

30th January, 1934

THE  
**LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES**

**(Official Report)**

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**Volume I, 1934**

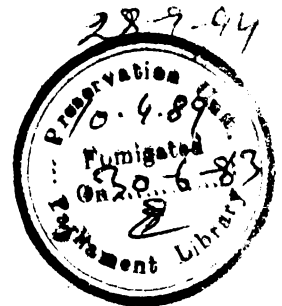
*(24th January to 16th February, 1934)*

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**SEVENTH SESSION**

OF THE

**FOURTH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,  
1934**



NEW DELHI  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS  
1934

# Legislative Assembly.

## *President :*

THE HONOURABLE SIR SHANMUKHAM CHETTY, K.C.I.E.

## *Deputy President :*

MR. ABDUL MATIN CHAUDHURY, M.L.A.

## *Panel of Chairmen :*

SIR ABDUR RAHIM, K.C.S.I., KT., M.L.A.

MR. K. C. NEOGY, M.L.A.

SIR LESLIE HUDSON, KT., M.L.A.

MR. N. M. JOSHI, M.L.A.

## *Secretary :*

MIAN MUHAMMAD RAFI, BAR.-AT-LAW.

## *Assistant of the Secretary :*

RAI BAHADUR D. DUTT.

## *Marshal :*

CAPTAIN HAJI SARDAR NUR AHMAD KHAN, M.C., I.O.M., I.A

## *Committee on Public Petitions :*

MR. ABDUL MATIN CHAUDHURY, M.L.A., *Chairman.*

MR. K. C. NEOGY, M.L.A.

SIR HARI SINGH GOUR, KT., M.L.A.

MR. T. R. PHOOKUN, M.L.A.

MR. MUHAMMAD YAMIN KHAN, C.I.E., M.L.A.

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# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Tuesday, 30th January, 1934.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at Eleven of the Clock, Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty) in the Chair.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

### SCALES OF PAY OF THE HEAD MASTERS OF THE GOVERNMENT HIGH SCHOOLS, DELHI AND AJMER.

37. \*Pandit Satyendra Nath Sen: With reference to the answer given in this House on the 27th November 1933 by Mr. P. R. Rau to part (e) of starred question No. 1160, will Government be pleased to state the scales of pay of the Head Masters of the Delhi and Ajmer Government High Schools in the centrally administered area? |

Mr. G. S. Bajpai: The information asked for by the Honourable Member is laid on the table.

Recruitment for the post of Headmaster, Government High School, Delhi, is made from the cadre of the Punjab Educational Service, Class II, and the post of Headmaster, Government High School, Ajmer, is included in the cadre of the Ajmer-Merwara Educational Service. The scales of pay of these Services are :

Punjab Educational Service Class II	Rs. 250—25—50 <sup>n</sup> /25—600, with a selection grade on Rs. 650—30—800.
Ajmer-Merwara Educational Service	Rs. 200—20—500 with (i) lower selection grade on Rs. 525—25—600. and (ii) upper selection grade on Rs. 625—650.

### STATUS OF THE HEAD MASTERS OF THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY INDIAN HIGH SCHOOLS.

38. \*Pandit Satyendra Nath Sen: (a) With reference to Mr. P. R. Rau's answer to parts (f) and (g) of starred question No. 1160, dated the 27th November 1933 that "Railways must consider the question of status of Head Masters in the Railway High Schools with reference to the status of other Railway servants, and not with that of other Government servants", will Government be pleased to state whether this principle of treating the Head Masters or assistant teachers in Railway schools like other Railway servants, is followed in all matters affecting the teachers and whether this is the standing principle of the Railway Administration?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state whether the scales of pay of teachers in the East Indian Railway Indian schools were fixed with reference (i) to the pay of other Railway officers, or (ii) to that of the teachers in the Provincial Government Schools of the corresponding grade?

(c) Will Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that the economy cut in the salaries of the teachers in the East Indian Railway Indian schools was in the first instance enforced "as in the Provincial Government High Schools" and not like that imposed on the other Railway officers?

(d) Is it a fact that the East Indian Railway Administration have notified that teachers who are new entrants to the Railway schools will be brought under the revised scales of pay to be introduced in the Provincial Government Schools, and not under the revised scales of pay contemplated for other Railway subordinates?

(e) Will Government be pleased to state whether in the matter of rent free quarters, or charges for the supply of electricity therein, the teachers in the East Indian Railway schools are treated (i) like other Railway employees, or (ii) as a class apart with special privileges in the shape of rent free quarters where available, or (iii) as enjoying a free supply of electricity, or of free board in some cases, not enjoyed by other Railway officers of the corresponding grades?

(f) Will Government be pleased to state whether the East Indian Railway schools are run (i) according to the Provincial Education Codes, or (ii) according to the rules applying to other Railway Departments?

**Mr. P. B. Rau:** (a) As far as possible.

(b) As my Honourable friend is aware, the scales of pay of teachers in the East Indian Railway Indian Schools were revised in 1929, according to the desire expressed in various quarters in this House to correspond with the scales of pay of teachers of the Provincial Governments.

(c) Yes.

(d) and (e). Government have no information, but are making enquiries.

(f) Obviously the schools cannot be run according to the rules applying to other railway departments; but the procedure laid down in the Provincial Education Code need not necessarily be applied in every individual detail. I may add that I have been informed by the Agent that the rules for the management of these schools have the full approval of the educational authorities of the different provinces in which they are situated.

**Pandit Satyendra Nath Sen:** Regarding part (a), may I know if the railway teachers are regarded as railway servants in respect of their leave and income-tax?

**Mr. P. B. Rau:** I think I have already replied to that question more than once.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** Is it not desirable that the Government should fix the scale of salaries as is prevalent in the province where the schools are situated, and not compare it with residential hill schools established for special purposes?

**Mr. P. R. Rau:** My Honourable friend cannot have listened to the answers that have been given to these questions on the floor of this House. As far back as 1929, the scales of pay of these teachers were altered to correspond with the scales of pay of teachers in the Provincial Governments.

**Pandit Satyendra Nath Sen:** Regarding (e), is it a fact that the railway teachers enjoy free board, whereas other teachers enjoy nothing whatsoever?

**Mr. P. R. Rau:** As regards part (e), I am making inquiries.

**PRIVILEGES ENJOYED BY THE TEACHERS IN THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY SCHOOLS.**

**39. \*Pandit Satyendra Nath Sen:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether teachers in the East Indian Railway schools are allowed the same amount of casual leave as is allowed to other Railway officers, or are they governed by the Provincial Education Codes in this matter?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state whether the teachers in the East Indian Railway Indian schools are eligible for the same amount of privilege or medical leave as is admissible to the other Railway officers? Do the East Indian Railway leave rules or the State Railway leave rules apply to them? Is it not a fact that in the matter of leave also they are not treated like other Railway officers?

(c) Is it a fact that in the matter of leave the orders of the Railway Administration are that ordinarily all leave to teachers in the schools in the plains, beyond recognised school holidays and vacations, should be treated as leave without pay, each individual case being treated by the local committees on its merits, subject to the state of funds at the disposal of the committees?

(d) Does the same rule apply also to other Railway officers, and is it also the case that they too are not allowed leave with pay beyond the usual Railway holidays? Is their leave, too, subject to the state of the Railway funds?

(e) Do Government propose to enquire of the Provincial Directors of Public Instruction whether the principle of all leave beyond the recognised school holidays and vacations being ordinarily counted as leave without pay applies to teachers in the Provincial Government Schools, who also enjoy holidays and vacations like the Railway school teachers, and lay the information on the table?

(f) Is it a fact that neither in the East Indian Railway leave rules nor in the State Railway leave rules is there any clause specially excluding the teachers from the operation of those leave rules, and if so, why does the Railway Administration say that these rules *do not* apply to teachers in the schools in the plains?

(g) Why do Government put the Head Masters in the Railway schools in the same class or category as the other Railway officers?

**Mr. P. R. Rau:** (a) The amount of casual leave that may be granted to these teachers is left to the discretion of the authorities responsible for the management.



(b) and (c). I am informed that the teachers in the East Indian Railway High Schools are not governed by any definite leave rules; each leave application is being dealt with by the Managing Committee of the School on its merits. The question of framing leave rules for this class of staff is under consideration at present.

(d) No.

(e) Government consider this unnecessary.

(f) As my Honourable friend is aware, there has been a considerable amount of uncertainty as regards the position of these teachers, but steps will be taken to issue definite rules on subjects connected with their leave, etc., as soon as possible.

(g) So long as these teachers are considered railway servants, they must expect questions relating to them to be considered in the light of the rules relating to other railway servants.

#### STATUS OF THE FIRST ASSISTANT MASTER AND HEAD MISTRESSES OF THE OAKGROVE SCHOOL.

40. \***Pandit Satyendra Nath Sen:** (a) Was the status of 'officer' conferred on the first Assistant master (on Rs. 300 rising to Rs. 425) and the two Head Mistresses (on Rs. 250 rising to Rs. 350) in the East Indian Railway Oakgrove European School "with reference to the status of other Railway servants"? If not, why not? Is this reference to be made only when the status of Head Masters in Railway Indian High schools is under consideration?

(b) Did any other employee of the Railway in the same scale of pay as or in a scale of pay higher than the scales of pay of the above teachers of the Oakgrove School, make any representation when the decision to treat the aforesaid teachers of the Oakgrove School in the officers' grade was arrived at? Is there any record?

**Mr. P. B. Rau:** (a) I have often explained in this House that the status of officer conferred on the staff referred to was conferred by the East Indian Railway Company.

(b) Government have no information on the subject.

#### STATUS OF THE HEAD MASTERS OF THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY INDIAN HIGH SCHOOLS.

41. \***Pandit Satyendra Nath Sen:** (a) Is it the policy of Government that only the status of Head Masters of the East Indian Railway Indian High Schools should be decided and disabilities imposed upon them 'with reference to those of other Railway officers', and not the questions of leave and other conditions of service?

(b) Is it also the policy of Government to invoke the analogy of other Railway officers in some cases and of teachers of the Provincial Government High Schools in others or to ignore the analogy of both these classes in others?

(c) Do Government propose to consider the desirability of deciding definitely whether the conditions of service of teachers in the East Indian Railway Indian Schools should be assimilated to those of teachers in the

Provincial Government Schools or to those of other Railway officers, and not grouping them sometimes with one set and sometimes with another?

**Mr. P. B. Rau:** I would refer my Honourable friend to the reply I have just given to his question No. 39.

**EXPENSES OF THE OAKGROVE SCHOOL.**

42. \***Pandit Satyendra Nath Sen:** (a) With reference to Mr. Rau's answer to starred question No. 1162, dated the 27th November, 1933, that "the expenses of the Oakgrove European School are met from railway revenue direct and the accounts kept by the Chief Accounts Officer, East Indian Railway, whereas the other East Indian Railway Schools are financed by definite grants by the East Indian Railway and by the Local Governments and their accounts kept by the Managing Committee", will Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that the Oakgrove School also receives a grant from the Local Government? If so, what is the amount? Will Government please refer to page 24 of the Jones Report, wherein it is stated that the Oakgrove School also receives an annual grant of Rs. 20,000 from the Local Government? Has the said grant been increased since?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state why the expenses of the Oakgrove School are paid from railway revenue direct, and why only definite grants are paid to the East Indian Railway Indian Schools?

(c) What is the reason for a different method of financing and accounting being adopted in the case of the Oakgrove School from that in the case of the East Indian Railway Indian Schools?

(d) Is it a fact that the entire expenses on account of the Oakgrove School, *minus* the Local Government grant and the North Western Railway grant and fees, are paid out of the railway revenue whereas only a fixed grant is paid to the East Indian Railway Indian High Schools? If so, what is the reason for this discrimination against the East Indian Railway Indian Schools?

(e) Will Government please refer to page 24 of the Jones Report, wherein it is stated that the East Indian Railway met the entire deficit of Rs. 1,34,000 for the Oakgrove School in 1925-26? Has the same practice been continued? If so, do the East Indian Railway meet the entire deficit in the case of the Indian High Schools too? If not, why not?

(f) With reference to the answer given by Mr. (now Sir Alan) Parsons in this House to part (d) of starred question No. 110, dated the 1st February, 1928, and the Railway Board's letter No. 6404-E. of the 26th June, 1928, is it a fact that the teachers in the East Indian Railway Indian Schools are railway employees like the teachers in the Oakgrove European School? If so, is not railway revenue ultimately liable for the salaries of the teachers in the East Indian Railway Indian Schools and of teachers in the Oakgrove European School?

(g) If the answer to part (f) above be in the affirmative, why is this discrimination made between the Oakgrove European School and the East Indian Railway Indian High Schools?

**Mr. P. E. Rau:** (a) The Oakgrove School receives a grant from the Government of the United Provinces. This was Rs. 29,000 when Mr. Jones reported. I am not aware that it has been raised, but shall obtain the information for my Honourable friend.

(b) This has been the practice hitherto.

(c) and (g). The question of accounting is under consideration at present.

(d) The discrimination, so far as I can see, is only in the method of accounting, and, as I have already stated, the question is under consideration.

(e) I am obtaining the information required and shall lay a statement on the table of the House in due course.

(f) I have nothing to add to or subtract from the reply given by Sir Alan Parsons to this question.

**Pandit Satyendra Nath Sen:** Is the differential treatment granted to the Oakgrove School regarding grants due to the fact that the teachers in that school are regarded as purely railway servants, whereas other teachers are not?

**Mr. P. E. Rau:** The difference is only in the method of accounting and, as I have already explained to my Honourable friend, the question of revising the method of accounting in these Indian schools is under consideration at present.

#### RUNNING AT A DEFICIT OF THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY INDIAN HIGH SCHOOLS AT SAHIBGANJ AND JAMALPUR.

43. **\*Pandit Satyendra Nath Sen:** (a) Is it a fact that the East Indian Railway Indian High Schools at Sahibganj and Jamalpur have for some time past been running at a deficit?

(b) Is it a fact that the local managements applied to the Railway Administration for increased grants so that the deficits might be met?

(c) Is it a fact that the Railway Administration refused to increase the grants? If so, why?

(d) Is it a fact that in consequence of the refusal of the Administration to cover the deficits at Sahibganj and Jamalpur, they are being met by the local management by drawing upon the small balances at the credit of the schools and by loans from other funds which will soon be exhausted?

(e) Do Government approve of this discrimination made by the Railway Administration in the matter of financing of the Oakgrove European School and the Railway Indian Schools?

(f) Are Government prepared to issue instructions to the East Indian Railway Administration that there should be no discrimination between the Oakgrove European School and the East Indian Railway Indian High Schools in this or any other respect? If not, why not?

(g) Is it a fact that on account of this refusal of the Administration to increase the grants to the Jamalpur School, increments to teachers according to the scale sanctioned by the Railway Board in 1929 were held in abeyance for months?

(h) Are Government aware that their orders bringing the salaries of teachers in the East Indian Railway Indian Schools to the level of those

obtaining in the Provincial Government Schools of the corresponding grades, will not be effective unless necessary financial assistance is given by the Administration to these Indian schools?

**Mr. P. E. Rau:** I am obtaining certain information from the East Indian Railway and shall lay a reply on the table of the House in due course.

**USE OF SERVICE STAMPS BY THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY INDIAN HIGH SCHOOLS.**

**44. \*Pandit Satyendra Nath Sen:** (a) With reference to Mr. Rau's answer to starred question No. 1162, dated the 27th November, 1933, that service stamps are allowed to be used in the Oakgrove European School, the cost of such stamps being debited to the school accounts, do Government propose to allow the use of service stamps to such of the East Indian Railway Indian High Schools as may choose to do so, the cost of stamps used by them being debited to the grants paid to these schools? If not, why not?

(b) Are Government aware that the refusal of this privilege to the Indian Schools of the East Indian Railway, while it has been conceded to the Oakgrove European School, is regarded as another instance of racial discrimination against the Indian High Schools? Do Government propose to issue orders so that this discrimination may be abolished at once by giving the same privilege to the Indian schools?

(c) Do Government adopt the same financing and accounting methods in the case of all the East Indian Railway Schools, European and Indian? If not, why not?

(d) How do Government reconcile this discriminatory treatment as regards financing and accounting and refusal of permission to use service stamps, with the answer given by Mr. P. R. Rau to starred question No. 795 of the 20th March 1933 that "It is not intended to draw any discrimination between the Oakgrove European School and the other East Indian Railway Schools. The latter are Government schools to the same extent as the former"?

(e) Do Government propose to remove this discrimination? If not, why not?

**Mr. P. E. Rau:** The question will be considered, but Government do not think that the matter is of any practical importance, or that any racial discrimination exists, or is implied, in the present procedure.

**Pandit Satyendra Nath Sen:** What is it due to, then?

**Mr. P. E. Rau:** The question of the use of service stamps is a matter of minor detail and I do not think any racial discrimination is implied.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** Is it not a fact that the Oakgrove School is a residential school and that all the other schools are day schools?

**Mr. P. E. Rau:** I do not think that is a sufficient reason for the use of service stamps or otherwise.

## CONSUMPTION OF PIG IRON BY RAILWAYS.

45. **\*Mr. G. Morgan** (on behalf of Mr. C. C. Biswas): (a) Referring to the answer to unstarred question No. 233 given on the 27th November, 1933, stating that the Railway Board entered into an agreement for the purchase of 84,000 tons of pig iron between October 1931 and March 1935, will Government please state what is the balance of this quantity of pig iron now in hand, and how long it will take to use up the balance at the present rate of consumption? On what basis of weight of pig iron per sleeper is consumption calculated?

(b) Is it a fact that further 20,000 tons of pig iron have recently been purchased?

**Mr. P. B. Rau:** (a) 8,100 tons of pig iron are in stock at present and the balance to be delivered under terms of the agreement amounts to 48,548 tons. To meet railway demands for cast iron sleepers during 1934-35 and orders at present being executed it is estimated that approximately 46,000 tons of pig iron will be required. The balance will therefore be probably consumed during the year 1934-35. The basis of weight of pig iron per sleeper depends on the type manufactured but cast iron sleeper plates weigh an average of about 95 lbs. each.

(b) Not by Government.

## CONSTRUCTION OF WRENCH-MAHINDRA SLEEPERS BY STATE RAILWAYS.

46. **\*Mr. G. Morgan** (on behalf of Mr. C. C. Biswas): (a) With reference to the answer to unstarred question No. 234 given on the 27th November, 1933, are any Wrench-Mahindra sleepers constructed by State Railways?

(b) Is it a fact that the patent feature referred to can only be purchased from one firm and is imported from England?

(c) If the State Railways made the Wrench-Mahindra sleeper, would they have to purchase the patent feature?

(d) What proportion of the cost does the patent feature bear to the total cost of a Wrench-Mahindra sleeper?

(e) Do Government propose to inform this House whether any royalty is paid to the patentees of the feature by the firm in England? If Government have no information, are they prepared to enquire into the matter?

(f) Have Government considered whether it is possible for Government to secure the use of this patent feature free of royalty, so that it could be manufactured in India?

**Mr. P. B. Rau:** (a) None have been manufactured up to date.

(b) The feature in the existing design is the patent of a firm in England and permission to manufacture or obtain from other sources is a matter for arrangement with the patentees. The feature which constituted the original patent is not incorporated in the existing design.

(c) Yes, unless an arrangement is made with the patentees.

(d) About 10 per cent.

(e) The firm in England are themselves the patentees of the feature; as I have already explained, no royalty is paid on the Wrench-Mahindra invention.

(f) Government are unable to say how such a proposal would be viewed by the patentees, but are of opinion that it would be most unlikely that the patentees would agree to their invention being used free of royalty.

**RETURN ROYALTY ON THE PURCHASE OF SLEEPERS.**

47. **\*Mr. G. Morgan** (on behalf of Mr. C. C. Biswas): With reference to the answer to unstarred question No. 236, dated the 27th November, 1933, will Government please state if return royalty is taken into account in purchasing sleepers? If not, why not?

**Mr. P. B. Rau:** Return Royalties are not taken into account, because railways are commercial undertakings and cannot, when purchasing sleepers, afford to depart from commercial principles in order to benefit provincial revenues.

**TENDERS FOR SUPPLEMENTARY SUPPLIES OF SALWOOD TRACK SLEEPERS.**

48. **\*Mr. G. Morgan** (on behalf of Mr. C. C. Biswas): (a) Is it a fact that tenders have recently been invited by the Sleeper Control Officer, Eastern Group, for supplementary supplies of Salwood Track Sleepers to be delivered between the 1st April, 1934, and the 31st January, 1935?

(b) Are Government aware that under the terms of the tenders, the tenders are open not merely to actual owners or lessees of sleeper-producing forests, but also to prospective lessees of coupes?

(c) Are Government aware that the potential supply of wooden sleepers from present owners and lessees of forests and coupes is now greater than the demand, and if so, what is the reason for accepting tenders from persons other than actual owners and lessees of forests and coupes?

(d) Are Government prepared to give an assurance that if and when tenders are called for further supplies, orders will be placed only with those suppliers who are actual owners or lessees of Sal forests or coupes and whose supplying capacity has been definitely proved by personal inspection of such forests or coupes by the Railway Board Timber Advisory Officer, or other competent officer, specially appointed for the purpose?

**Mr. P. B. Rau:** (a) and (b). Yes.

(c) and (d). The policy of Government is that tenders should, as far as possible, be called for without restriction, so that supplies may be obtained from the widest possible market at most favourable prices. Government are not prepared to restrict, in the manner suggested, the placing of orders for timber sleepers in India. It must be left to the authority responsible for placing such orders to take whatever steps may be considered necessary to ascertain whether tendering firms or contractors are capable of fulfilling orders that might be placed with them.

**EMPLOYMENT OF SOLDIERS FOR FORCING ONE MR. ASHUTOSH ROY CHOWDHURY OF CONTAI, MIDNAPUR, TO SALUTE THE UNION JACK.**

49. **\*Mr. S. C. Mitra:** (a) Is it a fact that the house of Mr. Ashutosh Roy Chowdhury of Balyagovindapur, Post Office Argool in the Contai Sub-division, District Midnapur, was surrounded on the night of December, 9,

last, by a party of Garhwali soldiers accompanied by Sub-Inspectors of Egra and Postashpur Thanas, other police officers and Mr. Dhirendranath Mukherjee, Special Magistrate of Contai?

(b) Is it a fact that Mr. Ashutosh Roy Chowdhury, as soon as he came out of his house, was ordered by the Special Magistrate to salute the Union Jack, and hardly had he explained his position when orders were given to a Chowkidar to tie up his hands on the back and to a Havildar to beat him with a cane?

(c) Is it a fact that soldiers were ordered to enter his house and break several house-hold articles?

(d) Did they commit the mischief in the house of one Ramanath Maity of the same village?

(e) Is it a fact that both the gentlemen were made to march first to the Amarshi Training School and then to the Soldiers' Camp at Manglamarow, where they were locked-up in one of the rooms of the High School, and were given nothing for the day's meal?

(f) Is it a fact that they were brought out at 5 P.M. on December 10 in the parade ground and were asked to salute the flag? Were they seriously and mercilessly belaboured with canes at that time?

(g) Is it a fact that their heads were forcibly struck against the ground to make them salute the flag in the presence of a large number of villagers?

(h) Is it a fact that they were given nothing at night to lie upon, and that they passed the whole night sitting and shivering in cold?

(i) Is it a fact that they were taken on December 11 to the police station at Potashpur, and subsequently let off?

(j) Are Government aware that Mr. Ashutosh Roy Chowdhury had no disrespect for the Union Jack?

