockery and because she has to follow blindly whatever course Great Britain adopts. In the first place, that argument rests on a complete distortion of the relevant facts. For the most part, as a member of the League of Nations, India has freedom of action. It is of course perfectly true that in the existing constitutional position, India's foreign relations are controlled by His Majesty's Government, and it must follow as a corollary that on all matters of foreign policy coming before the League India must in the last resort associate herself with the line taken by His Majesty's Government. That, I fully and freely admit. But, in spite of that admission, Sir, it is an indisputable fact that India's membership of the League, derived from her naming in the Annex to the Covenant despite the fact that

she had not, and has not, attained fully self-governing status, has resulted in India achieving an international position which she could not otherwise have achieved, and I put it to the Council that to pronounce in favour of withdrawal, which would mean the exchange of a position in which India enjoys, with whatever practical limitations, an independent international status for a position in which she would be a mere dependent of the United Kingdom would be to base on a sentiment of false *amour propre* a conclusion wholly incompatible with India's true interests. In this connection, I think it is very important to remember that if India withdrew from the League, it is at least possible that despite her original membership, her re-entry would be held to be subject to paragraph 2 of Article 2 of the Covenant in which event she would not be able to secure re-entry until she attained fully self-governing status and that one result of withdrawal might well be to delay the achievement of that status. I submit, therefore, that the India of today should be very loath to take a precipitate decision which the India of tomorrow might have grave cause to regret.

In conclusion, Sir, I am well aware that the fate which has befallen Abyssinia has evoked feelings of very deep and genuine indignation. These feelings are by no means confined to India or to Indians but they are perhaps nowhere entertained more keenly than in India. To Honourable Members actuated by these feelings I would venture to submit that when a judgment is to be formed on an issue of grave moment in connection with which keen emotions have been aroused, the test of statesmanship lies in the capacity to lay aside emotion and reach a decision in accordance with the dictates of reason. I believe, Sir, that if the issue is approached in this spirit, the Council will reject the Resolution moved by the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam. (Loud applause.)

THE HONOURABLE SAIYED MOHAMMAD PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR (Madras : Muhammadan) : Sir, the Honourable Member who spoke on behalf of the Government had at least the fairness to admit that India's contribution to the League of Nations was out of all proportion. He admitted that it was too much and he also assured us that the Government would not lose any opportunity to see that this contribution is reduced substantially. But, Sir, that is all that could be said in favour of the speech which has just been made on behalf of the Government. I am afraid that the argument which the Honourable Mr. Spence advanced in support of the continuance of this country in the League was altogether not without flaw. He contended that we would be ill-advised in breaking away from an organisation which existed for international peace and security. I would have subscribed to this argument if that organisation had lived up to its ideals and if that organisation had justified its existence. But, Sir, from the able and lucid speech which the Honourable mover made in moving his Resolution, it is clear how all those high ideals for which this august body had been established with such a blare of trumpets have practically been cast to the winds and how none of the purposes which this body was designed to encompass has been achieved by it up to this date. Since much has been said about it, I would not deal with all the aspects of this question. I would confine myself to one or two main features. First of all,

[Saiyed Mohammad Padshah.]

I would take up one of the main directions in which the good offices of the League were supposed to bring about the desired effect. One of the main objects of the League was to prevent war and bring about peace by amicable settlement. We know what the actual facts have been. We know how from the moment this body was called into being up to the present day, in spite of the fact that it did make a show of making an attempt in that direction, it has failed miserably to achieve this object. We know, Sir, how this body was powerless in giving the much needed relief to the Chinese people. We know how it was powerless to save China from the ravages of the Japanese. We know it was powerless to intervene effectively in the war that raged in South America, and we know of the recent instance in which the record of this august body has been no more creditable and how it has bungled over the Italo-Abyssinian war. All those meetings held under the ægis of the League and the tall talk indulged in and the resolve of those 50 countries to bring the aggressor to his knees have all ended in smoke. They not only ended in smoke but they were the cause of the ruination of the nation whom the League professed to support. We know that had it not been for the promises held out by the League of Nations and the talk of support by all those 50 countries, Abyssinia would possibly have prepared in time to repulse the attack of the aggressor and would at least have secured better terms of peace when the invader was still doubtful of the final issue and was in a mood to come to terms. We know how the Negus has had to pay heavily for his folly in pinning his faith to the League of Nations.

