

THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

Vol 58

19 Sept 1919 - 18 Feb. 1920

Book No 2

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**PROCEEDINGS
OF
*THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL***

ASSEMBLED FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING

LAWS AND REGULATIONS

VOL. LVIII

Gazettes & Debates Section
Parliament Library Building
Room No. FB-025
Block 'G'

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL .



PRINTED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT OF GOVERNMENT PRINTING INDIA



GOVERNMENT OF INDIA:
LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL ASSEMBLED UNDER
THE PROVISIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1916.
(5 & 6 Geo. V, Ch. 61.)

The Council met at the Council Chamber, Imperial Secretariat, Delhi, on
Wednesday, the 11th February, 1920.

PRESENT :

His Excellency BARON CHELMSFORD, P.C., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., G.C.M.G., G.C.B.E.,
Viceroy and Governor General, *presiding*, and 56 Members, of whom 49
were Additional Members.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

The Hon'ble Rai Sita Nath Ray Bahadur asked :—

1. (a) Were large profits made by the railways last year ?
(b) Do Government propose to consider the question of reducing return-ticket fares to the pre-war level and to revive the system of giving reserve accommodation in first and second-class compartments for three and four fares, respectively ?

11-5 A.M.
Reduction
in fares and
reserve
accom-
modation on
railways.

The Hon'ble Sir Arthur Anderson replied :—

"(a) The profits of the railways last financial year have been published in the Administration Report for the period.

(b) Consideration has been given to the question of reverting to pre-war passenger fares. In view of the great increase in working expenses which has now to be met, Government are not prepared to consider at present the reduction in return-ticket passenger fares to the pre-war level. Nor, having regard to the great demands for passenger accommodation and the limited room available, is it practicable to relax the conditions for reserved compartments."

[*Rai Sita Nath Ray Bahadur; Sir Arthur Anderson; Sir Thomas Holland; Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi.*] [11TH FEBRUARY, 1920.]

The Hon'ble Rai Sita Nath Ray Bahadur asked :—

Re-con-
struction of
railway
lines.

2. "When do Government propose to re-construct railway lines which were discontinued for war purposes?"

The Hon'ble Sir Arthur Anderson replied :—

"Government propose to commence the re-construction of dismantled lines during the ensuing year and to carry them to completion with the least possible delay. It is, however, not at present possible to forecast dates on which work on individual lines will be taken in hand."

The Hon'ble Rai Sita Nath Ray Bahadur asked :—

British
Empire
Exhibition
in London.

3. "(a) Is it proposed to hold a British Empire Exhibition in London in 1921, with a view to promote the extension of Imperial trade by bringing before buyers from all parts of the world exhibits of the industries, inventions, raw materials, and products of the Empire?"

(b) Are Government taking necessary steps for the representation of Indian products, especially Indian art products, in the Exhibition?"

The Hon'ble Sir Thomas Holland replied :—

"(a) The answer is in the affirmative.

(b) I place* on the table copies of a Press Communiqué which was issued on the 3rd January, showing that the Government of India approved of the proposal, and, although unable to participate officially in obtaining representative exhibits of all products, industries and raw materials, they desired to commend the Exhibition to the general public and manufacturing firms. The Communiqué was issued to all Local Governments for publication in the Provincial Gazettes, and the Indian Munitions Board has informally addressed the Provincial Directors of Industries, suggesting that they might be able to utilise the experience gained at the British Industries Fair of this year to organise a larger display of Indian art products at the Empire Exhibition next year."

The Hon'ble Rai Sita Nath Ray Bahadur asked :—

Waiting
room at the
railway sta-
tion at Jhi-
kargacha
Ghat.

4. "(a) Is it a fact that there is no waiting room at the railway station at Jhikargacha Ghat, a station on the Eastern Bengal Railway?"

(b) Do Government propose to take up the matter and give effect to the scheme which was considered before the war broke out?"

The Hon'ble Sir Arthur Anderson replied :—

"(a) Jhikargacha Ghat station already has waiting accommodation for 3rd class passengers and Indian ladies.

(b) The Eastern Bengal Railway Administration is now examining the scheme framed a few years ago, and, it is hoped, a decision will be arrived at shortly."

The Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi asked :—

Unclaimed
deposits.

5. "(a) Will Government be pleased to state the total amount of unclaimed lapsed and forfeited money that has been lying with them in all parts of India since 1901 under the following three heads :—

(i) Deposits in Boards of Revenue;

(ii) Deposits in Presidency Banks; and

(iii) Investments in Government Promissory Notes.

[11TH FEBRUARY, 1920.] [*Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi; Mr. W. M. Hailey; Sir William Vincent; Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda.*]

(b) Are these amounts ever shown in any Budgets? If so, under what heads will they be found? Are these absorbed in the ordinary revenues, or is any special use made of them or the interest thereon?"

The Hon'ble Mr. W. M. Hailey replied :—

"(a) (i) It has not been possible to separate the figures for unclaimed revenue deposits from other items of deposits which have lapsed to Government, for example, lapsed civil and criminal courts deposits, but a statement showing the total amounts credited to Government under the minor head 'Unclaimed Deposits' since the year 1901 is laid on the table.*

(ii) The Government are not concerned with unclaimed deposits in the Presidency banks.

(iii) The outstanding balance on account of Government promissory notes notified for discharge which have not been claimed and have therefore been written-off to Government is Rs15,35,990.

(b) Outstanding amounts of Government loans written off to revenue are credited in the 'India' books under the head 'XXV—Miscellaneous,' and lapsed deposits under the minor head 'Unclaimed Deposits' under the same major head in both the 'India' and Provincial books. The amounts are included in the Government balances and not devoted to any special purpose."

The Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi asked :—

6. "(a) Is it a fact that in the current financial year, 1919-1920, the Bengal Government have budgetted for a sum of Rs1,25,000 for giving partial effect to the scheme for re-organisation so far as the class of public servants known as Munsifs are concerned?"

Allocation made in the Bengal Government's Budget for re-organising the Munsif's service.

(b) Is it a fact that, if orders are not passed before the expiry of the present financial year, the greater portion of this sum will lapse, and that this will be detrimental to a large number of officers who have been in expectation of the benefits of the scheme since 1912, when it was first drawn up by the Local Government?"

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent replied :—

"(a) The answer is the affirmative.

(b) Pending the issue of orders on the detailed recommendations of the Public Services Commission, relating to the Provincial Judicial Service, the pay of the lowest grade of Munsifs in Bengal was raised in May last from Rs200 to 250 a month, and a part of the sum provided for in the local Budget has been expended in this connection. As stated in answer to another question, the Secretary of State was addressed on the 9th December in regard to the recommendations of the Public Services Commission relating to the pay of the Provincial Civil and Judicial Services. He has now replied and his orders have been communicated to the Local Governments. The lapse of a Budget provision is a matter of accounts only, and there is no reason why such a lapse should prove detrimental to the service concerned, since the Bengal Government is competent to make fresh Budget provision in the coming year, and will no doubt do so."

The Hon'ble Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda asked :—

7. "(a) Will Government be pleased to state what part, if any, of Assam it is proposed to declare to be a 'backward tract' in accordance with the provisions of section 15 (2) of the Government of India Act, 1919?"

Backward tracts of Assam.

[*Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda; Sir William Marris; Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha; Sir William Vincent; Mr. H. R. C. Dobbs.*] [11TH FEBRUARY, 1920.]

(b) What are the exceptions and modifications, if any, subject to which it is proposed to apply the Government of India Act to such 'backward tract'?

(c) What Acts of the Indian Legislature, if any, is it proposed to apply and not to apply, respectively, in such 'backward tract'?"

The Hon'ble Sir William Marris replied :—

"The Hon'ble Member is referred to the Government of India's despatch No. 7 of 1919 to the Secretary of State, dated June 5, 1919. The provisional proposals in this regarding the treatment of the hill districts of Assam are still under consideration between the Government of India and the local Administration, and the Government of India are not at present in a position to make any further announcement as to details."

The Hon'ble Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha asked :—

Number of Indians, Europeans and Anglo-Indians employed in the Government of India Secretariat.

8. "Will Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing separately the total number of Indians, Europeans and Anglo-Indians employed on the 1st of January, 1920, in each of the Departments of the Government of India Secretariat, drawing a salary of not less than Rs 25 per mensem, and further showing in the case of the Indian employees the numbers belonging to each province?"

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent replied :—

"The information will be collected and laid on the table."

The Hon'ble Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha asked :—

Raids committed by the trans-Frontier tribes.

9. "(a) Will Government be pleased to state :—

(i) the number of raids committed by the trans-Frontier tribes in the year 1919 in each of the districts of the North-West Frontier Province;

(ii) the nature of the extent of loss, if any, to life and property in each district as a result of such raids?

(b) Is it a fact that a number of women were forcibly carried away by the raiders? If so, will Government lay on the table a statement showing their number, specifying the community they belonged to, and also how many of them and under what circumstances were ultimately ransomed or brought back?

(c) Is it a fact that many people in the province have been driven, by reasons of the depredations, to give up their village homes and their belongings and take refuge at District Headquarters?

(d) What action, if any, have Government taken, or what action do they propose to take, to ensure the safety of life and property of the people of the Frontier Province and to make them immune from such raids in future?"

The Hon'ble Mr. H. R. C. Dobbs replied :—

"The information asked for will take some time to collect. It will be laid on the table when complete and when it is in the public interest that it should be published."

The Hon'ble Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha asked :—

Abolition of recruitment for the Indian Army in Bihar.

10. "(a) When was recruitment for the Indian Army finally abolished in Bihar prior to the commencement of the last European War, and what was the reason?"

(b) Which districts used mainly to supply the recruits?"

[11TH FEBRUARY, 1920.] [Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha; His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief; Mr. H. R. C. Dobbs.]

(c) Was recruitment re-commenced in Bihar during the last European War? If so, when? What was the total number of combatants and non-combatants so recruited?

(d) Has recruitment in Bihar Districts ceased since the close of the war, or is it still being continued? If the former, will the Government be pleased to state the reasons therefor?

(e) Do Government propose to reconsider the question of recruitment in Bihar with a view to maintain and give play to the martial spirit of the people? If not, why not?"

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief replied:—

"(a) Recruitment for the Indian Army in Bihar was not abolished prior to the war.

(b) The districts of Shahabad, Saran, and Gaya.

(c) Recruitment in Bihar continued throughout the war. The numbers recruited up to the date of the Armistice were—

(i) Combatants	8,576
(ii) Non-combatants	32,976

(d) No. Therefore, the last question (e) does not arise."

The Hon'ble Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha asked:—

11. "Will Government be pleased to state (a) the number of Divisional and Sessions Judges in the North-West Frontier Province; (b) their respective qualifications; (c) whether they are members of the Indian Civil Service, Barristers or Military men; and (d) what judicial experience each of them had at the time of his appointment as such Judge?"

Divisional and Sessions Judges in the North-West Frontier Province.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. R. C. Dobbs replied:—

"There are three Divisional and Sessions Judges in the North-West Frontier Province:—

- (1) Divisional and Sessions Judge, Peshawar.
- (2) Additional Divisional and Sessions Judge, Peshawar.
- (3) Divisional and Sessions Judge, Derajat.

(1) is held by Mr. T. B. Copeland, M.A., I.C.S. He is a member of the Indian Civil Service and of the Political Department. Before his appointment as a Divisional and Sessions Judge, Peshawar, from January, 1916, he has held the appointments of District Judge, Peshawar, District Judge, Hazara, District Magistrate and Collector, civil and military station Bangalore, etc.

(2) is held by Major R. A. Yule, an officer of the Indian Army and of the Political Department. Before his appointment as Additional Divisional and Sessions Judge, Peshawar, he has held the following appointments:—

- (i) District Judge, Peshawar.
- (ii) Additional District and Sessions Judge, Peshawar.
- (iii) District and Sessions Judge, Derajat.
- (iv) Divisional and Sessions Judge, Peshawar.

(3) is held by Lieutenant-Colonel C. F. Minchin, D.S.O., an officer of the Indian Army and of the Political Department. He held no judicial appointments before his appointment as Divisional and Sessions Judge, Derajat—an office he has held since 15th November 1911. He, therefore, has at present more than eight years' judicial experience in the post which he holds."

[*Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha; Mr. H. R. C. Dobbs; Mr. G. S. Khaparde; Sir Arthur Anderson; Sir George Barnes.*] [11TH FEBRUARY, 1920.]

The Hon'ble Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha asked :—

Number of raids committed and value of property looted in the North-West Frontier Province.

12. "Will Government be pleased to lay on the table a comparative statement showing the number of raids committed, the approximate value of the property looted, the number of persons killed or injured, and the number of men, women and children kidnapped and then ransomed in the districts at present constituting the North-West Frontier Province during the years 1898, 1899, 1900 and 1901, and 1916, 1917, 1918 and 1919, respectively?"

The Hon'ble Mr. H. R. C. Dobbs replied :—

"The information for the years 1898—1901 is not available. The information for the years 1916—1919 is placed on the table.* The period of twelve months runs in each case from the 1st April to the 31st March, as the Annual Reports are for that period; and the returns for 1919-1920 are therefore not yet complete.

A definition for statistical purposes of the term 'raid' presents some difficulty, since the local officers who report occurrences of this nature do not always discriminate between a raid proper and an ordinary dakaiti. The statement, therefore, includes all cases in which there is reason to believe that trans-Frontier offenders were concerned.

The figures given as the value of property stolen represent the complainants' estimates of their losses. There is a natural tendency to exaggerate the value of lost property, and it is impossible to secure anything like accuracy in such figures."

The Hon'ble Mr. G. S. Khaparde asked :—

Appointment of railway visitors.

13. "Do Government propose to consider the advisability of appointing railway visitors from among the elected members of the Indian and local Legislative Councils?"

The Hon'ble Sir Arthur Anderson replied :—

"Government do not consider it advisable to appoint railway visitors from among the elected members of the Legislative Councils."

The Hon'ble Mr. G. S. Khaparde asked :—

Indian Settlers in British East Africa.

14. "Will Government be pleased to state the purport of the recommendations of the Economic Committee which is believed to have reported against Indian settlers in British East Africa?"

The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes replied :—

"The Government of India have not yet received from the Secretary of State a copy of the East Africa Economic Commission's Report, but telegraphed some little time ago to the Secretary of State asking that a copy should be sent to the Government of India, and urging that Indian interests should be fully represented at any discussion with regard to it between Lord Milner and the Governor of East Africa, who is at present in London on leave. From another source we received yesterday a copy of Part I of the Final Report of the Economic Commission and I shall be very glad to show this copy to the Hon'ble Member if he so desires."

The Hon'ble Mr. G. S. Khaparde asked :—

Placing of the rules under the new Government of India Act before the Council.

15. "Will Government be pleased to state whether the rules to be framed under the new Government of India Act will be placed before this Council, as was done in the case of the proposals contained in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, and the opinion of the non-official members taken?"

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS; PROVINCIAL INSOLVENCY (AM- 671
ENDMENT) BILL; INDIAN CENSUS BILL; INDIAN STEAM-
SHIPS (AMENDMENT) BILL; INDIAN ARMY (AMEND-
MENT) BILL.

[11TH FEBRUARY, 1920.] [*Sir William Marris; Sir George Lowndes;
Mr. Shafi; Sir George Barnes; His
Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.*]

The Hon'ble Sir William Marris replied :—

“The rules to be made under the Government of India Act are too numerous and detailed for the opinion of the Council as a whole to be obtained upon them with advantage, even if time allowed of such a course. The Government of India, however, propose to forward a copy of the suggested rules, as they are ready, to every non-official member requesting him to offer any observation in writing, and also to take the rules and comments into consideration with a Committee largely composed of members of this Council.”

PROVINCIAL INSOLVENCY (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Hon'ble Sir George Lowndes :—“ My Lord, I have the honour to present the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill further to amend the Provincial Insolvency Act, 1907.” 11-16 A.M.

INDIAN CENSUS BILL.

The Hon'ble Mr. Shafi :—“ My Lord, I have the honour to present the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill to provide for certain matters in connection with the taking of the Census: Hon'ble Members will notice that the only principal changes introduced by the Select Committee have been with reference to clauses 4, 5 and 10 of the Bill. In clause 4 the figure 20 has been modified into 10. In clause 5 an addition has been made to the authorities who may be required to give assistance in the taking of the Census, and in sub-clause (b) a provision has been made for a penalty for the disclosure of information received by a Census officer in the course of his duty. 11-16 A.M.

The remaining changes are merely drafting amendments and need no discussion in detail.”

INDIAN STEAM-SHIPS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes :—“ I beg to move, my Lord, that the Bill further to amend the Indian Steam-ships Act, 1884, be taken into consideration. I explained this Bill when I moved for leave to introduce it. Its object is simply to correct a small mistake which was contained in the original Act and which unfortunately has taken some 36 years to find out. 11-17 A.M.

“ I beg to move that the Bill be taken into consideration. ”

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes :—“ My Lord, I beg to move that the Bill be passed.”

The motion was put and agreed to.

INDIAN ARMY (AMENDMENT) BILL.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief :—“ My Lord, I beg to move that the Bill further to amend the Indian Army Act, 1911, be taken into consideration. 11-18 A.M.

672 INDIAN ARMY (AMENDMENT) BILL; UNITED PROVINCES
TOWN IMPROVEMENT (APPEALS) BILL; INDIAN TARIFF
(AMENDMENT) BILL; DACCA UNIVERSITY BILL.

[*His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief; Mr. Shafi; Sir William Vincent.*] [11TH FEBRUARY, 1920.]

The object of the Bill, as I explained, is merely to supply a deficiency in regard to the disposal of moveable property of men who are declared to be missing on active service."

The motion was put and agreed to.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief:—"My Lord, I beg to move that the Bill be passed."

The motion was put and agreed to.

**UNITED PROVINCES TOWN IMPROVEMENT
(APPEALS) BILL.**

11-10 A.M. **The Hon'ble Mr. Shafi:**—"My Lord, I beg to move that the Bill to modify certain provisions of the United Provinces Town Improvement Act, 1919, be taken into consideration."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Mr. Shafi:—"My Lord, I beg to move that the Bill be passed."

The motion was put and agreed to.

INDIAN TARIFF (AMENDMENT) BILL.

11-20 A.M. **The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent:**—"My Lord, I move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Tariff Act, 1894. The reasons for this measure are fully explained in the Statement of Objects and Reasons, and I do not think I need detain the Council for long in respect to it. Under the present law the Government realise from dealers importing certain classes of fire-arms into this country a fixed fee, but when the arms are re-sold to private purchasers a refund is allowed to the dealers of anything in excess of the general 20 per cent *ad valorem* duty. It has been found that this results in inconvenience to the dealers in that it necessitates a certain amount of their capital being locked up, which can only be recovered gradually as the arms are re-sold. It also involves a good deal of account-keeping and inconvenience to them in realising the refund and a good deal of extra work to the Customs officers. It is proposed, therefore, to modify the tariff in the manner suggested in the Bill, the minimum rates for certain articles being still retained, as Hon'ble Members will see if they refer to the Bill before the Council. My intention at present is only to move for leave to introduce the Bill, and it will be published in due course in the Gazette of India."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent:—"My Lord, I now introduce the Bill and move that the Bill, together with the Statement of Objects and Reasons relating thereto, be published in the Gazette of India in English."