(k) Will Government be pleased to state why soldiers were requisitioned for this kind of work? Was the Government of India consulted about the employment of soldiers for this purpose in Bengal?

(l) Do Government realise that such use of soldiers brings them down in public estimation?

**The Honourable Sir Harry Haig:** I would invite the attention of the Honourable Member to my reply to Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh's question No. 36 of the 29th instant on the same subject.

**Mr. S. C. Mitra:** Will the Honourable Member make further enquiries from the Government of Bengal whether they have received letters dated the 21st December, 1933, from Mr. Ashutosh Roy Chowdhury making allegations similar to those appearing in this question?

**The Honourable Sir Harry Haig:** If the Honourable Member's question which runs from (a) to (l) is not complete, he might put down a further question on the subject.

**Mr. S. C. Mitra:** May I ask, if you, Sir, do not disallow it, if the Government of India will ask the Government of Bengal whether letters dated the 21st December were not received by the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, the Divisional Commissioner, the District Magistrate and other high officials? Copies of the letter were sent to all these

officers so that there might be no delay on the part of Government of India to answer these questions and with the view that we might not be denied the privilege of putting supplementary questions?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty): What does the Honourable Member mean?

**Mr. S. C. Mitra:** The allegations in these questions are about the treatment meted out by the soldiers. These allegations were brought to the notice of the Government of Bengal, of the District Magistrate, of the Divisional Commissioner and all other high officials. I ask the Honourable the Home Member to enquire whether the above officers received those letters?

**The Honourable Sir Harry Haig:** I have already asked the Government of Bengal for a report on the facts and it is obvious that they would not delay the matter longer than is necessary to ascertain them.

#### RELEASE OF STATE PRISONERS AND DETENUS.

50. **\*Mr. S. C. Mitra:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state if they have any policy or plan with regard to the releasing of State Prisoners and detenues, who have been confined indefinitely without trial?

(b) Is it a fact that some of them are now under detention for years? How long do Government propose to detain them?

(c) Is it a fact that some prisoners were detained just after their acquittal or discharge by competent courts of law?

(d) Is it the intention of Government not to release these detenues and State Prisoners before the introduction of the new constitutional reforms?

**The Honourable Sir Harry Haig:** (a) The Honourable Member presumably refers to persons against whom action has been taken under Regulation III of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act on the ground of their terrorist activities. They are detained because Government are satisfied that their release would strengthen the terrorist movement and as long as those conditions exist there can be no question of their release.

(b) Some of these State Prisoners have been detained since 1931. As the terrorist movement still continues, it is not possible to say for how long it will be necessary to detain them.

(c) In some cases it has been necessary to take action under Regulation III or the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act as a preventive measure against terrorists who have been acquitted or discharged on a specific charge.

(d) I invite attention to my answer to part (b).

**Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** Is it the intention of Government to put on trial before a regular court of law these persons who have been so long detained without trial?

**The Honourable Sir Harry Haig:** No, Sir. It is not the intention of the Government to put them on trial before an ordinary court of law.



**Mr. S. C. Mitra:** Will the Honourable Member tell the House whether Government have taken any steps to bring these persons, who are alleged to be connected with terrorist crime, round to constitutional views or to provide them with employment after their discharge, so that they may make better citizens according to Government estimate?

**The Honourable Sir Harry Haig:** It is always open to the detenus to approach Government if they have changed their views and have come to the conclusion that they have been pursuing a mistaken policy.

**Mr. S. C. Mitra:** I am afraid the Honourable Member has not followed my question. What I want to know is whether Government have taken or are going to take any steps to bring these persons, who are alleged to have terrorist tendencies, round to constitutional views or are they merely detained for an indefinite period of time and that they should be allowed to remain there, as they are, for ever?

**The Honourable Sir Harry Haig:** It is not very easy to change the views of men whose views are so set that they are prepared to take to these courses in pursuance of them.

**Mr. S. C. Mitra:** May I take it that Government are of opinion that the detenus are of such set views that they can never be made good citizens?

**The Honourable Sir Harry Haig:** I hope that is not the case and in fact the Government are anxious by separating the more determined from what they judge to be less determined men, to give a chance to the less determined men to revise their views, and that is a matter which the Government have always in mind.

**Mr. S. C. Mitra:** Is this the only step that Government can think of taking, namely, to separate the more determined from the less determined or are the Government taking any further steps to bring them round to constitutional views?

**The Honourable Sir Harry Haig:** I hope, Sir, that the course of events in the next few years will gradually operate in the direction which the Honourable Member desires.

**Mr. B. Das:** Are there not certain State Prisoners who were detained before 1931 and who were not arrested in connection with the terrorist movement?

**The Honourable Sir Harry Haig:** I am not sure that that question arises out of the question asked by Mr. Mitra.

**Mr. B. Das:** It arises out of part (b), State Prisoners and detenus?

**The Honourable Sir Harry Haig:** I would suggest that if the Honourable Member desires information about State Prisoners other than those detained in respect of terrorism, he should put down a question on the subject.

**Mr. B. V. Jadhav:** With regard to part (c), will Government be pleased to give, when they know that the accused person deserves to be detained even after acquittal after trial, the reason as to why Government take the trouble to put them on trial?

**The Honourable Sir Harry Haig:** It is always better to have a person tried and convicted on a specific charge if that is possible, but we often find that we have evidence which we think is sufficient to justify a trial on a specific charge and in addition to that a great deal of general evidence which cannot be put before a Court of law.

**Mr. B. V. Jadhav:** May I know how many persons who were acquitted have not been arrested and detained later on?

**The Honourable Sir Harry Haig:** I am afraid I have no information on that point immediately available.

**Mr. B. V. Jadhav:** Are there any such?

**The Honourable Sir Harry Haig:** Is the Honourable Member repeating part (c) of the question, because, if so, I have given an answer.

**Mr. B. Das:** Parts (a) and (b) of this question relate to State Prisoners who are not connected with the terrorist movement, so that all the State Prisoners come under part (a) which says:

“Will Government be pleased to state if they have any policy or plan with regard to the releasing of State Prisoners and detenus, who have been confined indefinitely without trial.”

It does not say anything about terrorist movement although the reply of the Honourable the Home Member does.

**The Honourable Sir Harry Haig:** I took it that the intention of the Honourable Member, Mr. Mitra, was to refer to terrorist prisoners and I made that clear in my answer.

**Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** What about other prisoners who are not supposed to be connected with the terrorist activities and who have been detained without trial indefinitely?

**The Honourable Sir Harry Haig:** If the Honourable Member is interested in the subject, I have suggested that he should put down a question and I will endeavour to give him an answer.

**Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** The original question was wide enough to cover my point also.

#### RESTORATION OF THE FIVE PER CENT. CUT IN SALARY.

51. **Mr. S. C. Mitra:** Are Government aware that there is a strong public opinion in the country that there should not be any difference between the All-India services and other Government services as regards the restoration of five per cent. cut in salary?

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** The answer is in the affirmative.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** I should like to know whether, in view of the strong opinion in the country, Government will not make any differentiation?

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** The Honourable Member had better wait and see.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** Will the Honourable Member respect public opinion in the country?

**Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh:** Has it ever been respected?

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** I repeat that my Honourable friend should wait and see.

#### CONSTRUCTION OF THE FARIDPUR RAILWAY STATION ON THE EASTERN BENGAL RAILWAY.

52. **\*Mr. S. C. Mitra:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state if money has been sanctioned in the Railway Budget for the construction of Faridpur Railway Station on the Eastern Bengal Railway?

(b) If so, when is the work likely to be taken up and completed, and what amount has been sanctioned for the purpose?

(c) Has it been decided to remove the Station site to a more centrally situated place?

**Mr. P. R. Rau:** The provision of a sum of Rs. two lakhs in the 1984-85 Budget, for the construction of a new station, more centrally situated at Faridpur, has been approved by the Standing Finance Committee for Railways. If this is sanctioned by the Legislative Assembly when considering the Demands for Grants, it is intended to take the work in hand in the near future and complete it early in 1985-86.

**Pandit Satyendra Nath Sen:** How long has this question been hanging fire?

**Mr. P. R. Rau:** I have no idea, Sir.

#### RESERVATION OF CLERICAL POSTS FOR BRITISH MILITARY SUBORDINATES AND LADIES IN THE ARMY HEADQUARTERS.

53. **\*Mr. S. C. Mitra:** (a) With reference to the answer given on the 22nd December, 1983, to part (d) of Mr. P. G. Reddi's starred question No. 1484, is it a fact that in addition to the posts held by the British civilian element in the ministerial establishments of the Army Headquarters, 25 per cent. of the clerical posts are reserved for British military subordinates and lady clerks? Does this 25 per cent. include the technical military clerks?

(b) What do Government mean by the expression "few men recruited from British regiments" used in the answer? What are the other methods employed by Government to fill the 25 per cent. posts reserved for military personnel?

(c) Are Government aware of the prevailing acute unemployment distress among educated Indians and are they prepared to reduce the total percentage of posts reserved and otherwise filled by non-Indian personnel for the benefit of Indians? If not, why not?

**Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham:** (a) The position as stated in the first part of the question is not exactly correct. Twenty-five per cent. of the appointments on the regular ministerial establishment are reserved for soldiers, *ex*-soldiers, and lady clerks. It is possible for other British civilians to get posts in Army Headquarters if they succeed, as members of a minority community, at the competitive examination held by the Public Service Commission. But so far as I am aware there have been no such cases for the last four or five years. Technical clerks are not borne on the regular ministerial establishment and are not therefore included in the 25 per cent.

(b) The expression was used with reference to recruitment to the second Division and means what it says. Probably the recruitment is not more than two or three a year. No methods other than recruitment from British regiments are employed to fill the posts reserved for military personnel.

(c) Government are aware that unemployment exists. The proportion of soldiers was reduced as recently as 1932 by including lady clerks in the quota of 25 per cent. No further reduction can be contemplated at present on grounds of administrative efficiency.

**Mr. S. O. Mitra:** Apart from the 25 per cent. reserved in the ministerial establishment for British military subordinates, what other percentage of this ministerial cadre is filled by British civilians and by the technical clerks? Is it in addition to this 25 per cent.? If so, what is the percentage?

**Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham:** I cannot give the Honourable Member off-hand actual figures of percentages, but I think the number of technical clerks is about 20 in the whole of Army Headquarters, which roughly is about 600 strong, the number of soldier clerks, I believe, is about 100; and the number of lady clerks is about 50. I think these roughly are the figures.

**MINISTERIAL APPOINTMENTS RESERVED FOR MILITARY SUBORDINATES AND LADIES IN THE WAR OFFICE, LONDON.**

54. **\*Mr. S. O. Mitra:** Will Government please state the percentage of the ministerial appointments reserved for military subordinates and lady clerks at the War Office, London? If none, what is the special reason for this reservation in the Army Headquarters, India?

**Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham:** As regards the first portion of the question such information as is available shows that in the departments of the War Office which correspond to the Army Headquarters the ministerial establishment consists entirely of soldiers and *ex*-soldiers.

The second part of the question does not, therefore, arise.

**Mr. S. O. Mitra:** Are we to take it that there are no appointments of civilians in the British War Office and that no percentage of posts is reserved for lady clerks there?

**Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham:** No, that is not the exact position. As I will explain, when answering the next question, there are certain departments of the War Office in which civilians are employed. There are certain other departments in which military or *ex*-military personnel are employed. Those portions of the War Office which correspond to the Army Headquarters in this country employ military and *ex*-military personnel.

**Mr. S. O. Mitra:** What is the reason for making this difference in India as regards the Army Headquarters?

**Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham:** There is no difference.

**Mr. S. O. Mitra:** I think the Honourable Member said that in the War Office corresponding to this side there are only military men recruited, but here in India according to his own statement a large number of civilians are taken as clerks.

**Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham:** I am sorry I was wrong in my previous answer. The difference in this country is that we find that we can get on with civilian personnel, Indian clerks and so on, who can do the work adequately as long as there is a certain percentage of military and *ex*-military personnel in the establishment.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** Is it the intention of Government to fill up the whole of the Army Headquarters by soldiers and *ex*-soldiers, as is said, is the case in the War Office?

**Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham:** No, Sir.

#### INFERIOR SERVICE CONDITIONS IN THE ARMY HEADQUARTERS.

155. **Mr. S. O. Mitra:** (a) Is it a fact that duties of an identical nature are performed by the Army Headquarters, India, and the War Office, London?

(b) Is it a fact that the clerical personnel working at the India Office, Foreign Office, Home Office and the War Office, London, serve under identical service conditions?

(c) If the answers to parts (a) and (b) above be in the affirmative, will Government please state the reason why the clerical personnel working at the Army Headquarters, India, are in receipt of rates of pay, etc., far inferior to those drawn by their confreres in Military Finance, Army and other Departments of the Government of India?

(d) Is it a fact that the same question which is initiated by an Army Headquarter office on its own file is dealt with by the two other allied Departments, *viz.*, the Military Finance and the Army Department Secretariat?

(e) Is it a fact that the clerical personnel recruited by the Public Service Commission for all the Departments of Government (including Army Headquarters) have to pass the same competitive test?

(f) Will Government please state whether they have considered whether the Chief of the General Staff, the Adjutant General, the Quarter-Master General and the Master General of Ordnance in India should not draw lower emoluments than those drawn by the Army and other Secretaries to the Government of India? If not, why not?

**Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham:** (a) and (b). The War Office in England is composed of various departments some of which correspond to the Army Headquarters in India, while others correspond to the Army Department and Military Finance Branch in this country. The civil service personnel employed in the latter draw the same rates of pay as civil service personnel in other departments of the British Government just as the establishments of the Army Department and the Military Finance Branch draw the same rates of pay as the establishments in other secretariats in India. On the other hand the military and *ex*-military personnel employed in those branches of the War Office which correspond to the Army Headquarters draw in England, as in India, separate rates of pay of their own.

(c) Does not arise.

(d) Many questions initiated in the Army Headquarters are dealt with by the Military Finance Branch and the Army Department Secretariat.

(e) Yes, that has been the position of recent years.

(f) Government cannot accept the analogy implied by the Honourable Member because neither the pay of the high military authorities mentioned, nor that of Secretaries to Government is fixed with reference to the nature of the clerical duties performed by their respective offices.

#### PAY AND PROSPECTS OF THE INDIAN ARMY CORPS OF CLERKS.

56. **\*Mr. S. O. Mitra:** (a) Will Government please state what is the principle underlying the latest Army Headquarters scheme of clerical organization contained in Army Department Letter, No. 38166/1 (A: D.-3), dated the 18th December, 1933, *i.e.*, inferior prospects for Indians and superior prospects for the non-Indian element? What is the underlying reason for the racial discrimination?

(b) Will this principle be extended to other services and departments of Government? If not, what is the special reason for its confinement to the Army Headquarters?

(c) Will Government please furnish a comparative statement of the pay and prospects which will apply to the two wings of the Indian Army Corps of Clerks. *viz.*, British and Indian wings, to be introduced for men joining Army Headquarter service from 1st January 1934?

(d) Is it a fact that an Indian winger will begin service on Rs. 60 per mensem and end with Rs. 300, while the corresponding figures for a British winger are Rs. 210 per mensem and 1,145 per mensem, which latter is the maximum pay that can be drawn by a quartermaster of the Indian Army Corps of Clerks? If not, what are the actual figures?

**Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham:** (a) The principle underlying the scheme is not to provide inferior prospects for Indians and superior prospects for the non-Indian element. The object of the scheme is to give military personnel the same rates of pay as they are entitled to receive at present in other military offices and to give civilian personnel a constitution better suited to a military organization and rates of pay reduced to give the same general financial effect as the reductions made for civilian personnel in other offices under the Government of India.

(b) Does not arise.

(c) The information will be found in Pay and Allowance Regulations Part I and Part I—Special, except that civilian personnel at the Army Headquarters as distinct from other military offices will receive a 20 per cent. allowance in addition.

(d) The starting pay for civilian clerks in the third Division will be Rs. 60 per mensem instead of Rs. 90 as hitherto. The minimum for military personnel, who are not now employed in the third Division, will remain as at present at Rs. 190. The maximum pay for which civilian clerks will be eligible will depend on the revised rates of pay which have not yet been fixed for officer supervisors and other higher appointments filled from the ministerial establishment. The maximum for a quartermaster of the Indian Army Corps of Clerks is as stated but this pay was never intended for persons performing purely clerical duties, and as a matter of fact there are now no quartermasters in the I. A. C. C.

The maximum pay of rank for a member of the British wing performing purely clerical duties will be Rs. 370.

**Mr. S. C. Mitra:** Should I be correct in assuming that the pay of the British wing and the Indian wing bear the same proportion as it is in the War Office in England between the civil and the military clerks?

**Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham:** I should like to have notice of that question. I do not know the exact rates of pay in the War Office.

**Mr. B. V. Jadhav:** May I know whether the 25 per cent. posts that are reserved for soldiers and *ex*-soldiers are also available for Indian soldiers and *ex*-soldiers?

**Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham:** At present they are reserved for British soldiers from British regiments.

**Mr. S. C. Mitra:** What is the special reason for making this discrimination?

**Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham:** I think the reason is that the sepoy in the Indian regiment has not, as a rule, sufficient education to perform clerical duties.

**Mr. S. C. Mitra:** The question is, if the proper man with the proper qualifications is available, will he get the same pay? Why do you call that side the "British wing" and not the soldiers' wing?

**Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham:** The reason underlying the distinction clearly is that members of the British Army require higher rates of pay than Indians living in their own country. The difference really is a difference in the rates of pay.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** Is it not desirable to put down the qualifications for recruitment and not the regiments from which persons will be recruited? Ought not persons from all regiments to be recruited?

**Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham:** The point is that we want in the Army Headquarters a certain number of soldier clerks with military knowledge and

military experience. We cannot get clerks with that military experience from the Indian Army at present, because the ordinary run of person who enlists in the Indian Army does not go in for a high standard of education. On the other hand, in the British Army, we do have a certain number of men who have fairly high educational qualifications and are ready to take up these clerical posts. That is the reason why we employ a certain number of British military clerks in the Army Headquarters and in other offices of the Army.

**Mr. B. V. Jadhav:** In replying to the question regarding cadets, the Army Secretary told the House that even graduates were now enlisting in the Indian Army: will they not be suitable for this sort of work?

**Mr. G. E. F. Tottenham:** Yes; it is possible that we might get here and there an Indian Army sepoy who would be suitable for this work, but the general run of educational qualifications in the Indian Army is not so high as it is in the British Army, and the number of people in the Indian Army who would like to take up clerical work must be very small. Those persons to whom the Honourable Member referred, as having university qualifications, are generally Indians who join the Indian Army with the hope of rising in their regiments and obtaining Viceroy's Commissions and ultimately King's Commissions: they do not enter the Indian Army with the object of becoming clerks: they enter it rather with the object of becoming officers.

**Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan:** May I ask what is the educational qualification of those people about whom the Honourable Member said that their rate of salary is Rs. 190 for soldier clerks, and why is there such a big difference between the two—190 in one case and 60 in the other?

**Mr. G. E. F. Tottenham:** I cannot say off-hand exactly what the educational qualifications required are, but the point is that Rs. 190 is considered the minimum wage on which a British soldier clerk can afford to live in Simla and in Delhi. These soldier clerks are always employed in the second division or in the first division of the Army Headquarters clerical establishments; they are not employed in the third division which performs mostly routine and clerical duties of a minor nature. It is for the third division alone that the minimum pay of Rs. 90 at present and Rs. 60 in future has been fixed.

**Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan:** How much expenditure does it involve altogether by making this difference in salary?

**Mr. G. E. F. Tottenham:** The whole of this reorganisation is going to result in considerable saving of expenditure. I could not say exactly offhand what the amount will be.

**Mr. S. O. Mitra:** May I take it that the attention of the Honourable the Army Secretary was drawn to the Report "on the Ministerial establishments and the work performed by them at Army Headquarters and Royal Air Force Headquarters" by Mr. Macdonald, where he says:

"I regret, therefore, that I cannot endorse the view that the clerical work is such as requires the employment of British military subordinate personnel of the I. A. O. C. on special rates of pay."

Does he endorse that view?



**Mr. G. B. F. Tottenham:** I must ask for notice of that question: I have not read that report for a long time.

**Mr. S. C. Mitra:** May I draw his further attention to the fact that in reply to a previous question, by Mr. Reddi he said that these remarks applied only to a particular case: will he take care to read the remarks at pages 54 and 55 of Mr. Macdonald's report where he says:

"I have devoted considerable time and trouble to the examination of the clerical work of this Section from every possible aspect and I must admit that I have not come across a single case where technical knowledge in the real sense of the term was displayed in any of the notes or drafts submitted by any members of the office establishment."

Is he aware that this is not about a particular clerk, but it was about the special qualifications required for these technical clerks?

**Mr. G. B. F. Tottenham:** As I said, it is some time since I read that report, but I think the Honourable Member is referring to the question of the number of technical clerks who should be employed in the Army Headquarters. As a result of Mr. Macdonald's investigation, the number of these technical clerks was very largely reduced. As far as I remember, there used to be somewhere near 60 or 70, whereas at present there are only 20. I think that portion of the report which the Honourable Member has quoted referred to Mr. Macdonald's opinion as to the work of these technical clerks in the old days, when he gave it as his opinion that we were employing an unnecessarily expensive agency for certain duties; and in consequence of that we very largely reduced the number of technical clerks.

**Sirdar Harbans Singh Brar:** Will the Army Secretary tell us whether, if Indians, who now join as sepoy in the Indian Army with educational qualifications of university standard, fail to get the King's Commission, or the Viceroy's Commission for some reason or other, they will be considered for employment in the Army Headquarters as clerks on the same rates of pay as the British soldier clerks?

**Mr. G. B. F. Tottenham:** I will certainly consider that suggestion.

**Mr. S. C. Mitra:** Will the Army Secretary also accede to this, that the other side should not be called the "British soldiers wing", but the "soldiers wing" and that they should not make any distinction between Indian and English soldiers and that there should be no racial considerations?

**Mr. G. B. F. Tottenham:** I will also consider that question.

#### SUPERSESSION OF A MUSLIM SUPERINTENDENT IN THE QUARTERMASTER GENERAL'S BRANCH.

57. **\*Mr. S. C. Mitra:** (a) With reference to the answer given to Mr. P. G. Reddi's starred question No. 1487 of the 22nd December, 1933, is it a fact that a Muhammadan Superintendent in the Quartermaster General's Branch, who was the most senior man on the list, was superseded for promotion to an officer supervisor's post by a junior ex-soldier superintendent last year? If so, what was the reason for that supersession?

(b) Are Government prepared to refer the two men's confidential reports to the Public Service Commission with a view to public satisfaction that racial discrimination was not the cause of the supersession? If not, why not?

**Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham:** (a) Yes, because the post of Officer Supervisor is a selection post and the Muhammadan Superintendent was not considered the best man to fill it.

(b) No, Sir. Because the very high officer in whose discretion the matter rested was in the best position to judge the relative efficiency of the various men working in his office and there is no reason whatever to believe that his choice was in any way influenced by racial considerations.

**TECHNICAL MILITARY CLERKS IN THE MASTER-GENERAL OF THE ORDNANCE BRANCH.**

58. **\*Mr. S. C. Mitra:** (a) Is it a fact that the eleven warrant officers employed as technical military clerks in Master-General of the Ordnance Branch have not been replaced in the establishments from which they were drawn, and if so, is it a fact that the substance of the answer to Mr. P. G. Reddi's starred question No. 1485, part (a), dated the 22nd December, 1933, is incorrect?

