

*Monday,
18th March, 1918*

ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Council of the Governor General of India,
LAWS AND REGULATIONS

Vol. LVI

April 1917 - March 1918

ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS
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GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL ASSEMBLED UNDER
THE PROVISIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1915.
(5 & 6 Geo. V, Ch. 61).

The Council met at the Council Chamber, Imperial Secretariat, Delhi, on
Monday, the 18th March, 1918.

PRESENT :

The Hon'ble SIR GEORGE LOWNDES, K.C.S.I., K.C., *Vice-President, presiding*,
and 59 Members, of whom 54 were Additional Members.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay asked:—

1. (a) Is it a fact that the Coal Controller stopped the supply of wagons to a number of collieries on and from the 1st January, 1918, and that the ground for such non-supply of wagons is alleged to be the refusal in each case of the officer in charge of the colliery concerned to supply information verbally asked for from him by the State Railway Coal Superintendent or his Assistants? stoppage by the Coal Controller of wagons to certain collieries.

(b) Did the Coal Controller ask for, or take any step to obtain, any information about any colliery from its proprietor or its managing agents, as the case may be, before he issued orders stopping supply of wagons to the collieries?

(c) Is it not a fact that there is a general order issued by colliery proprietors and the managing agents to their colliery managers and officers in charge of collieries, prohibiting them to supply any information regarding the colliery to anybody without their permission, and that the colliery proprietors and managing agents of some of the collieries referred to in (a) have submitted to the Coal Controller that such information was never wanted from the officer in charge of the colliery by either the Coal Superintendent or his Assistants?

(d) Do Government support the action of the Coal Controller?

[*Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay ; Sir George Barnes.*] [18TH MARCH, 1918.]

(e) Do Government propose to compensate the collieries concerned for any loss occasioned by the order of the Coal Controller stopping the supply of wagons to them ? ”

The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes replied :—

“ (a) Yes.

(b) A request was sent to the collieries concerned to supply the information withheld.

(c) The Coal Controller reports that he is not aware of any such order, and the Government of India have no information on the subject.

(d) Yes.

(e) No. ”

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay asked :—

Restriction
of the output
and despatch
of coal from
certain
collieries.

2. “ (a) Is it a fact that the output and despatch of coal from a number of collieries were restricted by the order of the Coal Controller on and from 1st January, 1918 ?

(b) Will Government state the reasons for such order ?

(c) Are Government aware :—

(i) that some of the collieries on which the order was imposed were under contract with the Bengal-Nagpur Railway to supply coal to them ;

(ii) that the raisings and despatch of coal from these collieries have been restricted to so low a figure that they are not in a position to fulfil their contracts with the Bengal-Nagpur Railway ;

(iii) that, in consequence, the Bengal-Nagpur Railway ran so short of coal that they intercepted public coal in transit.

(d) Is it a fact that one of the reasons for the restriction of the output and despatch of coal from some collieries was to increase the output of superior coal by restricting and reducing the labour supply of the collieries working comparatively inferior coal ?

(e) Was the restriction imposed on the basis of the quality of coal raised in the several collieries ? If so, will Government lay on the table a statement showing the comparative value of coal raised from all the different collieries in the Jharia and Raneegunge fields ? ”

The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes replied :—

“ (a) Yes.

(b) The reason for the order was to ensure as large an output as possible of the better quality of coals, so that such tonnage of coal as could be transported by railways should be of the best economic value obtainable and thus go further as a steam raiser than the inferior quality coals.

(c)

(i) The answer is ‘ yes. ’

(ii) & (iii) The restriction in the case of many collieries including the collieries mentioned by the Hon'ble Member has been modified, and I may add that their contracts with the Bengal-Nagpur Railway were so small that such restrictions as there were had nothing to do with the shortage of coal on that Railway.

(d) The answer is ‘ yes. ’

(e) The answer to the first part of the question is ‘ yes ’ ; the answer to the second part is that Government has no such statement available. ”

[18TH MARCH, 1918.] [*Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay ; Sir George Barnes.*]

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay asked :—

3. " Will Government lay on the table a statement showing the collieries on which orders of restriction of output and despatch was imposed, and the maximum quantities of coal which each of such collieries was allowed respectively to raise and despatch on and from 1st January 1918, and also any modifications that might have been subsequently made in the order of restriction ? "

Statement showing the collieries whose output was restricted.

The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes replied :—

" A printed book* is laid on the table containing the list of collieries with restrictions modified up to date."

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay asked :—

4. " (a) On the 26th July 1916, did the Hon'ble Member for Commerce and Industry hold a Conference in Calcutta of the representatives of the coal trade and of important consumers of coal and of Railways ? "

Conference at Calcutta of the coal trade.

(b) Is it a fact that serious apprehension was then entertained by Government that the supply of coal would fall short of the demand ?

(c) At the Conference did the Hon'ble Member for Commerce and Industry urge the desirability of increasing the output of all kinds of coal ?

(d) Are Government aware that since the Conference, and as a result of it, several collieries working second-class coal have been opened and new developments have been made in the existing second-class collieries at considerable expense ? "

The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes replied :—

" I am afraid that the Hon'ble Member has not read the minutes, or referred to any report of the Conference held on the 26th July 1916, to which he refers in his question. The Conference was held to discuss measures which could be adopted to prevent congestion on the Railways, and whether coal would be available in the months when Railway traffic was expected to be slack. The general opinion expressed was that there would be sufficient coal for all purposes.

The answer to (a) is 'yes,' to (b) and (c) 'no,' and (d) consequently does not arise."

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay asked :—

5. " Have Government inquired into, and made an estimate of, the loss which will be occasioned to the collieries concerned on account of the order of restriction of output and despatch imposed on them, and do Government propose to compensate such loss ? If so, when and how ? "

Losses sustained by collieries.

The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes replied :—

" I think that the Hon'ble Member is under an entirely wrong impression as to the action of the Coal Controller under his powers. As the Hon'ble Member is aware, the object of the Government throughout has been to prevent the diversion of labour from collieries producing the better class coals to now concerns which could only produce third class coals. When the powers of the Coal Controller came into being, a certain amount of diversion had already taken place. The Coal Controller has limited the exercise of his powers to preventing an increase of the diversion of labour which had already taken place. The pits or quarries producing the lower class coals were limited in their output to what they had been producing before the Coal Controller was appointed. Thus there have been no losses incurred except of possible and prospective profit, which of course cannot be taken into account. I would draw the Hon'ble Member's attention to the book which I laid on the table in answer to one of his previous questions. The details contained in that book

[*Sir George Barnes ; Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay.*] [18TH MARCH, 1918.]

will show the Hon'ble Member the care with which the Coal Controller has done his work and the consideration which has been shown to all, even to the concerns which were producing coal of a quality which it was not to the public interest to produce. Subject to these remarks, the answer to all three parts of the Hon'ble Member's question is in the negative."

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay asked :—

Soft coke.

6. "Is it a fact that some collieries have been restricted to despatch only soft coke?"

The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes replied :—

"The answer is 'yes.'"

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay asked :—

Invidious treatment of certain collieries.

7. "Is it a fact that there are instances in which the output and raising of a colliery has been stopped, but its neighbouring collieries working the same seam and same quality of coal have been left unrestricted? If so, will Government be pleased to state the reason for this differentiation?"

The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes replied :—

"The answer is 'no' so far as the Government are aware."

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay asked :—

"Commerce" on the restrictions placed on the output and despatch of coal.

8. "(a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the comment made on the action of the Coal Controller in paragraph 1st, column 3rd, page 4, of the *Calcutta Journal 'Commerce'* of 3rd January, 1918?"

(b) Are Government aware that there is a strong feeling prevailing amongst a section of the coal trade that the restriction of output and despatch has not been imposed on an equitable basis?"

The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes replied :—

"The answer to (a) is 'yes.' Government do not believe that there is any such feeling prevailing, as suggested by the part of the question marked (b), and they feel sure that if any such feeling exists, it is not well-founded. They believe that the Coal Controller has performed his very difficult duties with fairness to all concerned."

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay asked :—

Mining Board to assist the Coal Controller.

9. "(a) Is it a fact that the Indian Mining Federation in a Special General Meeting held on the 4th December, 1917, adopted and submitted to the consideration of the Hon'ble Member for Commerce and Industry a resolution that—

"This meeting desires to express its regret that, in spite of the appeal to the Government to the contrary, the Coal Committee dissolved itself on the appointment of the Coal Controller, and most deeply and strongly feels the imperative necessity of assisting the Coal Controller with a Board consisting of the representatives of the Indian Mining Association, of the Indian Mining Federation and the several representative Chambers of Commerce of the different Provinces, the Agents of the East Indian Railway and Bengal-Nagpur Railway and the Mining Engineer to the Railway Board. Without the active co-operation of such an organisation it would be extremely difficult for the Coal Controller to discharge, unaided by the experience of the trade, the onerous duties of his post. The meeting, therefore, in view of the gravity of the present situation, venture to suggest to the Government to form a Board on the lines suggested above with the Coal Controller as its head,

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[*Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay; Sir George Barnes; Mir Asad Ali, Khan Bahadur; Sir C. Sankaran Nair.*]

to requisition and make purchases of coal for Government and Railway purposes, and to control and regulate the supply of coal, with further powers to initiate measures with the object of increasing the output of coal.'

(b) Is it a fact that at a Conference held by the Hon'ble Member for Commerce and Industry on the 15th January last in Calcutta, with the representatives of the Indian Mining Association, the Indian Mining Federation and the Coal Controller, Mr. L. Edwards, as spokesman of the representatives of the coal trade, submitted to the Hon'ble Member that the entire trade was un-animously of opinion that it was necessary that the restrictions imposed by the Coal Controller should all be withdrawn, and that the function of distribution of coal and of fixing the pit-mouth price of all coal, from time to time, should be undertaken by the Government in consultation with the coal trade?

(c) What action, if any, do Government propose to take with regard to the proposal made by the Indian Mining Federation in their above-mentioned resolution and the submission made by Mr. L. Edwards in the aforesaid Conference? "

The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes replied :—

"(a) A copy of the Resolution referred to was forwarded to Government.

(b) and (c) At the meeting referred to Mr. L. Edwards, the Chairman, stated at the outset that certain proposals had been agreed to at a meeting of the representatives of the Indian Mining Association and of the Indian Mining Federation prior to the meeting with myself. After full discussion with the representatives of both the Association and the Federation, it was unanimously agreed that the Coal Controller's scheme should be given a more extended trial, and that any question of the Government taking over the distribution of coal could not be considered until more knowledge had been gained from experience of the working of the Coal Controller's scheme."

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali, Khan Bahadur, asked :—

10. "(a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to (i) the resolution passed at the last annual meeting at Madras of the Madras Presidency Moslem League, regarding the reservation of a fourth of the elected seats in the Senate of the Madras University for Muhammadans, and (ii) the resolution passed at the District Moslem Educational Conference at Vellore (Madras) on the 17th February, regarding the desirability of amending the Indian Universities Act, VIII of 1904, so as to create a separate electorate of registered Moslem graduates for electing their own representatives to the University Senate? Moslem Representation on the Madras University.

(b) If so, do Government propose to consider the advisability of introducing any such change at an early date in the Universities Act? "

The Hon'ble Sir C. Sankaran Nair replied :—

"(a) The Government has seen the latter but not the former of these resolutions.

(b) It is not proposed to make any amendments in the law regarding the constitution of University Senates pending receipt of the report of the Calcutta University Commission."

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali, Khan Bahadur, asked :—

11. "Will Government be pleased to state :—

(a) the result of the railway (metre gauge) survey between Yerragudipad and Atmakur in the Madras Presidency; and Railway survey between Yerragudipad and Atmakur.

(b) whether the survey line passes through or near the Banganapalle State, and if so, at what point? "

[Sir Robert Gillan; Rai Sita Nath Ray Bahadur; [18TH MARCH, 1918.]
Sir William Meyer; Sir Claude Hill.]

The Hon'ble Sir Robert Gillan replied :—

" (a) The Yerragudipad-Atmakur Railway was surveyed in the years 1908 and 1909. The cost of the section from Yerragudipad to Nandyal, $71\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length, was estimated at Rs. 40.85 lakhs, and the return on capital outlay at 2.08 per cent. The cost of the section from Nandyal to Atmakur, 30 miles in length, was estimated at Rs. 14.87 lakhs and the return on capital at 2.9 per cent.

(b) The line as surveyed runs for about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile of its length through the Banganapalle State near Cottapalle village."

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

The Super-tax Act.

12. " (a) Was the following letter dated 25th August, 1917, sent by the Government of India in the Finance Department to the Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces :—

' In reply to your letter No. 647, dated the 6th August, 1917, I am directed to say that, in determining the assessment to super-tax of the income of a Hindu undivided family, the expenditure on the maintenance of the family should be taken against income which is exempt from super-tax in so far as it can be covered by such income.'

(b) Is Government aware that lawyers having been consulted have expressed the opinion that the method of assessment suggested in the letter is *ultra vires* and contravenes the provision of section 2, sub-clause (b) of the Super-tax Act, which enjoins that ' in the case of a Hindu undivided family, so much of the joint income of such family as has been actually expended or paid for the maintenance or other expenses of any member of such family or paid or finally allotted to any such member ' should be deducted from the total assessable income accruing to the family from all sources ?

(c) Will the Government be pleased to consider the question of withdrawing the letter ? "

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer replied :—

" (a) Yes.

(b) No.

(c) If a Hindu undivided family possessing income which is exempt from super-tax were permitted to charge the expenditure on the maintenance of the family not against that income but against income liable to the tax, it would obtain a double benefit which it was not the intention of the Super-tax Act to give. The Government of India do not therefore propose to withdraw their letter."

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

The Imperial Agricultural Service.

13. " Will Government be pleased to state (a) how many Indians have been promoted to officiate in the Imperial Agricultural Service in the different Provinces during the last two years ; and

(b) whether any posts in that Service are still vacant, and, if so, why ? "

The Hon'ble Sir Claude Hill replied :—

" (a) A statement* is laid on the table giving the information asked for in part (a) of the question.

(b) There are at present several vacancies in the Imperial Agricultural Service, but the majority of these posts have been sanctioned by the Secretary of State, on the understanding that no steps will be taken to fill them until financial conditions materially improve, and until the necessary budget provision has been made and admitted. The Hon'ble Member's attention is

[18TH MARCH, 1918.] [*Sir Claude Hill; Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi; Sir Robert Gillan; Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjea; Sir William Vincent.*]

also invited to my reply* to a similar question asked by the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur B. D. Shukul on the 6th February regarding the difficulties which have been experienced in securing suitable candidates during the war."

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

14. "(a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to a paragraph in the 'Bengalee' of the 6th October, 1917, disclosing certain inaccuracies in the reply given by the Hon'ble Sir Robert Gillan to my question asked in this Council on the 19th September last regarding the treatment accorded to Babu Probodh Chandra Banerjee by Mr. B. F. Higman of the East Indian Railway on the 30th June last ?

Case of
Babu
Probodh
Chandra
Banerjee.

(b) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the statement in the said paragraph that an attempt was made by the Traffic authorities of the East Indian Railway to have Probodh Babu pronounced unfit for further service by suggesting to the Railway Company's Doctor that he was a victim to epileptic fits ?

(c) If so, do Government propose to make an inquiry into the allegations contained in the said paragraph ?"

The Hon'ble Sir Robert Gillan replied :—

"(a) Yes.

(b) I am assured that no attempt was made by the railway authorities to influence the opinion of the Doctor.

(c) The Government do not propose to make any further inquiry into the matter. I may mention that three months' sick leave was sanctioned from 1st July 1917 and subsequently extended to seven months, and an additional five months has since been sanctioned on medical certificate."

The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjea asked :—

15. "(a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the case of assault committed by Lieutenant Widdicombe upon Rai Bahadur Sultan Singh of Delhi ?

Case of
assault
committed
by Lieuten-
ant Widdi-
combe.

(b) Is it the case that upon the Rai Bahadur inquiring of Lieutenant Widdicombe regarding an assault committed upon his servant, Lieutenant Widdicombe struck him on the eye, smashing his eye glass ?

(c) Is it the case that Lieutenant Widdicombe was convicted and fined Rs. 25 by the trying Magistrate for the offence committed by him ?

(d) Do the authorities, Civil and Military propose to take any further action in this connection ?"

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent replied :—

"(a), (b), (c) A copy of the judgment† of the Magistrate who tried the case is laid upon the table, together with a copy of the orders passed by the Sessions Judge.

(d) Legal advice has been taken as to the propriety of making an application for revision to the Chief Court but is not favourable. Disciplinary action has been taken by the military authorities. I may add that Rai Bahadur Sultan Singh, who was informed of the action that was being taken, deprecated an application being made to the Chief Court."

The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjea asked :—

16. "(a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the recent Reso- Modification lution of the Bombay University recommending to the Government of India of the Universities Act, 1904. certain changes in its constitution ?

* *Vide* page 455 of Council Proceedings of 6th February, 1918.

† Not included in these Proceedings.

[*Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjea ; Sir C. Sankaran Nair ; Sir George Barnes ; Sir William Vincent.*] [15TH MARCH, 1918.]

(b) Is it the intention of Government to modify the Universities Act of 1904 so as to liberalise the constitutions of the Indian Universities ? ”

The Hon'ble Sir C. Sankaran Nair replied :—

“ (a) The answer is in the affirmative.

(b) The Government of India do not propose to undertake any alteration in the existing constitutions of the Indian Universities pending the receipt of the report of the Calcutta University Commission.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjea asked :—

Cotton
gambling.

17. “ (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the following passage in a telegram that appeared in the *Englishman* of the 22nd February last purporting to be a message from the Associated Press ;

‘ Bombay, February 20.

There is a general consensus of opinion that Government should take some action to check gambling in cotton, without which it will not be possible to reduce or control the prices of Indian cloth which is generally used by the poor masses in India. A contemporary states that the recent decision of the railway authorities, especially the Great Indian Peninsula administration, has greatly affected the local cotton market. Rumours of heavy speculation and gambling of all sorts is reported to be rife and an extraordinary state of things is said to have come into existence. Bulls and bears are operating fiercely. A clique of the former is understood to have taken full advantage of the railways' decision and creating a difficult position because within a short time after the railway decision the market went from ₹50 to ₹80, while there was very little chance in overseas markets. Several people sold their cotton against holdings up-country, but as they were not able to get the same to Bombay, they were obliged to pay differences according to prices fixed for settlement purpose.’

(b) If what is stated above is substantially correct, do Government propose to take some action to check gambling in cotton, and will Government indicate what action, if any, they propose to take ? ”

The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes replied :—

“ (a) The answer is ‘ yes ’.

With regard to (b) the matter has received and is receiving the anxious consideration of the Government of India. They have consulted the Bombay Government and have decided to appoint a strong Committee of persons interested in the trade in cotton cloth and in raw cotton from whom they hope to get both advice and assistance. As the Hon'ble Member will remember I gave the names of this Committee to Council a few days ago.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjea asked :—

Shooting
affair in a
train at
Wazirabad
station.

18. “ (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the reports which have been published in the newspapers regarding a shooting affair in a railway train at Wazirabad station on the 13th February last as a consequence of which a man lost his life ?

(b) In view of the public attention which this case has attracted, do Government propose to make an inquiry into it and place the facts of the case before the Council ? ”

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent replied :—

“ I would draw the attention of the Hon'ble Member to the communiqué* issued by the Government of the Punjab, a copy of which is laid upon the table.”

[18TH MARCH, 1918.] [Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjea; Sir George Barnes.]

The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjea asked :—

19. "(a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the steady rise in the price of hessian and has the price risen approximately from R10 per 100 yards in July last to R50 in February?" Rise in the price of Hessians.

(b) Is it a fact that hessian is used for packing articles and for various domestic purposes?

(c) Do Government propose to take measures to restrict the rise in the price of hessian?"

The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes replied :—

"With regard to (a) a statement* is laid on the table giving market reports of actual sales during July, 1917 and February, 1918. The figures represent the prices of 40" 10½ oz. cloth, which is the standard hessian cloth. It will be seen that the prices for ready delivery were never so low as R10, but varied from R17-12-0 to R19-8-0 during July 1917 and from R49 to R58 during February 1918, and that the prices for forward delivery were considerably lower. The reason for the high prices paid for ready as compared with forward delivery is partly the keenness of the Overseas trade demand, accentuated by the extent of Government orders which absorb about 25 per cent. of the Mills' output; partly the scarcity of freight space which has frequently to be filled at short notice with the result that purchases have to be made immediately on the allotment of shipping orders. The rate fixed for British Government orders is approximately R14 expressed in terms of this cloth.

(b) Hessian cloth is used principally for manufacture into bags for carrying produce, apart from its use for manufacture into sandbags for military purposes.

(c) In reply to the third part of the question the Government have no present intention of controlling the price of hessians."