The motion was put and agreed to.

DACCA UNIVERSITY BILL.

11-21 A.M. **The Hon'ble Mr. Shafi:**—"My Lord, I beg to move that the Bill to establish and incorporate a unitary teaching and residential University at Dacca be referred to a Select Committee consisting of the Hon'ble Sir George

[11TH FEBRUARY, 1920.] [*Mr. Shafi.*]

Lowndes, the Hon'ble Mr. Sharp, the Hon'ble Maharaja Sir M. O. Nandi, the Hon'ble Nawab Nawab Ali Chaudhuri, the Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea, the Hon'ble Mr. Moncrieff Smith, the Hon'ble Mr. De, the Hon'ble Mr. de la Fosse, the Hon'ble Mr. L. M. Chatterjee, the Hon'ble Chaudhuri Muhammad Ismail Khan, and myself.

" My Lord, in September last when I had the honour to move for leave to introduce the Bill I ventured, in some detail, to trace the history of the origin and subsequent development of the movement for the foundation of a University at Dacca. The Bill, in pursuance of the motion then adopted, was published in the Gazette of India and in the local Provincial Gazettes of Bengal, Assam and Burma. The reception with which this measure has met from all quarters must very naturally be a source of great gratification to your Excellency's Government. Not a single discordant note has been struck anywhere with reference to the desirability, as well as the necessity, of the early establishment of the Dacca University; and while criticisms have been received with regard to certain details of the measure, some of which I have no doubt will receive careful consideration at the hands of the Select Committee, its main principles have, except perhaps in one instance, received general approval.

" My Lord, since this Bill was last before this Hon'ble Council, I have had the opportunity of making a careful study of the whole problem on the spot. Towards the end of December last, accompanied by the Hon'ble Mr. Sharp, the Hon'ble Mr. Hornell and Mr. Stapleton, officer on special duty in connection with the Dacca University, I paid a visit to Dacca. While there we carefully inspected the proposed University site, came into close personal contact with representatives of public opinion at Dacca, and received two representative deputations, one on behalf of the Hindu and the other on behalf of the Muhammadan community. I was immensely struck with the possibilities of Dacca as an educational centre. Indeed, no one who has not personally visited Dacca can have a really adequate conception of those possibilities. In the University area, which has already been mapped out, we have an ideal University site. In the magnificent edifice which was to have been the Government House of East Bengal, we have a palatial residence for the Vice-Chancellor and halls and rooms suitable for meetings of the Court, the Executive and the Academic Councils and other University bodies. In the vast pile of the Secretariat building with its central hall suitable for holding the annual convocation, in the beautiful building of the Dacca college with its lofty hall and class rooms, in the building at present occupied by the Engineering school and the two hostels at the back of these two buildings, we have already material ready for the reception of the new University. And in the extensive site surrounding these beautiful buildings we have room not only for the erection of the Muhammadan and the Jagannath halls, which will no doubt be taken in hand immediately, but also space for the construction of the Medical, the Engineering and the Agricultural Halls which, I doubt not, will come into existence at no distant date.

" My Lord, at the various gatherings which were arranged by the hospitable citizens of Dacca we had opportunities of exchanging views with representative Hindu, Muhammadan and European gentlemen, and the two representative deputations I have already spoken of placed their views before us. There was complete unanimity of opinion amongst all classes and creeds in Dacca on behalf of the early establishment of the University which your Excellency's Government proposed to establish there. Some misgivings were no doubt expressed by some Dacca gentlemen lest the opposition which they feared in certain quarters in Calcutta might result in the postponement of the realisation of their dream. But I for one was confident that those misgivings were not justified, and I am able to announce, here in this Council, that during my three weeks' residence in Calcutta, having come into close contact with representative public opinion in Bengal, I found that my confidence in the patriotism and broad-mindedness of Calcutta Educational circles was fully justified. My Lord, with these words I beg to move that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee consisting of the gentlemen I have already named."

[*Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea.*] [11TH FEBRUARY, 1920.]

11-28 A.M.

The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea :—“ My Lord, as a representative of the Hindu community of Bengal and as one deeply interested in the cause of education in my Province, for I have been nearly forty years a teacher of youth, I desire to extend a cordial welcome to the proposal to establish a University at Dacca. We were not so minded in the early stages of this controversy. There was indeed a time when there was a feeling of opposition to the establishment of this University. My Hon'ble friend, Mr. Sharp, will perhaps remember that when Lord Hardinge visited Calcutta—I think it was soon after the modification of the partition of Bengal, somewhere in August 1912—a deputation waited upon him, led by that prince of Indian benefactors, Sir Rash Behari Ghose, protesting against the establishment of the Dacca University. The feeling at that time was that the creation of a rival University might have the effect of interfering with the utility and the expansion of the mother of Bengal Universities, namely, the Calcutta University. That feeling has altogether disappeared. So great is the pressure upon our educational institutions that we find it impossible to provide accommodation for the young men who seek to obtain admission into our colleges and schools. That being so the establishment of the University of Dacca should afford relief, and I hope sensible relief, to the educational institutions connected with the Calcutta University. But though I am prepared to accord this welcome to the University at Dacca, there are certain matters which deserve careful consideration and criticism. My Lord, my friend referred to the note of unanimity which was struck on the occasion of his visit to Dacca in connection with the University. I am sorry to say that I am going to raise a discordant note on this occasion. I object to the principle of communal representation which finds a place in the Bill. My Lord, in this matter I invoke your Excellency's high authority. In the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme report communal representation in the Legislative Councils is emphatically condemned. It was accepted because it was a settled fact and there was no escape from it. The principle of communal representation not only finds a place in the Bill, but a very broad and enlarged place. There is to be communal representation in the Senate, or Court as it is called, there is to be communal representation in the Syndicate or Executive Council, as it is termed. There is to be further a Muhammadan Advisory Board. Let me say in this connection that the system of communal representation as outlined in this Bill was objected to by two very distinguished Muhammadan representatives. One of them is among the foremost intellectual men of the Muhammadan community, the Hon'ble Dr. A. Suhrawardy, who was a member of the Committee appointed by the Senate of the Calcutta University. He protested against the acceptance of this principle in the University Bill. Furthermore, Nawab Khwaja Mahammad Yusuf, Khan Bahadur, the Chairman of the Dacca Municipality, a member of the Nawab family long connected with the public life of Dacca, also objected to the introduction of the communal principle in the proposed University. Now, my Lord, I must present the other side of the shield. I find that the Committee in connection with the Dacca University recommended the principle. Therefore, that is a strong point in favour of communal representation finding a place in the Bill. What we fear is that it may be extended to the local institutions of Bengal, and furthermore, that it may be allowed later to determine the question of teachers and professors in the Dacca University. That would be disastrous, because it would interfere with the efficiency of the University. My Lord, I think it is desirable to limit this communal representation at any rate by starting electorates of a mixed character, consisting of Muhammadans and non-Muhammadans. It will be perhaps in the recollection of this Council that Lord Morley in the early stages of the Morley-Minto scheme controversy suggested mixed electorates for the purpose of sending representatives to the local Council. My suggestion is only a repetition of the recommendation made by Lord Morley.

“ Then, my Lord, there is another point to which I desire to call attention in connection with this Bill. I am bound to say that the personnel of the University is very largely official. Perhaps to some extent this is inevitable in the

[11TH FEBRUARY, 1920.]

[*Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee ; Nawab Saiyed
Nawab Ali Chaudhri.*]

circumstances and conditions of Dacca, but there was one suggestion made by the Committee which I find has not been incorporated in the Bill, and I desire to draw the attention of the Council to the suggestion that not more than twenty members shall be nominated by associations to be selected by His Excellency the Chancellor. I hope and trust that this recommendation will find a place in the Bill.

"Then, my Lord, I come to the question of Faculties. I find that only three Faculties are mentioned in the Bill, the Faculties of Arts, Science and Law. My Hon'ble friend the Member in charge of the Bill, in his speech referred to three others if I remember aright. He mentioned the Faculty of Medicine, the Faculty of Engineering and the Faculty of Agriculture, and I should add the Faculty of Technology. These four ought to be specifically mentioned in the Bill. I quite recognise the fact that there is a provision in the Bill which will enable the University to add to the number of its Faculties as circumstances may require, but, I think, it would be a distinct advantage to have all these Faculties definitely and specifically mentioned in the Bill itself. This will appeal to the popular imagination, awaken popular interest and will facilitate the flow of funds. However, when the Select Committee comes to consider this matter, I hope that these Faculties will find a place in the Bill.

"Then, my Lord, there is to be an Islamic Department of studies. I welcome that recommendation, but why not a Sanskrit Board of Studies also? That will complete the Oriental side of the University. We have great respect, I am speaking as a representative of my community, we have great respect for Islam the culture of which is at the root of the great religion which commands the homage of so large a portion of mankind. But we have also got Aryan tradition and an Aryan civilisation which have coloured the thoughts of our race for thousands of years. I think there ought to be Boards of Studies both as regards Islamic and Aryan culture. Then there are one or two little matters to which I desire to call attention. The Local Government as explained in the Bill is the Governor in Council. I would add two or three words 'together with his Ministers.' I think that is very necessary in view of the fact that Education is to be one of the Transferred Subjects. Then, my lord, a very large measure of powers is given to the Visitor; the Visitor happens to be the Governor General himself. The powers given to the Visitor are similar to those given to the Governor General by the Benares University Act. The Calcutta University has made a recommendation, namely, that when the Governor General orders an inspection of the University, or in respect of the manner and method of the working of any department, the University should have a representative on the Board of Inspection. I think, my Lord, that is a very sensible suggestion and one that ought to be accepted.

"I do not think I should detain the Council at greater length. The Dacca University will be a model one and I am sure that it will be so if properly started. May I be permitted to express the hope that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales will be invited to open this University. It will give it a start which will facilitate the flow of funds, commensurate with the dignity that will thus be bestowed upon the University."

The Hon'ble Nawab Saiyed Nawab Ali Chaudhri:—

"My Lord, nearly five months have elapsed since the Dacca University Bill was introduced into the Council at Simla by the Hon'ble Member in charge of Education. At that time, I accorded a cordial and enthusiastic welcome to the Bill; but in the exuberance of my feelings, I could not then discuss its provisions in detail and reserved the same for a future occasion. That occasion has now come when the Bill is going into the Select Committee, and I crave the indulgence of your Excellency to bear with me for a few minutes and permit me to put forward certain definite suggestions which, I hope, will be favourably and sympathetically considered by the Committee in the light of Muslim opinion in Eastern Bengal where the University is going to be established. (

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"My Lord, I do not like at the present moment to go into the details of the Bill which is going to be referred to the Select Committee for discussion of the details, but I would confine myself to broad principles underlying the Bill. It is very gratifying to find, my Lord, that the Government has taken this opportunity of redeeming its pledges to the Mussalmans, but it has to be regretfully admitted that the present Bill does not go far enough to fully satisfy the reasonable aspirations of the people of Eastern Bengal. It is unfortunate that the Government has thought fit to confine the salutary activities of the Dacca University within the narrow limits of the town of Dacca, and thus denied the East Bengal colleges the privileges of closer association with this more modernised University. As the decision of the Government is based upon the recommendation of the Calcutta University Commission, I may be excused if I take a little of Council's time to examine the grounds underlying this recommendation.

"My Lord, we read in Chapter XXXIII of the Report that the 'affiliating nexus would tend to restrict the natural development of Dacca on its own lines; there would be constant conflict between Dacca, the strongest centre, that it should be allowed to progress, and the equally legitimate claims of weaker Mufassil colleges, that they should not be overpressed.' Difficulties, my Lord, these undoubtedly are, but they are not insurmountable. Recognising the possibilities of such difficulties in the sister University of Calcutta too, the Commission recommends the constitution of a Mufassil College Board as the adequate solution of the problem. For, in the words of the Commission, 'we regard it as essential, therefore, that the organisation set up for the Mufassil Colleges should not be of such a kind as to hamper or retard the work of the Teaching University in Calcutta or limit the range and character of the training which it gives, to those which are attainable for Mufassil colleges.' Such an organisation they find in the establishment of a special Board of the Calcutta University, to be known as the Board of Mufassil colleges. Now, my Lord, if the Board remedies the evils of affiliation, why not have such another Board of Mufassil colleges at Dacca? We are told it would be 'unwise' and 'wasteful.' I regret that the learned Commissioners did not consider it necessary to elaborate their arguments and dismissed such an important and perhaps inconvenient question in a short laconic sentence. 'The affiliating nexus' that was possible in Calcutta, practicable at Patna, curiously enough metamorphosed itself into a wasteful weed at Dacca to hamper the development of the University there. The unwisdom, I presume, consists in the 'wastefulness,' but a distracted world is left to guess whether the latter is financial or an uneconomic diversion of energy from the teaching to the administrative field. My Lord, the disadvantages of the financial wastefulness of duplication bear such a small proportion to the enormous benefit of increased efficiency consequent upon the division of unwieldy territorial jurisdiction of the Calcutta Board, that the proposal deserved some consideration from the point of view of the success of the Board itself. Even now the mammoth size of the Calcutta University hampers the satisfactory performance of mere examining function; and saddled with the same duties it is extremely doubtful whether the infant Board at Calcutta, with rapidly increasing number of students to deal with, can cope successfully with the Herculean task. As to the latter supposition, I am unable to subscribe to the view that occasional attendance at the meetings of the Board by the University staff would seriously interfere with the proper discharge of their tutorial duties.

"My Lord, with the sole exception of the authorities of the Calcutta University with whose natural desire to retain and extend the domain of its power and influence I sincerely sympathise; there is little public opposition to the view I advocate. In view of the influential support of the distinguished educationists like Rai Kumudini Kanta Banerjee Bahadur, Dr. Hira Lal Haldar, Professor Hem Chandra Das Gupta, Atul Chandra Sen, Mohamopadhaya Promotha Nath Tarkabhusan in favour of affiliation, 'the grave doubts' of the Commission 'whether affiliation to Dacca would be welcomed by the majority of the colleges' seem rather unwarranted. To a layman it appears

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that they would rather welcome the connection with the neighbourly Dacca rather than with the distant Calcutta; for, my Lord, we have as yet no occasion to suspect that the East Bengal colleges would suddenly develop a strong prejudice against Dacca, the intellectual, if unfortunately, not the political, capital of the eastern districts. Besides, the unanimity of the Moslem opinion, my Lord, demanded a more sympathetic consideration than has actually been vouchsafed to it; for it is not perhaps inopportune to recall once again that it is the Moslem needs and requirements that the University was primarily intended to cater for. Quite apart from the Moslem point of view, I may be permitted, my Lord, to mention the vigorous arguments of the Hon'ble Mr. J. B. Cunningham, of late the Director of Public Instruction, Assam, in support of affiliation. He observes 'if the new University is to be afforded the fullest opportunity of serving the requirements of Assam, and Eastern Bengal and the end of its creation, as they are stated in Hon'ble Mr. Sharp's letter No. 811, dated the 4th April 1912, it should assume the form of a teaching and federal instead of a purely teaching University. To grant it territorial jurisdiction would be to secure to it the wisest charter of liberty and to afford to the University education in India, the largest hope of advancement and reform. To restrict the University to the town of Dacca and to leave the Assam and Mufassil colleges unattached, will be to subject the growth and development of the new venture to all the adverse influence of competition. It would only be secure of those students least necessary to it—the students resident in Dacca. For others, it will have to come to the market. At every point, it will have to vie with Calcutta for students' favour; to offer advantages which are superior or at least equal in the eyes of the public to those offered by the colleges of the older University. And in this competition the advantages for the sake of which the University is brought into existence will either weigh little or weigh in the opposing scale.' I am glad to note, my Lord, that the 'Herald' the only English daily in Eastern Bengal also shares my views which further has the distinguished support of Sir Nicholas Beatson-Bell, the Chief Commissioner of Assam. In forwarding the opinions of the Assam administration on the Dacca University Bill, the Hon'ble Mr. Edwards refers to the opinion of the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner thus—'His chief regret, a regret which he already expressed as Commissioner of Dacca, is that the outlying colleges are primarily debarred from the privileges of the new University. The Chief Commissioner trusts that the time is not far distant when the colleges in Assam will cease to be affiliated to any Corporation outside the Province, but if they are to be so affiliated, he would much prefer that they should be affiliated to the Dacca University, rather than to the University of Calcutta, old or new.' Backed up by the unanimous Muslim opinion and the opinions of the eminent Hindu educationists on the one hand, and those of the high and the responsible officers of the Government on the other, I feel, my Lord, I am voicing the opinion of Eastern Bengal, when I do most respectfully urge upon the Government the necessity of making some provision in the Bill about bringing the East Bengal colleges under the influence of the University of Dacca.

"Leaving aside the geographical, there have further been academic limitations that take much away from the utility of the University itself. In the present economic condition of the country, the need for vocational training cannot be too strongly emphasised, but provisions for such training is almost conspicuous by their absence in the proposed constitution of the Dacca University. At a time, my Lord, when the industrial resources of the country are crying for pioneers in the industrial field; when agriculture is still carried on under primitive conditions; when the demand for medical men far exceeds the present inadequate supply, a miniature University at Dacca, concerned only with literary instructions, scarcely meets the needs of the situation. The Calcutta University Commission has recommended the association of the agricultural study with the University, and one is naturally led to the conclusion that the most convenient place for such an experiment is Dacca, where an Agricultural farm exists and not a crowded city of over ten millions population. Their preferential recommendation in favour of the Calcutta University

is all the more surprising in view of the decidedly superior facility that exists in Dacca for Agricultural education. Though Industrial Bengal centres mainly in and around Calcutta, East Bengal is primarily an agricultural province. The Agriculture Department of the Government of Bengal has been transferred from Calcutta to Dacca, with a view to securing a more intimate touch with the local agricultural problems. Besides, the establishment of an Institute of Agriculture is already under contemplation and an Agricultural Faculty, my Lord, would be a fitting concomitant to the allied institutions designed for the advancement of scientific agriculture in the country.