(b) Is it a fact that the legitimate functions of these men were carried on for years together, during their absence, without the necessity of appointing substitutes and if so, have Government considered the question of declaring them surplus to the establishments to which they belong?

(c) With reference to the answer to part (d) of the same question, has any experiment ever been made to see whether the permanent clerical establishment (including the British civilian personnel) are capable of performing the work on which these highly paid technical clerks are employed? If so, what are the names of the clerks who, as a result, were found failures?

(d) With reference to the answer to part (c) of the same question, will Government please state the name of the individual who was immediately replaced by a routine clerk, and his present whereabouts?

(e) Will Government please now answer part (b) of the original question in the light of the above questions?

**Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham:** (a) and (b). The previous answer was quite correct. As a matter of fact there are only four technical clerks in the M. G. O. Branch who have not been replaced in arsenals, but it is immaterial where the men are employed. The point is that they are employed where they are most wanted and are not therefore surplus to requirements.

(c) It takes years of specialised training in arsenals for technical clerks to acquire the knowledge necessary for the efficient discharge of their duties at the Army Headquarters. There are no facilities for acquiring this knowledge at the Army Headquarters, and consequently an experiment on the lines indicated has not been, and could not be, made. The place in which to make experiments is the arsenals and this is being done by employing Indians as storekeepers in arsenals.

(d) No.

(e) I can only repeat the reply previously given.

**Mr. S. C. Mitra:** May I take it then that the Honourable the Army Secretary accepts that these 11 men were surplus?

**Mr. G. E. F. Tottenham:** As I said, there were 11 of these men altogether: seven of them were replaced in the arsenals and four of them were not. None was surplus.

**POSTS OF DIRECTOR AND ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF REGULATIONS AND FORMS  
IN THE ARMY DEPARTMENT.**

59. **\*Mr. S. C. Mitra:** (a) Will Government please state the rates of pay of the posts of Director of Regulations and Forms and Assistant Director of Regulations and Forms (or officer on special duty) in the Army Department?

(b) What are the functions attached to these posts? Does the Director produce regulations for the Army in India, or merely supervise the publication of regulations and their amendments?

(c) Is there a corresponding appointment on the civil side? If not, to which appointment on that side are similar duties assigned?

(d) Does the Director combine duties connected with clerical establishment of the Army Headquarters with his main functions? If so, what part of his time is devoted to establishment questions?

(e) Will Government please state the period for which the Director of Regulations and Forms was specially employed in connection with the drafting of the Army Fundamental Rules during last summer?

(f) Will Government please lay on the table a copy of the Army Fundamental Rules which is Mr. Macdonald's product and the original civil Fundamental Rule which was faithfully copied with slight amendments?

(g) Was the recent Army Headquarters scheme of clerical organization worked out by Mr. Macdonald? If so, what was the period of time devoted on this work?

(h) Are Government aware of the impression that officers with known anti-Indian bias receive accelerated promotion in the Army Department?

**Mr. G. E. F. Tottenham:** (a) The Director, Regulations and Forms, receives the pay of his grade *plus* Rs. 400 per mensem. The Officer on Special Duty gets Rs. 1,450 per mensem. I may add that the two appointments are at the present moment combined into one.

(b) (i) The co-ordination and review of all amendments to regulations, and the drafting of some of them.

(ii) The control of forms.

(iii) The control of expenditure on printing and stationery, forms, and matters relating to office machinery.

(iv) The superintendence of all matters relating to the establishments of Army and Royal Air Force Headquarters.

(c) As far as I am aware, there is no corresponding appointment in any other Department, because no other Department has so many regulations and forms to deal with.

(d) Yes. The time devoted to establishment questions varies from day to day.

(e) He has been employed partially on this work since last June.

(f) The Rules have not yet been completed. They are not by any means a copy of the Civil Fundamental Rules.

(g) Mr. Macdonald assisted in its preparation. The completed scheme is the work of the Government of India. Mr. Macdonald did not keep any record of the time he spent on this particular file.

(h) No, nor is it a fact.

**Mr. S. C. Mitra:** Will the Honourable Member tell us if the duty of the Director is to make suggestion for framing Regulations and forms or merely to place and paste the slips of amendments in their proper places? Is he merely to attend to the technical portion of the work?

**Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham:** His duty is to see that the Regulations are issued in a correct and intelligible form. Amendments to Regulations are drafted originally in the branches of the Army Headquarters. They then come to him in his section in the Army Department, and he has to see that the amendments proposed are in order, that they fit in with the other books of Regulations and generally to ensure that the amendments as finally issued are in a correct and intelligible form.

**Mr. S. C. Mitra:** Is it not more or less a misnomer to call him the Director of Regulations when his actual duties are, like a clerk, to see whether notices are given and sections are amended in their proper places and the duties are not of an officer to justify the salary of Rs. 3,000 a month?

**Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham:** In addition to this work of watching the amendments to Regulations as they come in day by day, the Director of Regulations is also employed on a great deal of original work in drafting new sets of Regulations for the Army in India.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** May I know, Sir, whether the Army Secretary has heard of the post of Director of Regulations in any Department in any country?

**Mr. F. E. James:** There is a similar appointment in the War Office at Home.

**Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham:** I said I did not know.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad:** I understand the answer is in the negative. Then what is the use of keeping the post of Director of Regulations?

**Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham:** I have already answered that question. I have said that, as far as I am aware, there is no corresponding appointment in any other Department in India, because no Department has so many Regulations and Forms to deal with, but I understand from an interjection of my friend, Mr. James, that there is a similar appointment in the War Office at Home.

**Mr. S. C. Mitra:** What is the pay of those officers? Perhaps Mr. James will be able to give us that information?

**EXISTING CONSTITUTION OF THE CLERICAL ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ARMY HEADQUARTERS.**

60. \***Mr. S. C. Mitra:** (a) With reference to the remark contained in the opening paragraph of Army Department letter No. 38166/1 (A. D. 8), dated the 16th December, 1933, to the effect that the existing constitution of the clerical establishment of the Army Headquarters has not produced the degree of efficiency considered necessary, will Government please state (i) in what way it has proved inefficient; (ii) for how many years the existing constitution has been in force; (iii) who was responsible for its creation; and (iv) whether the degree of its inefficiency was investigated and reported by the heads of Army Headquarters Branches responsible for employing the clerical establishment?

(b) Will Government please state how the mere placing of Indian element there on inferior prospects and service conditions *vis-à-vis* their British colleagues, would tend to improve the efficiency considered necessary?

(c) Are Government prepared to appoint a mixed committee to investigate the causes that led to the non-production of the desired efficiency, whether the highly paid or the low paid personnel were responsible for it? If not, why not?

**Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham:** (a), (i) The present arrangement under which none of the personnel in the Army Headquarters is in any way subject to military discipline has not always worked well and is inappropriate in a military organisation.

(ii) About 11 years.

(iii) The Government of India.

(iv) The necessity for the revised constitution was accepted by the Heads of all Branches.

(b) In view of my reply to serial No. 56 this question does not arise.

(c) No, because the constitution previously in force was given an exhaustive trial before the change was introduced and the Government of India are satisfied that further investigation would serve no useful purpose.

**TRAVELLING ALLOWANCE GRANTED TO BRITISH MILITARY AND LADY CLERKS FOR THE MOVES BETWEEN SIMLA AND DELHI.**

61. \***Mr. S. C. Mitra:** Is it a fact that British military and lady clerks are granted second class travelling allowance in connection with the moves between Simla and Delhi, irrespective of the amount of pay drawn by them, and that this concession is denied to Indian clerks until their pay exceeds Rs. 200 per mensem? If so, what is the underlying principle?

**The Honourable Sir Harry Haig:** According to Rule 17 (c) of the Supplementary Rules made under the Fundamental Rules, all Government servants in superior service in receipt of actual pay not exceeding Rs. 200 a month who are subject to the Fundamental Rules are third grade officers for the purpose of travelling allowance, but under Supplementary Rule 18 lady clerks irrespective of nationality are treated as second class officers for this purpose in consideration of their sex. British military clerks are not subject to the Fundamental Rules. They are governed by Military Regulations under which they are entitled to second class accommodation.

VALUE OF INDIAN EXPORTS AND IMPORTS TO AND FROM JAPAN.

62. \*Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad: (a) Will Government be pleased to give the total value of Indian exports and imports to and from Japan during the calendar year 1933, mentioning, if possible, the principal items?

(b) At what value is the *yen* reckoned in the calculation?

(c) What is the pre-war value of the *yen* in rupees and what was the value on the 15th January, 1934?

**The Honourable Sir Joseph Bhowe:** With your permission, I will reply to questions Nos. 62 and 63 together. The information is being collected as far as possible, and, when complete, will be laid on the table.

VALUE OF GOODS IMPORTED FROM JAPAN.

†63. \*Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad: What is the total value of goods imported from Japan since the beginning of the commercial negotiation talk with the Government of India?

OVERCROWDING OF THE PRINCIPAL TRAINS ON THE METRE GAUGE SECTION OF THE SOUTH INDIAN RAILWAY.

64 \*Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah: (a) Are Government aware of the fact that the principal trains on the metre gauge section of the South Indian Railway are invariably over-crowded?

(b) Are Government aware that in many of these trains the accommodation for third class passengers consists mainly of small benches designed to seat only two persons each and that the benches do not allow of persons stretching themselves even if there is no crowding?

(c) Will Government please state if such accommodation is provided on any other railway in India?

(d) Do Government propose to take action to see that the railway does not put coaches containing this kind of accommodation on through trains running for long distances and that this type of coach is finally discontinued altogether?

**Mr. P. B. Rau:** I have called for the information from the Agent, South Indian Railway, and will lay a reply on the table later.

RUNNING OF THE GRAND TRUNK EXPRESS BETWEEN MADRAS AND DELHI.

65. \*Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah: (a) Is it a fact that the Grand Trunk Express, when originally started some years back, was run between Peshawar and Mangalore?

(b) Is it a fact that some time later the run was restricted between Madras and Lahore, and that the train now runs only between Madras and Delhi though the original name remains unaltered?

(c) Are Government aware that passengers from Madras and the Central Provinces, as well as portions of the United Provinces, are greatly inconvenienced at not having a through train to Lahore and that the delay of over ten hours in Delhi causes great inconvenience to business and professional men?

† For answer to this question, see answer to question No. 62.

(d) Are Government prepared to consider the possibility of running the Grand Trunk Express through at least to Lahore, if not to Peshawar?

**Mr. P. B. Rau:** (a) and (b). Yes. My Honourable friend is probably aware that the successive reductions in the length of the run were made because the through traffic was very much less than was anticipated when the train was originally started.

(c) and (d). Through passengers, if there are any, from the South to Lahore will probably be inconvenienced because of the delay at Delhi, but I am afraid I cannot hold out any hopes that it will be possible in the near future to run the train further than Delhi. It has, on the other hand, been represented that the existing traffic hardly justifies a through train from Madras even to Delhi, and unless traffic improves sufficiently, its discontinuance will have to be seriously considered

### UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

DESIRABILITY OF APPOINTING PERSONS POSSESSING THE QUALIFICATION OF A CHEMIST TO THE POSTS OF THE CONTROLLER OF PRINTING AND STATIONERY AND THE DEPUTY CONTROLLER, CENTRAL STATIONERY OFFICE, CALCUTTA.

10. **Mr. S. C. Mitra:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether Mr. C. T. Letton, Controller of Printing and Stationery and Mr. C. F. Weakford, Deputy Controller, Central Stationery Office, Calcutta, possess the educational qualification of a chemist?

(b) If the answer to part (a) be in the negative, will Government be pleased to state how, in deciding the annual tender of the Central Stationery Office, Calcutta, they exercise the check over the report of the store examiner of their office containing the physical and chemical tests of articles, made in the chemical laboratory of the Office?

(c) Will Government be pleased to state whether, in view of the fact that considerable physical and chemical tests are applied on all articles of stationery at the time of decision of annual tender of the Central Stationery Office, Calcutta, Government are considering the desirability of appointing persons possessing educational qualification of a chemist to the posts of Controller of Printing and Stationery and Deputy Controller, Central Stationery Office, Calcutta?

(d) Is it a fact that Mr. C. F. Weakford, Deputy Controller, Central Stationery Office, Calcutta, was all along in charge of Printing Presses and never worked in any firm of stationers or stationery office?

(e) If the answer to part (d) be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state how he was appointed to the post of Deputy Controller, Central Stationery Office, Calcutta, ignoring the recommendations of Sir William Meyer's Committee of the year 1903-04 for the post?

**The Honourable Sir Frank Noyce:** (a) No.

(b) The Controller of Printing and Stationery is a practical printer and possesses sufficient knowledge of paper and other articles of stationery and printing stores to enable him to decide on tenders. In the matter of physical and chemical tests he is assisted by the technical staff under him.

(c) No. Government do not consider that the qualifications of a chemist are in any way necessary for the efficient discharge of the duties of the posts.

(d) No: he was for some time Controller of Printing and Stationery, Iraq.

(e) Does not arise. I may add that the Committee of 1903-04 considered that a man of the Deputy Collector class would be suitable for the post of Deputy Controller, Stationery.

#### DECENTRALIZATION OF THE CENTRAL STATIONERY OFFICE, CALCUTTA.

11. **Mr. S. C. Mitra:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the Central Stationery Office, Calcutta, has been decentralized and that three small centres have been opened?

(b) If the answer to part (a) be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state when the above three small centres were opened and with what financial result?

(c) Will Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the following:

(i) the total value of stationery supplied by the Central Stationery Office, Calcutta, before and after the opening of the above three small centres;

(ii) the total value of stationery supplied by the Central Stationery Office, Calcutta, and the above three small centres during the year 1932-33;

(iii) the total cost of establishment and contingencies of the Central Stationery Office, Calcutta, before the opening of the above three small centres; and

(iv) the total cost of establishment and contingencies of the Central Stationery Office, Calcutta, and the above three small centres during the year 1932-33?

(d) Is it a fact that owing to the bulk of the supply of stationery made by the Central Stationery Office, Calcutta, being very heavy, almost all the articles are being purchased by that office at much lower rates than those by the above three small centres?

(e) If the answer to part (d) be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state whether they are considering the desirability of closing down the above three small centres in order to centralize the supply, as before, from economic points of view?

**The Honourable Sir Frank Noyce:** (a) No.

(b) to (e). Do not arise.

#### NON-OBSERVANCE OF HOLIDAY ON ACCOUNT OF THE JAGADDHATRI PUJA IN THE \* GOVERNMENT TEST HOUSE, ALIPORE.

12. **Mr. S. C. Mitra:** (a) Are Government prepared to enquire if the Government Test House at Alipore was not closed on the 27th October, 1933, although that was a gazetted holiday on account of the Jagaddhatri Puja?



(b) Is there any reason why gazetted holidays to celebrate Hindu festivals are not observed in the Government Test House?

(c) Are the authorities of the Government Test House mostly non-Hindus?

**The Honourable Sir Frank Noyce:** Information has been called for and will be laid on the table of the House in due course.

**GRANT OF INCREMENTS TO THE OFFICIALS OF THE SORTING OFFICE, MADRAS GENERAL POST OFFICE.**

**13. Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah:** With reference to the answer given by Government to the unstarred question No. 137 (a) on the 20th September, 1933, regarding grant of increments to the officials of the Sorting Office, Madras General Post Office, will Government be pleased to lay on the table the decision they have reached?

**The Honourable Sir Frank Noyce:** The Honourable Member is referred to the reply given to his own unstarred question No. 305 in this House on the 11th December last. Government expect to reach a decision shortly.

**ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO THE STANDING COMMITTEE FOR PILGRIMAGE TO THE HEDJAZ.**

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty): I have to inform the Assembly that the following five Members have been elected to the Standing Committee for Pilgrimage to the Hedjaz, namely:

- (1) Kunwar Hajee Ismail Ali Khan,
- (2) Mr. M. Maswood Ahmad.
- (3) Haji Chaudhury Muhammad Ismail Khan,
- (4) Khan Bahadur Haji Wajihuddin, and
- (5) Maulvi Sayyid Murtuza Saheb Bahadur.

**STATEMENTS LAID ON THE TABLE.**

**The Honourable Sir Frank Noyce** (Member for Industries and Labour): Sir, I lay on the table:

- (i) the information promised in reply to unstarred question No. 288 asked by Mr. S. C. Mitra on the 11th December, 1933;
- (ii) the information promised in reply to unstarred question No. 289 asked by Mr. S. C. Mitra on the 11th December, 1933;
- (iii) the information promised in reply to starred question No. 1892 asked by Pandit Satyendra Nath Sen on the 12th December, 1933;
- (iv) the information promised in reply to starred question No. 1898 asked by Pandit Satyendra Nath Sen on the 12th December 1933;

- (v) the information promised in reply to starred question No. 1394 asked by Pandit Satyendra Nath Sen on the 12th December, 1933;
- (vi) the information promised in reply to unstarred question No. 347 asked by Mr. Uppi Sahib Bahadur on the 16th December, 1933.

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**REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF POSTAL BEATS IN THE SANKARPUR VILLAGE, JESSORE DISTRICT.**

288. (a) No such memorials can be traced.
- (b) Does not arise.
- (c) No. Sankarpur is being served three times a week since January, 1930, before which it was served only twice weekly.
- (d) No. Habakhali used to be served twice weekly up to July, 1929, since when it is being served four times weekly.
- (e) Government regret that the information is not available.
- (f) Does not arise in view of the replies to parts (a) to (d) above.

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**INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF PEONS AND INTRODUCTION OF THE SYSTEM OF DAILY BEATS IN THE NALDI POST OFFICE, JESSORE.**

289. (a) No.
- (b) and (c). It is presumed that the enquiry relates to the number of postmen. One postman is employed at Naldi and two at Nohata. The reply to part (c) is in the negative.

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**NON-OCCUPATION OF HIS QUARTERS BY THE OFFICER-IN-CHARGE, NEW DELHI CENTRAL TELEGRAPH OFFICE.**

\*1392. The reply to the question is in the affirmative.

The Officer in charge, New Delhi Central Telegraph Office, had obtained permission to occupy private quarters which are in close proximity to the Central Telegraph Office.

Satisfactory arrangements were made to call him to office in case of emergency, and in fact he was called up several times out of office hours and attended to his duties immediately.

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**DELAY IN TRANSMISSION OF TELEGRAMS IN THE NEW DELHI TELEGRAPH OFFICE.**

\*1393. The records of delays in transmission to telegrams during the last six months compare favourably with those of the previous periods. The second part of the question does not therefore arise.

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**PRESS TELEGRAMS ADDRESSED TO THE STATESMAN.**

\*1394. (a) In cases of unintelligible news, apparent errors or mutilations in press telegrams, corrections are obtained by service telegrams by the New Delhi Telegraph Office and supplied to the *Statesman* or any other newspaper without any request from the newspaper concerned. Mistakes and omissions due to service errors when brought to notice by any newspaper are also rectified by service telegrams. This latter concession has been usually allowed, as the telegraph offices have no means of checking omissions of word or words in press telegrams.

(b) and (c). The question does not therefore arise.

## MOPLAHS IN POSTAL SERVICE.

347. (i) Peons (i.e., runners, postmen and village postmen).	13
(ii) Clerks . . . . .	6
(iii) Other officers . . . . .	4

**Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham** (Army Secretary): Sir, I lay on the table the information promised in reply to unstarred question No. 827 asked by Mr. S. G. Jog on the 14th December, 1933.

## GRANT OF DISABILITY PENSION TO CERTAIN PERSONS INVALIDED DURING THE GREAT WAR.

- (a) Not before this question was asked.
- (b) There are no restrictions on the admission of appeals which are well-founded.
- (c) Government recognise the principle and act upon it.
- (d) When an appeal is well-founded (and such appeals are not infrequent) a fresh medical board is assembled to examine the present condition of the individual. The examination takes into account (i) newly developed diseases, and (ii) old diseases which were dealt with by previous medical boards, and whether they had since improved or got worse. The fresh boards do not, however, question the findings and recommendations of the previous boards.
- (e) Attention is invited to the answer to part (b), In most cases it is not possible for a board to say that because a man has no disability now he had none before.
- (f) Because the appeals were not supported by any evidence.

## RESOLUTION RE GRIEVANCES OF THE TRAVELLING PUBLIC ON THE ASSAM BENGAL RAILWAY.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty): The House will now resume discussion of the Resolution\* moved by Kumar Gopika Romon Roy on the 7th September, 1933.

**Kumar Gopika Romon Roy** (Surma Valley cum Shillong: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I paused for a reply at the end of my speech in Simla on the 7th September last. Will the Honourable Member from Assam say what he has to reply to my query?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty): He must have forgotten the query put by the Honourable Member.

**Kumar Gopika Romon Roy**: Then I will remind him with an illustration. I asked him whether he could corroborate my statement regarding Phakhoagram station.

(At this stage, the Honourable Member handed in two photographs to some of the Honourable Members.)

Here is the station house and here is the frontage. I said that sometimes after the departure of the night train the King of Forests visited this site. Now, it is for the House to see whether my narration is correct or not. . . . .

\*"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that immediate and adequate steps be taken by the Railway Board to redress the various grievances of the general travelling public and particularly of the public travelling by the Assam Bengal Railway."

**Mr. J. Hazlett** (Assam: Nominated Official): It is perfectly true, that station is in the midst of the jungle, but I cannot say that tigers go there. It is also perfectly true that all the station buildings are temporary. The branch line was only constructed about three or four years ago, and the Railway authorities have not the money to make permanent buildings. If my Honourable friend wants any further information, I shall be able to give it to him after he has finished his speech, but I reserve my observations until I hear what he has got to say.

**Kumar Gopika Romon Roy**: Does my Honourable friend corroborate my statement that the path to the station is not quite safe for the travelling public?

**Mr. J. Hazlett**: The path is through a jungle.

**Kunwar Hajee Ismail Ali Khan** (Meerut Division: Muhammadan Rural): Will these photographs form part of the proceedings of the Assembly?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty): The Honourable Member can proceed with his speech.

**Kumar Gopika Romon Roy**: Sir, I shall give my friend a few more illustrations. The Honourable Member and the House will get another copy of the specimen of the dangerous practice which I mentioned in my letter No. A.-118, dated the 13th August 1932,—thus:

"After a long time I am going to write to you this letter. I tried my level best to represent the untold miseries of the passengers who travel from my zemindari by the Phakhoagram station.

I think if you would have given your consideration regarding the awful inconveniences to which a passenger is put to, you would have been inclined to spare about Rs. 100 to remove the station near "Noa Nabin", i.e., near the Telegraph mileage 258/3 or 258/4, but, as usual, you insisted on keeping the station at its former site though I tried my level best to represent to you the various troubles and difficulties of the passengers who travel from the eastern bank of "Son Beel" by the Phakhoagram station. I would not bother you for this question, because I have tabled a Resolution in the Assembly which, I hope, will come on the next Simla Session. The copy of the proceedings, I hope, will be forwarded to you by the Honourable Member in Charge of the Railways, in due course.