The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjea asked :—

20. "(a) Is it enjoined under Bengal Regulation III of 1818 that due attention should be paid to the health of every State prisoner confined under the said Regulation, and suitable provision made for his support according to his rank in life and to his own wants and those of his family?" State prisoners confined under Regulation III of 1818.

(b) Will Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing Province by Province—

(i) the number of State prisoners detained under the Regulation since 4th August, 1914;

(ii) the places of their detention;

(iii) any variations in the prisoner's weight since detention in each case;

(iv) any instances in which symptoms of any constitutional diseases or mental derangement may have been developed during detention;

(v) age, occupation and earnings previous to detention in each case."

21. "(a) Does section 3 of Bengal Regulation III of 1818 require officers in whose custody State prisoners may be placed to submit reports on the conduct, health and comfort of such prisoners on the 1st January and the 1st of July of each year?" Reports on the conduct, health and comfort of State prisoners.

(b) If so, will Government be pleased to lay on the table all such reports received since August 1914, together with all orders of the Governor General in Council thereon?"

22. "(a) Is it a fact that appointments have been made of visitors of State prisoners under Bengal Regulation III of 1818?" Appointment of visitors to State prisoners.

(b) If so, will Government be pleased to make a statement showing Province by Province, the names of such visitors, their professions, the places for which they have been appointed, their respective dates of appointment and

* Not included in these Proceedings.

[*Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjee ; Sir William Vincent.*] [18TH MARCH, 1918.]

the number of visits paid by each visitor to each individual State prisoner, and the purport of the reports made by each regarding the health of the prisoner visited and his treatment under the Regulation ? ”

Reports
under
Section 8 of
Regulation
III of 1818

23. “ (a) Have the Government received any reports under section 8 of Bengal Regulation III of 1818, or have any such reports been called for from any officer in whose custody State prisoners may have been placed, as to whether the degree of confinement to which any individual State prisoner was subjected appeared liable to injure his health, and as to whether the allowance fixed for his support was adequate to the supply of his own wants and those of his family ?

(b) If so, will Government be pleased to lay on the table all such reports as may have been received since August 1914.

(c) In how many instances since August 1914 in each Province have State prisoners been kept in solitary confinement, and for what portion of the total days of confinement up to date ? ”

Treatment
of State
Prisoners.

24. “ (a) Have the Government of India or any Local Government received any representations from any State prisoners relating to their treatment, health and comfort and the insufficiency of the allowance received by them ?

(b) If so, will Government be pleased to state the purport of all such representations since August 1914 and the orders passed thereon ? ”

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent replied :—

“ I propose to answer this and the following four questions by the Hon'ble Member together. He has stated with substantial accuracy the provisions of Regulation III of 1818. A full history of every individual concerned is submitted to, and carefully considered by, the Government of India before a warrant is issued. After the issue of a warrant the Local Government submits two further reports. The first is the report, whether the degree of confinement to which the prisoner is subjected appears liable to injure his health. These reports have, with one exception, been in the negative sense. In that case orders were subsequently issued for the release of the individual in question.

The second report deals with the question of the allowances for the support of the prisoner and his family. As the wants of the prisoners are supplied by Government, no allowances have been granted for their personal maintenance. A large proportion of them were absconders or dependant upon their families for their maintenance ; but allowances for their families have been granted in 37 cases. From time to time representations have been received as to the adequacy of the allowances granted in particular cases, and these have formed the subject of further correspondence with Local Governments and revision when necessary. The further reports required by law are duly received by Government, and where any omission in this respect comes to the notice of the Government of India, the attention of the Local Government is drawn to the matter. In practically all cases the District Magistrates are the public officers appointed by Government to visit the prisoners at stated periods and to submit a report to Government regarding their health and treatment. These visits are paid monthly and any complaints are either dealt with on the spot or under the orders of the Local Government or, when necessary, under the orders of the Government of India.

The number of persons detained under the Regulation since August 1914, is 125. In the case of 10 the warrants have since been cancelled and orders have recently issued cancelling the warrants in 4 other cases.

The ages of the prisoners at the time their detention was ordered ranged from 19 to 43, the average being 26. Besides the complaints dealt with in the reports submitted by the appointed visitor already referred to, 9 petitions have been received from the prisoners themselves and one from a relation of a prisoner. In these cases due inquiry has been made through the Local Government and such orders passed as were deemed proper.

[18TH MARCH, 1918.] [Sir William Vincent; Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjea; Sir Dinshaw Wacha; Sir Robert Gillan.]

A copy of the rules* in force regarding the nature of detention and other matters relating to these prisoners is laid upon the table: and attention is also drawn to the answer given by Sir R. Craddock to Mr. Basu in this Council on 16th February 1917 dealing with the character of their confinement.

These rules have recently been considerably relaxed particularly in the matter of the association and opportunities for exercise permissible to both classes of detenus. Further relaxations will be made where found desirable and compatible with the safe custody of the prisoners.

As regards instances in which the prisoners have appeared to have developed symptoms of constitutional disease or mental derangement, apart from trivial or temporary ailments which have yielded to treatment, the following cases have occurred. One prisoner developed tubercular trouble. He was thereupon transferred to another jail where he could have the benefit of a good hospital with a tubercular ward, and has since gained in weight. Symptoms of jaundice and biliary colic were detected in another prisoner and he was subsequently released from jail. Another prisoner showed slight symptoms of asthma. He was admitted to hospital and is reported to be doing well. A fourth prisoner suffered from dysentery and as it was thought a change would do him good he was transferred to another district. A fifth case of a prisoner who had suffered from asthma from childhood was recently reported to be in good health having completely recovered from his disease. In a sixth case a prisoner complained of shortsightedness. His eyes were tested by an optician and spectacles were supplied to him. In three cases symptoms of mental derangement were noticed. In two of these cases the men have been released from jail and in the third case the prisoner has been placed under treatment and observation in a Lunatic Asylum.

Government do not propose to lay upon the table copies of the various reports and complaints received or information as to the places of detention or other details asked for regarding the prisoners, as they do not think it is in the general interest to advertise them publicly. The compilation also of a statement regarding their weight, occupation and earnings would involve a disproportionate amount of correspondence, time and labour, but if the Hon'ble Member requires particular information about any individual, I shall be happy to supply it for his personal information. He is doubtless aware that these prisoners are at liberty to communicate with their relations.

The information I have given has involved the examination of an enormous volume of papers, and the investigations necessary could not in some cases be extended to the period since January 1st of this year."

The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjea asked :—

" May I point out that the Hon'ble Member has not answered that part of my question which refers to solitary confinement ? "

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent replied :—

" I would refer the Hon'ble Member to the copy* of the rules which I am laying on the table."

The Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Wacha asked :—

25. "(a) Is it true or partially true that the railways exclusively managed by the State earn a less revenue compared to the earnings of the railways owned by the State but managed by Companies ? Earnings of railways.

(b) If the answer to (a) is in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state the principal reason or reasons for this difference in the earnings ? "

The Hon'ble Sir Robert Gillan replied :—

" It is a fact that the railway systems worked by the State give in the aggregate a smaller return on capital expended than the systems worked by

* Not included in these Proceedings.

[*Sir Robert Gillan; Sir Dinshaw Wacha; His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief; Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru; Sir C. Sankaran Nair.*] [18TH MARCH, 1918.]

Companies. I deprecate, however, any comparison being based on figures of this kind, because of the very varied conditions obtaining on different systems in respect of density of traffic, cost of coal, gradients and other factors, which would make any inference drawn from them entirely untrustworthy."

The Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Wacha asked :—

Profits earned by companies which manage State Railways.

26. "Will Government be pleased to state what has been the share of the profits earned by each of the companies which have managed the railways owned by the State from 1910-11 to 1916-17?"

The Hon'ble Sir Robert Gillan replied :—

"It is understood that the question refers to the railways worked by what are generally known as the 'Guaranteed Companies.' These companies work railways which have been financed mainly by Government but towards the capital of which the companies have themselves contributed. The amounts paid to such companies as their share of profits during the period 1910-11 to 1916-17 are shown in the statement* which is laid on the table."

The Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Wacha asked :—

Purchase of Stores.

27. "Will Government be pleased to state the value and nature of stores purchased from each individual or firm, specifying the name, in India, England and elsewhere, say for each of the six years commencing with 1911-12 and ending with 1916-17?"

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief replied :—

"The Hon'ble Member's inquiry is, I presume, intended to refer only to purchases of stores for the Government of India; but even so it would be impossible to answer the question without the expenditure of a large amount of time and labour in the various departments concerned throughout India and the India Office. The research involved would probably be found to necessitate the employment of a special staff, and, in any case, the expenditure of the time and labour would not, in the opinion of the Government, be justified."

The Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru asked :—

Re-organisation of the Educational Services.

28. "(a) Will Government be pleased to state whether replies have been received from Local Governments to the letter issued by the Education Department regarding the re-organisation of the Educational services? Will Government be pleased to place on the table such replies?"

(b) Is it proposed to appoint some Indians to the Indian Educational Service in class 1 in the near future, and, if so, in what Provinces?"

The Hon'ble Sir C. Sankaran Nair replied :—

"(a) The Hon'ble Member's attention is drawn to the reply given on the 1st March 1918 to a similar question by the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri. Since then the reply of the United Provinces Government has been received, and copies are placed on the table. Replies from the Governments of Bengal and Madras and the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces have not yet been received.

(b) The Hon'ble Member's attention is invited to the reply given to the Hon'ble Nawab Saiyed Nawab Ali Chaudhri on the 5th March 1918, regarding the proposals, which are under consideration, for appointing Indians to the existing permanent vacancies in the Indian Educational Service."

*Vide Appendix A to these Proceedings.

†Vide page 712 of Council Proceedings of 5th March 1918.

[18TH MARCH, 1918.] [*His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief; Mr. M. A. Jinnah; The Vice-President.*]

INDIAN DEFENCE FORCE BILL.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief:—"Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Indian Defence Force Act, 1917."

11-25 A.M.

The motion was put and agreed to.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief:—"Sir, it will be in the recollection of Council that last year the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma moved a Resolution in which he advocated the extension of the period within which candidates might offer themselves for enrolment under clause 12 (1) of the Indian Defence Force Act. In reply, it was explained that the maximum strength of the Indian portion of the Indian Defence Force was fixed with reference to the number that could be trained, armed and equipped, having regard to our commitments in the various theatres of war. As it was then anticipated that the numbers would be more than we could train and equip, the Government of India decided not to extend the statutory period. A promise, however, was made to re-examine the question this year when the training of the first batch of those who offered themselves for enrolment was completed, and further experience was thus gained to guide us in the way in which a force of this character could best be developed.

"As I remarked last year, the Government of India are fully in sympathy with those whose avocations prevent them from joining the regular army, but who are desirous of receiving some military training through the medium of the Indian Defence Force. I, therefore, watched the progress of the Force with great interest, and have done my best to assist and encourage its development. Results, as might have been expected, have been somewhat unequal. The numbers actually enrolled were a good deal less than anticipated, while the numbers rejected on medical grounds were higher, in spite of a considerable reduction of physical standards. Nevertheless, the results obtained have, in my opinion, been sufficiently encouraging to justify our going on with the scheme. We have actually in training, or which have completed their training, Indian units of the Defence Force in Calcutta, Madras, Poona, Lahore and Burma. As far as University corps are concerned, we have now got four units under training, namely, one in Bombay, one in Calcutta and Dacca combined and one in Allahabad. We thus have the nuclei of one mounted and several infantry organizations which should, in course of time, prove of considerable value, as the young men of which they are composed are quick to learn and ready to serve. Minor difficulties have arisen from time to time in the application of administrative details connected with the Force, and it is not always easy for us to adjust training conditions in University Corps so as to secure a reasonable standard of efficiency without interfering with studies and examinations. I am glad to say, however, that these difficulties, which must be always expected at the inception of a scheme of this sort, have been overcome, and by next year I hope to be able to report that the Force has been established on sound foundations and is making steady progress both in numbers and efficiency. The scope of the Bill which I am introducing is clearly stated in the Statement of Objects and Reasons, and calls for no additional remarks. The Bill will have the effect of removing existing restrictions on enlistment, and so enables us to obtain, and if necessary to extend, the Indian units of the force as suitable men offer themselves for service and as the military situation may demand.

"I now, Sir, beg to introduce the Bill."

The Hon'ble Mr. M. A. Jinnah:—"Sir, I am sure...."

The Hon'ble the Vice-President:—"I understand that His Excellency will move to suspend the Rules of Business in order to allow the Bill

[*The Vice-President; His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief; Mr. M. A. Jinnah; Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma; Mr. S. N. Bannerjea.*] [18TH MARCH, 1918.]

to be taken into consideration. Perhaps it would be more convenient for the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah, to make any remarks he wishes to make then. At present the Bill has only been introduced. I do not wish to prevent anyone who wishes to speak from doing so. I only suggest that the later stage will be more convenient."

11-31 A.M. **His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief**:—"I beg to move that the Rules of Business be suspended to admit of the Bill being taken into consideration."

The Hon'ble the Vice-President:—"I suspend the Rules of Business."

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief:—"I beg, Sir, to move that the Bill be now taken into consideration."

The motion was put and agreed to.

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

11-32 A.M. **The Hon'ble Mr. M. A. Jinnah**:—"Sir, I am sure that the Council will welcome the decision of the Government to extend the period, as is intended by this Bill. I may say also—and I am sure that it will be endorsed by the public—that we rejoice very much indeed that the bar which hitherto existed against Indians holding the King's Commission has been removed.

"Sir, there are certain grievances and complaints which still exist, in connection with the formation of Indian units under the Act, but I have no doubt that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will, as we go on, put them right. I only wish to strike this note to-day—and I am sure that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief knows better and perhaps is more alive to it than anybody else—that it is absolutely essential that the Government and the military authorities should recognise that we should have a citizen army as soon as possible, because India must recognise that there are possibilities of external as well as internal danger."

11-33 A.M. **The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma**:—"Sir, I am extremely thankful to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief for having introduced a Bill to-day extending the period, in accordance with the promise which he held out when I moved a Resolution last year on the subject. My earnest hope is that the country will take advantage of the facilities now granted by the Government, and will join the Indian Defence Force in large numbers. I only wish to suggest, Sir, that the Government and His Excellency should, on the other hand, also see that adequate encouragement is given to the young men who wish to join the Defence Force by giving them facilities for training in the higher branches of military art, so that, if they should befit themselves for the task, they may be entrusted with the higher commands in the Indian Defence Force."

11-34 A.M. **The Hon'ble Mr. S. N. Bannerjea**:—"I wish to add just one observation to those which have fallen from my Hon'ble friends. I would like to state, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that in some of the provinces the full complement has been made up—I think Bengal is in that position—and it is possible to get more men for the Defence Force from these provinces. Speaking of Bengal, I know that there is considerable enthusiasm among our young men, especially in the colleges, to enlist in this Force. Would it not be possible for His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to add to the number allowed to Bengal and Provinces similarly situated? I think our number is 1,000 for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa put together. This

INDIAN DEFENCE FORCE BILL; RESOLUTION *RE* PENSION 1963
FOR CIVIL OFFICERS.

[18TH MARCH, 1918.] [Mr. S. N. Bannerjca; His Excellency the Com-
mander-in-Chief; Mr. Sastri.]

seems to me to be a very small number for three provinces. Would it not be possible, in view of the extension of time that has been granted, to raise the number, say, to 2,000. I throw out this suggestion for the consideration of His Excellency, in order that full advantage may be taken of the enthusiasm which exists in this connection."

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief:—"In reference to the observations which fell from the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah, he can rest assured that I shall carefully consider the recommendations which he has made. I am in agreement with him that we want, as far as is possible, to ensure that our young men shall receive some form of training which will qualify them for service in a citizen army. He can also rest assured that, as far as I am able in my position as Commander-in-Chief, I will always give his suggestions my close attention.

11-85 A.M.

"In respect of the higher training which is recommended by the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma, we have that in view of course. But we have to follow the main principle that you must learn to walk before you can run, and when we have established a good basis of training in the more elementary subjects, we shall certainly proceed to the higher training of those who have perfected themselves in the more elementary portions of their duties.

"In respect of the suggestions kindly offered to us by the Hon'ble Mr. Bannerjca, I should explain that in the equipping and raising of this Force we have always to consider what we can spare after providing for the needs of various theatres of war, more especially in respect of the essential requirements of a new organization, namely, instructors, equipment and other details of that kind, which are of the utmost importance. His suggestions will receive full attention, and, as far as we are able to comply with them, we shall do so."

The motion was put and agreed to.

RESOLUTION *RE* PENSION FOR CIVIL OFFICERS.

The Hon'ble Mr. Sastri:—"Sir, I move that—

'This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that a representation be made to the Secretary of State for India that the maximum pension limits fixed for Civil officers should not be increased.'

11-37 A.M.

This Resolution does not deal with the Indian Civil Service whose annuities the Council had under its consideration in the last Simla Session. With regard to the other services the present rule is that whatever the salaries drawn by officers and however long they might have served, their pensions should in no case exceed Rs. 5,000 a year. The Public Services Commission recommend that this maximum limit of Rs. 5,000 be raised to Rs. 6,000, with an alteration of an important nature that, instead of the extra thousand being paid all at once, it should be paid by increments in the case of officers who retire after the twenty-fifth year of service, but who complete one or more years of service. In the case of officers who complete one year of service after the twenty-fifth, they recommend an additional pension of Rs. 200 a year; in the case of officers who retire after two years, Rs. 400, and so on up to the end of the thirtieth year of service when the new maximum of Rs. 6,000 will be earned. This provision is estimated to cost about 9½ lakhs of rupees.

"There is also another recommendation which the Commission have made, and that is, with regard to a class of pensions called special additional pensions amounting to Rs. 1,000 a year extra paid in the case of officers who retire after having done to the State service in certain scheduled appointments which are of a high character as regards their responsibility. When in this class of post an officer has done three years of work and shown special energy and

[Mr. Sastri; Mr. Kincaid.] [15TH MARCH, 1918.]

efficiency, he is given an additional pension of Rs. 1,000 a year. The Commission recommend in the first place that the schedule of such offices of responsibility be increased considerably.

"In the second place, they recommend that instead of Rs. 1,000 per year this additional pension should be increased to Rs. 1,500 a year—with an alteration in this case as in the former of an important nature. For each year an officer of this class is to receive an additional pension of Rs. 300 a year; so that if in one of these appointments carrying high responsibility an officer puts in one additional year of service he gets for all the rest of his life an additional pension of Rs. 300 a year. This Rs. 300 is to be increased at the rate of Rs. 300 a year for five years until the maximum of Rs. 1,500 might be earned. This provision is estimated to cost 2 lakhs and three-quarters; so that these two provisions together will cost 12 lakhs a year to the State.

"Now, I submit, Sir, that there is no sufficient cause shown for the enhancement of these pensions. I have more than once before drawn attention to the need of great economy in the management of India's finances. An increase in the non-effective charges must be explained by very good reasons indeed. I am unable to read in the report any such weighty reasons. Twelve lakhs a year is a very considerable sum to spend merely on pensions. I have no doubt that every officer concerned would be able to make out what he would call a satisfactory case; but there is no country in the world which can afford to squander its money—not even the richest. When we consider further that for the part of these pensions which is paid out of India in gold-using countries, payment is at the rate of 1s-9d. a rupee—that is a privileged rate though the exchange value is 1s-4d.—we have every reason to be careful as to the way in which these pensions ought to be added to.

"It may be said that there are inequalities in these pensions, that there are anomalies in the pension system which have got to be rectified. But in my opinion the rectification of anomalies and inequalities is something like the formation of a scientific frontier of which we used to hear sometime ago. Inequalities and anomalies may be rectified to-day, but they have a knack of turning up again to-morrow, probably in a worse form. Every time that we allow claims of this kind to be registered for favourable consideration, I am afraid the demands upon the State will grow. One suggestion that is made is, that the recruitment of officers of the stamp we require will be facilitated if we offer higher rates of pension. Not having been a Government servant myself, I am not able to say how far a young man wishing to enter a service—where even the service terms are very good—takes into calculation the amount of pension that he will earn at the end of his service, and whether the difference between Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 6,000 a year is so great that it would really improve the class of recruits that we are going to draw. I cannot resist the temptation of describing this as a luxury—an unjustifiable expenditure of money—that the Commission has recommended. Therefore, I move the Resolution which stands in my name."

11-46 A.M.

The Hon'ble Mr. Kincaid:—"Sir, I rise to oppose this motion, but I hope the Council will understand that I do not do so as a representative of the Government of Bombay or acting under instructions in any way from that Government. I rise simply to oppose this Resolution as a private Member anxious to defend, so far as I can, the interest of those services which are affected by it.

