

Interpellations in Assembly

On Indians Abroad.

Poll-tax on Indians in Kenya.

On the 27TH JANUARY, the Hon. Mr. Bhore, replying to Mr. N. C. Kelkar's question regarding poll-tax on Indians in Kenya, said that the Government had received a representation from the Imperial Citizenship Association on Kenya Poll-Tax and said: "Yes, I may, however, mention that an ordinance on precisely the same lines as the Asiatic Poll-Tax Ordinance has been passed by the Kenya Legislative Council in respect of Europeans, but under it Europeans will pay a tax of 30 shillings while Indians pay 20 shillings only. The Government are in communication with the Colonial Government.

Grant of Permit to Dr. Sudhindra Bose to Visit India.

On the 31ST JANUARY Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh and Mr. Belvi asked with reference to the grant of permit or emergency certificate to Dr. Sudhindra Bose to visit India.—"Has the attention of the Government been drawn to his letter published in 'The Amrita Bazar Patrika' dated the 15th December 1926, in which he complains that he has not yet succeeded in getting a permit to visit India in spite of the assurance given by Mr. H. S. Amery in the House of Commons in February last that Dr. Bose could, at any time, obtain a certificate? (b) Will the Government be pleased to state definitely whether they have any objection to allow Dr. Bose to visit India? If they have none, what facilities have they offered or are willing to offer to Dr. Bose in this direction?

Sir Alexander Muddiman replied: The newspaper article referred to does not accurately state the position since his renunciation of British Indian nationality. On becoming an American citizen shortly after the outbreak of the war, Dr. Sudhindra Bose has on two or three occasions applied for facilities to visit India. I have previously stated in this House that it was considered inadvisable to grant him a British passport as a passport constitutes a proof of national status and since the judgment of the Supreme Court of the U. S. A. in the case of U. S. A. versus Bhagat Singh Thind, the national status of Indians naturalized in the U. S. A. has been a matter of doubt. Dr. Bose was, however, informed that the Government of India had no objection to the issue to him of an emergency certificate for a direct journey to India. I am not aware when Dr. Bose first applied for an emergency certificate. Our failure to issue one to him immediately was due to a misunderstanding by the British representatives in America. This was corrected and Dr. Bose was informed by the British Embassy early in 1926 that he could have an emergency certificate on application to the proper authorities. If, as is alleged, he is still not in possession of the certificate, it is to be presumed that he has not applied for it. Dr. Bose did, as a matter of fact, correspond with the British embassy on the subject in the beginning of 1929 when he sought for an assurance that he would be granted a safe conduct and facilities for his return to the United States. This unusual assurance the Government of India were not prepared to give. No conditions were laid down for the issue of a certificate.

Indians in Kenya.

On the 31ST JANUARY the position of Indians in Kenya was raised by Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh who asked: (a) Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the following resolution passed by the Indian National Congress at Gauhati on the 27th December 1926 that "in the opinion of the Congress the progressively restrictive legislation against the Indian settlers of Kenya as indicated by the latest action of the Kenya Government in increasing the original poll-tax of 20 shillings which by currency manipulation, was raised to 30 shillings

and which has now been raised to 50 shillings by legislation, is calculated to demonstrate afresh that British imperialism means the conversion of interests at the cost of Indian interests, liberty and aspiration?" (b) Is it a fact that in Kenya a sum of £32,000 is required for the education of about 960 European children only and £20,000 for the education of about 2,318 Indian children? (c) Will the Government kindly state why Indians alone have been subjected to the payment of poll-tax and what steps, if any, have they taken or proposed to take in this matter? Is it a fact that in 1920 a deputation of East African Indians waited upon His Excellency the Viceroy for the redress of this wrong?

Mr. Bhore, in reply, said that answer to (a) was in the affirmative. As regards (b) the Government had not yet received official information on this point but understood that the position was as stated. As regards (c) the Hon. Member was mistaken in supposing that Indians alone had been subjected to poll-tax. There was also a poll-tax at a higher rate on Europeans. The Government of India had made representation regarding the system of financing communal education in Kenya. The answer to the second part of this question was in the negative.

Supplementary enquiries by Messrs K. C. Roy and Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar elicited that the Government of India is in correspondence with the Colonial Office on the subject.

The Fiji Deputation's Report.

On the 1ST FEBRUARY, replying to a question of Mr. Gayaprasad Singh and the supplementary enquiries of Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru, Mr. Bhore declared that the Fiji Deputation's report was highly contentious. Its publication would only provoke a rejoinder from Fiji authorities as diametrically opposed views were held on the subject and would destroy the present atmosphere of helpful negotiations promising proper settlement.

Kenya Affairs.

On the 9TH FEBRUARY, replying to Pandit Hirdayanath Kunzru, Mr. Bhore said that the Government of India were aware that the proposal demanding an elected European majority in the Kenya Legislature had been mooted by leaders of the European non-official community and the matter was receiving the attention of the Government of India who were alive to the issue involved.

Replying to Pandit Hirdayanath Kunzru's supplementary question, Mr. Bhore admitted that the Kenya White Paper laid down that the colony would not get self-government but Mr. Bhore wanted regular notice to answer the query whether Sir B. N. Sarma had given an undertaking to publish the Fiji Report and as to when the Fiji Government urged the non-publication of this report.

Position of Indians in Fiji.

On the 15TH FEBRUARY, replying to Gaya Prasad Singh, Mr. J. W. Bhore, (Education Secretary) admitted that as condition precedent to the appointment of the Indian Deputation, the Fiji Government, in the Fiji Royal Gazette in June 1921 had guaranteed that the position of Indians in Fiji would in all respects be equal to that of any other class of His Majesty's subjects. It was true that on the Fiji Advisory Executive Council there was not a single Indian. It was equally true that restrictions had been placed on Indians in Fiji in the matter of loitering in towns between 11 p. m. and 5 p. m., while no such restriction existed in the case of Europeans. Mr. Bhore said that applications for lands by Indians were generally limited to 10 acres of agricultural land with 20 acres of grazing land, but if an applicant showed he had means to work a large area, the application was seldom refused. As regards any steps on the part of the Government of India in this direction, they were still in correspondence and were unable to make a statement.

Replying to a further question of Gaya Prasad Singh, Mr. Bhore said that representations in regard to the abolition of poll-tax in Fiji and enlarging

municipal franchise in certain localities made by the Colonies Committee of the Government of India and the decisions arrived at by the Colonial Office were recorded in the correspondence on the position of Indians in Fiji which had been published in the resolution of the Government of India No. 24 Overseas dated the 12th January 1927. These were matters on which the elected Indian representatives in the local council would be in a position to press the views of the Indian community on the Colonial Government and the Government of India did not propose to take any further steps at present. It was understood that restrictions were in force regarding gun licences and purchase of arms by Indians but the Government of India have no information as to what precisely these restrictions were. No figures were available from which incidence of taxation of different communities in Fiji might be compared. Indians were at present represented by one nominated member of the Fiji Legislative Council and under the decision recently arrived at by the Colonial Office will be temporarily represented by three nominated members until necessary changes can be made in the Letters Patent to enable the Indian community to return 3 elected members to the Council. The question of their representation in municipal councils has been referred for the consideration of the Colonial Government and would, it is understood, be examined in the first instance by a local committee on which the Indian community would be absolutely represented.

To a further question by the same member, Mr. Bhore replied : "The Inter-Departmental Conference held in London in 1917 published certain proposals for a new assisted system of emigration to Fiji among other colonies for public information and criticism. Assisted emigration to Fiji had not been opened and no question of enforcing the recommendations of that conference therefore arises".

Proceedings of the
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
AND
COUNCIL OF STATE.
Jan.-June 1927.

The Council of State.

The Council of State commenced its winter session on the 8TH FEBRUARY, in the new Council Chamber, New Delhi next to the Legislative Assembly. There was a fair attendance of members.

Official Business.

The Secretary read a message from the last Assembly signifying its agreement to the amendments made by the Council to the Indian Bar Council Bill. Thirteen Bills passed by the Central Legislature in the last session and assented to by the Governor-General were mentioned. These included the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Cantonment Amendment Act, the Criminal Procedure Code third amendment Act, the Indian Bar Councils Act and the Indian Evidence Act.

Privileges Enquiry Committee's Report.

After about forty questions had been answered, the President as chairman presented the report of the Committee on the privileges of the House. The Committee was appointed at the instance of Mr. K. C. Roy, but he having gone to the Assembly, Sir Henry Moncrief Smith presented the report. He added that if the members desired to pursue the matter, then the proper course for them was to move resolutions for the recommendations of the Committee being given effect to. The resolution should be subject to admission and ballot process.

The Committee consisted of Sir Mahomed Habibullah, Messrs. S. R. Das, J. Crerar, Ramdas Pantulu, Sir Arthur Froom, Sir Umar Hayat Khan and Sir Dinshaw Wacha.

Scope of the Enquiry.

The first question considered was the scope of the Committee's deliberations with special reference to the following two suggestions by the Hon. Mr. Ramdas Pantulu: (1) That where a member of the Council of State has committed an election offence, he should be treated as having committed a breach of privilege and his case should be dealt with by the Council and not by ordinary criminal Courts; (2) that the privileges and immunities of members of the legislature should be incorporated in the Government of India Act when the Act is next amended. It was decided by a majority that questions of general powers, privileges and immunities should not be discussed but that the Committee, by its terms of reference, was only authorised to consider the question of the privileges enjoyed by members of the Council as distinct from the privileges of the Council as a body. The above two suggestions were, therefore, not considered.

Members' Allowances.

The Hon. Mr. Ramadas Pantulu suggested that members should only be permitted to draw daily allowance for 3 days' residence before and after the meetings of the Council instead of for 7 days as at present. The Committee decided unanimously to suggest to the Council to recommend to the Government to reduce the existing period of 7 days to 3 days provided that a majority of non-official members of the Council are of that opinion.

The Committee unanimously decided to suggest to the Council to recommend to the Government that in the case of non-official members, a daily allowance at half the daily rate admissible during a session should be paid for days occupied in travelling to and from the place of sitting of the Council provided, (a) that the same privilege is extended to the members of the Assembly and (b) that the proposal meets with the approval of a majority of the non-official members of the Council.

Titles.

The Committee decided by a majority that there were no grounds for the alteration of the rule by which a member can reserve a whole compartment. The Committee, with the exception of the Hon. Mr. Ramdas Pantulu, was unanimously of opinion that members of the Council ought to retain the title of 'Hon'ble.' The majority were further of opinion that in any case, the Committee ought not to make any recommendation on the subject of titles for the reason that conferment of honours is a prerogative of the Crown which in India is delegated to His Excellency the Viceroy and not to the Governor-General in Council.

Allowances to Resident Members.

The Hon. Sir Arthur Froom proposed that a member who is a resident of the place in which the Council is sitting should be entitled to receive daily allowance. The Committee decided to suggest to the Council to recommend to the Government that in such cases, a member should be made eligible for daily allowance for the days on which he attends a sitting of the House or of a Committee of which he is a member.

Position in the Warrant of Precedence.

The Hon. Mr. Ramadas pantulu proposed that members of both houses should be given a definite position in the warrant of precedence. The Committee unanimously decided to place on record that it has been brought to its notice that owing to the absence of a place in the warrant of precedence for members of the legislature, such members do not always receive on public official occasions in the provinces the recognition to which their position entitles them. A majority of the Committee were of opinion that they should not make any recommendation for the assignment of a place in the warrant to members of the Council of State as they understand that the warrant is designed to regulate precedence, solely of officials amongst themselves. They think, however, that the attention of the Government should be drawn to the necessity of taking steps to secure that members of the Council should have a recognised position at public functions of the nature referred to.

Exemption from Arms Act.

The Hon. Mr. Ramadas Pantulu proposed that the privilege of exemption from the operation of the Arms Act should extend to ex-members of the Council of State for life. The Committee decided by a majority that since the Council on 26th February 1923 expressly negatived the lesser proposal that ex-members should be entitled to obtain licences, they were not competent to consider this question in the absence of a reference "ad hoc."

The Hon. Mr. Ramdas Pantulu proposed that it should be suggested to the Council of State to recommend to the Government that the local Governments should be forbidden to take punitive or preventive action against members of the central legislature who were touring in the discharge of their public duties without informing the Government of India. The Committee decided to make no recommendation.

The Committee considered the following three questions which were raised in the debate on the Hon. Rao Sahib Dr. Rama Rao's resolution moved on 15th February 1926 viz., equal representation of the Council and the Assembly on the Standing Advisory Committee and like introduction of a larger number of important bills in the Council with the corollary of preference of a larger number of bills to a Select Committee of the Council and the establishment of a convention that voting by the Assembly of grants of the Council of State allowance etc., should not be made the occasion for attacks upon the Council. The Committee decided that these questions appointing it as it had been decided to so interpret that resolution.

Official Bills.

The Hon. Sir Mahomed Habibullah introduced a Bill to amend the Provident Funds Act of 1925 extending the privileges of providing for old age to all classes of educational and administrative bodies,

The Hon'ble Mr. S. R. Das introduced the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885 Amendment Bill altering pecuniary limits in rent suits as recommended by the Civil Justice Committee.

Lastly, Mr. Brayne introduced the Madras Salt Act Amendment Bill so as to fix the minimum charge that could be levied to meet the cost of preventive establishment which had recently increased while there had been lowering of salt duty from Rs. 2-8 per maund to Rs. 1-4 a maund. The House then adjourned.

Prohibition of Alcoholic Liquors.

On the 9TH FEBRUARY, the Hon. Ramadas Pantulu moved for the adoption of a policy of prohibition of the use of alcoholic liquors in local administrations under the direct control of the Government of India. He confined his motion to these local administrations in order to raise the whole question of the policy of prohibition as otherwise he could not do so, excise being a transferred subject in the provinces. The Government's policy had been one of regulation as opposed to prevention or prohibition. This policy had, however, been one of mere negation. The Hon. Mr. Ramadas traced the excise policy from the time of Lord Crew and emphasised that Mr. Brayne's amendment for a policy of moderation was exactly what was laid down in 1898, but which had failed to reduce consumption. There were reliable statistics available to show that reductions in the consumption of alcoholic liquors had not resulted in a corresponding decrease in the consumption of other cheap drink. Thus the popular belief that drink evil had grown was absolutely justified. Prohibition was the need of the hour in the interests of the poor people of India. That this was possible was his firm conviction from his study of what was going in the Madras Province. He need not, therefore allude to the experience of America. Alcohol was next to poison and stunted the growth of the population both in quality and number.

Mr. Brayne's Amendment.

Mr. Brayne moved an amendment that a policy designed to promote and ensure moderation in the use of alcoholic liquors be adopted in local administrations under the direct control of the Government of India. This formula he said, epitomised the Government of India's policy designed to check consumption by limiting the sale of liquor and consulting local opinion wherever possible. Prohibition, on the other hand, was not moral inasmuch as it interfered with the liberty of the subject. The State had no right to interfere with the domestic concerns of individuals, unless there was evidence of such serious abuse as to prove a menace to the safety and well-being of the population. Moreover, prohibition would result in illicit buying and consumption of liquor. Indeed, this had happened and was happening in America. In areas covered by the resolution, there was no evidence of any great drink evil. Since 1883 there had been a decrease of 50 per cent in the quantity of imported liquor and corresponding decrease in the consumption. This policy would be pursued so that further progress might be achieved in the reduction of consumption. This was the only safe and sure policy.

The amendment of Mr. Brayne was put and carried by 21 against 14 votes. The resolution as amended was then carried, non-officials not challenging a division.

Central Road Fund Scheme.

Mr. Suhrawardy moved a resolution recommending that the proceeds of taxation on motor transport be earmarked in a separate account for road development and that a Central Road Development Fund under the Government of India be formed, out of which a yearly grant be made to each local Government according to its needs and necessities for the development of quicker transport in rural areas for the benefit of the agriculturists in India. Mr. Suhrawardy pointed out that his resolution was intended to improve the social and economic condition of the agriculturists. It would secure sufficient mobility of labour and would also help to equalise the prices in agricultural produce and cheapen imported goods. The speaker suggested that heavy import duties on

motor vehicles are to be considerably reduced as recommended by the Taxation Enquiry Committee. A heavy taxation might bring in a large revenue to the Government coffers but it would act as a restraint on quicker and convenient transport in rural areas. He gathered from their report that the present duty was about 30 per cent. Reduction of this import duty was sure to give ample facilities for the increase of trade in rural parts and the Government would not have to incur any loss in matters of revenue. He, therefore, suggested that the Government should reduce the import duty on motor vehicles to an appreciable extent and should earmark the revenue derived from this source exclusively for the development of roads and improvement of rural transport.

Sir Arthur Froom, while supporting the motion, did not agree with its wording. He, therefore, moved an amendment for a Committee including members of both Houses of the Central Legislature to examine the desirability of developing roads and to consider the formation of a Central Road Board for the purpose of advising in regard to and co-ordinating the policy in respect of road development. Sir Arthur emphasised that his amendment was not antagonistic to the main resolution. The present position was that little or no advantage had been taken of motor cars and motor lorries and motor transport; but without good roads there was no use in importing these modern methods of transport. The proposal was a productive one, for any development of roads would come back in the shape of increased agricultural prosperity.

Mr. Suhrawardy, thereupon, accepted the amendment which was carried without any dissentient voice.

Official and Non-Official Bills.

Mr. P. C. D. Chari moved that instructions be issued to official members of the Central Legislature to refrain from voting on non-official bills and resolutions in the Indian legislature. He said there was no difficulty, legal or constitutional, in the way of accepting the motion. The only question was whether it was necessary or expedient. The speaker quoted elaborately from the Montagu-Chelmsford report to show how the present practice vitiated the very object which the framers of the constitution had in view. It should be the object of the official members to give effect to the constitution and the Government should accede to the view expressed in the motion. The control of the Secretary of State had been relaxed solely to give full expression to the views of non-official members and his motion was quite in accordance with that policy. It was never the intention of Parliament that the official block should be used in order to indirectly defeat the popular view which must be given full scope under the Act.

The resolution was rejected without division.

Separation of Posts and Telegraphs.

Dr. Rama Rao moved that the Posts and Telegraph department and their accounts be separated. He said that the Telegraph department was working at a considerable loss and was consequently a heavy drag on the Postal department. This unjust and unequal combination went to deprive the masses who availed themselves of the Postal service in a much larger measure than telegraph of the benefits of cheap postage. There was no economy either in the working of these two departments together, for in spite of it some old superior staff still continued. Nor was any valid ground adduced by the Government for a combined system except that telegraph charges was paid for in postage stamps and there would be difficulty in apportioning revenues in each department. This he stated was a flimsy ground. No such difficulty existed in the case of unified receipt stamps in which various provincial Governments had a share and none should exist in this case where apportionment could be more easily effected. In the interests of the masses, he urged the separation of these two departments.

The resolution was lost without division. The Council then adjourned.

Official Bills.

On the 11TH FEBRUARY, six official bills were placed on the order paper. Three of these had been introduced at its first sitting and two already passed by the Assembly.

On the motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Corbett, the Council agreed to the introduction of the Bill amending the law relating to provision, maintenance and control of light houses by the Government in British India.

The Hon'ble Mr. Das moved for consideration of the Bill amending the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885. The Council passed the Bill without discussion.

Sir Mahomed Habibullah's Bill amending the Provident Fund Act 1925 was taken into consideration. He emphasised that it was to afford relief to the deserving class of public servants in educational institutions.

The Hon'ble S. R. Das, Law Member, then moved the House for consideration of the Bill amending the Limitation Act 1908, Section 20 and 21 as passed by the Assembly. He said that the alterations made in the law were the results of suggestions made by the Lower Chamber to the Bill passed by the Council last August.

On the motion of the Law Member, the Council passed the Registration Act of 1908 Amendment Bill as passed by the Assembly.

When the Madras Salt Act Amendment Bill was taken into consideration Mr. Ramadas Pantulu expressed his difficulty in according support to a measure which left taxation to the Executive. It was a large order to ask the Council to entrust the Central Board of Revenue with this power. Any cess levied would ultimately fall on the consumer. He wanted statistical details relating to liability before he agreed to passing the Bill. The House then adjourned.

Vakils as Chief Justices.

On the 14TH FEBRUARY another batch of six non-official resolutions was placed for consideration by the Council of State.

The Hon'ble Mr. V. Ramadas Pantulu moved a resolution for the amendment of the Government of India Act so as to permit the appointment of High Court Vakils as permanent Chief Justices of High Courts of Judicature in India. He pointed out that the existing disability arose from the construction of the ambiguously worded Section 101. The difficulty really lay in the interpretation of words in an obscure proviso to the Section, the words being "including the Chief Justices and excluding Additional Judges." The matter came to a head when Sir K. Srinivasa Iyengar was proposed to be appointed as the Chief Justice of the Madras High Court and at that time His Majesty's Government was advised not to depart from the existing practice. The late Mr. Montagu was ready to recognise that Vakils were as able as Barristers and therefore should not be prevented from being raised to the rank of permanent Chief Justice. Yet in the year of grace of 1927 the provision was there not only at an anomaly, but as a barbarous anachronism. The Law Membership of the Government of India was thrown open to Vakils and two appointments on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council were also thrown open to Vakils. But while a Vakil could act as a Chief Justice, he was not allowed to hold the post permanently. With few notable exceptions, Barrister Chief Justices had been found sadly wanting in essential qualities for the post.

The motion was withdrawn.

Transfer of Army Head-Quarters.

Sir Ebrahim Jaffer moved that orders for the transfer of Poona district head-quarters from Poona to Secunderabad be immediately cancelled. He wished to make it clear that he had absolutely no intention of interfering with any military strategy. As soon as the move was mooted, citizens and public bodies of Poona expressed their disapproval of the change. Many meetings of protest had been held in an endeavour to persuade the Army Department to consider their decision. He opposed this move on behalf of the Poona citizens, house-holders, shop-keepers and merchants who feared considerable loss at a time when trade depression was beginning to pick up. He opposed the transfer on economical grounds as well as a large sum of money would have to be spent on erection of a new bungalow and head-quarters office at Secunderabad.

The resolution was defeated.

The National Demand.

The next resolution of Kumar Sanker Roy Chaudhuri for effect being given to the National Demand was not moved following the example of members in the Assembly.

Amendment of Income-Tax Act.

Mr. P. C. Desikachari moved the following resolution:—"This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council to introduce a Bill in the Central Legislature to amend the Indian Income-tax Act by the introduction of (a) a provision on English lines for allowances in respect of wives, children and dependants of assessee, (b) a provision on English lines for objections and appeals against assessment, (c) a provision for differentiation for income-tax purposes between earned and unearned incomes and (d) a provision for giving effect to the recommendation of the Taxation Enquiry Committee for setting off the loss sustained in one year against profits earned in a subsequent year".

Mr. Chari, in a long speech, referred in detail to the English practice under each head and quoted also the views of Dr. Paranjpye of the Taxation Enquiry Committee on the subject. The principles embodied in the resolution were all admittedly sound and he saw no insurmountable objection to their being incorporated in Indian law.

Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy, supporting the resolution, said most of the amendments urged in the law were of the right character. His opinion was that these must be adopted immediately but for unfortunate reasons, neither the Council nor the Assembly had discussed the Taxation Committee's report which dealt with several questions concerning taxation. He, therefore, endorsed the view generally expressed and in order to give it a practical touch he moved an amendment for a committee of members of both Houses of the Central Legislature to consider the desirability of amending the Income-tax Act on the lines suggested by the mover.

Mr. Desikachari agreed to the amendment for a Committee and the resolution as amended was carried, the Government not challenging a division.

Inter-Class Accommodation in S. I. R.

Mr. Rama Rao moved for provision of inter-class accommodation in the South Indian Railway, both metre and broad gauges, and fixing of the fare for that class at five pies per mile, the same as that charged by the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway Company. The mover criticised the South Indian Railway Administration and said that the Railway Company had been defying public opinion in the matter of providing and improving inter-class accommodation in their trains. They had even suppressed the fact of provision of inter-class accommodation in up and down Ceylon Boat Mails from their budget submitted to the Government last year. The Government had also made a misleading and incorrect statement in the proceedings of the Standing Finance Committee for railways that there was no inter-class in S. I. R., though actually there was inter-class provided in two trains at last, albeit experimentally. A maximum rate of $7\frac{1}{2}$ pies per mile was collected from passengers. He quoted facts and figures to show that the inter-class was popular in S. I. R. and urged on the Government to take immediate steps to have inter-class accommodation provided in all mail and passenger trains of the S. I. Railway, both metre and broad gauges, and to fix the fare at five pies per mile.

The Light-Houses Bill.