This is the record of its achievements in respect of one of its main objects. And what is its record in respect of another object, namely, the protection of those people who came under the charge of the League and who were entrusted by it to different powers under mandates issued by the League? From what has been said by the Honourable mover of the Resolution and the accounts he gave of the serious disabilities and hardships to which the people in the mandated territory of Palestine have been continually subjected, from the manner in which the interests of the children of the soil in Palestine have been sacrificed for the benefit of Jewish immigrants, it is clear that the League, in spite of the fact that it regarded the safeguarding of the interests of those people as a sacred trust, has allowed the people of Palestine to be exploited without uttering a word of protest. Sir, we know that Palestine is a small country and that it cannot for ever continue to be a dumping ground for Jewish immigrants. We know that the inhabitants of Palestine did not at first take objection to the Jewish immigration, but they raised their voice in protest when once they found that this immigration was going to sweep them out of their own motherland altogether. They have been demanding for years that the immigration should not be allowed to go on ceaselessly, that there should be some arrangement to regulate the flow of immigrants according to the capacity of the country to absorb them. But nothing has been done towards a solution in this respect. Again, it has been the demand of all the original inhabitants of the country, irrespective of religion or class, Muslims, Christians and Jews, that Government property should not be given away to the immigrants at nominal prices, and they insist and insist rightly that those properties should be reserved for the nationals of the country. But in spite of this the Dead Sea concessions have been given away

to the Jewish immigrants. Again, there has been a demand on the part of the children of the soil that their lands should not be allowed to be transferred to immigrants, that there should be promulgated in Palestine a law similar to that which now obtains in the Punjab under which people who do not belong to the agricultural class are prohibited from holding land. They ask for some such law to prevent the exploitation of the children of the soil and it ought to have been promulgated long ago. They have also made many other similar and reasonable demands but none of these have been conceded. It cannot be said that this trouble is a recent one. It began in 1929 and it has gone on without any relief being afforded and without any attempt on the part of the League of Nations to relieve the situation. So we feel, when all is said and done, that the League has failed miserably in carrying out the objects for which it has been called into being. It is all very well to say that an organisation like this should be encouraged and supported and that one should not light-heartedly break away from an organisation which professes to do so many good and noble things. But the question is, is this organisation capable of giving effect to its ideals and achieving the objects for which it is meant? We find that over all these years during which it has functioned it has systematically failed in every single instance to achieve the purpose for which it was designed. We feel that it is useless to go on and instead of trying to mend an institution which seems utterly impossible of improvement it is better to end it altogether and bring about something better and more effective.

With these words, Sir, I support the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN (West Punjab : Muhammadan) : Sir, we should all feel grateful to our Honourable friend

4 P.M.

Mr. Hossain Imam for bringing this important Resolution before the House. I also congratulate him on his most eloquent and impressive speech. There are not many amongst us who do not share the views which he has expressed regarding the failure of the League of Nations to rise to the occasion under trying circumstances. He has given the incidents of the war between Italy and Abyssinia and I need not detain the House by saying more on the subject. If I cannot find able myself to support the Resolution of my Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam, it is merely on account of the fact that there is some little hope that at some future occasion this League of Nations which was started to bring peace to this world may achieve its object. I whole-heartedly support the amendment moved by my Honourable friend Sir Phiroze Sethna neither on financial grounds, nor for the grounds advanced by the Honourable Secretary in the Legislative Department, but as a very strong protest against the failures of the League of Nations. I know that the amendment moved by our Honourable colleague from Bombay does not contain any reasons or arguments for substantially reducing the contribution which India is making towards the League of Nations. I personally support that proposition merely on the ground that it is an expression of resentment on the doings and omissions of the League of Nations. This should not sound as an extraordinary proposition, because situated as we are we have no other way of expressing our protest in most emphatic terms than by substantially reducing the amount.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Do you reduce the amount ? Who reduces the amount of contribution ?