"Now what are the facts of the case. In the year 1855, the Government of India, which was then the East India Company, fixed the pensions of their uncovenanted officers—a very convenient term which although it does not exist now I shall ask the leave of the Council to use during the course of my few remarks. They fixed the pensions of these uncovenanted officers at half the pay which they enjoyed before retirement, subject to a maximum of Rs. 5,000 a year, but in certain special cases where officers held highly placed appointments, they raised the maximum to Rs. 6,000. At the time these pensions were fixed, the value of the rupee was from 2s-2d. to 2s-6d. The price of commodities

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[*Mr. Kincaid.*]

was low, the standard of living was far lower than it is now, and the number of large incomes both in India and in England was far smaller than it is at present. An uncovenanted officer was then able to save—a thing he can never do now—during his service in India, and it was not unreasonable for him to look forward to putting by enough money to give him an income of Rs. 2,500 in addition to the Rs. 5,000 pension. In view of the prices then existing of commodities and the standard of living then prevailing in England, I think I may say without fear of contradiction that a man who drew an income of Rs. 7,500 a year in 1855 was able to occupy a social standing quite equal to that occupied now by a man who has £2,000 a year.

“ Since 1855, this rate of pension has never altered, but I am sorry to say the exchange value of the rupee has altered very considerably. In the eighties came the fall in the price of silver and the rupee went down to 1s. 1d. In the early nineties the Government of India fixed the exchange value of the rupee at 1s. 4d., and as an alleviation of the inconveniences to which the uncovenanted services were exposed, they fixed the rate of pension at 1s. 9d. But still when you come to think of it, it was a very different prospect which they actually had to face from what they had looked forward to. Instead of getting £500 they were only getting £437. Ever since then, Sir, the price of commodities has gone on rising, the standard of living has gone on rising, and the number of small incomes both in India and in England has risen enormously. If we read the evidence given by the various gentlemen, both English and Indian, who gave evidence before the Public Services Commission in 1913, we find the burden of their song to be this: ‘ Whatever else you do for us, raise our pensions—they are too small; after living in India and serving India for 30 years, we cannot when we go home keep up the standard of living to which we are accustomed.’ This was the gist both of the evidence given by Mr. Dutt, an Indian speaking on behalf of the Finance Department, and of the evidence given by British officers speaking on behalf of other departments. This evidence so influenced the Public Services Commission that they made certain recommendations—in the opinion of the Hon’ble Mover, they were exaggerated recommendations, in my humble opinion they are extremely modest recommendations. The first was that an officer after 25 years’ service should be entitled to draw $\frac{2}{3}$ ths of the pay he was getting at the time of retirement. The second recommendation was that the maximum for ordinary pensions should be raised from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 6,000; and in the case of privileged pensions the Rs. 1,000 addition should be increased by another Rs. 500.

“ Now, if we examine the first concession we see, Sir, that it is really no concession at all. As a matter of fact at present a man, if he gets a medical certificate can retire after 25 years’ service on $\frac{2}{3}$ ths of the salary he is actually drawing, and if he is not ill enough to get such a certificate, the $\frac{2}{3}$ ths pension is so ridiculously small that he will make every effort to hang on if he possibly can for five more years so as to get his full pension. The Hon’ble Mover went into the details of the second and third recommendations, but broadly speaking they come to this, that a man instead of retiring on Rs. 5,000 after 30 years’ service will retire on Rs. 6,000, and that an officer who has held a higher office instead of retiring on Rs. 6,000 will retire on Rs. 7,500. The Hon’ble Mover said that those are very big figures and that no Government can afford not to be economical in its disbursements. Well, that is a general proposition to which we all agree. But the real question is, whether the proposed pensions are excessive or not. A good test is afforded by a comparison with the pensions obtaining in the Home Civil Service. The Home Civil servant lives in his own beautiful country; he has not got to incur expensive trips across seven thousand miles to recruit his own health or that of his wife; he has not got to send his children away for education; he has not to make enormous remittances home at a ruinous rate of exchange; he has to undergo none of the partings, none of the separations, none of the miseries which have introduced such a lot of unhappiness into the lives of Anglo-Indians. Now, Sir, you would have thought that an officer who had done his service under such

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exceptional conditions would, when the time came for pension, be worse off than his Anglo-Indian brother. This Council will be surprised to hear that the exact contrary is the case. The Home Civil servant when he retires gets half of the pay he was getting when he retired, subject to no maximum whatever. He also gets under the Annuation Act of 1909, $\frac{1}{5}$ th of his salary which he was drawing for every year of his service paid to him as a lump sum; that, Sir, is a valuable concession, because whether he lives or dies it forms a provision for his wife and children. Now, a concrete instance will make my meaning clear. Supposing your home civil servant was getting a salary of £2,000 a year. After 30 years' service he will get a pension of £1,000 a year; he will also get $\frac{1}{5}$ ths of his pay as a lump sum that is to say, £2,000. Compare with this his unfortunate Anglo-Indian brother who is getting £2,000; he will get Rs. 6,000 paid at 1s. 9d. rate or £500, or half of what the Englishman gets, and he will get no lump sum whatever. So that if he dies the day after he gets his pension, his wife and children, so far as their claims against Government are concerned, are left absolutely destitute.

" Now, Sir, I have approached this subject from the Englishman's point of view. But the Indian's point of view is exactly the same when you come to think of it. The Indian in the superior ranks of the service has probably adopted English methods of living, English methods of housing; he wishes probably to send his sons to England for their education, and above all he does not get his pension paid at an exchange rate of 1s. 9d.; he only gets Rs. 5,000 a year at the current rate of exchange. I submit, therefore, that there is a very good case from the Indian point of view for increasing their pensions also. I have only dealt with the situation as existing up to 1913, the time when the Commission took their evidence. If the Council will excuse my introducing a personal experience into this debate, I was in England the whole of 1916, part of 1915 and part of 1917; and I can assure the Council that the unfortunate conditions which I referred to have been seriously aggravated by the existence of the war. I was drawing a nominal furlough allowance of £1,000 a year. Owing to the Income-tax which is 4 annas in the rupee and not one anna in the rupee as in India, I was actually paid by the Government only £680. Of course some of the deduction was due to cuttings for family pension, funds. But other men have to provide for their wives and children also. I can assure this Council that owing to the rise in the prices of commodities, the increase in the prices of travel and the difficulty of getting anything you wanted, I found it extremely difficult to make both ends meet; and if I, with a nominal salary, of £1,000 a year found it very difficult to live, what must be the difficulties of the unfortunate gentlemen who have to live on a nominal salary of £437 a year? Well, Sir, it may be said (I expected the Hon'ble Mover to suggest it and though he has not done so yet, he may do so in his reply) 'Oh, yes, that is all very well; possibly it may be right to increase the pensions of the civil servants; but there are in this country an enormous number of ill-paid subordinates whose pay at present is almost at starvation point and whose pay ought to be raised.' Well, Sir, I am also in agreement with this point; but I have a few figures which I shall show to this Council. If the 12 lakhs referred to by the Hon'ble Member as the cost at which these improvements of pensions of civil servants have been estimated, be devoted to enhancing the pay of such subordinates, it will produce little or no result. When I say ill-paid subordinates, I include specially the rank and file of the police, the most faithful, the most loyal and the most enduring body of men in the service of the Government of India to-day. I have not got the figures for the Government of India, but I have been able to get some figures from the Government of Bombay; at present there are in the rank and file (I exclude officers) of the Bombay district police, 23,000 men; if you add to that figure those in the Bombay city police, and those in the excise, preventive and salt and in the offices of the judicial and of the executive, that number comes to about double or 46,000. There are 10 administrations in India, some bigger, some smaller than my own presidency; and multiplying the figure by 10 we get 460,000; and dividing 12 lakhs by this figure you get a little under Rs. 4 per man; that means to say that if you devote these 12 lakhs to raising the pay of these subordinate employes of the

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Government of India, each man will get a little less than Rs. 3—a perfectly negligible amount—a year or about 4 annas per month. Well, Sir, I have always heard that it is an unsound policy to rob Peter to pay Paul, but to rob Peter to pay Paul and then find yourself unable to pay Paul strikes me as verging on the idiotic. It was only two or three days ago that the Hon'ble Mover urged on this Council, with the eloquence to which we are accustomed, that we should raise the age of candidates into the Police Service. He said he wanted no immature lads, half educated, only fit to pass the school-leaving examination; for his part he wanted India to have lads of the highest education, of the highest capacity, of the highest intelligence. Well, Sir, those are very excellent sentiments with which I do not suppose anybody will quarrel; but I would suggest to the Hon'ble Mover and some of his friends that lads of the highest education capacity and intelligence are after all only human beings; and when they hear that the Hon'ble Mover and his friends are constantly bringing forward in this Council Resolutions with the object of thwarting their interests and keeping their pensions down, as much as they possibly can, it is not very likely that they will respond to his amiable invitation. I will, therefore, for these reasons, ask the Council to reject this Resolution, and I would, in this appeal, specially include those gentlemen who represent the landowning interests, for whom many of us voted the other day. I would ask them to do so, to throw out this Resolution, not only because I consider it a bad or ill-judged Resolution, but as a tribute of confidence in those services which are affected by this Resolution, to the members of those services, men who have given their youth, their intelligence, their capacity, their industry, not half-heartedly, not grudgingly, but whole-heartedly, ungrudgingly and with both hands in the service of this country."

The Hon'ble Sir James DuBoulay:—"Sir, the present Secretary of State when he was introducing the subject of the Public Services Commission to the notice of the House of Commons said that it was necessary to have a European element in most of the services. European officers must be given pay and prospects sufficient to induce them to join these services, and when good men have been trained and induced to join, they must be placed in positions of responsibility adequate to their merits. He said of the services, other than the civil service, that each of them had their grievances. In the following year talking on the same subject he said 'I do not want to say one word which would prejudge the conclusions, but I do want to say that we cannot go on governing India with a dissatisfied public service, and there is evidence that the recruiting sergeant is hampered by the evil reports which are brought home from India at this moment.' We had these allegations of dissatisfaction in the public services and suggestions that this dissatisfaction was interfering with recruitment. The Public Services Commission had to investigate the point. I submit, there was a far better course than for Government to take up such questions in a haphazard way according as each service became more vocal in the expression of its grievances. That procedure would, I think, have probably led to remedies of a very unequal character, and have probably involved Government in far greater expenditure than has been suggested by the Commission. Nobody can charge the Commission with haste or lack of diligence. They went to and fro in the country, they recorded reams of evidence, and their report is the result of long investigation and deliberation. I should like to read something they said about this subject, it comes under the head of 'Salary,' but I maintain that pension is only deferred salary. They went into the question of a rise in prices and put that on one side with these remarks:—

12 P. M.

'Nor is it necessary that such calculations should be made, as they depend ultimately on the assumption that salaries should be kept at the same level for all time irrespective of the operation of the law of supply and demand. Such a position is untenable. The only safe criterion is that Government should pay so much and so much only to their employes as is necessary to obtain recruits of the right stamp, and to maintain them in such a degree of comfort and dignity as will shield them from temptation and keep them efficient for the term of their service. Whilst therefore we have noted the rise in prices that has taken place, we have not based on this any general recommendation.'

[*Sir James DuBoulay.*] [18TH MARCH, 1918.]

“ Then they say about pensions.

‘ What affects us more is the consideration of the amount needed to make Government service reasonably attractive to recruits. “ In so far as the main body of officers is concerned, we see no reason to doubt that the present terms of pension are adequate. It is only in the case of highly placed officers that we see ground for reasonable complaint. Under Table A the maximum limits are operative against all officers who have less than 25 years’ service, whose average emoluments are in excess of Rs. 1,000 a month at the time of retirement, and against all officers with 25 years’ service or over whose average emoluments at the time of retirement exceed Rs. 833½ a month. Hence it follows that the higher an officer’s rank in the service, the greater becomes the difference between his actual pension, as determined by the maximum limit, and the pension he would have received if it had been determined in accordance with the scale of 60ths without any maximum limit. Apart from this general consideration, we are impressed by the strong feeling of dissatisfaction with the present limit which is everywhere prevalent, and we are satisfied that, from the point of view of recruitment, some improvement of the existing conditions is needed.’

“ The Hon’ble Mover of the Resolution has stated briefly what the actual recommendations of the Public Services Commission were, and I need not repeat them. But though the Commission proposed to enhance the maximum limits they also recommended that officers in several services should work longer before they earned their pensions, and they proposed to introduce certain other restrictions calculated to operate in favour of the general public. Their scheme really hangs together, and it is only fair to consider the rough with the smooth in it. This applies especially to their recommendations in regard to the special additional pensions for officers holding high appointments. I mean that though the maximum pay may be enhanced as I have pointed out, it will take longer to earn it. I would remind the Council too that it is not so long since in certain services officers of Government were entitled to earn an additional pension of Rs. 2,000; in fact, there are many officers still in the service who will be entitled to that amount if they are fortunate enough to attain to qualifying appointments. I therefore think that the recommendations of the Commission are not such an extraordinarily liberal advance on the pensionary arrangements which we have known as the Resolution before us would lead this Council to suppose. Government have not yet come to any conclusion on these proposals, and they have not considered the additions which the Commission proposed to the appointments in which special pensions can be earned. But I do think Council will recognise that there is some force in the contention which was so constantly reiterated before the Commission that it is unreasonable that men who have served Government in high appointments on high salaries should not receive on retirement some recognition of the more meritorious nature of their services. This contention, as the Hon’ble Mr. Kincaid said, was not confined to European officers. We had in it the evidence of Mr. Dutt, a high official in the Indian Finance Department and as time goes on and the Indianisation of the Services increases the number of Indians who will be affected in this matter will also increase. I consider that the existing system of pensions is a cheap one for Government, and as you have heard from the Hon’ble Mr. Kincaid it appears that in England the pension rules are much more liberal and there are there no maxima. It does not seem unreasonable to take a few more appointments of special responsibility and allow the incumbents the privilege of enjoying a small addition to their pensions over and above what can be attained by the average man. Last September in dealing with the question of the pension of the Indian Civil Service, the Hon’ble Mover of this Resolution referred to the serpent in the gardens of the daughters of Hesperus, who was the guardian of the golden apples that Juno gave to Jupiter. He may remember that it was one of the labours of Hercules to procure some of these apples, and I sometimes feel that the departments of the Government of India are in the position of Hercules. But there is one little point in which he fell into an inaccuracy, the guardian was not a serpent but a monstrous dragon. There is a good deal of historical dispute as to whether he had one head or a hundred. Hitherto, speaking for the Home Department, I have felt that in dealing with the dragon we have had only one head to deal with, and I have recognised in it the benevolent countenance of the Hon’ble the Finance Member. It fights fiercely when we try to get one of the golden apples,

[18TH MARCH, 1918.] [Sir James DuBoulay; Mr. S. N. Bannerjea.]

sometimes we get one, sometimes we fail. But I am afraid it is growing more heads and among others I recognise the kindly features of the Hon'ble Mover of the Resolution, sometimes the flashing eyes of my old friend Sir Dinshaw Wacha or the fiery tongue of the Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjea. I feel and I think those Hon'ble Members who have in their youth stolen apples will recognise that the departments of the Government of India have a much more difficult task than they had. Fortunately some of these heads sometimes bite one another, as for instance when the other day I heard the Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjea talking on some subject in which he was personally interested, and he referred to the question of £ s. d. as paltry, or when the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali the other day attacked increased expenditure on the police, an expenditure which is devoted almost entirely to the improving of the pay and prospects of the subordinate ranks, a subject which the Hon'ble Mover of this Resolution has made his own"

The Hon'ble Mr. S. N. Bannerjea :—"I said it was paltry in connection with the military expenditure at a grave crisis of the Empire."

The Hon'ble Sir James DuBoulay :—"I forgot that it was applied in that sense.

"I cannot believe that the Hon'ble Mover of this Resolution will contend that there is anything unreasonable or extravagant in the proposals *per se* of the Public Services Commission. He has himself on a previous occasion admitted the truth of the ancient maxim that the labourer is worthy of his hire; he will hardly deny the increasingly high level of service rendered by these labourers to his country, but he must not judge them by his own high standard,—they do not as a class labour for the love of labour; they labour very hard, but they expect an adequate reward. Sir Mahadeo Chaubal put the position in a nutshell when he wrote 'the representatives of all the services inquired into put forth grievances about their hard and strenuous work (as one witness put it, 'burning the midnight oil the whole day long') and clamoured for better prospects.' I do not believe that the Hon'ble Mover would set up his judgment against that of the Commission, indeed, the other day when he was heckled for quoting Mr. Abdur Rahim as a man of authority because he sat on the Commission and then quoting the majority report he rapidly took cover under the shelter of them both, but there is no such shelter for him here, for on this topic the Commission are almost unanimous in opposition to his views, and though Mr. Abdur Rahim saw no justification for granting any additional concessions in the minor point of special pensions, he was willing to go a long way with his colleagues on the general question of enhanced maxima.

"I think the Hon'ble Member in Simla argued strongly in favour of the subordinate services. He said money should not be spent on the superior services, but only on the rank and file; the Hon'ble Mr. Kincaid has put before you one aspect of that question. But I do feel that the Hon'ble Mover rather overlooks the enormous care and attention which is given to that matter by the Government of India. I do not wish to dwell on it at any great length, because the Hon'ble Member has not referred to it to-day, but he referred to it on a different occasion. We are constantly increasing the pay of the lower ranks of the various services. The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes mentioned in answer to a question the other day that Government have spent nine lakhs in the last four years in improving the pay of clerks, postmen and menials in the Postal Department, and again he told us that the approximate increase of pay in the large offices during the past fifteen years has been 32 per cent. in the case of clerks, and 57 per cent. in the case of postmen. The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent pointed out on Wednesday last that for 1912-13 the Government of India had spent Rs. 140 lakhs in improving the pay of the subordinate police-inspectors, sub-inspectors, head constables and constables,—and in the five years from 1912-13 to 1916-17 the expenditure on these classes had increased by another 41½ lakhs. I could go on quoting instances to show

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that in every province there have been similar increases not only in the police but in most other services.

"Then, Sir, the Hon'ble Member has said that he regards this question of improved pensions as a question of luxury. I think it is begging the question to talk about luxuries. It is all a question of degree; and the difference of degree suggested by the Commission is a very small one. He recently told us that he objected to the cast iron organization of services whereby the servants of Governments acquire established rights, but he will recognise that the public must treat its servants well. They will not serve if they are liable to dismissal at the mere caprice of their employers; they will not serve unless they have some security of service; they will not serve if after years of labour they are not guaranteed the means of ending their days free from the sordid worries of penury and able to give their families the same start in life which they have themselves enjoyed. If they do not have prospects of that sort, the better men will boycott Government service, and that means that the whole tone of Government service will degenerate. I am sure that the Hon'ble Mover would not regard such a result with equanimity, and if that is the view of the Hon'ble Mover, I would ask this Council to dissociate themselves from it.

"That, Sir, is all I have to say. I have argued the case as if Government were about to accept the recommendations of the Commission. Whether they will do so or not, I cannot say. There are other recommendations of the report which will command their prior attention, but the Hon'ble Mover would have us set metes and bounds to this question of emoluments—and pension is nothing but a form of emoluments—and I maintain that that is trying to interfere with the laws of supply and demand. We cannot do it any more than King Canute could control the tides. Government have so far suspended their judgment upon the precise recommendations which the Commission have put forward, and I would ask this Council to do the same. Indeed, I almost hope that the Hon'ble Mover will not, now that he has ventilated the subject, wish to press his Resolution to a division."

12-18 P.M.

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma:—"Sir, it would be a very ungracious task on the part of any Hon'ble Member to ask the Government to pause before it accepts the recommendations of a responsible body with regard to the increase in the pensions paid to the Civil Servants, especially when it is urged that this demand comes not from one section of the service but from several sections, both Indian as well as European. It is also somewhat difficult to resist the argument that is generally advanced that the efficiency of the services would suffer unless the services are properly treated. But in calculating and relying upon these general considerations, it seems to me, Sir, that there is great danger that both the Government as well as the officials interested might over-step the bounds of economy and arrive at conclusions with regard to the increase of emoluments, for salaries and pensions are, as is rightly put, one branch of the subject of emoluments, ending in the division of any increase of revenue between the services.