On the 15TH FEBRUARY, the Council of State agreed to the motion of Mr. Corbett that "This Council do recommend to the Legislative Assembly that the Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to the provision, maintenance and control of light houses by the Government in British India be referred to a Joint Committee of this Council and of the Legislative Assembly and that the Joint Committee do consist of 12 members."

The Law Member then moved that the bill relating to forests, transit of forest produce and duty leviable on timber and other forest produce be taken into consideration.

The bill was then taken into consideration and on the motion of the Law Member, after certain verbal alterations the bill as amended was passed.

Separate Province for the Andhras.

On the 16TH FEBRUARY, four non-official resolutions appeared on the order paper when the Council met. Mr. Ramadas Pantulu moved:—

"This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council to advise His Majesty's Government to take such steps as may be required to constitute the Andhra Telugu districts into a separate province with a full measure of responsible Government."

Mr. Ramadas Pantulu traced the history of this question at great length. In particular, he referred to the conditions laid down by Mr. Cregar, Home Secretary, when a proposition for the separation of provinces on a linguistic basis was brought forward last year. At that time, the conditions mentioned were that the community concerned must express themselves first in the matter, secondly, that there must be a strong expression of public opinion and thirdly, public opinion must in the first instance be expressed through the primary and constitutional channel, i.e., Legislative Council. All these conditions had been fulfilled in the case of Andhra districts. Successive conferences of the Andhras held under distinguished persons like Sir B. N. Sarma, Raja of Panagal and Dewan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao had expressed themselves in favour of a separate province. The Andhras were politically-minded, progressive people. There was practically unanimity of opinion among the Andhra members of the Madras Legislative Council in favour of a separate province. The claim of the Andhras for a separate province was recently conceded by the establishment of a separate university. In pleading for a separate province, Mr. Ramadas Pantulu said he had in his mind the constitutional future of India as a federal form of Government. In outlining the scheme of Government for the Andhra districts, Mr. Ramadas Pantulu said: (1) The province is to be a unit of a congeries of self-governing Indian provinces associated for certain purposes under a responsible Government of India on a truly federal and quasi-federal basis. (2) The Governor of the province must be strictly a constitutional Governor. (3) The provinces should have a unicameral, not a bicameral legislature entirely elected on the basis of universal adult franchise and on a system of proportional representation by a single transferable vote. A second chamber in a local legislature contemplated by Section 84-A, Government of India Act, is a grave danger which is to be guarded against. (4) The Executive should be undivided and diarchy should completely disappear. The Executive should be fully responsible to the legislature. (5) The province should enjoy as complete a measure of fiscal autonomy as is compatible with its relations to the Central Government and any agreed scheme of financial adjustments between the two. (6) Civil service should be organised and recruited on a provincial basis except such all-India services as may be agreed upon between the Provincial and the Central Governments. Covenanted Indian Civil Service should be abolished. (7) The Government of India should also be a Government responsible to the legislature. The defences of the country will be the exclusive province of the Central Government.

The resolution was put and lost, 28 voting against and 11 for.

Road and Railway Bridge at Mangalore.

Dr. Rama Rao moved his resolution asking that Netravati Bridge near Mangalore on the S. I. Railway line be made available also for cart traffic between Mangalore and neighbouring villages of Ullal, Permanoor, Kotekar etc. He said that owing to congestion in Mangalore and consequent unhealthiness of the town this extension was decided upon by Mr. Vibert, a former Collector of South Kanara and the village of Ullal is now growing into a splendid garden city through private enterprise resembling Malabar Hill of Bombay in all respects. The Netravati river between Mangalore and Ullal is not fordable except by boats and during the floods, passage is rendered almost impossible. He requested the Government to make some provision for cart traffic along the railway bridge which he said could be conveniently done as the bridge was

already meant and suitably constructed for the purpose and thus give some relief to suffering Mangaloreans. The resolution was withdrawn.

Utilising Interest on Muslims' Deposits

Sir Ebrahim Jaffer moved that steps be taken to make available for the improvement and expansion of Muslim education all interest accruing from deposits in postal savings banks and Government Securities belonging to Mussalman who do not, owing to religious scruples, receive interest therefrom and that this arrangement be given immediate effect in the provinces in which Muslim public opinion is agreeable to the scheme. The mover pointed out that a summary of the opinions of provincial and other minor Governments as forwarded to the Government of India on the subject showed that the majority of Muslims consulted are in favour of the formation of a fund for the purpose he had suggested and the majority consider that no serious religious susceptibilities of the community will be offended. The majority of local Governments also did not raise any objection in the scheme. There was a slight opposition to the proposal on the part of a minority and for this reason he had moved in his resolution that the scheme be put into immediate operation only in provinces where there was no special opposition.

The motion was declared carried, the Government not challenging a division.

Revision of Court Fees.

On the 22ND FEBRUARY, Mr. P. C. Deiskachari moved for the appointment of an expert committee with a non-official majority to revise the Court Fees Act and the schedule thereto in such a manner as to pitch the scale of court fees as low as possible consistently with the production of revenue just sufficient to cover all sorts of administration of civil justice. He said that capital expenditure should be borne by the general taxpayer while the cost of maintenance alone would be borne by litigants. He was not for increasing litigation but honest litigation should not be checked. The existing schedule was very defective inasmuch as there was no scientific adjustment in rate. His purpose in asking for an enquiry was to see that there was a more equitable and rational basis of levying fees. He suggested levying of initial fees and then increasing the rate so that there should be no element of taxation but only of penalty. The resolution was lost.

Restrictions on Medical Practitioners.

Dr. U. Rama Rao moved that restrictions now imposed on registered medical practitioners who did their own dispensing in respect of such matters as maintenance of detailed accounts for opium preparations prescribed or dispensed by them as medicines for their patients be relaxed.

Dr. Rama Rao said that the Excise Department was rather harsh on the medical profession when it demanded of them to maintain detailed accounts for every little bit of opium they prescribed and dispensed, especially when such small doses in combination with other drugs could not induce the drug habit in a patient or produce intoxication. While a licenced opium vendor could sell one tola of opium at a time to any individual who asked for it and when that individual could dexterously manage to get as much opium as he wanted provided he did not possess more than one tola with him at a time. He failed to see why a medical man alone could not be trusted more than the licensed vendor and should be harassed and treated as if he were a suspect. He wanted the Government to be more generous to the profession and asked them to relax those excise rules so as to give them less worry and more freedom of action in regard to opium prescriptions.

Mr. Brayne, on behalf of the Government, pointed out that it was a provincial subject. The Government of India had, in pursuance of their international obligations, given certain solemn undertakings in respect of poisonous drugs which they could not break.

Dr. Rama Rao suggested that copies of this debate might be forwarded to local Governments. Mr. Brayne agreed to this course. Thereupon Dr. Rama Rao withdrew the resolution.

Societies' Registration Act Amendment.

Mr. Khaparde next stood up to sponsor the Bill of Mr. Kelker to amend the Societies' Registration Act in order to allow political associations to be registered. Mr. Haig, Home Secretary, supported the Bill but suggested two verbal amendments which were agreed to. The Bill, as amended, was then passed without discussion. The House then adjourned.

Discussion On South African Agreement.

On the 23RD FEBRUARY the terms of the South African settlement were discussed in the Council on the motion of Sir Dinsha Wacha conveying to the Governor-General in Council the appreciation of the Council of the results achieved by the Government of India Delegation to the recent Round Table Conference on the Indian question and expressing the hope that the direct relations that have now been established may eventuate in lasting amity between India and South Africa by a satisfactory settlement of any questions that might still require adjustment.

Sir Dinsha Wacha in moving the resolution said it was the echo of the general wish expressed by the members of this House after Sir Mahomed Habibullah had made his statement the other day. He traced the South African problem and pointed out how at one time the exasperation of the Indian community had reached a climax threatening a Retaliation Bill in the Central Legislature. Fortunately the statesmanship of the Indian rulers and the commonsense of the people withstood all such attempts and now they were in a position to congratulate each other on the happy settlement reached. It was the strenuous efforts of Lord Reading which very nearly found a via media and then in Lord Irwin they had another Viceroy who was equally patient and strenuous in fighting the Indian cause. Circumstances also favoured, for the attitude of General Hertzog had considerably changed for the better and not only General Hertzog but also South African Statesmen understood the feeling and sentiments of the Indian people. These circumstances were very fortunate and created a favourable atmosphere for the Round Table Conference. Combined with this there was the best selection of representatives from India made by Lord Irwin's Government. Everybody expected a favourable settlement and this had now been achieved. The delegation from India went to work something after the spirit of Locarno. The spirit of Locarno was there in South Africa and Sir Dinsha Wacha hoped that this spirit would continue so that other points which required adjustment might also be achieved.

Sir Mahomed Habibullah, replying, felt more embarrassed to-day than when he announced the settlement, because encomiums were gracefully lavished upon him and other members of the Delegation. But for the enthusiastic co-operation of his colleagues they would not have been able to achieve much good. Indeed the whole delegation worked as a team and the results accomplished were really potential of the good which was yet to come. Mr. Gandhi had described the position as a change of attitude on the part of the Union Government from one of remorseless hostility to generous toleration. This connoted a change of heart and when this was achieved they could confidently hope that the problems in South Africa would go on solving themselves in future. The first change was effected by the marvellous work of the Paddison Deputation and the restraint exercised by party leaders in the central legislature and the Indian press and the public. Indeed, last year the atmosphere had reached the boiling point when Lord Reading with his usual sagacity and statesmanship summoned a conference of party leaders not to bring any motion which would result in further embittering the relations that existed at that time between India and South Africa. The advice was accepted and now they were all in a position to see the wisdom of the course. At the same time he wished to pay a handsome tribute to the wisdom, sagacity and statesmanship of the Ministers in South Africa who were quite anxious to explore all possible means of solving a problem which for decades had agitated the public mind both here and in South Africa. In particular Sir Mahomed referred to General Hertzog who displayed broad-mindedness and Dr. Malan who displayed the godliness of a

clergyman, the acute intellect of a journalist and the diplomacy of an administrator. He also acknowledged the large-hearted hospitality extended to the delegation ever since their arrival in South Africa and till the moment of their departure.

Referring to Mr. Ramadas Pantulu's complaint that the legislature was not consulted before ratifying the agreement, Sir Mahomed referred to the usual practice of the Government of India which, in the case of treaties and agreement's never consulted the legislature before ratification. This was the case in the mother of Parliament as well. Why, Dr. Malan, the Minister of the Interior of a democratic Government himself, announced the terms in the South African Parliament by saying that the settlement had been ratified and that the Parliament could discuss it later? Admitting for the sake of argument that the legislature had a right to be consulted before ratification, then Sir Mahomed felt sure that the Council would have given whole-hearted support to it and there would have been nothing like acrimonious discussion thereon. However, he noted Mr. Ramadas Pantulu's point that political and municipal franchise was not conferred on Indians in South Africa. He felt sure that as feelings between the two countries would grow and the atmosphere gained accession of strength on the side of Indians the grant of these rights would adjust themselves to the prevailing conditions. The settlement now arrived at might be regarded as a prelude to the possibility of such a condition. Mr. Pantulu had remarked that South African Indian opinion must be consulted on this settlement. According to a Reuter's telegram received to-day, it appeared that all shades of opinion in the Cape Province applauded the Indian agreement (Swarajist Benches: Hear, hear). So, there need be no misgivings on that score.

Proceeding, Sir Mahomed acknowledged the services to India of Mr. C. F. Andrews who acted as a valuable link between the delegation and the Indian community in South Africa. Concluding he said:—"If I may borrow a simile our deputation was like a body of medical practitioners who were summoned to South Africa to examine a patient whose conditions had been pronounced to be critical and who was suffering from a chronic disease. We went there, we examined the patient, diagnosed the disease and applied a certain remedy. While leaving the patient, we returned with the satisfaction that he had turned the corner. That does not mean that he does not need further nursing and looking after. He will continue to be nursed and treated. We hope that from day to-day he will make progress until he is himself again.

The resolution was adopted unanimously amidst general cheers. The Council then adjourned.

Agricultural indebtedness.

On the 24TH FEBRUARY, Mr. V. Ramadas Pantulu moved his resolution recommending the adoption of measures for the reduction of agricultural indebtedness in India and to establish land mortgage banks to provide the agriculturists with long term and easy and productive credit. Mr. Ramadas described the position of the agriculturists as one of chronic poverty leading to low agricultural production. There had been no organised attempt in India to consider the question as a whole. The fact, however, was known that agricultural indebtedness amounted to 600 crores and there was general agreement that this indebtedness was increasing. Low economic efficiency of the ryot led to deterioration of soil and impaired the productivity of land. Land being a national asset, the State was bound to preserve its economic state. Moreover, it was the State which derived most of its income from land. Mr. Ramadas quoted the views of Sir Edward Maclagan in support of his argument and opined that the best method of solving the problem was to establish land mortgage banks to provide agriculturists with long term easy and productive credit.

Continuing Mr. Ramadas Pantulu said that these banks could not be started without State aid. This State aid should take the form of Government instituting assessment value of lands. Secondly, the interest of debentures should be guaranteed by State till they become popular. Then the State should also invest in mortgage banks moneys lying in deposit with it at little or no interest. Lastly, the Trust Act should be so amended as to permit of investment in banks.

The Council divided and the resolution was carried. The Council then adjourned till the 28th when the general budget was presented. The Steel Protection Bill was discussed on 1 March.

STEEL PROTECTION BILL.

On the 1ST MARCH Sir George Rainey, in moving that the Indian Steel Industry Protection Bill as passed by the Legislative Assembly be taken into consideration, spoke for a little over one hour. After briefly referring to the history of protective movement of steel industry in this country, he pointed out that three classes of steel in Jamshedpur required no fresh protection and they were fish plates, sleepers and tin bar. Heavy and medium rails and galvanised sheet required not only 12½ per cent protection, but for other classes of steel revenue duty would give inadequate protection and substantial addition to it was, therefore, necessary. After comparing the difference in duties as existed now and as proposed, Sir George Rainey explained that heavy as the drop had been in the prices of imported steel, the cost of production had come down even more substantially, while the output of finished steel at Jamshedpur promised to be half as large again as the output which was believed to represent the full capacity of the works in 1924. Continuing, Sir George said that the Tata Steel Company was hoping now to reduce the cost of production in Jamshedpur and by April 1934 they would be able to dispense with any scheme of protection from the Government. After explaining to the House the method adopted by the Tariff Board in fixing the cost of production of steel in Jamshedpur, the speaker went on to say that the measure of protection now sought to be given was the difference between the fair selling price for Indian manufactures and the estimated price at which imported steel entered India. Explaining why purchasers were willing to pay extra to get British steel, Sir George said that British steel was made to what was known as the British standard of specification laid down by the British Engineering Association in consultation with the users and manufacturers. If neither British nor continental steel could be used to determine the measure of protection, it was natural to ask why the 1924 plan should not be adopted. If it was, the price of standard steel would become unmanageably high. Apart from this, it was impossible to fix the amount of duty unless it could first be ascertained what proportion of his output the Indian manufacturer would sell to the purchasers who would pay British price and what proportion to those who would only pay continental price. Continuing, Sir George maintained that in view of India's treaty obligations it was impracticable to impose a basic duty on British steel and anti-dumping duties on steel imported from particular countries. On the scheme to combine protective duties with bounties, the speaker said that in proportion as protective duties achieved their object the payment of bounties became financially impossible. On the proposal to differentiate between expensive standard steel and cheap standard steel, he said each class supplied a different demand and, therefore, differentiation was impossible.

After examining at length the alternative schemes brought forward before the Assembly Sir George answered the criticism in respect of alleged imperial preference in the Bill. The Government, he said, were actuated by no motive other than that India should benefit. After explaining the reasons why continental steel was cheaper because of certain methods adopted in the continent for production of such steel, Sir George said that the proposed scheme was the work of an entirely impartial body and had a strong claim to the endorsement of the council of State.

Mr. Ramadas's Amendment.

Mr. V. Ramadas Pantulu then moved his amendment laying down that it was open to the Governor-General in Council if satisfied that articles under part seven of the schedule were being imported at such a price as was likely to render ineffective the protection intended to be afforded to similar articles produced in India to increase such duty by notification as he thought fit.

Mr. Ramadas Pantulu said the combined effect of the scheme of differential duties and the official scheme was open to grave objections of a political and

economic character. The British press and the Anglo-Indian press were gloating over the committal of the Assembly to this principle as a good augury for the future of British trade. Economic objections were equally serious if not more. The scheme imposed unnecessary burden on the consumer of at least Rs. 40 lakhs per annum computed on a cautious basis without benefit to the Indian industry. This additional burden operated to afford a generous measure of preference to the British manufacturers and put illegitimate protective duties into the pocket of the Government. The consumers of steel in places like Madras, Bombay, Karachi and Burma were compelled to pay higher prices for continental steel with which the Tatas did not compete. Then there was a real danger if inferior steel was placed on the Indian market at a high cost. His scheme was this. Duties to be imposed were duties proposed in the official scheme for British manufactures and called basic duties. This duty was to be uniform on steel coming into India from any source instead of additional duties now proposed. To protect Tatas against continental competition an amount equal to additional duty should be given by way of bounties. The amount of these bounties would approximately be Rs. 25½ lakhs, a fund from which could be paid the excess of the amount realised by protection duties over ordinary revenue duties. This excess was estimated at Rs. 65½ lakhs. The merits of this scheme were that it would eliminate the most objectionable feature of securing British preference besides removing unnecessary burden from off the shoulders of the consumers. It would not at any rate heighten it. It would also prevent the Government deriving additional illegitimate revenue from protective duties and finally afford the same protection to Indian industry as the official scheme without its drawbacks.

The House then divided and rejected Mr. Pantulu's amendment by 32 against 11 votes. Clause two was then passed without opposition.

Sir Sankaran's Amendment.

Sir Sankaran Nair then moved the insertion of a new clause after clause two to the effect that if it was shown that there was no difference in quality between articles of British and non-British manufacture, no protective duty at special or differential should be imposed. Sir Sankaran Nair said that England was anxious to exclude the Luxumburg Steel combine and prevent continental steel from competing with her. In the present state of India's mind, the Government should not do anything that smacked of this.

Continuing, Sir Sankaran said that if continental steel was satisfactorily shown to be of the same quality as British standard steel, no differential duties should be levied. In other words, his amendment wanted a distinction to be made not between British and continental steel but between standard and non-standard steel.

Sir Sankaran's amendment was thrown out by 30 against 12. The House, thereafter, passed all clauses of the bill.

Bill Passed.

Mr. Pantulu did not move his other two amendments as they were inter-related to his first one which had already been rejected by the House.

Sir George Rainey then moved that the bill as it stood be passed. Seth Govindas, in opposing the motion on behalf of the Congress Party, said they were not against the protection of indigenous industry, but they were strongly opposed to imperial preference introduced in the bill. Sir George Rainey not replying the motion was put to vote and carried without division. The House then adjourned.

On the 3RD MARCH the Council had a brief sitting with non-official resolutions. On the 5th March, the House held a general discussion of the Government of India's Budget.

Malpe-Mangalore Line.

On the 7TH MARCH, Dr. U. Rama Rao moved for construction of a new railway line between Mangalore and the nearest British territory and that provision be made for the purpose in the Railway Budget.

Dr. Rama Rao traced the history of agitation for railway facilities in South and North Canara Districts and said that all proposals had been rejected by Government under various pretexts. In view of Mangalore-Malpe line survey might be extended and the gap made up. The suggested line, said the mover, would bring happiness to people. The motion was ultimately withdrawn.

Compulsory Military Training For Students.

Mr. Ramadas Pantulu then urged the adoption of measures of provision of compulsory military training for college students in Indian Universities. Mr. Pantulu condemned the educational system which was making weaklings of youngmen. Physical education was as necessary as intellectual education. He quoted the Esher Committee's Report to prove that students corps were likely to furnish best material on which to build national army. If he was asked for a parallel to his move in other countries he would ask the counter question whether any other country emasculated the nation by law as in India. In the Madras University they had already been moving in favour of compulsory military training. Continuing, Mr. Ramadas condemned the excuse that during vacations it was not possible to look after the arms of the University Corps. He would ask what had become of police stations and other Government offices. Although Universities like Benares and Aligarh were demanding compulsory training, Government were taking an indefensible attitude. He deplored the lack of facilities for military training of Indians either in India or in England. There was no danger either to the Empire or to the permanence of British rule in organising a sound national militia as a second line of defence.

Mr. Desikachari's Amendment.

Mr. Desikachari opined that the resolution did not realise the difficulties in the way of its acceptance. If the mover's object was provision for military drill and training in arms to that effect the word "compulsory" ought to give way to the words "further facilities."

The House without division carried Mr. Ramadas Pantulu's resolution as amended by Mr. Chari.

Combating Tuberculosis.

Sir Ebrahim Jaffer then moved his resolution for immediate steps to be taken to call a conference to discuss the question of a provision of tuberculosis hospitals, sanatoria and institutions for training practitioners in tuberculosis treatment throughout India. Sir Ebrahim said the Government could start off in a very definite way to combat the scourge where they know it existed. During the past twenty years there had been a noticeable progressive increase in the extent of infection by about fifty percent over the previous figure. He admitted that a certain amount of relief work had during the years been undertaken by the provincial and central Governments. But in view of the vastness of the task, previous efforts had been a bare tinkering at the problem.

The resolution was accepted by the Government and passed by the Council which then adjourned.

Control over Medicinal Drugs.

On the 9TH MARCH, Sir Ebrahim Jaffer moved his resolution urging all provincial Governments to take immediate measures to control the craze for medicinal drugs by legislation for standardization of preparation and sale of such drugs. Sir Ebrahim quoted from discussions at the last Science Congress that there was a tendency among practitioners to overdose their patients with drugs which meant that an enormous amount of money was wasted on medicines. He did not intend in this resolution to interfere directly with provincial control over ordinary narcotic drugs such as opium because he realised it was a matter connected with excise revenue and also that excise policy was a transferred subject. There should, however, be absolutely no difficulty in seeing that drugs and drug preparations manufactured in this country were subject to Government control to see that the quality of preparation was at least up to the standard laid down in the Pharmacopoeia. All round the world there was long trial of human misery and suffering due to indiscriminate use of drugs ostensibly as medicines, but actually

as narcotics and intoxicants. He, therefore, declared that the fight must be waged against threatened dangers to the people of this country.

An Amendment.

Sir M. Dadabhoy moved an amendment calling upon all provincial Governments to control medicinal drug traffic. The resolution as amended was carried.

Amendment of Forests Act.

Mr. Anugraha Narain Sinha then urged the appointment of a committee to suggest the amendment of Forests Act and said that, since the passing of the measure in 1878, conditions had changed with the result that provisions were now proving a hardship to the people. With a view, therefore, to so amend the Act as to meet modern requirements, he would urge acceptance of his motion.

Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy moved an amendment to refer the matter to local Governments for opinion. The resolution as amended was agreed to.

Indian Delegation to League Assembly

Sir Phiroze Sethna, moving his resolution in favour of the appointment of an Indian to lead India's delegation to the Assembly of the League of Nations, at the next and subsequent sessions, recalled his previous resolutions on the subject. He also recalled Mr. Das's reply last year that the Government hoped to appoint an Indian to be the leader. The speaker who was in England at the time when the leader was chosen from among Britishers last year wrote a letter to "The Times" of London and had asked whether eminent Indians like Lord Sinha and the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and Sir Ali Iman were not considered qualified to lead the Indian deputation. Sir Mahomed Shafi and Mr. Das had said on previous occasions that under the existing constitution, the Secretary of State was ultimately responsible for the matter. To the allegation that the questions before the League of Nations also involved those of international or foreign relations, Sir Phiroze Sethna replied that the Government of India had also foreign relations to deal with and asked whether Indians in the Government of India were not found qualified for the purpose. To choose, not necessarily a member of the British cabinet but always from among the Britishers, the leader of the deputation was unwarranted and unjustified and constituted a slur that there was no competent Indian to lead the delegation; but the Government of India themselves ought to tell the Secretary of State to choose an Indian like Sir Mahomed Habibullah who led the Indian deputation to South Africa with remarkable success.

The resolution was carried 25 voting for and 18 against it. The House adjourned.

Official Bills.

On the 10TH MARCH, on the motion of Mr. S. R. Das, the Council agreed to pass the Bill amending certain enactments and repealing certain other enactments. The Bill to amend the Sea Customs Act for certain purpose having been agreed to on the motion of Mr. Brayne, Mr. S. R. Das moved for certain verbal amendments in the Bill for amending Indian Limitation Act as passed by the Assembly. The amendment was agreed to without discussion and the Bill as amended was passed unanimously.