“The need for medical education, my Lord, is as great as if not even greater than the Agricultural training. The two colleges in the Presidency are quite inadequate to the requirements of the Province. The very large number of students that are refused admission every year for want of accommodation in the Medical colleges, is a clear index to the great demand for higher Medical studies. In Dacca, we have an efficient Medical school which can be developed into the college to serve, to some extent, the needs of Eastern Bengal. Even so far back as 1912, the Dacca University Committee recommended the institution of the Faculties of Medicine, Agriculture and Engineering in the proposed Dacca University. We have no evidence to conclude that circumstances have so materially changed that the *raison d'être* of such Faculties no longer exists. On the contrary, I firmly believe that the efflux of time has added to, rather than diminished from, the gravity of those needs and requirements which the Faculties were meant to satisfy. The Sadler Commission have emphasised the need for higher Medical studies in Bengal, where 181,000 people are served by one Medical graduate only and have welcomed the establishment of a Medical college at Dacca in the interest of the University of Dacca and in the development of Medical work in the Presidency. They further remark ‘it is good for a University to have represented in it a variety of interests, and a Medical Faculty would strengthen it in many ways.’ In spite of the recommendation of the Calcutta University Commission the provision for Medical Faculty has not been made in the Bill. But, my Lord, there is yet time to rectify. I earnestly hope that the Government would earn the gratitude of Eastern Bengal by a greater responsiveness to their unanimous demand.

‘At one time it was contemplated to transfer the Civil Engineering section of the Engineering college at Shibpore to Dacca. Such a transfer, my Lord, would strengthen the teaching of Mechanical Engineering at Shibpore, and would help the institution at Dacca of the Faculty of Engineering which has been recommended by the Dacca University Committee and approved by the Government of Lord Carmichael.

“My Lord, I may be permitted to take a few minutes of the Council's time to refer to the question of separate Moslem representation which is most vital to the interests of the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal. The exclusion of the provisions for separate Mohamedan representation from the main body of the Act, is causing the Mahomedans much anxiety and alarm. The constitution of the different bodies of the University has, of course, been provided for in the Statutes, and it may very pertinently be asked, why should an exception be made in the case of Mahomedan representation? But, my Lord, the case of Mahomedan representation stands on a footing entirely different from, and having nothing in common with, the other categories of interests sought to be represented in the Court. Leaving aside those estimable gentlemen whose high sense of public spirit and patriotism would sooner tolerate the loss of the University rather than allow the Mahomedans to co-operate in its administration, the liberal and impartial element in the educated Hindu community is alert to the necessity of allowing the Mahomedans a voice in the direction and control of the University education. But there is still, I know, considerable opposition. The recognition of the Muslim claim to a separate electorate is a new departure, a novel feature of the present Bill. To the Mahomedans, it has been a hard-earned recognition, long withheld from them, owing to the persistent opposition of powerful interests. The justice of the Mohomedan cause has, after all, received its due recognition

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from the impartial British educationists of the Calcutta University Commission and the present Bill attempts, to some extent, though not entirely, to remedy the evils that have been greatly responsible for the backwardness of the Mohamedans in the higher education. But, my Lord, even this meagre recognition has been a tocsin of alarm to the vested interests and is being resented as an encroachment upon their undisputed supremacy in the fields of University education. My Lord, in the whole course of history the monopolists have never been known to surrender their privileges without a fight, and in spite of the unanimous recommendations of the Sadler Commission, the opposition to the Moslem electorate has not entirely died down. Prejudice and predilections, my Lord, die hard and the Mohamedans are naturally anxious that their position in the University should be clearly and precisely defined in the Act itself. An Act for the establishment of a University meant as an earnest of Government's effort towards the educational salvation of the Mussalmans, but with no specific provision for the Mohamedan representation seems to me, my Lord, like the Drama of Hamlet with the Prince of Denmark entirely left out. It may be contended that the Statute guarantees Mohamedan representation, but who will guarantee the stability of the Statutes themselves? Depending for their existence on the sweet will of the Court, the Statutes offer but an infirm and insecure foundation to stand upon. The Mohamedans are alarmed at the prospect of their legitimate rights being thus made the subject of the caprice of a none-too-sympathetic Court and are anxious that this apprehended forfeiture be securely guarded against by the inclusion of the sections in the Act itself. Nor can the Mussalmans put too much reliance on the safety valve of the Chancellor's prerogative; for the Chancellor's veto is an exceptional power, which is meant to be very sparingly exercised. Its exercise, even in the present days of Governmental Paternalism is fiercely resented and in the coming days of popular control of education, even the judicious use in defiance of the majority, I am afraid, is sure to be misrepresented as an act of high-handed and needless interference. To avoid the risk of exposing the Chancellor to these unnecessary attacks and to allay the Muslim apprehension, I would suggest the transfer of the provisions from the Statute to the Bill.

Closely related to Moslem representation is the question of Islamic Studies which the Mussalmans all over India were given to understand would be a special feature of the Dacca University. The Dacca University Committee recommended the institution of a special Faculty of Islamic Studies having equal status to the other Faculties of the University. The Calcutta University Commission, for the academic reasons that the holders of the degree in Islamic Studies should get the degree in Arts, i.e., B. A. instead of B. L., included the Islamic Studies as a department of the Faculty of Arts. The provision for Islamic Studies is mentioned neither in the Bill nor in the Statutes, and there are apprehensions in the mind of the Mohamedans that it may be entirely dispensed with. To allay the apprehensions of the Mussalmans and to safeguard the interests of Islamic Studies, I am strongly of opinion that the Department of Islamic Studies should be mentioned in section 23 of the Bill or elsewhere, and a few details may be described in the Statutes. It is a question of so vital importance to Muslim education in Bengal that it should not altogether be allowed to be dealt with by regulations and ordinances only which can be altered or amended without reference to Government. I do not like, my Lord, to go into the details of the subject; but one point in which Muslim feeling is very strong is, that there should be no differentiation in name and privileges between the students of Islamic Studies and students reading other subjects belonging to the Faculty of Arts.

"The Bill has provided that no institution lying within a radius of five miles of the Convocation Hall should be affiliated to any other University. This limit, my Lord, is too narrow. It is intelligible that all the institutions forming the integral part of the Dacca University, with the possible exception of the Agricultural Farm, will lie much nearer than the proposed maximum limit; but, my Lord, we have to consider not only the convenience of the lecturers and the students, but we have also to consider the fact that a fair start should be given to the Dacca University, and unfair competition should be

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avoided. The Calcutta University Commission have already pronounced that the standard of examination in the Calcutta University is very low, and it will be unfair to the Dacca University if colleges, awarding cheap degrees, are established next door. It will have the additional disadvantage of a possibility of misunderstanding between the Universities of Dacca and Calcutta. I, therefore, suggest that the limit of five miles for non-affiliation to the Calcutta University should be extended to fifteen miles in order to exclude the possibility of creation of cheap colleges at Narayanganj or Tangi. Such provision which Nawab Sir Syed Shams-ul-Huda has also advocated is absolutely necessary in view of the opinions now prevalent about the Dacca University among the leaders of the Calcutta University.

" My Lord, section 31 of the Bill lays down that the Ordinances shall be made by the Executive Council. I am not sure if, like the Statutes, this refers only to subsequent addition, alteration or modification, or if the authorisation includes the power of framing the first Ordinances as well. If the latter is also contemplated, I am afraid it is open to serious objection. The duties of the Executive Council to set the whole machinery in motion in the beginning would be tremendous in all conscience, and to impose upon them the additional obligation of framing the Ordinances also is surely not the best way of expediting the business. It will only pave the way for procrastination and delay. I am not convinced, my Lord, of the wisdom of repeating a procedure that proved a failure during the re-constitution of the Calcutta University in 1904, when exasperated by the dilatoriness of the Senators to whom the work was first entrusted, the Government of India was compelled to appoint a small Committee to draw up the new rules and regulations of the University. The experience of the past warns us against the delegation of such duties to an unweildy or overworked body, and to prevent the chequered history of the Calcutta regulations to repeat itself at Dacca, I would suggest that the Government of India be pleased to appoint a small Committee of eminent educationists to draw up the Ordinances of the University of Dacca. The inclusion of outside experience would secure to the proceedings of the Committee a weight and authority which can hardly attach to the deliberations even of all the talents locally available at Dacca.

" Before I conclude, my Lord, one more point I want to urge—the one to which I attach the greatest importance—I mean the appointment of Mohamedans to the University Staff. I indulge in no exaggeration, my Lord, when I say that the University will entirely fail in its purpose, so far as the advancement of Mohamedans in the higher education is concerned unless there is a number of Mohamedan teachers on the staff, not a mere sprinkling of them, my Lord, but a staff well saturated with Moslem element. The great, vital and imperative need of Mohamedan professors did not escape the notice of so shrewd a body of observers as the Calcutta University Commission, and they make special mention of it in the Report itself. They observe that the Committee of Selection, as a rule, should 'bear in mind the necessity of appointing an adequate number of Mussalmans to the teaching Staff' and, should the general opinion demand it, the final appointment should be left to the Chancellor of the University, so as to leave open the possibility of representations if either the Moslem or Hindu community were likely to suffer owing to a disproportionately small number of appointments of members of that community.' My Lord, the Mussalmans realise that all their hopes, all their aspirations, will prove a chimera and illusion without the inspiring presence of a body of Muslim professors to stimulate, to encourage, to guide the Muslim youths in their preparation for the battle of life, to work with the zeal, earnestness and enthusiasm of a missionary for the uplift of their co-religionists from the depth of darkness and ignorance, to which years of apathy and neglect of education have reduced them. Their very presence, I repeat, my Lord, will be electrifying—the living examples of attainable ideals for the youths of our community to emulate and follow.

" My Lord, the cry has often been raised, and, I am sure, will be raised again, that competent Mohamedans are not available. That plea, my Lord, I refuse to admit. From my place here in the Council, my Lord, I take this

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opportunity of contradicting once again the baseless aspersion cast on our community and assure Government that offer of generous prospects and emoluments is sure to attract the deserving and desirable Mohamedan candidates from different parts of India, and, I hope, financial considerations will not stand in the way of securing the services of competent Mohamedan teachers for the University.

“ My Lord, with these observations I beg to support the motion.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda :—“ My Lord, 12-9 P.M. regard being had to the circumstances connected with the origination of the Dacca University scheme, the recognition by the Government of their duty to satisfy the natural and the very legitimate desire of the Moslem community of Eastern Bengal, to stimulate their educational activities and the relations on which that community will necessarily stand towards this University when it is established, I submit, my Lord, that the University ought to possess some distinctive Islamic characteristics, some special features which will at once mark out the degrees and diplomas granted by the University as something apart from the degrees of the existing Universities.

“The Bill in a way recognises this and seeks to give expression to it in the composition of the governing bodies of the University which are to be on a racial basis. My Lord, I shall have something to say about this shortly, but at the present moment I would like to call attention to, to emphasize, the fact that that is not a characteristic feature which in my opinion ought to be conferred on this University. I would like to have a special feature which will at once point to the character and the quality of the training which the University will impart, to the culture which will be acquired therein and to the academic atmosphere, if I may say so, which will be created in the University. When you meet an alumnus, a graduate or a scholar of a University, you do not pause to inquire how the governing bodies, the Senate or the Syndicate or whatever other names they may be called by in this Bill, are constituted. But you look to the studies, to the various branches of learning which the University specialises in; you look to the reputation for scholarship of its professors, you look to the academic environments. These are the features, my Lord, which ought to be kept in mind in having a University created with special reference to the desires of the Moslem community. My Lord, in this view I would recommend that the Faculties ought to comprise new Faculties, Faculties which do not find a place elsewhere in India; and among them I would have a Faculty of Islamic studies in the forefront, or better still a Faculty of Oriental studies to make it more comprehensive. You cannot say that there is no material at hand. There is in Dacca a Madrassah of a very high order, and there are Madrassahs also in the mufassal in Chittagong and elsewhere; and although the Bill does not seem to recognise it, there is a Madrassah of a very superior grade in my district, Sylhet, which has lately been established by my Government. You have in Eastern Bengal a very large and cultured Moslem community which will be able to supply a constant stream of students for this Faculty. I would, therefore, suggest that among the Faculties to be created, there ought to be constituted a Faculty of Oriental Studies. We may have also a Faculty of Sanskrit studies, not as a counterpoise to the one of Islamic studies, but because you have here also ready-made very good material. Bikrampore is a very ancient and very well-known seat of Sanskrit learning; and its Pandits are welcomed and received everywhere for their deep scholarship. You have in the town of Dacca itself a unique Sanskrit institution, the Saraswat Samaj, which has long received recognition at the hands of Government. I think, my Lord, therefore, that there ought to be a Faculty of Oriental Studies, not merely departments of the Faculty of Arts. We must of course have the usual Faculties of Arts and Science, but I am not quite sure about Law. I am prepared to relegate Law to make room for Medicine, if necessary. It is very important, my Lord, that a medical college should be started from the very beginning. It is a matter of greater necessity to have a medical college than to have a college of law. My Lord, it was recognised in the report of the Dacca

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University Committee which my Hon'ble Friend Mr. Shafi referred to when introducing the Bill; it is also recommended in the report of the Calcutta University Commission. If you say that you cannot have a full-fledged Medical College at Dacca without in part depending on Calcutta, I may point out that as regards law too you have to depend on Calcutta. You find in clause 48 of the Bill where it is provided as follows:—

'Provided further that it shall be lawful for the Faculty of Law to assemble at Calcutta, whenever, in the opinion of the Vice-Chancellor, such a course is necessary.'

"Therefore, my Lord, I think you ought to provide for a medical college from the very beginning. In this connection I shall, with the indulgence of the Council, read out a portion from the minority report of the Calcutta University Commission:—

'The Government intend the University of Dacca to rank among the more influential modern Universities; but it can hardly expect to attain that rank unless it be entrusted with a Medical Faculty and College. In view of the need for more medical men in India we recommend that, as early as possible, the medical school at Dacca should become a medical college.'

My Lord, we have now at present two medical colleges in Calcutta, including the one which was recently started by non-official agency with a subsidy from Government. The annual output of these two would be a mere drop in the ocean, when you consider that there is no medical college not only in the rest of the Presidency of Bengal, but in Assam, in the Central Provinces and in Bihar and Orissa. My Lord, the utter helplessness of the people as regards medical aid was painfully demonstrated during the late influenza epidemic, and I therefore respectfully urge that a Faculty of Medicine and a medical college should be started from the very beginning.

"My Hon'ble friend the Nawab Ali Chaudhri has referred to the need of a Faculty of Engineering. I think it is a matter for surprise that although some time ago in the course of a debate on a resolution to transfer the Civil Engineering College from Sibpur to Dacca, it was accepted by Government that this college would be removed to Dacca effect has not been given thereto. Even if you give us these Faculties of Medicine, and Engineering in addition to the Faculties provided for in the Bill, you do not give us anything new. These are the usual Faculties to be found in existing universities. But, my Lord, we must have something more. I urge the establishment of a Faculty of Agriculture and a Faculty of Commerce and Technology. The Calcutta University is preparing to start a Faculty of Agriculture and a Faculty of Commerce. I say, my Lord, it is surprising that this has not been accepted so far as the Dacca University is concerned. As regards agriculture, at any rate, Dacca is in a better position than Calcutta. We have a nucleus for that in Dacca; there is a fine Government demonstration farm near Dacca, and what is more the Government Department of Agriculture is now located at Dacca.

"My Lord, if Calcutta can have a Faculty of Agriculture it is reasonable that Dacca should have one. I submit that these Faculties ought to be provided for and not merely referred to in clause 23 as being left to be created hereafter.

"Now, my Lord, coming to the difficult and intricate question of communal representation—well, when I say difficult I mean it is only difficult with reference to Dacca. There is no manner of doubt that such a thing as communal representation ought not to find a place in a seat of learning, one whose motto should be the advancement of learning. This I said when speaking on the motion to introduce the Bill. I adhere to that view generally speaking, but, my Lord, as regards Dacca, there are particular circumstances which require consideration. There is an intense feeling amongst the Moslem community which was referred to by the Hon'ble Nawab Sahib. We have that provided for in the report of the Calcutta University Commission, and I do not think it would be right to brush it aside simply because we consider it unsound in principle. Well, as regards this matter we feel greatly indebted to your Excellency and Mr. Montagu for having condemned this principle in the joint report on Reforms. But as regards the Dacca University we have to give special

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consideration to this matter in view of the fact that the Moslem community desire it. The conclusion which I have come to after giving the matter the most careful and anxious consideration is that so long as that community demand it we must allow it, I say so deliberately. I have every hope that the cultured leaders of that community will in course of time and with the progress of education come to realise that it is detrimental to their interests and that it is unsound. Having given the matter most serious consideration I find myself in agreement substantially with the recommendations of the Calcutta University, which I will quote and which runs as follows:—

‘We are not in favour of the principle of communal representation in connection with academic bodies. Having regard however to the special circumstances connected with the inception of the Dacca University scheme, we agree to the adoption of this principle in a modified form as a temporary measure. Further, the question of communal representation in the Dacca University should be re-considered at the end of ten years in view of the general advancement of education amongst all sections of the country. The temporary provisions for communal representation should lapse at the end of that period.

We recommend combined electorates for the election of Muslim members to the Court and the Executive Councils.’

“I commend this suggestion to the Government of India more especially in view of the fact that this recommendation has been supported, among others, by Mr. Turner, Principal of the Dacca College, Mr. Barrow, Principal of the Presidency College and the Reverend Mr. Urquhart, a distinguished educationalist of Calcutta. I may say that these gentlemen were members of the Sub-Committee appointed by the Calcutta University, and that they are impartial and independent men. What is more it has the support of the Hon'ble Dr. A. Suhrawardy to whom reference has been made by the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjea. My Lord, I do not find his note of dissent from the majority report in the papers which have been circulated. I shall read an extract from what he says:—‘It would be a mistake to make communal interests the sole determining factor in purely academic appointments, specially those of a high grade, but such considerations may well be allowed to have weight in the matter of appointments in subjects connected with the advancement of Islamic studies and learning, subordinate teaching appointments and appointments of an administrative character. In the matter of elections where seats are reserved for Muslims, I am in favour of at least a few seats being filled up by election by a mixed electorate. Finally, I wish to emphasize the standpoint that a community which is constrained to seek protection afforded by communal representation is bound in self-interest to make strenuous efforts so to re-organize itself as to be able sooner or later to dispense with such assistance. On this ground I agree to the proposal that the temporary provisions for communal representation should lapse at the end of ten years unless re-enacted at the end of that period.’

“My Lord, it is also a fact that a leader of the Moslem community, Nawab Mahomed Yusuf, the Chairman of the Dacca Municipality, who has been mentioned by the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjea, supports this principle partially. He says that the election of Moslem members to the Court should be by mixed electorates. I do not understand why the Moslem community should object to these provisions.

“Then, my Lord, the next feature of the Bill to which I would call attention is that it is highly officialised. Out of 115 members, it will be found that only 35 are to be elected and the rest are nominated. Contrast with this the composition of the Senate under the Patna University Act which was passed two years ago. Out of a maximum of 73, 50 are elected.

The Hon'ble Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha:—“Out of 95, 65 are elected?”