"There seems also to be a desire on the part of several official members to bid for a combination amongst the rich somewhat to the detriment of the humble and poor taxpayer, and I can freely sympathise with the Finance Member's statement on a previous occasion that the only result of the appointment of Commissions would be an increase in expenditure all round. Well, the substantial question that has been raised is as to whether, under the circumstances of this country, a case has been so clearly made out for an increase in pensionary charges, having regard to the enormous growth in expenditure during the past few years, as to make it impossible for the Government to resist this recommendation of the Public Services Commission. I can understand that if there were reasonable proposals that the number of officers that are to be recruited are to be considerably limited, and that it is only the best and highest talent procurable in the United Kingdom that will be

[18TH MARCH, 1918.] [*Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma; Sir Hugh Bray.*]

recruited for these various services here, I can understand in those circumstances an increase being possibly allowed in the emoluments, having regard to the decrease in numbers. But no such proposals seem to be forthcoming in regard to the more important services, and we are face to face with this problem as to whether we can allow the pensionary charges to grow from time to time in the manner suggested. Hon'ble Members will note that the superannuation allowance and pensionary charges were in 1903-04 £2,822,000 as against £3,571,000 in 1918-19, or there has been an increase of 110 lakhs, or 25 per cent. within a space of 15 years, and we are asked to accept increases in various branches under various heads, the sum total of which would be really very formidable. In the case of the civil departments also the growth has been enormous. It has risen from £10 millions to £22 millions, and even excluding the increased charges on agriculture, medicine and education, amounting to about £5 millions, the increase in salaries paid to these various departments has also been very large. Under those circumstances, Sir, there is no use of making generalisations and stating that we cannot get the right type of material from England, if we are doubtful ourselves as to the efficacy of this value. One argument that has been advanced is that the recent change in the pensionary rules in the United Kingdom makes it possible for an Englishman to realise in his own country a somewhat higher scale of emolument than is possible in India. Well, I am somewhat doubtful about the matter. From 1-60th the scale has been reduced to 1-80th and half pension can be earned only after 40 years' service, and we have not also been told what is the average salary that is received by an Englishman in the various services corresponding to the services we are now considering. Even in first class services the emoluments do not exceed £1,000, and the pension charges cannot be much more than the pension charges that are paid to the higher officers in India. I will just quote a sentence from Dr. Heath's book on the British Services. Speaking of the provision made for British services and referring to the General Provident Fund he says:—

"This general Provident Fund, it will be seen, corresponds very favourably with the home pensionary system established by"

"So a comparison of the figures obtaining in England and in India, I think, does not warrant the assumption that the officers in India, when on retirement in England, will receive much less than what is being received by their comrades, who entered similar services at the same time, are receiving. And the argument based upon various charges incurred by officers in India in sending their families home, etc., seems to have no application in the case of pensions, for in the case of pensions, the gentlemen will be residing permanently in England with their families, and consequently their expenses would not be any greater than what their brother British officers would have to incur. And the rise of prices would only affect the lower scale. Anyhow, Sir, all that I urge is that, in the matter of increasing these emoluments, we shall have to wait till the war is over to see what the after-war values will be, and then only determine as to whether, consistently with the economic conditions of the country, we can increase the total salary and pension charges and as to whether, if we are compelled to increase the pension charges or emoluments, we should not at the same time reduce the number so that the net result may from the financial point of view not be prejudicial to India.

"I can understand the chagrin that various Members may feel at remarks which we Hon'ble Members are forced to make against our own wishes in the matter. But stern duty requires it, and we shall have to face the odium whether it is from our own men or from Britishers, and in whatever shape that dislike may be demonstrated either here or elsewhere."

The Hon'ble Sir Hugh Bray:—"Sir, I should like to suggest 12-28 P.M. that a discussion on this point is really almost futile. Here we are, with everybody else all over the world, putting up salaries, wasting our time discussing cutting them down. It is, as the Hon'ble Sir James DuBoulay

[*Sir Hugh Bray; Mr. S. Sastri.*] [18TH MARCH, 1918.]

rightly remarks, bidding the advancing waves retire. I think 60 per cent. or more of business concerns and banks have found that they have had to increase employé's salaries, and sometimes also pensions. I have recently myself within the last few weeks formed one of a special Committee to consider the emoluments of one of the services in this country. Originally the emoluments of that service were based more or less on the lines of the Indian Civil Service, but slightly less attractive, as that was considered enough, but now we have had to increase the pay of almost every post and create fresh highly paid posts, so that that service is now probably more attractive than that of the Civil Service, except in the matter of pensions which we could not deal with because it needed an Actuary's report before we could deal with it. But if the report admits of it pensions will very likely be increased also. While we are discussing this sort of thing everybody else is sweeping the market of the best men available and paying almost anything to get them."

19.28 P.M.

The Hon'ble Mr. S. Sastri :--"There are only two or three remarks that I wish to make. The Hon'ble Mr. Kincaid said in reference to a possible objection that might be taken on behalf of the inferior services, that the 12 lakhs to which this Resolution refers will not go very far towards ameliorating their condition. That may be so. But when we consider the condition of the inferior ranks of the services, the problem is, from the financial point of view, very large. That only means that we must husband our resources with extreme care, that we must incur no expenditure that can possibly be avoided, and it strikes me, Sir, notwithstanding all that has been said, that this present item is one that may be avoided without serious loss.

"The Hon'ble Mr. Kincaid also observed by way of contrasting the Home Civil Servant with the Civil Servant out here that the question of expenditure when he goes home, the cost of the passages and the education of children and the hardships of a life in a climate like that of India with its incidental privations, sorrows and separations and so on, has got to be taken into consideration. I understood always that in fixing the salaries, emoluments, leave allowances and pensions of officers employed here, these were the very matters that were taken into consideration, and that is why a great disparity is now observable between the rates at which these services are paid in India and the rates at which the kindred services are paid anywhere else in the world, not excluding the United Kingdom. To bring them up again and again is to ask that we should give compensation in the shape of rupees for the domestic sorrows, privations and separation griefs, and so on. These are matters which are incommensurable, and I do hope that nobody will seriously advance the view that these things can be assuaged by the mere enhancement of pensions or other things of that kind.

"With regard to the question of Indians in the service, whose pensions also come under my Resolution, I would say this, that that does not deter me at all. The case of Indians seems to me to be absolutely without any title to consideration in this matter. Rupees 5,000 is quite good enough, I think, for retired officers in India. I know I shall incur their serious displeasure by saying this. But it is not only with regard to their pensions, but also with regard to their salaries that I hold the same unorthodox doctrine. It appears to me, Sir, the truth is that the Indians in these public services are setting up a standard more or less in imitation of the standards of the European employé's of Government. It is not the natural standard that India would set up if we had no Europeans in our services. It is because Europeans coming out to India and occupying the higher ranks of the services have set up a very, very high scale of salaries that Indian officers also, coming more or less into line with them, desire that their salaries, their pensions and their furlough and leave allowances should all be settled on a similarly high level. That, I submit, is one of the evils to which the constant recurrence of these questions exposes the Indian Treasury. Every time an advantage is sought in the conditions of the European services, a similar advantage is sought in the conditions of the Indian services, and not always with equally good

RESOLUTION *RE* PENSION FOR CIVIL OFFICERS; RESOLUTION 1073
RE CADRE OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE NOT
TO BE INCREASED.

[18TH MARCH, 1918.]

[*Mr. Sastri; Sir James DuBoulay.*]

reasons; and it is found impossible to resist them. European officers themselves who advance their own claims find it difficult to set up a different standard for their Indian colleagues, and they naturally are not backward in seconding them. But, I think, in the interests of the Indian taxpayer both claims must be resisted, and we must make no difference whatever.

“With regard to the exchange difficulty to which the Hon'ble Mr. Kincaid referred, I will dispose of it by merely reading what the Commission themselves have said in regard to the matter. It runs: ‘As in the case, however, of salaries, we attach little importance to arguments founded on a comparison between present and past conditions.’ If the Commission did not see fit to pay any attention to that consideration I do not think this Council need.

“There is only one remark which fell from the Hon'ble Sir Hugh Bray to which I would refer before I resume my seat, and that is, the question of whether it is possible to resist these claims. I do not think I am wasting the time of this Council. I think these and other Resolutions of a similar character which we have discussed have enabled us to state the Indian taxpayer's point of view. I know that as yet the Indian taxpayer's point of view cannot prevail, and that the views of those who think that these claims are absolutely justified and well founded are more likely to prevail. We cannot, nevertheless, adopt the opinion which has been advanced by the Hon'ble Sir Hugh Bray that these were useless discussions. To him, foreseeing the result clearly, it does appear useless. To us, looking at the matter from our point of view, the debates do not seem to be useless because, although we know they cannot bear the fruit that we desire, they will at least enable us to have the satisfaction that we have stated the Indian taxpayer's point of view, and that we have not allowed the Government of India and its superior officers to be under any misapprehension whatsoever in regard to this matter.”

The Hon'ble Sir James DuBoulay :—“I have only got a very ^{12-37 P.M.} few remarks to make, Sir. As regards what fell just this moment from the Hon'ble Mover about the constantly recurring frequency with which these matters are considered, I think I am right in saying that these questions have not been touched since 1855. They do not therefore seem to me to be of very frequent occurrence.

“There was just one thing I wished to point out in regard to what the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma said. I looked at the figures of the revenues of India and the figures of the increase in pensionary charges, and I find that in the last 20 years the revenues of India have increased by 48 millions, or rather more than 76 per cent., and the pensionary charges in India have increased by rather over 100 per cent. These in England however have increased by only 5 per cent., and the total result is an increase of 35 per cent. That is to say, roughly, that the steady increase in the pensionary charges is not so great as the steady increase in the general revenues. And when we consider that it is the number of extra establishments which we constantly employ as the administration develops which has really increased the pensionary charges and not any increase in the pensions themselves, I do not think this criticism of that increase should influence our view that these proposals of the Public Services Commission are not fairly reasonable.”

The motion was put and negatived.

**RESOLUTION *RE* CADRE OF THE INDIAN CIVIL
SERVICE NOT TO BE INCREASED.**

The Hon'ble Mr. Sastri :—“This Resolution reads:—

12-39 P.M.

‘This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that the Government of India do represent to the Secretary of State for India, that the cadre of the Indian Civil Service be not increased as recommended by the Public Services Commission.’

1074 RESOLUTION RE CADRE OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE
NOT TO BE INCREASED.

[*Mr. Sastri.*]

[18TH MARCH, 1918.]

“Sir, the cadre of the Indian Civil Service is calculated on the strength of superior officers required to fill what are known as the superior appointments. The superior appointments are those that involve a high degree of responsibility, or what the Commissioners call posts involving major responsibility. For these posts of course a certain number of additional officers are required.

“The young recruits require to be trained first and go through a cycle of small appointments involving minor responsibility before they can be put into charges of major responsibility. Then there is provision to be made for giving leave to officers and replacing them when abroad, and then also there are fresh recruits who have to be put into inferior appointments and undergo a period of training which is two years or so.

“Now, on account of these various necessities it is found that for every 100 superior appointments, 194·5 posts have to be reserved for the Indian Civil Service; that is, very nearly every officer who has to hold a superior post has to have an under-study for himself. It has also been calculated that the rate of decrement is 4·17, which is accordingly taken to regulate the recruitment of every year. Now, since superior appointments are the basic figure with regard to which our adjustments have got to be made, care must be taken to find out what a superior appointment is. Now a superior appointment has been defined to be an appointment which carries major responsibility. For practical purposes the Government of India have gone on the footing that a superior appointment is one which carries a salary of Rs. 1,000 and over. Now, there are many appointments—Justice Abdur Rahim puts the figure at 83—many appointments which carry a salary of Rs. 1,000 and over, but which cannot be correctly described as appointments of a superior nature involving major responsibility. The figure, therefore, has to be cut down by 83 or such other figure as the Government may arrive at as really affording the proper deduction on account of an improper grouping of appointments as superior which really are not superior. Then there is a four per cent. added to the list of superior appointments for the reason that there are some appointments which are only temporary, and that officers from the Indian Civil Service have got to be sent on deputation for other purposes. Now deputation for other purposes seems to be a very common thing in this service. The Commission say about them ‘Vacancies of this last named character (that is, on deputation) are constantly recurring in the ordinary course of the administration, as when a census is held or a colonisation scheme is on foot or arrears have accumulated and have to be cleared off or a special inquiry is in progress, or the loan of an officer is made to a Ruling Chief.’ Now, I do not say that such deputation is unnecessary. Some of these causes mentioned are of a grave nature and require that when officers are lent they should be officers from the best service we have got; and I am willing therefore that that provision should stand. But the Commission themselves have reported that 4 per cent. might be considered excessive, and it is worth while inquiring whether in the different provinces the deputation calculation is altogether correct.

“Then it would appear that the percentages already mentioned—for example, the 15·5 per cent. mentioned for the training reserve—are not strictly interpreted. There is a tendency to strain the meaning of these things in order to provide for a larger number of officers, especially of a junior grade. In Madras and in Bombay, such things have been done, and the result is an over-recruitment in some years, and when there is an over-recruitment, there is a block in the flow of promotion. When that is the case, Government have to pay extra allowances to officers whose expectations, although not founded in law, have been disappointed. Now, so far from there being a necessity for increasing the cadre of this service, some of us, looking at the matter from the non-expert's point of view, might think there was a good case made out for decreasing the cadre. For instance, in the evidence before the Public Services Commission, there came up two very important points. One of them was that we were appointing to the judicial posts in the country members of the Indian Civil Service without there being

RESOLUTION *RE* CADRE OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE 1075
NOT TO BE INCREASED.

[18TH MARCH, 1918.]

[*Mr. Sastri.*]

an adequate justification for the practice. In other countries in England, for example, upon whose polity our polity is mostly modelled, no appointment of a merely judicial character would be given to a member of the Civil Service. All judicial appointments are there recruited from the open Bar; and as the Bar here confessedly has developed to a high level of efficiency, there is apparently no reason why all the judicial posts now reserved for the Indian Civil Service should not be taken out of the schedule and recruited from the open profession of the law. In this matter the Commission themselves have gone a certain length. They propose that in the future 40 posts for the whole of India should be taken out from the Indian Civil Service cadre and recruited from the Bar. Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim and Sir Mahadeo Chaulal go a little further. Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim specially recommended that a third only of these appointments should continue to be filled by members of the Civil Service, and the rest recruited from the Bar. I am, however, an exponent of public opinion, and as the Hon'ble Sir James Du Boulay pointed out in the case of pensions, I am one of those who think that even Justice Abdur Rahim's recommendation in this respect was a little halting. I would recommend that in India the whole of the judicial appointments should be recruited hereafter from the Bar.

"The Commission themselves have, in the second instance, recommended that the Indian Civil Service need not henceforth go out of their proper sphere and seek to control the other services which hitherto they have been doing. They have controlled, for example, the Police; they have controlled the Agricultural service; they have controlled the Post Office; they are controlling to-day the Salt service everywhere, and the Land Records Department in Burma, Registration in some provinces, Co-operation everywhere. These are all now controlled by officers of the Indian Civil Service, and our contention is that it is not necessary. The Commission themselves have recommended that it is no longer necessary to bear on the cadre of the Indian Civil Service the Inspector-Generalship of Police. They make a similar recommendation with regard to the Directorship of Agriculture. But the effect of this they take away by recommending the creation of new posts, called Rural Commissioners, which seem to us, on the contrary, to be absolutely unnecessary. In the case of the other services, the Commission recommend the present practice mostly to continue; but we on the contrary are of opinion that it is not necessary to continue this practice as regards the other services. Those other services which I have mentioned are also well developed, and they could produce officers competent to be at their head. We, therefore, think that it is no longer necessary for these considerations to recruit the Indian Civil Service on nearly the same scale as hitherto. The Commission on the contrary have taken the complaints made that the work of the Civil Service officer has greatly increased, and they have attached very considerable importance to it—I fear, far too great importance—and the result is that they are overwhelmed by the fear that the Indian Civil Service is over-worked on account of their increasing duties and we must afford them relief by cutting up their jurisdiction, introducing smaller districts and relieving the officers by creating others of equal grade. I will read to the Council the few sentences in which the Commission set forth this view.

'Additional officers should be appointed to keep pace with the increasing volume of litigation and they should be appointed promptly; at present the tendency is not to require relief until serious congestion has arisen; on the executive side there is greater difficulty. The troubles which are now experienced are confined mainly to the larger districts, and it is they which have as a rule the most historical associations. The process of dividing them is thus complicated and open to criticism. We think, however, that serious steps should be taken to grapple with the evil. Pending division, or if division is found to be impossible, extra district officers with full powers should be appointed, and additions should be made to the cadre of the Collectors with this object.'

"Now, it is the fear that that recommendation may be acted upon and large additions made to the cadre of the Indian Civil Service that has inspired the Resolution which I am just moving. There is considerable force in the argument that the work of the Civil Service officer in the districts is getting to be

[*Mr. Sastri; Sir William Vincent.*] [18TH MARCH, 1918.]

more and more difficult, to be more and more various, and that it taxes him more and more. It may, therefore, be necessary to give these officers considerable relief. But what is to be the nature of the relief? Is it by the creation of officers of equal grade, is it by the cutting up of our large districts into two or more districts, and appointing separate Collectors and separate Judges to each? I venture to think that that is not the only possible way of meeting the difficulty. I have no official experience unfortunately, and cannot therefore speak with any amount of detailed knowledge; but I would just hazard the proposition, because I have heard it supported by those who can speak with inside official knowledge—your higher civil service officer is occupied not altogether with work of a very high nature, that there is a large percentage of his work, which I cannot calculate to any nicety, which is of an inferior nature, and which he need not therefore personally trouble himself about, and which he can transfer to an officer of somewhat inferior grade, working under his personal supervision. The relief to an officer need not necessarily be given by cutting up his jurisdiction; it may, I think, with equal efficacy and with greater economy, be given by affording assistance to these officers in the shape of personal assistants, chosen from, say, the Provincial Civil Service. I think that recommendation, wherever it might be found necessary to give it effect, would be found as efficacious a method as increasing the cadre of the Indian Civil Service. That, briefly stated, Sir, is the reason why I put forward this Resolution.

“But, Sir, having disposed of this Resolution, I will now ask leave of the Council to draw their attention to the circumstance that this is the last Resolution of the series which have dealt with the services. We have not brought them forward out of wanton disregard for the valuable time of official Members; we have brought them forward at grave risk of misconstruction merely for the purpose of enabling Government to know what our precise point of view is, as we know they are dealing with this important subject. We have moved, Sir, a large number of Resolutions of a more or less detailed character appertaining to all these services. One Resolution had the good fortune of being accepted by the Council; two others were withdrawn; one Resolution which I intended to bring forward, the one on education, I have refrained from bringing forward, because I feel that the educational services are in the hands of one to whom my feeble hands cannot bring additional strength. Our object I have already explained in moving these Resolutions. Our motives, I think, have been consistent with the preservation of the interests of the tax-payer and at the same time of the efficiency and high character of the services. Much has been said on both sides which may have caused misconstruction and a certain amount of annoyance; that has been to a large extent inseparable from the character of the subjects with which we have been dealing; but let me assure the Council that for my part there has been no ill-will, that nothing that has been said has hurt my feelings or induced me to believe that we have unnecessarily been considering thorny matters and accentuated racial feeling. I will only ask the officers of Government to consider that the question of the services is second only in importance to the question of constitutional reforms. They should take long views in these matters, and they should speed up the disposal of the very important detailed considerations that have arisen. I would ask them to consider the matter in a broad and in a liberal spirit, try to lay aside some of the hesitation and distrust which they usually feel, and take a bold and courageous view of affairs so as to meet in large measure the views that we have put forward. I venture to think, Sir, that we have not wasted the time of the Council, as some one said, in bringing forward these Resolutions.”

12-59 P.M.

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent:—“Sir, I should like to begin by stating my entire agreement with the Hon'ble Member as to the present being an opportune time for bringing forward these Resolutions. In fact, if they had not been brought forward during the last Session or this Session, the Government might have been unfortunately obliged to decide many of these questions without having the views of this Council before them. For this

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NOT TO BE INCREASED.

[18th MARCH, 1918.] [Sir William Vincent.]

reason I welcome these Resolutions as affording Hon'ble Members an opportunity of putting forward their views.

"I gather that the Hon'ble Member considers that in his opinion the question of these Indian services is second only in importance to the question of constitutional reforms. I would remind him however that there is too another aspect. I agree in great measure with what he said; but the Council has to consider this also, that the very time when constitutional reforms are proposed is the last moment at which the administrative machinery should be weakened. Government may possibly afford to take risks in one direction, but not in many directions at the same time. That is a consideration which I would put forward for Members of this Council.

"Turning to the Resolution before Council, it would be impossible for me to deal adequately with the whole question of the cadre of the Civil Service without detaining the Council for an unreasonably long time. But, as I agree with a great deal of what has been said by the Hon'ble Member it will be the less necessary for me to do so. I will attempt to take up the points which he has taken up one by one. I will begin with the question of a Temporary Deputation Reserve of 4 per cent; this percentage was introduced in 1900 and was calculated on actual experience. I have the Despatch here which contains the materials upon which a decision was reached. I am quite prepared, however, to have these figures re-examined with a view to ascertaining whether, in fact, they are excessive.