Members' Privileges.

Mr. V. Ramadas Pantulu then moved the following resolution: This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council to give effect to the following recommendations of the Committee appointed to enquire into the privileges and status of members of the Council of State:—

(1) that members should be permitted to draw daily allowance for a period of three days' residence before and after the meeting of the Council instead of the existing period of 7 days;

(2) that in the case of non-official members a daily allowance at half the daily rate admissible during a session should be paid for days occupied in travelling to and from the place of sitting of the Council provided that the same privilege is extended to members of the Assembly; and

(3) that a member who is a resident of the place in which the Council is sitting should be made eligible for daily allowance for the days on which he attended a sitting of the House or of a committee of which he is a member.

Mr. Ramadas Pantulu traced the history of the question and said that the committee had been appointed at the instance of Mr. K. C. Roy who, as a Member of the House, had suggested taking up this question in committee instead of Dr. Rama Rao's motion in favour of discussing it in open House. The Committee had already made certain recommendations which it was for the Government now to carry into effect.

The House divided on the first clause which was rejected by fifteen against seven. After the first clause had been rejected, the second and third as amended by Mr. Das were carried. The Council then adjourned.

The Hindu-Muslim Problem.

On the 16TH MARCH, after a week's recess, the Council of State held an important sitting with a non-official resolution and amendments of a contentious character.

Sir Sankaran Nair moved a resolution recommending to the Government that the number of members of Legislative Councils in India be not increased, that no additional powers be conferred on them expressly or by implication and that no further step towards responsible Government be taken until Hindus and Mahomedans agree to dispense with the election of members to those Councils by separate electorates composed only of Hindus or Mahomedans.

Sir Alexander Muddiman, speaking on behalf of the Government, paid a tribute to the remarkable manner in which Sir Sankaran Nair had moved his resolution. He had no hesitation in saying that it was a remarkable resolution of a remarkable personality and not a backbencher. In the opinion of some, it would mean that if effect were given to Sir Sankaran Nair's motion the Reforms should be put off indefinitely until and unless the differences referred to were composed. Continuing, the Home Member said that the authors of the Montagu Chelmsford report clearly recognised that separate representation would perpetuate class division and stereotype the existing relations, but they were convinced that the present system must be maintained until conditions altered even at the price of slower progress towards the realisation of common citizenship. The same was the view of the Franchise Committee. After mentioning the names of the Councils where separate representation was given to minorities like Mahomedans, Christians, Anglo-Indians, Non-Brahmins and Europeans, the Home Member referred to the evidence given by Sir Sankaran Nair before the Southborough Committee where he was in favour of separate representation for Non-Brahmins because he could not help giving it. Sir Sankaran's later evidence showed that he proposed the method of reservation of seats and not communal electorate. He (the Home Member) knew what it was to suffer from the tyranny of the majority. He was undergoing that tyranny for the last three years in the Assembly. He was not surprised at the feeling of apprehension among minority communities in a country where universal conception of relations between majority and minority as existing in England and advanced countries had not been fully attained. He knew the short-lived Bengal pact, but there were also resolutions of the Muslim League which were not helpful. The majority of the Muddiman Committee was not prepared to recommend the substitution of reservation of seats for separate electorates. The views of the minority on the committee were in direct opposition to Sir Sankaran Nair's resolution. The Government of India, therefore, had not and could not change its attitude in regard to this question as the demand for separate representation of minorities instead of diminishing had continually been on the increase. The reforms were in some measure responsible for this position. Power had been gradually handed over to representatives of the people and the exercise of that power had become a source of strife between the two great communities in this country. Mr. Jinnah had said that nationalism could not be created by having mixed electorates, but Sir Sankaran Nair said that it was not possible to have nationalism with separate electorates. As Lord Irwin said at Poona communal

representation promoted division. The situation demanded a wide measure of mutual toleration and until that stage was reached any substantial modification of the existing system would largely depend upon the general consent of all communities. The Government, said the Home Member, were primarily convinced that the relations between Hindus and Mahomedans would have been more bitter than what they were now if they had attempted to force on the people in 1919 reforms without some form of communal representation. Of course, so long as the British Government was in India, they would see that the two communities did not break their heads but let the western conception of relations between majority and minority be developed. Whatever the result of the debate, he hoped that it would proceed in such a manner as to leave some room for further progress on the path of reforms.

Mr. Suhrawardy's Amendment

Mr. Suhrawardy, in moving his amendment, favouring the institution of separate electorates without reducing the majority into a minority or even to equality, deplored that Sir Sankaran Nair with his quarter of a century's distinguished public life behind him should have brought forward the resolution. Mussalmans were in a minority and their educational facilities were not many. Sir Sankaran was mistaken if he thought that muslims were opposed to further extension of constitutional reforms. On behalf of Bengal, he would ask Parliament to grant reforms, but he was bound to say that consistent with their position in the country they could not agree to Sir Sankaran's motion. To his mind the joint electorate was the ideal end in view. (Cheers), but in the meanwhile mass psychology had to be changed. It might be argued that seats might be reserved for Mussalmans. He did not call it altogether a bitter pill, but he would say that Sir Sankaran Nair instead of telling Mussalmans to give up what little they had should tell the Hindus to observe the spirit of the adage "Live and let live".

Sardar Jaidev Singh's Amendment.

Sirdar Jaidev Singh Uberoi explained that Sir Sankaran's motive was not to retard progress towards Swaraj but to apply indirect means of bringing about the much desired unity between the communities. To the extent, therefore, his resolution deserved welcome, but at the same time they should not forget that the authorities of the Montford scheme had distinctly recognised the necessity for communal representation. He would say that the communal electorate was certainly an impediment. He, therefore, removed what he called a media amendment favouring separate representation of important minorities, but he was sure that joint electorates would serve the very purpose of communal electorates. As a Sikh, he would be only too glad to find his community in a joint electorate.

The position of the Congress Party in the Central Legislature on communal representation was explained by Mr. Ramadas Pantulu. He observed: The Congress stands for national unity on a footing of inter-communal harmony. Its scheme of responsible Government is broad-based on what may comprehensively be described as national as opposed to sectional or communal ideals. We believe that our salvation lies in clear conception and practical realisation of a united India nation. The Congress never accepted the political heresy that co-existence in India of communities, cultures, castes and languages is a real impediment to the attainment of full nationhood and freedom by the people of this country, but we are alive to the fact that nationhood and freedom cannot be attained without our developing a full and practical sense of justice to all communities and creeds which is in no way inconsistent with nationalism and which alone can safeguard the legitimate rights of minorities in any schemes of political reconstruction of India. It is an inevitable feature at present. This position was made perfectly clear in the National Demand placed before the central legislature in September 1925 wherein we insisted upon Government taking steps to constitute a suitable agency adequately representative of all Indian, European and Anglo-Indian interests to frame with due regard to the

interests of minorities a detailed scheme of Self-Government based on the principles enumerated in that demand. Representation of communities in India in just and adequate proportions in various spheres of national life and activity with safeguards to automatically ensure in time full nationalism and complete obliteration of communalism is but a corollary to the practical application of these principles to the solution of the communal problem. The Congress undoubtedly stands for securing such just representation through the medium of joint electorates and joint action on the part of all communities. Undoubtedly, all patriotic and intelligent Hindus and Mahomedans recognise the value of joint electorates as great unifying factors in national upbuilding. They are also alive to disputing and disintegrating tendencies of separate electorates and are conscious of their being serious obstacles to the attainment of Self-Government. There is, therefore, a desire on their part to arrive at an honourable understanding in the matter which will be for the lasting benefit of their common motherland. It is true that in the attempt to effect a satisfactory settlement, some Moslems and Hindus advocate retention of separate electorates for some time longer, but they confess they do so merely with a view to help to obliterate all traces of mutual distrust which unfortunately mars the relations of the two communities at present. They concede that separate electorates are a necessary evil and are temporary expedients to tide over the difficulties of the present situation which is hoped to be a passing phase of our national struggle for freedom. This sentiment in itself is an ample vindication of the policy and principles of the Indian National Congress. The Congress is doing all it can to remove distrust and to bring the two communities together. The question is now engaging the serious attention of all right-thinking Hindus and Moslem leaders and no avenue likely to lead to a settlement will be left unexplored. The report of the Working Committee of the Congress will be presented very soon to the A. I. C. C.

I believe that Sir Sankaran Nair worded his resolution in the extreme form he did in order to draw pointed attention of the Council to the manifest danger of communalism and he could not have expected either community to accept his proposal to stop all further constitutional advance even in the contingency contemplated by him. The matter is essentially one for negotiation and settlement between the two communities. It is, therefore, impossible for Congressmen to agree to any commitments in anticipation of such a settlement. While we hold fast to our ideals of nationalism and have an abiding faith in their ultimate realisation, we recognise that there are no short cuts to that goal such as the one suggested in the resolution. That way lies unwisdom, for we shall play thereby into the hands of vested interests whose one aim is to delay progress and perpetuate their domination.

There is also another reason for our inability to support the resolution. Sir Sankaran Nair overlooked an important consideration in seeking to apply his deterrent remedy to the whole of India. In many provinces the Hindu-Moslem problem does not exist for all practical purposes. If simultaneous and uniform progress is not practicable or attainable in all provinces in India owing to communal disharmony in some provinces, that is no conceivable reason for denying further advance to provinces in which Hindus and Mahomedans are able to co-operate in putting their shoulders to the wheel of progress. Such provinces may perhaps serve as object lessons and demonstrate to other provinces the benefits of mutual trust and communal harmony as leading to speedier progress.

Mr. Suhrawardy's amendment which seeks to instal separate communal electorates as the basic and fundamental principle of the Indian constitution is undoubtedly a most retrograde proposal. I beg of the advocates of separate electorates, be they Hindus or Moslems—there are such advocates in both the communities—to pause and give a calm thought to the implications of their demand. If the aim of my Hon'ble friend who moved the amendment is to secure the return of strong Moslem representatives through separate electorates, is it not likely that Hindus who are in a majority in many provinces will also return aggressively communal Hindus to the elected bodies? How will this

process help the Moslem minorities to secure their rights? If representatives of both communities come through the same electorates, are there not more changes for larger manifestation of good feeling and co-operation among them? Again, my Hon'ble friend speaks of effective representation. May I know how a minority can ever be effectively represented even on a communal basis in a province like Madras where the Moslems form about 7 per cent of the population? If they are given 15 per cent of the elected seats, can they have effective representation? How can 15 Moslems enforce their views against 85 non-moslems? No minority can become effective unless it is converted into a majority or an equality. It is through the compelling forces of nationalism and patriotism that the good sense of the majority is developed not to override the rights of minorities. It is this conviction that led Indian, Christian and Parsi communities to favour all along joint electorates.

If, however, extraneous safeguards are desired for preventing majorities from treading upon the corns of minorities, then we shall have to resort to one or two expedients. We must either invest the executive with large residuary powers of interference to protect minorities or secure statutory safeguards by enacting suitable provisions in the fundamental laws of the constitution against infringement by majority communities of religious and social rights of minorities. My Moslem brethren will not stand to gain anything by vesting in the executive large residuary powers. If the executive Government functions as a responsible Government, it must necessarily yield to the popular will which is synonymous with the will of the Non-Moslem majority and will be impotent to protect the interests of Moslem minorities. If the executive on the other hand, continues to be irresponsible to the legislatures, neither the Moslems nor the Hindus will ever get self-government. The alternative which is the proper course, therefore, for all minorities is to ask for enacting safeguards in fundamental laws of the constitution. This was already recognised and expressly provided for in the National Demand in which representatives of all parties in the central legislature have joined. Let us not, therefore, commit political suicide by perpetuating communal electorates. Notwithstanding most extreme forms imaginable in which the honourable movers of the original resolution and the amendment clothed their respective proposals, I trust that this debate will not add to the existing tension but will on the other hand, serve as an opportunity for frank and free discussion of a vital problem with a view to its satisfactory solution. I hope at all events that it will bring home to the minds of the people the truth that if India is privileged to have even a distant vision of the promised land, it should see with both its eyes, and if India is to breathe the air of freedom eventually it should also do so with both its lungs, the Hindu and Moslem communities.

Sir Sankaran Nair's Reply to the Debate.

Mr. G. S. Khaparde having reserved his amendment limiting communal representation to the terms of the Lucknow pact, Sir Sankaran Nair replied to the debate. He said his idea of the word minority had been much misunderstood. Mahomedans in Bengal were not a minority community. Similarly Madras Non-Brahmins were in a majority and still all these claimed communal representation. Was it being contested, asked Sir Sankaran Nair, that even if there should be only five persons of a particular community in any one province, as for instance Sikhs in Madras, they should have a separate electorate? Continuing he instanced the case of Europeans who, though returned to the Council in small numbers, stated their case well and briefly and trusted to the common sense of the house. If the decision was perverse, they looked to the executive Government to override the council's decision in their favour. That ought to be, in his opinion, the attitude of the minority communities.

Resolution Withdrawn.

All amendments having been lost without division, Sir Sankaran Nair withdrew the resolution.

Constitution of Advisory Committees.

Mr. Ramadas Pantulu then moved for modification of rules relating to

constitution of departmental advisory committees to provide for election of all of their members instead of electing panels from which members were selected at present. The mover said that self-respect demanded that all members for these committees should be elected.

The resolution was rejected, the mover not challenging a division.

Presidentship of the Council.

On the 21ST MARCH Sir Sankaran Nair moved his resolution favouring the amendment of the Government of India Act so as to provide for the Governor-General being the President of the Council and said he desired to restore the old practice obtaining in the Imperial Legislative Council. The President, he said, ought to be impartial and a paid permanent Government Officer could not be above suspicion in the present transition stage. Moreover, it was not a civilian that should preside over the destinies of the House, but one who was nurtured in traditions of democracy. He thought a parliamentarian was better likely than a civilian to relay and favourably interpret the rules and regulations. From his own experience in the past, he would say the Viceroy as President of the House was a living reality.

Continuing, Sir Sankaran Nair said that, when the Viceroy could not find time, a member of the Executive Council could preside.

Mr. Desikachari's Amendment.

Mr. P. C. Desikachari moved an amendment providing for the appointment of an elected non-official member as President of the House. The object of the Government of India Act being to vest more power in elected representatives of the people, it was but fair that they should be given opportunities of guiding the proceedings of the House.

The amendment was lost without a division.

Mr. Ramadas's Amendment.

Mr. Ramadas Pantulu moved another amendment for the election of the President by the Council of State from among the elected members subject to the Governor-General's approval. He declared that bicameral system of legislature in the Central Government in India had come to stay and the reform would certainly go to improve the upper chamber. If the Assembly was entrusted with the task of electing its own President, there was nothing against this House being entrusted with the same right.

The amendment, on being put to division, was rejected by 32 votes against 10.

Mr. Pantulu, speaking on Sir Sankaran's resolution, opposed the appointment of the Governor-General to the Presidentship of the Council of State. He said it would be undesirable for the Governor-General to preside over the House not only on account of the personal difficulties of His Excellency but also because it tended to go against the progressive nature of the constitution.

Sir Sankaran Nair, replying, said that if an executive official should preside over the deliberations of the House, it was much better to have the Viceroy for the purpose. The motion was rejected.

Warrant of Precedence.

Lala Ramsarandas then moved a resolution favouring steps to secure assignment of a suitable place in the Warrant of Precedence to Members of the Council of State, Assembly and Provincial Councils. Sir Umar Hayat Khan and Major Akbar Khan supported the motion, the latter with some reservation.

Sir Arthur Froom moved an amendment restricting the scope of the motion only to members of the Council of State. Mr. Chari supported the amendment which was accepted by Lala Ramsarandas. The motion as amended was agreed to.

Debate on Currency Bill.

On the 24TH MARCH the Currency bill was taken up for consideration in the Council on the motion of Mr. Brayne.

Mr. Brayne said that the amendments made in another place did not affect the main principles of the bill, which had been widely discussed. Adjustment in prices had taken place more on the side of 1s. 6d. ratio than on the

side of 1s. 4d. The charge that the Government had effected manipulation in order to maintain exchange at 1s. 6d. was unfair and unfounded. If 1s. 6d. ratio was adopted, then it would mean definite remission of provincial contributions. Otherwise, there would be additional taxation or no remission. Reversion to 1s. 4d. ratio combined with reduction of salt duty would mean deficit of about Rs. 5 crores in 1927-28, and larger deficits in future years. The effect of this action on the credit of India and on her powers to borrow would be appalling. He, therefore, asked the House to look at one picture which was one of continuing and abiding prosperity and another which was one of gloom and disappointment.

Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy, Member of the Currency Commission, was the first to speak on the motion. He warmly protested against the attacks made by irresponsible members in the Assembly on the members of the Commission who were not there to defend themselves. As for himself, he did not resent the accusations. But it was his duty to defend Sir Henry Strakoch who had been described as having muddled the currency in South Africa and also muddled the currency in India. It was regrettable that Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas, himself a member, had not the gallantry enough to protest against this charge, especially when Sir Purushottamdas had, in his own speech, showered encomiums on both the Right Hon'ble Hilton Young and Sir Henry Strakoch. His attitude was of great significance at the same time. He repudiated Sir Purushottamdas's charge that 1s. 6d. ratio was a broad day loot. This charge meant that the Commission had made up its mind for 1s. 6d., which was not the case. If any one on the Commission had made up his mind on the ratio, it was Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas whom the Government should not have selected for that reason. For had not that member made himself responsible for the two bills asking the Government to fix the ratio at 1s. 4d.? The selection of Sir Purushottamdas was not fair to the Government or to Sir Purushottamdas himself.

Amendment to Ratio Clause.

On Sir Arthur Froom's suggestion the question was put and the bill was taken into consideration.

Seth Govindas, moving his amendment favouring 1s. 4d. averred that India was not bound down by the Commission's recommendations, for the Commission itself was prejudiced in favour of foreign capitalists and the Government officials. As agriculturist and businessman himself, he claimed to know the real interests of the agricultural population. He did not subscribe to the proposition that the ratio was less important than gold standard or gold currency. He contended that prices had by no means come down as alleged. The Indian agriculturists consumed only 7 per cent of the imports. They would certainly lose by 1s. 6d. ratio. The Government's action was like robbing Indian Peter to pay English Paul and that Sir Basil was like Nero fiddling when Rome was burning. Was the Council going to vote for a ratio which would result in the shutting down of mills and other industrial concerns and result in lock-outs and labour disturbances?

The Council divided on Seth Govindas's amendment for 1s. 4d. ratio and rejected it by 31 against 10 votes. The House then adjourned.

On the 25TH MARCH the Council re-assembled to discuss the amendments in respect of clauses other than clause four of the Currency Bill.

Seth Govindas and Mr. P. C. Desikachari respectively moved their amendments recommending the institution of an independent gold mohur in India. Seth Govindas averred that the policy adopted since 1809 was inculcating more suspicions in popular mind that the Government instead of giving India a gold currency and gold coin according to her desire were taking away all available gold to England when India wanted gold. She was forced to a token currency which she did not like.

Mr. Desikachari made a passionate appeal in support of his amendment for minting of gold mohurs. He challenged any member to deny that there was a demand for gold coins.

Both the amendments of Seth Govindas and Mr. Desikachari were defeated by 27 against 10 votes.

Lala Ramasaradas' amendment opposing demonetisation of sovereign was ruled out of order and Mr. K. S. Roy Chowdhry unsuccessfully moved two amendments on purchase of gold at Currency Office.

All clauses of the Bill having been passed, Mr. Brayne moved the third reading of the Bill.

The Bill was passed without division, Swarajists and few others crying "No."

Gold Standard and Reserve Bank Bills.

On the motion of Mr. Brayne, the Council agreed to the Assembly's recommendation to refer the gold standard and Reserve Bank and Imperial Bank Bills to a joint Committee of both the Houses consisting of 28 members.

Finance Bill Passed.

On the 26TH MARCH the Finance Bill which was passed by the Assembly was discussed in the Council.

Mr. Brayne pointed out that the Assembly's reduction of salt duty to As. 10 meant a little over 3 crores of loss in the revenue and corresponding effects on the Government programme of remission of provincial contributions.

Sir Omar Hayat Khan moving the restoration of the salt tax to Re. 1/4 characterised the agitation for the reduction of the duty as a bogus war cry and also criticised the late Mr. Gokhale in this connection.

The House divided and carried Sir Omar Hayat Khan's amendment by 28 against 9.

Reduction of Postal Rates.

Seth Covindas then moved his amendment for the reduction of postal rates making post cards available at quarter of an anna. He said the loss would be only 86 lakhs and hoped the Government would manage to face the loss of this small sum.

The amendment was rejected by 26 against 14 votes.

Amendment on Super-Tax.

Lala Ramsarandas moved an amendment to the super-tax schedule of the Finance Bill reducing the company super-tax to one anna per rupee in excess of the total of Rs. 50,000 of the total income and seeking to absolve the joint-Hindu family income of the first Rs. 25,000 over the excess. The amendment dealt with all forms of super-tax. The mover said that monied people rendered loyal service to the Government during war time. Appealing to the Finance Member to agree to the amendment he urged that the income ought to be determined by actual amount of savings.

The amendment was rejected without a division.

Clause of the Finance Bill having been separately passed, Mr. Brayne moved that the Bill as amended be passed.

After the Finance Member's reply the Finance Bill was passed without division. The only change made to the Bill was that the Salt Tax was restored to Rs. 1/4 moud. The House then adjourned to the 29th March when after transactions of purely formal business, the Council adjourned "Sine die".

The Legislative Assembly.

Budget Cuts in 1925-26.

On the 3RD FEBRUARY 1927 the following statement was laid on the table of the Assembly by Sir Basil Blackett, in reply to Mr. Doraiswami Iyengar's enquiry regarding the action taken by the Government on the token of censure cuts made in budget demands by the Assembly during the years 1924, 1925 and 1926. The statement runs: In the budget for 1924-25 there was only one token cut, that of Rs. 100 under the demand for forest. The points brought up in the discussion related to: (a) the delay in the decision about the training of Indian Forest Service probationers at the Forest Research institute and College, Dehra Dun and (b) the rate of Indianisation in the Indian Forest Service. The training of Indian Forest Service probationer commenced at the Forest College, Dehra Dun from November 1926. As regards Indianisation, out of 19 vacancies filled by direct recruitment during 1925 and 1927, 9 were filled by Indians, 2 by Burmans and 7 by Europeans, while of the 7 vacancies which are anticipated in 1927 and 1928 henceforward recruitment of Indians and Europeans will be in proportion of 75 to 25.

In the budget for 1925-26 there were token cuts of Rs. 100 each under the demands for (a) taxes on income; (b) salt and (c) opium. As regards (a) the question of amending devolution rule 15 was discussed at the conference of financial representatives in November last in the light of recommendations of the Taxation Committee. It is now under the consideration of the Government. As regards the cut under (b) the question of making India self-supporting in the matter of salt raised by Mr. Venkatapathiraju in moving the token cut has been under consideration but no final decision has yet been reached. As regards the cut under (c) reference is invited to the press communique dated 12th June 1926 announcing gradual abolition of the export trade in opium in the course of ten years as well as to the resolution of the Finance Department (Central Revenues) dated 17th June regarding the consumption of opium in India. The internal policy of the Government of India in regard to opium has not undergone any modification. The resolution quoted simply reaffirmed the policy previously in existence. Their external policy had been under consideration independently for some time and the decision mentioned was a direct consequence of their international obligations.

On the railway budget, there had been the following token cuts:—(1) One of Rs. 1,000 on a motion by Mr. Joshi in 1926-27, to call attention to the necessity of reducing third class railway fares. The Government have actually effected reductions on many railways. (2) One of Rs. 100 on a motion by Sardar V. N. Mutalik in 1925-26 and one of Rs. 100 in the same year on a motion by Mr. M. K. Acharya and one of Rs. 1,000 by Mr. Joshi in 1925-26 and one of Rs. 100 on a similar motion by Mr. Ghaznafar Ali Khan's amendment, Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh and Mr. Schamnad Sahib Bahadur in 1926-27 to draw attention to Indianisation either of the Railway Board or the railway services. The Government have accepted and so have railway companies the recommendations of the Lee Commission in this respect. (3) One of Rs. 1,000 in 1926-27 on a motion by Mr. M. K. Acharya to draw attention to alleged failure to redress the grievances of railway subordinate employees. The grievances alleged are not admitted and no special action has been taken.

Bills Certified in 1924-26.