The Hon'ble Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda:—“Thanks for the correction. It is still better. We are going back. This is a matter that

[Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda; Major Malik Sir Umar Hayat Khan; Khan Bahadur Ebrahim Haroon Jaffer.] [11TH FEBRUARY, 1920.]

requires serious consideration. You find in the composition of the non-elected element a large number of officials. On this point I cannot do better than read to the Council the opinion of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, expressed in better language than I can employ:—

‘ In the discussion in Council on the first reading of the Bill, objection was taken to the number of officials who in one way or the other are included on the main organic bodies of the University. According to a statement made by the Hon’ble Mr. Shafi in his introduction of the Bill the University is to be an autonomous and not a Government institution, and it is to have control over its own staff. It is also to have large and independent power in regard to finance and regulation. These things being so, I venture to submit that it is undesirable indirectly to reduce the autonomous and non-official character of the University’s organisation by overloading its organic bodies with a number of officials appointed *ex-officio*. If the University is really to express and to carry out after due consideration public feeling, it seems rather inconsistent with this object to insist upon a large representation of officials, more particularly so if official members are to be required merely to support Government’s views on the various matters that come before them and are to be prohibited from taking any independent line of their own. It does not follow that officials should not be appointed or elected, but it would seem preferable that they should sit on the University bodies concerned rather in virtue of their personal, educational or scientific or other special qualifications than *ex-officio*. Further, I am disposed to think that, in view of the facts that the Visitor is to be the Viceroy, the Chancellor is to be the Governor of Bengal and the Treasurer is to be appointed by the Governor of Bengal, it would be preferable that the Vice-Chancellor should be elected by the University from among its own members rather than appointed by the Chancellor. It also seems to me that there is a danger of the Court becoming a somewhat unwieldy body and that the proportion of elected members is unduly restricted especially when it is remembered that in other Universities the demand is for a much higher proportion of such members.’

“ My Lord, with these views I am in entire agreement. I trust that this matter will receive consideration at the hands of the Select Committee.

“ There is one other matter, my Lord, to which I desire to call the attention of Council, and that is regarding the position of my Province of Assam as regards this University. This Bill no doubt recognises that we have some claim and the Chief Commissioner of Assam has been given the right to nominate certain Fellows and the Director of Public Instruction is also to be a member of the Court *ex-officio*. But it will be found that the Calcutta University has taken exception to that. My Lord, I ought to mention this fact. Hon’ble Members may find some difficulty in understanding why the Government of another Province should have anything to do in connection with the Dacca University. Assam was formerly a part of Eastern Bengal when the first conception of this University was made, and if Assam was not cut off from East Bengal, it would automatically take its share in the University, and we are geographically and in other respects closely connected with Dacca, and I hope the claims of my Province will receive due consideration at the hands of the Select Committee. With these remarks, my Lord, I support the motion.”

12-33 P.M.

The Hon’ble Major Malik Sir Umar Hayat Khan:—

“ My Lord, when I came here I thought there was not going to be so much discussion because all the arguments that we have so far heard could have been urged in the Select Committee and threshed out there. But now as the discussion has been started, I feel that the Punjab Mohammedans should also take part in it. I do know that Mohammedans are backward, and I think if we have any such special Universities it will help us greatly, and we will be able to impart proper religious education, because we are now finding a great deal of difficulty as the boys do not understand their religion and they do not think of religion at all. We are also frightened that Bolshevism may come in, and I think that if people only know their religion they will not catch the contagion, so I hope that our Hindu brothers who have shown us that they are our great friends will not object if we have something of this sort.”

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The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Ebrahim Haroon Jaffer:— 12-85 P.M.

"My Lord, I had no desire to say anything to-day on the proposal placed before the Council by the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi, but after hearing my Hon'ble friend Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, I consider it my duty to my constituency to sound a note of warning to the attempt which certain of our friends are making to deprive us of certain hard-earned rights, the most valuable of which is the communal representation. Government have recognised it in the case of Legislative Councils and local self-government, but it is much more imperative in the case of Universities which prepare the groundwork for national progress. My Lord, I fully associate myself with the weighty words of my Hon'ble friend Nawab Ali Chaudhri and make an earnest appeal to our Hindu friends not to interfere with our cherished rights of communal representation in the University."

The Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri:— 12-36 P.M.
 "Your Excellency, some of us who were on this Council two years ago may remember an animated debate when the Hon'ble Nawab Ali Chaudhri brought forward a Resolution about the Dacca University. At that time we witnessed a most interesting duel between him and the Hon'ble Mr. Basu in which, as far as I could recall the event, there was neither victor nor vanquished as has happened in many other generous encounters before. I had hoped that the animosity then slightly exhibited would have died out. As far as I could see at present, the movement for the Dacca University has received unanimous support from all sections of the community, and I heard with special pleasure the testimony borne to that fact by the Hon'ble the present Member for Education. It is, therefore, somewhat disappointing to find that the Hon'ble Nawab Ali Chaudhri still makes references to the enemies of the Mohammedan movement, references which find some emphatic echo in a representation made by the Mohammedans of East Bengal to this Council. I am not able to see in the published papers any justification for the continuance of this complaint. The one shadow of justification is the attitude assumed by the Calcutta University towards one of the cardinal features of the scheme, namely, that of communal representation. Now, my Lord, those that refer to this principle must always do so with a very heavy sense of responsibility, and I wish on this occasion to allude to this principle and make clear what, in my judgment, it carries with it. I am afraid too many are under the impression that this is a good and sound principle *per se*, that it would be well to welcome it on all occasions and in all matters, whereas the fact is that we all admit it into constitutions as a necessary evil, as a deduction from the principle of efficiency and national spirit which it is expedient in the present condition of Indian society to make. An undue extension of this principle, a desire to perpetuate it and to safeguard it against future inroads, these seem to me to be entirely wrong as an attitude to take up. We ought to recognise, whenever we admit this principle, that it is a lamentable necessity that compels us to do so, and we ought to look forward to the time when we should discard it in the interests of the general community. If possible, we should in admitting it make such provision for such discarding in course of time. I am very sorry, more sorry than I can tell, that in the constitution of the present Legislative Councils, these two necessary safeguards were at first ignored. We have admitted this principle without qualification. It has had the evil effects which might have been anticipated. It has led the favoured community from time to time to demand its extension in aggravated forms into departments where it is not only illegitimate, but bound to be pernicious in its results. We have had demands made that it should be introduced into the constitution of local boards and municipalities. We have had demands, emphasized to-day all too strongly, that it should be admitted as a righteous, as a sound principle even in education. My Lord, I know of no department of human activity which should be kept sacred from the infection of this principle as education. I will admit it in the case of the Dacca University as an inevitable necessity, and I would ask the Council whether the limitations recommended by the Calcutta

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University are not reasonable in themselves. They submit to the necessity; they would admit the principle of communal representation, but they ask that the necessity should be examined at the end of ten years; if it is considered still a matter of expediency, continue it. If, however, as we all hope and trust, the Mohamedan community have shaken off their diffidence in the meantime, this principle should be abandoned altogether in the future composition of the Dacca University. I think, your Excellency, that that is a consideration which should be borne in mind. Besides, they recommend that if communal representatives should be chosen, it is best that they should be chosen by mixed electorates and not merely by separate electorates. That, again, is a principle worthy of consideration. Your Excellency, I feel rather strongly on this subject. I feel that much mischief has been done, which if we had only observed these two safeguards in the beginning, would have been avoided, and I cannot but recall with sadness to this Council a Resolution passed by a non-Brahmin federation in Madras some years ago in solemn meeting assembled, to the effect that the principle of communal separation should be carried to this extent, that educational establishments, all colleges and schools of every grade, from the collegiate to the elementary, should be communal: separate schools for Brahmins, separate schools for non-Brahmins, each community to be taught by teachers of their own community. That is the kind of thing to which this leads, and want of timely precautions is likely to land us in similar difficulties. I would, therefore, solemnly entreat the Members of the Government of India and their official advisers, you who know the difference between the national and the sectarian spirit, you who know how to work a constitution and will realise how the sectarian spirit, if allowed to roam unchecked, will choke off and kill the national spirit, you ought to help us in putting these safeguards on an admittedly evil principle which is to be introduced into the education of this country.

“ Now there is a second point of capital importance to be borne in mind in considering the Dacca University scheme. That is the principle of what is called academic freedom, the liberty of the University authorities to arrange their own affairs, to establish curricula, to promote students from stage to stage and in fact govern the internal affairs of the University according to their own convictions. This principle is recognised everywhere. In India, however, its recognition has been very slow and fitful. We seemed in the case of the Patna University to have shaken off this principle of official subordination of the University to the Government of the Province; we seemed for the moment to have shaken it off. But I am afraid the Dacca University scheme resiles altogether from that advanced position and puts us backward to a situation which I can only recall as having existed before the Universities Act of 1904. We are now face to face with a constitution in which officials and official nominees predominate in every agency of administration of this University. Look at the Court, look at the Executive Council. The Court particularly, which is the supreme authority of the University, is entirely dominated by officials and official nominees. Now that seems to me to be entirely inimical to the principle of academic freedom. No University, your Excellency, can function on the highest plane, yielding benefits of the first quality unless the professors there have perfect freedom to regulate internal affairs as to them may seem fit and proper. It is political considerations, which too often have prevailed in India, which have induced the Governments of the Provinces to control University functions. Now these political considerations must be of diminishing importance in this country in educational matters, and, I think, the time has arrived when in instituting a unitary and teaching University for the first time—Patna was only mixed and the Hindu University was sectional—on a national scale, we should recognize also what is the very life-breath of academic independence, namely, the right of the University authorities to regulate their own affairs as they please. You will find not only in the personnel of the Committees, but in the distribution of powers also, the balance always reposes in the officials. The Visitor as supervising authority is

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empowered to inspect and to have anything which he considers wrong examined. That in itself is a distinct and, if I may say so, a very useful provision, calculated if anything goes seriously wrong, speedily to set it right. But not content with that, we proceed to invest the Chancellor, who is the Governor of the Province, with enormous powers at every stage. The Chancellor appoints the Vice-Chancellor, and the Vice-Chancellor is the very pivot of the whole scheme, having in his hands the substance of every conceivable power.

“Putting all this aside, I wish to ask you to examine the way in which professors are to be appointed, professors on whose quality, on whose independence, on whose spirit of free research, the whole efficiency of a University should depend. Now, how are the professors to be appointed? A glance at clause 18 of the Bill ought to fill any one with serious misgivings. Now, what does clause 18 say? It says ‘that not less than a third of the professors should be appointed in England by means of a special board to be constituted.’ Now I am one of those who believe most sincerely, your Excellency, that Indian education stands to gain at every turn by the infusion of men of first-rate talent from all parts of the world, and not merely from the United Kingdom. We want experts of quality from every country which can afford to spare them for us. We welcome them; we will pay them any terms that may appear proper, but we do not want to be tied down. It is very wrong to tie us down to any particular source of recruitment and to say that a certain proportion shall be recruited in such and such a manner. But that is not all. There is worse and worse to follow in that clause. We are told that to this Advisory Board there should be appointed five people, only two by the Academic Council in Dacca and the remaining three by the Secretary of State. Then, when the Board so constituted, gives advice as to the appointment of professors, that advice is not to be treated as advice usually is, that is taken or rejected as the appointing authority may please, but in cases where the University authority does not accept it, the matter has got to be referred to the Chancellor who may finally throw the decision on the Secretary of State. That means that the Secretary of State and the Chancellor have the deciding voice as to the choice of all the professors under this clause. I think, your Excellency, it is a principle of exceeding danger. I hope the Select Committee will watch very minutely the wording of this clause when they come to examine it and put it on a proper basis. The only basis on which it can rest is that the University authorities must have freedom to choose their professors from all parts of the world and on any terms that they may choose to offer. It will not do to tie them down.

“A word, your Excellency, may not be out of place in connection with the appointment of professors, for I attach the greatest weight to this. Some time ago I remember the late Mr. Gokhale complained in this very Council of the recent deterioration in the quality of the professors imported from the West; but Mr. Gokhale might be a prejudiced judge. On the same occasion—it was many years ago and I doubt whether any of the officials were here at the time, I was not but I read a report of the proceedings at the time—a gentleman who had held the office of principal of one of the Government Colleges in Madras and subsequently rose to the high office of Director of Public Instruction for a time, speaking officially in this very Council during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, gave expression to the view that for some years past the choice of the Secretary of State to professorships in India had tended to deteriorate the quality of professors. Now I know as a matter of fact that complaint is very general all over India. You will find it deplored by Indians that when in this Council we determine salaries and tenures and conditions, we do so on the footing that the men imported will be the very first men available and that they will be of the soundest quality, men to whom any terms might be offered and not be excessive. In the event, however, it turns out that we get men not of that quality but of much inferior quality. But we pay them exceedingly high salaries and we make them a burden to the poor Indian taxpayer who does not get a sufficient return for the money, which he spends on these costly professorships statutorily provided for

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in Acts of Incorporation. The matter does require the attention of the Select Committee on the Bill, and I strongly commend this particular aspect of the Bill to their attention."

12-57 P.M.

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma :—"My Lord, if I rise to speak on this Bill it is because the community to which I belong, the Andhra community, is particularly interested in a correct solution of the University problem as enunciated in this University Bill. Our condition in Madras is almost analogous to the condition of the Muhammadans in East Bengal. Our population under the Madras University is about 22 or 23 millions, exactly the same as that of the Muhammadans in East Bengal. Our position in the Senate, our position in the Syndicate, is almost exactly the same as that of the Muhammadans in the Calcutta University, almost negligible. Our students find great difficulty in obtaining admission to the Madras Colleges just as the Muhammadan students found difficulty, I suppose, in finding admission to some of the Calcutta Colleges. Therefore, my Lord, we have been pressing for a University for the Andhra districts, and we were referred by the Director of Public Instruction to this Imperial Council for a determination of that problem. I am only mentioning that for the purpose of showing that if I rise to speak, it is because I am particularly interested in the matter and my Moslem friends will forgive me if I differ from them on some fundamental questions, because although I feel that our sectional interests may be temporarily improved by the acceptance of the principle involved in this Bill, still, I think, I should be guilty of dishonesty to myself and to the community if I for one moment give my adherence to principles which would be disastrous to the nationhood of India in the future.

"My Lord, before I proceed to that question, may I be permitted to say one thing with regard to the composition of the Select Committee, and I hope before we rise this afternoon the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi will tell us exactly the principle governing the constitution of this Select Committee. I mention that for this reason, my Lord, that, under the Reform Scheme, University legislation in future is to be with the Government of India, and non-official members from all over India would be responsible for any scheme which may pass through this Council. I know that this particular Bill is one which appertains to Bengal and East Bengal, and it is therefore properly competent for Bengali members to decide in the Select Committee as to what suits them best. Still, when the Bill is passed into law, it will go out with the authority of the whole Council, and we shall have similar difficulties facing us whenever a new University scheme is placed before us.

"That is the reason why, my Lord, I hope that the Hon'ble Member will see his way to put some sound educationists from other Provinces on this Select Committee. I speak with the greater freedom because although I was connected with education many years ago, I cannot profess to be an educationist and consequently I am disinterested in making this suggestion. My Lord, I may submit that it is absolutely necessary that this Bill should be examined from the standpoint of educationists all over India in order that we may have right principles enacted in the Bill, and I allude for one minute to this fact because the Director of Public Instruction from Madras in his note distinctly says that under clause 36 it is possible for the Dacca University not to recognise examinations in other Universities. Sub-clause (4) of that clause runs—

'The University shall not, save with the previous sanction of the Governor General in Council, recognise (for the purposes of admission to a course of study for a degree) as equivalent to its own degree any degree conferred by any other University or as equivalent to the Intermediate Examination of an Indian University any examination conducted by any other authority.'

So there are various matters in this Bill in which other Universities are deeply interested, and I hope, therefore, that notwithstanding the fact that Bengal is peculiarly interested in this, other educationists will be put on the committee.

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“Then, my Lord, to come to this question of communal representation about which the Hon'ble Nawab Ali Chaudhuri feels so deeply interested, may I be permitted to say that, though I am interested in the principle of communal representation being accepted in the interests of my community, I implore him not to ask for any extension, and, if possible, to see his way to giving up the provision in the Statutes. I know that it is hopeless to indulge in any expectation that the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal will give up what has been conceded to them in the Statutes and in the Bill, but I think it is my duty to point out that if this matter is to be taken as a peculiarly Bengalee one, we in this Council may draw up a skeleton Bill, approve of it and give the Bengal Government power to adjust matters in any way they choose, make it a peculiarly Bengal matter, but I hope that this Council composed of representatives from all provinces will not take upon themselves the responsibility of enunciating principles of action which would be detrimental to the future interests of the country. I was shocked to find that the mania of communal representation goes so far as to suggest that care should be taken that a proportion should be Muhammadan teachers necessarily. My Lord, I can see the necessity, especially in Dacca and East Bengal, of appointing efficient Muhammadan teachers wherever they can be found. But I am hoping for the dawn of the day when the object of the Indian Universities would be to give their Alumni the best world culture that is possible, to make young men realise that they are not merely Hindus, or Muhammadans, or Indians, but citizens of the world, to feed the humanitarian instinct in them and strengthen it; it is for that that we send boys to Universities for higher education. It is not in the hope that they may emerge therefrom staunch Muhammadans, staunch Bengalis or staunch Indians, but we want there should emerge from these Universities citizens of the world, having world interests at large in their hearts, and I hope therefore that when this, the first teaching and residential University of India is going to be inaugurated under your Excellency's auspices, such a pernicious doctrine will not be allowed to find a place in the Statute-book.

“My Lord, a complaint was made that several Faculties were not included in this Bill. I sympathise deeply because fortunately I am also interested in the subject; but I take it that there is nothing to prevent it if the Bengal Provincial Government has funds to institute these Faculties and develop them; there will be nothing to prevent the institution of the Faculties next year; and I therefore think that that criticism is not of very much force or validity.

“But another remark that was made by my Hon'ble friend Nawab Ali Chaudhuri deeply interests me, and that is, as to whether your Excellency's Government cannot, having regard to the extensive population of Bengal, give Dacca the chance of being not only a teaching University, but also being for some purposes an affiliating University. I say that because we are exactly in the same position, we have a distinct language of our own; we have to make provision for the education of about 20 million people, and we cannot, therefore, be content with a teaching University exclusively located in a particular district or particular area; we are deeply interested in seeing that this problem is solved on right lines in Dacca. I therefore hope that the Select Committee would examine, if possible, as to whether there is any chance of making this University somewhat analogous to the Patna University in its constitution without fundamentally interfering with the essential functions which are to be exercised by a teaching University.

“Then, my Lord, a word about finance would have greatly interested me because I am deeply interested in the Universities of the future which will have to be started throughout India knowing where they would be financially. Of course if this expenditure is to be met from the Provincial Government's revenues and the Government of India are not going to undertake the burden, then certainly I have nothing to say; but I hope to hear something as to whether the Government of India would in some form through the land-revenue head or some other head treat this as a generous gift and, I was hoping that something

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might be done in order that similar claims might be advanced by us, but I was disappointed. I hope, therefore, that the Hon'ble Member will tell us something about the financing of this scheme; no scheme can be sound unless it is based upon sound finance, and I am sure the Government take it that when they introduced this Bill the necessary financial provision would be made by the Government concerned."