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN : Neither the Assembly nor the Council of State can reduce, but both Legislatures can recommend to the Governor General in Council and he can reduce it.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : The Government cannot reduce it.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN : Government can take steps to get the contribution reduced.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : By whom ?

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN : Through the Secretary of State.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : No, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN : I hope my Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam who knows better will tell us whether we can reduce it or not.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : We cannot.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN : Can you stop contributions ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Yes.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN : My friend says that it is not within the power of the Government of India even to recommend or to adopt such methods or to make a suggestion that the contribution which India is making to the League of Nations should be reduced. As I was submitting, Sir, the sole object for supporting this amendment is nothing but protest. Otherwise, I assure you that the League of Nations is such an organisation that if it were working properly and if it had achieved any object for which it was originally devised, surely the contribution which India is making towards the League of Nations would not be grudged by this country. It is merely a strong way of expressing our protest.

Now, Sir, I entirely agree with my Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam that the League of Nations unnecessarily created hopes in the minds of several nations which the League of Nations did not care to see fulfilled, and I have no doubt that the fate of Abyssinia would not have been so unfortunate if it had not built hopes on the League of Nations. Everyone of us agrees and I was glad that even the Government spokesman did not have the courage to get up and deny any charges levelled against the League of Nations either by the mover or by the Leader of the Opposition. I think the greatest praise he gave to the League of Nations was that he said you should wait and see. You do not say that Italy is devouring Abyssinia and the League of Nations is sitting quiet. Let the time come when the League of Nations will provide material for the future historian to say that there were 50 countries which protested while Abyssinia was being conquered by Italy. I do not think that that was the object for which the League of Nations was brought into being, that

it should be only to provide material for the future historian. As a matter of fact there is no denying the fact that the League of Nations constituted as it is at present is a body from which every practical man would like to dissociate himself except those who are optimists and who will say that if the League of Nations is closed down there is no other machinery left in the world to provide means of bringing about peace. We have noticed that in the history of several organizations times come when we find that they get demoralised and degenerated and cannot do any practical work, but the logical sequence is not that we should withdraw from such organisations, but we should make every possible attempt to improve them and to strengthen them. I put this to my Honourable friend the mover of the Resolution. He is one of the most illustrious Members of this Honourable House. He came, Sir, with the hope that he will be able to achieve something for his country by becoming a Member of this House. Can he give me a single instance where a single Resolution or a Bill was carried in this House against the opposition of the Government? If there is not a single such Resolution or a single such amendment which could be carried at any future date as long as this constitution continues, may I ask my Honourable friend what justification will he have to seek election again? Why should he not withdraw from the Council of State? Though he cannot achieve anything now, still he has some little lingering hope that just by making some eloquent speech he may be able to persuade some Government Member to do some little thing for which he is anxious in the interest of the country. It is exactly in that spirit that I prefer to support this amendment than to support his Resolution. All the same, Sir, I know that it goes to the credit of England that this is the only chief power or great power which faithfully and sincerely stood by the League of Nations even under most trying circumstances. If the League of Nations has failed to stop Italy from conquering Abyssinia, it is because there were other powers who were concerned. It was not entirely in the hands of England to stop it and declare war against Italy. England has been trying her best and as long as we continue to be a part of the British Empire it is our duty that in all foreign matters we should try to strengthen the hands of the Foreign Ministers of His Majesty's Government as far as foreign affairs are concerned. Though we quite recognise our insignificant position, yet if we carry the amendment of the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna it would strengthen the hands of His Majesty's Government to say that these failures of the League of Nations have reached such a stage that even a sentimental country like India is thinking of withdrawing from such a useless body.