On the 15TH FEBRUARY in the Assembly Mr. Graham replying to the question of Diwan Chamanlal regarding the number of Bills certified by the Governor-General during 1924-26, said: These are two, namely, the Indian Finance Act 1924 and the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Supplementary Act 1925. The Indian Finance Act 1924 was presented to the Parliament on 19th May 1924, two months after certification of the date of presentation. The Bengal Criminal Law Amendment (Supplementary) Act 1925 was not communicated to the Government of India but presentation presumably took place after approximately the same interval from certification as in the case of the Finance Act 1924. Certification took place in the case of the Indian Finance Act on 19th March 1924 and in the case of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment (Supplementary) Act 1925 on 24th March 1925. As the Governor-General made the direction referred to in proviso to sub-section (2) of section 67-B, in case of both these acts, the assent of His Majesty was not required. The various sections of the Indian Finance Act 1924 became operative on the date appointed in each section. The Bengal Criminal Law Amendment (Supplementary) Act 1925 became operative on the date of the Governor-General's direction under proviso to sub-section (2) of section 67-B of the Government of India Act, namely 30th March 1925.

Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar: Has there been any bill which has been reserved for the assent of His Majesty before becoming law?

Mr. Graham: Princes Protection Act only.

The Legislative Assembly

OPENING DAY—19TH JANUARY 1927.

The Third Legislative Assembly under the reformed constitution met at eleven in the morning on the 19th January in the Council House, New Delhi. It was a fairly full house with over 100 members attending. Mr. Ratnaswami, ex-President of the Madras Legislative Council, was in the chair. The business on this day was confined to only swearing in of members.

After the oath-taking ceremony was over, the Assembly agreed on the motion of Sir Basil Blackett to elect members not exceeding fourteen to the Standing Finance Committee and on a similar motion by Sir Charles Innes to elect members not exceeding eleven to the Standing Finance Committee for railways. Finally, the House agreed to elect eight members for the Public Accounts Committee.

Next day, the 20TH JANUARY, the House re-assembled to elect Mr. Patel to the chair. There was a cheerful atmosphere about the House as all sections were unanimous in favour of Mr. Patel's election. After congratulatory speeches from both the official and non-official benches His Excellency the Viceroy's approval was announced. Mr. Patel then took the chair amidst acclamation from all sides of the House.

Mr. S. C. Mitra's Detention Denounced.

On the 21ST JANUARY the House met in an atmosphere of some excitement when the motion of adjournment of Pandit Motilal to raise the question of Mr. S. C. Mitra, a detainee, was discussed. This was held in order by the President and as no objection was taken, leave was granted and discussion took place immediately after the conclusion of the normal business of the House.

Pandit Motilal Nehru, in moving the adjournment of the House, said the motion did not relate to the larger question of release of political prisoners or the repeal or the amendment of the so-called law under which they were detained, but it related only to the detention of an elected member of the House constituting a very serious encroachment on the privileges of the House and the rights not only of the member but of the constituency which unanimously elected him. In explaining the facts of the case, the Pandit remarked that in arresting and detaining Mr. Mitra under the Ordinance, the executive was guilty of a double wrong, a wrong to the member and a wrong to his constituency. The latter wrong was attempted by the Governor of Bengal to be redressed in a bureaucratic manner by issuing a notification that a particular seat in the Bengal Council had become vacant. The constituency re-elected Mr. Mitra but the Government did not allow him to attend to his duties. In course of time when the general election came, Mr. Mitra stood for the Assembly and he was returned unopposed. He received summons from the Governor-General to attend the

Assembly and hear his inaugural address on the 24th. Thereupon he applied to his custodians to give him the opportunity of accepting the very generous invitation extended to him. But that was refused. So the Viceroy had duly invited Mr. Mitra but there were others who prevented him from coming here. Of course, Pandit Motilal anticipated the Home Member would stand up and show his fist (Sir Alexander Muddiman: Nothing of the kind) and say that Mr. Mitra was detained under the existing law of the land and by competent authority. But Mr. Mitra, argued Pandit Motilal, had not been tried, convicted and sentenced by any court and therefore he has every right to attend to his duties as a member of this House. By preventing Mr. Mitra from coming here, the Government were imposing a disqualification which did not exist under the law. If a similar case had arisen in England, then what would have happened? Pandit Motilal showed by quoting authorities that no member of Parliament could be imprisoned or restrained except for a criminal offence. A member could not be arrested for a period of forty days before or after the meeting of the Parliament and any member who was in custody at the time of election was liberated in virtue of his privilege unless he was undergoing imprisonment for an indictable offence. That was the common law in England and for any breach of privilege conferred on members of Parliament, the persons who were instrumental for the commission of the breach would be answerable. So if what happened in the case of Mr. Mitra had happened in England, the Governor of Bengal would have found himself in a very uncomfortable position at the Bar of the House of Commons. But India was not England and this Assembly was not the Parliament. The Pandit believed that there was no analogy between the House of Commons and the Assembly. But if it had even the pretence of what it was alleged to be, then he maintained that it was the inherent right of every member of a representative institution to be present at its meetings and to represent his constituency. That right was inseparable from the nature of the institution. True, the privileges of the House of Commons had been built up by long conventions.

As regards the privileges of the House there could be either long established conventions or certain privileges sanctioned by statute and it was up to this Assembly to lay the foundation to-day that it was the inherent right of every institution that its members should be protected. In the present instance, the right was fully recognised because the summons of the Governor-General were sent to him. Under section 11 of the Act under which Mr. Mitra was in detention, it was clear that he was not treated as a criminal. That being so it was not a case of criminal character. The Viceroy, in opening the Council House, had read the King's message which expressed the hope that this House would prove to be one in which wisdom and justice might find a dwelling place. Pandit Motilal put it to the Treasury benches and non-official European colleagues whether they would declare to the world the impotence of protecting themselves and the honour of this House. The best judges were the electorates who had already given the verdict. This House should not neglect its primary duty and trample under foot that verdict which was the very foundation of their right to be here.

Sir Alexander MUDDIMAN congratulated Pandit Motilal for the manner in which he had dealt with the case and instead of showing him fight, he would cordially meet his argument as the Pandit got eminently reasonable on points of constitutional law, however defective in other matters.

The Pandit had done a great service by raising this question. If there was a privilege, then only the question of breach would arise. The matter was examined by a sub-committee of the Muddiman Committee consisting of Sir T. B. Saprú, Sir Mahomed Shafi, Sir Henry Moncrief-Smith and Mr. Jinnah and they laid down to what extent privileges existed. There was no doubt that the privilege claimed by Pandit Motilal did not exist. He went further and said that although there was no analogy between the Assembly and the House of Commons (Congress benches : Hear, hear), even if such a case had arisen in the House of Commons it would not have caused a breach of the privileges of the Commons as the question of the protection of person and property was of vital importance. He declared emphatically that if this House had the same privileges as the House of Commons, no breach of privileges would arise. As for the constituency of Mr. Mitra, there might have been some force in the argument if it had been the question of detention of a member after election. The constituency of Mr. Mitra was given a chance by the Bengal Government to elect another representative ; but by re-electing him, his constituency sacrificed their interests for the sake of their sentiments.

Motion Carried.

After a few more speeches, the division bell was rung and the adjournment motion censuring the Government was carried by 64 against 46. The announcement was greeted with applause by the non-official benches. The House then adjourned.

Viceroy's Inaugural Address.

The next meeting of the Assembly was held on the 24TH JANUARY when H. E. the Viceroy's inaugural address in opening the Assembly was read. The speech of His Excellency, particularly the political portion of it, was listened to with a rapt attention. In the course of his speech referring to the situation in China His Excellency said :—

"As regards external affairs, there is only one matter to which it is necessary for me to refer. As Hon'ble members are aware, the situation in China has been the subject of grave anxiety. Attacks have recently been made on lives and property in the various treaty ports of the mercantile communities which include many Indians as well as British subjects. Certain settlements have already been evacuated under pressure and the property of the residents extensively plundered. Other and even more important areas are similarly threatened and His Majesty's Government have reluctantly decided that it is their duty to send reinforcements to China to protect the lives of those for whose safety they are responsible. Having regard to the fact that India is the nearest part of the Empire in which forces are available for immediate despatch, the Government of India have agreed to co-operate in this purely defensive action by contributing a contingent including Indian troops.

Abolition of Slavery.

"Public opinion throughout the world has lately witnessed the enlightened action that has been taken to bring to an end the condition of slavery previously existing in Nepal. The Hon'ble members will have welcomed more recent examples of the same humane movement provided by the action of the Khan of Kalat within his territory and by the measures taken only last month by the Government to stamp out slavery in some of the outlying territories situated close to the Burmese frontier. A few months ago, I had the opportunity of visiting another of India's frontiers on the north-west and of seeing for myself evidence of the improved conditions which there prevail.

"I trust that the policy which my Government has been pursuing for the last four years in Waziristan will continue to prove of benefit both to the independent tribes and to the adjacent parts of British India.

Indian Deputation To South Africa

"When I addressed the Indian legislature on the 17th August last, I stated that the Union Government had agreed to hold a conference at Cape Town with representatives of the Government of India in the hope of reaching a satisfactory settlement on the Indian problem in South Africa. The Delegation appointed by my Government and generally accepted by Indian opinion as representative sailed for South Africa on the 24th November and on arrival, received a most cordial welcome from both the Government and the people of the Union. The Conference was opened by the Prime Minister of the Union on December 17th and closed on January 13th. As Hon. Members have seen from telegrams that have appeared in the press, a provisional agreement has been arrived at between the delegations of the Indian and the Union Governments which will require ratification by the respective Government. Hon. Members will share the satisfaction of my Government that Sir Mahomed Habibullah and his colleagues, again happily assisted by the devoted and unselfish labours of Mr Andrews, should have succeeded in reaching an understanding which as we may hope, will lead to a settlement of this longstanding problem. Those who recall the difficulty that this question presented a few months ago will feel that the new aspect which it has assumed reflects high credit on those who have represented the two countries in these discussions. Our delegation have already left South Africa and are due to arrive in Delhi on February 6th. Pending their return and the receipt of their report, I am not in a position to make any announcement regarding the provisional settlement that has been reached. It is intended to publish the result of the work of the Conference simultaneously in both countries and in regard to the date of such publication, we are bound to consult the wishes of the Union Government. My Government will not fail to give the Chamber of the Indian Legislature an opportunity of discussing the matter at the earliest possible opportunity."

The Royal Indian Marine

"I now turn to the announcement made by my predecessor on the 9th February 1926 in the Council of State conveying the decision of His Majesty's Government to reconstitute the Royal Indian Marine as a combatant force, thus enabling India to enter upon the first stage of her naval development and ultimately to undertake her own naval defence. Lord Reading pointed out that much constructive work had to be done before the Royal Indian Navy could be inaugurated. I am glad to be able to say that considerable progress has already been recorded. The Bombay dockyard has been busily engaged in the equipment of the depot ship and only one sloop remain to be acquired in order to complete the initial strength in ships. Details of recruitment, organisation and finance have been worked out and the most important of the proposals of my Government under these heads are already in the hands of the Secretary of State. The necessary legislation in Parliament will be carried through, I hope, early this year. My Government will then be in a position to introduce legislation to provide for the discipline of the new force and when that legislation is passed, the Royal Indian Navy will come into existence."

Sir S. Hoare's Arrival

"A recent event of outstanding interest has been the arrival in India of the Secretary of State for Air in the first of the great air liners sent out to this country by the Imperial Airways Company. In so far as India is concerned, this development of aviation marks the introduction into the country of a new form of civil transport. India is a country of vast distances, but aviation annihilates distance. As it has hitherto been reckoned, the increased speed of air transport, coupled with the facilities which it offers for surmounting geographical obstacles, will be a potent factor in shortening the communication of India with other countries and also in linking up her own wide-spread provinces, thus drawing them more closely together as members of a single nation."

Business Before The House

"As the House knows, there are several financial and commercial matter with which we are at present concerned. After a series of balanced budgets, the Government of India may justly claim to have reached a strong financial position with their credit firmly established both within and outside India. While securing this result for which India owes a real debt of gratitude to the Hon. the Finance Member, Sir Basil Blackett, the Government have been able to abolish the cotton excise duty, to reduce the salt tax and to extinguish a considerable proportion of the provincial contributions. During the present session in addition to the annual Finance Bill, legislative measures will be laid before you to give effect to the principal recommendations of the Currency Commission. A Bill will also be placed before you based on the recommendations of the Tariff Board as

regards protection to the steel industry. The declared object of our protective policy is that ultimately the protected industries should be able to stand alone and face world competition unaided and it is by this criterion that the success or failure of the policy will be judged. The remarkable progress made at Jamshedpur since 1924 affords reasonable grounds for the hope that before many years have passed, steel will be made as cheaply in India as in any country in the world and that the need for protection will disappear. But it is necessary, if capital is to be attracted to the industry, that manufacturers should be assured for a reasonably long period of the continuance of the basic duties applicable to imports from all countries. The Board, however, are, I think, right in forecasting that after seven years the time will have come to review the position afresh and ascertain in the light of the circumstances then existing whether or not the industry deserves protection. The Textile Enquiry Committee is, I understand, about to submit its report and my Government will seek to arrive at a prompt decision on the issues involved.

The Duty of the Governor-General

"I turn now to topics of a more general character which must necessarily occupy a prominent place in all our thoughts. This Assembly is of particular importance inasmuch as within its life-time must be undertaken the statutory enquiry prescribed by the Government of India Act. This fact is my excuse, if such be needed, for speaking frankly on some aspects of the general situation. But, before doing so, I desire to make my own position and that of any Governor-General plain. As long as the final control of Indian policy is constitutionally vested in the Secretary of State on behalf of Parliament, it is the duty of the Governor-General, while he holds his office, to guide his conduct in conformity with the general policy approved by the Imperial Government. Just as in Parliament, however, Indian affairs are with foreign policy rightly held to be outside ordinary party controversies, so a Governor-General as such has no concern with British party politics. It is his duty with his Government to seek faithfully to represent to the Imperial Government what he conceives to be Indian's interests and he must count on the help of the legislature to enable him to do this fairly. On the other hand, it is possible that he may be able to help India by telling those who represent her in her Councils from his own knowledge of the manner in which and the angle from which the judgment of Parliament is likely to be formed. I do not ignore the fact that there is a section of opinion in India which reject the right of Parliament to be the arbiter of the fashion or the time of India's political development. I can understand that opinion. I can acknowledge the sincerity of some of those who hold it; but I can devise no means of reconciling such a position with the undoubted facts of the situation. But there is another section of opinion which, while hesitating to prefer so fundamental an objection to any right of Parliament to be the judge of these matters, would yet say in effect, that it was indefensible for Parliament to exercise its judgment in any sense but that of granting to India forthwith a wide, if not a complete, extension of responsible power. Distinction between these two lines of criticism is narrow, for Parliament would be no real judge if its title were held to depend for sanction upon the judgment that it delivers and it is scarcely possible to impugn its right to deliver a free verdict without challenging its title to sit in judgment on the case. I have not infrequently been told that the problem is psychological and that many, if not mostly, of our present difficulties in regard to the pace and manner of advances would disappear if it was once possible to convince India that the British people were sincere in their professed intention of giving India responsible Government. It is difficult to know in what way one may hope to carry conviction to quarters which remain unconvinced. I have already stated my belief that whether what the British people has sought and is seeking to do in India will be approved or condemned by history, their own inherited qualities left them no alternative but to open to India the path in which they had themselves been pioneers and along which they have led and are leading the peoples wherever the British flag is flown. Moreover, in the success of the attempt to lead a friendly India towards self-government, the self-interest and the credit of Great Britain before the world are alike engaged and forbid has to contemplate with equanimity the failure to achieve a purpose which has been so publicly proclaimed. Every British party in a succession of Parliaments elected on the widest franchise and, therefore, representing, in the widest possible manner, the British people, has pledged itself to the terms of the 1927 declaration. They have implemented those terms by legislation and thus given practical proof of sincerity by introducing wide far-reaching changes into the structure of the Indian Government. From those undertakings, no British party can or will withdraw and although the British race may lack many excellent qualities, they cannot afford to remain unmoved by charges of bad faith which their whole history denies.

Detention of Prisoners without Trial

"But it is said the alleged sincerity of Parliament receives practical contradiction, on the one hand, by arbitrary executive acts such as the detention of certain men without trial in Bengal, on the other, by the reluctance of Parliament to give a firm time-table for the completion of its loudly professed purpose of making India herself responsible within the Empire for her own Govt. The first question concerns the exercise of that executive responsibility which must rest upon any administration, however constituted, and though I am well aware of its political reactions, it is a question which must be dealt with on its merits and has no direct relation with the general question of constitutional advance. For constitutional forms may vary widely, but the maintenance of law and order is the inalienable duty of all those on whom falls the task of Government and, indeed, the action of which complaint is made is solely due to the fact that the Government has had good reason to believe that those now detained have rejected the way of constitutional agitation for that of violent conspiracy and that to put a term to their dangerous activities was essential. I share with all honourable members the desire to see an end to the necessity for the continuance of these measures, but the guiding principle in this matter must and can only be the interest of the public safety. Nor is the matter one that rests wholly or mainly in the hands of the Government. Before release can be sanctioned, the Government must be satisfied either that the conspiracy has been so far suppressed that those set at liberty, even if they so desired, would be unable to revive it in a dangerous form or if the organisation for conspiracy still exists, that those released would no longer wish to employ their freedom to resume their dangerous activities. The Government have always made it clear and I repeat it to-day that their sole object in keeping any man under restraint is to prevent terrorist outrages and that they are prepared to release them the moment they are satisfied that their release would not defeat this object.

Parliament will not be Coerced.

"The other main ground for challenging the sincerity of Parliament is based, as I have said, on the general method of approach that Parliament has adopted towards the problem of Indian constitutional development and, as regards this, I wish to speak more fully. Those who are anxious to see constitutional advance must either coerce Parliament or convince it. I cannot emphasise too strongly that in this matter they are not likely to succeed in coercing Parliament and that Parliament will resent any attempt to do so under whatever shape the attempt is made. Moreover, it must inevitably be gravely disquieted by language which appears to be inspired by hostility not only to legitimate British interests but also to the British connection. Nor is this feeling on the part of Parliament the mere selfish desire to retain power that is sometimes represented to be. Parliament believes, and in my judgment rightly, that as it has been placed by history in a position to guide and assist India, it would be definitely defaulting on these obligations if it reduced its charge before it was satisfied that it could be safely entrusted to other hands. Parliament therefore, will be rather inclined to examine the practical success or otherwise that has attended the attempt it has made to solve the problem. It will be quite ready to believe that there are features in the present line of arrangements which can be improved, and it will be ready to improve them. What it will not understand is the line of argument which says that, because the present foundations for future responsible Government are alleged to be at fault, this is necessarily to be remedied by immediately asking those foundations to bear the entire weight of the whole edifice we desire to build. When Parliament invites India to co-operate in the working of the reformed constitution, it does not invite any Indian party, as it was authoritatively stated the other day, to lay aside for the time being its demand for Swaraj. It does not desire that any party or individual should forego the freest and fullest right of criticism and constitutional opposition to any action that the Government may take. But it does invite Indian political parties to show whether or not the ultimate structure which Parliament is seeking to erect is one suitable to Indian conditions and Indian needs. If it sees any large section of Indian opinion, however vocal in its desire to further the cause of Indian self-Government, steadily adhering to the determination to do nothing but obstruct the machinery with which India has been entrusted, Parliament is more likely to see in this evidence that the application of western constitutional practice to India may be mistaken than proof of the wisdom of immediate surrender to India of all its own responsibility. It is, therefore, a matter of satisfaction that a considerable part of the political thought of India has not allowed itself to be dissuaded by criticism or opposition from endeavouring to work the new constitution with a constructive purpose. Those who so guide their action are, in my

judgment, proving themselves the true friends of Indian constitutional development. Parliament is likely to judge these matters as a plain question of practical efficiency. It will be less interested in the exact legal and constitutional rights granted by the reforms to the Indian legislatures than in the extent to which these legislatures have realised their responsibilities and duties. It will be quite willing to recognise and make allowance for the limitations placed upon legislatures by the existing constitution. But it will be genuinely puzzled and disappointed if it finds that a good part of ten years has been wasted in a refusal to play the game because some of the players did not like the rules. Propaganda in favour of altering the rules in the early stages of the game will have little effect on the mind of Parliament. But, on the other hand, it will certainly be influenced if it finds the Indian legislatures exercising their responsibilities, albeit limited, in a spirit of service to India and tacitly assuming always that their real responsibility is greater than that which is expressed in any statute, for Parliament has spent hundred of years in perfecting its own constitution, and knows very well that it has only grown into what it is to-day by the steady use and extension of the power, at first limited but by custom and precedent constantly expanding. There was a time in Canada when the religious differences between Protestants and Roman Catholics were supposed to constitute an absolute bar to full self-Government; but, after a few years owing to the good sense of the Canadian legislature, the very real powers of the British Parliament to intervene were silently allowed first to fall into desuetude and then to disappear. Parliament knows too that it is by this means that everyone of the Dominions has obtained full responsible self-Government, finally leading, as we have seen at the last Imperial Conference, to a wide revision of the letter of constitutional relations previously prevailing between the several Governments of the Empire.

An Appeal for Co-operation.

"That then is the position if we concede, as I ask we may, to British and Indian peoples' sincerity of purpose. We are in agreement on the fundamental matter of the end we desire to reach. There may be and is disagreement over the ways and means of reaching it: but it is surely a strange distortion of perspective, if we allow our conduct to be unduly influenced by differences on issues which are after all only incidental to the main issue on which we are agreed. Here, as in other human affairs evolutionary progress can be realised in two different ways between which we have constantly to make our choice. Either we can search out points of agreement in the final purpose which inspire thought and action, or rejecting these peaceful counsels, we can follow the way of conflict where agreement is forgotten, where disagreements are exaggerated and where the fair flowers of mutual understanding and trust are overgrown by tangled weeds of suspicion and resentment. In many directions and throughout many centuries, the world has made trial of the last and, in sore disappointment at the results, is coming painfully to learn that the way of friendship may be at once the more noble and the more powerful instrument of progress.

"I have thought it right to say so much, because I am deeply impressed with the gravity of the situation and with the necessity that lies upon us all of facing facts. I am conscious that much that I have said may evoke criticism and excite opposition, but I hope that I may have succeeded in saying it in words that will not wound the legitimate susceptibilities of any. If in this respect, I have anywhere gone astray and employed language which has falsified my hopes, I would here express my genuine regret. But, believing as I do that what I have said is true, I should think myself to have been lacking in my duty if I had been deterred from telling this Assembly frankly what I conceive to be the truth from the fear that it might sound unpleasantly upon their ears. It were better to be blamed for saying unpleasant things if they are true in time than to be condemned for saying them too late. I think it is essential that India should clearly appreciate some of the factors which will be powerful to influence the mind of Parliament. I have sought, so far as my own experience and knowledge on these matters is of any worth, to place India in possession of them and I earnestly hope that, in the time which will elapse before the statutory enquiry, events may follow such a course as may convince both India and Great Britain that it is possible for them harmoniously to work together for the consummation of their common hopes."

Next day, the 25TH JANUARY, on the House re-assembling, Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar moved an adjournment motion, to raise the question of the Government of India sending troops to China. This was at first ruled by the President as in order, but before adjourning the sitting for lunch, the President read the Governor-General's message disallowing the motion on

the ground that it could not be moved without detriment to public interests. The President added that as a result of disallowance by the Governor-General no discussion on the motion would take place.

Introduction of Official Bills.

Sir Basil Blackett introduced two Bills, one amending the Negotiable Instruments Act to provide that negotiable instruments including cheques and Bills of exchange which are expressed on the face of them as drawn to bearer shall not in any circumstances lose their character as bearer instruments on account of their having been endorsed; the second amending the Securities Act to limit the liability of Government in respect of discharged loans and prevent recourse to the Indian Succession Act 1925 to evade the safeguards attached by the Securities Act to the issue of duplicate notes.

The Home Member next introduced three Bills, one amending section 115 of the Civil Procedure Code giving effect to the recommendations of the Civil Justice Committee's report on the subject with some modifications and the second amending the Limitation Act on the lines of the Bill which was passed by the Council of State and was before the 1st. session of the last Assembly. The Bill as now introduced narrows certain objections raised in the last Assembly. The third Bill is for amending the Registration Act removing doubts created by the Privy Council with reference to contracts for sale of land where earnest money is paid.

Sir Basil Blackett then introduced his three Currency Bills.

Sir Charles Innes then moved the two Steel Bills which were allowed to be introduced.

Discussion on Reserve Bank Bill.