"I proceed now to consider the question of special appointments. The Hon'ble Member has pointed out that the posts of Inspector-General of Police and that of Director of Agriculture will, if these recommendations of the Commission are approved, be removed from the cadre of the Indian Civil Service. As to the first of these appointments I may say that personally I am entirely in favour of the recommendation of the Commission, although I cannot pledge Government at this moment to accept it, because it is a matter on which we must hear the views of Provincial Governments. I may say, however, that at present in three provinces, the appointment of Inspector-General is held by a Police officer. In Burma, where the conditions are special, it is held by a military officer. The question of reserving that appointment for the Civil Service in other provinces will be examined. Wherever there is a capable officer to take up the position of Inspector-General, I have no doubt that Local Governments will be glad enough to appoint an officer of the Police service to the post. As to the post of Director of Agriculture, I feel I am in some difficulty. This is an office with which the Home Department is not directly concerned, and I cannot say what views the Revenue Department may have about it, but I can assure the Council that the question and the well considered views of the Commission will not be lost sight of. As regards the remaining appointments, those of the Director of Land Records and the Commissioner of Excise to which Mr. Justice Rahim referred, none of these are directly under the Home Department. I am aware that Mr. Justice Rahim suggested that another department to which the principle should be extended was the Northern India Salt Revenue, but in regard to the Land Records (Burma), Excise and the Survey (Madras) Departments, all he proposed was that the principle should be kept in view. He was not recommending, as I understand it, that Indian Civil Service officers should be excluded from these appointments. There remains the office of Inspector-General of Registration. In two provinces in which the work of this appointment is not combined with that of other departments the office is not held by a civilian, but in other provinces in some of which the Inspector-General does other work as well it is found convenient to employ civilians.

"The next point to which I should like to advert is the division of superior and inferior appointments. The Hon'ble Member was perfectly correct in his statement as to the method in which the service is recruited. Certain percentages for leave, reserve, training and deputation are added to the total of superior posts, the total cadre being 194 per cent. of the number of superior

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NOT TO BE INCREASED.

[*Sir William Vincent; Mr. S. N. Bannerjea.*] [18TH MARCH, 1918.]

posts. One of the difficult questions that the Government of India will have to examine is whether the list of superior appointments is not at present calculated properly. On page 543 of the Public Services Commission's Report, Hon'ble Members will find 83 posts put down as superior posts which, in the opinion of Mr. Rahim, might well have been classified as inferior. Here, again, I cannot commit the Government of India because many of these appointments are provincial appointments. But I am prepared to say for myself that I think there is considerable force in the arguments put forward by Mr. Rahim that some of these superior posts might without detriment be transferred to the category of inferior posts, in which case there would be a proportional reduction in the cadre. I myself was also impressed with the remarks of Mr. Rahim as to the proper method of calculating what really is a superior post. He dwells chiefly on the point of independent responsibility, and in particular, refers to officers of the status of district judges and collectors as giving a fair test for ascertaining whether the post should be calculated as a superior post or not. I agree also with him that this Rs. 1,000 pay rule is an arbitrary one, and I am prepared to agree that the whole question will have to be re-examined. But, as I have said before, these are my personal opinions and I cannot give any undertaking that they will be accepted by Government.

"There is another way, however, in which, I think, something might be done to meet the views of the Hon'ble Member, and that is in the direction of increasing the listed posts. The Hon'ble Member is aware that the Public Services Commission have recommended the reduction of the listed posts from 65, which is the present figure down to, I think, 41. Now I am one of those who view this with great misgiving recognising as I do that the present system of awarding promotion to officers in the provincial services is the only adequate way of rewarding those who have done us good service, that it leads to the recruitment of good officers, and, lastly, that it affords Government an opportunity of employing men of exceptional talent or ability in posts in which these talents can be fully utilised. But as I have said before these are personal views and I cannot promise that they will be accepted. I would remind the Council, however, that if the number of listed posts is increased *pro tanto* the cadre of the Indian Civil Service will be reduced.

"There is one point left and that is, that of District and Sessions Judges. Mr. Justice Rahim has devoted a large portion of his separate minute to the discussion of the relative value of Civilian and Barrister or Pleader Judges. I do not wish, unless I am forced to do so, to put forward the arguments which appear to me cogent in favour of the system which now prevails. I have been for many years a Civilian Judge myself and have some knowledge of the advantages and disadvantages of that position. However, whatever my views may be on the subject, I am quite prepared to say, speaking again for myself and not committing the Government of India that the time has come for the recruitment of a substantial percentage of Judges from the Bar. As the experiment is tried, if it proves successful, the Government, if it accept this policy, will no doubt proceed with it further. Here again, however, the conditions of the different provinces will have to be considered. It has not been suggested, I am glad to say, by my Hon'ble friend that Civilian Judges have performed their duties inadequately or improperly, and I, therefore, need not defend them though, if there is any necessity of doing so, I should be quite prepared to undertake the task. I hope that the Hon'ble Member will realise, as I have done, that in expressing these opinions, I have shown at any rate the earnest desire of Government to examine these matters carefully, and that we are not approaching these recommendations in any unreasonable spirit. If, however, he presses to a division, I shall be compelled to oppose him."

1-13 P.M.

The Hon'ble Mr. S. N. Bannerjea :—"Sir, I desire to congratulate the Hon'ble the Home Member on the sympathetic speech to which we have just listened. If the Hon'ble the Home Member has his own way in the Councils of the Government,—and I hope and trust he is masterful enough for that

RESOLUTION *RE* CADRE OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE 1076
NOT TO BE INCREASED.

[18TH MARCH, 1918.] [Mr. S. N. Bannerjea; Sir William Vincent.]

purpose—then I have not the slightest doubt in my mind that we ought to accept the Resolution of my Hon'ble friend Mr. Sastri, because the effect of carrying out the views of the Hon'ble the Home Member would be to reduce the cadre of the Civil Service. Let me take one of his points, perhaps the main point that he has urged with so much emphasis, namely, that the number of listed appointments should be increased. The Public Services Commission recommended that they should be decreased from 63 to 41,—I think those are the figures. The Hon'ble the Home Member is in favour of raising the number of listed posts. What does that mean? It means that so many more appointments are to be withdrawn from the Civil Service, and the cadre is to be reduced. Then my Hon'ble friend has observed that he is distinctly in favour of the view that a substantial portion of the appointments of District Judges should be made from the Bar. I congratulate him on that statement. The only difference between my Hon'ble friend and ourselves is this, we want the whole loaf, and he gives us about $\frac{2}{3}$ ths of it...."

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent :—"Nothing of the sort."

The Hon'ble Mr. S. N. Bannerjea :—"Or half. If we cannot get $\frac{2}{3}$ ths we shall be content with half. Well, if there is to be a substantial percentage of recruitment for District Judgeships from the Bar, that means a substantial reduction of the cadre of the Civil Service in the judicial branch of that service. I hope, therefore, having regard to these circumstances, the outlook seems to me to be hopeful. Sir, it appears to me that the time is fast coming, if it has not already come, when the Civil Service must be content to occupy the position of a supervising agency, and that the real work of the administration must be carried out by that service which is now known as the Provincial Service, manned chiefly by Indians. Really, the Provincial Service has not been dealt with in the way that it should be. The real brunt of the work, judicial and administrative, in many branches, falls to the lot of the Provincial Civil Service. In the judicial branch the Provincial Service, —I am talking of Bengal,—fills nearly 90 per cent. of the appointments, and I think I am not guilty of the slightest exaggeration when I say that in respect of ability, in respect of integrity, in respect of high conscientiousness in the discharge of its responsible duties, the Provincial Judicial Service will compare favourably with any other service of the same kind in the civilized world. I think I am able to refer to a statement made by Lord Selborne, who was better known as Sir Roundell Palmer, and who from his high place as a Member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council bore testimony to the high integrity and capacity of the Provincial Judicial Service. I desire to say to the rulers of India try us, and you will see that we are not wanting. You have tried us whole-heartedly perhaps in the Provincial Judicial Civil Service, and we have vindicated the qualities that we possess in the discharge of the duties belonging to that service. You have tried us slowly, inch by inch, and bit by bit, in the executive service, and there again we are showing our capacity. Take the case of Bengal. My friend has referred to the Inspectors General of Registration. It is now an appointment made over to the Provincial Civil Service. Now you know it as a matter of fact that the Inspectors General of Registration in Bengal have for some time been Indians, men who have shown the highest capacity and integrity in the discharge of their duties. Therefore, it seems to me that if the Provincial Civil Service is to be raised to the status to which it deserves to be raised, if it is to bear, as it ought to bear, the brunt of administration, judicial and executive in the times to come, and if the Civil Service is to be exalted—and not reduced, if it is to be exalted to the position of a supervising agency—I think we can do nothing better than accept my friend's Resolution, namely, that the cadre should be reduced, and I think having regard to the observations made by my Hon'ble friend, there ought to be practical unanimity about this Resolution. I do not know....."

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent :—"May I explain, Sir? The Hon'ble Member says there will be practical unanimity on this Resolution."

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NOT TO BE INCREASED.

[*Mr. S. N. Bannerjea; Mr. Sastri; Sir William Vincent; The Vice-President.*] [18TH MARCH, 1918.]

The Hon'ble Mr. Bannerjea :—“ No, Sir, I did not say that at all. I said there ought to be practical unanimity. I think the two things are very different. One is an actual fact and the other is an aspiration to which I referred.

“ I say that my Hon'ble friend did not permit me to finish my sentence. What I was going to say was this. I was expressing the hope that, if the Government had given the same permission to-day in respect of this Resolution which they did in respect of my friend's amendment on clause 4 of the Income-tax Bill, Hon'ble Members, after what my friend has said and released from official restrictions, would be in a position to vote as they thought best. That is my hope, that the restriction imposed on the Government benches would be withdrawn on this occasion in view of the expression of opinion which the Hon'ble the Home Member has placed before this Council. If that is done, I think, I may say with some little confidence, having regard to the great traditions of the Civil Service, that they will accept a reasonable view of the situation and vote in favour of my Hon'ble friend's Resolution.”

1-19 P.M.

The Hon'ble Mr. Sastri :—“ Sir, the Hon'ble Sir William Vincent said that it would not be fair to saddle the Government at the present moment with too many big things. I quite agree. When I said that the question of the Public Services Commission and its recommendations is of importance next only to those of the constitutional reforms, what I meant was that the question of constitutional reforms, whatever solution it reaches, cannot be satisfactorily solved except by this additional matter being also solved. The reforms that may be brought into existence will all require that the services in India should be more considerably Indianised than they are, and that there should be greater economy in the administration, if possible.

“ I consider therefore that the two are interrelated, that in order that the reforms may have their fullest effect, it is necessary also to Indianise the services as rapidly as may be compatible with the safety and efficiency of the services. But when I have said this, I have exhausted what I wish to say. The Hon'ble the Home Member has made a speech after which I do not think, I should be justified in inviting the judgment of the Council on this Resolution. If the Council is so good, I will ask leave to withdraw the Resolution.”

1-21 P.M.

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent :—“ Sir, I do not know whether granting the Hon'ble Member leave to withdraw the Resolution will prevent me from having an opportunity of replying to the Hon'ble Mr. Bannerjea, or whether I may have your permission to reply before this question is put.”

The Hon'ble the Vice-President :—“ I think the position is that the motion before the Council being that leave be given to withdraw the Resolution, no speech can be made except by leave. If leave to withdraw is not given, the Hon'ble Home Member will have an opportunity of replying in the ordinary course.”

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent :—“ Sir, may I put it that the Hon'ble Member was allowed to reply to me and I am not allowed an opportunity of replying to him.”

The Hon'ble the Vice-President :—“ That is one of the difficulties of our procedure. The motion before the Council at present is that leave be given to withdraw the Resolution. If the Council would like to hear the Hon'ble Member I shall be happy to grant him the indulgence of speaking.”

1-22 P.M.

The Hon'ble Mr. Sastri :—“ If it will make procedure regular, I am willing to withdraw my motion for leave to withdraw my resolution.”

RESOLUTION *RE* CADRE OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE 1081
NOT TO BE INCREASED; RESOLUTION *RE* EAST INDIAN
RAILWAY COMPANY'S CONTRACT.

[18TH MARCH, 1918.] [Sir William Vincent; Mr. S. N. Bannerjea;
Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma.]

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent:—"I only seek to answer one or two points which have been raised in the course of the debate; the first is the suggestion by the Hon'ble Mr. Bannerjea that I should withdraw the restriction which is placed on officials to vote with the Government. Well, I doubt whether, if I did so, it would do the cause which he has at heart much good, but I may say that I could not personally undertake the responsibility for such a course. 1-23 P.M.

"I think also that, in his zeal, the Hon'ble Mr. Bannerjea put more into my words than I ever said or intended. For instance, he suggested that when I said a substantial proportion or fraction of judges should be recruited from the Bar I had contemplated 75 per cent., or 50 per cent. being so appointed. Now that is, if I may say so, a travesty of what I said. It is quite obvious that an experiment of this kind even if it is accepted by Government must be begun gradually. And I tried to make it clear that if it proved a success then it might be increased. But I ought to make it clear to the Council that I never suggested the figure, or anything approaching the figure, which the Hon'ble Member suggests, and I should be guilty of a grave omission if I allow any such misapprehension to exist in the Hon'ble Member's mind. The Hon'ble Member also said that the Home Member has given up any idea of an increase in the cadre. . . ."

The Hon'ble Mr. S. N. Bannerjea:—"I did not put it in that way. I rise to correct. I said, in view of the speech of the Hon'ble Home Member, and the effect of that speech would be a reduction of the cadre, that is all." 1-24 P.M.

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent:—"There would be very likely a reduction of cadre, if these proposals were adopted in some ways, but there will probably be a corresponding increase for the reasons given by the Public Services Commission. In dealing with that question of increases, I attempted to meet the points raised by the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri. By error I confess, I overlooked entirely this question of increased staff necessary in the event of new districts or new judgeships being created. I cannot give the Council any undertaking that, where necessary, districts will not be sub-divided or new judgeships created, and indeed, wherever there is an increase in the work, it follows necessarily that you must have more officers to do it. It is particularly in connection with the Province of Bengal, I believe, that this question of cutting up or dividing districts into two will arise, and I anticipate that the Local Government will, where they have not already done so, approach the Government of India on the subject, and that we shall have to give the necessary sanction for increasing the number of districts. Further, in those districts where the interests of the services render such a course essential, an increase in the cadre of the Civil Service will undoubtedly be necessary, but what I did suggest was that it may be possible to meet the Hon'ble Member by a certain amount of reduction in the particular direction to which he has referred." 1-25 P.M.

The motion was put and negatived.

The Council adjourned for Lunch till 2-30 P.M.

**RESOLUTION *RE* EAST INDIAN RAILWAY
COMPANY'S CONTRACT.**

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma:—"Mr. Vice-President, I beg to move the Resolution that stands against my name:— 3-31 P.M.

'This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that the contract with the East Indian Railway Company be determined by the 31st of December, 1919, and that the State do take over the management of that Railway system on and from that date.'

1082 RESOLUTION RE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY COMPANY'S
CONTRACT.

[*Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma.*] [18TH MARCH, 1918.]

"I am thankful to you, Sir, for the opportunity afforded to me to bring to the notice of the Council a subject of the highest immediate practical importance and to seek the opinion of the Council with a view to influence the ultimate decision of the Government on the subject. We miss in this Council the genial presence of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah. Every one knows that he was interesting himself in this subject, and it was partly at his instance that the Government were pleased to give notice to the railway company. It was understood that he was to have moved a Resolution on lines somewhat similar to the one on the Agenda, if he had continued to be a Member of this Council. Our loss is Bombay's gain and we congratulate that Presidency upon the elevation of Sir Ibrahim to the exalted office of Member of Council, and we should have been reconciled more easily to the translation of his activities to another sphere if he had handled this delicate and important subject in his customary perfect manner before he left the Council.

"I am painfully aware of my own imperfect knowledge of the subject I am dealing with, and I hope that the Council will be indulgent to me and not press the weakness of any arguments that I may advance against the soundness of my proposals.

"I ask the Council to recommend to the Government that they should cancel the contract with the East Indian Railway Company on the 31st of December, 1919, and I feel sure that when all the advantages resulting from such a course are weighed in the balance, it will be found that the Government has really no alternative but to take over the management of this railway from that date. I ask the Council to make this recommendation on several grounds, on the ground of financial economy, on the ground that it would be conducive to improving the general and industrial resources of the country, and on the ground that we shall make railway management really more effective and economical and beneficial to the general taxpayer, and I hope to be able to show that the arguments that are generally advanced in favour of Company management do not at any rate hold good in the case of management on the lines which prevail in India. But before I develop my argument, I may be permitted to state to the Council shortly how the position stands.

"The lines owned by the late East Indian Railway Company were purchased by the State in 1879, and all the contracts then subsisting between the Secretary of State and the Company, except those relating to debentures or debenture stock, were determined. The purchase price was £32,750,000 and it was provided that this should be paid in the form of a terminable annuity of the amount of £1,473,750, payable from the 1st of January 1880 to the 14th of February 1953. One-fifth of the annuity was deferred, and the holders of this portion, representing a capital sum of £6,550,000, constitute the present East India Company. Since the purchase certain State and Company branches were incorporated in the undertaking. The Government guaranteed interest in sterling at 4 per cent. per annum on the capital of £8,000,000 and the principal and interest on the debentures and debenture stock issued by the Company. The surplus profits in each half-year remaining after payment of interest and annuity charges and the contributions to the provident fund are divided between the Government and the Company in certain proportions. On the determination of the contract a portion of the annuity that has been determined will become payable for the period remaining up to the 14th February 1953. The Hon'ble Members will notice that there never has been a year since 1880 when the Company has not received surplus profits, and the total amount of such profits has amounted to about 709 lakhs up to the end of September 1907. The last dividend paid for the half year ending September last amounted to Rs. 15,69,000, or roughly Rs. 31 lakhs a year. The amount of profits received by the Company, if added to the interest at 4 per cent. which it might have earned, would amount to nearly 15½ crores. The whole 6½ million capital debt might thus have been wiped off several years ago, and a profit of over 6 crores would have remained for the benefit of the tax-payer if the Government had assumed the management, taking it

RESOLUTION RE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY COMPANY'S 1083
CONTRACT.

[18TH MARCH, 1918.] [Eao Bahadur B. N. Sarma.]

that they could have managed it as efficiently as the Company. It may be noted in this connection that the surplus profits paid to the Companies generally throughout India were 115 lakhs in 1916-17, and the Budget figure for 1918-19 is a crore and sixty lakhs of rupees. It is open to Government to determine the contract on the 31st of December, 1919. As I have said, if the East Indian Railway Company is taken over in 1919, the Government will have to pay an annual sum of £294,750, equivalent to Rs. 44 lakhs and odd, till the year 1953. They are at present paying the interest charges amounting to £262,000 plus the share of the surplus profits, which, looking to the last three years' figures, are not below 24 lakhs, which means a total of 68 lakhs per annum. The Government will thus be saving 19 lakhs every year, and they will be able to wipe out the debt. If the latest figures were taken into consideration the saving would amount to 26 lakhs a year. The financial savings which would thus be effected afford a conclusive argument in favour of immediate assumption. Then the Government have also given, without being perhaps aware of it, one very strong reason in favour of State management being assumed in the immediate future, and that is this. They have considered for a very long time as to whether the statistical data which were furnished by the returns of the various companies would enable them to decide one way or the other as to whether State management or Company management is the more economical and beneficial course.

"And the Government in their circular letter, dated 27th June, confess that 'it is impossible to pass any definite finding upon statistical results. They have decided therefore to pursue the matter by an inquiry into the practical side of railway working founded upon every-day experience of those commercially interested in railways, in order to determine whether State or Company-managed lines have rendered the better service to the public.'

"Thus the only sure ground upon which rational conclusions could be arrived at does not help us in this matter, and, when we look at the immense financial gain to the State, I must humbly submit that the onus of proving that the continuance of the present state of things is beneficial to the country lies upon those who wish for such continuance.

"Hon'ble Members will also see that there is a wide difference between the so-called Company management which obtains in Europe and the Company management which obtains in India. In the United Kingdom, as well as in America, the railways are owned by Companies and managed by them. On the Continent of Europe there are several railways owned by the State. At one time they were managed by Companies, but it was found not profitable to do so, and they were taken over by the State for management purposes. One writer thus sums up the results of this management. He says:—

'It has been clearly demonstrated that in Continental Europe State railways, as a rule, furnish better transportation facilities and charge lower rates than do private Companies; that in connection with the State railway managements examined there exists practically nothing in the nature of a 'spoils system' to prevent them from securing efficient officials and employes; that graft and corruption are much less frequent in connection with State railways than with private ones; that travel is much safer on Government roads than on private lines; and lastly, that State railways, instead of being troubled with deficits which have to be made up from the hard-earned shekels of the tax-payer, in a large majority of cases, have made an entirely satisfactory financial showing, and in some cases, notably that of Prussia, have lightened the burden of the tax-payer enormously.'

"But we need not go to Continental countries for an example when we realise the position of these Companies in India. The Company runs no risk whatsoever. Private interest might induce Companies generally to exert themselves more than any State official would on behalf of the Government of the country; but here we find that the Government guarantees interest, furnishes the capital necessary for all improvements, supplies supervision and audit establishment in a large proportion, and on the Board of Directors they have their own man—an expert—who can veto the proceedings of the Board, fix the maxima and minima, the minima guaranteeing against any loss being sustained;

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CONTRACT.

[Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma.] [18TH MARCH, 1918.]

and thus the Company system differs in very wide particulars from the system which is generally known as Company system in Europe.