Now I have noticed another dangerous practice which is freely indulged in your Railway. As a representative of my constituency, I cannot but raise a most emphatic protest against such procedure which is risky for the third class travelling public but a luxury and pleasure for the railway staff. I have noticed that the third class compartments are locked when the train leaves for a destination and are not unlocked till she reaches her terminus. Scarcely one of the doors of such third class carriage remains open for entraining and alighting purpose of the third class travelling folks. Obviously this is practised for the convenience of checking third class passengers' tickets. But I think your Railway authority had not the time to see what a dangerous process this practice has indulged in between the third class travelling passengers. The train does not stop at a station for any length of time. She naturally passes quick to run in time and the third class passengers, the bulk of which are merely uneducated folks not having the wisdom to judge serious consequence, do jump into the third class compartment through the windows and they get out of the compartment following the same procedure. I hope you will also agree that these are most risky procedure and there is every likelihood of a third class passenger meeting with a serious accident. May I, on behalf of my constituency and the travelling third class passengers, request you to remove this dangerous procedure."

[Kumar Gopika Romon Roy.]

I received a reply to this letter of mine from the Acting Agent of the Assam Bengal Railway, dated the 10th September, 1932, No. E./359, reading as follows:

"I have to thank you for your letter of the 13th August, 1932.

2. As regards the moving of Phakhoagram station to a new site, the question has been very carefully investigated from time to time and, as a result of these investigations, I have come to the conclusion that the removal to the mileage suggested by you would not be in the interests of the Railway Company. In fact, the only possible site would be about mile 262.

3. The removal of the station would not prove very remunerative and, I regret to state, cannot be considered in the present depressed state of the Railway's finances. The question must, therefore, stand over till there is an improvement in financial conditions.

4. The other point you raise regarding the locking of doors of III class carriages, I have to point out, had to be introduced in order to protect the Company against passengers joining train without having purchased tickets. The orders on the locking of the doors have been misinterpreted by the staff as it was never the intention to lock the doors on both sides. The Traffic Manager has since issued orders that the doors are not to be locked on both sides and I am sure you will find that the inconvenience to the passengers has been greatly mitigated by issue of these orders."

Sir, that situation, which has been suggested by the Acting Agent, for the removal of the Phakhoagram Station will be of equal inconvenience to the passengers from the Eastern bank of "Son Beel". This is exactly why I spoke in my last cut motion speech on the Assam Bengal Railway:

"The Assam Bengal Railway specialises in inconvenience of the passengers."

As regards the dangerous practice of locking the doors of the lower class passengers, the Agent writes that his orders were misunderstood by his subordinate staff and this is how the above irregularity has been noticed by me. I crave the indulgence of the Honourable Members of the House for telling a story. Once upon a time, the Emperor of China, while strolling on the roof of his palace, marked that there were innumerable wretched poor people, ill-fed and ill-clad. Kind-hearted as the Emperor was, the sight shocked him. He immediately summoned his Prime Minister and commanded him that there should be no more ill-fed and ill-clad poor wretches in his empire, meaning thereby that the poor should be well-fed and well-clothed at State expense. The Minister conveyed the Command of the Emperor to the Commander, but as the order was going from higher to the lower rank of officers, certain modifications and amendments in the Command of the Emperor also went on. At last, when the order reached the "Kotwal", that is to say, the Police Superintendent, the order reached the police in the following form: That the Emperor does not like to see from the next morning any ill-fed and ill-clad poor in the streets of China, hence a total massacre of the destitutes and the poor has been commanded by the Emperor. From the next morning the police, as habituated in the usual massacre, started massacre of the poor and destitutes in China. The Emperor in his utter dismay heard the sky of China to be filled with screamings and cries. The Prime Minister, after enquiry, informed the Emperor that this was the consequence of the Emperor's yesterday's Command, the Command had undergone certain amount of amendments and modifications and reached the Kotwal for the total annihilation of the poor and destitutes of China. The police has started massacre and that is why the sky of China is filled with screams and cries. Sir, I smelt the same spirit in the orders of the Acting Agent of the Assam Bengal Railway.

I will give another picture of the dangerous practices. Sir,—I am subject to correction,—I remember, in the regime of His Excellency Lord Reading, the Viceroy of India, just after the Mopla Tragedy in Madras, there was an Order passed from the Government of India, prohibiting all Railways in India to use goods wagons as passengers vehicles. If I am correct, that order has not in any way affected our darling Assam Bengal Railway, it seems that they think either they run their railways outside India or they think, as a "Pet child" of the Government, they are protected by some sort of charter and they are exempted from the jurisdictions of such order. They yet and without any sort of hesitation indulge freely to the use of goods wagons for the passengers' traffic in rush times, *viz.*, *melas*, festive occasions and in like other occasions. Sir, I have known them so long as specialists in inconveniences, but, Sir, I have very recently discovered that our Assam Bengal Railway have a special hobby of indulging into the very dangerous practices. Sir, I have noticed in the streets of Calcutta side by side with the traffic polices there appear some other persons in uniform with the letter in Brass on their both shoulders, the letters are S.P.C.A. On enquiry, as to who they are or what sort of police they are, I came to learn that the full construction of the abovenamed four letters are "Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals" and that these officers were of that Society to see that no cruelty be perpetrated on the animals. Sir, are human beings out of the clutches of that Society? If not, why they do not take cognisance of the offences of cruelty perpetrated to the human beings by the Assam Bengal Railway?

Of the inconveniences, I will first narrate about the "Shutters" on the doors. Sir, in all the Railways, there are handles for shutting the doors both outside and inside the compartments, but, in our Assam Bengal Railway, there is no handle inside the carriages, so you may easily imagine how a passenger may shut the door in rainy days or in a winter night without exposing a part of his body in the rains or winter. So this "Invention" is no doubt very original for the Assam Bengal Railway. Of the inconveniences I will just cite another horrible picture.

Sir, I wrote a letter of complaint to Mr. S. C. Das, the D.T.S. of Badarpur, the details of which you will find in my letter  
12 Noon. No. A.-88, dated the 29th September 1931. The letter runs thus:

"I had to start yesterday from Anipure to Sylhet Bazar. I left Karimganj by the Down Surma Mail and got down at Kulaura to catch the Sylhet train. The Sylhet train did not arrive at Kulaura when the Mail steamed in at Kulaura. I was travelling with my little son and a daughter. They had Second Class tickets with one escort who had also a Second Class ticket. It was about a quarter to nine in the evening when my children were taking meal in their own compartment. Suddenly the electric lights and the fans were switched off. On enquiry to the Station Master, I gathered that the electric current is disconnected just after the arrival of the train and that it is re-connected only just at 9 O'clock, i.e., 25 minutes before the Sylhet train leaves for Sylhet. Perhaps it is needless to explain what amount of trouble it means for a passenger who travels by the Down Mail for Sylhet to unload once his luggage into the Waiting Room and again to take them into the train just before 25 minutes. The intermediate time between the arrival of the Sylhet Bazar Train at Kulaura and the 9 O'clock train is not much longer than half-an-hour or thereabout. And I do not think that the Railway Company's electric consumption will be very much greater by keeping the lights lit for this half-an-hour. Perhaps you would agree that the Railway business cannot only flourish if the Railway Company looks to their profit alone and take no notice for the comfort of the passengers, the travelling public. I have not travelled by the Sylhet train for the last four years. This is one picture of the lighting department at Kulaura. I will give a more horrifying picture of the same department at the Sylhet Bazar Station later on. Perhaps you are aware that the train which leaves Kulaura at 9-25 or so arrives sometimes at 12

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midnight or later in the morning the next day at Sylhet and you have no suitable waiting room in the Sylhet Bazar Station. You cannot expect a gentleman travelling in the First or Second Class to get down from the train at such a very late hour and cross the river. On the other bank of the river, there is no surety whether any conveyance would be available for such passengers to carry them to their home, so there is no other alternative for such passengers but to lie down in the train and wait for the morning. I arrived yesterday night at 12 O'clock when my children and myself were fast asleep. I instructed my officers to ask the Station Master to grant us permission to sleep in the train till morning. My officers asked the Assistant Station Master on duty. He said to my man that there was no such order of the authority to allow anybody to sleep in the train, and he told that there will be no lights or fans, because the lighting department will not allow the use of any current after the arrival of the train at Sylhet. To this my officers told that we would use our own lights and "Kiko" Fan. But the lighting department man at Sylhet Bazar used much abusive language, hearing which I awoke from my sleep, but as it was raining heavily, I could not vacate the carriage and had to bear with calm patience all these untoward and ungentlemanly behaviour from a railway servant. I think it will not be out of place here, if I cite an example of the Up and Down Punjab Mails which carry the Delhi rake both Up and Down. The Up Punjab Mail arrives at the Delhi Junction at about 11 O'clock at night, but the rake is detached from the Punjab Mail and kept in a siding while the First and Second Class passengers' sleep is not disturbed in any way, nor the lights and fans are disconnected. Similarly, the Down Punjab Mail arrives at 3 O'clock at the Delhi Junction, but the First and Second Class passengers and their servants are allowed to sleep in the Delhi rake just after dinner and they are moreover allowed to use lights and fans. When the Punjab Mail arrives from Kalka at 3 in the morning, the rake is quietly shunted and attached to the Punjab Mail. This is the treatment which is accorded to the First and Second Class passengers at a station like the Delhi Junction, where electric lights hardly make any difference between day and night, and where any number of motor cars are available within 50 yards of the platform, but for the Sylhet Ghat, which is a crossing ghat of the Sylhet Bazar station, the less we talk about it the better. It is a dangerous crossing in rainy nights and there is every chance of their getting drowned in the river. The Railway Company expects the First and Second Class passengers to travel on such dangerous passage at the dead of night. This is why I told in my Legislative Assembly speech that "The Assam Bengal Railway specialises in inconveniences".

I give you the description, though not an exhaustive one, and would it be too much if I expect proper redress at the hands of a reasonable gentleman like yourself in the interests of the travelling public by such trains.

I will be leaving Sylhet tomorrow night and shall reach Muktarampore Thursday morning. I will let you know afterwards, when I will be able to meet you at Badarpur."

The D.T.S. replied in his letter No. D.O.D.-131, dated the 1st October, 1931, as follows:

"I have received your letter No. A. 88, of the 29th September, 1931. I am sorry for the inconvenience you were put to, and I am looking into the matter. Thank you for bringing it to my notice."

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty): The Honourable Member must finish in five minutes now.

**Kumar Gopika Romon Roy:** Sir, though the D.T.S. assured me that he would look into the matter in his above mentioned letter, his assurance did not bear any fruitful remedy, as Honourable Members will be able to gather from the letter. I wrote again to the D.T.S. My letter was No. A-107, dated the 27th January, 1932, and it runs thus:

"Excuse me for raking up the old malady for which I had to disturb you by my letter No. A-88, dated the 29th September, 1931, from Rajbati, Sylhet, to which you sent me a reply by your D.O.D. 131, dated the 1st October, 1931, saying that you will look into my complaint. Since then I have not heard anything about my complaint. I had

again to start for Sylhet from Nilambazar on the 19th instant with my children and had to travel by the 2 Down Surma Mail from Karimganj to Kulaura. Just as I alighted from the Mail at Kulaura, I witnessed an incident which I cannot but bring to your notice as a representative Member of the Legislative Assembly of the Surma Valley. I found some up-country labour class people at the front of the Ticket Collector's Room at Kulaura and a T. T. E., most probably of the Mail, kicking one of the fellows. This spectacle I could not overlook. I stood there to hear what was the fault of the poor up-country labourer for which he was being so badly molested by the T. T. E. The story the labourer narrated to the T. T. E. is this. These fellows entrained at the Juri station in the Mail. They narrated, as far as I remember, that they paid Rs. 20 and a few annas for five and a half third class tickets from Juri to Goalundo or somewhere else, but they received four and a half third class tickets, i.e., one ticket shorter than the number of persons travelling in the party. The T. T. E. on checking the tickets, while the train was in motion between Juri and Kulaura, found one man in the party travelling without ticket and that was the oldest man in the party. The T. T. E., on the arrival of the Surma Mail at Kulaura, got the whole party down from the train. Perhaps the old man passed the Ticket Collector's room as he naturally did not know where he was being led. On this the T. T. E. shouted; "Ay, Shala, Kaha Bhag Jata", and he jumped upon the men and started kicking right and left and dashed the old man into the Ticket Collector's room behind whom I noticed the Station Master also looking into the affair. After a while, the Station Master quietly slipped off from the spectacle. I do not know whether he took any steps or not. There was another up-country Muhammadan Ticket Collector whose behaviour was quite up to the mark and I have nothing to complain against him. The fellows were all detained and the Mail left. What I want to represent to you is this—if the T. T. E. found any passenger travelling without ticket, he is quite at liberty to hand him over to the Station Master or to the Railway Police. If any passenger declines or is unable to pay the railway charges, whatever it might be, what I want to enquire of you is, if right and left kicking like cats and dogs is permissible in the Railway bye-laws or is it within the jurisdiction of a T. T. E.'s duty? Would you kindly enquire into the matter and let me know before I start for the Legislative Assembly by the first week of February?

Now, I am going to refer to you my complaints regarding the switching off of the electric lights at the Kulaura station in the train for Sylhet Bazar, No. 117 Up, which I made, *vide* my letter No. A. 88, dated the 29th September, 1931, from Rajbati, Sylhet, as they were doing, of which I wrote you in my letter No. A. 88, hence there is no redress of this part of my grievance. At Sylhet Bazar I was asleep, the same lighting department man who used abusive language and for which I wrote to you in my letter No. A. 88, again appeared on the scene. He asked my clerk to vacate the room at such an early part of the morning. So, I see no improvement in this direction too. Here ends the story of my journey to Sylhet.

Perhaps you are aware that those who intend to travel by the 118 Down from Sylhet Bazar to Badarpur side are to practically pass sleepless nights because the No. 118 Down leaves Sylhet Bazar at 20-8 minutes, she is due to arrive at Kulaura Junction at 22 hours 39 minutes and the passengers are destined to wait at Kulaura till 2-4 on the next morning to catch the 9 Up, i.e., the first available train for journey towards Karimganj and Badarpur. The 9 Up arrives at Karimganj at 4-38 a.m., hence there is no time for a passenger to sleep in the train. I had to travel by the same train from Sylhet Bazar and left Kulaura by the Surma Mail for Karimganj. Though there is about five hours' interval between the arrival of the Sylhet train and the arrival of the Up Mail train at Kulaura Junction, and though there are quite good First and Second Class Waiting Rooms at the Kulaura Junction, still I had to experience serious inconveniences at Kulaura. I was asleep in the Sylhet train. Hearing the whistle of the 9 Up, I got startled from my sleep and enquired if that was the Mail. On a hurry I got down from the train which was standing in the platform in the extreme darkness, because there was no light, either on the platform or in the First and Second Class carriages. I enquired of the Station Master on duty, but I could not find him in the room. I found one officer just near the Station Master's room who was busy with his files. I asked him what was the train which just left Kulaura in the Up direction. He replied that that was the 9 Up. I enquired of him when I could find the Station Master and also asked him why the Waiting Room was in darkness. The officer replied that the Station Master was somewhere at the station. After a good deal of search, I discovered the Station Master asleep in the First Class Ladies' Waiting Room. (Laughter.) I asked him why the First and Second Class Gentlemen's Waiting Rooms were in darkness. He replied: "I am supplying the lights" and hastened to the First Class Gentlemen's Waiting Room. As soon as the Station Master put on the lights of the Waiting Room, I found all the seats in the Waiting Room



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were occupied by the passengers. I asked the Station Master whether they had all First and Second Class tickets. On my enquiry into this matter, I found miraculously the Waiting Room was totally vacated. Now, you may guess what class ticket holder passengers they were. However, in taking all these troubles, about an hour passed and the Mail Train was due within the next three quarters of an hour, hence, I had to abandon the intention of sleeping again and had to entrain myself with my children for Karimganj. As a result of passing a sleepless night and for all these worries I had to undergo in my journey from Sylhet to Karimganj, I got an attack of fever the next day noon and the temperature rose up to 106 degrees. I hope you will be able to imagine from this, how much this journey has told upon my health. For the convenience of the upper class passengers who intend to travel from Sylhet Bazar by night train towards Karimganj or Badarpur, can you not very kindly arrange to place a carriage at the disposal of the Sylhet Bazar Station Master if there be any First and Second Class passenger by the 118 Down, who will attach the carriage with the train and that carriage will be attached with the 9 Up at Kulaura for Badarpur? If you kindly make this arrangement, I hope a lot of inconveniences of the upper class passengers, who travel by the night train from Sylhet Bazar, might be removed. Will you be so good as to give the matter your kind consideration?"

This letter was acknowledged by the D.T.S. by his letter No. D.O.D.-14. dated the 29th January 1932. . . .

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty): Order, order. The Honourable Member must now conclude.

**Mr. J. Hazlett:** Sir, my Honourable friend, who has just sat down, invited me to make a speech on this occasion, and, as I think I am the only Member in the House who knows the places about which he has been talking, I am in a better position to speak about them than most other Honourable Members. I am sorry, my Honourable friend, the Deputy President, Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury, is absent, as he knows all about the places about which the Honourable Member was speaking. My Honourable friend, by his speeches, makes this House laugh, and that is a very great asset and has much relieved the otherwise dull moments while we have been debating the Reserve Bank Bill, the Imperial Bank Bill and other rather dry subjects, and I am sure we are all very grateful to my Honourable friend for giving us the opportunity to laugh.

The general remark I want to make about all these grievances, which my Honourable friend has put forward, is that these are all purely local matters, and that there is a Local Advisory Railway Committee which is the only body which can properly deal with them. Very few Members have heard of these places, and I believe my Honourable friend, Mr. Rau, whose knowledge of railway matters must be colossal, judging from the information which he supplies daily to Honourable Members of this House, has never heard of such places as Faquagram. In regard to all these other matters, I daresay my Honourable friend has some grievance. I quite agree that in regard to one matter, an approach road to his station, he has a real grievance, but he might approach the Karimgunge Local Board in whose jurisdiction he lives and the Local Board might be able to do something for him. As I said before, it would be better for him to bring these grievances before the Local Advisory Committee. The local member of the Advisory Committee comes from his sub-division and is the Chairman of the Local Board and is thus in a position to judge what feeder roads are necessary. Then he wants the station removed half a mile further to the south. That is also a matter which can be placed before the Local Advisory Committee. Then he complained about the slowness of trains on the Assam Bengal Railway. As a matter of fact, the only passenger trains

running are the mail trains. All the ordinary trains are mixed goods and passenger trains and are, of course, very slow. All this is due to the present slump in railway matters and also to want of money. It is hoped that when the financial position is improved, the normal passenger service will be restored. I hold no brief for the Assam Bengal Railway, but, having used it for the last 35 years, I know a little about it. I think that my Honourable friend's grievances can be remedied if he approaches the proper authority through the Local Advisory Committee. I have read through the proceedings of this Committee for the last two years, and I find that the grievances mentioned by my Honourable friend have not been brought before that Committee. It is, therefore, his obvious duty first of all to bring his grievances before the Local Advisory Committee, and if he does not get redress from them, then he can bring his grievances before the Railway Board and eventually before this House. Therefore, I suggest to him that he might withdraw his Resolution, if the Honourable the Railway Member sends a copy of his speech to the Agent, Assam Bengal Railway, with the suggestion that, as all these are purely local matters, they might be considered and dealt with at the next meeting of the Local Advisory Committee.

**Mr. D. K. Lahiri Chaudhury** (Bengal: Landholders): Sir, I am sorry that I missed the great opportunity of listening to the speech of the Honourable the Mover of the Resolution, but in this case I have a few facts which I wish to add to the contribution which he has already made. I can assure the House that there are some grievances which ought to be ventilated on the floor of this House. I am one of those passengers who travel by the Assam Bengal Railway and my Honourable friend, Mr. P. R. Rau, is aware of the fact that I have had to bring this matter to the notice of the Railway Finance Committee on many occasions. I have taken a strong objection for not reducing the fare of the bridge situated on the river Brahmaputra which stands in between Mymensingh and Shambhugunj stations. Only for that particular bridge a fare for 10 miles is charged. If the cost of that bridge had not been realised from the public, I could have understood the imposition of that charge, but the cost was realised from the public a long time ago, and still the passengers are required to pay the fare for 10 miles. I have done my best to bring this matter to the notice of the authorities concerned, but without any satisfactory result. They may say that nothing can be done now because of the financial depression. But I do not ask them to reduce the fare. What I wish to suggest is that, instead of concentrating their whole attention to this particular bridge, why not distribute the fare over the whole line. The public in general in that case will not suffer much and at the same time it will afford some convenience to those who have to travel often by this line.

Then, Sir, another thing which I wish to mention here is that on the Assam Bengal Railway there is no system of return tickets.

**An Honourable Member:** There is no system of return tickets also in the case of the G. I. P. Railway and the B., B. and C. I. Railway.

**Mr. D. K. Lahiri Chaudhury:** There are a number of Railways which have got the system of return tickets. This system is especially required in Assam where people often return to their homes the same day. There are very big tea gardens and people have to go there for their business and return the same day to their respective places. So, in the case of the Assam Bengal Railway, return tickets are absolutely necessary. That may

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not be the case with the G. I. P. Railway or the B., B. and C. I. Railway. Besides it is not a good logic to say that because return tickets are not available on the G. I. P. and the B., B. and C. I. Railways, therefore they should not be available on the Assam Bengal Railway also. In my opinion there ought to be the system of return tickets on all the railways. The Assam Bengal Railway is a very important Railway, because it is the costliest Railway that has ever been built in India because of the hill section.

**Mr. Amar Nath Dutt** (Burdwan Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Is it costlier than the Sind-Pishin Railway?

**Mr. D. K. Lahiri Chaudhury:** The Sind-Pishin Railway may be a very costly Railway, but, so far as my knowledge goes, the Assam Bengal Railway is much more costlier than the E. I. Railway, E. B. Railway, G. I. P. or N. W. Railway. It has got 55 tunnels and they were built at a very heavy cost. On that Railway, the fares are also higher as compared to other Railways. Sir, Railways are run for the benefit of the public and, therefore, it stands to reason that the travelling public should enjoy the same facilities that are enjoyed by them on other lines. I am glad my friend had the opportunity of moving this Resolution in this House and I am sorry that I missed his humorous and amusing speech as was mentioned by Mr. Hezlett. But let me tell Mr. Hezlett that his speech is not "amusing" to the public at all, because those who travel by that Railway have to undergo a great deal of inconvenience. Therefore, for the benefit of the public, I take this opportunity to invite the attention of the Honourable Member in charge of Railways to do something to redress the grievances which I have just now mentioned; some facilities should also be given to the passengers for getting return tickets. With these words, I support the Resolution.

**Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** Sir, I shall be failing in my duty if I do not accord a hearty support to the Resolution that has been so ably moved by my friend from Assam. The only other Member who could have vied with him in the close reasoning and the eloquent appeal that we have heard just now is Mr. Kabeer-ud-Din Ahmed, a Member from Bengal.

**An Honourable Member:** You are also next to Mr. Kabeer-ud-Din Ahmed.

**Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** I thank you for giving me the compliment of being next to Mr. Kabeer-ud-Din Ahmed. Really, I shall be very glad if I can approach that eminent representative of Bengal. Sir, the reply that was given by my friend, Mr. Hezlett, who comes from Assam, was that the only remedy which was open to the Mover was to go to the Local Advisory Committee. I have something to say about this. My idea is that the Members of the Assembly should also be members of the Local Advisory Committees. A suggestion of this nature has been more than once pressed in the Standing Finance Committee for Railways, but there has been some difficulty in getting these gentlemen on the Local Advisory Committee. Many of these resolutions will not be necessary to be moved in this House if the representatives of various provinces in this House were also made members of the Local Advisory Committees of Railways of their Provinces. But as this is not the case, I think my friend had no other alternative but to move his Resolution. If the Government or the railway authorities wish

that such matters should not come here, but be disposed of by the Local Advisory Committees, then I think the presence of the Members of this House in those Committees will be found to be very helpful. So, I submit that the reply does not touch the fringe of the problem which my friend in his able and lucid speech has brought out. There are no doubt, grievances in the case of every Railway and these have got to be remedied. But it is not possible for the railway authorities to know what are the actual grievances of the travelling public or, for the matter of that, of the public at large. That being so, it is necessary that these things should be brought to their notice and when they are brought to their notice, I am sure they will be redressed. With that object in view, I beg to appeal once more that Government should see whether it is not possible that the Members of this Assembly should be represented on the Local Advisory Committees of various Railways in their respective provinces. With these words, I support the Resolution which has been so ably moved.