Sir Basil BLACKETT was cheered as he rose to move the circulation of the Bill to establish a gold currency and to constitute a reserve bank. This Bill he said gave effect to a comprehensive scheme of currency proposed by the Hilton-Young Commission and it was right that it should be placed before the public for criticism. The preparation of the Bill was difficult and he paid a tribute to the Finance Department, Mr. Darling, Controller of Currency and Mr. Wright of the Legislative Department.

The Finance Member also announced that after consultation with various quarters of the House, the Government had decided that effective discussion of the Exchange Ratio Bill should not take place till the budget was presented. He hoped that the currency controversy would be over and would not cloud their vision when the Bill he was proposing to circulate came up for discussion. The Bill was comprehensive and put proposals for a gold bullion standard and a reserve bank together as the two were mutually inter-dependent.

Sir Basil Blackett then explained the currency proposals. He emphasised that the silver rupee would now become the unit of account and gold the standard of value. India to-day was taking a material step forward. India was going further and adopting a gold bullion standard which measured the inter-convertibility of a legal tender and gold. In fact, India would stand exactly where the United Kingdom stood under its Gold Standard Act of 1925 subject to special arrangements in regard to the rates at which gold was to be given. He assured the House that India would be joining the ranks of the countries with an absolute gold standard. Those who wanted a gold currency must also support the Bill as it provided an indispensable stage for moving to that goal. It was impossible to tie their successors by fixing the

date on which gold currency would be introduced. Moreover, the fixing of the date would only retard the date rather than hasten it. He anticipated that in 10 to 15 years gold currency might be adopted. The very first difficulty now was the existence of the excess of a large coined silver. For a gold currency they would require sufficient gold assets; but to-day the potential gold assets in reserve were not enough. No less than 50 crores were locked up in silver rupees. In the paper Currency Reserve, 100 crores of silver rupees were in reserve. He held that their reserve was sufficient to maintain stability of exchange at the present *de facto* rate if they were willing to use their reserve. For the purpose of the gold bullion standard, they must strengthen the gold position of their reserve. They could not ignore the existence of a large surplus of rupees either in their reserve or in hoards, for when rupees came out of hoards they went into reserve leaving effective rupees in circulation very much the same.

As for the new notes, he emphasised that they must get rid of the obligation to get silver rupee which obligation caused the breakdown of the pre-war gold currency system during the war. Notes in India would, as in England, mean the equivalent of the face value with the rupee ensured by automatic provisions of the currency law and the working of the currency machinery and of the reserve bank.

Sir Basil Blackett finally touched on the broader aspect of the issue. He opined that not only his proposal would ensure a higher standard of life but also lead to the consolidation of national unity. He quoted the instance of the United States of America whose unit was efficiently brought into existence by the genius of Sir Alexander Hamilton devoting attention to the currency and banking system which led to the constitution of a Federal Reserve Bank. In fact I regard the Reserve Bank Bill as liberalism in finance that has ever been offered to India and it is a fitting measure to take the first step in this new Council House. It is in accordance with the spirit of the declaration of 1917 and will add enormously to the importance and influence of India's position in the financial councils of the world when the Reserve Bank of India takes its place side by side with other sister institutions of the world." Sir Basil Blackett, while admitting the difficulties and trials of floating a new institution, emphasised that there was no other option, for the Imperial Bank must be kept to continue the great commercial and banking services it was rendering to the country. He could not too strongly lay stress on the potential value of the two strong institutions functioning side by side, one by continuing with greater freedom to expand its business facilities and the other taking over all Government business in matters essentially of a banking character. The Secretary of State had agreed to promote parliamentary legislation to transfer his powers in London to the Reserve Bank in India. He anticipated that banks in India would come to treat the Reserve Bank as their friend and counsellor which would, by discount facilities, give the banks greater liquidity in respect of their assets than was available at present. In their proposals compensating the Imperial Bank, the Government had succeeded in doing even-handed justice all round, safeguarding the interests of the taxpayer ensuring that it did not damage other banks and at the same time discharging their responsibility to the Imperial Bank which they brought into existence and the extension of whose banking facilities was of deep

concern to the Government. He concluded: "This is the greatest measure of financial liberalism and as such I recommend it to the public."

Sir Purshottamdas THAKURDAS declared that Sir Basil Blackett had taken the opportunity of traversing even the ground not covered by the Bill. The speaker wanted a categorical answer to the question whether the Government accepted the unanimous recommendation of the Currency Commission that when India had an adequate gold reserve, the Assembly could, on demand, have a gold currency. The speaker had his apprehension in the matter of the introduction of a pure and unalloyed reserve bank in India of the type in Western countries. This was building from the top. Canada which had four thousand banking branches was still thinking of a Central Bank. The Finance Member had not told them of the number of banking branches in India. The Imperial Bank alone had branches running into three figures; it had 164 branches. The question really was what was to be done to develop banking in India and the starting of a Reserve bank would hardly meet the question. There were in India only 26 respectable banks of standing, out of which 21 were non-Indian banks and only five Indian banks. His support of a Reserve Bank was due to his anxiety to do whatever he could to take out the present control of Indian currency from the hands of Whitehall and transfer it to the Government of India, however imperfect and responsive at times the latter was (Congress benches: "unresponsive at all times"). He would rather wish that the Reserve Bank need not necessarily be different from the Imperial Bank of India. He did not want a pure and unalloyed Reserve Bank which the U. S. A. wanted with its 35,000 banking branches and which Canada did not have even with 4,000 branches and which might not, therefore, be at all suitable to India.

Finally, Sir Purshottamdas strongly protested against the Government's decision to defer consideration of the Exchange Ratio Bill till after the Budget. This strengthened the suspicion that the Government did not want the Bill to be discussed on its merits and that the Assembly would be deprived of discussing the Bill impartially. The Assembly should have been given an opportunity of discussing the Bill at the earliest opportunity. The Finance Member would now present the House again with a *fait accompli* by framing the budget on 1s. 6d. and declaring that it could not be changed to 1s. 4d. basis as the Finance Bill must be passed by the 31st March. Sir Purshottamdas warned that the longer the delay in the imperial consideration of the question the more would the Finance Member handicap those holding contrary views.

Mr. G. D. BIRLA thought the Bill was calculated neither to give a gold standard nor a gold currency to India. In order to have a gold currency India must have a gold standard. The difference between the selling and buying rate was eight annas in India, whereas in England it was half anna per tola. That itself would show that it was not possible to establish a gold standard as proposed in the Bill. Under the scheme proposed in the Bill India could not for even 40 years have a gold currency. As regards the postponement of the consideration of the ratio he welcomed it, if for no other reason than at least to see that an expert like Sir Basil Blackett did not commit mistakes which were committed by Sir Malcolm Hailey. Mr. Birla said there was no guarantee that the Reserve Bank would be dominated by particular groups of financiers. When the time came

they could consider how best to provide for proper representation and control of banking. He also urged that more banks should be entered in the schedule attached to the Bill.

Mr. Shunmukam CHETTI, Chief Whip of the Congress party, said his party had not been consulted by the Finance Member who had declared that the majority view in the House was that discussion on the ratio question might be postponed till after the budget. Regarding currency he emphasised that there must be a statutory obligation on the Government or the Reserve Bank to build up its gold resource within a certain fixed time in order to enable the introduction of a gold currency soon after that. Without such a provision, there would be no currency at all. He could not, therefore, understand how such a provision would retard the realisation of the object they had in view, namely the eventual establishment of a gold currency. Proceeding, Mr. Chettiar asked whether it was not a fact that during the last one year there had been a steady fall in the gold prices in the world. (Sir Basil denied it and quoted figures). Mr. Chetti quoted some other statistics and maintained his point of view. It was well-known that the Finance Member, ever since he came to India, had been singing that internal prices had been maintained and went on deflating the currency in order to keep up his pet theory and thereby dislocating prices. Concluding, Mr. Chetti emphasised the necessity of providing ample safeguards in regard to the position and location of the Reserve which he affirmed should not be in foreign countries; for that would only be exposing their reserve to serious risks in times of national crisis and reducing the already slender resources of India.

After several members had spoken the motion for circulation of the Bill was agreed to unanimously and the House then adjourned.

Steel Protection Bill.

The Legislative Assembly re-assembled on the 26TH JANUARY with a brief agenda, chief among them being the discussion of the Steel Bill on the Commerce Member's motion for its reference to a select committee. This raised a lively debate on the principles of the Bill with particular reference to the proposals for imperial preference advocated by the Tariff Board and embodied in the Bill.

Sir Charles INNES moved reference of the Steel Bill to a Select Committee consisting of Sir Bhupendranath Mitra, Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Moulvi Mahomed Yakub, Mr. G. Sarvothama Rao, Sir Walter Wilson, Mr. M. Ratnaswami, Mr. N. M. Joshi and Sir Charles Innes.

At the outset, the Commerce Member reviewed the history of protection granted to the industry during the last three years and said although there were certain disadvantages of the industry being in the hands of a single firm, there was this advantage, namely that the results achieved compared favourably with the price paid. The protection granted to the industry was not ungenerous but at the same time there was no small burden on the consumers. He did not wish to imply that the burden on the consumer had been unduly heavy and this fact was proved by the ease with which the burden was borne and as further testified by the increase in the consumption of steel. The increase represented thirty per cent during the last three years. Sir Charles Innes, after quoting figures to prove this increase, emphasised that the policy of protection was not unduly oppressive to the consumer.

But there was the other side of the case, that was the Steel Company. Are we getting the value for their money and was our policy becoming effective? Sir Charles Innes contended that the answer to these questions lay in the Tariff Board's report and the bill now before the House. The protection proposed was less than that which existed at present and that in itself was a very satisfactory feature. In this connection, it would be

pertinent to learn that the English works were undergoing a process of reconstruction and there were only two of the firms which made profits in England. Compared to this, the position of the Tatas in India was bright. Indeed, after the last three years, the Tatas had emerged a stronger, better and healthier company. Added to this, the Tatas were about to try the new and difficult duplex process which was an American invention and had not yet been introduced even in the United Kingdom. He could not say anything definitely regarding the finances of the Tata Company. It was a delicate matter, but he was not letting out any secret in mentioning that the Company was in very much stronger position to-day when compared to what it was in October 1924 and as a result of the Tariff Board's report, its position should be stronger still. On its technical side, great resources had been made, with the result that the works' cost had been reduced to somewhat near 100 rupees per ton and here the Commerce Member congratulated Mr. Alexander, the General Manager at Jamshedpur Works for the progress made in steel manufacture and said that the one thing which animated Mr. Alexander was his desire to make the steel company independent of extraneous help from Government and capable of meeting competition entirely unaided.

Based on all these figures and factors, the Tariff Board had given its considered opinion that their policy of discriminating protection had been justified and successful. The Assembly was not now discussing the question of principle or policy. This was approved in passing the Act of 1924 when they guaranteed protective rates only for three years. He agreed that the Assembly was quite entitled to go back upon the policy of its predecessor. Protection might be a good or bad thing, but the Assembly would agree that once having embarked on a policy of protection, it would do no good to display vacillation and it was better to let the policy of protection to continue as long as it was felt necessary in the interests of Indian produce.

Proceeding, Sir Charles Innes complimented the Tariff Board on its extremely able, businesslike report. It was an impartial report based on an impartial study of facts. The Board had made a careful estimate of the fair selling price and equally careful estimate of the prices at which steel was likely to sell in future. He was told that estimates of this kind were not of value, but he contented that they were an essential feature of the policy of protection. When the Steel Act was being discussed in the Assembly in 1924, nothing impressed him more than the fact that members insisted that whatever measure of protection was given must be with due regard to the well-being of the community as a whole and, indeed, it was due to this insistence that the preamble of the Bill was altered to that effect. Whatever was done must now be done after carefully adjusting the interests of the consumer and the producer. The House must not in any way be prepared to countenance on the part of any industry the claim that because protection was once given it should be given in the same form and to the same extent. Conditions varied according to the circumstances of the steel industry. The object of protection being that it must help the industry eventually to maintain itself without the help of protection, it was necessary to find to what period and in what form protection must be granted. The Tariff Board had recommended decrease in protection but recommended continuance of it for seven years. These were based on the Company's scheme of improvement and the consequent increase in output as also the future course of selling prices of foreign steel. The output of the Tatas was expected at the end of seven years to be 600,000 tons. Hence it was advisable to extend protection to seven years when it was hoped that the company would be able to dispense with protection and stand unaided. In arriving at this recommendations the Tariff Board had to take into account several factors including the economies in overhead charges and the increase in output as a result of extensions and improvement. Of course, they should not expect the consumer to pay for miscalculations of the Steel Company, but the Tariff Board's report would show that overhead charges would be reduced from Rs. 58 per ton to Rs. 39 per ton.

Proceeding the Commerce Member referred to import figures and pointed out that there were difficulties in estimating the average price at which steel was likely to be imported for over a period of seven years. The situation was complicated by certain factors like the imports from both the United Kingdom and the continent, the different quality and the gap in prices. The Tariff Board considered the prices at which British steel was likely to come. As regarded the former, there was no difficulty because the prices were stabilised at the prices of the first four months of 1926 whereas as regarded continental steel there were so many factors which were likely to come into play for instability. Therefore, the Tariff Board had observed that it would be unsafe to frame a scale of rates on the assumption that any level of prices which they might now adopt would continue without a substantial change throughout the period of protection,

Proceeding, the Commerce Member explained in great detail the system of differential rates suggested and the need for such a differentiation. While referring to galvanised sheets Sir Charles congratulated Bengal and particularly Mr. Neogy for having been able to see the duty on spelter taken off and the duty on galvanised sheets reduced from Rs. 45 to Rs. 30. British steel was more reliable in quality and accuracy of rolling strength. It was used when a high factor of safety was required by engineering firms for fabrication, but continental steel and inferior steel, by the very nature of its prices, tended to displace British steel. Hence the problem. But the Tariff Board, after the examination of all possible factors had recommended the system of differential duties. It was difficult to discriminate between standard steel and non-standard steel and the Board had recommended a basic and an additional duty. British steel was particularly synonymous with standard steel and continental steel with non-standard steel. On account of India's position in the British Empire, they could discriminate in favour of British steel without infringing the most favoured nation's agreements. If on the other hand, the price of continental steel changed, the Government was given the right to alter according to the needs of protection. The problem was looked at by the Tariff Board from an economic point of view and from no other consideration. The only objection to the proposal was that it involved provision of machinery to ensure that consignments of British steel were covered by certificates that steel was actually made in the United Kingdom but it was not impossible to frame simple and satisfactory rules. The Government accepted the recommendations of the Tariff Board as a whole.

Concluding, the Commerce Member emphasised that he had no desire to rush the Bill, but the House should by agreeing to refer the motion to a Select Committee, accept the principle of further protection. The Government was quite prepared to discuss the details calmly in the Select Committee and he felt sure that the Assembly had seen that the scheme proposed by the Board was the best in the circumstances.

Mr. B. DAS said that the Tariff Board had, by proposing imperial preference, tried to kill the very goose (Assembly) that laid the golden egg (Tariff Board). He declared: "I will rather see the industry go down and down than agree to the humiliation of imperial preference. Not until we become equal members in this Empire will we agree to this policy in any form." He blamed exchange manipulation for the uncertainties of import prices of steel. He blamed the Railway Board for persisting in buying their steel requirements abroad.

Pandit MALAVIYA gratefully acknowledged Sir Charles Innes's share in giving protection. The Steel Bill introduced a very important principle of imperial preference. "Is the House prepared to accept this principle?" It was not suggested that continental steel was too bad. He accepted the plea that British steel was stronger; but why force the consumer to buy English steel instead of cheaper continental steel? The House would not accept the policy of preference and the Select Committee should be instructed to keep this in view in altering the Bill. The system of uniform duties supplemented by bounties was not entirely condemnable. The Select Committee should consider an alternative method of protection. It seemed to him that probably the postponement of consideration might be useful.

Pandit MOTILAL asked whether by voting for the motion they would be accepting the principle merely of continuance of protection or also of imperial preference and whether it would be open to the Select Committee to delete the clause proposing preference for British goods.

Sir Charles Innes replied that the House would be accepting only the principle of need for further protection. (Hear, hear.)

Sir Purshottamdas THAKURDAS said his only purpose to-day was as Director of the Tata Company to congratulate the Government for the scheme of continuing protection. The scheme started three years ago had not been a failure that it was apprehended it might be. He paid his tribute to Sir Charles Innes and said seven years hence, if need for protection did not exist and Sir Charles Innes was in the visitors' gallery of the House he would be the proudest man for having given India a basic industry. The Tariff Board had produced a splendid report which undertook scientific study and looked at the problem from a purely economic point of view. "I say, let us preserve this political aspect of questions to the Government of India and to this House and let not committees and boards give political bias to their studies". He was sure the Select Committee would meet the case put forward by Pandit Malaviya and others. He acknowledged that Sir Charles Innes did things in time in smart contrast to Sir Basil. But the Government was putting a trap before the House by not bringing measures in

the natural sequence. The Ratio Bill must come first, for if the ratio were altered to one and four, the Steel Bill would have again to be altered.

Mr. JOSHI objected to the protection of industries by raising a tariff wall; for it invariably threw the burden on the people who were not able to bear it. When import duties were imposed, it was difficult to discriminate as to which class could or could not bear it. Moreover, the protection of an industry by bounty was not helpful to the growth of that industry. All the basic and key industries should be controlled by the nation and if protection was necessary for steel, he would have it, in the form of bounty in the case of steel which was the basic industry. They should adopt a policy of seeing that the whole nation must control it. He knew that as at present constituted the Assembly would not support this view of his. (Hear, hear). He, therefore, suggested that the first condition of protection must be that it must be not only in the interests of those who put money in the industry, but also in the interests of human labour employed in it. It was necessary that there should be protection of human labour invested in the industry. The second condition he would impose was that in the case of protected industries, the limit of dividends to be given to the shareholders must be fixed. Thirdly, he suggested that the industry for the protection of which the nation was sacrificing should not be transferred to foreigners. Lastly, he urged rapid Indianisation of the industry.

Mr. JAYAKAR congratulated the Government on the wonderful despatch with which they had embodied the recommendations of the Board in this Bill and hoped that the Government would be equally prompt in the case of other important measures as well, as some uncharitable critics, more especially in Bombay, had said that the Government of India were in the habit of placing the Assembly on the horn of a dilemma. It had been said in regard to the currency question that there were two alternatives, either the 1s. 6d. ratio or a deficit budget. There were also uncharitable critics in Bombay who said that the Government were presenting this Bill in which they were asked to choose between supporting the key industry or accept the alternative of giving preference to British articles. Speaking as a politician, he emphasised that he would be the first person to give preference to British made articles; but he complained that in this Bill they were asked to give a very small price for a big concession of imperial preference introduced through the backdoor. Great Britain should pay an adequate price if it wanted this concession. He maintained that the danger of allowing continental goods into India had been exaggerated and that the Tariff Board had merely put in a case of special pleading in saying that there was danger to public safety in using continental steel for bridges etc. He wanted to know whether there was any embargo in England placed on the import of continental steel. He further wanted to know what guarantee there was in case British steel deteriorated in quality and if continental steel was sent to India through England.

Sir Charles INNES, in winding up the debate, expressed satisfaction that there was general support to the principle of the Bill. As for Mr. Jayakar's pertinent question, he (Sir Charles) had answers; but it was better to discuss them in the Select Committee rather than on the floor of this House. As far as the Government were concerned, the case was so strong that they would be only too willing to have it probed and explored. Mr. Jayakar had said there was imperial preference. Sir Charles Innes emphasised there was none. The facts concerning the steel problem were examined by a Board consisting of two eminent Indians and they had recommended that on purely economic grounds there should be differential rates and because the Government had accepted their report it should not be assumed that there was the introduction of imperial preference by the backdoor.

The motion for a Select Committee to which were also added the names of Mr. Lamp and Mr. G. D. Birla was carried without a division and the Committee was asked to submit its report by the 8th February. The House then adjourned.

C. P. C. Amendment Bill.

The next two days viz. the 27th and 31st January were the days for official business in the Assembly. On the 27th, Sir Alexander Muddiman, in introducing the Bill further to amend the Code of Civil Procedure 1908, said that it was to give effect to the recommendations made in their report by the Civil Justice Committee for the amendment of part two and order 21 of the first schedule to the Code of Civil Procedure 1908. The remaining recommendations of the Committee for the amendment

of that order are, it was pointed out, under separate consideration. Clause 18 (2) provides that when a judgment-debtor appeals against an order under that section where decree is for the payment of money only, he must give security for the decretal amount. The Committee's proposals for the restriction of first appeal from the orders under that section are being separately provided for as these cannot suitably be effected by an amendment of the Code. Clause ten extends but not with retrospective effect the scope of Section 66 to defendant opponent or objector who is not in possession of property purchased. Clause 14, section 145 is revised so as to give the Court power to realise property or interest comprised in security by execution in the suit or proceeding itself without a fresh suit. Power is, however, reserved to relegate creditor to a fresh suit as a precaution to meet cases of special complication. In clauses 16 and 18 (1) pleaders are required to sign a decree when they are satisfied that it is in conformity with a judgment and an appeal is based on the ground that a decree has been improperly drawn up is barred except by special leave. Unless an objection has been taken at proper time in this manner in the court passing a decree in clause 17, the new rule (a) prohibits the entertainment by the executing court of a plea advanced by a judgment-debtor that decree-holder had agreed that the decree should not be executed.

Income-Tax Amendment Bill.

Sir Basil Blackett then moved formally for reference to a Select Committee the Bill to amend the Income-tax Act 1922 which was introduced on the 25th Jan. After explaining the statement of objects and reasons, the Finance Member, alluding to Sir Victor Sassoon's motion for circulating the Bill to elicit public opinion, said although on almost every clause of the Bill the Board of Revenue had at one time or another discussed the proposals with the Chambers of the Commerce, yet in view of the fact that the Bill as a whole had not been circulated, he was prepared to agree to re-circulation. The House agreed to the circulation of the bill and then adjourned till

Limitation Act Amending Bill.

The 31ST JANUARY when Sir Alexander Muddiman introduced the Bill amending the Limitation Act of 1908. In doing so he said:—The Civil Justice Committee recommended that section 48 of the Code of Civil Procedure 1908 and article 182 of the first schedule to the Indian Limitation Act 1908 be amended so as to reduce the limit of time for execution in the case of money decrees from 12 to 6 years and to raise the period of limitation from 3 to 6 but to permit a decree-holder even after the expiry of six years to apply for execution if he can show that the judgment-debtor has come into some property or that he has recently discovered that the judgment debtor has property. If, however, it is decided to retain article 182 in its present form, the Committee recommend that it should be amended so as to provide that the period of three years should begin not from the date of the last application for execution but from the date of the last order on such a previous application. The first proposal is not considered to be satisfactory and the Bill gives effect to the alternative proposal.

Amendment of Merchant Shipping Act.

Mr. Bhore then moved for reference to the Select Committee the Bill amending the Merchant Shipping Act based on the promise of Sir Mahomed Habibullah to improve the lot of pilgrims.

The Bill was referred to a Select Committee consisting of Mr. Bhore, Mr. Fazal Rahimtullah, Raja Ghaznafar Ali Khan, Mr. Allison, Sir Walter Wilson, Sir Abdul Qayum, Mr. Haji, Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Yakub, Mr. Shafi, Mr. Ismail Khan, Mr. Natiq, Dr. Suhrawardy and Mr. Kasim.

Negotiable Instruments Act Amendment.

Sir Basil Blackett next moved the consideration of the Bill amending the Negotiable Instruments Act with a view to provide that bearer Instruments should not lose their bearer character on account of their having been endorsed. The Bill was, in Sir Basil's opinion, of considerable importance from the point of view of development of banking in India.

Sir Purushothamdas Thakurdas felt that in this matter the Government had acted on the views of the Associated Chambers and ignored those of the Indian Merchants Chamber. He could move for the appointment of a Select Committee provided they did not commit the House to acceptance of the principle beyond its application to certain instruments.

Sir Basil agreed with Sir Purushothamdas in respect of restriction regarding the principle underlying the Bill and Sir Purushothamdas's motion for Select Committee was agreed upon.

The following were appointed to the committee. The Finance Member, Dr. Macphail, Mr. Graham, Mr. Chetti, Mr. Aney, Mr. Fazal Rahimtullah, Mr. Anwarul Azim, Mr. Birla, Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar, Mr. Mehta, Mr. Pandya, Sir Walter Wilson, Mr. A. Iyengar, Pundit Motilal Nehru, Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, Mr. T. B. Roy, Mr. Kirkabhai Premchand, Mr. Nirmal Chunder Chunder, Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas and Sir Purshothamdas Thakurdas.

Amendment of the Securities Act.