Sir, my Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam has not advanced a single argument against the machinery itself. He says the managing agents are bad but he has not said a word against the business itself. I personally think, Sir, that by withdrawing from the League we will not be doing any good either to ourselves or to the world at large. By substantially reducing the amount we will be recording our protest and if we find at a future date that the League of Nations continues in its utterly useless activities and the other greedy powers of Europe still continue arming themselves and preparing themselves for a great war, I am sure one more war in Europe will end the League of Nations itself. But, Sir, as long as this does not happen, let us all sincerely hope and pray that circumstances may arise which would strengthen the hands of the



[Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan.]

members of the League of Nations and enable them to put an end to fighting eternally in this world.

Sir, I support the amendment.

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD (Leader of the House): Sir, the Honourable mover of the Resolution has brought a powerful indictment against the League of Nations. He has done it with his accustomed skill. He has fixed on the failures of the League. He has selected instances which he knew would appeal to his audience, to their emotions, to their innermost feelings. I intervene in this debate in order to draw the attention of the House to the grave issues which are involved. They have to consider what will be the effect of world opinion if India were to say at this moment that it has lost all faith in the League of Nations, that it saw no hope for the future, that we must carry on our international fights and our international differences in the old, old way, namely, the arbitrament of war. I ask my Honourable friends here. Is this an opportune moment to send this message out to the world? Do we not realise, those of us who have been following the trend of world politics or those who have recently visited Europe, the intense anxiety, the feeling of fear that the last world war which was meant to end war was only the prelude to another more disastrous war in which civilisation and all that has been achieved during these centuries will be destroyed in blood and smoke? And then again, I ask my Honourable friends, should India leave at a time when Egypt which has just achieved its independence is about to join the League? I should also ask Honourable Members to consider whether the institution is at fault or whether it is not that certain unexpected action was taken by a particular great power. Politicians and statesmen are very apt to throw the blame on the institutions when perhaps they themselves are the real culprits. And then I ask Honourable Members to consider that the League was only formed about 18 and 19 years ago. It was formed at a time of great crisis, in very difficult circumstances. Can we say that the experience of 18 or 19 years is decisive, especially in regard to one of the greatest experiments that the world has made to bring about peace and to get rid of the spectre of war? Are Honourable Members convinced that in this short period the League has been sufficiently tested, that there is no hope of mending it, and that therefore the time has come when we should end it? And then, are we to proclaim by this vote of ours to the world the bankruptcy of civilised wisdom; that we see no hope; that the yearnings of millions of men and women who have suffered in the Great War and who have seen the consequences of modern warfare conducted under modern conditions, that these yearnings for peace are to go in vain and that we should again revert to a position of armed camps throughout the world, where the slightest spark may bring about another catastrophe? I think we in India who have often held to ideals and have often suffered for them, I think for this country it would be disastrous if the only message we sent out to the world was one of despair. Because I think it will be acknowledged that it would be a message of despair if we were to say that there is no hope of peace in this world, that all our civilisation is nothing, that it is only might and desperate war which will settle differences between the nations.