**Mr. O. S. Ranga Iyer** (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I rise to fulfil the promise which I made to my friend, Mr. Gopika Romon Roy, and that is that I would support his Resolution. After hearing the speech of the Government Whip, who is also the official representative from Assam, I am convinced that Mr. Gopika Romon Roy has a very strong case, for the Whip of the Government of India told us that he had gone through the literature on the subject, namely, the proceedings of the Local Advisory Committee and he found that the Local Advisory Committee had not thought fit during two long years to go into the problems that Mr. Gopika Romon Roy placed before us. Sir, the Advisory Committee have failed in their duty and I am glad that Mr. Roy has flogged them and I hope he has flogged them into action.

**The Honourable Sir Joseph Bhowe** (Member for Commerce and Railways): Sir, I must first express my satisfaction that the chance of the ballot has enabled my Honourable friend to move his motion. I have known that for many long months he has borne the burden of his many grievances, but not until I heard his full exposition of them did I realise what their extent really was. He has told us in most harrowing terms of the difficulties experienced in crossing Railway bridges where amenities are not provided for foot-passengers. He has told us of his difficulties in hoisting his person from the low level platforms on to trains which tower above him. He has told us also of the terrible danger arising owing to the siding of certain stations on the Assam Bengal Railway, from what he described as the King of the jungle who I understood him to say often waited for him in the hope of obtaining a succulent meal. Well, Sir, I am sure we must all sympathise with my Honourable friend and I am sure that we must be relieved to find that these grave troubles and difficulties have not left a trace upon his person to show his mental or physical agony. (Laughter.)

I have gone very carefully into the speech which he delivered in Simla and I think it may be analysed into two or three main complaints. The first, I think, was in regard to low level platforms. There, Sir, I fully sympathise with him. I myself have suffered from this inconvenience. I have often found it very difficult, but by an expenditure of a certain amount of physical energy, I have been able to transfer myself from these low level platforms into the train. My Honourable friend might find it a little more difficult to do so than I (Laughter), and I have no doubt that he would be materially helped by having some mechanical assistance.

[Sir Joseph Bhore.]

Nevertheless, as I said, I entirely sympathise with him, but my difficulty really is to find a remedy. Now, the raising of these low level platforms is a very expensive matter and Honourable Members in this House who have travelled abroad will, I think, realise that the same difficulty occurs in other countries. In fact, to the best of my recollection, I think that even the main stations in Paris, the Lyons and the Nord, have such low platforms that getting into trains is something of an acrobatic feat. I can assure my Honourable friend that I do realise the difficulties which he has brought to light. But, as I pointed out, this is a matter of money, and the Assam Bengal Railway is a Company which is none too well off. I am sure that when its finances improve, it will certainly be prepared to do all it can to increase amenities and conveniences for its passengers.

Then, Sir, let me refer to the second point which he made, namely, crossing Railway bridges. He suggested that these should be planked over to enable the foot passengers to pass over with facility. May I point out that crossing Railway bridges or walking along them is an extremely dangerous practice and unless we have proper arrangements, as for instance, watchmen or unless a foot-way is made so that it will not interfere with the track, it may prove a source of the greatest danger to foot passengers. It is for that reason that this practice is severely discouraged. Then, Sir, my Honourable friend referred to another matter, namely, the alleged silting up of the Chargola and Longai valleys. May I point out that the Assam Flood Enquiry Committee appointed in 1929 submitted a very comprehensive report as a result of their labours and, from a perusal of that report, it will be seen that although the Longai River bridge was mentioned, it was not stated that the bridge was interfering in any way with the flow of water down the river. The Chargola river bridge was not mentioned in that report by name and the Committee recommended that additional water-ways should be provided at three places in other parts of the Surma Valley and the necessary action has been taken by the Assam Bengal Railway. However, Sir, if my Honourable friend can place before me definite evidence to show that the silting up of these valleys is definitely due to the bridges in question, we shall certainly look into the matter.

I do not know whether there are any further matters into which I can go. My Honourable friend, Mr. Amar Nath Dutt, suggested that Members of the Central Legislature should become members of the Local Advisory Committee. I am afraid that that will make the Local Advisory Committees so hopelessly unwieldy that very little work would be done. We have, as a matter of fact, a very representative Central Advisory Committee and I am quite sure that the Central Advisory Committee will never be backward in bringing to notice the general difficulties and inconveniences which the travelling public are suffering from. I would like to assure my Honourable friend and also the House that the Railway Department is always anxious to do what it possibly can to relieve the inconveniences of the travelling public. It realises that it has to give service to the public and, unless that service is good and efficient, its failure will recoil upon itself. I would suggest to my Honourable friend that he take the advice given him by Mr. Hezlett. If he does, I am quite prepared to forward the debate to the Agent of the Assam Bengal Railway and we shall see, as a result of any report that may be received from him, what can be done. May I appeal to my Honourable friend, in view of that assurance, to withdraw his Resolution?

**Kumar Gopika Romon Roy:** Sir, I wish to say only a few words by way of reply. My Honourable friend, Mr. Hezlett, said "please refer to the Local Advisory Committee". Sir, perhaps the House well remembers that in 1930 I referred to these grievances on the floor of the Assam Legislative Council. The Honourable Member in charge gave the reply that as Railway was a Central subject, he could do nothing in the matter. If we go to these Advisory Boards, they say that they want to push on with these matters, but they have no funds. I know there is a Local Advisory Committee, but what I want to point out is, is it our duty to point out that the station is located at a place where there is no road and we are to go jumping over the railway bridge? Is it our duty alone and is it not part of the duty of the local administration to see these things? My Honourable friend, Mr. Hezlett, was the Commissioner of the Division and he could have persuaded and ordered the Chairman of the Local Board to take certain action, but he never did it. Here is a photo which shows that there is no option but to travel by the railway side. At the time of Sir George Rainy I pleaded for a fencing and here is the translation of a cutting from the Bengali paper *Janasakti*, which shows how a man was cut down when he was walking on the line:

"On Friday last, while a man was going by the rail line—midway between the Kayarthagram and the Baraigram stations—on the Karimganj-Longai Valley Railway—the 271 Up train knocked him down and broke his skull. He has also received serious wounds in his legs and chest. He was removed to the Nilambazar hospital by the next Down train. His condition is precarious."

What have Government to say to that? We have drawn their attention and what are we to do? I myself went to Chittagong and saw the Agent of the Railway and the D. T. S., and I wrote everything to the D. T. S. from time to time. What is the remedy now left to me but to represent my grievances on the floor of this House where I hope there will be somebody to sympathise with us? I do not mean any disrespect to the late Railway Member, but he also gave us assurances that our grievances would be looked into. Probably you, Sir, will remember it as you were one of us at that time. But we find that they have not removed a single straw since that date. In the meantime our grievances are gradually increasing and, if we go there, they will say that they are looking into the matter. It is all a matter of "ing"; looking, considering, coming, going, referring,—all leading in the end to nothing. (Laughter.) What is the remedy left to us? Sir, it is unfortunate that while in Simla I moved this Resolution, my Honourable friend, Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury, was absent and today also he is not present. The other Assam Member, Mr. Phookun, is also not here. So I am the only man here to plead for Assam and I hope the House will sympathise with this poor Assam Member. We seldom get a chance of ventilating our grievances and I have got a chance of moving this Resolution after trying for three years. If the Honourable Member really entertains any kind feelings towards us and promises to do something for us, then I do not want a newspaper publicity by getting this Resolution passed, nor I am eager for cheap notoriety. But I want real work for my constituency, and if he assures me that he will really do what lies in his power, then I will surely withdraw my Resolution. About the Fakhohagram station I have shown from an illustration that it is a hut only and Rs. 100 would have been quite enough to remove this station which has no siding or anything. But, even as regards this, my Honourable friend, Mr. Hezlett, says that owing to financial stringency they could not do it, although they could instal electric machinery at Badarpur, a

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luxury which is enjoyed by none but the railway officers, and they have got electric fans which are run only for the Station Master and other officers at night alone, but not for the public in the summer days. If money can be found for these luxuries, why not for this? And I can prove today even regarding the saloons that in every train there are one or two of these. If that can be afforded, why cannot this be done? I have already stated that a man was disabled by falling from the bridge. If this does not melt the heart of the Member in charge, I do not know what we are to do and where we are to go. We hope this is a civilised country and if things like this can go on in a civilised country, I do not know what we are to do. Here is a vernacular paper called *Santi* which is subscribed even by Government officials in Sylhet. This says that in the Mughalbazar railway station there is no waiting room for ladies although this is an important station, and they have to wait for hours and hours in sun and rain under the trees. These are grievances which have got to be removed. Sir, I could not finish my speech today, but I will take another chance by a cut motion. At least I will do my duty. Even if the House does not support me, my own conscience will be clear. I want to go to my constituency with a clear conscience that I have done my duty to them and let the House do what it likes. Sir, with this appeal I want a definite answer from the Honourable Member in charge that he will remove our grievances.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty): The question is:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that immediate and adequate steps be taken by the Railway Board to redress the various grievances of the general travelling public and particularly of the public travelling by the Assam Bengal Railway."

The motion was adopted.

## RESOLUTION *RE* PROTECTION OF WORKERS AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT AND REDUCTION OF WAGES.

**Mr. N. M. Joshi** (Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I beg to move:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take immediate steps to protect the workers in the country against increasing unemployment and reduction of wages."

This Assembly discussed the question of unemployment in the year 1926, when a Resolution was passed recommending the appointment of a Committee to consider the question of unemployment in general and the question of middle class unemployment in particular. So far as I know, very little has resulted in action from that Resolution except that certain investigations were made by a few Provincial Governments.

The Resolution which I am moving today is much wider in terms and I have made it so deliberately. I feel that unemployment among various sections of the population is interdependent: unemployment amongst agricultural workers is bound to affect the employment of industrial workers and *vice versa*; unemployment amongst industrial and agricultural workers is also bound to affect employment of the middle classes. Moreover I have included in the terms of my Resolution the question of wages as unemployment is generally followed by a reduction of wages. There is a difficulty in dealing with this question on account of the want of statistics as regards

employment and unemployment and the various factors which are involved in this question. Various schemes for the collection of statistics have been thought out; a Committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Sir M. Viswesvarayya: some plans were recommended by Sir Arthur Salter for the establishment of an Economic Council and now we see that two economists from England have come to make certain recommendations—I suppose on the subject of collecting statistics and allied subjects. Nothing has come out of the various schemes which Government have so far thought out: I hope something will come out of their recent efforts. In spite of want of statistics, it is quite possible to prove not only the existence of unemployment, but the degree of unemployment. There are certain indications from which we can infer the prevalence of unemployment. There is unemployment, for instance, in the whole world at present, including the most prosperous countries. If there is unemployment in those countries, we can reasonably infer that there must be some unemployment in our own. Prices are low all over the world and they are low in our own country; and low prices is one of the indications by which the existence of unemployment can be inferred. The production in the whole world has gone down; unfortunately we do not have a census of production in our country: it is true that in some of the organised industries production has gone up, such as in cotton textiles; but in certain others production has gone down, such as in mines. Figures of export trade will clearly prove that on the whole our production must have gone down: the export trade has dwindled during the last three years from 330 crores to 131 crores. I need not give any more indications of the existence of unemployment in our country. I shall try to estimate the degree of unemployment. So far as agriculture is concerned, it is a well known fact that in our country agricultural workers do not get more than four to six months' employment in a year, and this unemployment is increasing year after year. I shall give certain figures from the latest census reports. In 1911, the ratio of the number of workers to dependents was 47 to 53. In 1921, the ratio was 46 and 54, and, in 1931, the ratio is 44 to 56: that is, the number of dependents is increasing which clearly shows that unemployment in agriculture is also increasing. At present agriculture is not paying, with the result that the number of agricultural wage earners employed is bound to go down. The agriculturist cannot afford to engage wage earners. The agriculturist either works himself and takes the help of members of his family or, if he was doing already some work before he does more work, but he tries to do without the services of wage earners. If we take industry, there again there is the difficulty of want of statistics for non-regulated industries. We have statistics for regulated industries. During the last few years, the number of people engaged in factories regulated by the Factories Act has gone down by 143,000. The number of people employed in Indian mines has gone down by 65,000: the number of railway staff has gone down by 87,000. The Royal Commission on Labour definitely recognised unemployment existing in the shipping industry in various ports: they also recognised that in certain ports, the dock workers were also unemployed and they estimated that in Karachi the dock worker does not get more than 10 to 12 days work in a month; they also estimated that in Rangoon, on an average for the year, the dock worker does not get more than 12 to 13 days work in a month. This unemployment is felt more at certain centres, such as Bombay. In Bombay today more than 40,000 textile workers alone are unemployed. Besides the textile workers, there are others unemployed in Bombay. If you take Calcutta, the number of unemployed will not be smaller. Besides unemployment, the workers suffer from short time work



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as some mills do not work full time for the whole week. Now, I feel that the existence of large and growing unemployment will not be challenged even by the Government. So far as the second question which I am raising is concerned, namely, the reduction of wages, I feel the same difficulty for want of statistics, but we can have some statistics collected in various places. Moreover, we can infer the reduction of wages from the very fact of unemployment. Unemployment generally leads to reduction of wages, and it has led to reduction of wages. I shall give only a few figures on this subject. These figures are collected by the Bombay Labour Office and they are given in the *Bombay Labour Gazette*. The urban field labourer in Bombay was getting Rs. 0-9-6 per day in 1927, whereas today he is getting Rs. 0-6-10. The wages of the rural field labourer have gone down from Rs. 0-7-6 in 1927 to Rs. 0-5-7 in 1932. The wages of urban skilled labourer have gone down from Rs. 0-12-0 in 1927 to Rs. 0-9-5 in 1932. The wages of a rural skilled labourer have gone down from Rs. 0-9-3 in 1927 to Rs. 0-7-1 in 1932. The wages of an urban skilled labourer have gone down from Rs. 1-13-0 in 1927 to Rs. 1-8-3 in 1932. I am told that at present in some of the seasonal factories in Bombay labourers are hired from Rs. 0-2-0 to Rs. 0-3-0 per day.

Now, Sir, I shall give only a few figures more, and these figures relate to the mining areas, and they are taken from the Report of the Chief Inspector of Mines. The miners' wages have gone down from Rs. 0-13-6 in 1929 to Rs. 0-9-9 in 1932. The wages of loaders have gone down from Rs. 0-11-0 in 1929 to Rs. 0-8-6 in 1932. The wages of women have gone down from Rs. 0-8-6 in 1929 to Rs. 0-6-6 in 1932. In the mining areas, the average wage for raising one tub of coal was about Rs. 0-7-0 when the Royal Commission made their investigation. That wage itself was very low, and I am told that at present in the Argada colliery the rate paid for raising one tub of coal is only Rs. 0-2-3 . . .

**Mr. S. C. Sen** (Bengal National Chamber of Commerce: Indian Commerce): Did you say one tub?

**Mr. N. M. Joshi:** Yes, one tub.

**Mr. S. C. Sen:** Then you are mistaken, because I have to pay Rs. 0-6-0.

**Mr. N. M. Joshi:** You are not paying Rs. 0-6-0. I have got information from one of my sources.

**Mr. S. C. Sen:** What colliery is that?

**Mr. N. M. Joshi:** Argada colliery.

Besides this, Sir, in the railways the wages have been cut down. In Bombay, in the textile industry, the wages have gone down from 25 per cent to 30 per cent, and let us remember that this is a protected industry. In Calcutta, a similar reduction has taken place in wages. In Ahmedabad, where the mills have made huge profits till last year, they are threatening a wage cut. Mr. President, this is the position as regards unemployment and wages in our country at present. I do not wish to discuss the causes of unemployment in this country. I feel that the chief cause of unemployment is the capitalist system based upon competition. Periodical

unemployment is an inevitable concomitant of the capitalist system, but I do not wish to raise that big question today. It will be agreed by all that unemployment is due to world depression, whatever may be the causes of that depression. The second cause of unemployment is due to the measures taken by the employers for what they call rationalisation. I am not altogether against rationalisation if measures are taken to protect the workers, as was suggested by a Conference held under the auspices of the League of Nations. It has been said that in India the effects of unemployment are not very much felt on account of two reasons. It is said that the workers in towns, who are engaged in industries, go to villages when there is unemployment in towns, and workers in villages go to towns when there is unemployment in villages. Unfortunately we are now living in times when there is unemployment both in villages as well as in towns, and, therefore, this escape, if it really exists, is not open to workers. It is also said that in India the effect of unemployment is not felt, because we have a joint family system. Thank God, we still have a joint family system, but, Sir, that joint family system is fast crumbling down owing to the impact of modern civilization and nobody need shed any tears for the crumbling down of that system. If there is unemployment, as I say there is, and if the workers are also suffering from a reduction of wages, let us consider what steps we should take to free the workers from the misery which they are suffering at present. In considering the proposals, I shall not raise the question of the capitalist system and its abolition, but certainly we must consider the various plans some of the countries in the world have adopted for getting rid of the depression. There is, for instance, the Soviet plan, there is the plan made by Mussolini to increase employment, there is the plan made by Hitler, and there is also the most important plan made by Roosevelt. I don't wish to go into the details of these plans, but two things become quite clear if we study these plans. The first thing is that we cannot get rid of the depression by merely depending upon the automatic adjustment of the various factors in the world. The time is past when we can have what is called self-adjustment. Sir Arthur Salter has very wisely said that the world's economic mechanism has lost its self-adjusting quality. We must, therefore, now deliberately adopt plans to get rid of the crisis from which we are suffering. His Excellency the Viceroy, in the speech which he made in this Assembly last year, recognised this principle. He also repeated his recognition of the principle in his recent speech in Calcutta. The second principle that comes out of the study of these plans is that all plans must be co-ordinated by an international effort. This principle was also recognised when His Excellency dealt with the Roosevelt plan in his recent speech in Calcutta. Now, Sir, without going into these principles, I would like to make certain definite suggestions to the Government in order that the misery from which the workers are suffering both from unemployment and from the reduction of wages may be reduced. My first suggestion is a constitutional one. We are living in a time when our constitution is undergoing a revision. I would suggest to the Government of India that in the new Constitution they should lay down the fundamental right that the workers shall have a right to live, and in this connection I shall quote only a few lines from a very valuable Report issued by the Director of International Labour Organization. That Report was published in 1933:

"In fact, it may be said that the right to work or maintenance, which has been claimed by the workers for many years past, is now more generally recognised than at any previous time. As the author of the World Economic Survey points out: . . . ."

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Then there is a quotation from the World Economic Survey :

"The 'right to live', if not the 'right to work', has been much more firmly established. . . . The widespread acceptance of the notion of 'standards of living', and the associated conception of a 'minimum standard', which society should in some way guarantee to every normal individual, is one of the most remarkable social developments of recent years. The contractual idea which it embodies is of profound importance and marks a distinct departure from theories of individual enterprise and free competition. It establishes, in economic organisation, a new social right comparable in many ways with property rights."

During the last Session of the Assembly, the Assembly decided that there should be a fundamental right for the protection of property. May I ask the Assembly now to guarantee to the workers this right to live? Then I shall suggest to the Government of India that in order that they should be able to deal with questions like unemployment and wages and the bigger industrial questions, they should immediately give effect to the suggestion of Sir Arthur Salter for the establishment of an Economic Council. I shall also suggest to them that they should give immediate effect to the recommendation made by the Royal Commission on Labour for the establishment of an Industrial Council. Unless these organisations are established, it will not be easy for the Government of India to deal with large questions which are coming up for solution.

When we discuss the question of improving the economic condition, two proposals are generally made. The first is that we should inflate our currency, and the second that we should raise tariff barriers. In my former speeches in this Assembly I have made it quite clear that by the inflation of currency and the raising of tariff barriers the workers are placed on the horns of a dilemma. They are benefited in one way, but they suffer in another way. But we are living in desperate times, and if nothing else is done, in sheer desperation I would prefer this inflation of currency and the raising of tariff barriers to inaction. At the same time I would suggest to the Government of India that they should favourably consider what the economists call reflation instead of inflation. The report which I have just mentioned—Mr. Butler's report—explains reflation in this way :

"Hence the doctrine of reflation; that is to say, of adopting concerted measures to restore the vast sums of money now lying idle to circulation in order to raise prices, is now gaining ground."

I, therefore, suggest to the Government of India that, instead of thinking of inflation, they should take steps to effect reflation, that is, greater circulation of the money now lying idle in the various banks in this country. In order to do that, the Government of India should take steps to create employment and to see that adequate wages are given to the workers. That is the only way to create what I call reflation.

Now, the Government of India can create employment in various ways. The Government of India should follow an active policy to establish State-owned and State-managed railways. At one time they followed that policy and built our railway system. I suggest to them and I suggest to the Railway Board that they should give up their timid and hesitating policy and adopt a bold and forward policy of new construction of railways . . . .

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty): Order, order. The Honourable Member can resume his speech after Lunch. The House stands adjourned till 2-30 P.M.

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

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The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock, Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty) in the Chair.

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**Mr. N. M. Joshi:** When we adjourned for Lunch, I was suggesting to the Government of India that they should follow an active policy as regards creating employment and I suggested that they should undertake the construction of railways and I suggest now that, besides constructing railways, they should try to develop all the railway industries. They should build their locomotives, their carriages, their wagons and make their sleepers. I also suggest to the Government of India that they should take steps to develop mercantile marine in India. India is not going to have mercantile marine through private capitalists. If ever we are going to have more mercantile marine, it will be through the efforts of the Government. I also suggest to the Government of India that they should undertake public works, such as roads, bridges and even buildings, canals and drainage works and the clearing of slums. Several countries at present are following this policy. The United States of America, Germany and Italy are spending huge sums of money in undertaking public works. The Government of India starts public works during famine times. The times in which we are living are very similar to famine times. The Whitley Commission has recommended that during times of unemployment Government should start public works even in towns. I suggest to the Government of India that they should take immediate steps to give effect to this recommendation of the Royal Commission on Labour. Then I would suggest to the Government of India that they should also undertake some scheme for unemployment insurance. I am quite aware that, when the Whitley Commission considered this question, they could not make a recommendation for the immediate establishment of unemployment insurance scheme, but much water has flown since the Whitley Commission wrote its report. There was a time when the United States of America was against unemployment insurance schemes. They have changed their views and I am quite sure that, if the Whitley Commission had been meeting today, they would make a different report. As regards the unemployment insurance, the Fawcett Committee that inquired into a dispute in Bombay had made a recommendation that whenever unemployment will be created on account of the employers taking up rationalisation schemes, some steps should be taken to protect the workers against the unemployment that is created. I would also suggest to the Government of India that they should follow what the world is doing today to prevent unemployment, namely, reduce the hours of work. I am aware that the Government of India have placed legislation before this Legislature for reducing the hours of work. I wish to suggest to them that they should come into line with the world by reducing the hours much more than they are prepared to do. I also suggest to the Government of India that as regards the unemployment in docks they should

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give immediate effect to the recommendation made by the Royal Commission on Labour by starting a system of registration and thus decasualizing the employment of dock workers.