Sir Basil Blackett, also moved for consideration of the Bill amending the Securities Act of 1920. In doing so, he explained the provisions in great detail and concluded by emphasising that the House was asked to revise the law so that it might restore to the tax-payer the same amount of protection as he enjoyed before the passage of the Indian Succession Act last year.

Mr. M. S. Aney pointed out that under the Bill if the demand for payment be not made within six years after the date of maturity, then not only interest but the principal sum would not be paid. Thus the liability of the Government which under the Securities Act stood so long as the security was not paid might be absolved. Moreover, under the Bill a succession certificate would be declared null and void. Mr. Aney's motion was accepted.

The Indian Limitation Act Amendment.

Sir Alexander Muddiman then moved that the Bill further to amend the Indian Limitation Act of 1908 be taken into consideration. The Bill is the result of certain recommendations of the Civil Justice Committee. The Committee had recommended: (1) that sub-section 1 of Section 20 should be amended so as to make payment of interest also subject to the condition that the fact of payment should appear in the hand-writing of the person making the same; (2) that a limited owner under the Hindu Law and manager of a joint Hindu family should be enabled to make acknowledgments and payments under Sections 19 and 20; (3) that article 132 should be amended so to make it clear that a suit to recover the value of paddy and such produce charged on immoveable property comes within this article; and (4) that article 166 should be amended so as to make it

clear that it applies to a petition by a judgment-debtor under Section 47 of the Civil Procedure Code.

Sir Alexander Muddiman, in making the motion, remarked that objections to various aspects of the Bill had been met on an earlier occasion. He, therefore, only formally moved the Bill. Sir Alexander also explained that the Bill was brought forward in the light of criticisms made by the last Assembly on a similar measure.

Mr. Belvi opposed Clause 2 of the Bill. He said there was no such provision either in English or American Law. English Law did not require that payment of interest should be evidenced by writing. There was no statistics to prove the allegation of the Civil Justice Committee that there was a crop of frivolous suits in the absence of such a provision. In considering this subject, the difficulties of the people in rural areas should be given due attention. Any law which required that every payment made by a debtor either by way of principal or interest should be evidenced by writing would create unnecessary complications in the daily economic life of villagers.

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar had another difficulty. The words "acknowledgment of payment" in the Bill would, he said, add to the difficulties, especially in regard to mortgages.

Mr. Nirmal Chunder Chunder reiterated the objection advanced by the previous speakers. On the other hand, Mr. Amarnath Dutt, speaking from his experience as a practising lawyer in the mofussil courts, disagreed with the learned lawyers who preceded him. In his opinion, this was a very desirable change which would prevent unscrupulous money-lenders cheating the borrowers.

Sir Alexander Muddiman briefly replied and the Bill was then passed with one or two dissentients. The Assembly then adjourned.

Non-Official Bills.

On the 1ST FEBRUARY the Assembly had a very short sitting with non-official Bills. Mr. N. C. Kelkar introduced this Bill to amend the Land Acquisition Act. He said his measure while not impairing the usefulness of the Act in any material particular would help to make its operation less unpopular because more equitable. First of all, his Bill provided for a judicial enquiry where alleged public usefulness of work for which land was to be acquired could be challenged by any person. Secondly, where compensation of land was required under the Act, the present arbitrary powers should be replaced by arbitration.

12 other Bills were introduced formally without speeches. Their introduction was not opposed. These were Mr. Doraisami Iyengar's Bill amending the Registration Act and Civil Procedure Code section 80; Dr. Gour's Bill amending I. P. C. Section 141; Mr. Yakub's Bill amending the Succession Act, section 372 and the Bill to regulate and improve law reports, Mr. Neogy's Bill amending Steam Vessels Act and Indian Merchandise Marks Act and Mr. Harbilas Sarda's Bill to abolish child-marriages among Hindus. The Home Member told the House that he would oppose this Bill at all future stages. Mr. Yakub introduced the Bill to limit interest charged on loans of various kinds in British India and bring the law into conformity with the needs of the people and Mr. Kelkar a Bill amending the Societies Registration Act Section 20.

Dr. Gour was not in his seat when called on to introduce his Bill to amend the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act 1908, and the Code of Criminal Procedure Section 491. When he came in the President said he could only make a second reading motion of the Bill. Dr. Gour did this and the Home Member objected as the Bill had not been yet introduced. Dr. Gour appealed to the chair for indulgence as Sir Frederick Whyte had on a similar occasion shown to the Home Member.

Sir Alexander Muddiman said he did not want to be harsh on Dr. Gour, but if the convention of not opposing introduction of a Bill was to be observed then its corresponding obligation that in case of such Bills no second motion be made on the day of introduction should also be observed. This the President upheld and Dr. Gour agreed and was allowed to introduce his Bill which he hoped would, as altered, be acceptable to the Government as his previous Bill on the subject, though passed by the Assembly, was rejected by the Council of State. This Bill proposed to introduce safeguards of Habeas Corpus and would repeal and amend Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act whose repeal was recommended by the Repressive Laws Committee.

Next day, the 2ND FEBRUARY, after question time, Pandit Hridaya-nath Kunzru moved for the adjournment of the House to discuss the Government decision not to publish the report of the deputation to Fiji which was headed by Mr. Venkatapathi Raju. The President ruled that the chair was satisfied that the matter was not one of urgency and that the interest shown by the Home Member, meant that a resolution on the subject could be easily balloted. He, therefore, ruled it out of order.

Execution Decrees and Orders.

The Home Member then moved reference to the select committee of his bill amending the Civil Procedure Code relating to execution decrees and orders giving effect to the Civil Justice Committee's recommendations.

The Home Member said that although it was true that High Courts had been consulted with regard to the substance of the changes they had not seen the actual legal form in which they were embodied. He admitted the subject was complicated and therefore if Mr. Cooke who had tabled an amendment for reference to elicit opinion moved it, he would raise no objection to it.

Mr. Cooke moved for the circulation of the Bill for opinion and the Home Member agreed to this amendment. He said the High Courts had already protested in connection with some of the Bills arising out of the Rankin Report. The Bill was then ordered to be circulated.

C. P. C. Amendment Bill.

The Home Member next moved for the consideration of the Bill to amend Section 115 of the Civil Procedure Code mainly as recommended by the Civil Justice Committee limiting revisionary powers to Section 115 of the Code except in cases where special statutory provision was made to the contrary.

Mr. Jayakar opposed the Bill wholesale and held it to be, in the opinion of a considerable part of the legal profession, a retrograde Bill. It would cut down the wide revisional powers of the High Courts which was valued in India in respect of occasional blemishes in Judicial adminis-

tration. The Rankin Committee's sole reason seemed to be to avoid delay, but very large opinion in the legal profession was to have delay rather than injustice (hear hear). Mr. Jayakar went further and asserted that the Indian Legislature had no power to take away the inherent jurisdiction of the High Court given by a Statute of the British Parliament. Even leaving this aside, he asked the Home Member whether politically it was advisable at such a time when, instead of strengthening the position of the High Court, they should be deliberately limiting those powers. As one coming from the middle class, as a lawyer and as a politician, he held the measure to be retrograde and was opposed to it.

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, speaking with his legal experience which was not a limited one, held that the gravity of the proposal before the House was that it proposed to take away from the High Court's revisionary powers in just those cases where jurisdiction was most needed. The pious opinion of the Rankin Committee that delay would be avoided would not materialise. On the other hand, greater delay, greater trouble and greater expense to the litigant public would result in that the whole issue would have to be delayed till an appeal was filed against the decree of the lower court. He wished the Government would bring forward a more comprehensive Bill on the Rankin report than this piecemeal legislation. (Official benches : No.)

Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas joined in the opposition.

Mr. Nirmal Chander quoted from the Committee's report to show that while the committee diagnosed the disease all right, they suggested a wrong remedy, for which no case had been made out.

Mr. S. R. Das, Law Member, was not surprised at the opposition from lawyers. As a matter of fact as a lawyer his first interest was to oppose the measure ; but if the Bill was examined carefully they would see that in respect of decrees no change was made in the law. The change was proposed in respect only of interlocutory orders. The Government felt that in this respect, no injustice would be done by the change proposed. He had known numerous instances where the case had been held up for months by the application made under Section 115. There would be no injustice, because if one order was made it could be set right on appeal.

Mr. Jayakar : It may be too late.

Mr. Das replied that in some cases it might. He continued that the High Courts still had power of interference where the lower court was acting beyond its jurisdiction. He held that the power of superintendence of a High Court was not affected by the Bill. He told Mr. Jayakar that the delay in justice sometime amounted to injustice.

Mr. Jinnah characterised as poor the defence put up by the Law Member. Mr. Jinnah mentioned that the Bombay High Court had rightly held that urgent cases involving grave consequences might arise where although the order might be appealable, the High Court extended its revisionary power. The only ground urged for this drastic change was delay. The attitude taken up by Lahore and Allahabad High Courts in interpreting the term 'cases' was most extraordinary. Delay could occur only in respect of pendency of hearing of a rule. If it was granted that there was a judge who knew his business, this delay should

not occur and he was confident about Bombay, Madras and Calcutta High Courts' judgment.

Pandit Motilal Nehru found no justification why one class of cases, namely, decrees, should be treated in one manner and the other class of cases, namely, interlocutory orders, in another. The Law Member had given away his whole case against delays by conceding that cases might be remitted. He found that the Allahabad High Court had in one day rejected 45 applications for revisionary interference. Moreover the power was discretionary and the High Courts could be trusted to exercise them properly. The Bill, instead of clarifying the law, would be mystifying it.

The Home Member then replied to the debate. Alluding to the argument that the Bill purported to take away the power conferred under Section 107 of the Government of India Act, he pointed out that the power given to the High Courts and those given to the Government were not co-extensive. The debate had convinced him of the merits of the Bill more than ever before. He assured Mr. Jayakar that there was no machiavellian intention in the Government in bringing the Bill. The Bill was entirely in correct legal form and sought to give effect to the recommendation which had the support of Sir Norman Macleod, Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court and of a Committee whose President and members were, he emphasised, very competent to deal with the task.

The Home member quoted figures to show that in the Bombay High Court the average time taken to dispose of revision cases was over a year. It was no good throwing stone on the competence of persons, because they put forward proposals which some lawyer members did not like. The House was entitled to suggest amendments during the consideration stage, but not oppose the consideration itself. If the Bill was opposed now, the only conclusion was that the Assembly was in favour of delaying justice which meant denying justice.

The motion for consideration was pressed to a division and lost by 42 against 58 votes.

Registration Act Amendment.

The Assembly without discussion passed the Bill amending the Registration Act and then adjourned till next day, the 3RD FEBRUARY, when the resolution of Mr. Jogiah for the release of political prisoners was taken up.

Release of Bengal Detenues.

Mr. JOGIAH was cheered by the Congress benches as he rose to move his resolution recommending (a) the repeal of the Bengal Regulation III of 1818 and similar regulations in force in other provinces of India and urging upon the Governor-General-in-Council the bare justice of an immediate release of all political detenues or of giving them at least the opportunity of exculpating themselves and proving themselves altogether innocent of the charges, if any, levelled against them and (b) the grant of an amnesty to all political prisoners now undergoing imprisonment. Mr. Jogiah intimated that he would not press part (b) of his resolution nor speak on it. Mr. Jogiah declared that the Bengal Regulation and other similar enactments were passed when Napoleon cast his eagle eye on India and when echoes of the Mahratta war had not died; but while civilization had advanced, these regulations continued to be on the statute book. Deportations in Ireland had no analogy as the former country was actually at war with England while India was not. He challenged that the Bengal Regulation had not been appropriately applied.

There was no question of disturbance of the relations with foreign powers. The chiefs of Indian States had proved their loyalty on all ceremonial occasions on the platform and through the press. There was also no internal commotion. The deportations of these men was thus not justified even by the terms of the Regulation. And who were deported? All of them were good men and true. They were all patriots, men of purity of life and of noble purpose.

Pandit Nehru's Amendment.

Pandit Motilal NEHRU moved that for the resolution of Mr. Jogiah, the following be substituted:—

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that he be pleased to immediately release or bring to trial all detainees under the old regulations and the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1925."

Pandit Motilal said: The amendment, though given at short notice, was already on the order paper. The original resolution clouded the main issue. His amendment proposed to focus interest on one issue. This did not mean that the other parts were given up. These had already been dealt with by this House and would again come up.

The President permitted the amendment of Pandit Motilal provided the movers of other amendments withdrew in his favour.

Pandit Motilal said his resolution did not require any argument to convince the non-official section of the House of the justice and soundness of the position. As for the Government, it was so impervious to their demands that they would be wasting time and breath in discussing the resolution. Pandit Motilal recalled the words of Lord Lytton justifying the arrests carried out in October 1923 that there was existence of terrorism. The speaker also recalled his statement in the last Assembly showing that not a single case had occurred since 1919 which justified Lord Lytton and which incriminated the detainees. "I then asked 'give me one case in which the conditions mentioned by Lytton have operated.' The answer is yet to come. I again challenge my friend though two years more have elapsed to give the main facts to prove the charge." The speaker, continuing, read to the House the Viceroy's speech on the 24th on the subject. How on earth was Government to be satisfied that the release of those men would not disturb the peace of the land? The Viceroy had put the cart before the horse. Unless the Government told them the grounds for their fears, how was he to satisfy that these fears were groundless? If the Government was morally convinced that was right, the country was morally convinced of the innocence of these men.

Continuing, Pandit Motilal said if he was told that the bombs had even recently been discovered, his reply was that the real culprits were then still at large and innocent persons had been detained. The case of Mr. Mitra, a member of the Assembly, was discussed by the House. He did not expect an Englishman, least of all the Home Member, to say that any constituency's right to elect its member should be fettered by saying that Mr. Mitra's constituency was given an opportunity to elect another representative. Mr. Bose was suffering seriously and there was suspicion of tuberculosis, but it was not on medical grounds that he urged for release. He mentioned this to show the inhumanity and callousness of the Government in keeping these men without trial. "Let me say emphatically that we are not in a mood to listen to constitutional advance or entertain any proposal for co-operation until these men are released or brought to trial. This is the last opportunity for the Government to shake off nervousness and Lord Irwin to signalise the first year of his Viceroyalty and the first session of this Assembly by an act of broad-minded statesmanship and to mark the opening of this new House by a real change of heart and not let it go down to history as merely a landmark of haughty British Imperialism and enforced enslavement of India."

Sir Alexander MUDDIMAN, in opposing the motion, made a long speech. He gave a catalogue of crimes of violence which necessitated the passing of the Ordinance. The chief events were the dacoity near Howrah, the raid on Ultadingi, the armed robbery in Goalpara lane, the robbery with the use of firearms, the armed hold up at Chittagong of the mail van all in 1923, then the murder of Mr. Day, the explosion of bomb in Faridpur, the discovery of a bomb factory in Calcutta, the bomb outrage in Mirzapur Street and the murder of Santilal Chakravarti, one of the accused in Mirzapur Street bomb outrage, all these in 1924. Thus, throughout these periods there was continuing a series of plots directed against the lives of police officers and there was one which aimed at killing the life of the Governor of Bengal. The Government had, in their possession, materials establishing in all essential particulars the reality of several of these attempts. This list of crimes would have been far longer had not the Government used from time to time the powers under Regulation III to detain the leading brains of the Terrorist Party and

Mr. O. R. Das himself admitted that the movement was more serious than the authorities realised. To meet such a situation, the Bengal Ordinance was passed because the resources of ordinary law had proved powerless more than once. High judicial officers had been taken into confidence and their conclusion had in every case coincided with those of the Executive Government. It is indisputable that all authorities, the Government, high judicial officers, administrators and the Police had eventually been driven to the unanimous conclusion that it was impossible to fight the revolutionary conspiracy or deal with revolutionary crime under the ordinary law or through the machinery of courts and that special powers of extra-judicial character were necessary. "Heaven knows the experience in regard to revolutionary conspiracies has been dearly enough bought. It would have been nothing short of criminal if they had disregarded that experience when they were again confronted by an exactly similar situation."

Continuing, the Home Member said from the introduction of the Ordinance down to the present time, there had not been one single outrage of the type he had just given except of course the Alipur jail murder but the conspiracy had not been killed. For example, there was a widespread revolutionary leaflet in Bengal, in the U. P. and the Punjab in November 1925. There was the arrest of a party of nine in Dakshineswar in possession of live bomb etc. Then there was the Sova Bazar arrest in which two persons were found with revolver and some ammunition. Such was the history of revolutionary crime. Since special legislation became operative neither the movement had collapsed, nor had its violently criminal tendencies abated, but in all post-ordinance cases there was one reassuring feature namely, that in almost every single case the initiative had lain not with revolutionaries but with the police. The latter had been able to act in time by virtue of special powers to prevent murderous designs from coming to a head.

Mr. Ranga Aiyar interrupting suggested that it was all the work of the agents provocateur.

The Home Member scorned any such suggestion or charge and maintained that there was the undeniable connection between revolutionary pamphlets and acts by men who were trying to carry out their programme which they did not deny. He further maintained that the Ordinance had been more than justified by the practical results. The Government had checked the outward manifestations of the movement to a very considerable extent, but the basic conditions remained unchanged. The conditions of release were set out by Lord Irwin in his inaugural address. Sir Alexander Muddiman quoted this portion of H. E. the Viceroy's speech in full to show that their sole object in keeping the men under restraint was to prevent terrorist outrages and that they were prepared to release them the moment they were satisfied that their release would not defeat the object. Regarding the first condition, he had shown that the activities of the revolutionaries still continued, though checked and restrained. As to the second condition which raised the question of individual release, the matter must be decided on the past record of a detainee and the present attitude. He said: "But the Government are not demanding as is sometimes alleged any humiliating confessions from those detainees. A declaration that a detainee would on release take no part in revolutionary activities would be an element to be taken into consideration by the Government; but this on the one hand would not amount to a confession that he had taken part in such activities in the past and on the other hand such a declaration could not and would not be accepted by the Government as a ground for release without an examination of the whole circumstances of the case and past record of the detainee. If the Government are misled into releasing prisoners who prove subsequently by their actions that they are not keeping to the statement they made and have resumed their deplorable activities then the remedy is in the hands of the Government."

"As for the Bengal Regulation detainees the Government of India are primarily responsible. As for the Ordinance prisoners, cases of individual prisoners are primarily a matter for the consideration of the Bengal Government. The Government of India are responsible to the extent of the general policy and action taken under that Act (Ordinance). They are not and they cannot be responsible for cases of individual prisoners."

"The general policy has been laid down in the Viceroy's speech. Application of that policy in the case of Regulation III prisoners is a matter for the Government of India and in the case of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act prisoners for the Government of Bengal."

Mr. M. K. ACHARYA did not deny the Government charge that there was a revolutionary movement. In a land so badly and tyrannically governed as India, his surprise was that there had not been more crime (Congress back benches; Hear, hear); but he asked what connection was there between these conspiracies and the detainees. Had Mr. Subash Chandra Bose been found to be the leader of this gang? Where was the evidence to prove

it. He said "Why not create an era of peace, goodwill and confidence by releasing these men? There will always be found some bombs in India. Will these men for that reason be always kept in jail? If you don't believe us, take hostages from us and release them."

Lala LAJPAT RAI said the whole of India thought on this question with one opinion and the resolution would be brought up year after year until this fundamental grievance was redressed. There were conspiracies in all countries. The United States of America has the Klu Klux Klan movement. There was lynching going on there; but the Government of the U. S. A. had not taken special measures to suppress them. In a big country like India, such crime could never be eliminated. "We want to show the hollowness of the claim that India is being governed by a civilised Government with the consent of the people. You cannot be defenders of liberty. You have snatched it from us and are keeping it back to exploit us." (Applause.) The Lala wanted the official members to put themselves in the position of the detenues who had been deprived of their liberty and comforts of life without trial. "I don't accept for a moment that official benches are greater friends of India than we on these benches are. You are absolutely loyal and faithful to your country, Great Britain, and we here are greater friends of our own country. (Applause.) I appeal to the Government to revoke this law for without that, there will be no reconciliation in the country."

Mr. GOSWAMI said when he came into the House he expected a more statesmanlike pronouncement from the Home Member. Mr. Goswami divulged publicly under the cover of privilege two statements made by Lord Lytton categorically to a conference in which Mr. Goswami took part. Firstly, Lord Lytton said he was prepared to release the detenues provided they gave an undertaking that they would not in future commit any violent crime or be concerned in the commission of violent crimes. Secondly, and it was an admission, Lord Lytton said that the people who had been proceeded against were people who had committed no crime, but were prevented from committing crime. Now which country in the world had laws which prevented crime by such indefinite detention?

The Home Member:—What was your reply to Lord Lytton?

Mr. Goswami said he had told Lord Lytton that all depended on the form of the undertaking asked for. He wanted the Home Member to find a solution honourable to both sides. Mr. Keane had called the revolutionaries as the unseen wing of the Swaraj Party. The speaker therefore challenged the Home Member to disprove the statement that arrests were made on the 25th October 1924 and warrants were all signed on the 28th August 1924, the day following the defeat of diarchy in Bengal. (Applause) Finally, he emphasised the seriousness of the situation caused by the health of Mr. Bose and other detenues. He endorsed Lala Lajpat Rai's statement that the country, though weak to-day, had potential resources.

Mr. Srinivasa IYENGAR declared emphatically that it would be impossible for the Government to convince the Congress without the release of these prisoners. The Home Member's speech was a thrice told tale. The speaker's opinion was that terrorism was on the other side. (Here, here). The Government wanted to reserve to itself the political lead of the country. If the Government were put into jail, terrorism would stop. (Laughter). Politics of the country could never be controlled by this policy of repression. "I agree with Mr. Acharya that I will be doing duty to my country if I were in the place of Mr. Bose. (European benches : No.) If the judgment of the Indian people can not change the Government, then God's condign punishment will fall upon this Government."

Mr. Abdul Matin CHOWDHURY said that the Government was only adding fuel to the revolutionary fire. Even Lord Lytton seemed to have an uneasy conscience over the matter. Others who had been released in the past had not disappointed the Government. Suffering of detenues on mere suspicion was more than even that of convicted persons. "Mighty Empires will not be shaken if these men are released. Intemperate speeches can still be made at St. Andrews Dinner. The Congress office will not shift on to Writers' Buildings. Clive Street can go on doing its business merrily, while Calcutta will become a cleaner and healthier city to live in."

Mr. TONKINSON said that only compelling circumstances had rendered it impossible to hold an open trial. The experience of the life of Lord Lytton, Lord Reading, Lord Olivier and Lord Birkenhead was sufficient guarantee that the special measures were absolutely forced on them. This revolutionary campaign took form

in intimidation dacoities and robberies. What could be more despicable than that some of the revolutionaries should have taken to teaching to pervert the minds on boys committed to their charge. Could any one deny that there was definite recrudescence of the same movement which practically brought Bengal to a state of terror in the years before the Defence of India Act came into operation? Materials in the possession of the Government were convincing.

Mr. Jinnah: Why not try them?

Mr. Tonkinson replied that no Government worthy of its name would expose the witnesses to peril. The Government could continue these measures until the situation improved.

Mr. Goswami: Until it is broken?

Mr. Tonkinson opined that if in England a similar situation arose the good sense of the British people would agree to these laws though Parliament would hesitate, as the Government of India hesitated in taking in hand these special powers. (Laughter.)

Pandit MALAVIYA warmly repudiated Mr. Tonkinson's assertion that the English Parliament would not hesitate to enact a law like the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act. On the other hand, he thought that the members would not be allowed by the people to approach Parliament House unless exceptional circumstances had arisen. Such circumstances had not arisen in India. Prisoners had not been given fair play. Nothing but official 'Izzat' (prestige) prevented the Government from owning their mistakes. In not a single case had the reasons mentioned by Lord Lytton been proved. Every one in the discharge of his duties must bear all risks that were attendant on him. Indians and Europeans alike had to face such risks. Had not Lord Hardinge, when a bomb was thrown at him, say "Let there be no change in policy." The Pandit accepted that there was a conspiracy. But the way to deal with it was to bring the offenders to trial in an open manner. Lord Lytton who was a gentleman in many ways was wrong in the continued detention of the prisoners. Let not cowardly fear stand in the way of releasing the prisoners. The Government would earn the gratitude of the entire Indian community by releasing these men who had been under detention for 27 months.