1-3 P.M.

The Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Wacha:—"Your Excellency, I heartily agree with the very sound views expressed by my Hon'ble friends Mr. Surendranath Banerjea and Mr. Sastri and also by Mr. Sarma. I think their reasons are very sound. I am afraid my Muhammadan friends here are too narrow-minded. They do not understand what are the true functions of a University. On my part I take it that a University is a great temple of learning, a temple of learning where on its doors is inscribed 'No sectarianism. No one who entertains sectarian views shall enter here.' But what do you find here? You find particularly that the Muhammadan community desire to introduce sectarianism again in the new University. Sectarianism has been partly introduced in political matters for the sake of expediency; but that is no reason why in a temple of learning like a University such a thing should be expedient or essential. I am therefore strongly against any of those denominational matters being introduced in the Bill which is before us, but which have been objected to by Mr. Surendranath Banerjea and Mr. Sarma.

"I take it for granted that a University is a University, a seat of learning where there is freedom of thought; and freedom of thought does not recognise Hinduism or Muhammadanism, or Christianity or Judaism, or any otherism. It is broad-minded, it is unsectarian; it is universal in its scope; the very word 'University' means that there should be imparted universal knowledge which has no reference to either race or creed or any form of belief. Therefore, my Lord, why at this stage, particularly in this twentieth century, when we see Europe herself has in fact completely outgrown the types of mediæval Universities that flourished long ago, should we, Indians, who are now taking models from the greatest of the modern Universities in England and Europe and America try to re-establish principles for our new Universities which are really pernicious. Let us have in India Universities with nothing sectarian about them at all. The Dacca University Bill has a great deal of it and so far as the scheme has been propounded by the Hon'ble Member in charge of Education, I cannot give my adhesion to a University of this character. In fact, I shall oppose it. I think in the interests of India there should be no University with a constitution of this character at all. I appeal to my Muhammadan friends in this matter and urge them earnestly to proscribesectionarianism. I say let them dismiss from their minds all questions of sectarianism. In a seat of learning there should be no Muhammadanism, no Hinduism, no Christianity, no Hebraism, nothing but broad intellectual all-pervading freedom and thought. In fact there should be no questions of race or creed in their minds when they propose to establish a University of the best modern type. With these words I beg to oppose the scheme as it now stands."

[At this stage the Council adjourned for Lunch.]

2-33 P.M.

The Hon'ble Rai Sitanath Ray Bahadur:—"My Lord, while supporting the principle of the Bill intended to establish a University at Dacca, I beg to associate myself wholeheartedly with what has fallen from the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri about the pernicious effects of communal representation, even in the sacred cause of education. As a resident of Dacca I beg to enter my emphatic protest against the principle. Whatever may be urged in favour of communal representation in other spheres of activity and in political matters, there is hardly any room for it—as so aptly expressed by my esteemed friend Sir Dinshaw Wacha—in the temple of education, in matters intended to promote education. I cannot understand why there should be a separate

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Advisory Board for Muhammadans, while no such Board should be allowed in the case of Hindus.

“ My Muhammadan friends would kindly excuse me if I were to say—it is pernicious that our Muhammadan brethren should continue to advance their rights of communal representation from one sphere to another till they succeed in establishing their rights in all departments and spheres. Clause 26 of the Bill before us lays down that the Muhammadan Advisory Board ‘ should concern itself with Muhammadan interests in the University.’ What special and separate interest, I ask, can our Muhammadan brethren have in a University financed by the people irrespective of caste or creed, and intended, as has been explained in the Bill, for ‘ all persons of either sex and of whatever race, creed, or class ’? In section 5, moreover, it is distinctly laid down :—

‘ It shall not be lawful for the University to adopt or impose on any person any test whatsoever of religious belief or profession in order to entitle him to be admitted thereto as a teacher or student, or to hold any office therein, or to graduate thereat, or to enjoy or exercise any privilege thereof, except where such test is specially prescribed by the Statutes, or, in respect of any particular benefaction accepted by the University, where such test is made a condition thereof by any testamentary or other instrument creating such benefaction.’

The Calcutta University, my Lord, has been in existence for, more than 65 years—the only University in the Province. There is no provision for communal representation in that University, and Hindus and Muhammedans have worked together in it in harmony for the advancement of learning. Can our Muhammadan friends cite a single instance in which that University, standing far above communal representation, has hampered the cause of Muhammadan education in United Bengal? On the contrary, we find everywhere education spreading rapidly amongst our Muhammadan friends. Even before the scheme of the Dacca University had attained maturity, the official reports disclosed the gratifying fact that Muhammadans were leaving Hindus behind them in the race for primary education. From my personal experience I can say that to-day even the poor Muhammadan cultivators in *Char* lands of Eastern Bengal make it a point to give their children a liberal University education.

“ Under the circumstances, I fail to understand the gravity of the reasons which could actuate the framers of the Bill to introduce sectarian principles in the scheme for a University at Dacca.”

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—“ My 2-38 p. 2.

Lord, I welcomed the Dacca University Bill when it was introduced and I still consider it a matter of satisfaction that the Bill has been introduced. I then pointed out that there were certain provisions which required liberalising, and I adhere to that view. I should like just briefly to draw attention to a few points which, I think, are of vital importance. The discussion to-day has shown that there is a reasonable anxiety in the minds of many friends of education that the University should be a model University. The provisions that are contained in the Bill do not exclude the modernising of the University, but probably it will have to be made clearer that it is so. For instance, when it is stated that the Faculties to be constituted shall be those of Arts, Science and Law and such other Faculties as may be prescribed by the Statute, if after science the words ‘ pure and applied ’ were put in, and if Agriculture, Commerce and Medicine were added, I think that the object of those friends who desire that the University should be a model one would be achieved.

“ I do not think at this era of the world's progress any long argument should be needed to convince the Government, the Member for Education and the Secretary of the Education Department of the justice and the reasonableness of this demand. The whole world has modernised University education and the Universities of Manchester, Sheffield and other places are what are called modern Universities. They have provided in the Charters of the several Universities that education shall be imparted not merely in Arts and Science subjects as used to be the case in the past, but that Engineering and Chemistry, Applied Science, Technology and Agriculture and Music, all these shall have sufficient

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attention paid to them. I think, my Lord, that we may safely expect that the Select Committee will, in dealing with this Bill, make this point clear. I do not think that I need say more about it because the Report of the Calcutta University Commission has dealt with this aspect of education in detail, and has pointed out the pressing necessity of making provision for such education, even at the Calcutta University. The teaching of pure science which has gone on has not been wasted, but it is time now that teaching should be provided in the application of science in a larger way than has been the case in the past. The need for engineering education is very pressing, and I agree with the Hon'ble Nawab Ali Chaudhri and other speakers that definite provision should be made for it in the Dacca University. It may be said that for these subjects the Calcutta University may be expected to make satisfactory provision, but, my Lord, the country is so large, the number of students who seek education in these various subjects will be so great that not two, but five Universities, will not suffice to meet the needs of the youth of the country in Bengal itself, and for this reason I strongly hope that the Select Committee will see their way to recommend that, as soon as events will permit, the University will be free to constitute, without any let or hindrance, without even a reference to the Chancellor, without even a reference to the Government of India, Faculties in these subjects which are of pressing practical importance. Much complaint has been made in the past against the spread of education in this country. Some people have imagined that there has been too much high education spread in this country. That shows only a regrettable ignorance of the realities of the situation. What seems to be much in evidence is a particular kind of education which does not always find a young man a useful career, and if these modern subjects of practical importance are introduced, I do not think there will be any more room left for complaints on this score. First then I hope that on the academic side, so far as enabling the University to impart instruction in modern subjects is concerned, there will be sufficient provision incorporated in the Bill before it emerges out of Select Committee. Of equal importance with this liberalising of the academic side is the liberalising of the administrative side. The Bill, as it has been drafted, does not propose to take sufficient note of the changes that are impending. Before the Reforms were in view, this Bill might have done very well in the old order of things. But this Bill will not be in keeping with the new order of things when Education is going to be a Transferred Subject, and there ought not to be so many and so rigid restraints imposed upon the University authorities as the Bill provides for. Here if anywhere there ought to be the greatest amount of freedom given to the educational authorities to do what they think best. Here if anywhere there ought to be the feeling created in the minds of those who are responsible for the administration of the University that they are trusted and that they are to do what is right, and that they are responsible to do what is needed in the interests of the country. The Government have long borne the responsibility of guiding high education and generally all education through what they consider to be sound and beneficial channels, but experience has shown that there is need for improvement, that there is need for a diversion, that there is need for a departure, and just at this time it would be a happy thing if the constitution were revised in the light of the changes that are impending. In that view I will expect that, while the University should have the honour of having the Viceroy as Visitor, the powers given to the Viceroy should be even more restricted than they are. That does not mean any want of respect for the Head of the Government; it only means that we should respect him without troubling him about the details of the administration of the University. So far as the Visitor is concerned, he has been given a great deal too much power for interference. I do not think that in the new order of things it will be desirable that the Chancellor should have the right to hear appeals against the order of any officer or authority of the University affecting any class of persons in the University. This will very seriously interfere with the efficient administration of the University. The university Court, the Academic Council should be trusted to deal justly with the claims of those whose co-operation it invites or accepts, and I think, my Lord, that this provision requires re-consideration.

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“The next item to which I shall also invite attention is the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor. I can well understand that the first Vice-Chancellor should be nominated by the Chancellor, but I do hope that the Select Committee will recommend, and the Government of India will accept the provision, that subsequent Vice-Chancellors should be elected by the Senate of the University. The Government have given us in the Patna University a much more liberal constitution than this Bill provides for, and if anything we ought to go forward and not backward from what we have established in Act XVI of 1915. There the Court elects the Vice-Chancellor, and the Court consists not merely of men who are concerned with the administration of the University, but also with the academic side. Here it may be provided that the Court and the Senate or the Court alone will elect the Vice-Chancellor. The Court will certainly contain on it the best representatives of learning and wealth and education in the Province, and there will be officials as well as non-officials, and the Court should be trusted to select the best men available to guide the affairs of the University. I will not dwell with more detail on this side of the matter, but I do hope the constitution of the University will be liberalised so that the fullest measure of freedom will be left to the academic bodies and those who have to administer the affairs of the University. I think, my Lord, at this era the restraints which have been imposed are a little out of date and ought to be abolished.

“Then there is also the question connected with it of the control which is sought to be exercised over the discretion of the University in the matter of selecting professors. Now, as the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri has pointed out, that is a very important part of the duties of the Court and here the University ought to have the fullest measure of freedom and the fullest measure of responsibility thrown upon it. Working on the principles in force in the Hindu University I have found that this is one of the most difficult and responsible tasks that fall on the University, the task of finding professors and teachers to be appointed to the University. The method that is prescribed here, I venture to say, is not suited to the altered times in which we are living. We find it more and more difficult to get men appointed in England. We have tried, as my esteemed friend the Hon'ble Mr. de la Fosse can tell the Council, to get men from England. We have sought the assistance of our best friends, official and non-official, to find suitable men to take up work for the Hindu University, and we have not always been successful, and if we find that a committee is to be appointed in England to select men for the University, there is a great danger that the right type of men will not be selected. There is also a danger that a committee there will not realise fully the conditions which obtain at Dacca, and therefore they will not be able to place themselves in the positions of the members of the academic Council and select the right men. There is also this danger, that the gentlemen who may be appointed in England by this committee may not pull on with the same sympathy and harmony with the academic Council, because there would be the idea that they held their appointments from a body outside the University, and this will, I fear, not have a satisfactory effect.

“Then there is another point which no Committee appointed in England can really understand and appreciate. The men that are available, the Indian scholars that are available, are not always inferior even to men whom we can get from England. Sometimes the possession of an English University degree indicates, no doubt, a certain amount of excellence which a particular gentleman has achieved, but not always, my Lord, and we have here a number of scholars who have done good work, who have established their reputation as teachers, and if we import a man from outside, whether he is an Indian or a European, it is a matter always of great delicacy. This consideration which is needed can best be exercised by the Academic Council who know what men they have on the staff, who know the claims and the qualifications of the men already working at the Universities for a certain number of years. They can therefore weigh the claims of the new men who have to be selected with the claims of those already on the staff, and endeavour to avoid heart-burning and complaint. Some heart-burning and complaint may be inevitable; it will not always be

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possible to avoid it altogether, but the Academic body has to do all that it can to avoid them. Therefore, I submit, that this provision that one-third of the professors should be appointed by a Committee in England is not in keeping with the altered times and circumstances, and it ought to be eliminated and the responsibility of selecting the professorial staff should be left entirely to the Academic Council of the University.

"Then I come to the question of communal representation. Now I submit that this too requires alteration. I have always felt that the desire of my Muhammadan friends of Eastern Bengal that there should be a University in Dacca was a perfectly legitimate and reasonable one. I have always fully sympathised with that desire. I wish the Dacca University had been constituted 25 years ago, and I still feel that this University ought to be made into a first class University in every sense; but I do feel that the provision for communal representation, as it has been put in in the Bill, requires re-consideration.

"Now, my Lord, the Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Wacha, the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri, the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma and several other speakers have dwelt upon this aspect of the question. Let me first tell my Muhammadan friends that they should not imagine that this is a question in which Muhammadans alone are interested. Every one of us is interested in the cause of higher education in Eastern Bengal as in every other part of India. Besides our Muhammadan friends there is a very large population which is non-Muhammadan, and they have views and sentiments, and their interests have also to be considered. Now I fully recognise that in the past our Muhammadan friends have not had that amount of representation in the Councils of the Calcutta University and in the administration in Eastern Bengal which they desire. Whether the fault lay entirely with them or with others it is not for me to go into; possibly the truth lies midway; possibly it is due to some of our Muhammadan friends not taking to English education early enough; possibly it is due to other influences working against them. I desire that that state of things should alter. I desire that our Muhammadan friends should go in for education and should have as good a chance as any one else to acquire positions of power and responsibility, and I want that they should have a full measure of representation in the Senate and the Court of the University. The only question is, how is this to be secured, whether the provision that has been made under the Act is the right provision or whether it requires modification. Now in the case of a University like the Hindu University the case is simple. It is mainly constituted by Hindus, and therefore we have no difficulty like that. It is denominational more in name than in anything else, because we admit British officers without any consideration of their religious creeds; we have Hindu, Muhammadan and Sikh students; we would welcome students from every creed and class. There is nothing denominational about it except its name and the fact that we do provide facilities for imparting religious instruction to Hindu students. In the case of Hindu students religious instruction is compulsory; it is not so in the case of non-Hindu students. But the constitution of the Hindu University stands therefore on a separate footing. When the constitution for the Aligarh University was being discussed in the draft Bill that was prepared, we had a predominantly Muhammadan constitution provided for the Aligarh University and nobody will have any cause for quarrel with the constitution of a University which has been started with the professed object of representing a particular community more than any other community. In one sense if the constitution of it predominantly represents the particular denomination one can understand that, but this is a University which is a State University and the patronage of the State ought, like sunshine and rain, to be available to the high as well as the low. It ought not to be confined to any particular branch or particular community, and I am sure that this can be provided for here. The representation that has been provided at present in the Statutes for the Court is that the number of graduates to be elected as members of the Court by the registered graduates from among their own body shall be 30, of whom 15 shall be Muhammadan graduates elected by the registered Muhammadan graduates. 'Also the number of persons to be appointed by the Chancellor under clause (xii) of

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sub-section (1) of section 17 shall be 40; provided that the Chancellor shall in making such appointments secure that, as far as possible, 50 per cent. of the non-European members of the Court shall be Muhammadans.'

"What is sought to be attained here by means of this provision ought to be achieved ordinarily in the natural course of things. If there is a large number of Muhammadan graduates, if there is a large number of Muhammadan scholars, their votes should secure a fairly large representation of Muhammadans in the Court and the Academic Council of the University. A majority of the population of Eastern Bengal is Muhammadan. One should expect that naturally there should be a large element of Muhammadans in the Court and in the Academic Council. I can well understand the objection which several friends take to the inclusion of such a provision in an academic institution. Now there are two interests which have to be reconciled in an academic institution like the Dacca University. There is first the interest that has to cater to the wants of all communities irrespective of caste and creed, irrespective of any denominational considerations. That is its first duty, particularly as it is a State University. That requires that we should get the best teachers, the best men, whom the public, I mean those who have got the franchise, think it fit to elect as members of the Court and of the Academic Council; they should come in naturally. But my Muhammadan friends would feel that they had not the assurance that Muhammadan interests will always be safeguarded and that they will not be sacrificed; and it is that need we have to consider. Now what are the interests which require safeguarding? The great thing that Muhammadans, Hindus, Christians and Parsees might concern themselves about in these institutions is the religious instruction of the youths of their particular communities. I think, my Lord, instead of making any statutory provision for having a certain number of Muhammadans elected to the Court and the Academic Council, the better course would be that there should be no such provision for the election of members to the Court and the Academic Council, but that there should be denominational committees of Muhammadans, of Hindus, of Christians, to look after the religious instruction of the youths of their communities in the Hostels which will be built there. This is a view which is not a novel view. Of course some of those present will remember that this is the view which the Education Commission, presided over by Sir William Hunter, expressed as far back as 1883-84. They said:—

'The evidence we have taken shows that in some Provinces there is a deeply-seated desire that culture and religion should not be divorced and that this desire is shared by some representatives of native thought in every Province. In Government institutions this desire cannot be gratified. The declared neutrality of the State forbids its connecting institutions directly maintained by it with any form of faith, and the other alternative of giving equal facilities in such institutions for the inculcation of all forms of faith involves practical difficulties which we believe to be insuperable.

'In Chapter VI we have shown that we are not insensible to the high value of the moral, discipline and example which Government institutions are able to afford, but we have also shown that we regard something beyond this as desirable for the formation of character and the awakening of thought.'