I shall now turn to the question of wages. I think I made it quite clear that if the purchasing power of the country was to be restored, there must be better circulation of money and, in order to do that, we must give not only employment to the workers, but we must give them adequate wages. Unfortunately we are now faced with reduction of wages in almost all the industries. The justification given for the reduction of wages is that prices have gone down, and, therefore, the real wages have not gone down. It is true that prices have gone down. I do not deny that fact and in some cases the real wages also may not show any reduction. In some cases it may show even an increase, but I would ask the Members of the Assembly and the Government to consider this question. The standard of life of the working classes of this country is extremely low. What we want is that that standard should be immediately raised and, if that standard is raised, that is one of the means by which the prosperity will be brought to the country. Therefore, every step must be taken to see that the standard of life of the working classes is raised. If you reduce the wages, the standard of life cannot be raised. You may remember that, a few days ago, my friend, Mr. Mody, made a speech and he said what right have the consumers to expect to get things below the cost of production. May I ask, what right the employer has got to get labour for wages that are below reasonable standard of life? They have no right to get labour for wages which do not provide a reasonable standard of life to the working classes.

**Raja Bahadur G. Krishnamachariar** (Tanjore *cum* Trichinopoly: Non-Muhammadan Rural): What is that reasonable standard? Will you tell us?

**Mr. N. M. Joshi:** I have not the time to go into that. I will only content myself by saying that they should get a reasonable standard of life. It is quite true that when the prices go down, the individual workers get more for the wages they get. At the same time, let us remember that the total wage bill of the industry is not increased, but it is reduced on account of the number of people employed being reduced. Who bears the burden of the unemployment. The real wages may not have been reduced, but the responsibilities of the people who are employed have increased, because it is they who somehow have to bear the burden of the unemployment.

**The Honourable Sir Frank Noyce** (Member for Industries and Labour): May I ask the Honourable Member how they discharge their responsibility?

**Mr. N. M. Joshi:** They discharge their responsibility as best as they could and they discharge their responsibility much better than some of us do.

**The Honourable Sir Frank Noyce:** That is not an answer to my question. I put a definite question to the Honourable Member and I should be grateful for a definite answer.

**Mr. N. M. Joshi:** My definite answer is that the unemployed in India today are maintained by the employed workers in this country and by nobody else. Government are doing nothing for them. That is my answer. I hope my answer is satisfactory.

**Sir Muhammad Yakub** (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Muhamadan Rural): Quite unsatisfactory.

**Mr. N. M. Joshi:** I would also suggest to the Government of India to consider this, that wage reduction does not even help industry. Wage reduction will not help in getting rid of the depression existing in the country today. If we study this question, we shall find that in America, where the wage reduction was the largest, the depression was the greatest, and in Great Britain, where the wage-reduction was the lowest, the depression is the least. Let us, therefore, remember that wage-reduction is not going to help industry. I would, therefore, suggest to the Government of India to take very vigorous steps to see that the wages in India are not only not reduced, but are increased, and, for that purpose, I would suggest that they should follow the policy which Roosevelt is following in America. He insists upon an increase of wages, and the Government of India should take power to see that wages are increased in this country and not reduced. I would also suggest to them to lay down a minimum wage for all industries. Sir, the theory that minimum wage legislation can apply only to unorganized industries is an exploded theory; it no longer holds good today. I, therefore, suggest to them to establish minimum wages in all industries. Mr. President, I would also suggest to the Government of India to see at least that an inquiry is made before any wage-reduction takes place in any industry. This at least is not too much to ask. I would also suggest to them that they should give special attention to the case of protected industries. If an industry receives protection from Government, that industry is bound to give that protection to the workers engaged in that industry. (Hear, hear.) I would also suggest to the Government of India that they should change the Indian Companies Act and put a limit to the dividends that are distributed to the shareholders and compel the companies, that run factories and industries in this country, to establish a wage equalisation fund. Sir, many of the companies have established what are called dividend equalisation funds. Now, if they have such a fund, why should they not be compelled to establish a wage equalisation fund? Mr. President, I have one more suggestion to offer on this point and that is that the Government of India should take steps to give effect to the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Labour in insisting upon a fair wages clause being put on all public contracts.

Sir, I do not wish to take up much time of this House; but, before I close, I shall say only one word and it is this. The misery which the working classes in this country are suffering from, due to unemployment and to reduction in wages, is great. We cannot imagine nor am I able to describe that misery in an adequate manner; but let us remember this that the working classes are suffering in many ways—not only financially, but in other ways. Sir, if a man remains unemployed, he loses his skill, he loses his working capacity, he is demoralized. That is a greater loss to him and also to the country than even the financial loss caused to the worker himself. I would, therefore, suggest that the Government of India should take vigorous steps to see that there is no unemployment in this country and to see that the workers are paid adequate

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wages and I suggest that they should take steps very promptly. A policy of dilatoriness and hesitation is fatal. They should give up that policy so that, not only will the workers benefit, but, I am sure, the industries and the whole country will benefit. I have done. (Applause.)

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty): Resolution moved:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take immediate steps to protect the workers in the country against increasing unemployment and reduction of wages."

**Mr. B. Das** (Orissa Division: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, being a worker myself and a toiler for my daily bread, I wish to make a few observations on this Resolution. Sir, I congratulate my Honourable friend, Mr. Joshi, on his bringing forward this Resolution which is rather a topical matter in the present world economic crisis that is affecting India along with every other part of the world. As regards my Honourable friend, Mr. Joshi's observations, although his Resolution is very comprehensive and embraces all classes of workers, yet towards the end of his speech he seemed to become a trade unionist and talked of the industrial working classes.

Now, I will confine my speech generally to the causes which have led to this present depression and unemployment. When my Honourable friend, Mr. Joshi, was making his speech, I only saw my Honourable friend, Sir Frank Noyce, on the Treasury Benches. So I said to myself: "Why should Sir Frank Noyce bear the whole brunt of the attack from my Honourable friend, Mr. Joshi, or from this side?" Then, after a few minutes, I saw the Honourable the Finance Member quietly walked in to share the burden of his Honourable colleague and I am glad to find him here. Sir, there is world-wide economic depression. My friend, Mr. Joshi, coined a new phrase, "reflation"—as he pointed out he borrowed the phrase from his Director,

**Mr. N. M. Joshi:** What?

**Mr. B. Das:** You are a member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and you quoted Director Butler of the International Labour Office and I am so glad you did it. At first I did not understand what this word "reflation" meant. Well, Sir, I do hope the Government of India and the Chancellor of the Exchequer will take a leaf out of the book of Mr. Roosevelt, the American President. There was this wide economic depression in America, there was this problem of unemployment there, and, as my friend, Mr. Joshi, pointed out, America followed the policy of reflation. What happened? America has depreciated its currency, the dollar has gone off the gold and, if the newspapers be right, the dollar has gone off the silver, and I do not know what it now consists of,—zinc or paper,—but, anyhow, its value has depreciated. So what President Roosevelt has done is to make available to the American country large sums of currency to provide employment, to industry, to agriculture and so on and the activities of the Americans have increased. If I remember aright, the American budget showed a deficit of nearly 800 million or a thousand million dollars. The same thing happened, as I noticed, in the Japanese Government's budget which had shown a deficit of 800 million yens. But that money the Governments concerned did not utilise to pay high and fat salaries to

their officials: they utilized it to subsidise their industries and to increase the field and the range of employment in their territories. Sir, a prominent Britisher, who went from Lancashire to Japan, delivered a lecture the other day in Lancashire which was recently reported by Reuters and which said that England and the European world had to learn lots from Japan. It is no use talking about Japan as if Japan had sweated labour and saying that Japan sweats labour and competes in the world market. Japan has adopted the policy of rationalization under which the life of labour is sweet and it is sweetened by the labour he or she does in the cottage industries or the manufacturing industries. Similar remarks would apply to the Roosevelt policy in America. They are rationalising their industries and their agricultural activities, with the result that employment is increasing day by day. But in India, as my Honourable friends, Mr. Jadhav and Mr. Mitra, pointed out the other day, this Government is helpless and so is our Finance Member helpless. He cannot bring out a hundred million programme of public works or finance the agricultural movement in the country so that people may find employment. He cannot do it, probably because of the residual powers that he enjoys through his master at Whitehall. He will be compelled not to do it. Yet, later on, when the Honourable the Finance Member will rise to speak, he will say that he has got this Economic Survey Committee for us. He will say that he has secured eminent Professors from England who will survey the present economic depression in India. Not only they are not eminent Professors, but their knowledge of India is *nil* and they will start from the zero point and, in a year or two, they will probably bring out a report which will meet with the same fate as was accorded to Sir Arthur Salter's admirable recommendations by the Honourable the Finance Member. Sir, this new movement which is started by the Honourable the Finance Member has also had its echoes in the Provincial Governments. I find that the Bengal Government have also started an economic survey of their province. Sir, it is often said that when a Conference or a Committee cannot solve a problem, then it goes and sub-committees are appointed. My Honourable friend, the Finance Member, who will reveal the financial position of India on the 27th February, has safeguarded himself by this new Economic Survey Committee. Sir, if the Government were so anxious to do something for the people, they could have appointed such a Committee when Sir Arthur Salter submitted his recommendations. But they did not do that. So I do not take any pleasure in that Committee, because it has come after two years and, by the time it submits its report, there will be a complete collapse of the economic structure of the people of India.

Sir, one of the main causes of the economic depression in the industrial world is due to the aggressive nationalism that is prevailing in all the European countries including America and Japan. India is suffering from that aggressive nationalism of those countries. The result of all that is that it has so affected our cottage industries and other industries that this House had to pass the Safeguarding of Industries Act and the Honourable the Commerce Member was forced to introduce a Tariff measure which has been referred to a Select Committee. We have to take into account all that aggressive nationalism of sovereign nations who are today not thinking of internationalism or international welfare, but of commercial welfare of their particular States. The last Great War started through the commercial aggressive policy of Germany. I do not say that the other great nations, that took part in that Great War, were not actuated by the same motives. They were also actuated by the same commercial impulse to fight Germany



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and to get her out of the world's markets. We have to take into account the aggressive nationalism of more powerful nations than India. And when my Honourable friend, Mr. Joshi, and his supporters—I do not see Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury in his seat—ask us to consider “how these wages can be lowered”, we have to take into account . . . .

**An Honourable Member:** He is asking to raise the wages.

**Mr. B. Das:** But I am for lowering the wages.

**Mr. N. M. Joshi:** It is bad economics.

**Mr. B. Das:** My friend has suggested a standard wage, but we do not know what are those standards. I would have liked my friend, Mr. Joshi, to have pointed out how that standard of wage should be fixed.

**Mr. N. M. Joshi:** May I tell the Honourable Member that an ordinary worker should live as comfortably as the Honourable Member himself lives. That is my standard.

**Mr. B. Das:** Quite so. I would like to live in the same luxurious standard as that of my Honourable friend, the Leader of the House, but then my daily wages do not permit me to live in the standard of the Honourable the Law Member. Naturally, one has to look into other factors. And what are those factors? Today, my Honourable friend, Mr. Joshi, has pointed out that there is a great deal of unemployment with which I entirely agree. He also pointed out that, because of this unemployment in the Bombay town, the wages have come down to two annas from eight annas and 12 annas. Even from my practical experience of Orissa, I find that the wages of daily labourers have gone down by 60 per cent. So it is no use my demanding today a standard wage when millions and millions of people are not finding means of livelihood, but to think first of all how to find employment for them. I think if the House considers how the Government can provide employment, then it will do a good turn to these millions who are unemployed. Well, Sir, I know that my Honourable friend, Mr. Joshi, has also an ulterior motive by drawing the attention of the House through this Resolution. He wants that the attention of the House should be drawn to the report of the Whitley Commission.

**Mr. S. C. Sen:** That is his Bible.

**Mr. B. Das:** He was a brilliant member of that Commission. But I think the problem has reached a more critical stage than what was attempted to be solved by the Whitley Commission. We occasionally find that when the Executive Councillors go on their tours, they occasionally make speeches on the problem of unemployment. The other day, my Honourable friend, Sir Fazl-i-Husain, made a speech at Dacca to the unemployed educated youths of Bengal. I have not yet found the Honourable Sir Fazl-i-Husain who is in charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands, persuading his colleagues, particularly his colleague, the Honourable the Finance Member, that the time has come when the Government of India and the Provincial Governments should permanently reduce land revenue so that they can give a certain relief to

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the 75 per cent. of agriculturists in India. The other day, I was reading in the newspapers that Sir Sankaran Nair, while speaking in a certain Malabar Agricultural Association, mentioned that the policy of the Governments in India was to keep the agriculturists just alive. They take from the agriculturist as much as they can and leave him sufficient to have one meal a day and just a sufficient margin of seeds so that he can again bring out his next year's crop.

**Mr. B. V. Jadhav** (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Is that the policy of the Government or of the landlord?

**Mr. B. Das:** Both the Government and the landlord. If I understood aright the speech of my Honourable friend, Mr. Lahiri Chaudhury, yesterday, he pooled all his resources and handed them over to the Government and said: "We are the second line of defence between the Government of this country and anarchy".

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty): The Honourable Member's time is up.

**Mr. B. Das:** So my Honourable friend, Mr. Lahiri Chaudhury, wanted that the Government should support the landholders' scheme. I am sorry, my time is up, but I do think that if this problem can at all be solved, it is not by the appointment of Committees and Commissions, but by the Honourable the Finance Member of the country being bold not only in giving relief where relief is needed in taxation, but also in bringing out money either in loan or by circulating the reserve money which is lying with the treasury of the Government of India or with the Imperial Bank or in the Currency Offices in Agra and elsewhere and thereby providing sources of employment for the millions of this country.

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster** (Finance Member): Sir, my Honourable friend, Mr. Das, made so many references to me that I think it is just as well that I should intervene at this stage. We on this side have no quarrel with the Honourable Member who has moved this Resolution if his desire is to get a general discussion of the economic position and of what measures can be taken by Government or otherwise in India to improve Indian conditions today. But I have certain quarrels with my Honourable friend and I should like to state them very shortly. In the first place, I quarrel with the target at which he is aiming in his Resolution. I think he has framed it in much too narrow a fashion. My Honourable friend says:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take immediate steps to protect the workers in the country against increasing unemployment and reduction of wages."

Now, Sir, I think any one who surveys the position in India today would have to come to the conclusion that in a time when most countries are suffering most terribly from industrial unemployment or from the unemployment of the wage-earners, India is suffering comparatively—I only say comparatively—little and that the real problem in India today is not so much the problem of unemployment of industrial wage-earners, but the depression and the lack of purchasing power which afflicts the great masses of agricultural workers in the country. I do not think that my

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Honourable friend, in focussing our attention on this particular aspect of the matter, has done much to direct our thoughts to what is the real problem in India today. I shall have something to say further on that matter in a few minutes. Then, Sir, I quarrel with my Honourable friend's methods. It seemed to me that the premises which he stated as the foundation for his case were absolutely unproved. He complained that we have no statistics, but he said even without statistics there are certain indications. He said: "there is unemployment in the whole world today, therefore there must be unemployment in India". He further said that low prices must mean unemployment, there are low prices in India today and, therefore, there must be unemployment in India. Sir, I have often myself felt—and this is one of the points in which I agree with my Honourable friend—that the statistics which we have at our disposal and the form in which we place our knowledge before the public are in many ways deficient in India. But, I have never felt that deficiency more than when I listened to the speech of my Honourable friend and to the way in which he tried to establish his case. Sir, if statistics had been available in a fuller measure or if my Honourable friend had made use of such statistics as are available, I do not think he could have put his case exactly as he did. There is no time in a short speech of a quarter of an hour to go fully into this matter, but let me take two simple indices which I think rebut a good deal of my Honourable friend's case so far as the industrial wage-earners are concerned. I have some figures here giving the indices of production in two important industries, the textile industry and steel ingots and castings which are in a fair measure of activity in iron and steel industry. Taking the year 1928 as 100, the index of production in the United Kingdom for textiles in 1933 is 87·9.

**Mr. N. M. Joshi:** I admitted that.

**The Honourable Sir George Schuster:** In the United States of America, it is 95, in France, it is 74, in Japan, it is 134, and in India, it is 141. That is to say for the six months ending July, 1933. Then, Sir, taking the index of production for steel ingots and castings—again taking the year 1928 as 100,—the figure in United Kingdom is 79·4 for 1933,—I may say that the figures for 1933 are of a slightly different period in these various countries, but they are approximately the same,—in the United Kingdom, it is 79·4 in the United States of America, it is 46·8, and there I would remind Honourable Members who told us so much about what President Roosevelt has been able to do, while one may agree that a great deal has been achieved since he launched his programme one must remember that comparisons made in the case of the United States of America with the lowest period of depression are comparisons made with a level of depression which we certainly have not experienced in this country, for the iron and steel industry in the United States of America, one of the biggest industries in the country, had fallen to a level of 20 per cent. of its normal production. Now, for these 10 months ending October, 1933, it has come up from 20 per cent. to 46·8 per cent., France 70 per cent., Japan 155 and India 173. Those are very significant figures at least as regards two very important industries and it is a fact which should be remembered by those who are examining the Indian situation that, in the last few years when other countries have been diminishing enormously their scale

of industrial production, it has so happened that in India, even if the production has not been very profitable, the actual scale of production has been for various reasons increasing. There are other industries where the increases have been even more remarkable, the sugar industry for example. Now, Sir, I am not attempting to establish the fact that the industry in India is in a condition which can give us complete satisfaction, because, I recognise that the margin of profit is, at the present level of prices, extremely low. But, I do think it is fair to say that industry in India, compared with the rest of the world, is in an amazingly favourable position. You can go round the whole world and you will find no big first-class iron and steel works working at anything like the standard and rate at which Tata's are working now. Nor will you find in any country a big staple industry like the Indian textile industry working at the same percentage of capacity as the Indian industry is today. Therefore, Sir, I feel that this question of industrial unemployment is not really the main point of trouble on which we ought to focus our attention in India.

Now, Sir, my Honourable friend has spoken about Government's plans under various heads. He referred to the question of statistics and economic inquiry. There we fully recognise that there is very great room for improvement and we feel,—I have always myself felt,—that much greater effort was necessary in order to enable the people of India to understand their own economic position. We do need more information and I hope that, as a result of the inquiry which is now being made by two distinguished English economists associated with, and I would remind my Honourable friend, Mr. B. Das, of that,—associated with three Indian economists, I do hope that those inquiries will lead to the better organisation of statistics and the production of information in a way which will be instructive to the public. We have to go slow, of course, in these matters in the present times, so far as increasing our permanent recurring expenditure is concerned; but I do believe that if money is spent within reasonable limits, money spent under this head will be very well spent, and I certainly hope that something will come out of this inquiry. I might perhaps remind the House of exactly what the scope of this particular inquiry is. The terms of reference to these gentlemen have already been stated by me and they have appeared in some of the papers, but I would just like to go over them again:

"(I) With a view to facilitating the further study of the economic problems of India to report on the existing organisation and range of statistical and other information bearing on the economic condition of India, with special reference to the gaps which exist at present and the means of filling these. In particular (i) to make recommendations as to the organisation of a central statistical department which in addition to the collection of statistics can co-ordinate statistical inquiry and information for the whole of India;

(ii) to consider the practicability and scope of a census of production;

(iii) to consider the materials obtainable for measurement of national income and national wealth;

(iv) to make recommendations as to initiation or continuation of a series of index numbers of prices, wages, production, etc.

(II) As it is desirable that the collection of the information referred to under the former head should be as far as possible designed to serve as a guide to practical policy, the main problems which arise in regard to the full utilisation of India's economic resources should be formulated."

Therefore, we hope to get a general survey of the present position in India from these gentlemen and to get practical recommendations as to maintaining a good running statistical organisation and possibly also for

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starting a full economic census or census of production in India. That, of course, would be a very ambitious work and will take several years to complete; but I for one have always felt that that is worth undertaking, particularly worth undertaking at this time when we are looking forward to constitutional changes, so that the new Government may come into power with a good statistical organisation and with a good survey of the position as it exists when they come in. Then, having got that survey of the position, it will be for them to keep it up to date and for them, if they can, to improve upon it. I should like to speak at greater length on that, but time is limited. We have had other suggestions. There is this suggestion of what my Honourable friend calls reflation, and we have been told that we ought to look round and see what President Roosevelt is doing in America, what Hitler is doing in Germany, what Mussolini is doing in Italy and what the Soviet Government are doing in Russia. Now, Sir, much undoubtedly is being or has been attempted in these countries. But if any Member of this House wishes to see what the results of that are, he should travel to those countries, he should study conditions there, and, moreover, he should study their present financial position; and I venture to think that he would find when he came back that we would not be able to say, "Here is prosperity; these people have found the secret of getting out of the present depression". He would come back and say, "Well, I find every one depressed, every one complaining that Government have not found a solution of these problems, every one complaining of over-taxation, of lack of profits and lack of purchasing power". In fact he would hear very much the same story which he hears in India. Sir, there is no magic remedy for the present depression and I have often felt that when one looks round the world and examines the position of countries which have stuck to their old gold standard, of countries which have tried depreciation of the currency as a means of raising prices, of countries which have tried reflation or inflation accompanied by measures for the improvement of purchasing power and keeping up of wages, wherever you look, you find that conditions are unfortunately very much the same. And yet we have got to try. I do not deny that. I do not for a moment contend that any Government should sit still and say: "We can do nothing". We have got to try and the Government in this country have been trying within the limits of caution and sound finance.