I ask Honourable Members not to be impatient. Let us hope and pray that the statesmen who are gathered together at Geneva may be able by their collective wisdom to rebuild on surer foundations this League, that they may be able to evolve a League which may really be able to prevent war and that they may be able to do something which will give us hope that civilisation will not end in futility and disaster. It is for these reasons, Sir, that I ask Honourable Members not to be carried away by disappointment, by anger at the action of the League in regard to certain particular countries. And if I may say so, are Honourable Members certain that today we should have been so interested in the affairs of Abyssinia if it had not been for the moral lead that the League gave in regard to the aggression of Italy. Is it not likely that had it not been for the League of Nations our consciences would not have been stirred? We would probably not have known that Abyssinia had been invaded. Many countries in the past with greater civilisations, with a more ancient history have been conquered. Has the world been stirred to its foundations to the extent that we have been over the conquest of Abyssinia? That was the point that my Honourable friend, Mr. Spence, wanted to make,—that to the historian of the future the striking element would be that 50 nations were so roused, their consciences were so stirred over the invasion of a country with whose history and civilisation, with whose geography even, many people were not even acquainted. That I regard as a landmark and I think that in this country, we should, in spite of the ideal not being achieved within 18 years, not let it go. I would, therefore, strongly appeal to Honourable Members not to support my Honourable friend, the mover of the Resolution.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** Mr. President, I am grateful to the Honourable Mr. Spence for having saved me from reiterating any of my criticisms; for he gracefully accepted most of them. The Honourable the Leader of the House has tried to burke the issue by bringing in sentiment and instead of having a straight fight on the facts, he tried to win our sympathy on the future prospects which the gods may have in store for us. I am very grateful to the House that on the clean issue whether the League has been a success or a failure, there has been rare unanimity. I am also gratified that no one has taken up the cudgels to praise the action of the present managing agents as good. The only question which was put to me was, "Why not turn out the managing agents?" That shows ignorance of the situation. Even before the League was constituted, England or any one of the major powers alone could have vetoed any one of the proposals even though they might have been otherwise unanimous. The procedure you find now is that barring a very few specific instances all the decisions of the Council must be unanimous. So, it is only hoping against hope to think that there can be any reform. The League has been misconceived and built on wrong principles. If this world were inhabited by saints and angels, then the present League would be a success. If there are human elements, if there is any private opinion lurking, then the League cannot be a success.

**THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN :** Then no religion can be a success either.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** Religion can only be a success if the world is full of human beings and not angels, who constitutionally are incapable of sinning.

The League's insistence on unanimity in many of its objects has been the greatest bar to its success. The fact that nations and governments are composed of human beings and are swayed by questions of personal gain and loss has not been given full weight. Why should a country go out of its way and spend its money and incur losses if it does not stand to gain anything? People hoped—and Wilson hoped also—that the world had learnt a lesson out of the war; they believed that ultimately it has been realised that the greatest good of the greatest number is the real basis on which policies should be formed. If you allow a mad dog to go out now, and think that it is going only on the other side and not coming towards you and therefore you need not shoot it, the result will be that the dog will turn on you and bite you. That was the principle on which the League was built, and Europe has failed to realise that mad dogs must be shot, or at least we should muzzle them if we cannot shoot them.

I shall now turn to the detailed criticisms which have been levelled against my Resolution. One that has been sounded from all sides is that this is an inopportune moment. I think that this is the most opportune moment because the League has become subservient to the mad dog. There can be no better opportunity to dissociate ourselves from a body which has no self-respect for even its pledged word, a body which cannot stand by its own promises, a body which can lick the shoes of the man who thrashes it. That is what the League is doing at the present moment. I believe that a war of righteousness is one worth fighting. We must fight for the King, for the country and for our national honour. To me, Sir, the threat that war will come if you do this and if you do that has no deterrent effect. I am prepared to face war if I have a right cause to suffer for. I am prepared to go to war if I have to safeguard the world from brutes. I regard a war of liberation of the oppressed as a holy war. This was the feeling which actuated the crusaders and their opponents; I have still that feeling lingering in me.

It has been said that our effort to end the League is not good and should not be taken. I venture to say that it is arrogance on the part of India even to dream that she can end the League. We have no place in the League's governing body. We can neither end it nor mend it. Therefore, the only thing that we can do is to dissociate ourselves from it. The Honourable Raja Saheb wanted to show his anger and his disapproval of the League by an action which is not open to us—I mean by a reduction of the contribution which we make to the League. The League demands a certain quota from us and as long as we remain in the League, as honourable members we have to pay that contribution. To default while we remain a member is not a line which I regard as an honourable line. The quota is fixed by the League itself for every country and even the Sovereign power cannot reduce it. Therefore, that line being closed to us, I hope the Raja Saheb will support me and not support the amendment which has been moved by the Honourable Sir Phiroze Sethna, because then he will not be able to show his displeasure. Then he referred to a personal question and asked that if I find that I cannot carry any