"Further, there is this point to be said in favour of State management, that if a person who is a partner to the extent of 9-10ths or 14-15ths cannot efficiently manage a thing it cannot be said that a person who is only a partner to the extent of 1-15ths can do so.

"Then, again, we find that these Companies are really being managed by officials—retired Government officials who have lent their services to these Companies: It is curious to note that on an analysis it will be found that almost every railway system managed by Companies is being run by retired Government servants. You find on the present Board of Directors of the East Indian Railway Company three or four Government officials out of the seven Directors. The Chairman, Colonel Richard Gardiner, is a retired Royal Engineer, the Deputy Chairman, Sir David Barber, K.C.S.I., is a retired Finance Member, Sir Frederick Upcott, a Director of this Railway, who is also the Chairman of the Directors of the Assam-Bengal Railway, was in the past President of the Railway Board. It is noteworthy that the Managing Director of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, Sir T. R. Wynne, the Chairmen of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India, Great Indian Peninsula, Madras and Southern Mahratta Railways, Assam-Bengal Railway, Burma Railway and the South Indian Railways were, in 1916-17, all retired Government servants receiving pensions from the Indian treasury. I would respectfully ask whether it would not have been possible for the Government, at a much cheaper cost, to have provided a managing agency if it was necessary to run these railway systems, on such a basis, and whether it is necessary to forego such a huge share of the railway profits for the benefit of these Companies which, I contend, do very little effective work in the shape of management. To quote the words of the Mackaye Commission in connection with the debenture railway companies about which they were speaking: 'the chief duties they perform consist in receiving the earnings of the line from Government and distributing them to the shareholders.'

"Then I would ask whether the work of purchasing stores and of finding employes cannot be better managed by the State than by the Railway Companies. I have already alluded to the fact that the East Indian Railway is really a monopolist railway. There are no parallel lines competing with this railway, and consequently some of the advantages which are associated with Company management, the chief of which is that emulation and competition leads to efficiency and low rates, do not obtain here. The argument derived from the advantages which must flow from a keen competition between rival companies and the reasoning based upon the personal enthusiasm and zeal of company officers in canvassing traffic, except perhaps in objectionable forms, do not avail us here; for the question with us, on this as well as on other lines, is how to meet the demands of a growing goods and passenger traffic. The overcrowding of trains and goods awaiting wagons needs not to be emphasised. There is no need to canvass traffic; the traffic is at the door of the railway companies.

"With regard to the facilities which companies afford for raising the required capital it has to be noted that the capital of the Company is only about 16½ million pounds expected to earn a profit of 160 lakhs besides receiving the interest thereon. With regard to the stock capital raised it only amounts to 26 millions out of an aggregate capital of 260 in the one case and 346 in the other, and the interest on this is guaranteed by Government. I will quote a few remarks from the Mackaye Commission's report pertinent to the subject.

'Direct Government borrowing is unquestionably the cheapest method of raising money, and if sufficient can be thus obtained without materially lowering the price of stock there is little reason to look to other methods.'

"Short term debentures are condemned, as it is stated that the raising of capital by debenture stock is more expensive than by the issue of Indian stock,

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because the debenture stock is less popular. An argument that is generally advanced is that companies are useful in the way of assisting Government in raising capital. I may say that there is little prospect after the war of getting large funds from investors in England, and we shall have to rely on the Indian investor more and more. Consequently this argument does not help those who advocate Company management.

"Then the argument based on political pressure does not apply in the case of a country governed like India, and I do not think it is necessary to say anything more on this subject which occupies many pages in books dealing with democratic countries. Of course, a little healthy pressure is needed in the interests of the tax-payer for the economic development of the country, and the companies are an insuperable obstacle.

"It is assumed in favour of Company management that there is some antagonism between the commercial principle upon which it is said that railways would be run in the one case and the methods which would be employed under State management. The management of the three State railways—Eastern Bengal, Oudh and Rohilkhand, and the North-Western—refute such a theory. The Bengal Government, the United Provinces Government, and the Punjab Government all with one voice show their satisfaction with the management of these railway systems under State management. Then the increase in the mileage of the Eastern Bengal and the North-Western seems to me to be smaller than in the case of the East Indian, being about 22 and 14 per cent. as against 25 per cent. in the case of the East Indian Railway. But in regard to the passenger traffic the State railways are in no way behind Company management in promoting passenger traffic or goods traffic. The passenger traffic of the Eastern Bengal Railway has doubled between 1905 and 1913-14, having increased from 18 millions to 36 millions. The same was the case in the North-Western Railway, the increase being from 30 to 61 millions, and in the Oudh and Rohilkhand from 10·7 to 21 millions; whereas in the East Indian Railway it was 25 to 41 millions, or an increase of 64 per cent. only. The percentage of goods traffic is similar in the case of State management; in the Eastern Bengal it was 81 per cent., in the Oudh and Rohilkhand 50 per cent., in the North-Western 70 per cent., whereas in the East Indian it was only 40 per cent. I am not going to push these figures very far, but such as they are they at any rate do support my theory that State management is not less efficient than Company management, and that the State does not abandon the commercial principle as soon as it takes over the management.

"Then, there is one strong point in favour of my proposal, and that is, that if the East Indian Railway be taken up the whole of Upper India from Peshawar to the Eastern border with a population of 150 millions would be under one single railway system with the tariff rate improved and simplified, and that is a very considerable and decided advantage in favour of the adoption of such a policy. The Mackaye Commission state: 'The railways in 1906-07, it is alleged, failed to deal satisfactorily with the traffic offering and we are satisfied that this was the case. The chief complaint has been regarding the inadequacy of the rolling stock. Some witnesses have suggested that the existing rolling stock is not worked with the greatest efficiency. There may be room for improvement in this respect.' And I believe the experience of Government in this war when they have placed the whole railway system under one management shows that wagons can be made to do more work than was possible under the different systems in pre-war days. This is what the Indian Mining Association says: 'One of the greatest difficulties in the system of Company management is the barrier it raises between different provinces of India a railway system preventing the economical handling of rolling stock and traffic.' Then I have said already that complicated tariffs would be simplified and there would be no rigidity in the rates. The general economic development can also be fostered, at any rate in the present state of the industrial development of the country, under State management more efficaciously than under Company management. Sir T. R. Wynne, speaking on behalf of Government on a previous motion of Sir

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Vithaldas Thackersey said that they had no power to alter the rates for the benefit of trade or industries. The Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, says that good will result if it is brought home to the Railway Companies that rate wars are exasperating to the public and are frequently obnoxious to trade. As regards disputes about spheres of influence and about short circuits by the construction of new lines it is clearly essential that the Government of India should have a final say in the decision of such questions. Similar remarks are made (I shall not read them) by the United Provinces Government and by the Madras Government and by the Bombay Government also with regard to the need for very much greater control than obtains at present. If the Government are going to have greater control and provide the funds and have a board of directors presided over by their own men practically I fail to see where the difference is between the Company management system and the State management system except in the parting unnecessarily with a certain proportion of profits.

"Then, Sir, the powers of the Traffic Manager are enormous. Sir Frederick Loly says:—'The traffic manager wields an irresponsible power over the country commanded by his railway which should not be entrusted to any man, and least of all to one who, rightly from his own point of view, regards nothing but his master's dividend and certain wide limits set down by Government. By a slight re-adjustment of rates he can, and sometimes does, break down a flourishing trade or transfer it to another part of the country; he can, and sometimes does, crush a rising home manufacture in favour of a foreign customer. An amended Code of Civil Procedure occupies for days and months the wisest of the land, but is of less practical consequence to the people of a district than a new edition of their local goods traffic book.' And he cites various instances as to how the Bombay Government felt themselves absolutely helpless in assisting indigenous match factories and other factories in their growth against the obstruction of the Companies who felt legitimately perhaps that their interest was jeopardised. I may draw the attention of Hon'ble Members to the example quoted at page 97 of the book.

"Then another argument that is advanced is that Company management is more economical. If we turn to page 104 in Volume XIX you will find that the higher officers of Companies are paid very much higher salaries than the State pays similar officers, and the evidence also shows that in regard to the rest of the staff the pay is very nearly the same; again the Companies cannot manage to obtain the same efficient staff of engineers and other servants as the State does because the State has got certain advantages in the market which the Companies do not possess. Thus you find a less efficient staff, but more highly paid in controlling Company-managed railways. It is also clear that one of the arguments which were advanced against the employment of Indians in the higher ranks in the State railways was that in the Companies' service there was hardly any Indian in the higher ranks. It was stated in the evidence that in the Bengal and North-Western Railway there was one engineer out of 66, in the East Indian one out of 45, in the Bombay, Baroda and Central India 3 out of 58, and in the Great Indian Peninsula 4 out of 91, all these being Assistant Engineers and some of them only temporary engineers, whereas in the Eastern Bengal Railway the Chief Engineer was an Indian trained man, one of the deputies was also an Indian Engineer. I do not say the position is satisfactory on State railways, but it may be said clearly that the position is nearly hopeless with regard to Companies, although perhaps under the pressure of the approaching revision of contracts railway companies seem to appear to be a little more reasonable at present than they were in the past. Sir, therefore, from the point of view of the employment of Indians, from the point of economy, from the point of view of the industrial development of the country, you find that Company management is in no way superior but in many respects inferior to State management. That being so, the financial position clearly shifts the onus completely on to the other side, and it would be impossible, I think, under the circumstances for any one to contend that Government or the people would suffer by the East

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Indian Railway Company, being taken over for management purposes by the Government. I may also advance another argument in support of my contention and that is that we shall acquire experience over a system which is homogenous and spreading over a wide area; and in length the Company and State lines would be about two-thirds and one-third, and there would be an opportunity of testing on a large scale the methods which at present prevail in India. What the future may bring forth it is difficult to say, but experience may show that changes are absolutely necessary in the methods of management. It may be said that there would be over-centralisation and that Government would not be able to cope with the increased work, but even now they have to make provision for supervision and Local Governments which at present are absolutely helpless in the matter may be utilised. It might be possible for this purpose to utilise the services of district boards or newly constituted paid boards. Surely there is enough mercantile talent available for the purpose. I hope, therefore, that the Council will unanimously adopt the suggestion I have made that the State should take over the management."

The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes :—"I think, Sir, that it would be well that I should rise at once and tell the Council what the position of the Government is in regard to this matter. As the Hon'ble Member has just told us, this Resolution was originally put down by the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola for the September Session in Simla. The Resolution as it then stood, and as it now stands, was divided into two parts. The first part is that the Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the contract of the East Indian Railway be determined by the 31st December, 1919. The latter part of the Resolution is that the State do take over the management of that railway system from that date. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola said that he was quite willing to put down only the first part of the Resolution for the Simla Session. As regards the second part, he agreed that it should stand over and be dealt with in the Delhi Session. The first part accordingly was put down and disposed of. I promised Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola in Simla that notice would be given to determine the contract, and notice was duly given in October, and the contract will be determined on the 31st December, 1919. Now the reason why I asked Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola to postpone the second part of the Resolution was that the Government had in September last only just sent forward their recommendations in the previous month. As a matter of fact our Despatch was dated 17th August. Consequently the Despatch had probably not reached England, certainly there had been no time to consider it. In view of the remaining part of the Resolution which had been postponed until the Delhi Session, the Government telegraphed at the end of last year to the India Office inquiring what answer could be given to the pending Resolution in the Legislative Council, and inquiring whether they could give us an answer to our Despatch of August. The reply to our telegram was :—

3-1 P.M.

'Your telegram dated December 6th. I am afraid that reply to your despatch dated August 17th cannot be promised by date named.'

I think that date named was the beginning of February. It went on—'It requires very careful consideration and must await Mr. Montagu's consideration on his return.' Well, the position to-day is that consideration of the whole question must stand over in England until the Secretary of State has returned to England. This seems to me not an unsatisfactory position so far as the Members of this Council are concerned as no decision has been arrived at, and no decision will be arrived at without hearing the views of everybody who wishes to express his views. The report of the debate to-day will of course be printed, and I can promise Members that it will be sent home and laid before the Secretary of State. Now, in these circumstances, there is really nothing that I can say to the Council except to point out exactly what the alternatives seem to be. There seem to be three alternative methods of dealing with the East Indian Railway, and each alternative has special advantages attaching to it. There

[*Sir George Barnes; Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy of Kassimbazar.* [18TH MARCH, 1918.]

is first the alternative that the Hon'ble Member has put before the Council, namely, State management, the second alternative is the continuance of the present state of things, that is to say, management by a Company domiciled in England but subject to a large decrease in the share of profits taken by the annuitants. The third alternative is one which I do not think has been touched upon by the Hon'ble Mover of the Resolution, is management by a commercial Company domiciled in India with Rupee capital and a mixed Board of Europeans and Indians. Now, I do not propose to set up an argument, on one side or the other. I propose to leave that for members who feel strongly in favour of any one of these three alternatives. I hope that the Hon'ble Member will feel when this debate comes to a close that if it has elicited the opinions of members of the Council that result will have served his purpose, and I hope that he will not press the Resolution to a division but will ask the leave of the Council to withdraw it."

3-7 P.M.

The Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandy of Kassimbazar:—"Sir, the East Indian Railway is one of the oldest and largest lines of railways in all Upper India. The first sod of this line was turned in 1852, during the time of Lord Dalhousie, and the first section, from Howrah to Pandua, was opened two years later. The line was constructed by a Company under a system of State guarantee, and though purchased by the Government by payment of annuities to shareholders, it is still being managed by a Company whose period of lease will terminate in December, 1919. Sir, the East Indian Railway Company has under its control nearly 8,000 miles of Railways, and its resources are vaster than even those of some of the minor Kingdoms and principalities of Europe. Nearly 72 crores of rupees have been invested in it, not an inconsiderable portion of which has gone to swell our national debt. Its net income comes to nearly six crores and a half a year, but it does not pay to the State more than two crores and a quarter annually. Sir, I beg to submit in the first instance that if the management of the Company were transferred to the State, the State certainly would make a much larger profit out of its working than the Company chooses to spare for it above its guaranteed interest. That would mean, Sir, additional prosperity of the people. -In the second instance, the East Indian Railway Company is managed from London by a number of directors who very seldom come in touch with real public opinion of the Indian section of the community.

"Sir, if governing India from the Indian hill tops be so bad as described in the report of the Mesopotamian Commission, how much worse must the administration of a Company be whose headquarters are located in London? Sir, in consequence of this isolation, the grievances of the Indian community, which are many and varied, including ill-treatment of Indian officers and passengers, do not reach the Board of Directors in London, and in consequence we are made to shift for ourselves as best as we may. I have got, Sir, a third submission to make. The East Indian Railway Company has an Agent in India, who has under him a Traffic Manager, a Chief Engineer, a Locomotive Superintendent, a Store-keeper and an Auditor, none of which offices has ever been filled, or is likely to be filled in the near future, by an Indian. But one of our main grievances in connection with the management of this Railway is not that no Indian has ever been able to reach the top of any department of the service of this Company, but that there are so few of them in its service enjoying a salary of even more than Rs. 800 a month. Sir, it is evidently a great slur on Indian intelligence: and if qualified Indians can now sit along with His Excellency the Viceroy in the highest Executive Council of the Empire, I really do not see why a large number of them should not be allowed to man the higher rungs of the services of this Company. Sir, I have no doubt that as soon as the management of the Company passes into the hands of the State, this grievance of the Indian people would vanish in no time. Taking all the above points together, I have no hesitation, Sir, in supporting the Resolution now under discussion. In conclusion, I would like to remind the Council

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[18TH MARCH, 1918.] [*Maharaja Sir Anindra Chandra Nandy of Kasimbazar; Mir Asad Ali, Khan Bahadur; Rai Bahadur E. D. Shukul; Raja Sir Rampal Singh.*]

of the dictum laid down by John Stuart Mill more than half a century ago that 'in the particular circumstances of a given age or nation, there is scarcely anything really important to the general interest which it may not be desirable or even necessary, that the Government should take upon itself, not because private individuals cannot effectually perform it, but because they will not.'

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali, Khan Bahadur :—" Sir, I rise to support the Resolution moved by my Hon'ble friend Mr. Sarma. The Hon'ble Mover has put his case so well before the Council that I do not think it necessary to detain the Council any longer by repeating the same arguments. As the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Department has expressed a wish to know the views of the Members, I beg to say that I am one of the supporters of this Resolution. I hope the Member in charge will place the proceedings of the debate before the Secretary of State with his favourable endorsement, for his acceptance."

8-12 P.M.

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur B. D. Shukul :—" This Resolution has my whole-hearted support. In my opinion the interests of the people and the agricultural and industrial development of the country should be the highest objective and the guiding principle of the railway administration in this country. It is not possible to attain this high ideal so long as the railway administration continues to be under the management of the Companies. They are not amenable to Indian public opinion.

8-13 P.M.

"They are generally indifferent to the convenience and comforts of the great bulk of their travellers, namely, the 3rd class passengers, who contribute more than 88 per cent. of their yearly profits. The Government have already been managing nearly 8,000 miles of the railway lines under their direct control and the addition of a few more thousand miles, I do not think, will mean any particular inconvenience to the State. Rather the great advantage would be that the Government will have more money available, which, at present, goes to shareholders, in the shape of dividends, and the same could be more profitably utilized in the way of providing greater facilities for education and sanitation, which are the prime needs of the country at present and the progress of which has been greatly hampered owing to lack of funds. Then there is a further and a great advantage, namely, the ill-treated passengers will have better opportunities to have their complaints heard and grievances redressed in a more effective manner and with greater promptitude than they at present have. For these reasons, Sir, I beg to support this Resolution."

The Hon'ble Raja Sir Rampal Singh :—" Mr. Vice-President, it is not without some diffidence that I rise to make a few observations in support of the Resolution moved by my Hon'ble friend Mr. Sarma. The question is of too technical a nature to enable me to form an independent opinion of my own. The opinions on the subject that I have come across are also of so conflicting a nature that no definite conclusion can be arrived at by a layman like myself. Therefore I venture to express my opinion on the matter only from a common sense point of view. The State is the owner of the line in question, but its management is in the hands of the East India Company under certain conditions. In accordance with those conditions the State has to provide expenditure needed for improvements, repairs etc. The East India Company gets a share of the net profits besides guaranteed interest on the deferred annuity amounting to £6,550,000 held by them. This share is a little above Rs. 28,00,000 in the year 1916-1917. Even if the question of determining the contract be simply decided on a consideration of *£ s. d.*, I would unhesitatingly say that the State ought to take

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[Raja Sir Rampal Singh; Sir Hugh Bray.] [18TH MARCH, 1918.]

over the management under direct control. There is no doubt the State exercises very great control over the management under the present conditions, but why should not the full net earnings come to the State instead of a portion going to add to the dividends of the shareholders of the Company. The State is already managing certain lines, and I desire that this department of the State should get developed and gradually all lines at present owned by the State but managed by Companies on its behalf may come under its direct management. Such management will be more amenable to public opinion and the people will have a potent voice in it. Besides that, I have reasons to believe that State management will more readily accommodate itself to the commercial and industrial requirements of the country than that of a Company which has other demands to satisfy. With these few words I beg to support the motion."

3-17 P.M.

The Hon'ble Sir Hugh Bray:—"Sir, I think that I am not alone, although I seem to be alone so far in this Council, in thinking that the management of the East Indian Railway is the most efficient in India, and the State will do well to retain it or at the very worst, to retain it for the period of the war and one year afterwards pending further consideration of the subject. It is difficult to discuss the Resolution now before us without launching out into the sea, that very wide sea, of a discussion on the merits and demerits of State ownership and management of railways. In India, we have arrived at a compromise, and I think a happy compromise, of which the East Indian Railway is a favourable example. Personally I am in favour of Company management and Company ownership, because I believe it to be the most efficient, and I place efficiency first. But if we must have State ownership and State control, let it be limited on the lines very much for instance of the present arrangement with the East Indian Railway Company. What does my Hon'ble friend hope to achieve as the result of his proposal? Does he expect greater efficiency? He has told us that he expects financial economy, greater development and greater efficiency. Now, Sir, I look upon all these as pious but unjustified hopes. Any way he has attacked what is in my belief the best managed railway in India, and I do not think he will effect greater efficiency or greater development if he puts the management in the hands of the State. My Hon'ble friend has quoted a lot of figures by which he makes out that Government would have had tremendous funds to spend if it had undertaken the management of the East Indian Railway, but I submit with all deference that it is a very hypothetical argument. It does not follow that there would have been these profits if the State had managed the Railway.

"Then he says that the onus of proof lies on the people who want to continue the existing state of affairs. That does not seem to me quite fair. Surely, if anybody wishes to make a change it is for him to prove that the existing state of affairs is bad.

"Another point that he referred to was the striking fact that so many retired officials figured on the Boards of Railway Companies. Well, I submit that after they have retired they are quite independent and they have got there full scope and freedom as they are no longer under State control. Perhaps that is why the success of the Company is assured.