Now, Sir, take this question of reflation. It is the idea of utilising the masses of idle money which exists today in order to stimulate employment. It is a very attractive idea. I may tell the House that 18 months ago, I myself, seeing that we had got control of the situation, that our credit was restored and that we could contemplate a borrowing programme again, approached the various Departments, and particularly the Railways, and said: "If you can find any sound economic schemes, there need no longer be any financial ban against undertaking those schemes". But the difficulty is that when you look into these matters, those sound financial schemes are not available. It is no use saying, as my Honourable friend, Mr. Joshi, said, that we should go on and build railways over the country. What is the use of building railways if they do not pay you when they are built and if they are not really wanted? If that is done, the final result is going to be much worse than the beginning. Then we are told that Government ought to carry on without taxation and incur

budget deficits as Japan, the United States and France are doing. Again what is the end of that? If you borrow money to build unproductive works or if you borrow money to avoid raising taxation, that does not mean that you are escaping that difficulty or that you get that money for nothing. You borrow that money and perhaps relieve the taxpayer today. But who is to pay for it? The taxpayer of tomorrow: And if you start on those loans and you pile up your public debt without increasing your revenue, sooner or later the reckoning must come; and, moreover, if you get into that position and then if you are afflicted by any unforeseen disaster, then you are no longer in a position to meet it. Now, we have had in the last few weeks an example of an unforeseen disaster coming upon us. We do not yet know what capital expenditure will be required in order to restore the position in those areas which the earthquake has affected. But what we can say now is this: our credit is so good, our financial position, so far as raising money, so far as our ways and means position is concerned, is so strong that we shall not have any difficulty in providing the capital which is necessary and in providing it on reasonable terms in order to help those people in that part of India which has been so affected by this disaster. (Hear, hear.) I believe that we are going to be able to demonstrate to the public the value of the policy that we have followed. Let us not look entirely on the dark side of the picture. Capital has been lost; buildings will be required; a great deal of work will have to be given out in order to replace that capital. In some ways perhaps that will answer my Honourable friend, Mr. Joshi's purpose. We shall create employment; and it is not merely a joke to put it like that, it is a real fact that there will be compensating advantages; there will be opportunities of giving employment and perhaps in some indirect ways the country may benefit from that disaster. But that would be impossible if we were not in a position strong enough to face it, to raise the capital without putting further heavy burdens on the country. Perhaps in 20 years from now or 50 years from now, it will be possible to look back upon this period as one of the most instructive periods in the economic history of the world. We are learning many lessons, and I think the world is convinced that some of the old financial fetishes no longer deserve the respect which they have demanded in the past. We are coming to the view that money is not an end in itself—at least I hope we are—but is a means to an end. I hope that the present crisis will get the world out of the very mistaken sense of proportion and sense of values into which it had fallen; but I think one of the lessons which will be learnt from this period is that although money is only a means to an end, nevertheless you cannot juggle with it; that there is no short cut to prosperity in times like this by juggling with money and that the sound method in the long run is the best; that patience and hard work is the surest cure and that those politicians who come before the public and promise them great things if they can only be put into power and have an opportunity to employ their quack remedies are in the long run people who do not serve their country well. Sir, we must have patience. On the other hand, we must work hard, and I would be the first to acknowledge that we in the Government of India are not above human failings. After all, there are only seven of us; we have a great deal of work to do; Honourable Members do not exactly increase our opportunities for studying these matters, because we have to devote a great deal of our time to discussions in this Assembly. Undoubtedly, if we all had time to think more, we could achieve more; but if you look back upon the record and when you

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come to examine the records in the future of how India has gone through this crisis. I venture to think that your verdict on what this Government has done will not be entirely a critical or condemnatory one. My Honourable friend, I think, has done good service in raising the discussion today. I hope that the discussion will continue on interesting lines, for we are always ready to receive ideas, and I can assure every Honourable Member who speaks that any useful suggestion will receive our most serious consideration. (Cheers.)

**Mr. F. E. James** (Madras: European): Mr. President, if this discussion has served no other purpose, it has served the extraordinarily valuable and useful purpose of securing from the Honourable the Finance Member a statement that the credit and resources of India are equal to providing at reasonable rates of interest definite capital assistance to the devastated areas of Bihar. That is a statement which, I venture to say, will be welcomed by every side of this House, and I think that we must admit that the Honourable the Finance Member himself has in the recent difficult years played a not unworthy part in maintaining and securing that credit of India's finances which will, I hope, make what he has suggested today possible in the largest possible degree. He has many achievements upon which he will be able to look back with satisfaction when he leaves his present post. Not the least of his achievements will, I hope, be a solid and lasting achievement in regard to the provision of immediate and necessary help to those who are at present suffering the loss not only of their relations, but also of their property and indeed all their future prospects.

When I read the Resolution of Mr. Joshi, and when I heard his speech, I did not adopt my usual attitude in regard to Mr. Joshi and look for points in connection with which I might join issue with him, but I rather looked for indications of arguments and points on which I might find myself to some extent in agreement with him; and I am very grateful to Mr. Joshi for having raised this discussion, because he has in one or two instances raised points which do find support on some of these Benches and certainly from myself. The need for statistics has already been mentioned and acknowledged by the Honourable the Finance Member. Mr. Joshi laid great stress upon the need for a programme of public works and seemed to indicate that other Governments were ahead of this Government in their pursuance of that policy. I would, of course, remind Mr. Joshi that there is no country in the world in which the Government undertake so extensively public works as in India. I think if you study the position in other countries, you will find that in regard to public works generally, in regard to irrigation projects, in regard to water supply projects, in regard to electricity projects, there is no single country in the world where so much is being done at the present moment as by the Central or the Provincial Governments. That does not necessarily mean that the resources of Government in that connection are exhausted, and I join with him in pressing upon the Government that they should do everything possible at the present moment while conditions are favourable to embark upon reasonable and productive capital schemes of work. At the World Economic Conference, one of the most important and interesting Sub-Committees dealt with this matter of Public Works on an International scale. A great deal of information was collected from various

countries in Europe as to what public works were better undertaken by the Governments concerned, and I made a very brief list of some of the items which were regarded as legitimate public works to be undertaken at the present time. They come under the head of "remunerative works", that is to say, works which are directly remunerative, and works which are "indirectly remunerative". Under the heading "directly remunerative", either in part or in whole, come irrigation and drainage schemes, electrification projects, long-distance telephone systems, drinking water supplies and road and bridge construction. Now, in regard to some of those points, I think that Provincial Governments might be urged by the Central Government to do what they can along some of those lines to embark upon public works of a directly remunerative character at the present time. Under the heading "indirectly remunerative character", there are long distance roads, road and bridge construction, canal construction, railway junction re-construction, and the provision of important railway branch lines. I think the railway administration is to be congratulated upon its latest programme of capital works but I would suggest to the Honourable Member for Industries and Labour that there is one direction in which he himself might exert pressure upon Local Governments, and that is in regard to road construction. I understand that at the Road-Rail Conference, held in Simla, the Honourable the Finance Member gave some assurance that he would be prepared to arrange for loans to be granted to Provincial Governments if Provincial Governments came forward with suitable schemes for road construction. I am not aware that any Provincial Government so far has come forward with any such proposals, but it does seem to me that here is a splendid opportunity which may not recur for many years for Provincial Governments to take advantage of that offer and go forward with large schemes (which are much desired and much needed) of road construction. I hope that Provincial Governments might be reminded that the opportunity is still open to them, and that this is one of the ways in which they can extend their programme of public works. Now, Sir, so much for public works.

Then, my friend, Mr. Joshi, made a reference to the question of the reduction in hours of work, and, as far as I understood his speech, he linked that with an increase in wages, and he pointed to America as a country which was endeavouring to accomplish the two things at once. Well, we all hope that the experiment in America will succeed, but there are no grounds at present for stating that it has succeeded or that there is any certainty that it will succeed, and, therefore, I suggest to my friend, Mr. Joshi, that in regard to the American experiment, it is much better for us to wait and see until that has in any sense succeeded along the lines it has proceeded. In any case, as the Honourable the Finance Member has already pointed out, the situation in India has never been, and please God, never will be, as desperate as was the situation in the United States. Where you have a desperate situation, then possibly there is justification for trying out desperate remedies; but where you do not have a desperate situation,—and you certainly have not got it today in India—though, I admit, it is serious,—there is no justification for trying the desperate remedies which Mr. Joshi seeks to thrust upon us.

Now, Sir with regard to the question of wage reduction, I am aware that there is a growing opinion among members of my own community and also among Indian industrialists that the reduction in the number of hours in work is inevitable and is becoming increasingly advisable from many points



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of view It is doubtful whether that can be achieved without a corresponding reduction in wages. I do not know whether my friend, Mr. Joshi, would be prepared to advocate a reduction in the hours of work if it meant also a reduction in the rates of wages. At the present moment, as far as I can see the situation in this country, there is certainly no possibility of bringing about any substantial reduction in hours without a corresponding reduction in wages, and that is the great controversy which is proceeding in every country. I may be permitted, Sir, to read a paragraph from the World Economic Survey of the League of Nations which was written at the end of 1933, in which it says this:

"The theoretical problem of the effects, likely to be produced in more normal circumstances by a reduction of hours and rising wage-levels, can be stated only in tentative, hypothetical terms. Such a change in the supply, and therefore in the price, of labour disturbs the balance between labour and capital costs and between costs in general and demand prices. Where the new equilibrium will finally settle depends upon a number of independently variable factors, such as the changes induced in labour and management efficiency, in the supply of capital, and the rate of interest, as well as in the reactions of consumers' demand. The practical question, therefore, comes back to the wisdom or unwisdom of launching in advance in labour standards, involving at least temporarily and in certain industries an increase in labour costs. At the moment of writing, in the spring of 1933, the controversy is unresolved and action is suspended. Meantime, events march rapidly in other directions and monetary fluctuations involving fresh and disconcerting disturbances of existing price disequilibria in almost every direction are changing the whole setting of the problem."

It is such a difficult problem that no general agreement has been reached even at the meetings of the International Labour Conference itself, and it is, therefore, quite impossible to lay down that one of the specifics for the problem of unemployment is a reduction of hours coupled with a rise in wages.

There is only one other point to which I should like to make a passing reference, and I had so much hoped, when the Honourable the Finance Member rose to speak, that he himself would make a reference to that point. The question of unemployment is a most complex one, for unemployment in this country arises from so many causes. There is the enormous increase in the population. There is the peculiar educational system in the country which turns out a large supply of equipped people for whom there are no vacancies in ordinary employment. There is the ordinary result of the present depression of trade and commerce. There is the vast technical progress which has all along thrust out of our industrial system those who have been trained to the older processes. All these things are causing a state of unemployment, and it is impossible to put your finger on any one thing and say that that one is the main cause, —that is why it is impossible to put your finger on any one thing and say that is the main remedy. It is a complex question and its remedies are bound to be very complex in themselves. But there is one thing which I do believe is growingly essential and is becoming of vital importance, not only to the Government of the country, but also to industry and commerce, and that is a termination, as soon as possible, of the *laissez faire* policy which allows ordinary economic adjustments, which allows industrial and commercial developments without any forethought for the morrow and without any planning for the present. I have on previous occasions referred to the necessity for what I call, for the lack of a better term, greater economic planning in regard to industry and commerce in this country. We have made a beginning in Agriculture by the work of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, and one has only to be in touch with even one or two branches of agriculture to know what a tremendous

advantage that organization is proving to the agriculture of this country. Now, you want something of that kind in regard to industry and commerce and the Salter report, which, I believe, was published some three years ago, made certain tentative suggestions in regard to an Advisory Economic Council which might prove useful to the Government of India and this country. Mr. Joshi said that one of the causes of unemployment in his view was the curse of capitalism. I cannot be expected to agree with him, and I am glad he did not develop his theme. But there is no doubt of this, that capitalism, as we knew it in the old days, is doomed and will only survive as a form of economic activity as long as it is both controlled and planned. In that, the Government should take a leading part. I had hoped very much before the Finance Member left these shores that he would be able to make some definite pronouncement in regard to the suggestion made by the author of the Salter report. I remember that, at the time of the discussion on the Reserve Bank Bill, Mr. Mody made a very pointed request to the Finance Member that he should consider this matter and try and evolve something before he lays down his office. His reply to that request was, I know to Mr. Mody and certainly to myself and others, somewhat disappointing. He could not be as definite as I believe he would like to have been at that time. I realise the difficulties, everybody realises the difficulties under the present system of Government here where plans for co-ordination are apt to be strangled by departmentalism. Yet the fact remains that one of the urgent problems in India today is this problem of planning for the future in regard to all forms of economic development.

My Honourable friend, Mr. Joshi, referred to the unemployment in Bombay in the textile industry. The root cause of that unemployment is the hopeless lack of planning in regard to that industry in its earlier stages. In a short time, I believe within ten years, Members of this House will be complaining about unemployment in another industry which has recently sprung up under the protection of a very high tariff wall. And why? Because the tariff wall was put up and the industry has been allowed to develop,—developing so fast without any planning, without any control that within a very few years there will be far more—I do not wish to specify the industry—there will be far more activity in certain directions than this country can properly contain and the result will be, there will be losses, financial losses and the throwing of people out of work. I admit that the formation of an Economic Advisory Council, on the lines suggested by Sir Arthur Salter, is not going to solve the unemployment question today. It is probably going to have no effect upon the unemployment question today; but I do believe that it will have a very serious effect and a beneficial effect upon the trend of things in this country in the next generation and it is to that trend that the eyes of the present should be directed most carefully. The community that is not prepared to organise itself is going to the wall. We complain of Japan. We complain of Japanese activity in this country almost every hour. And what do we find? We enquire into their labour conditions and we find that, generally speaking we in this country cannot complain of them. We enquire into the advantage given by the depreciation of the yen, and making all allowances for that, we still find that Japan can run where we can only walk, that Japan can leap when we can only halt. The reason is that Japan has for the last generation deliberately and carefully and ruthlessly planned its whole economic life, and, behind its economic plan, it has placed the whole of the resources of its own Government.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty): The Honourable Member's time is up.

**Mr. F. E. James:** May I just finish in one sentence? I am sorry to have kept the House longer than I had intended on this particular point, but I do sincerely trust that the Honourable Member for Industries and Labour will be able to give us some hope that the Government realise that in this matter they must act and act without delay. (Cheers.)

**Sirdar Harbans Singh Brar** (East Punjab: Sikh): I am at one with the previous speaker on one point at least, that is, that if we cannot start any profitable railway schemes, we can at least start a programme of road-making to provide easy means of transport for marketing the rural production of agriculture and thereby afford some relief to the already too many difficulties in the way of the agriculturist making his industry profitable. The agriculturists are very much handicapped in marketing the produce of their labour for want of rural communications, because the District Boards are not very much financially better off and the Local Governments find it very difficult in these depressed times to give liberal grants for starting road programmes. Before the present depression came into being, at least in my province, of whose rural communications I have some intimate knowledge the Government were liberally treating the Local Boards by way of giving good grants for new schemes of road building and almost every District Board was adding to its road mileage every year, setting apart so much money from its own funds and getting the rest from the Local Government by way of grants. But for the last three years the Local Government has not found it possible due to their tightened finances to make any grants whatsoever for new programmes of road building to provide communications in the rural areas, and if the Central Government, as my Honourable friend, Sir George Schuster, has said this morning, is prepared to make large advances to the Local Governments to help them in starting new programmes of road building, it will help a great deal the rural people in this unhappy land.

**Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya** (Madras: Indian Commerce): And the motor manufacturers.

**Sirdar Harbans Singh Brar:** And the motor manufacturers whom my Honourable friend, Mr. Pandya, wants to be helped by way of this programme. The State Railways do not come into competition in all places and at all times. Even at present you have got roads running parallel to railway lines either for strategic or other military purposes. It is only in those parts, where there are neither railways nor roads nor canals, that the people are handicapped. You will find places where for 20 miles or 15 miles there is neither a railway nearby nor any *pucca* road running where the people can take the conveyance to go to the cities or other places. It is in those parts where the railways do not run that we need the road system to be started and built, so that the people may have at least one means of communication for their needs. That will provide a large amount of labour to our workers as Mr. Joshi wants and will reduce unemployment among the unskilled and skilled labour and will be of great benefit to the country as a whole. On this particular Resolution I have not much more to say, because I expect that Mr. Shafi Daoodi's Resolution regarding unemployment among educated classes may be reached this evening and continued to the next day.

[At this stage, Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty) vacated the Chair which was then occupied by Sir Leslie Hudson, one of the Panel of Chairmen.]

Something ought to be done to protect the wages of the workers if it can possibly be done, because we are giving so much protection to the industrialists by high tariff and other things. Why should we not do something to see that a reasonable amount of wages is permitted to the labourer, but there has been no definite standard reached by any particular inquiry, and it is very difficult to say what a decent standard of wages is. That shall have to be found out when a Committee of Inquiry is set up. At present it is very difficult to say what should be the minimum standard which should be guaranteed to the workers. I do not think there is any difference of opinion, either on this side or that side, that a decent living wage should be provided to the workers. With these few words, Mr. Chairman, I sit down.

**Raja Bahadur G. Krishnamachariar:** Sir, those of us, who have read Dr. Johnson's works, would remember that, on a historic occasion, when he was asked how he felt, he said "like the monument". That exactly is my feeling after hearing today the speeches in connection with the Resolution that was moved by my friend, Mr. Joshi. We have travelled a wide ground. We have had an economic survey of the entire world and of the world of India, but what is the result? I do not know. It is impossible to arrive at any result. I entirely agree with the Honourable the Finance Member that this question was raised, but not only for this reason that it has drawn out of the Honourable the Finance Member himself an admission that a Resolution which we intend to move a little later on in the Session would meet with a hearty response from the Government, but also for the reason that it has drawn out of him a very good economic survey of the world exploding the somewhat optimistic observations of the Honourable the Mover regarding the activities of President Roosevelt, Hitler and Mussolini. Those are the two most valuable contributions in the debate. Delete them, and I think we have not much to congratulate ourselves upon, I respectfully submit, the time that we have devoted to this Resolution. I thank the Honourable the Finance Member at the same time for stating that the real problem is about the agricultural classes and not about the industrial wage earners, or the position connected with them. Now, with regard to that, my friend, Mr. Joshi, was reading certain statistics. Where he got them from, I do not know. My friend, Mr. Joshi, says that agricultural wages have gone down from nine annas to seven annas nine pies, I do not know where he got his statistics from.

**Mr. N. M. Joshi:** I said very clearly that I was giving the statistics which were given in the *Bombay Labour Gazette*, which is a Government publication.

**Raja Bahadur G. Krishnamachariar:** I do not doubt the accuracy of what my friend said. Only it seemed to me, I say that with all respect, that Bombay does not constitute India. Bombay is only one part of India, a part where agriculture is not very largely resorted to. The most important problem that ought to have been tackled is not Rooseveltism, Hitlerism or Mussolinism or anything connected with them. Beyond the statement that the agricultural wages have gone down from nine annas to seven annas nine pies, nothing has been said as to what ought to be done. That is my complaint. With regard to what my friend, Mr. B. Das, said,

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were it not for the fact that it would not be relevant to the present discussion, I should certainly take two hours to state my grievances as to the way land revenue is taken from me. He said there ought to be sufficient relief given to me. I entirely agree. About the unsatisfactory manner in which this question was disposed of by the Madras Government, I shall have something to say during the budget discussion. What I am now concerned with is this. My friend put forward a very large programme, some part of it was probably very good, some probably not so good, but everything in his opinion entirely desirable, but where is the money to come from. My friend, so far as I am aware, does not contribute very much to the taxes or the taxable income of this country. Whenever a proposal is put forward, either you have to borrow the money or you come to me for the money and I have to pay the money in order to satisfy Mr. Joshi's fad. I do not use the word in any offensive manner. Raise the wages of the workers by all means, but where is the money to come from? Agriculture will not pay. If you take not only the wages of the agricultural labourer, but the cost of production and the amount that we get for the produce and the demand of Government that we have got to meet, Mr. Joshi will find that there is not much left, if at all, for these philanthropic movements which can only be financed by putting your hand deep into the pockets of other people. The Resolution asks us to take immediate steps to protect the workers in the country against increasing unemployment and reduction of wages. What is the proposal, so far as agricultural labour is concerned. I am only concerned with that. So far as intellectual unemployment is concerned, that, I think, is not quite within its scope and, as far as the industrial workers are concerned, those who are in charge may take care of themselves. I belong to a community which has been ground and ground only to find, at the end of the year, that my work did not end very much in profit. How are you going to raise the wages of the agricultural labourer except at the expense of the man who owns the land. All of us are suffering. There is a complaint that I did not do something for the labourer. I complain that the labourer did not do something for me. Between us, you find that there is nothing left at all. Consequently, I am very thankful to the Honourable the Finance Member when he cautioned us about raising loans for meeting these public works, and, at the same time, for not telling us that he is going to impose any taxation in order to meet this position.

Sir, the fact of the matter is this. We have been collecting statistics, and if the remark of a cynic is not unparliamentary, I would  
 4 P.M. say what he said. He said "lie, greater lie, and statistics." That, Sir, is the description of statistics: you can make anything out of statistics. So please do not trouble about statistics or anything. You take small groups. You can very easily find out the economic condition of that group. For instance, the Madras Government, due to the great pressure brought to bear on them in the Legislative Councils made economic inquiries regarding two districts—the East Godavari and the West Godavari. That could very easily be done in every case. I join issue with my Honourable friend, Mr. James, if he says that the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has been much good. I have been a very very careful reader of their journals and publications. On paper, in print, they are nicely got up, there are plenty of plates and illustrations and all that, but I start hungry in the morning and go to bed hungry for all the trouble due to reading these publications. Sir, publications will not do. Come with me to the field, work with me in the field, show me if any of your theories

can lead to any substantial result, and then I can congratulate you. I can never forget, Sir, what Mr. Anstead, sometime a Director of Agriculture in Madras, told us about the labours of the Agricultural Commission. There was a gentleman employed in the Government of India by the name of Mr. James Mackenna. Years ago, he brought out a book which is now sold by the Government Printing Department at four annas. He wrote in that pamphlet a great many things about agriculture. He was Imperial Adviser in Agriculture to the Government of India or some such thing. Now, you go through the report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture. It contains exactly the same proposals as were made by Mr. Mackenna. If you compare them, paragraph by paragraph, putting them in parallel columns, there is not much wisdom brought out by the Royal Commission on Agriculture except perhaps in the matter of this Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. What have they done? Sir, I do not want to go into these matters now. The fact of the matter is that unemployment does not exist among the agriculturists beyond the fact stated by my friend, Mr. Joshi, that the agricultural population has not got employment for four or five months in the year. But how are you going to raise wages. There is no real unemployment. What he really means is to find out some means of subsidiary employment for these agricultural people and thereby add to their income. That question, however, is not relevant to the Resolution at all.

**Mr. G. S. Ranga Iyer** (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): How is it not relevant?

**Raja Bahadur G. Krishnamachariar:** The Resolution refers to "increasing unemployment and reduction of wages". Now, the reduction of wages necessarily follows when there is nothing that a man, who wants his wages, produces. I will not labour the point. What I would respectfully submit is that this Resolution is a very good one, in order to raise an academic discussion. But we are not here concerned with academic questions at all. Economic inquiries are very good, statistics are much better, but the conclusions of economists change day by day. During my own lifetime, I have known four economic theories regarding so many problems of life that you do not know, when you go to bed, whether, before you get up in the morning, those theories will not be exploded by some fresh economic gentleman. So, I would say: "save us from these things. Find out the men who know the job and get them to make inquiries". I promise within one month the real economic condition of the country will be revealed and all these gentlemen in the Government of India are quite competent to do it. You do not want to bring out experts from overseas. You do not want to join them with our own experts. Do not waste time. You ask your own people who are here. After all, they have not got so very much work, and on some other occasion I may have to refer to that; put them to do it. Find out if there is any grievance which you can remedy instead of appointing Committees which, as that cynic said, are only round about ways of finding out what everybody knows. They are absolutely no good whatsoever, and, so far as this Resolution is concerned, I am perfectly sure, it takes us neither here nor there.

**Mr. K. P. Thamnan** (West Coast and Nilgiris: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, as my friend, Mr. B. Das, said, this Resolution is very wide in its scope embracing as it does unemployment in agriculture, industries and among the middle classes and also the reduction of wages among all

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these classes of labourers. Sir, personally I attach more importance to the increase in unemployment than to the reduction of wages. I would prefer a reduction in wages to a reduction of hands employed. In these bad days, it is sufficient if one gets any employment. Of course a reduction by a few annas, say a couple of annas, in the wages a man earns may be a very hard thing, so far as he is concerned, but so long as he gets something, he can carry on with it. Therefore, during the short space at my disposal, I propose to deal with the unemployment question alone.