Sir Alexander MUDDIMAN, the Home Member, then replied to the debate. His speech was of special significance in indicating the official mind on the subject of the release of Bengal detainees. He said:—

"Sir, I will not detain the House very long, at least, I trust, not at this late stage in the proceedings. This debate has lasted the whole of the long day. It has evoked a great deal of interest in all quarters of the House. It is only natural that it should do so. It is a matter in which I will, for the moment, endeavour to do what one of the speakers asked me to do, that is, put myself in the position of those speaking on the other side and I desire to make it quite clear that I realise that they feel strong in this matter. That is perfectly clear from the debate. It is perfectly clear from previous debates and it is also well-known to me. Apart from that, it is a matter, and must necessarily be a matter which, as I have told the House, the legislature will naturally press on the executive, namely, discontinuing the extraordinary measures unless they can justify their continuance. I make no complaint of the manner in which this House frequently returns to that point. I should think less of them if they did not do so. But as in all matters of this kind, it must be approached not in a spirit of antagonism, nor in a spirit of unhelpfulness, but in a desire to place a case before the Government which the Government can possibly deal with and which does not conflict with any of our primary duties. It has been said by one honourable gentleman that this was a matter that should not be made a question of party. In regard to administration of law and order, there is no party. The interests of the Government and the interests of the citizens ought to be one and I can assure this House that as the Home Member I have never discharged any of my duties with the slightest regard to party or community. You doubtless do think often that the Government are wrong-headed. You often think—you often say whether you really think it or not, for I doubt it—that we act from motives which we do not disclose. But I do beg the House to believe that as far as I am concerned and as far as the Government of India is concerned, there is no question of party or acting with any communal or political object. In our action in this matter our sole business is to deal a plain issue of law and order. I know the House dislikes the very mention of law and order when it comes from my lips though it comes very freely from the lips of those who sit opposite. Law and order does not mean that the Government is protecting itself. It means that the Government is protecting the bulk of its citizens.

Now I have heard a good deal in this debate about the growing cowardice of British officials and Indian officials. Sir, that is not so. I don't think that is the true opinion of this House. I have filled a position of some importance in this country for many years. I have had to discharge duties of some importance which have brought me into contact with forces of disorder. I have never in my life had a guard of any sort. I do not pretend to be a man of any courage, for I know I am not. It may be true that having for a long time lived in Bengal I am tainted with the supposed vices of that province. (Laughter). I ask the House to believe that there is nothing in these measures of ours that is being done to protect any supposed increasing timidity on the part of high officials. It is hard, I think it is very hard, that I should be told that that is the reason of our action. Sir, it is not a fear that police officials of both nationalities or officers of the Government may be shot; it is a stern fact. This is not a question of apprehension. They have been shot and shot frequently. That, Sir, disposes of the argument that these precautionary measures are the children of unreasonable apprehension.

Then, Sir, there is a further point that these outrages (unfortunately perhaps in the minds of some) do not affect merely a handful of Government officials. They affect a number of perfectly innocent men who have nothing whatever to do with the Government; men who were dacoited were not officials of the Government; men whose money is taken are not officials of the Government; men who are injured are not often officials of the Government. The unfortunate Mr. Day who was shot in the Park Street was not a servant of the Government. As far as I know he had no connection whatsoever with the Government. It is true many Government servants have suffered and died bravely in the discharge of their duties but they are not the sum total of victims of the outrages. It was said, 'you have all kinds of arrangements to protect the great land'. Sir, the hand of the assassin may render all precautions useless.

Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar: Even with the Ordinance?

Sir A. Muddiman: Yes, Sir, even with the Ordinance. I cannot guarantee myself or the honourable members opposite from the hand of the assassin. You have seen that their hand falls on many who are innocent.

Mr. T. Prakasam: Continued detention will make it worse.

Sir Muddiman: It may be so.

Mr. T. Prakasam: It is so.

Sir A. Muddiman: If by that my honourable friend means that the spirit of these men is so filled with animosity that their release will increase revolutionary crime, then, Sir, he is using rather a poor argument in support of his own case.

Mr. T. Prakasam: That is not the point.

Sir A. Muddiman: Now, Sir, my honourable friend opposite said the cause of law and order was as dear to him as it was to me. Sir, does he agree with the view of one of his back-benchers who said 'if it was in my power, I would stir up every young man in India to become a revolutionary conspirator and encourage revolutionary crime in India.' Is that the message of his party to me or not? (An honourable member: Surely not.) (Another honourable member: He was right in saying so.) That, Sir, I should like to have heard repudiated, because it would have made my task easier.

Now, I desire to deal with one issue that was raised—raised in a very moderate way by a gentleman who does not always speak so moderately—but on this occasion he referred to the sufferings of some of these misguided men as a result of their confinement. I may at once, on behalf of the Government, say that if he can justify any real case for release or if anybody else can justify any case for release or if we ourselves can find that any case for release has been made out on medical grounds that release will be made.

Pandit Motilal Nehru: I did not put my amendment on that ground.

Sir Alexander Muddiman: No, Sir. But I desire to make it plain that we have a certain sense of humanity. We do not desire to detain men whose health has been so seriously impaired that their powers of harm have gone.

Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar: Emasculate them before you release them.

Sir Alexander Muddiman: We have not as yet adopted that system. (Laughter). Sir, my hon. friend said that the tale that I have told the House is a thrice-told tale. Well, it is a thrice-told tale. You will remember the remark in Alice when "if you say it three times, it is right." Therefore, none the less it is, because it is thrice-told. My hon'ble friend Lala Lajpat Rai, in a very interesting speech, said that no arguments he could adduce would move me and that no arguments of mine would move him. For, to deal with his speech is useless for me to attempt to do so and I am sorry that this should be the case, for I should have endeavoured to address some remarks to him. Some other member said that preventive measures were unknown to Indian law. Well, Sir, it seemed to me when

I was a magistrate for some time that there were certain sections such as sections 107, 108, 109 and 110 which were of a preventive character and which may result in the incarceration of those who do not comply with their provisions. (An hon. member: Use them.) I was merely referring to the argument that there were preventive measures in our law.

Now, Sir, an argument was used that the Government does not do these things bonafide, that we do it because it pleases us to do so capriciously. There is some peculiar feeling that I sleep or my honourable colleagues sleep more comfortably because they know that other people are sleeping uncomfortably. That is not so, I assure the House that that is not the case. Put it on the lowest ground, these men are a source of great political annoyance. To me they are a very good stick to beat the Government with. Their case is brought before me frequently and they give me and my officers a great deal of trouble and so putting it on lowest grounds, we do not keep them in because we enjoy doing it. I want to make that point perfectly clear. We have not put those men in jail either for political reasons or for the sake of gratifying some perverse sense of delight in oppression which is perfectly foreign to me or to the Government and would be a very unsatisfactory form of amusement. Sir, I noticed with satisfaction that my honourable friend the Pandit expressed his intention of supporting the Government in any measures required for law and order other than the one before the House. If he will pardon me, I have heard him say this before on another occasion (A voice: Any reasonable measure) where difference will probably come, and amiable as this House is in many ways it has not always shown its readiness to support reasonable measures or at any rate measures which this side of the House thinks reasonable. (A voice: Which side?) The House generally is unwilling, as all legislatures are apt to be, to support strong measures.

Now, Sir, a portion of my speech did not attract as much attention as I thought it might have done. It is possible because I spoke at considerable length foreign to my natural tendencies. I did not perhaps make it as clear to the House as I thought I did. I said and I will repeat it and I would ask the House to listen carefully. I had read out His Excellency's statement when he first addressed this House dealing with this question of the release of Bengal detainees. I may emphasise it that there were two conditions which were mentioned in that statement. The first condition, I hold and I think the House generally will hold, is not fulfilled. As regards the second condition I made the following remarks. I said: 'As to the second condition which raises the question of individual release the matter must be decided in the last light of the record of the detainee and his present attitude. The Government are not demanding as is sometimes alleged any humiliating confessions from these detainees. They are more interested in the future than in the past. A declaration that a detainee would on release take no part in revolutionary activities would be an element to be taken into consideration by the Government. But this on the one hand would not amount to a confession that he had taken part in such activities in the past and on the other hand such a declaration could not and would not be accepted by the Government as a ground for release without an examination of the whole circumstances of the case and the past record of the detainee.' That, Sir, if I may say so, was rather an important portion in my speech which I thought the House should have taken more notice of. The only speaker who did refer to it was my honourable friend, Mr. Goswami. He referred to it as being something different from an offer or a statement which he understood, no doubt in his own judgment correctly, to have been made by His Excellency Lord Lytton at a meeting or Conference he held sometime before the session began. Well, Sir, when we were discussing the motion for adjournment the other day, this point was raised by a speaker who sits behind me and it was also raised by the honourable friend and I confess I was somewhat surprised at the statements that were made and accordingly communicated with the Government of Bengal and ascertained what had happened. The statement made by His Excellency Lord Lytton, I am assured, did not differ in terms from the statement I made to the House to-day. That there was undoubtedly some difference of opinion as to what was actually said seems clear, but I think it right to all parties concerned to say that the Government of India and the Government of Bengal are at one on this and although there may have been *bonafide* misconception, there is no difference in fact.

Mr. Goswami: Will the honourable the Home Member permit me to say just one word? I suppose human memory cannot always be relied upon but I think I took the precaution of getting His Excellency Lord Lytton to repeat this statement. I said, "I

ake it from Your Excellency etc." I thought I had made it quite clear that I understood him very clearly and very categorically. That is all I can say.

Sir Alexander Muddiman: I do not mean to challenge the accuracy of the honourable member's impression of what happened. That is not my point. It is quite evident that there was some genuine misapprehension of what His Excellency Lord Lytton said and I think it was right to clear it up at the earliest opportunity as, when the matter was mentioned in this House, I was not in a position to deal with it.

Mr. Jinnah: Do I understand the honourable member to say that this statement would not involve a confession of guilt?

Sir Alexander Muddiman: I read out the words very clearly and will read them out again because on this point there must be no ground for doubt whatever. What I said was a declaration that a detainee would on release take no part in revolutionary activities would be an element to be taken into consideration, but this on the one hand would not amount to a confession that he had taken part in such activities in the past and on the other hand such a declaration could not and would not be accepted by the Government as a ground for release without an examination of the whole circumstances of the case and the past record of the detainee. Now these words are carefully thought out words and I have read them out to the House on three occasions and hope the House will give due attention.

Now, Sir, let me develop the point I was about to make. It is said that these men are not revolutionaries and that they do not desire to commit violent acts. If that is the case, what I put before the House would seem to me to give them an opportunity at any rate of informing the Government if that is really their view. What view would the House take where a man says: "Yes, I am a revolutionary. You lock me up. I do not care in the least. I desire to overthrow your Government by every means in my power. If you let me out, I will use a revolver if I can get it to overthrow you." Does the House wish me to release a man who says that? (An honourable member: Put him on his trial). Does the House really desire me to release a man who says openly that if he is released he will do that?

Pundit Motilal Nehru: Put him on his trial and evidence from the admission of that man would secure a conviction right enough.

Sir A. Muddiman: No man will be so foolish as to make that statement in circumstances where I can use it in evidence against him. That is a point I desire to bring before the House and on that I think the Government is entitled to ask what the view of the House in a case of that kind is, namely, where a man says frankly, "I am a revolutionary; I desire to overthrow your Government. I desire to use any means in my power to do that. If I can get a revolver, I will shoot the first police officer I come across."

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: You have got Sections 108, 109 and 110 of the Criminal Procedure Code.

Sir Alexander Muddiman: I have put before the House a question of some importance. I will ask the House to think over that question very seriously. I have defended.

Mr. Jinnah: Is there any detainee, Sir, who has made that statement?

Mr. President: Does the honourable member wish to give way?

Sir Alexander Muddiman: No, Sir, when I was interrupted I was saying I have done my best to meet this resolution. It has been spoken to with ability in many parts of the House, but no speech has been of greater ability than that of Mr. Tonkinson whose intimate connection with the Home Department, I desire to acknowledge to-day, had been of the greatest value and to whom I tender my congratulations. Sir, I shall not detain the House from proceeding to its judgment by vote.

Pandit Nehru's Amendment Carried.

Division took place at 6 p.m. and Pandit Motilal's amendment was carried by 63 votes against 50 after which the House adjourned.

Official Bills.

The House re-assembled next on the 7TH FEBRUARY with an agenda of official legislative business. At the outset, on the motion of Mr. M. S. Aney, the Assembly selected a number of members to sit on the Select Committee to the Bill to amend the Indian Securities Act, 1920.

Sir Alexander Muddiman then introduced the Bill amending the Presidency Towns Insolvency Act and the Provincial Insolvency Act 1920.

Limitation Act Amendment.

The Home Member next moved for consideration of the Bill amending the Limitation Act 1908 (amendment of article 182). He said that the High Courts had expressed themselves in favour of the changes proposed.

Mr. Doraiswami Iyengar, in opposing the consideration of the motion, said he did so because he had failed in his honest attempt with the Home Member earlier in the day to have the Bill referred to the Select Committee. He said the Government were merely paying lip homage to the recommendations of the Civil Justice Committee. The difficulties of litigants were not so much in getting decrees but after getting them. Mr. Iyengar read the recommendation of the Committee in this particular and emphasised that the Government had taken advantage of a small conditional clause to bring before the Assembly this ha'penny ta'penny measure. Opinion was for deletion of article 182 and not for this very minor change which he feared would result in increasing frivolous applications by compelling the decree-holder to be court-burnt, looking after execution of applications. This was not the way to reduce law's delays but to increase them.

The Bill was then considered clause by clause. Discussion centred round the motion of Mr. Doraiswami Iyengar for the addition to clause five of the said article the following words: "or the date of any final decree passed in a suit directing refund of any amount realised by a decree-holder in execution of the decree."

Mr. S. R. Das agreed with the principal of the amendment suggested and promised to bring before the Council of State the necessary amendment. Thereupon Mr. Doraiswami Iyengar withdrew the amendment. The Bill with a verbal alteration suggested by Moulvi Mohamed Yakub was then passed.

The Currency Bill.

The Home Member then announced the Government's considered decision to move for consideration of the Currency Bill relating to the exchange ratio on March 7th.

The Home Member announced that "Government have given very careful consideration to the question of further procedure on the Currency Bill and have taken fully into account the views expressed by various speakers in the course of the debate on January 25th. In order that their position in this matter may be clear to the House, the Government desire to explain shortly the reason for the conclusion they have reached.

"As many hon'ble members are aware, the main features of the budget have to be settled by the Government by the middle of January each year and it is only under considerable pressure that the preparation of the detailed estimates and demands for grants can be completed in time for the introduction of the budget on February 28th. The decision of the Assembly to postpone consideration of the Currency Bill last August, therefore, made it impossible for the budget of 1927-28 to be prepared on the basis of any ratio other than 1s. 6d. The effect on the budget of a reduction of ratio to 1s. 4d. would, of course, be very considerable, but it does not in any way depend on the question whether final decision regarding ratio is taken before or after the introduction of the budget. Clearly the effect must be the same in either case and as stated by the Currency Commission in para

207 of their report, the effect though it is not decisive, cannot be ignored in considering what the ratio should be if the House is called upon to come to a decision on the ratio before the budget is introduced. The decision will take place in the absence of facts and figures which are known to the Government and are very material to the decision and should obviously be weighed by the House in coming to their conclusion, but cannot be disclosed without a premature disclosure of the contents of the budget. If, on the other hand, the budget is opened before the discussion takes place, the House will have full knowledge of bearing upon the finances of the country on the decision they are called on to take and will be able to come to their conclusions both on the budget and on the ratio with a full understanding of all relevant facts. No more and no less difficulty would be involved in readjusting the budget figures and the proposals to 1s. 4d. if a decision in favour of that ratio were taken after 28th February than if it were taken earlier. In view of these considerations the Government have decided to pull down the motion that the Currency Bill be taken into consideration on Monday the 7th March".

Before the Assembly adjourned till next day (for consideration of non-official resolutions), the Select Committee's report on the Steel Protection Bill was presented amidst cheers. The following is the text of the Report :—

Select Comm. Report on Steel Protection Bill.

The Majority Report.

"We have considered the Bill and have now the honour to submit this our report with the Bill as amended by us annexed thereto. At the outset of our proceedings, we considered six different methods of conferring protection on the steel industry enumerated in paragraph 94 of the report of the Indian Tariff Board regarding continuance of protection to the Indian steel industry. As a result of our discussions, a great majority of us were satisfied that only two methods were practicable in the present circumstances. First of these is that embodied in the Bill by which duties are imposed on steel of British manufacture against competition from the United Kingdom and higher duties on steel imported from other countries. The second is a system by which uniform duties would be imposed on steel imported from any source, these duties being based on the difference between fair selling prices for Indian steel and weighted average prices of imported steel. In order that the difference between the two methods might be clearly brought out, the Commerce Department of the Government of India supplied us with amendments which would be necessary in the Bill and its schedule, if it were decided to adopt weighted average system without increasing or diminishing the degree of protection given. The Department also supplied amendments embodying a modification of this system by which certain classes of steel would become subject to (a) uniform basic duties and (b) uniform additional duties and the Governor-General in Council would be empowered to modify the additional duties (but not the basic duties) whether by way of increase or of reduction. This modification of the weighted average system removes one of the objections to which it is open, viz., that it provides no means by which without legislation the amount of protection could be reduced if a substantial increase in prices had rendered it altogether excessive.

"We discussed at length the advantages i. e., (a) differential duties with a lower rate on steel of British manufacture and a higher rate on steel not of British manufacture and (b) weighted average system opened by the division of the duty on such class of steel affected into a basic and an additional duty. A majority of us are of opinion that the first of these alternatives which is the scheme adopted in the Bill is preferable and should be adopted. In arriving at this conclusion we have attached great weight to the principle embodied in the preamble to the Bill that a scheme of protection must have due regard to the well-being of the community. We are satisfied that the economic interest of India

will be better served by the system of differential rates of duty on British and non-British steel than by a system which subjects all steel to uniform rates of duty based on weighted average prices of imported steel. A weighted average system of duties must be unsuitable because change in the relative level of prices of British and continental steel would lead to change in proportions in which steel made in India is sold in competition with steel from either source. A more serious objection is that the price both of standard steel and of fabricated steel would be raised unnecessarily owing to the higher duty on British steel. As a result the cost of important public works involving the use of large quantities of steel would be increased. The manufacture of machinery in India would be rendered more difficult and industrial development of the country would be retarded. It has been urged that the weighted average system at any rate diminishes the burden imposed on users of steel. We do not consider that that claim is well founded. Of the classes of steel to which the Bill applies differential rates of duty, the most important is steel bars and in this case the difference between the duty on continental bars proposed in the Bill and the duty required under weighted average system is no more than Rs. 2 a ton. To that extent, price of steel bars would be higher under the differential system in Calcutta and in any other area where Indian steel can compete effectively with imported steel. But in areas which are nearer to other great ports of India than they are to Jamshedpur and where consequently Indian steel is at a disadvantage, it is possible for importers to raise the price of continental steel bars to a point a little below the price at which British steel bars could be imported under the weighted average system. This point is higher by Rs. 9 a ton than it is under the differential system. We believe that if the differential system is adopted the consumer of non-standard steel in any area in which Indian steel cannot effectively compete will not in fact pay a higher price than he would under the weighted average system but a lower one owing to the reduction on the British steel.

"We considered but were unable to accept a suggestion for securing the welfare of labour for the limitation of dividends and for preventing industrial concerns which enjoy the benefit of protection from passing out of Indian into foreign hands. We think that difficulties in the way of incorporating provisions of this kind in the Bill are insuperable.

"Having approved by a majority the principle of differentiation in certain classes of steel between steel of British manufacture and steel not of British manufacture, we proceeded to a consideration of the details of the Bill.

"Clause 2: We considered a suggestion that the Bill contained no provision for the consequences which might follow a substantial decrease in the price of British steel and we have amended Clause 2 (1) of the Bill in order to provide for this contingency. It is proposed by the amendment to insert in section 3 of the Indian Tariff Act 1894 a new sub-section empowering the Governor-General in Council to increase but not to reduce the duty chargeable on articles of British manufacture if changes in prices are likely to render ineffective the protection given to the Indian steel industry.

"Clause 3: We have made an amendment in this clause omitting words, as, according to the clause, before the amendment, it would be impossible for the Governor-General in Council without legislation to order a general enquiry into the condition of steel industry before the 1st of April 1933. We think this restriction is undesirable since circumstances might be such as to render an enquiry imperative at an earlier date.

"In the schedule we have made an amendment in item 62 in Part IV in Schedule II to the Indian Tariff Act 1924 as amended by the Bill. Under this item as it stood, certain kinds of steel bars which the Tariff Board considered should be subject only to a revenue duty, became subject to a protective duty. The effect of the amendment made is to exclude such bars from the scope of protective duty.

Minutes of Dissent.

Minutes of dissent signed to the report of the Select Committee on the Steel Protection Bill are two. The one is signed by Mr. Jayakar, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. Shunmukham Chetti and Mr. Amarnath Dutt, while the other is signed by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, Mr. M. N. Joshi and Mr. M. K. Acharya. The former minute says:—

"We regret we have not been able to agree with the scheme of protection as embodied in the Bill approved by our colleagues. Though certain amendments have been made to the Bill as originally introduced by the Government, yet the general scheme remains the same. The main scheme of the Bill is to differentiate between steel of British origin and non-British origin. The scheme has been criticised as a scheme of imperial preference, but we were assured that this is not really imperial preference but differentiation based upon differences in the quality of steel imported. Even though we might be prepared to

accept the assurance that imperial preference is not sought to be introduced through this Bill, yet the fact remains that the difference in duty which is sought to be imposed is not based merely on the quality of goods but on the basis of the country of origin. We think it very undesirable to accept any scheme of protective duties based upon the country of origin of commodities imported. The acceptance of such a principle in any form is not merely unsound but it may lead to complications in future.

"Though a greater proportion of continental steel that is imported into India does not conform to British standard specifications, it has not been denied that standard steel is manufactured in the continent also. By imposing a higher duty on all continental steel, irrespective of the fact whether it is standard steel or not, continental manufacture of standard steel is placed at a disadvantage in the Indian market as compared with the position of British manufacture. Such a discrimination, in our opinion, cannot be justified unless India is prepared deliberately to adopt a policy of British preference.

"Though we are assured that all steel manufactured in the United Kingdom conforms to British standard specification, yet it is not unlikely that the British manufacturer taking advantage of the assured protection given to him in the Indian market for a period of seven years may lower the standard of British steel imported into this country. This result can be brought about either by deliberately lowering the standard or by a greater use of semi-finished continental steel. Our apprehensions in this respect are confirmed by the remark of the Tariff Board in paragraph 104 of the report in which they observed, 'the present prices of imported British steel on which our proposals are based reflects, to a very large extent, economies rendered possible by the use of semi-finished continental material.' In any case there is a likelihood that rejections of British manufacture may be sent to India in larger quantities.

"These are some of our main objections against the scheme proposed by the Government and for these reasons, we regret we cannot agree to that scheme. After carefully considering the various alternative schemes suggested by the Tariff Board, we have to come to the conclusion that a uniform duty based on weighted average system with a basic duty which will not be altered for seven years would be the best in the circumstances. Under the scheme that we propose, there would be a basic duty calculated upon the present selling price of British standard steel together with an additional duty to protect Indian steel against continental steel which sells at a lower price. If prices of British or continental steel increases or decreases, the Governor-General in Council is given power to decrease or increase additional duty as the case may be. This modified scheme that we propose will meet the main objections urged against the average weighted system as proposed by the Tariff Board. Our scheme differs from that suggested by the Tariff Board in that we have proposed the levy of a basic and an additional duty in the place of one uniform duty suggested by them and the additional duty that we proposed would be levied upon all steel irrespective of the country of origin. By fixing a basic duty for a period of seven years, the steel industry is assured a minimum protection during this period and this would achieve the object of attracting fresh capital into the steel industry. Power to alter the additional duty which we propose to vest in the Governor-General in Council will be an effective safeguard against any excessive or ineffective protection.

"We are conscious of the fact that under our scheme, the price of British standard steel will be a little higher than the corresponding price under the Government Bill. Though this may be considered to be a defect inherent in the scheme that we propose, we may urge that the additional steel burden on the user of British steel is counter-balanced by the lower price of continental steel. None of the alternative schemes suggested by the Tariff Board can be said to be entirely flawless and, in our opinion, the scheme that we have proposed seems to be the best under the circumstances. We append herewith a draft of the Bill embodying the scheme suggested by us."

Mr. Mehta's Dissenting Minute.