Resolution or Motion against the Government, what was the good of my coming here and why I do not keep out. My experience all these years of the Government of India has been that it is a fairly reasonable body. (Laughter.) My Honourable friend Mr. Hallett, when I moved a Resolution on the Civil Service, did not see his way to accept any one of my recommendations. But, four months ago, I saw an announcement by the Secretary of State accepting one of my recommendations "that the training period for the candidates who are sent to Europe from India should be the same as for English candidates".

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN : Self-deception !

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : It is not self-deception. You can read the facts for yourself. I can give you many instances in which the Government of India have opposed a specific suggestion of mine and later adopted it.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN : What I said was, will my Honourable friend point out to me a single Resolution which was passed in this House when the Government did not accept it ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Yes, Sir, Sir Nasarvanji Choksy's Resolution on the Drugs Committee. So I am not as hopeless of the Government as he appears to be.

Then, Sir, I come to my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru. I must say that I felt very much trouble when I found that such a staunch supporter and friend of mine was turning against me. But when I analysed his speech I found that he was labouring under some misconception. He said that the imperfection of human nature was the cause of the failure of the League. But that very imperfection makes it hopeless to think of reforming it in the near future. Unless and until there is another conflagration I have no hope of the League being made powerful enough to carry out its objects. It will sink into a worse and worse position. The generation and the statesmen who faced the last war are no longer to the fore and those who have come up have forgotten the miseries it caused. To reform the League you have to change the mentality of the major States of Europe, with their conflicting aims. A big country like France buried its head rather than face Hitler when he embarked on his Rhine adventure. It was mortally afraid, but yet it did not take this question to the League because France realised the powerlessness of the League. They realised that they cannot set it right unless they are prepared to go to war. That shows which way the wind is blowing. If France cannot face war and if England is prepared to see its imperial interests in the Near East and the Mediterranean endangered by Italy, do you think there is any sense in pinning your faith to that powerless body which goes by the name of the League of Nations ?

Then, Sir, another stock argument brought out against me is that India is at present a member of the League of Nations by grace, and if she resigns she cannot become a member as of right because we have not the good fortune to be classed among the self-governing States of the world. My reply to that is a simple one. As long as we are not self-governing and we have not got the power over foreign policies we cannot utilize that right, but when we are

[Mr. Hossain Imam.]

self-governing it will come of its own accord and we will have the right to become a member of the League. So at present to try and preserve a thing which we cannot use is a sheer waste of money and of energy.

Then it has been asked, what do we gain by leaving the League? Now, as regards the financial side, if the objective is world peace, Rs. 15 lakhs is nothing. It is not even a comparable insurance premium, as such premiums go. If we could have world peace and disarmament we would be prepared to pay even more than Rs. 15 lakhs. But I do not like to spend a penny on a useless objective. Then it was said that we might forget the ideal of universal peace. But may I remind the House that India at the present moment has no power, no right, no place in the picture of world nations. We cannot fight for any country; we cannot defend any country; we cannot defend ourselves even against the will and desire of Great Britain, our overlord. As long as Great Britain is in the League, whether we remain in the League or not, our forces will be used and we will be dragged into war as we were dragged into it in 1914-18. (*An Honourable Member*: "Why not remain in the League then?") Remain there just like a Punch and Judy; for that is all we are doing; as the pulling of the strings is in the hands of others. I do not appreciate that position, my Honourable friend may regard it as an honour.