As my friend, Mr. Joshi, said, no reliable statistics are available on this subject. There has been no census of employment or unemployment, or production or wages in this country. Many schemes for the collection of statistics have been thought over from 1925, but neither the Government of India nor the Local Governments have done anything in this matter. Of course we had the Economic Enquiry of 1925, then the Salter Report and now Messrs. Bowley and Robertson are collecting facts. But I have a suspicion that these facts will prove more useful for Government in order to find avenues of increased taxation than for doing anything else. Sir, if you and I live for a couple of years, I am sure, we will find that, on the basis of the report of Messrs. Bowley and Robertson, specific proposals for imposition of fresh taxes will be put forward. As regards unemployment, there was the Washington Convention about information, statistical and otherwise, regarding unemployment and measures to be taken to meet it to be supplied to the International Labour Office every three months. That Convention was ratified by this Legislative Assembly in the year 1921, but no action was taken on the alleged ground that there was no unemployment. If you will refer to the proceedings of the International Labour Proceedings, you will find that the Japanese delegate made fun of our representative, Sir Atul Chatterjee, for not doing anything, on the ground that there was no unemployment in this country. Sir, this paucity of information makes it difficult to assess unemployment at the present time and to ascertain the rate at which it has been growing. Sir Visveswaraya says at page 6 in his book "Unemployment in India":

"A rough estimate puts the number of unemployed in India at 40 million and the total number of persons suffering from insufficient food, clothing and shelter even judged by the low Indian standards, cannot possibly be less than a hundred million."

Sir, it is a very dismal figure. For all I know it is not an overdrawn picture. As my Honourable friend, Mr. Joshi, said there are many indications to enable us to assess to some extent to the nature of the unemployment. He has already quoted trade figures to show the reduction in the exports of this country. I, therefore, do not propose to deal with that. Then, Sir, as regards agriculture my Honourable friend, Raja Bahadur Krishnamachariar, said that there has not been any reduction of unemployment among the agricultural labourers. Sir, I hold a different view. There has been a distinct reduction in the number of the unemployed agricultural labourers. In this country, more than 75 per cent. of the people subsist on agriculture. By the very nature of agricultural operations and conditions prevailing in this country, we have got more labourers than are required, and agriculture has to support more people than it can afford to support.

**Raja Bahadur G. Krishnamachariar:** Not labourers, but their dependents also. We have got a sufficient number of labourers. That is the trouble,

**Mr. K. P. Thampan:** A labourer earns his wages, not only to support himself, but his wife and children also. Unless the country becomes more industrial, or, in other words, more industries are established, the problem of unemployment can never be solved. At page 13, Sir Visvesvaraya says:

"Agriculture is a necessary industry in every country, but *no nation in modern times has grown rich from agricultural pursuits alone*. In India the pressure of the population on land has been growing steadily and, under the primitive methods of cultivation still practised, the economic law of diminishing returns has begun to operate. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report characterises agriculture in India as a precarious occupation. There is no profit to be made from it and the indebtedness of the peasantry is growing. A comparison of the census figures between 1911 and 1931 shows that, while Western nations and Japan have been concentrating on industries and trade, India has been growing more and more predominantly agricultural.

In spite of her vast agricultural resources and the enormous increase in population, the rural population of the United States of America has remained practically stationary since 1900, but nevertheless, on account of the adoption of machinery and rationalization methods, the production from agriculture has gone on increasing. It is on record that since the World War, farm production in the United States of America has increased 50 per cent. more rapidly than population.

In the year 1900, the income from industries in the United States was about equal to that from agriculture. But since 1900 that country has so developed and expanded her industries that in a normal year the value of industrial products is about four times that derived from agriculture. Similarly, it is on record that Japan increased production from industries from one billion yen in 1914, that is, before the War, to nearly seven billion yen by the year 1926. (Since then I need hardly say what industrial expansion Japan has made.) These instances bear eloquent testimony to the predominant position industries occupy in the economic life of every progressive nation and how much India has lost in recent years by inattention to industrial development."

This is a very important matter which I will commend to the attention of the Government of India. Our agricultural conditions are still deteriorating. According to the census report, the mean density per square mile in India rose from 174 in 1911 to 195 in 1931. This is on total area. According to Agricultural Statistics of British India, Volume I, page (iii), the proportion of the net area sown to the total area is only 34·3 per cent., that is, about one-third. So the mean density per square mile of sown area will be about three times more than the census figures, that is, about 600 per square mile. The nature of agricultural work, depending on seasons and monsoons, leaves enormous gaps in employment:

"In the Madras Presidency, on one-crop land the agriculturist works for only five months in the year, and on two-crop land only for about eight months."

That is the view of Dr. Gilbert Slater. All this goes to show increasing unemployment or under-employment amongst the agricultural workers.

"The agricultural population, according to vera Anstey, is still subject to occasional but periodic unemployment, termed famines, as well as, at all times, to under employment."

The figures of agricultural experts furnish very strong indications that, owing to fall in export, the number of unemployed in agriculture must have gone up.

Now, Sir, I come to industries. The statistics of factories in British India refer, of course, only to the factories under the Factories Act and leave out of account the unregulated and cottage industries which together employ many more than the factories under the Factories Act. Still these



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figures afford valuable indications of the shrinkage in employment. The total number of workers in regulated factories in the year 1929 was 1,553,169, and in the year 1932, it was 1,419,711, while the number of factories in the year 1929 was 8,129 and, in the year 1932, it was 8,241. So, it will be seen that while the number of factories did increase during the four years by 112, the number of labourers employed has fallen very much.

Equally valuable indications are afforded by the figures of those employed in the mines. The total number of workers in the mines in the year 1929 was 269,701 and, in the year 1932, it was 204,658. Among the railway staff (superior and subordinate, including labourers), the number of employed in the year 1929-30 was 817,733 and, in the year 1931-32, it was 730,219. It is noteworthy that the mileage of railways in 1929-30 was 41,724, but, in 1931-32, it was 42,813—an increase over 1,000 miles.

I will now refer to the state of employment in factories and their general conditions. According to the *Indian Textile Journal*, Bombay, November 1933 issue, out of a total number of 84 mills in Bombay, no fewer than 31 have been closed since January, 1933. The Currimboys and the Sassoon group of mills had to be closed. There has been a stoppage of 22 to 37 per cent. of the spindles and 14 to 30 per cent. of looms. A note appearing in the *Times of India* of the 31st November, 1933, states that the output of yarn and woven goods in January, 1933, was 24,679,000 lbs. and 20,915,000 lbs., respectively, as against 22,810,000 lbs. of yarn and 18,398,000 lbs. of woven goods in July, 1933. Unemployment among cotton mill operatives in Bombay has been estimated to be in the neighbourhood of 45,000 at the close of the year 1933. It is common knowledge that Government . . .

**Mr. Chairman** (Sir Leslie Hudson): The Honourable Member's time is up.

**Mr. K. P. Thampan**: Sir, I shall close. The unemployment among middle class people has been referred to by Mr. Das. I am sorry, time does not permit me to suggest means for meeting the situation. It is a problem that can be tackled and it is up to the Government to do it as soon as possible.

**Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer**: Sir, my Honourable friend, Mr. Thampan, has, I believe, almost replied to the Leader of the Centre Party. It is a pleasure to listen to the Raja Bahadur, whether it is on legal matters or on social matters or on matters relating to unemployment and, with his versatile genius he sometimes labours to evolve almost what seems logical. But still I do not think he was really grasping the seriousness of the issue which Mr. Joshi has raised. No one in this House, not even the Raja Bahadur who has a practical side, I admit, to his life, could have accused Mr. Joshi of indulging in an "academic discussion" or bringing forward a theoretical proposition. I was a little astonished that the Leader of the Centre Party, with the responsibility attaching to his position, should have dismissed this Resolution as having raised an academic discussion. The question of unemployment in the country is not academic and the political developments in the country would not have been so serious but for the unemployment question. I believe it is a fact that the unemployed in the country swelled the patriotic procession which marched into the prison as Pandit Jawahar

Lal Nehru himself has said in one of his recent utterances, rather sensational, but full of sense in certain parts of that utterance—this time he did not go after a series of what I may call the switch-back sensations, at any rate not in that particular speech. He said, so long as there is the unemployment problem, the problem of the landless and the unemployed, the politician, with an ideal, will always have workers. I want, Sir, to attack the problem from that point of view. I do not want the unemployed or the workless to be exploited even by the politician. I want to cut off the fuel that feeds the agitation and, therefore, I hope, when the Raja Bahadur rises in his seat again to attack a problem like this, he will not call it academic. Associated as Mr. Joshi has been with the labour movement in the country, he can speak with greater authority than anyone in this House on the non-official side about labour unemployment.

**Raja Bahadur G. Krishnamachariar:** I deny that.

**Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer:** The Raja Bahadur denies that. It is very easy to deny, but I deny to Raja Bahadur the experience that Mr. Joshi has got of association with industrial and labour workers. Mr. Joshi created relief to the labour people in this country, he created labour organisations in this country and the very fact that the Government have felt compelled year after year, Assembly after Assembly, to have Mr. Joshi represented in this House and abroad for important labour discussions, an honour that has not fallen to the Raja Bahadur, is positive proof that Mr. Joshi is a greater authority on the question of labour than the Raja Bahadur can ever be.

**Raja Bahadur G. Krishnamachariar:** I am sorry my Honourable friend referred to the Government's position. The Government in this country always listens to the man who shouts the loudest, reason or no reason, and the reason why Mr. Joshi has been nominated time after time is that he is the self-constituted leader of the labour party, and it was just as well to silencing him.

**Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer:** When arguments are feeble, cheap accusations are easy, and even the Government can be cheaply accused of yielding to the agitator, to the loudest shouter.

[At this stage, Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty) resumed the Chair.]

But the very fact that Government had set the entire machinery of repression to put down the loudest shouter shows that the Government are not made of soft clay, and if the Government have been compelled to have Mr. Joshi in this House, Assembly after Assembly, it is wholly and solely because Mr. Joshi has identified himself with the labour movement as no one in or outside this House has identified himself, and, if only the Raja Bahadur had studied the constitutional side of labour representation and the recommendations in the Simon Report, he would have found that Government have been obliged and will be obliged in future to give adequate representation to labour, because the representation of labour by Mr. Joshi, though effective so far as his work goes, is inadequate so far as the number is concerned. (Hear, hear.) I will not allow any charge against Mr. Joshi to pass unchallenged even if it emanates from the Raja Bahadur. As for "the academic discussion", when the Honourable the Government Member speaks, it will be found that even the Government do not think that the

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problem of unemployment in this country is an academic one. Sir, the trouble in this country is its over-population. Wherever there is over-population, wherever there is an excess of population, unemployment becomes a very difficult problem to tackle.

**Raja Bahadur G. Krishnamachariar:** Birth control.

**Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer:** The Raja Bahadur, with his usual sense of humour, advocates birth control.

**Mr. B. Das:** Does religion allow it?

**Raja Bahadur G. Krishnamachariar:** I forgot to mention it in my speech.

**Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer:** That is one solution and, I am glad, the Raja Bahadur acknowledges in a whisper just now that he forgot about it. If, instead of treating this problem as academic, had he preached birth control, had he pleaded for promoting organisations and propaganda for birth control all over the country, at any rate he would have pointed the way to reducing the population that is abnormally increasing in the country.

**Mr. Amar Nath Dutt** (Burdwan Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): What about Mr. Jadhav's Bill for legalising miscarriages?

**Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer:** I am sure, that is a matter which will interest my Honourable friend. But the trouble about the unemployment in this country is the joint family system. I admit it is rapidly dying out, but still the instinct is there, the tradition is there. There is my Honourable friend, the Raja Bahadur, for instance, with probably 50 lakhs in gilt-edged securities but even he has poor relations and even he feels that he must maintain his poor relations. But all are not rich. There may be some earning members in families and they feel that it is their duty to feed their dependants.

**Raja Bahadur G. Krishnamachariar:** All honour to them.

**Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer:** That is the tradition of this country and the result is that the family system leads to the pauperisation of all concerned. I had already said how over-crowding leads to chronic unemployment. I now say how the family system leads to the unemployment problem. These things can be attacked only by the propagandist and by the social worker and not so much by the Government themselves. Where the Government can be of help is where Mr. Joshi deals with the workers of the country, and, here, Sir, the Government can help a great deal the cottage industrialist. The Raja Bahadur talked, in a lighter vein, I should think, about people being unemployed,—agricultural people for certain parts of the year. But if the Government help the cottage industrialist, because India lives in the villages, then, I am certain, that the misery of unemployment will be considerably alleviated. Time was when our cottage industries flourished, for reasons that I need not go into now. For the very obvious reason that we are living in an age of machines, in a chemical age, the cottage industrialists have perished practically. In a country like India, I think what we want is really not an expansion of

mills, not an overcrowding of workers in the slums of Bombay and Calcutta, but replanning the entire system of industrialisation and capitalisation. I would rather say that in future we had small factories in village centres which would feed with the necessary things groups of villagers in the neighbourhood of that factory. The small factory system, if introduced into this country on a large scale, instead of going on with the multiplication of mill or the feeding of mills with tariffs, more tariffs and still more tariffs—if, instead of that, we replan the industrial life of this country according to circumstances and according to the necessities of the people, the problem of unemployment will be really and truly attacked. Sir, I believe it is the custom here and elsewhere to mention the case of the United States of America. But the United States of America has an unemployment problem. Yet it is not so largely peopled as India. It is our population problem that has got to be attacked. It is again the problem of seeing that industrial life did not empty out the villages, but that village life progressed side by side with industrial life. Sir, we want really a new economic plan and not the application of plans of other countries not comparable to our own country in various aspects of life.

**Mr. B. V. Jadhav:** Sir, I heartily support the Resolution moved by my Honourable friend, Mr. Joshi. The Resolution takes a very wide view. It says "to protect the workers in the country against increasing unemployment". He does not circumscribe the word "workers" to the labourers in factories only. He says unemployment is rampant among the workers of the country and he includes certainly every sort of worker, namely, the agricultural worker and other workers as well. Mr. Joshi was unfortunately opposed by Raja Bahadur Krishnamachariar, because I think these two gentlemen have been holding opposite views. Their points of view are different. Mr. Joshi is a worker among the factory labourers and he knows their difficulties and their aspirations. The Raja Bahadur is also well conversant with the difficulties of agricultural labour, but, at the same time, the Raja Bahadur is a capitalist and he views everything from a capitalist point of view.

**Raja Bahadur G. Krishnamachariar:** What is a capitalist?

**Mr. B. V. Jadhav:** The Raja Bahadur asks me what is a capitalist. I shall only say, "Man, know thyself". The Raja Bahadur himself is a capitalist.

**Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh** (Muzaffarpur cum Champaran: Non-Muhammadan): He may be a wealthy man, but how is he a capitalist?

**Mr. B. V. Jadhav:** There is not much difference between the wealthy man and the capitalist. He is a capitalist and he has got the capitalist point of view and, therefore, the Raja Bahadur advocates that the wages should be cut down.

**Raja Bahadur G. Krishnamachariar:** I never said anything of the sort, because I could never maintain my agricultural labour without paying them adequate wages.

**Mr. B. V. Jadhav:** The Raja Bahadur is willing to pay adequate wages, but his scale of adequacy is quite different from Mr. Joshi's scale of adequacy. The point of view of Mr. Joshi is quite different from the

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point of view of the Raja Bahadur. So the Raja Bahadur will concede that an agricultural labourer should have adequate wages. But his definition of adequacy is quite different. If it is enough to keep body and soul together, perhaps that will satisfy the Raja Bahadur's conscience. But the ideal of Mr. Joshi is quite different. Mr. Joshi thinks that a labourer should get such wages as would keep himself and his wife and children in comfort and also will enable him to educate his children. If the wages rise to such a scale, then, of course, the condition of the labourer will improve and, at the same time, the labourer will have a better purchasing power and other industries will also thrive. Agriculture itself will benefit from such a change in the labourer's condition. Agricultural produce will command a better price and in that way agriculture also will benefit. The principle of paying the labourer less and less is a capitalist principle, that is a capitalist point of view.

**Mr. G. Morgan (Bengal: European):** That is gone.

**Mr. B. V. Jadhav:** It has gone fortunately out of European countries, but not gone out of India. The English nation at one time held that view and, as my friend, Mr. Morgan, says, that principle is gone from there. It has left England no doubt, and the reason why that principle was abandoned by England was that the Labour Party there became stronger and stronger and, therefore, the Chancellor of the Exchequer could not refuse the demand for adequate wages. England has now adopted the system of the minimum standard wage. India is still groping or still grovelling in the old capitalist ways. For instance, my Honourable friend, Mr. Modv, is not here, but the millowners in Bombay and other places are trying to reduce wages as far as possible. They say that they cannot afford to pay so much. Had they been prudent enough, had they utilised their untold wealth during the boom days in a better way, the condition of the mill industry and the condition of labour would, of course, have been different. I told the House the other day what the condition of Japanese labour was at this time. They had very good housing arrangements; the Bombay mill labourers and the mill labourers of Ahmedabad and other places have not got any housing arrangement made for them at all. The millowners have not paid any attention to that. The proper feeding of the labourers also is taken care of in Japan. The Indian employers of labour do not look to this side of the question. Therefore, the labourers of Japan are contented and are more comfortable and happy. The labourers of India are very much worse off, and we see that mill after mill is being closed and, therefore, unemployment among the labourers is increasing. Unemployment amongst the agricultural labourers also is increasing. But the reason is that some of the middlemen who desisted work find that their income has gone down considerably and therefore, unless they work in the fields, they cannot get sufficient food and, therefore, more men are going to labour in the fields and there is consequent rise in unemployment. This growing unemployment among the labouring classes both agricultural and factory labour, is a great menace; and, along with this, there is unemployment among the educated classes. I need not say much about that, but it is the duty of the State to see that a man who is willing to work with his hands, should not go hungry and, therefore, in England and in western countries, unemployment insurance has been started and the unemployed there can claim, as a matter of right,

some daily dole. Some such system is necessary for India, because India has got a much larger number of people who are willing to labour, but, at the same time, cannot get work. It is the duty of the State to provide work or to pay unemployment dole, and, therefore, I support this Resolution, because it calls upon the Government to find out means how to employ this large number of people. My friend, the Raja Bahadur, says that India is over-populated and, therefore, this over-population . . . . .

**Raja Bahadur G. Krishnamachariar:** I did not say that: Mr. Joshi said that and referred to birth control: or, if not Mr. Joshi, Mr. Ranga Iyer said it.

**Mr. B. V. Jadhav:** I am sorry I made that statement: at any rate, the Raja Bahadur admits that there is over-population and prescribes the remedy. . . . .

**Raja Bahadur G. Krishnamachariar:** I do not admit anything of the sort. I just referred to the whole thing sarcastically.

**Mr. B. V. Jadhav:** The Raja Bahadur at all events suggested a remedy and I think it is up to the Raja Bahadur to provide funds for the propagation of that idea. . . . .

**Raja Bahadur G. Krishnamachariar:** But that is not true. I said I am attacking that.

**Mr. B. V. Jadhav:** The Raja Bahadur may be old, but he is still young enough to imbibe ideas. My friend, Mr. Amar Nath Dutt, interjected a few minutes ago, when my friend, Mr. Ranga Iyer, was speaking, and he was very curious to know about my Bill. But, as that Bill has not yet been before this Assembly, I do not think it will be right to speak about it. I whole-heartedly support the proposal of my friend, Mr. Joshi, that the hours of work should be reduced. Something of this sort is being attempted in a new Bill which is before this House, and, when it comes up for discussion, I shall have to say something about it. I agree with him also that Government ought to take some legal measures to put a limit upon the dividends that are paid in times of boom and that legislation ought also to be taken in hand to limit the profits of managing agents. The managing agency system in Bombay and in other places has been doing a great deal of real harm to the industries and, therefore, Government ought to put certain restrictions beyond which the agents and the shareholders should not profit. The capitalist is entitled to a moderate profit, but he ought not to profiteer, and it will be proper for the State to stop profiteering. For this purpose, the Indian Companies Act will have to be amended, and I urge upon Government the necessity of taking up this measure. The Indian Companies Act requires amendment very badly and Government ought not to keep this thing back. Government ought to allow a certain amount of money to be spent for doing this necessary drafting work. At the same time, I must point out that in another direction also, for instance, the insurance business also is taking away about Rs. 10 crores every year from India to foreign countries as premia and as bonuses and profits on insurance. This sort of invisible drain ought to be curtailed as much as possible and, for this purpose, the insurance law also requires to be gone into and

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revised according to the requirements of the present time. If the present insurance law be examined, it will be found that the companies registered in India have certain restrictions put upon them: they have to deposit certain amounts of money with Government and they have to submit accounts, and so on; but a Company, registered in a foreign country, is free to come here and carry on business and to spoil the business of the indigenous companies. . . .

**Mr. G. Morgan:** Does that cause more unemployment?

**Mr. B. V. Jadhav:** This state of things is not very good for the country: the country ought to care more for their own nationals than for outsiders: at all events, in fairness one may say that the outsiders should get the treatment which the nationals of the country get: I do not mean to say that the foreigners should be penalised, but at all events the foreigners ought to be treated on a footing of reciprocity and the foreigner of a particular country should get the same treatment as he gives to the nationals of this country in his own country; and, therefore, the insurance law also requires revision and I call upon the Government to make provision for expenditure on that account also. These two laws, the Indian Companies Act and the insurance law, require thorough revision very badly and, therefore, this matter ought to be taken in hand very urgently. This revision of the insurance law has some bearing upon unemployment, because the persons who are employed in the canvassing of business on this side will get more and more employment under Indian companies and thus provide more employment for the people of this country.

The Honourable the Finance Member congratulates himself on the sound policy of finance that is being adopted by the Government of this country. His sole care is to balance the Budget and, in keeping to that principle, he sometimes is very ruthless. The peak of taxation has been reached and the taxpayers are now groaning under the burden, especially when their income has gone down considerably. The remedy in this case is to cut down expenditure, but Government are not willing to do it. The services of a country ought to be paid in proportion to the purse of that country. Our purse is getting emptier and emptier day by day. Our people are not able to pay taxes which are practically exacted from them. The land revenue is not paid out of the income, but it is paid out of capital or out of savings of past years. The landlords will bear testimony to that fact. This may go on for a year or two, but, if that state of affairs continues for a longer period, then it will be very difficult for Government to realise even the land revenue, and, therefore I think it is high time that Government should devise ways and means to curtail the administrative expenditure. To quote an instance from Japan. The proportion of the salary of the lowest paid officer or a clerk and the highest paid officer is very small, while in India the disparity is as much as a hundred times and in some cases it is two hundred times. The highest officer of Government gets a salary nearly 200 times as much as the salary of the lowest clerk. This is not a very good thing. The proportion in the officers' salary in Japan is very moderate, and, therefore, the same principle is followed in the factories as well as in Government offices. In the factories also, a labourer gets a very decent salary

and the supervisor or jobber or the weaving master gets a little more, and the manager of the mill gets a little more, but not very high salaries, and in that way Japan has been able to organise her industry on a very sound and economic basis. In the same way, Japan has organised her services, and the proportion of salaries is much lower there. India is a very much poorer country than Japan, and, therefore, I think the scale of salaries should be very much lowered to suit our purse. If the general expenditure of the country is reduced, it will help to solve the unemployment problem to a great extent, because the taxation will have to be lowered then. Now, all Local Governments have been thinking of giving remissions in land revenue to the extent of 12 to 25 per cent. and I think that, when once that remission is given, it will have to be a permanent remission, and, therefore, a reduction in the revenues of the provinces is urgently necessary. For that very reason, the provinces will have to cut down their expenditure ruthlessly, and, the sooner they do it, the better will it be for them and for the country as a whole. Sir, I whole-heartedly support the Resolution moved by my friend, Mr. Joshi.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty): The House now stands adjourned till 11 O'clock tomorrow morning.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, the 31st January, 1934.