"There is one other possible argument put forward to support the claim of State management, and that relates to military reasons, but I do not think my friend referred to it. I dispute his efficiency, I dispute his economy and I dispute his contention that Government would have made profits which the Companies have made. So there remains, I think, only one object or result, and that is the political one. Now with the entry of politics into railway management, out goes efficiency and down goes revenue.

"The world is full of instances which prove this. If a railway belongs wholly or partially to the State or the people, it does not follow that the management of it for the State or for the people is best done by the State or

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by the people, and experience elsewhere has shown that Parliamentary interference in the running of the railways has been not for the benefit of the people at large, but to satisfy local or sectional or even personal interests. There are duties to be performed by the State which are unsuited for popular interference. One is the judicial, and I maintain another is the management of railways, and the best way of guarding it from detrimental popular interference is to place the management under an independent body under sufficient control, with, if possible, an interest in the results. That I suggest is exactly what we have in the case of the East Indian Railway, and I find no reason for disturbing an arrangement that is working satisfactorily for all parties. I will, Sir, without undertaking a dissertation on the subject of State *versus* Company ownership and management quote a few of the, I think, accepted arguments in favour of the latter. They are disputed, I know, by my friend, but there are two sides to every question.

"Private enterprise is bolder, Companies are more flexible, more ready to take risks and, try experiments in new methods. A Company will raise money more easily, and, even if it should pay more for it, will, as a rule, make it go further. Railway management is essentially a commercial business requiring commercial aptitude and training. A railway man must keep abreast of his work and work at all hours. If he fails, that is under a company, a better man takes his place, whereas in a State system it is too often the case that seniority counts for more than merit or special qualification. There is no room, Sir, for the dilatory methods of a bureaucracy in railway management. Private Companies lead and have always taken the lead in inventions and improvements. It would be difficult to point to a single important invention or improvement, the introduction of which the world owes to a State railway. The Germans have written many books on railways, some of them valuable, but in practical operation they have taught the world nothing. Is it only a coincidence that they are State Railway officials? But I think most Members of this Council know the case for Company ownership and management fairly well. There has been a great deal written on the subject, and I will not weary them with more of it. On the other hand, what are the arguments against? I think my Hon'ble friend has mentioned a good many, but I do not find anything that is not, I think, answered and met by the control that is exercised by Government in this country as in the case of the East Indian Railway.

"I may perhaps suggest that this Resolution seems to me to come a little oddly from my Hon'ble friend from Madras. We in Bengal, I think, rather look upon the East Indian Railway as ours, and we have it and the Eastern Bengal State Railway constantly before our eyes, and though comparisons are odious, and I intend no reflection on the officials of the Eastern Bengal State Railway, who are victims of a system, I think there are few of us who have any doubt whatever as to which railway is the best managed, few of us who would wish to see the present management of the East Indian Railway terminated and taken over by the State."

The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjea :—"Sir, I come from Bengal, and I regret to have to say that I entirely dissent from the view which has been put forward by my friend to my left. In comparing the East Indian Railway with the Eastern Bengal State Railway I am prepared to give the preference to the Eastern Bengal State Railway, and for the reason that I know it best. I am a daily passenger and I know the management of the Eastern Bengal State Railway has, and I will say this, it is excellent. But, on the other hand, when I have travelled by the East Indian Railway I have found that I am sometimes put to serious inconvenience, very serious inconvenience, and that is not only my complaint, but the complaint of other Indian passengers who travel by the same railway. Therefore our experiences differ in this matter, and if the experience of the Indian community were to be pitted against the experience of the European community (both of us are more or less representative men), I think it may be said that the experience of the great body of people who take advantage of the railways is against the management of the

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Sapru.]

East Indian Railway by a Company. Again, it has been said by my friend that when politics enter a railway down goes the railway. I do not know that politics ever enter into railways. If you say that when Government control railways the revenue goes down, then I challenge the statement. Is it a fact that on the assumption of the administration of the Eastern Bengal Railway by the Government the revenues of that Railway have suffered? I think my Hon'ble friend the President of the Railway Board will be in a position to give me an answer in regard to that matter. But if there had been any serious decline of revenue I am quite sure the Government would not have continued the management of the line in its present condition. I am sure a change would have followed. I am sure Government would not quietly and silently have accepted a steady diminution of revenue. Therefore, I think that position is untenable—at any rate, it is not a proposition which can be proved by a reference to one or two facts. But there are these broad facts which I think support the Resolution of my Hon'ble friend. The profits of Company-managed railways must go into the pockets of the Company. The profits of Government-managed railways must go into the pockets of the tax-payer. Which is preferable, let the Council answer. I think that the profits of railways which have been financed by the State ought to find their way into our pockets, into the pockets of the State, swell the revenues of the State rather than those of the Companies.

“Then, Sir, there is another very important fact which has to be borne in mind. The Government is daily becoming more and more amenable to the control of public opinion. Companies do not stand in that position. Therefore the more Government-managed railways we have the greater will be the control of public opinion over those managements, and that is already seen in the manner in which Government-managed railways are controlled. For instance, one of the great inconveniences of the East Indian Railway Company—and all my friends must be in a position to testify to that fact—is that there is no adequate arrangement for providing refreshment for Hindu passengers. They are left to shift for themselves. Take the North-Western Railway, which is a State Railway, they have been able to make provision for that purpose. Why should not the East Indian Railway be able to make similar arrangements? They do not care to do it; public opinion has not sufficient control over them. If public opinion had the control, it would have been done long ago.

“Then, again, take the employment of Indians in the higher ranks of the East Indian Railway administration. Sir, I find it stated that there are (I have got the figures with me) only about a dozen Indians on the East Indian Railway drawing salaries ranging from Rs. 300 to Rs. 650 and none above Rs. 650. That is not the case with the Eastern Bengal State Railway, which runs for only about 200 miles. The Chief Engineer was an Indian, as my friend has pointed out, and some of the higher officials are Indians. You do not find that on the East Indian Railway line for no other reason than that public opinion has no control over it. Therefore, Sir, having regard to these circumstances I think the Resolution of my Hon'ble friend ought to be accepted.

“There is another consideration of the gravest importance. World-forces are all pointing to the nationalisation of every branch of the administration. The railways must be nationalised, and the first step towards nationalisation is the assumption of control by the Government and, as the Government will, I hope, be nationalised within a measurable distance of time, Indian opinion insists upon the management of railways being taken over by the Government, because it is the first definite step towards that nationalisation of railways to which we all aspire, and that in the best interests of the country.”

8-31 P.M.

The Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru :—“Sir, I do not propose to make any speech. I will content myself by expressing my entire concurrence with my Hon'ble friend Mr. Sarma.”

RESOLUTION RE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY COMPANY'S 1093
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[18TH MARCH, 1918.] [Mr. Sastri; Mr. K. K. Chanda; Sir Dinshaw
Wacha; Mr. S. N. Bannerjea.]

The Hon'ble Mr. Sastri:—"Sir, I likewise support the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma's Resolution." 8-31 P.M.

The Hon'ble Mr. K. K. Chanda:—"Sir, I wish to do the same, and will not detain the Council with any remarks." 8-32 P.M.

The Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Wacha:—"I am not prepared on this subject to support the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma's Resolution. It may be a very good one, or it may be a very unuseful one; but I entirely agree with what has fallen from the Hon'ble Member for Commerce and Industry that the present is rather a premature time to discuss this question, when the whole Despatch which was sent some time ago to the Secretary of State is now before the India Council, and when some time must elapse before they are able to consider the whole question and give us the benefit of their own views. I know that Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoollah was very keen on this question, and that he had pressed this Council to accept his views. I know also, as a matter of fact, that the majority of my countrymen are in favour of State-managed railways. That is true, but apart from the prematurity of this Resolution, to me it seems to be a kind of what you would call a 'far cry.' There are very many cries taken up by my countrymen which, when analysed, broadly speaking, come to nothing. A variety of shibboleths are from time to time pronounced, political shibboleths, commercial shibboleths, industrial shibboleths, which when examined and analysed in all their multiplicity of details will be found to be hollow. They resolve themselves into dew. 8-33 P.M.

"Now, Sir, I do not pretend to any special expert knowledge of railways, but I may say that, like finance, I have studied railway literature for many years past—in fact, for the past 40 years. I have read also many great authorities on the one side and on the other. The Hon'ble Mr. Sarma has quoted some extracts from an authority, whose name he has not given, but I have also read a great many railway books by well-known authorities on the one side and on the other bearing on the railway administration of Germany, of Russia, of France, of the United States, and of England. There are books and books; there are also what you call interests and interests. There are class interests everywhere, in Europe, in the United States, and here. But a question of this character has to be considered on its own independent merits free from all class interests. We must, in the first place, have a very broad ground on which to stand and soar above all class interests and class biases, and the second thing necessary for us is to go upon a sure foundation, the foundation of facts. Those facts are of a very elaborate character, and, if we examine the merits and demerits of the question, we shall find that there is nothing special to choose between the one method of management and the other. I have tried to fathom these merits and demerits for a long time, and I have come to the conclusion that the millenium will not arrive nor will any of those advantages to which the Hon'ble Mr. Bannerjea has referred accrue if your railways are to be managed in future entirely by the State. I deny that the happy millenium will arrive. There are no miracles to follow. The State will manage just as the Companies manage. It is said that the State should manage the railways because it is right and that public opinion is backing them. If so, I should like to ask the Hon'ble Mr. Bannerjea whether the hammering away in this place yesterday and to-day, and even to-morrow, on the Public Services Commission has brought any good? Public opinion is there, but what have you been able to do . . . ?"

The Hon'ble Mr. S. N. Bannerjea:—"May I rise to correct a point. I did not say that I am right because public opinion is right. I said I am right because I know it to be right. I am a daily passenger myself, and I have seen these things and felt them; I speak from personal experience."

The Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Wacha:—"The Hon'ble Member's personal opinion is one thing. The question as to how far State-managed

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[*Sir Dinshaw Wacha*; *Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma*.] [18TH MARCH, 1918.]

railways are better or how far Company-managed railways are better is a very large and complex one and cannot be decided by the personal experience of a single man. It is a very difficult and complicated question in my opinion, and it is no use discussing it in the light-hearted fashion that has been done here to-day.

" With very many of the points which the Hon'ble Sir Hugh Bray has brought to the notice of the Council I agree, because as a business man he fully knows many intricate matters connected with railways, and I think, therefore, that most business men will be able to agree more or less with Sir Hugh Bray, whatever the opinion of my ignorant countrymen may be to the contrary. If, Mr. Vice-President, my countrymen will study the history of railways better they will find that for years together the East Indian Railway was the mainstay of the Government when it was even managed by itself. Of course, they do not know that, even after 1880, when the Government acquired the railway but leased it for managements. Why was this? Because it is the most efficiently-managed railway, and its efficiency can be decided in one way only, and that is by the results. There was the North-Western Railway which for years together was called the Cinderella of State Railways. The Railway owns many miles of lines and has a capital of something like 80 crores (the Hon'ble Sir George Barnes will correct me if I am wrong, I am speaking from memory). Take any Railway Administration Report. What will you find? For years together this the largest State Railway incurred losses after losses by lakhs. It was State-managed without any interference from anybody; Government alone was the authority, and this is what happened. Well, Sir, other railways, even guaranteed railway companies, also made losses for years and years together. And who supported the Government and tried to diminish the burden of taxation? The East Indian Railway, and in a smaller degree the Rajputana-Malwa Railway. That is all up to 1904-05. These two railways gave you the bulk of the profits. Had these railways also been losing concerns, why the revenue would have suffered and you would have had to bear the burden of larger taxation than at present. That is the point. If you read the history of each of the railways from the very beginning—they are given in the Railway Administration Reports and those who run may read—you will find that there is not much to choose between a State-managed railway and a Company-managed railway. Of course, there is the big cry about the discomfort to passengers and many other small things. I do not deny them. Those must be remedied. But what are these small things compared to the larger and statesman-like question that has been raised? I do admit that there is a cry about the passenger service. But can any one with confidence say that the passenger service on State-managed lines was not equally complained of? Both railways are the same in this respect. I do not think, Sir, that, unless there is a very thorough independent investigation by independent men, they can come to any decisive conclusion whether a State-managed railway is better or a Company-managed railway is better. Possibly they will be equiposed. But, situated as we are in India, and situated as the Government is with so many burdens and the demands made upon them for a variety of objects, specially Education and Sanitation, it will be far better for the Government, for a time at least, to let these two classes of railways go on working side by side and find out in that way which is more advantageous for the public. It is not a question of mere figures or statistics or of personal opinion. It is something more than that. My Hon'ble friend Mr. Sarma quoted so many per cent. of the East Indian Railway's profits. True. He has been quoting these figures for the last three years. But they are war figures, and when the war is ended you will find that all this revenue will collapse . . . "

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma:—"I quoted pre-war figures."

The Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Wacha:—"Very well, you may take the pre-war figures; but even then you will find that all the years are not

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regular. Sometimes a famine occurs, and famine brings more railway revenue than ordinary trade, because of the larger quantity of grain that has to be carried. Then, export trade is sometimes very heavy and at other times very small. When export trade is not very brisk railways suffer, while when export trade is large the railways do well. Even in recent years there had been railway *deficits*. All these are considerations which have to be taken into account. There are very many economic factors which have to be considered very seriously before we can come to any conclusion on this subject. I think, Sir, without taking up more of the time of Council that it would be wiser on the part of my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma if he postponed his Resolution till, as the Hon'ble Sir George Barnes wisely said, this Despatch from the Secretary of State arrives and we know as a matter of fact what is the situation. If my personal opinion were taken, I do say that after studying this question very minutely, after studying the American, British, German and French railway systems, I say emphatically that Company management is the better of the two."

The Hon'ble Mr. M. A. Jinnah :—" Sir, I am very sorry to say 8-42 P.M.
that I do not agree with the Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Wacha in what he said, namely, that we should postpone an expression of opinion in this Council until the Government of India's Despatch has been dealt with by the Secretary of State for India. It is quite obvious that, whatever Despatch the Government of India have sent home, they have made certain recommendations—certain definite recommendations. Those recommendations have gone to the Secretary of State for India for his decision; and they are under consideration. Surely after his decision is given it would be futile for us to discuss the subject in this Council and to express our opinion. Therefore it seems to me obvious that those who are competent to express an opinion on this question—which is a highly technical one—should express their opinion now.

"Now, Sir, I was very much amused and also instructed by two speeches to which I listened to-day on this Resolution, the one coming from the Hon'ble Sir Hugh Bray and the other from my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Bannerjea. The Hon'ble Sir Hugh Bray made out an excellent case for Company management on the ground that the Government is incompetent; that it is a bureaucratic Government and unable to manage railways. As I listened to him I really thought that, though it was his voice, the sentiments and views were those of my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Bannerjea. And when I listened to the Hon'ble Mr. Bannerjea, although I recognised his voice, the sentiments he expressed were Sir Hugh Bray's sentiments; because the Hon'ble Mr. Bannerjea contended that the Government was fair, that it managed everything efficiently, and that it listened to public opinion. But Mr. Bannerjea can bear personal testimony because he is a frequent traveller and passenger on the East Indian Railway...."

The Hon'ble Mr. S. N. Bannerjea :—"Daily."

The Hon'ble Mr. M. A. Jinnah :—"Daily; and the Hon'ble Sir Hugh Bray also is competent to express an opinion as a merchant, and a prominent commercial figure. It seems to me that there is a great deal to be said on both sides, namely, for the advocacy which favours State management and for the advocacy which favours Company management. Now all that I can say is this, that we know this, that public opinion in India, as far as one is able to ascertain, is certainly more in favour of State management than Company management; and what strikes me is this that if it is going to be Company management, and not State management, as a man of commonsense I should say that the Company should at least be domiciled in India and not in Great Britain. Therefore public opinion favours State management as best; but the next best thing to that as it strikes me, although I am not competent to say whether State management is better,

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or Company management is better, is that if it is going to be Company management, it should be by a Company domiciled in India."

8-16 P.M.

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—" Sir, I am sorry and surprised that after having listened to the speech of the Hon'ble the Member for Commerce and Industry the Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Wacha should have disputed the propriety of the discussion which has been raised on the Resolution before the Council. I fear my Hon'ble friend has been exhibiting a little too much impatience over some of the recent discussions in this Council, and I regret to think that he has not been quite fair to his Colleagues who have raised these questions in dealing with them in the manner he has done. But I would not say anything more about that. My Hon'ble friend admits that the majority of our fellow-countrymen want State management ; but he says they are cries of ignorance, as ' shibboleths ' and so on. With all my respect for my Hon'ble friend I must say that he is mistaken in this view. Both he and the Hon'ble Sir Hugh Bray, whose views he endorsed, gave reasons for being in favour of the management of railways by Companies as against that by the State. But there was one outstanding point which neither of them answered, and that is that the State, i.e., the public has to sacrifice a large revenue under Company management. The Company which is managing the East Indian Railway at present, under a lease from the Government, is receiving between 20 and 25 lakhs every year as its share of the surplus profits. After the Government has paid the interest which has been guaranteed on the Company's debentures, after it has paid all the working expenses, including the salaries of the Company's officers, and the expenses of its London Board, in addition to all these charges incurred in India and in England, the Company receives between 20 and 25 lakhs a year from Government for the mere management of the Railway. The total amount of the share of the surplus profits earned annually by the various Companies which are managing our State railways is over six times as much, and it has been steadily growing. In 1909-10 it was 48 lakhs ; in 1916-17 it stood at 115 lakhs a year ; in 1918-19 it has been budgetted at 160 lakhs a year. The surplus share of profits which we have been paying to the Companies is, therefore, a very considerable item. Now, we urge that the State should take up the management of State-railways. There is no question here of the ownership of these railways. The Hon'ble Sir Hugh Bray is rather late in the day in saying that Companies should own railways in India. The State is the owner of all the trunk lines. Our whole contention is that as the State manages some of the railways which it owns, it should take the others also under its own direct management. This would result in 100 lakhs being saved on the basis of the present revenue. In the course of time this amount will steadily increase, and we desire that this increasing income should be secured to the people. If companies manage the railways the surplus share of profits is taken away from the people and the Government. We want that whatever profits are earned by railways, being contributed by the people, should go to the State exchequer and be available to the people through the State exchequer. That is the one argument which stands out above all others in the discussion. No reason has been suggested as to why we should continue to make this tremendous sacrifice of revenue.

" There is another point. The Hon'ble Sir Hugh Bray did not discuss military reasons, but they are important enough not to have escaped his attention. One disadvantage of the present system of Company management has been exhibited this year. As we know the Government thought it fit during the year to enhance railway fares. The revenue from this source has been very considerable, and a considerable sum of the profits has gone to the Companies. This has been a matter of serious complaint. If the people felt that at a time of war enhancements were made for the purposes of the war and went to the State exchequer, there would have been much less complaint than there has been now when people know that part of the profits which have been made in the interests of the State and in the public interest are to be shared by companies.

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[18TH MARCH, 1918.] [*Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.*]

“The Hon'ble Sir Hugh Bray has stated it as his opinion that the East Indian Railway is the best-managed, the most efficiently-managed Railway in India. I am sorry to say, Sir, that I cannot agree in that view. I have travelled a good deal in this country over the North-Western Railway, the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway, the Eastern Bengal State Railway, and a greater deal over the East Indian Railway. I am sorry to say, but it has to be said, that if the Hon'ble Sir Hugh Bray inquires he will find that there is among Indian gentlemen, passengers from the 1st to the 3rd class, much complaint against the management of the East Indian Railway.

“The management of the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway is immensely more popular. The management of the North-Western Railway is also much more popular. It attends better to the comforts and conveniences of Indian passengers, both Hindus and Muhammadans, and it treats them much better. In the Eastern Bengal State Railway also we have found that attention has been paid to the comfort of Indian passengers. But in the case of the East Indian Railway the complaints of the Indian public receive a poor response.