Now, Sir, I come to Mr. Spence. He said we cannot derive any material benefit from membership of the League because it is not a mutual benefit society. I agree there, but I should have liked him to enlighten us on the spiritual benefit we derive from our membership. Then he and the Leader of the House both drew the picture of the unique spectacle of the nations of the world taking economic sanctions against an aggressor and said what a good sign it was. I agree that such a course taken in a good cause and in an effective manner would have been useful. But we are not blind to realities. Action was taken so late that it was ineffective. Everything depended on the embargo on steel, coal and petrol. If recourse had been had to sanction in respect of those vital commodities, it would have materially altered the course of events and might have made the sanctions a real success. But it was fear which prevented the bosses of the League from having recourse to that course. I say nothing of the small fry, who could do nothing. It was the major powers who jibbed at this step because they were not honest, because they were mortally afraid of offending Mussolini. We all know the story of the Mediterranean. We all know the steps taken by Mussolini to check the British fleet there and we all know what prompted Great Britain to come to terms with Egypt and that it is directly traceable to the Italo-Abyssinian embroilment.

Now, Sir, I have only to say one thing, that I have been placed in a very unfortunate position. The substitute Resolution has taken the wind out of my sails. It was my mistake that originally I did not remember that the substitute Motion would be put first and my Resolution afterwards.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT:** I have not yet decided what I shall do.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM:** Then I have some hope. Sir Phiroze Sethna's amendment minus the part that has been objected to by the Government is not anything new for Honourable Members to ask Government to do. As the Honourable Mr. Spence has pointed out, it is the standing policy of the Government which it has been carrying out for some time and therefore it is no recommendation to the Governor General. If the Chair is pleased to hold with me that this substitute Motion without that operative part—the operative part being the part which is objected to—

**THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA:** Certainly not.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM:** The position is that the Government, as pointed out by Mr. Spence, have already taken steps to ask for a reduction and it is the policy of the Government at every opportunity which offers to ask for an equitable quota being fixed for India. Therefore I submit, Sir, that the substitute Motion is not an operative Resolution, because it is already the accepted policy of the Government. Secondly, it is not a substitute Motion in this sense. What he asks and what my Resolution demands are two distinct things. My demand is withdrawal from the League and a substitute Motion should be an amendment to this Motion. He may have asked that we should give notice of withdrawal after a few years' time. A direct negative as you know is not regarded in this House as an amendment. This Motion, Sir, is a direct negation of my Resolution.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT:** No such condition is attached to Standing Order 66. It is absolutely in the discretion of the President.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM:** It is perfectly correct. Your decision can never be challenged. I am pointing out to you that in the other House negatives even are allowed as amendments, whereas in the Council of State a direct negative is not regarded as an amendment. This is the difference between the practice of the two Houses.

**THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA:** My amendment is not a direct negative.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM:** It is in this sense. I want a withdrawa!—

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT:** You have exceeded your time.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM:** I am not saying anything on the merits. I am only stating my very unfortunate position. I have to oppose the Motion to take steps to get a substantial reduction in the contribution, because we cannot affirm our support for the original Motion except in this way, as my Resolution will not be put to the vote.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT** (to the Honourable Mr. Spence): Do you wish to give a reply?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. G. H. SPENCE:** No, Sir, unless you wish to hear me with reference to the point of order.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I am quite conclusive in my mind on that point. I have decided now after hearing the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam to put the substitute motion to the House first, *viz.*,

"That for the original Resolution the following be substituted, namely:

'This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that steps be taken to have the amount of the annual contribution to the League of Nations substantially reduced.'

The question is:

"That this substitute Motion be adopted."

The Council divided:

AYES—35.