"Now, they felt the need of it and they recommended that Government should encourage the establishment of denominational institutions. We are dealing here not with a denominational institution, but a State institution, and for many years past the several Provincial Governments have recognised the wisdom of allowing the opening of denominational Universities to impart religious instruction in their colleges to the youth of their community. If a provision is made that there should be a Muhammadan Advisory Board to look after the religious education of the students of their community, I do not think anybody will have any objection. In fact, I think, my Lord, that such a provision should be made because I do not believe that it is desirable that there should be no provision for imparting religious instruction to the youth who go to the Universities, and that can be best entrusted to trusted members of different communities. If that is done, I do not see why there should be any necessity for having a provision for communal representation in the Act

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or the Statutes as they stand at present. There is one thing more that I would say in this connection. In an educational system above all things what we desire is harmony among teachers and students, a feeling of commonness, a common sentiment pervading teachers and students, the regard of the students for the teacher being based entirely upon the latter's ability and character and not upon his religion alone. Religion is of course one element in the formation of character; but every teacher whose co-operation is sought in a State institution ought to command the respect of his pupils by reason of his talent and character, and there should not be any bar created to his obtaining such respect by communal considerations and arrangements being imported into a University where they can be avoided. Some of us, some of my Muhammadan friends may feel deeply on the point; but, I think, I have made it clear that I am not opposed to a sufficient number of Muhammadan gentlemen being placed on the Court and the Academic Council. I expect that as a natural result, considering the state of affairs in Eastern Bengal. I expect that if my Muhammadan friends have not 50 per cent. but only 10, if there is only one who feels keenly for any injustice that may be done by the Academic body or the Court, he would be able to get a verdict in favour of that injustice being removed, and I believe that these bodies will be reasonable above all things, and, therefore, I feel that this desire that there should be no provision for communal representation, as it is provided in the proposed Bill, deserves re-consideration by Government. If, my Lord, there is one thing which all of us need, it is to make the best provision for imparting instruction to our youth. It does not matter who it is who is selected as a teacher if he is the most efficient man in the subject which he has to teach; that is what is required at present; we want to gather men of the highest character, men who will by reason of their culture create an atmosphere, a university atmosphere, and that atmosphere demands above all things, as Sir Dinshaw Wacha pointed out, that there should be universality of feeling and sentiment. Where it is essential to introduce communal arrangements as in the case of religious instruction, let us do so, let us do so without any apology; because I believe that religious instruction ought to be an integral part of the education of every youth; but where it is not necessary to do so, let us have the greatest universality of sentiment and feeling, regard for talent and character, regard for scholarship unaffected by any communal considerations or arrangements. The great danger to which the Bill exposes the Dacca University is that the provision for communal representation which it proposes will create compartments in the University, will not enable all the workers who should unite to work for the good of the motherland, who should unite to work for promoting education of the highest character among the youth of the country, it will not allow that work to be done with such harmony and good-will and zeal as they would otherwise do; and that is the danger that will be a real misfortune for the country as a whole. In the past, many of us, I am sorry to think, have quarrelled because we wanted to get professional careers for our young men, and we found that we were unable to do so; but I expect, I fully expect, that in the new order of things, if the Universities work properly, if the University modernises and different careers are provided for the youth of the country, there shall not be a Muhammadan or Hindu youth who after receiving a proper education will be in want of a proper career. I expect that if the education imparted is the right kind of education, this difficulty of finding careers for our young men will be easily solved. Therefore, I expect that in the future we shall not be so much divided with a desire to secure careers to the youths of our different communities; and as for anything else, what counts, what will count and what ought to count in an academic body like the Dacca University is scholarship and character. Communal considerations ought not to be allowed to stand in the way of scholarship and character being worshipped, being given their proper place and recognition and being enabled to make it a great centre of light and life, such as I hope the Dacca University will be. I therefore earnestly appeal to the members of the Select Committee which is going to be appointed to look at these questions in a broad light with a particular outlook

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on the future. It does not reflect any blame upon the framers of the Bill. The Bill has been framed in accordance with what seemed to be most desirable in the circumstances. But times have changed and are changing, and we want now at this juncture when the Government is going to institute this State unitary teaching and residential University, we too want that this University should be a model University in every sense of the term, and that it should make provision for imparting instruction of a practical kind to the youth who will go there, that it should in fact be a training ground for life, and if that is done I hope that all other smaller considerations which have found expression to-day in some quarters will be forgotten, and that we shall all unite in congratulating the Government and ourselves upon the establishment of a new school of light and life in the country."

The Hon'ble Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha:—“ My Lord, when 3-5 P.M. in September last my friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi, introduced the Dacca University Bill at Simla, I gave the project a cordial welcome, as I felt and still feel that it was desirable to have a University at Dacca for the benefit of the population of East Bengal. At the same time I pointed out that the provisions of the Bill, so far as I could appreciate them at a rather short notice by giving them a cursory glance, seemed to me to contain matters of a very contentious character, if not more or less objectionable. I remember that I particularly pointed out that the University seemed to me to be a body containing an overwhelming number of officials, and it also contained provision for communal representation which was a matter which required further consideration. Since then, I have had occasion to look into the Bill carefully, and I find that it contains, quite apart from those features, other aspects also which are open, in my humble opinion, to rather serious objection. While, therefore, strongly in favour of the establishment of a University at Dacca, I take this opportunity—on the motion before the Council that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee—to point out briefly those points which strike me as worthy of consideration by the Select Committee. But before I deal with these matters, I wish to refer to a statement of Mr. Sarma, who, I believe, raised the point, that the reference to the Select Committee is to one in which there is no non-official Indian representative of any province other than Bengal. All the five Indian members on the Select Committee to which the Bill has been referred come from the Province of Bengal. The view taken by Mr. Shafi evidently is that because the Dacca University is going to be located in Bengal, this is a matter for Bengal members and Bengal members alone. Now I join issue with those who hold this opinion, for although the Dacca University is to be located in Bengal, still it is a measure of great importance, on which will affect in various ways other Universities to be established in future in other parts of the country. It, therefore, seems to me desirable to secure the advantage of having representatives on the Select Committee from other Provinces also, especially men who are distinguished educationists. There is my esteemed friend the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri, who is known to be a great educationist; then there is the Hon'ble Pandit Malaviya, who is the Vice-Chancellor of the Hindu University of Benares. They would both certainly add to the efficiency of the Committee. I, therefore, hope that the Hon'ble the Education Member will accept the suggestion that the Committee be added to by having on it representatives of other Provinces, especially persons who are educationists.

“ Now, my Lord, coming to the Bill, what surprises me is that there are to be but three Faculties in it—Arts, Science and Law. There is to be no Faculty of Agriculture, or Technology or Engineering. Then in the constitution of its Court I find that a very large number of officials are to be *ex-officio* members. I find, for instance, there the Commissioner, presumably of the Dacca Division, then the Collector, the Sessions Judge, the Director of Agriculture, the Civil Surgeon of Dacca, the Superintending Engineer, the Chairman of the Dacca Municipality, the Inspector of Schools, the Inspectress of Girls' Schools and many other officials who are to be *ex-officio* members of the Court. I confess

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it surprises me what justification there can be to put in all these gentlemen and a gentlewoman as *ex-officio* members of the Court. I hope the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi will explain the desirability of having this large number of *ex-officio* members, when he comes to reply on behalf of Government. There is so far as I can see complete officialism of the Court, which is inconsistent with the autonomous character of the scheme that was claimed for it by Mr. Shafi in September last. The Patna University of which I was a Fellow, contains provision for the election of 65 members out of 90, only 25 being Government nominees. I do not see why a similar provision should not be introduced into the Dacca University Bill. Then, my Lord, I believe the provisions embodied in sections 17 and 18 of the Statutes are open to serious criticism. Reference has been made to this already, but the matter is of such great importance, that I must bespeak the indulgence of the Council in referring to it again. I find that so far as the Professorships are concerned, one-third of the appointments are completely taken out of the hands of the University and are vested in a Board to be constituted in England, of the five members of which only two are to be the nominees of the University and the other three are to be the nominees of the Secretary of State! This is a most extraordinary proposition and a very serious feature of the Bill. I should like to know if the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi can refer us to any similar provision in the constitution of any University in India or elsewhere, where one-third of the Professors are to be appointed by a Board in the United Kingdom, three of whom are the nominees of the Secretary of State and only two are appointed by the University! We have the further objectionable feature that if the recommendation of this Board is not accepted by the Executive Council of the University, then the whole thing is taken out of the hands of that body and vested in the hands of the Chancellor, who may appoint the Professors himself or refer the matter to the Secretary of State! As regards the remaining two-thirds of the Professors, provision is made that they will be appointed by a Committee consisting of the Vice-Chancellor, three members of the University and four nominees of the Governor of Bengal. The body will thus consist of eight persons, four of whom only are to be members of the University and the other four outsiders. Here again, I cannot appreciate the principle underlying a body of this character, half consisting of members of the University staff and the other half outsiders, to choose two-thirds of the teaching staff of the University! These are very serious objections which I hope the Select Committee will consider very carefully.

“ Then, my Lord, there is the very controversial question of communal representation which obtrudes itself very prominently throughout this Bill, and, in my humble opinion, in a very undesirable way at any rate to an extent to which I have not been used to see in educational institutions. Not only is it in regard to Muhammadans, but, as I pointed out at Simla in September last, it affects also the Hindus, though to a smaller extent; for I find as regards the constitution of this committee the following laid down:— ‘ Provided that should a committee so constituted not include both a Hindu and a Muhammadan member, the Chancellor shall nominate an additional Hindu or Muhammadan member or both, as the case may be.’ Now that is carrying communal representation further than I have been accustomed to find in educational institutions. I quite appreciate the difficulties of our Moslem fellow-countrymen in the matter of communal representation. I have been intimately in touch with this aspect of the problem for many years. As President of the Bihar Provincial Conference, so far back as 1909, when the Morley-Minto Reforms were under consideration, I induced the educated classes in Bihar to accept the principle of communal representation as a matter of expediency, so far as representation on the Councils was concerned; but to introduce it into educational institutions seems to me to be carrying it beyond legitimate limits. When I asked for information on the point at Simla, last September, I received, if I may say so without offence, no satisfactory answer. The Hon'ble Member for Education but referred me to the Report of the Calcutta University Commission! I have great respect for the University Commission but when we are asked to give our assent in this Council to a Bill of the character now before us, we are bound to examine the question with the greatest

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care and we are not to be fettered in our decision by the opinions of even such an august body as the University Commission. I hope this Bill will emerge from the Select Committee in such a form that, while giving adequate representation to Muhammadans in Eastern Bengal, it will be shorn of its obtruding objectionable features of communal representation. I am sorry that my Hon'ble friend Khan Bahadur Ebrahim Haroon Jaffer is not here. I wish he was. I deprecate the spirit which he introduced when he read out something in a stentorian voice and gave us a warning that if we did not listen to it there would be trouble ahead. I protest against language of that sort. I am strongly in favour of the adequate representation of Muhammadans in the Dacca University, but it is no use talking in the way in which my friend did. It is wrong to say that communal representation is a matter of vested rights of Muhammadans in even Universities, and I maintain that such language is not desirable in discussing educational problems here. I hope the Select Committee will give the Muhammadans the fullest representation consistent with educational interests, but will so remove the objectionable features of the Bill as to make it acceptable to all sections of the people, irrespective of their being Muhammadans or Hindus in Eastern Bengal."

The Hon'ble Sir Zulfikar Ali Khan:—" My Lord, I rise to ^{8-20 P.M.} give my whole-hearted support to the principles of the Bill based as they are on the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission. I had no idea of speaking to-day in Council, but as I saw that some of the members attacked the arrangement made for communal representation, I thought it was time for me to speak on this subject.

" My Hon'ble friend Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea, it seems to me, sounded the alarm. He said that in these days of harmony and good-will it was inappropriate, nay inexpedient to make such arrangements as things were so composing themselves as to remove all necessity of communal representation at once. I am sure, my Lord, he is not unaware of the fact that in Bengal out of 100 members of the Senate, there are only 7 Muhammadans, and this in a Province where the Muhammadans are in a majority; we are suffering from the same evil in the Punjab, and in spite of our repeated representations to Government we have not been able to get our due share. I cannot understand how those Hon'ble Members with a sense of responsibility to the Government and to the country can say under these circumstances that communal representation is not wanted.

"The Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Wacha in his speech created quite a classical atmosphere in this Council by saying that this temple of learning was such as not to need the introduction of any sectarian principle. I quite admire his sentiment, but we must study the actual situation. The pantheon of learning which he contemplates may have the Gods of all communities, but that of the Muhammadans . . .

The Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri:—" How many Gods are there? There is only one God."

The Hon'ble Sir Zulfikar Ali Khan:—" We believe in one God. I believe, while contemplating this state of affairs, he expects us to admire the building from outside and not to enter the pantheon and worship there. He perhaps expects us to look at this fine building, but with the inner management, he says, we may have nothing to do, he can very well manage it himself in co-operation with others, but the Muhammadans may rest assured that their own affairs will be managed quite as well without . . .

The Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Wacha:—" I am afraid my friend is entirely under a misapprehension. I never said anything of the kind."

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The Hon'ble Sir Zulfikar Ali Khan:—"That was the conclusion I drew from his speech, and if I have been mistaken I shall not dilate on it.

"There is one thing, my Lord, which these people who attack communal representation must keep in view, and it is this, that while they wish to create friendliness and harmony, they are by their proposals creating exactly the opposite effect. It is this communal representation which will remove all chances of friction, and if this is not done, then there will be perpetual heart-burning and want of friendliness. I cannot understand how this point of view is lost sight of.

"The Hon'ble Mr. Sastri and the Hon'ble Mr. Chanda in their speeches quite wisely admitted that this was an inevitable need, in fact they saw that it should be recognised. I think this is the kind of sentiment which would have the harmonising effect rather than the one which is sounded by others. I hope that in such communal matters my Hon'ble colleagues will not deliberately minimise the disabilities which the Muhammadans have in the matter of communal representation.

"My Lord, my Hon'ble friend Pandit Malaviya also took part in the general attack on this question of communal representation. He said that this University was a kind of God's light which should shed its rays on every one. I quite agree with him, but then would not the Muhammadans have a place under the sun? Would they not have a ray cast on their side; would they be left in darkness? I quite see that he shakes his head and wishes perhaps that there was no such meaning in his words, but I wish he had not taken objection to communal representation. With these words, my Lord, I whole-heartedly support the motion before the Council."

3-28 P.M.

The Hon'ble Mr. G. S. Khaparde:—"My Lord, this Bill has given rise to a discussion which has taken me by surprise. The Bill by itself has got 47 sections with Schedules. It is fairly complete, in fact it is something more than that. I myself thought it did not require a very large or extensive Code. Personally, I look upon the University as an association of learned people sitting together for devising means for educating people and for giving instruction in the best way possible. For that purpose we do not require a very elaborate Code to tell the learned people how to teach. I believe those people know how to teach and how to learn, and all the regulations that we make are merely for the purpose of laying down certain lines on which to teach. However, unfortunately this subject has given rise to so much discussion about communal representation. As I myself thought, when learned people sit together to consider how best to impart instruction, there is no communal question in that at all. Everybody is occupied primarily with the consideration of the question as to how best to instruct the young people so that they may become learned men themselves. If that is the idea, I do not see that communal representation has anything to do with this subject."

"With due respect to all my Hon'ble colleagues who have spoken before me, I myself think that the question of communal representation is irrelevant to the present question. The present question is, how we shall best teach our young people, how best we shall qualify them for their duties in life and make good citizens out of them. If that is so I think all communities have got the same interests, and if more seats are given to one community than another, I, for one, do not feel disposed to quarrel about it or make any disturbance about it. The best people there are, irrespective of what their caste or creed or colour is, should devise means to teach the young people, and that is all there is to it. And for that purpose we do not require so many elaborate rules, and I say again with great deference to my learned and Hon'ble colleagues that this question of communal representation is really irrelevant. I further wish to submit one more consideration and that is that, as far as possible, this body of learned men who may be called the Senate or the whole University put together, should be independent, and no one should be above them or dictate to them from outside. They will sit together and they will devise means as to

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how to deal with their young people. Why should we or anybody presume to dictate to them and tell them they should do things in this way or that way and choose their teachers from one particular place or another? All that I believe to be a little outside the question myself. Why should not all these learned people sitting together say, 'We know our population, we know our children and how to select our teachers, and will select the best men for them?' Similarly, about the other regulations that there are. They appear to be too many, and I hope the Select Committee, when it sits to consider these matters, will see their way to cut out as many of them as possible.

"In regard to the Chancellor's powers and the Visitor's powers they might to my mind resemble something of the kind that used to happen in our school days, when we asked some one to come and distribute the prizes. We shall ask some one, the Chancellor, I suppose, to come and give away the degrees, and there the matter will end. If I were on the Select Committee I would vote for taking out a number of these regulations. I find the world is coming back to our old idea of teaching. The practice of one teacher teaching a large class appears to be getting out of date. Just before coming to this hall I met a gentleman who told me that Professor Huxley had introduced a system of education very much like the system we followed in India before, and that was that each student had got an individuality of his own; that each student could be taught in a particular way and the teacher should know how to adapt his method in teaching him; and there need be no rules laid down about that matter. In fact Professor Huxley, I was told, used to deliver one lecture a day, and in the afternoon he talked it over with the students and allowed them to assimilate the whole lecture and follow it when working in the laboratory, and while the children were playing and enjoying themselves they were unconsciously assimilating all the learning given to them in the morning. That was the old way of teaching in India, and I expect we shall come very near to it, and when we do all these questions of communal representation and regulations will become a good deal out of date. The system which has been devised makes a closer approach to our Indian method than anything else, and I expect every school will have a teacher to itself who will look after it, and the whole thing will end there.

"These are considerations which I wish to submit, and I hope our Select Committee will consider these matters and see their way to simplify things and remove all these complicated regulations. It reminds me of the debates we used to have in our college days when some of us were protectionists and some free traders and held forth from each political point of view, and took up a good deal of time and produced many arguments, but this war has set them all at rest, and in what used to be the home of free trade we now find protectionist ideas prevailing" . . .

The President :—"Order, order, the Hon'ble Member really must not go into the distinctions between protection and free trade. We have had many discursive arguments brought forward. He must confine himself to the Dacca University Bill which is being referred to a Select Committee."

The Hon'ble Mr. G. S. Khaparde :—"Your Excellency, what I submit is that people act according to circumstances, and though communal representation is now being objected to, circumstances may arise in which it will be thought necessary, and those gentlemen who now argue against it may adopt it. Similarly, those who speak for communal representation will one day themselves say 'We do not want communal representation, we prefer to be along with the rest.' So my point is that we need not lay stress on communal representation and on these rules and regulations, but simplify them and adapt them as circumstances change. I agree with my Hon'ble friend Pandit Malaviya that the world is changing and ideas of education are also changing, and therefore we should make our rules more elastic, so that things can be included as circumstances arise. These are the submissions I wish to make for the information of the Select Committee."

[*Khan Sahib Shah Nawaz Bhutto; Mr. Shafi.*] [11TH FEBRUARY, 1920]

3-37 P.M.

The Hon'ble Khan Sahib Shah Nawaz Bhutto:—" My Lord, I had no mind to-day to speak on this motion, but circumstances have forced me to give my own experience of my Province to this Council to judge whether the Mohammadans, who are generally known to be very liberal and broad-minded, could be accused of narrowmindedness in this case. In my Province over 80 per cent. of the population are Mohammadans and all of them are agriculturists, and they mostly bear the cost of education there, but it will be found in Government High Schools that not more than 5 per cent. of the boys are Mohammadans. The teachers and educational authorities are almost all Hindu gentlemen, and we Mohammadans are forced to start special Madrassah for the education of our children. What is the cause of this I leave to my Hindu friends to consider themselves. With these few words and agreeing with the suggestions of the Hon'ble Nawab Ali Chaudhri, I support the motion."