“My Hon'ble friend then dealt, Sir, with the three points which he said should be considered as determining for or against the one or the other kind of management. The first of these was efficiency. He thought it had not been proved that the State would be able to manage its railways more efficiently than they are managed by Companies. Well, we have got three instances to judge from, that of the North-Western, the Oudh and Rohilkhand and the Eastern Bengal State Railway. Has anything been said against the management of these railways? I do not know. The second point was economy. It has been shown by the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma, and it cannot be disputed, that the management of the Companies is more expensive than that of the State railways. I will give a few instances. The Agent of the East Indian Railway draws Rs. 3,500 a month; the Agent of the North-Western Railway, which is a State railway, draws Rs. 3,000 a month. The Traffic Manager of the East Indian Railway draws Rs. 2,500 a month; the Traffic Manager of the North-Western Railway, draws Rs. 2,000 a month. The Carriage and Wagon Superintendent draws Rs. 2,500 a month on the East Indian Railway, whereas he draws Rs. 2,000 a month on the North-Western Railway. I might mention that the open mileage of the East Indian Railway is only 2,813 miles, whereas that of the North-Western Railway is 5,434 miles. So in the matter of economy the management of the Company-managed railways has not been shown to be economical. On the contrary, I have shown that, in addition to all the working expenses and other charges, the surplus profits which are paid to Companies clearly make their management uneconomical. The third point urged by my Hon'ble friend was where is the guarantee that you will earn the same profits? And this argument was repeated by Sir Dinshaw Wacha. Well I ask where is the reason to apprehend that you will not earn the same profits? I submit there is every reason to think that we shall earn greater profits. If I may briefly refer, Sir, to some disadvantages, I say these block rates which are employed by one railway administration against another in order to divert traffic to its own route, even if the natural route should be by the line of another administration, constitutes the first serious complaint against the present system. The quotation of these block rates has been generally condemned as a hindrance to the natural flow of traffic, and as contrary to the general principle that all State railways should be treated as one concern. This arises simply from the fact that, though the railways belong to the State, their management has been entrusted to different Companies, which are each anxious to secure their own profits and therefore jealous of the sphere of influence of the other. These block rates are entirely anomalous and indefensible. The next disadvantage to which I would refer is the hire system for rolling stock interchanged between different lines. This prevents the utilisation of the surplus stock of one line upon another, and clearly works against economy, especially on occasions of large fairs, etc. If, instead of a separate stock for each State railway, there were a common stock for all State lines of the same gauge,

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and properly distributed according to actual requirements, there should be large savings in the number of vehicles, reducing the capital cost, and in the empty haulage which is often resorted to in order to avoid the hire.

“Thirdly, the quotation of lower mileage rates to and from the ports than the rates for provincial or inter-provincial traffic. This encourages foreign trade and in many cases withholds necessary aid from indigenous industries.

“Fourthly, the contesting by the companies of claims for compensation for loss or damage to goods, etc., on evasive grounds, which the late General Richard Strachey remarked the Government could not very well do.

“If I may briefly sum up the comparative advantages and disadvantages of State management and Company management I would say : Firstly, the State management is amenable to the Government of India *in India* which can be influenced by the representatives of the people ; while the Companies' managements are directed by their boards sitting in London which are not in touch with the people, nor can they be influenced by the Government except to the extent to which they are bound by the express terms of their contracts. Secondly, State management naturally works in the interests of the public, while Company management aims at profits only. Thirdly, the treatment of Indian passengers and traders is generally better on State-managed lines than on Company-worked lines. Fourthly, as a matter of fact, State management is cheaper than that of the Companies ; for instance, the salaries of higher officials given above are higher on the Company-managed lines than on Government-managed lines. Fifthly, profits made by the State are entirely used for the public benefit or towards the reduction of taxation ; while the profits made by the Companies are divided between the Government and the shareholders of the Companies. Sixthly, Government have a larger field and employ a much larger number of expert officials than the individual companies, and are therefore in a position to obtain the best men on better terms than the companies do. As a matter of fact, companies often draw their officers from Government service by offering them higher emoluments. This tends to raise salaries. Seventhly, in the matter of raising funds, Government can obtain loans on cheaper terms than the companies. Eighthly, Government management is impartial in the employment of its servants, while companies' managements are partial to Europeans to the disadvantage of the children of the soil. Ninthly, divided interests created by the employment of different companies for the working of the State railways are responsible for irregularities which involve large sums of extra expenditure and serious inconvenience to the public. Among these I may mention the complicated tariffs of rates and fares which the Government of India have been trying in vain to get simplified for the last 40 years and more. The puzzling tariffs and differences in the general classification of goods on the different railways lead to overcharges and undercharges against the merchants and the general public, resulting in serious delays, annoyance, extra expense and correspondence in the settlement of claims on account thereof. Then the anomalous rates for goods charged in numerous cases are detrimental to the development of Indian industries and to the public generally. Sir William Clark admitted this on the occasion of the previous debate on the subject that this was entirely due to the employment of different companies. Difficulties experienced in the provision of carriage and wagon stock on occasions of large fairs and rushes of goods traffic on one railway while stock might be lying idle on other lines will be avoided ; and the longer haulage of goods by circuitous routes created by competition between different railway administrations will also be avoided. Tenthly, frequent unreasonableness of companies and the present arrangement by which Governments in India have to reason with the companies' officers, who can always evade responsibility by an appeal to their Board of Directors, who correspond direct with the Secretary of State in London and use their personal influence with him to the detriment of the public. Attention has been drawn to this point by the Government of the United Provinces in paragraph 5 of their letter. This is a long-standing complaint ; it was voiced over half-a-century ago by the Government of India in their Despatch No. 28 of the 22nd March, 1869, in which they wrote that

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their decisions were not accepted as final in India, but were habitually referred to the Board of Directors in London.

“These, Sir, are some of the disadvantages of the present system. I have already indicated the advantages which will result if the railways will be managed under the direct control of the Government as one concern upon uniform principles instead of in different pieces, under different administrations with divided and conflicting interests. There would be one simple tariff of rates and fares and uniform classification of goods on all State railways, removing all the puzzling complications which nobody seems to understand at present. It would remove also the block rates at present quoted by one administration against routes served by other administrations, and tend to greater economical and industrial development of the country, bringing peace, prosperity, and contentment to the people; and, above all, all surplus profits which are taken away by the companies will remain in the State treasury and reduce taxation.

“My Hon'ble friends, Sir Hugh Bray and Sir Dinshaw Wacha, have stated it as their opinion that the State management of railways will not be better than Company management. As against that I would invite the attention of Council to the opinions of General Richard Strachey and Colonel Conway Gordon, which they expressed before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1884.

“In answer to the question ‘Will you now give the Committee your opinions regarding the disadvantages of having the Indian Railways worked by commercial companies?’ Colonel Conway Gordon said: ‘First, that the object of a private company will naturally be to develop a dividend; that as long as the maximum dividend be secured the company will be indifferent as to whether the dividend is derived from a small traffic at high rates, or a large traffic at low rates; secondly, that it may often be the true interests of a company as a dividend-seeking concern to charge as much high rates as may be sufficient to contract the export trade in some particular article of produce, or such rates for the carriage of coal as may tend to strangle the industries in other provinces; thirdly, that the desire to secure a good dividend on all occasions naturally tends to make the servants of a private company very cautious in trying experiments towards reducing rates and fares; fourthly, that every rupee taken out of the country by an English company in excess of the normal rates of interest on the State debt constitutes practically a direct tax on transit, which must, of course, have its effect on checking the export and import trade, and on the general development of the country; fifthly, that where a company is given a fixed guarantee of interest, as long as the net profits of the line are not in excess of the guaranteed rate of interest, there is no incentive towards economical working. These are all disadvantages.’

“He was then asked to state as a man having great experience of the working of railways, what were the advantages gained to the public by the State working the railways? and he replied: ‘I think that the advantages of State working are, first, that it may often be to the advantage of the country as a whole for Government to lower a rate, and to work at the lowest possible margin of profit, thus accepting a slight fall in the railway receipts in order to secure an advantage in some other respect, either to encourage the export trade in some particular staple or to foster some new industry; secondly, that it is to the advantage of every country, and particularly of India, that the railways should be worked so that they may pay no more than their working expenses, including interest at the normal rate on their capital, all additional profit being nothing more than a direct tax on transit; thirdly, that the Government has a larger selection of officers to choose from all of whom are more or less acquainted with the customs of the country.’

“I fear, Sir, I am exceeding my time, but if you will allow me a little more time . . .”

The Hon'ble the Vice-President:—“If the Hon'ble Member wishes to continue he must really speak slower. I have been unable to follow him for the last ten minutes, and the Reporters must be in exactly the same position.”

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CONTRACT.

[Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya; Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay.] [18TH MARCH, 1918.]

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—"Thank you, Sir, I will. I should like to draw attention to the evidence of General Strachey also. He was asked—"Then in point of fact you do not think railways can be worked more economically by companies than by the State?" and he replied: 'No, as a matter of economy I think not. I think our statistical returns give perfectly satisfactory results for State railways.' Another point that was put to him was—"You think the railways would be more likely to be of use to the public if in the hands of the Government than if in the hands of private companies," and he stated—"I think the balance would be in that direction." It was further put to him—"You think that the public might obtain greater advantages from the Government than they would be able to do from the companies?" and he replied—"I am sure they would."

"These, Sir, are the opinions of gentlemen who held the highest positions in the management of Indian railways. I would also like to quote the opinion of Mr. Carl Vrooman from his book published by the Oxford University Press in 1910, from which the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma has partly quoted. After having compared the railway systems in Europe he arrived at a conclusion which is worthy of consideration. He says:—

'Thus after a careful survey of the results of government ownership of railways in the leading countries of continental Europe, we are forced irresistibly to the conclusion that these Government roads can boast of having given a better service and lower rates to the travelling and shipping public, and better pay and better conditions of labour to their employes than have the corporation railways of the same countries. In addition to all this, the financial results of these roads have been entirely creditable. In the long run no deficits have been created by any of the Government railway systems under consideration, and profits have been gained which have proven sufficient for all the requirements of the service including the payment of interest on their bonded indebtedness as well as a certain amount each year towards the liquidation of that debt.'

"I have done, Sir, in this matter that the interest of the general public should be the paramount consideration before the Government. The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes has assured us that the matter is going up before the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for his consideration and decision. I hope that the point will receive attention, and that the question will be decided from the point of view of whether there is any justification in the existing state of things for companies to be allowed to take away so large a share of the profits when the Government has guaranteed the interest on their debentures and pays all the working expenses, including the salaries of the officers. I hope with confidence that the recommendation that is contained in the Resolution will be finally accepted by Government."

4-5 P.M.

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay :—"Sir, I rise to support the Resolution. The question of State *versus* Company management of railways is a technical question. Most of the Members of this Council are not very well qualified to express any expert opinion on it. It is a fact, however, that this question was referred, I do not remember exactly by Local Governments or the Imperial Government, to various bodies and associations in all parts of the country. The opinions of these bodies were entirely in favour of management of railways by the State. In my province there is a notorious example of management of railways by a company, I refer to the Bengal and North-Western Railway. Practically there is no management. There is mismanagement from beginning to end. Sir, the Bengal and North-Western Railway is a bye-word for mismanagement throughout the province. There is, strictly speaking, no fixed time for trains to arrive at, or depart from, any station, there is no consideration shown for the convenience of passengers whether 1st class or 3rd class, there is no accommodation worth the name in any of the stations where gentlemen can rest for any time. The platforms of railway stations are under the sky, and during the rainy season a large number of people remain standing on the platform some time under heavy downpour until some

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[18TH MARCH, 1918.]

[*Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay; The Vice-President; Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma; Sir Dinshaw Wacha.*]

train arrives to carry them. This is, perhaps, an extreme instance of the management of railways by a company. The Bengal and North-Western Railway is, I suppose, an independent company. When a complaint is made as regards any matter connected with the railway it is not heard by anyone! There is no one to listen to any grievances”

The Hon'ble the Vice-President :—“ I think the Hon'ble Member is travelling outside the terms of the Resolution.”

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay :—“ Sir, I support the Resolution.”

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma :—“ Sir, the Hon'ble Sir Hugh Bray and the Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Wacha have dealt at some length with the general advantages of the Company system of management, but they have not addressed any remarks on the distinction I have sought to draw between Company system proper and the so-called company system which obtains in India. The Hon'ble Sir Hugh Bray said ‘the East Indian Railway is efficiently managed, why change it.’ Assuming that the statement is correct, for it is not acknowledged by all, he does not go into detail to show that other railways are not worked equally satisfactorily. He does not show that on State-managed systems Government have incurred loss which they had to recoup from the general revenues. Assuming that the East Indian Railway manages its affairs efficiently, there is nothing to show that it would suffer under State management. This is what the Punjab Government said with regard to the North-Western Railway: ‘The State management system on the whole gives satisfaction to the administration and to the people of the Punjab.’ The Punjab Chamber say: ‘The management of the Government system endeavours to do its best with the facilities at its disposal.’

4-3 F. M.

“ There is the opinion of the commercial public as well as of the Government, I mean the Punjab Government. The United Provinces Government states—

‘The State Railway within the Province lies between the two extremes; and the conclusion seems to be that while the very best Company management is superior to Government control, on the other hand, Government control is better than any, except thoroughly good Company management.’

“ Then they invite attention to the necessity of ultimate control by the Supreme Government, as the Local Government has absolutely no control when the Company goes wrong. They say that there is absolute necessity for control over block rates, showing clearly that, although at certain times a Company may behave well, still if it does not behave well, even the Government is helpless and powerless in the matter. So if you tighten the control either by legislation or by other expedients it is no longer Company management, but it is State management really masquerading under the guise of Company management.

“ Then with regard to the administration of the Eastern Bengal Railway, I do not see any reason why the State should not manage it on up-to-date lines. Then the argument that the revenue might suffer in the hands of the State, that so much profit would not have been earned, has not been substantiated; while the figures go to show that there has been a progressive rise both in passenger and goods traffic on State-managed railways. The net earnings increased from £665,600 in 1905 to 1·1 million and odd in 1913 and 2·8 million in 1916-17”

The Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Wacha :—“ Which Railway is it? ”

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Sarma :—“ The Eastern Bengal Railway. The revenue on the North-Western Railway increased from 2·1

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[Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma.] [18TH MARCH, 1918.]

millions in 1905 to 2·8 millions in 1913 and 3·4 in 1916-17; and on the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway it increased from £431,867 and odd in 1905 to £837,600 in 1913 and 1 million and odd in 1916-17. Therefore, there has been a progressive increase in the net revenue of these railways, and surely no one can say that State management is resulting in any loss to the tax-payer.

“Then with regard to the remarks made by my Hon'ble friend Sir Dinshaw Wacha that in old times the North-Western Railway was a burden to the tax-payer, he seems to forget that a good portion of that North-Western Railway is a strategic railway, that it is a military line, running through waste lands, and that no one ever looked to any profit on that portion of the railway, but the net results in recent times which accrued, taking the line which traverses the populous parts of the province into consideration, are satisfactory. Therefore, Sir, I think there is absolutely no force in the argument that under State management the revenues are likely to suffer.

“Then my Hon'ble friend seems to be assured that Company management of the railways has been satisfactory to the Government, and that nothing more need be done in the matter, whereas almost every Government asks the Government of India to take wider powers of control which, as I have said, would reduce the so-called liberty to a farce. This is what the United Provinces Government says:—

‘The necessity for stronger powers of intervention has been brought home in this province in a very emphatic form by the frequent unreasonableness of one Railway administration. Instances of such unreasonableness would probably be materially decreased if the administering companies were domiciled in India. The present arrangements by which a Local Government has to reason with railway officers who can always evade responsibility by an appeal, real or imaginary, to their Board in London, are highly unsatisfactory, both to the Government and the Railway. The present measure of control, for example, which is provided by the scales of maxima and minima rates, is apparently inadequate to regulate such matters as unfair block rates. A strong hand is also required over the competition between private companies for spheres of influence, and more particularly where the interests of great ports compete with those of inland provinces; but as new contracts are given, or existing contracts are revised, a much more efficient power of control ought to be reserved by the Supreme Government as an essential condition to the maintenance or extension of administration by companies.’

That does not seem to be satisfactory so far as Company management is concerned. The Madras Government believes that the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway is the worst offender in the matter of overcrowding of third-class passengers, and if any change in the management is to be made it might be effected there. The Report of the Pilgrim Committee also shows how helpless the Madras Government were to cope with the third-class passenger traffic; and recent experience also emphasises the fact that Branch line Companies cannot make any progress owing to the jealousy of the Guaranteed Railway Companies.

“Then the Bombay Government states:—

‘There appears to be good ground for the impression that the Railway Companies are not responsive to representations regarding agricultural interests. . . . Complaints are heard of the preference given to foreign produce with a long lead over local produce with a short lead and no effective remedy appears to lie elsewhere than in legislation.’

“Then, Sir, one more quotation and I shall have done on this point. Speaking of a factory in Ahmedabad which the Bombay Government tried to promote Sir Frederic Lely says:—

‘The State Guaranteed Railway was giving a bounty to the foreign manufacturer equivalent to the whole cost of carriage between Bombay and Ahmedabad. It would strain the powers of a Viceroy to do as much for a home trade. It is impossible to imagine his doing it, as the railway does, for a foreigner. On remonstrance by the Commissioner the Traffic Manager of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway assented to some but little modification, but argued that ‘any reduction in favour of Ahmedabad will kill our traffic in imported matches from Bombay, much against our interests.’ Competition with Karachi and Calcutta has forced us to quote lower rates from Bombay. The Bombay Government would give no help beyond the cynical advice to Mr. Munshi to supply his neighbours and not to extend his market.’

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[18TH MARCH, 1918.] [Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma; Sir Dinshaw
Wacha; The Vice-President.]

"Similarly, a match factory at Pilibhit does not seem to have fared better. Consequently, Sir, from the economic as well as from the point of view of agricultural interests, it seems to be necessary that Government should take much more control over Companies. If Government is going to do that for the Company, pay for its expenses, provide capital for the working lines, to make all the improvements, then why should not the Government do all these things themselves and not take all the profits instead of doing the whole work in the name of a Company adorned by the presence of certain pensioned officers on its staffs and giving it a share of the profits. The present arrangement seems to be absolutely indefensible, both in the interests of the country as well as of efficient administration. The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes asked me as to whether I should not have applied myself to the third alternative, namely, to the formation of another Company in India instead of taking over the East Indian Railway Company. I have deliberately refrained from taking up that question, because at present under rapidly changing conditions the best course is to take over the management of the line and work it, and if after a little experience it is found that there are inconveniences, if it be found that there are Indians and Europeans here forthcoming to take over the management, at not prohibitive cost, then by all means the change may be made. But the Resolution asks the Council to take over the management themselves in 1919, for if they do not do it now they cannot do it for some time longer, and with the increase in railway rates, with the growth of railway revenue, it seems to be indefensible to leave a share to a Company that does so little and can do so little.

"The Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Wacha referred to his general experience, but has not addressed himself to the particular question on hand, and I do not think therefore it is necessary to refer at greater length to his criticisms, especially when the Bombay Millowners Association and Indian Chamber of Commerce support my proposals. He relies on State *versus* Company management, general theories....."

The Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Wacha :—" I have deliberately refrained from saying anything."

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma :—" I am glad that on this particular question Sir Dinshaw Wacha has no particular opinion to express."

The Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Wacha :—" I have already expressed it to the Government."

The Hon'ble the Vice-President :—" Order, order."

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma :—" Sir....."

The Hon'ble the Vice-President :—" I understood the Hon'ble Member had finished."

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma :—" With your permission I may state that, having regard to the remarks of Sir George Barnes and feeling as I do that it is impossible for the Government to take up any other attitude, having sent up their recommendation to the Secretary of State, I must express my gratitude to the Council for permitting an expression of opinion which, I think, is in time. Having regard to the position and attitude of the Government, I beg leave to withdraw the Resolution."

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CONTRACT.

[*The Vice-President; Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma.*] [18TH MARCH, 1918.]

The Hon'ble the Vice-President :—" Does the Hon'ble Member desire to withdraw his Resolution? "

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma :—" Yes".

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

The Council adjourned to Tuesday, the 19th March at 11 A.M.

A. P. MUDDIMAN,

DELHI :

The 27th March, 1918. }

*Secretary to the Government of India,
Legislative Department.*

APPENDIX A.

[Referred to in answer to Question No. 26.]

Statement showing payments on account of surplus profits to railway companies working State-owned lines from 1910-11 to 1916-17.

Railway companies.	1910-11.	1911-12.	1912-13.	1913-14.	1914-15.	1915-16.	1916-17.	Total.
	₹	₹	₹	₹	₹	₹	₹	₹
Bengal-Nagpur	9,06,899	9,62,626	20,27,872	5,67,500	14,00,290	8,20,697	10,29,042	77,75,726
Bombay, Baroda and Central India.	4,30,787	4,42,388	6,58,709	3,73,865	7,15,171	5,52,040	8,11,042	40,89,002
Burma	9,67,985	9,74,988	11,76,696	13,14,320	23,49,562	17,55,793	14,18,257	93,52,601
East Indian	19,01,703	21,40,874	25,95,859	17,83,095	22,54,066	24,53,219	27,39,377	1,58,68,224
Great Indian Peninsula	4,60,703 } 566 }	2,11,081	6,30,327	3,08,457	4,01,513	68,789	5,20,823	25,96,712
Lucknow-Parsilly	80,364	73,720	69,919	1,24,870	43,012	16,434	62,313	4,70,623
Madras and Southern Maharashtra.	3,33,668	11,51,220	16,44,270	7,05,908	17,59,306	16,73,507	26,90,008	1,04,57,943
South Indian	7,04,966	3,16,684	3,55,040	1,03,999	1,64,533	1,73,593	4,28,825	23,47,666
Bengal and North-Western (Birhoop).	2,01,276	2,35,109	4,47,456	2,96,453	2,58,008	2,24,426	2,69,183	19,36,999
Total	64,88,977	65,08,700	96,06,654	55,38,539	93,00,494	77,48,773	1,00,54,380	51,91,5 07