Akrām Husain Bahadur, The Honourable Prince Afsar-ul-Mulk Mirza Muhammad.	Ismail Ali Khan, The Honourable Kunwar Haji.
Arthur, The Honourable Mr. C. G.	Jagdish Prasad, The Honourable Kunwar Sir.
Ayyangar, The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Narasimha Ayyangar Gopalaswami.	Jagdish Prasad, The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala.
Banerjee, The Honourable Mr. Jagdish Chandra.	Johnson, The Honourable Mr. J. N. G.
Barua, The Honourable Srijut Heramba Prosad.	Kameshwar Singh of Darbhanga, The Honourable Maharajadhiraja Sir.
Buta Singh, The Honourable Sardar.	Menon, The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir Ramunni.
Charanjit Singh, The Honourable Raja.	Muhammad Din, The Honourable Khan Bahadur Nawab Chaudri.
Choksy, The Honourable Khan Bahadur Dr. Sir Nasarvanji.	Nixon, The Honourable Mr. J. C.
Clow, the Honourable Mr. A. G.	Noon, The Honourable Nawab Malik Sir Mohammad Hayat Khan.
Devadoss, The Honourable Sir David.	Pandit, The Honourable Sardar Shri Jagannath Maharaj.
Dow, The Honourable Mr. H.	Parker, The Honourable Mr. R. H.
Ghazanfar Ali Khan, The Honourable Raja.	Raghunandan Prasad Singh, The Honourable Raja Sir.
Ghosal, The Honourable Sir Josna.	Ray of Dinajpur, The Honourable Maharaja Jagdish Nath.
Glanoy, The Honourable Sir Bertrand.	Russell, The Honourable Sir Guthrie.
Hafeez, The Honourable Khan Bahadur Syed Abdul.	Sapru, The Honourable Mr. P. N.
Haidar, The Honourable Khan Bahadur Shams-ud-Din.	Sethna, The Honourable Sir Phiroze.
Hallett, The Honourable Mr. M. G.	Spence, the Honourable Mr. G. H.
Ishrat Hussain, The Honourable Saiyed.	

NOES—6.

Gounder, The Honourable Mr. V. C. Vellingiri.	Mehrotra, The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala Mathura Prasad.
Hossain Imam, The Honourable Mr.	Naidu, The Honourable Mr. Y. Ranganayakalu.
Kaliker, The Honourable Mr. V. V.	Ram Saran Das, The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala.

The Motion was adopted.

## RESOLUTION *RE* PREVENTION OF THE GROWTH OF COMMUNISM.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** Sir Phiroze Sethna, you have got a Resolution on the paper but as I have to attend an important meeting of the Empire Parliamentary Association, I shall have to go there at this stage. So I will allow you, in order that you may not lose your priority, to read your Resolution.

**THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN :** Might I, Sir, most respectfully submit to you that, while it is entirely at your discretion to allow a Resolution to be read and the debate to be postponed to the next Council day, I would appeal to you kindly to consider whether it would not be unfair to those Members whose Resolutions have been balloted for the next non-official day, because in that case, this being the last session, those of us who have our Resolutions balloted for that day will suffer.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** I am strictly following the practice which has been in vogue for many years and been adopted by my distinguished predecessors. I quite see your point in the matter. It is not for me, however, to consider that point, but for the Leader of the House to consider it in consultation with the Government and to get you another day. (To the Honourable Mr. Banerjee) I will hear your objection on the next non-official day. Will Sir Phiroze Sethna please move his Resolution?

**THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA :** I beg to move, Sir :

“That this Council expresses its strong disapproval of the communistic ideas advocated and propagated by the President of the Indian National Congress and others, and recommends to the Governor General in Council that in order to prevent the growth of such ideas, well-considered measures should be adopted as early as possible for relieving unemployment particularly among the educated lower middle classes, and for reducing poverty and distress in the vast agricultural and labour population and for promoting their welfare generally.”

**THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD (Leader of the House) :** I regret to say, Sir, that there is no business come up from the other place, so I am afraid I have no official business to place before this House.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** May we request the Leader of the House, Sir, to allow us another day for the remaining non-official business to be taken up?

**THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN :** Sir, I would beg to submit for your consideration and that of the Leader of the House that as we do not know how long we shall have to sit and as we have a large number of non-official Bills which have been circulated, that a separate day may kindly be allowed by the Government for these Bills.

**THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD :** I quite understand your request.

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The Council then adjourned to a date and time to be notified later.