3-38 P.M.

The Hon'ble Mr. Shafi:—" My Lord, the points raised in the various speeches to which we have had the pleasure of listening to-day can be divided into two categories. In the first category come two points of principle, that is to say, the question of communal representation and of the power of affiliation raised by the Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea and the Hon'ble Nawab Ali Chaudhri. In the second category fall certain proposals and suggestions made by various Hon'ble Members, such as the creation of additional Faculties, reduction of the official element, method of selection of professors and so on, which according to the views of the Hon'ble Members who have put forward these proposals and suggestions are calculated to improve the Bill.

" Now as regards matters falling under the second category I have to say only this. I have not the slightest doubt that these various points raised by Hon'ble Members will receive careful consideration at the hands of the Select Committee. It would be naturally premature for me at this stage, speaking on behalf of the Government, to commit myself to any of these proposals, but Hon'ble Members may rest assured that the Government will give very careful consideration to the proposals which have actually been put forward.

" Coming now to the two questions of principle and taking up the question of communal representation, first of all, I confess I have been somewhat surprised to-day to find this question raised in connection with the Dacca University Bill. I should have thought that in these days of Hindu-Moslem unity, when so much is being said from the public platforms and in the public press about Hindu-Moslem unity, that my Hindu friends would have been charitable enough not to grudge to the poor Moslem community of East Bengal, backward as they are in education, a little special representation on the managing bodies of the Dacca University. I am surprised also because, my Lord, this objection has come from the lips of five or six Hon'ble Members of this Council, who, I find, or rather the majority of whom, I find, were signatories to what has been characterised as 'the historical memorandum of the immortal 19.' Moreover, I find that the majority of these members were parties to the Moslem League National Congress compact which recognised the principle of communal representation in the constitution of bodies of a higher importance than the Senate of a University. I further find that most of these Hon'ble Members were consenting parties to the creation of a communal University, the Benares Hindu University, and one of the Hon'ble Members who has waxed so eloquent against communal representation is the Vice Chancellor of that University. But says my Hon'ble friend, his University is not a communal University; the doors of that University are open to students belonging to all classes. But may I invite my Hon'ble friend's attention and the attention of this Council to section 9, clause (2) of the Benares University Act. This is how that clause runs:—

' Save in the case of the first court no person not being a Hindu shall become or be appointed a member of the court.'

" My Lord, if Universities are sacred temples which ought to be open to all classes and creeds in this country, why does this provision in the Benares Hindu

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University Act, exclude from the management of this temple members of every other class of His Majesty's subjects except my Hindu brethren. My Lord, it seems to me that it does not lie in the mouth of people who are advocates of the creation of communal Universities to come forward and say no special representation on behalf of this backward community can legitimately be incorporated in a legislative enactment.

"Then, my Lord, we find further that the objection . . .

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"May I explain, my Lord? I pointed out that the Benares Hindu University stood in a different position from a State University. In the draft Aligarh University Bill there was a provision like that and we incorporated it into the Benares Hindu University Bill. But it is a denominational University which has made that provision. Here, however, we are dealing with a State University which looks to the State for funds. The Hindu University has received its funds from Hindu donors. This University, I understand, is to be supported by the State and I have said there ought to be general representation."

The Hon'ble Mr. Shafi:—"Is that an explanation or another speech?"

"Now, my Lord, the reply to the remarks made by my Hon'ble friend just now is a very simple one, and it is two-fold. Firstly, my learned friend says because such a provision was found by him and his co-workers in the draft of the Moslem University, therefore they simply took that provision from the Moslem University draft Bill. Well, if my friend was so sincerely and honestly convinced of the pernicious nature of communal representation in University matters, then, if the Moslem community were so foolish as to adopt this pernicious rule, it did not follow that wiser men like the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and his co-workers should have adopted this mistake of the backward Moslem community. In the second place, my learned friend forgets that his University is a Government-aided University; that the Government of India subscribe towards the maintenance of that University the sum of one lakh of rupees every year. He forgets that every now and then he is coming up to the Government of India asking for large grants from the public exchequer . . .

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya here interjected some remarks which were inaudible.

The Hon'ble Mr. Shafi:—"I would, my Lord, invite your Lordship's attention to the undesirability of these constant interruptions. If my learned friend has a point of order to raise or a personal explanation to offer I will sit down and make room for him, but I will not have him interrupt me in this fashion at every other sentence that I utter.

"My Lord, I was going to point out that the attitude adopted by these five or six Hon'ble Members is entirely opposed to the unanimous recommendation of the Calcutta University Commission. And in that connection it must be remembered that the Calcutta University Commission was, in the language which has been used by your Excellency, educationally perhaps the strongest Commission ever appointed in this country. The majority of the members of this Commission were non-official European educationists who certainly cannot be accused of having had any communal predilections in favour of either the one community or the other, and the Indian members of this Commission were two representatives of the two main communities of India, one the foremost Hindu educationist of Bengal, Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, and the other Dr. Zia-ud-din, Principal of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh. Now I appeal from the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjee to the Hon'ble Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, who has signed this unanimous recommendation of the Calcutta University Commission

in favour of communal representation in favour of special representation of Muhammedans in East Bengal. No doubt my Hon'ble friend is a great political leader, I daresay he has had something to do with a certain college in Calcutta of which he was proprietor or part proprietor, but I for one would ask Hon'ble Members in this Council to accept the verdict, in connection with this question of communal representation, of the Hon'ble Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee rather than of my Hon'ble and venerable friend.

"Then, my Lord, the opinion which has been expressed by these half a dozen Hon'ble Members is opposed to the opinion of the Calcutta University itself. Hon'ble Members will remember that the Senate of the Calcutta University has recognized the necessity of making special provision for the representation of Muhammadan interests in East Bengal on the various bodies of the Dacca University, but they have tacked on to this opinion of theirs a proviso that this representation should continue to exist for the next ten years and on the expiry of that period this question should be re-considered.

"Then, my Lord, may I point out that the opinion of these half a dozen Hon'ble Members is also opposed to the opinion of my Hon'ble friend whose experience in education is certainly equal to that of any one of them, I mean the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri, who has recognized that in the case of the Dacca University Bill this is an inevitable necessity, and to the opinion of the Hon'ble Mr. Ohanda whose province, it must be remembered, was not very long ago a part of the province of East Bengal, and, therefore, he is in a position to know the sentiments and the feelings of the people of that part of the country much better than any of the Hon'ble Members who have spoken against communal representation. He too recognises that it is not only necessary but also advisable that there should be special Muhammadan representation, and above all, my Lord, let me inform my Hon'ble friends that when I was in Dacca the representative Hindu deputation which came to interview me frankly and very generously recognised before me that there was need for special representation of their backward Muhammadan brethren on the various governing bodies of the University. It seems to me, my Lord, that nothing further need be said on this question. The Government of India have made it a guiding principle of their action in connection with the framing of this Bill that the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission, so far as the main principles laid down by them are concerned, are to be followed and as this is one of the main principles laid down by the Calcutta University Commission, the Government of India are not prepared to concede to the minority who have put forward their views against communal representation.

"The second question of principle which has been raised by the Hon'ble Syed Nawab Ali Ohaudhri is the question which relates to the creation of a power of affiliation of mufassal colleges in the proposed Dacca University. Now, my Lord, that again is a question which has been finally settled by the Calcutta University Commission. They have laid down that this University is to be a unitary teaching and residential University, without power of affiliating mufassal colleges, and the Government of India have accepted that principle and are not prepared to depart from it. Inconveniences there may be in the absence of such a power in the case of the Dacca University; but my Hon'ble friend must remember that inconveniences are inevitable in a transitional stage, and we are in a transitional stage in so far as the future expansion of higher education in Bengal is concerned. But a time will come when the ultimate goal laid down by the Calcutta University Commission will have been reached and a number of Universities, residential, unitary and teaching Universities, will have been created in different educational centres in Bengal with the result that the inconveniences which my Hon'ble friend is thinking of will *ipso facto* die away, and there will therefore be no necessity for any power of affiliation being vested in any University in Bengal.

"My Lord, with these few words I commend the motion placed before Council for acceptance."

The motion was put and agreed to.

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The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma:—"My Lord, 1 3-55 P.M.
beg to move the following Resolution:—

'That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that the Headquarters of the Government of India be permanently located in one place and that a suitable centre may, if necessary, be selected for the purpose.'

"My Lord, we are approaching the dawn of a new era and Indian problems require to be looked at from new and fresh standpoints. I should not have troubled this Council and your Lordship with a re-consideration of the question that was settled in 1911 when the Capital was removed from Calcutta to Delhi for seven months in the year and Simla for the remaining five months, but for the fact that the circumstances under which the transfer was made no longer exist and the new problems, the new ideals and aspirations and circumstances which have arisen since the Reform Bill has been placed on the Statute-book give a new complexion and renders a re-examination of the position absolutely necessary.

"My Lord, if the Government were to continue to be autocratic and the Legislative Councils were to be merely advisory bodies the question would not be of very great interest or prominence; there would be no question of disfranchising any part of India; there would be no question of every part of India and every people, however remotely they may be situated from the centre, having to guard watchfully their interests in the councils of the Realm, when the whole position would be virtually in the hands of an official central Government, which *ex-hypothesi* would be autocratic. That was the position that was adopted in 1911 in the Despatch of that year. The Government of India say 'The maintenance of British rule in India depends upon the ultimate supremacy of the Governor General in Council, and the Indian Councils Act of 1909 bears testimony to the impossibility of matters of vital concern to be decided by a majority of non-official votes of the Imperial Legislative Council, and Parliamentary forms of government were not considered as being within the range of 'practical politics'. I do not say that the constitution of the Government of India has been materially or vitally changed since then, but then we have it recognised now that it is competent to the people of India to decide their own domestic matters, and it is only a question of time as to when they shall have this power transferred to them for deciding their domestic concerns in the way most compatible with their interests. That is the reason, my Lord, why I have ventured to bring up this Resolution. The new Councils will assume very great importance, greater and greater importance as the days pass by, and the question would be naturally as to what would be most convenient for the members who have to gather at the centre from all parts of India for transacting the common business; and the question as to whether the officials would be inconvenienced though of great importance (I am not going to minimise it in the least—the question of efficiency is there to be considered) will gradually be of lessening interest and importance, and that is the reason why this question has to be considered afresh and the urgency of the matter is all the greater, because we shall have to provide enlarged Council buildings in the very near future; and whether there are to be two Council buildings and the expenditure is to be practically incurred in raising the structure of two Capitals or one Capital is from the point of view of the lean tax-payer in India of essential importance, and I do not think, therefore, the question can be shelved very long. Well, my Lord, the Councils will number about 200, both the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly taken together, and the experience of other countries indicates clearly that the numbers would be considerably increased as soon as these institutions become realities, exercise real power; and people would naturally like to be represented in larger numbers, that is as democracy spreads the numbers may increase to 500 or 600 or even a thousand.

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“Then another point I would insist on is this, that there is a misapprehension in some quarters that the quality of the work and the quantity of the work which will have to be despatched by the Government of India would in the near future not be so very great as in the past, and consequently it would not be a matter of vital importance where they stay and how long they stay in a place. It seems to me that the Council work will increase enormously, so that we should look forward to longer and more continuous and more frequent sittings and to emergency sittings. Very great influence in this matter will be exercised by the Councils which will be presided over by elected Presidents. As to when and how often and how long they are to meet will depend largely upon the quantity of business which they would have to dispose of. We have still a large number of Acts, the Procedure Codes, Contract Acts, Specific Relief Acts, and other substantive laws falling within the central group, also labour problems, commercial problems all to be faced by the Government of India, and I do not see any possibility of the work diminishing in the slightest degree hereafter. We should, I say, look forward to longer and to more continuous sittings, and it will be absolutely impossible for members to absent themselves frequently or for long periods from headquarters when the Council sits continuously. You must give members an opportunity occasionally to return to their homes and then come back to Council. If we judge the matter from that point of view what do we find? There are cities, towns and localities far more accessible, far more central and important than either Simla or Delhi. My proposition, your Lordship will observe, does not rule out Simla or Delhi, but it asks that the Government of India should be located in one place which should, as far as possible, be central. In the course of the few remarks that I shall have to make, I will endeavour to examine the position, to see whether we cannot fix a site or place which will be more central and accessible and which would stand the test of future requirements. We find that so far as Simla is concerned, it cannot be a winter Capital; if Simla is to be one Capital, we must have another Capital, whether it be Delhi or any other place. If we take up the question of Simla, then we find we are wedded to two Capitals. The present arrangement assumes that we shall have to stay there for five or six months; hitherto there has been but one Session of about a month held there. In the circumstances, I have depicted, there would be a vital change and the Council would or may have to sit very often during those five or six months. Under these circumstances, would your Lordship think it expedient that the Capital should be relegated to a remote corner of the Himalayas not accessible to the population living south of the Vindhya? So far as Simla is concerned, if a man has to come from Tirnevelly he has to travel six or seven days continuously, the distance being 2,200 miles; from Madras it is 1,800, and the journey is performed in five days. In the case of Delhi the journey is twelve hours shorter. There is absolutely no chance for any man from the Madras Presidency who has any other engagements being able to go back during the middle of a Session. Now, let us look at the matter from the point of view of the other Provinces. In the case of Burma, Assam, Eastern Bengal, the southern portion of Bombay, and the Central Provinces, the position is nearly the same. You will find that it is only convenient to the Punjab, the western portion of the United Provinces and possibly Sindh. Two principles emerge from a consideration of the problem. Are we to have a Capital wholly or for some time in a place where members as well as the Government can seek advice from business-men, commercial men, eminent lawyers, where public opinion exists, regard being had to the intricate nature of the problems which would confront the Government of India and the Council, relating to commerce, industry and currency? Or are we to shut ourselves up in some remote fastnesses of the Himalayas having regard to the one consideration that we should be able to turn out more work in a colder climate? Is the physical convenience to be the sole data, the sole criterion, or are we to consider other factors as well? If you say there are certain advantages in being able to take a detached view, a wider outlook like the *Rishis* of old, from a place in the Himalayas,

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then certainly I cannot say that there is absolutely nothing in it. The question would be which would be the more convenient? I have tried to work out the merits of several places having regard to the above factors. Judged from the point of view of convenience the Central Provinces is very favourably situated. I am told that in the Central Provinces the elevated tableland of Pachmarhi is fairly cool and healthy. I will not say nearly or half as comfortable as Simla, but it is fairly habitable for Europeans. If you cannot find a place in the Central Provinces then you must look elsewhere, having regard to the general convenience of the 244 millions forming the population of British India. Calcutta would serve the convenience of 175 to 200 millions, and though it would be inconvenient to the Punjab and the West Coast, it would at any rate be far more convenient than either Simla or Delhi to a larger number of people and their representatives, and much less inconvenient than either Simla or Delhi is to the south. In the case of Burma, Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces, the East Coast of Madras and the east of the United Provinces, a Capital either at Calcutta or at Ranchi would be absolutely convenient. With regard to Ranchi that is a place where you can live practically all the year through with perhaps a short holiday. As regards that even the House of Commons takes a holiday of two months, and I do not see why the Legislative Assemblies should not take a holiday. Perhaps it may not be possible always for members to proceed to their homes often but the means of transport have been improved and Ranchi would afford a convenient centre. I cannot understand how the Government of India in 1911 were able to say that Delhi was geographically central and well-suited and Calcutta was a hopeless place. I am not here advocating the selection of Calcutta; it is a matter of absolute indifference to me in so far as the Madras Presidency is concerned; possibly some of us may like to have a calmer atmosphere. But, my Lord, the considerations which weighed with the Government of India in 1911 would not be paramount hereafter, because each Province would jealously watch its interests, and no minority community would be able to assert itself in the way in which it was able to assert itself in the past by securing official patronage and assistance.

“Then, my Lord, from the point of view that the Capital should be situated in a place from which a detached view can be taken, I would respectfully submit that Ranchi or a place in the Central Provinces would be an ideal centre, for this reason that you would be in touch with, though not in the midst of, a majority community of Hindi-speaking people numbering 110 millions; and you will not be inaccessible to the community next in importance, I mean the Bengalees; and everybody would have fair play and equal advantage. Therefore I submit, my Lord, from the point of detachment, from the point of view of not identifying yourself with any particular community, from the point of view also of the safety of the Capital in not placing itself too much in the hands of any particular community, race or creed, you would be locating the Capital in a position of great advantage.

“Then, my Lord, there is another point of view from which I look at this question, and that is, that of the Native States. From their standpoint you will find that the present arrangements are mainly advantageous to the people of British Baluchistan, Punjab and a part of Rajputana and Kashmir. I am not going to minimise their political importance, the heroism, valour or their usefulness to the general interest. But you will find that they occupy only about 3-10th of the area and a small proportion of the population of the Native States, whereas a place in the Central Provinces, Bombay, or Nasik or Poona, would be more readily accessible and would be far more convenient to Native States in Central India, Rajputana and Southern India, including Hyderabad, than Simla or Delhi.

“Then, my Lord, the question would arise as to whether the military traditions and ancient historic associations should not have some play in our imagination in fixing the Capital. I quite admit, my Lord, that they are a

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factor and have paramount importance under certain conditions. Whether you are living in the midst of warlike people ready to strike at a moment's notice, whether you are in a place with the army near you, are matters of paramount consideration, in troublous times and under autocratic rule, and that was partly the reason why the early Mohammadan invaders fixed upon Delhi when they came to India. Now the British Government is to be broad based upon the will of the people. It is to be no longer anxiously dependent upon the good-will of any particular religion or section of the community. It will look for support to all communities, and therefore the strategic importance of particular places loses all the significance of the fact. If we can secure historic associations, well and good; but if other considerations are more paramount, then, I submit, they should be allowed to have their sway.

"There is one question, my Lord, and that is a very important question as to whether it would be possible for this Government to re-consider this question with so many troubles already in their hands and the King having already selected Delhi. But I feel, my Lord, that His Majesty himself would be the first to suggest and agree to a new course of action when he is told that the Reforms cannot be a success unless easy access is given to the various communities which will have to be benefited thereby, and His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on behalf of the King will inaugurate, if necessary, a new policy, and I do not see why the advisers of His Majesty should hesitate if really they are convinced that such a step is essential to make the Reforms a success. I submit, my Lord, therefore, that this difficulty which is based upon sentiment and upon the Royal pledge can be obviated having regard to the fact that the circumstances which called into being that pledge and that decision have passed away. I, therefore, submit that whether we look at it from the point of view of the Government of India giving a lead to the other Provinces, or the inadvisability of living in inaccessible places absolutely out of touch with public opinion, or of the convenience to the Native States, Simla seems to me to be hopelessly out of the question, and Delhi is nearly so. But if Ranchi is out of the question, if you cannot find a place in the Central Provinces, if Bombay, Nasik or Poona are out of the question, if your Lordship after inquiry cannot find any convenient central place, and Dehra Dun or Mussorie are in no way better than Simla, then Delhi should be made the sole Capital so that new institutions and traditions may grow up, and public opinion may be fostered.

"The Government of India said in 1911 that the places that were selected in the past—and they alluded possibly to Nasik, Dehra Dun, etc.,—were either devoid of historic associations or were inaccessible. I have given my reasons both for and against the contention that a suitable centre other than Delhi cannot be found. But historic associations were necessary in 1911 for the autocratic rule contemplated this, but they will no longer be needed in the future. At any rate they lose their significance at the present moment.

"Then comes the question of expenditure, my Lord. I submit you have spent about 3½ crores upon Delhi. But in a matter of such vital importance the point really is not of such very great significance, because if you have to build two Capitals, you have to incur a very large expenditure indeed. Assuming, that you have wasted some money upon one of two Capitals already, in choosing a new and sole Capital, your expenditure would not be greater than when you have to build two Capitals. Therefore that argument is not altogether unanswerable.

"Then, my Lord, you are going to write off about 37 crores on account of the depreciation of Securities in the Paper Currency reserve and 8½ would not mean much, if the loss has to be incurred by reason of unforeseen changes; and it may be, my Lord, the country,—I do not say upon our vote, but upon the vote of the people as it may be given on this special question,—when the new Councils sit, would endorse the change, and it is not such a very large sum as the country cannot spare for the efficient and proper working of the Reforms,

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“Then again, my Lord, in the *Times* and other British and Indian newspapers we have statements made bitterly complaining that owing to the military authorities ruling from Simla campaigns have broken down and mishaps have occurred. I am not going to say that all these criticisms are well founded, but there is this to be said that perhaps Simla has far too alluring a climate to allow necessary action being taken promptly in an emergency. At any rate our experience has not been happy, and I do not think that our North-West Frontier and other troubles cannot be met if the Government of India headquarters is situated outside the Punjab. Nor do I think that recent events show that it is absolutely necessary that the Government of India should be identified with the military races of the Punjab. I think the Government of India would have escaped blame to a larger extent if they had been outside these danger zones, and I therefore submit that the considerations which weighed with the Government of India when they left Calcutta are the very considerations which, I think, would justify me in saying, if there is any value in these considerations, that the Government of India might very well choose a new seat. My Lord, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has a very large army and staff, and he could use these buildings which have cost $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores for them and—I do not know if His Excellency will thank me for the suggestion—at any rate for ten months in the year they could live there. The Council may think that another suggestion I shall make is fanciful, but I can assure your Lordship that we cannot have a federated India except on a new basis, and the 110 millions of Hindi-speaking people will find three or four capitals necessary—Delhi would be one of them; the money may thus not be wasted altogether. I submit that the buildings which have already been completed can be utilised by the clerks of the various departments I alluded to, and I therefore submit that this money need not be treated as wasted. I have already argued that, even if it should be treated as to some extent wasted, it is a necessary waste—

The President:—“The Hon'ble Member has three minutes more.”

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma:—“Then, my Lord, I would just invite your Lordship's attention and the attention of the Council to the fact that, reading the past history of India, we find that the Capital was situated owing to various reasons, not always in one place but in different Provinces at different times, and too much value need not be attached to the circumstances that Delhi was the Capital. You had Pataliputra for several centuries. I suppose the old traditions of Magadha are surviving there and would be available if Ranchi be selected. You built up a Government in Calcutta and Calcutta people would welcome you back. Allahabad is central and, I think, my Hon'ble friend the Pandit would give us a welcome readily there. Though Delhi was, owing to its central position in upper Hindustan the Capital of the Mughuls; Poona was the Capital of the Mahrattas who held preponderating power when the British defeated them in 1818. Therefore the fact that Delhi was a Capital for some time is not of such very great importance. And may I also allude to one fact referred to in the 1911 Despatch? The advisers of the Crown seem to think that if the Capital were removed to Delhi, Indian sentiment was so much in favour of Delhi as to associate the permanence of British rule with the Capital being at Delhi. That seemed to be a paramount consideration which weighed with them. I think there was a mistake. I do not say there is a prejudice against Delhi, but somehow it was considered by the people to be the grave of Empires, and I do not think any one would be offending Indian sentiment by suggesting that Delhi need not necessarily be the Capital; and I therefore submit that this consideration of Delhi having been the Capital of the ancient Hindu and Muhammadan Kings has been pushed too far, and I think your Lordship would have an equally good place, convenient to all and liked by all in any of the localities I have suggested, and your Lordship may appoint a committee to investigate the question. The next Councils will take it up and in the meantime much expenditure will have been incurred, and we may

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be involved in the painful necessity of sacrificing not 3½ crores, but 10 crores of rupees. But if your Lordship thinks that Delhi cannot be touched on any account, then I hope your Lordship will stay here always, with the exception of one or two months in the year, if need be, so that there may be traditions and institutions growing up here, and healthy public opinion may be fostered and commercial and manufacturing institutions encouraged, so that Delhi may be a Capital in the course of a few years to which we can all look with pride, whereas at the present moment its buildings are deserted for five or six or seven months in the year. It will be a deserted village, even under the present proposals, and I do not see any reason why so much money should be wasted on a Capital which would be practically deserted for seven months in the year. I therefore submit that every consideration is in favour of a central locality being selected which would be accessible to all."

4-27 P.M.

The Hon'ble Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda:—"My Lord, I beg to move the following amendment to this Resolution, namely, 'that for the words 'permanently located in one place and that a suitable centre may, if necessary, be selected for the purpose,' the words 'located in Calcutta subject to such modifications, if any, of the old practice according to which the Government of India are in Calcutta during certain months of the year and otherwise as may be considered necessary or desirable by the Government' be substituted.

"My Lord, as I have only half the time allowed to the mover of a Resolution I shall not make a long speech, but shall simply call attention to this matter with which we are all of us more or less familiar. My Lord, I am fortunate in that half my work has been done for me by my Hon'ble friend Mr. Sarma. In his admirable speech he has destroyed the case of any supposed necessity of the location of the Government of India either in Simla or Delhi, and his speech on the whole is really in favour of my proposition that the Government of India should go back to Calcutta. Of course he has taken up a number of other questions as well, and to these I shall come presently. Now, my Lord, we know that Calcutta ceased to be the Capital and Delhi was made the Capital by Lord Hardinge in 1912. His main idea was that the Government of India should reside for seven months in the year at Delhi and five months at Simla. I do not think our past experience for the last eight years would justify any one in claiming that that experiment has been much of a success. My Hon'ble friend has himself shown that it has not been so. The question arises, what is to be done? Now there are three grounds mentioned in the Despatch of Lord Hardinge transferring the Capital. The first was that it was an anomaly that the Government of India should be in the same city with a Provincial Government, that is the Government of Bengal for three or four months in the year. In the second place, it was said that there was special importance attached to the Council of India under the Minto-Morley scheme which made it imperative that it should be removed to a more central and easily accessible place, and, thirdly, political considerations arising out of the ill-fated Partition of Bengal.

"Now, so far as the last-mentioned ground goes, I think it has no application now. I cannot conceive what difficulties or complications will arise if the Government of India were to move back to Calcutta to-day, and I do not think I need further consider this ground.

"Of the other two, taking the first point, namely, that the Government of India should not be in the same place with the Provincial Government, the Council may recollect that in September last I moved a Resolution at Simla that Simla should cease to be the summer headquarters of the Punjab Government, and in support of my proposition I quoted a Despatch of Lord Curzon's Government to the effect that if it was bad for the Government of India—I am quoting his very words—'if it was bad that the Government of India should be in Calcutta with the Government of Bengal for three or four months in the year, it was infinitely worse that it should be with the Government of the Punjab for eight months in the year.' The Hon'ble the Home Member

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opposed me, but I doubt very much, in view of what he said, that that is the view at the present time of the Government of India. This is what the Hon'ble the Home Member said, my Lord—I am quoting his words:—'Briefly stated, the reasons were that there were certain political advantages in having the headquarters of the Local Government and that of the Imperial Government in the same place; that the disadvantages arising out of such an arrangement were much over-estimated.' Now, my Lord, if my Hon'ble friend adheres to that view now, there is an end of this argument based upon the association of the Government of India and the Government of Bengal in the same place. If, on the other hand, he changes his opinion in view of his experience of the last five months, well then I shall claim to be entitled to have his support if I move again that Simla should cease to be the summer headquarters of both these Governments. But in any case, my Lord, if the Government of India thinks that it is a condition precedent to its removal back to Calcutta that the Government of Bengal should not remain there, I do not think the difficulty would be insurmountable. Of course I do not pretend that I have got a cut and dry scheme at my hand, or that I should ask the Government of India to decide offhand. All I do, my Lord, is to call your attention to this point and to ask you to investigate the matter again, to examine the question along with the proposition of my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma or by itself and see whether something ought not to be done. Of course Delhi is out of the question, as my friend has shown.

"Then, coming to the second point, namely, that by reason of the Minto-Morley scheme it was necessary that the Council should sit at a place which is central and easily accessible, I say that this is my case, though I do not say that it should be central from a geographical point of view alone, but what is wanted is, that it must be convenient; but, I think, I might even claim that Calcutta is practically geographically central if you take Burma into consideration. However, I do not rest my case on that point. As my friend Mr. Sarma has shown of the 100 members whom you are going to have in the Legislative Assembly, fully 63 will find Calcutta more convenient than Delhi—I do not go into details as my friend has given them. Not only that, but at least 19½ of the 34 members of the Council of State will find Calcutta more convenient. Well that is an important point, my Lord, that not only the number of members will be five times the present number, but you will have to provide for longer Sessions of this Council, and you will have to see that the conditions of membership should be made as little irksome as possible so that the scheme might work out satisfactorily.

"My Lord, these are my answers with regard to these questions. My submission with regard to the second point is that, on the whole, Calcutta is more convenient than Delhi, and so far as climate goes, my Lord, I do not think that Calcutta in the month of March is more unfavourable than Delhi has been during the last week; at any rate in the present time there has been a great change in the climate of Calcutta, with the electric fan.

"Then, my Lord, there is another further point, the question of cost which must be considered. It may be said that we have spent such a large amount of money on New Delhi, all this will have been thrown away if we have to abandon Delhi. But I do not ask you to abandon New Delhi as Akbar did in the case of Fatehpur Sikri. We do require a ceremonial Capital. We have had three Durbars in the past, one in the time of Lord Lytton, one in the time of Lord Curzon, and a third one, the last Coronation Durbar. My Lord, all these three Durbars were held in this Imperial City although Calcutta was the Capital of India at the time. I do not think any one will say that we shall have no more Durbars in the future. Let this New Delhi be the habitation of the future Durbars. There may be other ceremonies. Your Excellency will have to meet the Indian Princes. Let this remain for that purpose. Besides, with improved communications, with the latest scientific modes of locomotion, with direct railway communication between India and Europe in prospect, may we not hope that our beloved

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Sovereign and the members of the Royal Family will find it possible to visit India more frequently than they do now. In that case, New Delhi would remain for the residence of His Majesty the King-Emperor and the members of the Royal Family whenever they come to India. I say do not abandon it. In the second place, if you think you cannot have Delhi, except it be the Capital of India, and therefore if you abandon Delhi as the Capital of India all the money would have been wasted, I say it will not be waste; it will be real economy. We have already spent a large amount of money on it; I am indebted to the courtesy of my Hon'ble friend Mr. Cook for the figures, and it now appears that up to the present we have spent more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores. What is the net result, my Lord? A few roads, a few staff quarters and the Viceregal Court plinth. Can any one tell how many crores will have to be sunk if this place is to be completed? Of course I do not make any charge against the Department over which the Hon'ble Sir Claude Hill presides if I say the estimates of the Department are not reliable. No one can predict what money will be required, what more needs to be done. I say, my Lord, that you will require far less money for making Calcutta fit for your residence than you will require in completing work on Delhi. I think it will be more economical, it will be better not to throw good money after bad and to stop work in Delhi. These are my submissions, my Lord, and I think you ought to decide in favour of Calcutta.

" I say, my Lord, you may select any place you please. As Mr. Sarma has said if Delhi and Simla are out of place, well, select another place, but whatever place you select, it is obviously reasonable, obviously desirable that in your selection you should be guided not merely by considerations of climate and situation, but by other matters also. You must see that there is a healthy public opinion in the place, the pressure of which can be brought to bear upon the consideration of important matters; you must see that there is a strong well-conducted press, that there are influential public bodies, commercial and political, the members of which can be approached at any moment for advice, where commercial, banking and currency questions crop up, that there are eminent lawyers who would help us at any time we may go to them. My Lord, this is always desirable; it has now become imperative after the passing of the Reform Act. The Reform Act does not confer any element of responsibility on the Central Government, and it is very necessary, therefore, my Lord, that it should remain in living touch in close contact with healthy public opinion; otherwise pitfalls are inevitable—we know that to our cost, I need not quote instances. You must remain in close contact with healthy public opinion. This is impossible in Delhi, impracticable in Simla. If you look at the matter from a dispassionate point of view, you will find that all things considered there are only two places in India, either of which can be selected on this ground as the Capital of India, Bombay and Calcutta. Taking everything into consideration I submit, my Lord, Calcutta has a superior claim. It is a City which owes its creation entirely to British rule. There was no town in Calcutta before the British came, it was full of jungles. You have made it what it is. It is bound up in the public imagination with the rise and growth of British power in India and in the East; and it was the Capital of India from the earliest commencement of the British connection in this country for about 150 years. It has public opinion, public life; it is a most important strategic point in the East; it is the highway to far eastern commerce and trans-Pacific communications. It has public buildings which are simply incomparable which are yet at the disposal of the Government of India. There is a residence for your Excellency, and furthermore, there is at the present moment nearly finished a building which can be of great use to us, the Victoria Memorial. I am not an expert, but I speak on the authority of the *Statesman* and *Englishman* of Calcutta that experts certify that you cannot have a more admirable Council Chamber than the Durbar Hall of the Victoria Memorial building. It has galleries, divisional lobbies, committee rooms, library; and you cannot imagine a more splendid mansion for this purpose . . .

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Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha.*]

The President:—"The Hon'ble Member's time is up."

The Hon'ble Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda:—"I am summing up."

The President:—"Please move your amendment."

The Hon'ble Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda:—"With these words, my Lord, I commend this amendment to the Council."

The Hon'ble Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha:—"My Lord, I have listened very carefully to the speeches of Mr. Sarma and Mr. Chanda, but I am sorry to say that I have remained unconvinced that there is any occasion for the moving of this Resolution or of the amendment. Mr. Sarma's Resolution, my Lord, runs to the effect that the headquarters of the Government of India be permanently located in one place and that a suitable centre may, if necessary, be selected for the purpose. He did not explain, or at any rate I did not quite understand, what he meant by the use of the word 'permanent'. I think the headquarters of the Government of India are quite permanently installed in Delhi and Simla, and if he meant something else he should have explained it. What he probably meant to convey was that the seat of the Government of India should remain all the year round in a particular place. That may be, my Lord, a very ideal suggestion; and personally if I knew of a place where I could locate your Excellency's Government all the year round, I should vote for the Resolution gladly. But Mr. Sarma does not ask your Excellency's Government to refer the matter to a committee of experts to find out, after due inquiry, if there be such a place in the country. He urges upon your Excellency's Government the immediate removal of the headquarters of the Government from Delhi to some place where the Government can stay all the year round. It is, therefore, that I feel confronted with a great difficulty, as I do not know of any particular place in the plains of the country, where the Government can be located all the twelve months. If it comes to locating the Government at some hill-station, Simla or Ootacamund, I do not think Mr. Sarma himself would very much like to stay there in December or January, and I do not think he recommends that. 4-45 P.M.

"I think, therefore, this is really a question which does not strike one as being within the range of practical politics. We cannot be chopping and changing the seat of our Government every few years, like the Sultan Muhammedbin Fughlak who removed the Capital from Delhi to Daulatabad in the south and back to Delhi again. I do not think we associate that sort of thing with the British Government. I do not think this problem, therefore, enters for discussion on a sound basis. It is only about eight years since His Majesty the King-Emperor made in this very City this declaration: 'We are pleased to announce to our people that . . . we have decided upon the transfer of the seat of the Government of India from Calcutta to the ancient Capital Delhi', and the words which follow are important, 'and as a consequence of that transfer the creation, at as early a date as possible, of a Governor for the Presidency of Bengal and of a new Lieutenant-Governorship in Council for the Province of Bihar and Orissa.' Now, if as His Majesty declared and as Lord Crewe had pointed out in the Despatch accepting the Government of India's proposals that all these three propositions, namely, the transfer of the Capital, the creation of a Governorship for Bengal and a Lieutenant-Governorship in Council for Bihar and Orissa, were 'interdependent proposals,' I do not think that this Council would be well-advised in splitting up these three things and taking up and disposing of each of them one by one. I do not think, my Lord, therefore, a case has been made out by Mr. Sarma for accepting his proposition.

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"As for Mr. Chanda's proposal that Calcutta be restored to her former position as the Capital, I tried to follow his arguments as carefully as I could, but I do not think he said one single word in its favour except, perhaps, that your Lordship has been pleased to stay there for six weeks or so during the past two or three years. But I do not think the Government would like to stay there all the year round or can do so. I do not think Mr. Chanda said a word about this all the year round aspect; he simply pronounced a glowing panegyric on Calcutta, and appealed to, or tried to appeal to, the instincts of my European colleagues here by referring to something which Job Charnock did some years back; but I do not think he really said anything to satisfy us that Calcutta was a place where the Government could stay all the year round. Mr. Sarma referred casually to Ranchi in Bihar and Orissa as a place where the Government could stay throughout the year. Personally, as a Beharee, I shall be very happy to take your Lordship there and the whole of your Government, but before we can dispose of these matters satisfactorily, we must have materials to act upon. We have got no expert opinion that the Government of India can stay at any one place permanently for throughout the year. We must have some information, on the point, and as the Resolution does not ask for such information, but merely asks that the Government should instal themselves permanently at some undefined place, I must oppose this Resolution, as well as the amendment."

The Council adjourned till Wednesday, the 18th February 1920, at 11 o'clock.

DELHI :
The 19th February, 1920.

A. P. MUDDIMAN,
*Secretary to the Government of India,
Legislative Department.*

APPENDIX B.*(Referred to in answer to Question No. 12.)*

	1916-1917.	1917-1918.	1918-1919.	REMARKS.
1. Raids and other border offences . . .	280	206	189	
2. Losses sustained :—				
(a) on account of cash, property, etc. . .	Rs. 41,325	Rs. 36,442	Rs. 27,420	*The figures are approximate as details have not been reported in every case.
(b) number of live-stock . . .	6,581	5,251	8,104	
3. Killed or injured	177†	117‡	61	†Excluding 48 officers and men of the Indian Army and Frontier Militias, killed and wounded in fighting with raiders.
4. Men, women and children kidnapped and returned on payment of ransom.	34	14	8	‡Excluding 348 officers and men of the Indian Army and Frontier Militias.