The other written by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta is opposed to imperial preference as the other section of dissentients, but they point out that the overwhelming majority of people will refuse to countenance imperial preference in any shape or form not because of any hostility towards the British people but because of deep-seated conviction based on the painful experience of nearly two centuries that British imperialists and capitalists are at the bottom of all India's trouble. If the full results of the Board's proposals of differential duties which are most in the nature of speculations materialise, they will give to the industry in the first four years the least protection when it requires most. Moreover, it imposes an intolerable and wholly unnecessary burden of forty lakhs of rupees a year on the consumer of certain continental products in Burma, Eastern Bengal,

Assam, Madras Presidency, Central Provinces, etc., without conferring the least benefit on the Indian industry. Mr. Jamnadas says that the scheme evolved by his friends in the minute of dissent was untried and if it did not succeed, the responsibility would be placed on the shoulders of the Assembly. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and Mr. Acharya favour the imposition of protective duties and payment of bounties as the only method of protecting the industry without unduly taxing the taxpayer. After a calculation of different statistics, Mr. Jamnadas recommends that the present system of combined duties and bounties is the best.

Mr. Joshi agrees with this minute so far as it develops the system of duties and bounties combined, while Mr. Acharya agreed in entirety. They recommend that uniform bounties should represent the difference between a fair selling price and the higher scale of foreign prices. The bounty should be fixed from the amount recoverable from protective duties. Finally, Mr. Jamnadas recommends that the Bill should be referred to the Select Committee for the adoption of the above proposals.

The Tariff Board's Recommendations.

Early in January 1927 the Government of India in a communique published the report of the Tariff Board announcing that they propose to introduce in the Delhi Session of the Assembly a bill carrying out the main recommendations contained in the Report. The Board recommended that Protection granted to the Indian steel industry since 1924 to be continued in a modified form for seven years till March 1923. The report of the Board which conducted a statutory enquiry into the condition of the industry embodied proposals for the imposition of differential duties and abolition of the system of bounties. Protection given to the industry in India had substantially improved its position and the output of finished steel at the end of seven years would be 600,000 tons while the cost of manufacture is expected to be reduced especially after the recent and contemplated extensions and improvements in Jamshedpur works. But the prices of imported steel had fallen substantially and unless protection was continued it would not be possible to manufacture and sell Indian steel in competition with imported product.

The Board condemns the system of bounties under which the steel industry would have obtained from Indian revenues about 209 lakhs of rupees till the end of March 1927 as being less effective in preventing unfair competition. It does not suggest the adoption of uniform duties because under it manufacture calculated to discourage the British standard of steel which is more reliable than Continental steel would be clearly undesirable. It is regarded as probable that the prices of British steel in future would be fairly stable but the course of Continental prices cannot be foreseen as numerous factors like combines and unfair dumping aided by a depreciating exchange might come into play. Therefore the Board suggests the imposition of a basic duty on all steel imported from whatever country while additional duty is recommended on steel of non-British origin. The board reduces the present import duty on rolled steel as follows :—

In the case of rails from Rs. 14 per ton plus bounties to Rs. 13 basic duty and no additional duty.

Fishplates from Rs. 14 plus bounties to Rs. 6 minimum basic duty and no additional duty.

Structural sections from Rs. 30 per ton to Rs. 19 basic and 11 additional.

Bars from Rs. 40 per ton to Rs. 26 basic and 11 additional.

Galvanised sheets from Rs. 45 to Rs. 38 basic and no additional duty while the duty on plates is raised from Rs. 30 per ton to Rs. 20 basic and 16 additional and black sheets from Rs. 30 per ton to Rs. 35 basic and 24 additional.

As regards fabricated steel the Board recommends in place of a 25 per cent. *advalorem* duty a basic duty of 17 per cent., and an additional duty of Rs. 13 per ton. By the end of seven years the Board believed the industry should be able to meet the British competition without the assistance of any protective or revenue duty. If the Continental prices remain at their present level some measure of protection might still be required. The proposed basic duties should be in force unaltered for seven years when there must be another statutory enquiry but additional duties might be reduced or raised by the Government without reference to the Legislature during the period of protection if the prices of non-British steel justify the change. The proposed duties though they involve a distinct reduction in the existing duties should enable in the long run to reduce the prices of steel to a level lower than at any period since the war. At the same time the Board points out that the low level of duty on rails would be justifiable only if the Government arrange to purchase the whole of their requirements of rails in India so far as they can be produced in India.

While giving this warning the Board is constrained to warmly refute the allegations of the Tata Company that the Indian railways avoided the purchase of Indian material because these allegations were not substantiated by evidence. The Board has satisfied itself that differential duties are not impracticable from the administrative point of view and these are recommended as leading to an equitable distribution of burden over the different classes of consumers and based on purely economic grounds without regard to political considerations.

The Board after enquiring into the condition of the tin-plate industry similarly recommends for seven years a reduced protective duty from Rs. 85 to Rs. 48 per ton and it has ruled out the suggested discrimination of duty in favour of Wales since it is with the Welsh tin-plate that the Indian product has mainly to compete.

The Board's recommendations are all unanimous and the report is signed by Mr. Ginwala and Messrs. Matthai and A. E. Mathias, members.

Govt. Action on the Board's Recommendations.

On or about the 17th January the Government of India published a Bill providing for continuance of protection to the steel industry in British India and formally repealing the 1924 Act. This Bill gives effect to the main recommendations of the Tariff Board recently published after a statutory enquiry. The protection is by means of increased duties on imports and not by grant of bounties on production and it will have effect for seven years from the 1st April, 1927, to the 31st March, 1934. It is made clear, however, in the preamble and in clause 2 of the Bill that the limitation to seven years is applicable only to the rates of duty and not to policy of discriminating protection itself. The Bill provides for a statutory enquiry in 1923-24 in order to ascertain what amount of protection may still be necessary and the manner in which it would be conferred.

Following the Board's recommendations the Bill provides for the imposition of differential rates of duty on certain iron and steel articles, with a basic duty in case of articles of British manufacture and an additional duty in case of those of non-British origin. The Bill also gives effect to two recommendations of the Board made in earlier reports. Both are closely connected with continuance of protection to the steel industry. The first is removal of the duty on unwrought zinc. The main object of this change is to reduce the cost of manufacturing galvanized sheet and consequently the amount of protection it requires. The second proposal is reduction of duty on block tin from 15 per cent. *ad valorem* to Rs. 250 per ton, which has already been approved of by the Indian Legislature by resolutions passed in February, 1926. Both these changes, namely, removal of duty on unwrought zinc and reduction of duty on block tin, will not be subject to the seven years' limit.

The existing protective duties on wire and wire nails are continued, but the Government announced their intention of bringing before the Legislature in the Simla session proposals for a continuance or modification of these duties.

Adjournment Motion on Currency Bill.

Next day, the 8TH FEBRUARY, soon after the House re-assembled, the President announced that he had received an adjournment motion from Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar raising the question of putting off the Currency Bill till after the Railway Budget had been disposed of and the general budget had been presented. The President said that the decision was announced only the day before and it was *prima facie* in order, but he would like to hear objections.

The Home Member submitted that the chair should watch very jealously whether the business of the House should be allowed to be disturbed very frequently. The Government had a right to determine its own business and if it did not follow the wishes of the House, it would prejudice its own case with the House. He submitted that the matter was not urgent and was barred by rules as it would be anticipating the debate on the Bill.

Sir Purushottamdas said that the motion of adjournment had the strongest case ever made out and was a matter of urgent public importance, particularly as the Railway Budget was coming in the third week of this month and the ratio would make a difference of a crore in expenditure.

The President said that the chair was unwilling to accept an adjournment motion until a clear case had been made out. It did not lie in the mouth of the Government to say that the matter was not of urgent importance as he thought its importance and urgency had been admitted by the Government in considering this question at the meeting of the Executive Committee. He accordingly held the motion in order (applause from opposition benches) and fixed 4 p. m. for its discussion.

Amalgamation of Oriya Tracts.

Mr. Nilakanta DAS then moved for the taking of immediate steps for putting or publishing schemes of putting all Oriya-speaking tracts under one local administration.

Pandit Nilakantadas said that an amalgamated one administration would be conducive to the interests of the people. He gave a short history of the agitation to bring the Oriya-speaking people under one administration and also how Orissa came to be attached first to Bengal and then to Bihar. He recalled that under the Hindu Raj and also the Moghul Rule, the Oriyas' identity was recognised, but it was under the British Rule that their Zamindars were sold away for paltry sums to the people in Calcutta who were absentee landlords. If Assam with practically the same population and without a High Court and without a University could be constituted into a Province, why not the Oriyas have an exclusive province? However, as long as the Oriyas were not brought under one administration, he would keep an open mind on the question of the province they should be part of. He would prefer to be part of Bengal rather than wash the fields of Bihar. But even if Government in the last resort asked them to agree to all the Oriyas being put under Bihar, they would accept it, but with a hope in the future of trying their luck for an exclusive province for the Oriyas.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh wanted the issue to be clear and moved an amendment urging the amalgamation of the Oriyas with the present Orissa division of the Province of Bihar and Orissa and quoted from Messrs. Phillip Duff's report in support of his proposal. Orissa was backward and suffered from chronic starvation and would do well to remain with Bihar, but if the Oriyas wanted to go out of Bihar, the Biharis would bid them regretful but cordial farewell.

Mr. Ranga Aiyar's amendment urging the redistribution of the provinces on a linguistic basis was ruled out by the President as materially widening the scope of the original resolution. Mr. Ranga Aiyar quoted Mr. Lionel Curtis, the fore-runner of the Montford Reforms, that the aim should be the constitution of small provinces and all conditions laid down by Mr. Curtis were fulfilled by the Oriyas. They would not have a federal India on which Sir Frederick Whyte wrote at the request of the Government of India without a redistribution on linguistic basis.

In winding up the debate, Sir Alexander Muddiman said: If it was intended to group Oriya-speaking tracts into a separate province, then it required far greater enquiry and closer scrutiny than had been so far made. He was in great sympathy with Oriya-speaking tracts maintaining their own traditions and civilisation. With regard to the suggestion that Ganjam District should be transferred from Madras Province to Bihar and Orissa, this involved referring the matter to the Bihar Council not as to the desirability of the transfer, because it was to be decided by the Government of

India, but of the financial and administrative aspects of the question. He admitted that the present arrangements were not altogether satisfactory. Personally, he thought that if after financial investigation, it was found that the tracts could be conveniently transferred to Bihar and Orissa, he would transfer them. Concluding, he said that the efficiency and convenience of administration would be the determining factor and if it was found that these two factors did not come in the way, the matter would be sympathetically considered. He, therefore, asked the mover to withdraw the resolution which along with the amendment was withdrawn.

Administration of Santhal Perganas.

Kumar Ganganand Sinha then moved withdrawal of Santhal Perganas District in the Province of Bihar and Orissa from the operation of Section 52-A and 71 of the Government of India Act of 1919 and the amendment of the Schedule Districts Acts of 1874 so as to omit from it Santhal Parganas occurring in part 3 under the head "Scheduled Districts, Bengal, of the first schedule of the Act."

Mr. Ramnarayan Singh moved an amendment suggesting the exclusion of the Districts of Sambalpur and Santhal Parganas from the operation of Section 52-A and 71 of the Government of India Act. He drew attention to the fact that either the Governor-General or the Governor of the province had very little or knew very little of what was going on in these Districts. It was the Collector who was really a ruler and gave examples of what the speaker called petty tyrannies of local administration.

Mr. B. Das suggested an amendment to the above amendment urging the inclusion of the District of Angul and withdrawal of Section 71 of the Government of India Act. Messrs. Nilkantadas, Gaya Prasad Singh and Sidheswar Sinha spoke in turn up till four o'clock in support of the motion.

The Adjournment Motion on Currency Bill.

Mr. Srinivasa IYENGAR moved his adjournment motion at 4 p. m. Mr. Iyengar found no reason why the Finance Member did not keep to his promise. Last August the Government wanted to take the country by surprise and rush the Bill, but when the Assembly postponed it more currency experts than Sir Basil imagined sprang up. Sir Basil dropped the Bill as something hot. As the ratio would affect the expenditure in determining the supplementary estimates, the Government must come forward with the Currency Bill at once. The main purpose of the delay seemed to him to force the Assembly to accept the Finance Member's ratio. He, however, submitted that the ratio should be determined in the permanent interests of the country and that Budget considerations should not be brought in.

Mr. JAYAKAR supported the motion. He accused the Government of flagrant breach of the promise of August last. The Finance Member had told them that the members would have an opportunity of discussing the Bill in a calm and cool manner and on its merits.

Sir Basil Blackett:—Will the Hon'ble Member actually quote "me"?

Mr. Jayakar said this proposition was put forward by Mr. Rangachariar and practically endorsed by the Finance Member. A small bird whispered into his ear that Sir Basil wanted to follow the policy of divide and rule and place the members on the horns of a dilemma by setting up the

provinces favourably treated in respect of the remission of contribution against provinces not so treated.

Sir Basil BLACKETT was pleased that the motion passed through narrow meshes and was allowed by the chair as he was thereby enabled to dispel the prejudice. The Government were entitled to bring, in the interest of India, the exact bearing of the ratio on the budget figures. The policy of remission of provincial contributions was laid down by the House and whatever the Government would do in this matter, it would not be influenced by what the House did to-day. He heard the charge of trickery and he asked what all this excitement meant, whether it foretold that the House was being locked into expressing a final decision in blissful ignorance of some important consequences that the advocates of 1s. 4d. were so desperately afraid of discussing the ratio in the light of relevant facts and figures. (Official cheers). He admitted the need for early discussion but there would be no serious damage done in the interval to the country by justifying the adjournment motion. It was not challenged that the adoption of 1s. 4d. would have disastrous consequences on the budget. (Voice : No. no).

Sir Purshothamdas THAKURDAS said : Ever since the 25th ultimo when the House came to know that the Finance Member wanted to take advantage of something in the budget, the House did not want that the artificial support to that ratio should be made available to the Finance Member. (Sir Basil Blackett and Official Members : "Why?")

Sir Purshothamdas Thakurdas : "Because the ratio is not to be for one budget but for 50 budgets. (Applause). Are you prepared to guarantee that under 1s. 6d. there will be no more deficits after you leave India or are you anxious to balance the budget in your period of office irrespective of the deluge that may follow when you have left? What the country wants is a correct ratio. (Applause). I say the Finance Member having wasted 16 million of gold resources of India, he (Finance Member) is afraid of coming before the Assembly without an extra present, however, short and temporary it may be." Was it not a fact that never in the history of the Indian legislature had any other bill been allowed to intervene till the House had discussed and disposed of the Finance Bill? By putting the bill on the 7th March the Government was stampeding the Assembly.

The Finance Member : "No, Sir,"

Sir Purshothamdas : What is the good of saying "No.". That is what you are doing. Sir Purshothamdas further asked whether a commercial budget like railways could be treated properly when the ratio would make a difference of a crore and a half in the railway revenue and capital expenditure.

Mr. Jamnadas MEHTA said that the Government was blowing hot and cold in the same breath. In August last Sir Basil wanted the Bill to be considered "now and here". To-day he said, "there is no harm in considering the Bill after a month." This was an insult to the intelligence of the Assembly. If you regard the Bill as a matter of permanent importance, then you should allow us to discuss it now.

Sir Basil Blackett :—Hear, hear.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta : You say "hear, hear," but all the same you are deaf. (Laughter.) You want us to settle the ratio question in the

light of the figures of a single budget. This is an unnatural method of deciding the ratio problem.

Mr. Srinivasa IYENGAR, replying, said he was thoroughly unconvinced by the arguments of the Finance Member. The plea of budget figures was unreal for, irrespective of the budget, the Government had accepted 1s. 6d. and once the Government pronounced its decision it never changed it even if it knew it was wrong. (Laughter). The Home Member's statement promising consideration was ambiguous.

The Home Member: If the Hon'ble Member suggests that when I made that statement I had made up my mind, he is saying what is not true.

Mr. Srinivas Iyenger accepted the contradiction. He challenged the Government's right to determine the course of business altogether independently of the wishes of the House.

Sir Basil Blackett was glad to hear on the authority of the Congress President that his Party would vote on the ratio on its merits and that the press announcements that the Party had already decided to vote for 1s. 4d. on political grounds was untrue. The Finance Member admitted that the House must vote on the permanent ratio, but its effect on the budget could not be slurred over and a clear idea of its effect on the next budget and succeeding budgets could not be had till the budget was presented.

At 5-30 division was called and the motion was carried by 52 against 45 votes amidst loud cheers from non-official benches. The House then adjourned.

Next-day, the 9TH FEBRUARY, the Assembly devoted its sitting to vote 23 supplementary demands for grants. References were made during the discussion to the difficulty caused by the ratio controversy and there was an interesting debate on a token cut raising the question of aviation.

Demands for Excess Grant.

Sir Basil Blackett first moved the demand for the excess grant of over Rs. 14 lakhs under Posts and Telegraphs for the year 1924-25. He did not think it desirable to go into technical details and explain to the House the reason for bringing forward this demand. The position was fully examined by the Public Accounts Committee.

After a short discussion demands for excess grants for 1924-1925 charged to revenue under the heads Posts and Telegraphs, Survey of India, Archaeology, Education, Civil Veterinary Services, Census, Joint Stock Companies, Superannuation Allowances and Pension Refunds were all agreed to. The Congress members cried "No" on all these demands, but did not press their opposition to a division.

The House then proceeded to vote supplementary demands for grants.

Aviation Expenditure.

About eight supplementary grants were voted. When a supplementary demand for Rs. 9,96,000, in respect of aviation for the year ending 31st March 1927 was put, Pandit H. N. Kunzru moved its reduction by Rs. 100 to elicit certain information from the Government. Firstly, he asked whether civil aviation in India was to be developed through private enterprise or by the Government as was being done in the case of railways, telephones and telegraphs; secondly, whether the Government proposed to put a clause in the agreement which they would come to with a private company which

would carry on civil aviation that after a certain period it would be taken over by the Government; and thirdly, whether the Government would accept the principle of giving employment to Indians in air service. These matters were not clear in the memorandum which was supplied to him. He was anxious to see that this demand which involved a question of policy should be thoroughly discussed by the Assembly. He, therefore, suggested that this demand should be brought up along with the budget.

Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas as a member of the Standing Finance Committee that recommended the matter being put before the Assembly urged the postponement of the debate on this demand, firstly, because the issues involved were very serious, and secondly, some members were not in possession of the memorandum and they must weigh all facts fully because expenditure would in future very likely go up to Rs. 25 to Rs. 30 lakhs.

Mr. Chetti asked whether discussion could be conducted without the House being supplied with a memorandum.

The President said this was not a point of order. The remedy lay in the members' hands by postponing discussion.

Sir B. N. Mitra assured he had not the slightest objection to adjournment and could, if the House wished, reply to the points raised by Pt. Kunzru. The discussion was, thereupon, adjourned unanimously and the House agreed to all the remaining demands for grants. Only in respect of stationary, Mr. Jamnadas wanted to criticise the Calcutta Printing branch for not supplying books but the President ruled it out of order. The House then adjourned.

Administration of Santhal Parganas.

On the 10TH FEBRUARY, the House reassembling, discussion was resumed on Kumar Ganganand Sinha's resolution urging the withdrawal of Santhal Parganas Districts in Bihar and Orissa from the operation of sections 52(a) and 71 of the Government of India Act 1919.

Sir Alexander Muddiman said that under section 52(a) sub-section 2 of the Government of India Act, powers of the Legislature were limited with regard to putting into effect any law. He wanted a ruling from the Chair whether the Assembly could discuss the amendment of Mr. B. Dass which wanted exclusion from the operation of Section 52 of the Act and not 71 thereof.

The President ruled that the Assembly could discuss the amendment which was perfectly in order.

The Home Member referred to Santhal Parganas and paid a handsome tribute to the services of Augustus Cleveland who at the age of 29 turned the dangerous border into a district with peace and prosperity as was described on his memorial. Cleveland was one who, without bloodshed or terror of authority, employed only means of conciliation and conquered the entire population of Santhal Parganas and brought them to appreciate the arts of civilised life. After the death of Cleveland, the administration there was conducted much on the lines laid down by him. What struck one most was how greatly the administration in this part depended on particular officers stationed there.

The Home Member, continuing, said that the Santhals have very strong indigenous system of village organisation and headmen were still powerful. High middle class Hindus were only 15 per cent of the population, the rest

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being low class Hindus. While Santhals were quite happy, it seemed to him that this resolution has been brought up in the interest of emigrants who would or could not get lands in these Parganas as they did in other administered districts. Sir Alexander Muddiman added that the fact was historically proved that whenever it was attempted to introduce ordinary law, there was unrest among Santhals. It was so in 1855 and in 1871 and there would be unrest again to-morrow if they affected the landlord of the Parganas to the detriment of original inhabitants.

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, supporting the motion, expressed his surprise that even after three quarters of a century of British rule, the people were held in Arcadian simplicity. If it was a backward tract, then it was monstrous to suggest after the lapse of so many decades that people should continue to remain what they were. To imagine that by bringing any area under the regulation, disturbances would arise was a very sad commentary on the system of British rule. Did the British Government want to keep these richly endowed tracts deliberately as backward tracts, in order to show that India was a land of different levels? "Egregious failure" would be writ large on the forehead of the existing system by imperial posterity.

Dr. Moonji, supporting the motion, explained the defects in criminal law and asked whether these laws contributed to the good of the people and what harm there would be if they were changed on the lines of the law in the rest of India. Much had been said of the administration by good officers. If the whole of India had been governed by good officers like, for instance, Sir Alexander Muddiman who was a very good man (loud laughter), there would perhaps have been no need for the Assembly and Councils. The people of Bengal have been so much accustomed to terrorism that they would not in the least mind terrorism for Santhalese if there was introduced in their administration.

Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas said the days of securing peaceful, permanent domination of British rule were past and the ideal of officers of Government should be to progress towards making self-respected and contended citizens. The Home Member's speech was a confession of failure of the British Government. He would ask whether the policy of keeping out Indians from Santhals was the same policy that was being adopted against Europeans. He told Mr. Shannarayan Singh that he would rather not develop coal mines than deprive the Santhalese of the chance of progress for that reason. It was the clear duty of the House to vote for the resolution.

Mr. Donovan was cheered as he rose to intervene. He said that personal experience of the Parganas was on the official benches. He for one knew the people in the western districts of Bengal Presidency during the last twelve years. They were a hard-working, sturdy race doing harvesting for zamindars and landlords in Bengal districts but the Santhalese had never been able to hold themselves against these people. The mover of the resolution, it appeared, wanted reform in administration not so much for the Santhalese but for another race of pleaders; for, who did not discern the anguish in his mind and in his face when Mr. Gangananda Sinha deplored the paucity of pleaders?

Mr. Gangananda Sinha: What I said was that it was because of the defects in the laws that the people were not obtaining justice.

Mr. Donovan: What is the good of having pleaders or engaging pleaders when the average annual produce per head was nine maunds?

Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar: What is the good of the Anglo-Indian Nawab?

Mr. Amarnath Dutt: Save him from the spleen being ruptured.

Mr. Rangaswami: What good is justice to the poor man?

Mr. Donovan: Only the man who could engage a pleader could get justice as against a man who could not.

Mr. Rangaswami: Hardly a compliment to you, gentlemen.

Mr. Donovan: In my view there should be more special laws.

Mr. Rangaswami: Martial Law and no damned nonsense.

Mr. Donovan: The people in Santhal Parganas are guileless innocents under the mercies of money-lenders. The only way you can help the Santhalese is by Co-operative Credit Society movement. The mover will have an opportunity to show his practical sympathy for Santhalese on the 7th March when the Currency Bill comes up.

Dewan Chamanlal said as he heard Mr. Donovan, he felt tempted to collect all handkerchiefs on Swarajist benches and run to wash the tears flowing on his cheeks from the feeling for the Santhalese. (Laughter). A pleader could enter the Parganas even now to argue cases of value of over Rs. 1,000.

Mr. Donovan: How many of the Santhalese possess Rs. 1,000?

Mr. Chamanlal: If they don't, it is because of your damnable system of administration. As for the system of slavery which you complain exists there, what have you been doing all these years of paternal Government? Mr. Chamanlal next quoted a case where the Magistrate remarked that the son who inherited father's property should also be punished for the offence committed by the father.

Lala Lajpat Rai did not mind Mr. Donovan's speech, but was surprised to hear arguments from a seasoned statesman like the Home Member. If the British system of administration could not be extended to Santhals, then the British could clear out of the Parganas bag and baggage and leave those people to their own system of Government.

The Lala asked why one policy was applied to Indians taking lands in Parganas while tracts were cleared for plantation and other purposes when the European wanted them, and the native of the land was turned out? (Hear, hear.) If the Home Member believed in his arguments, why did he not extend to the frontier Council Government? People of the frontier were also backward, brave, simple and dreaded money-lenders, but in this case it was imperial purpose that was to be served. Indeed, the official benches, arguments appeared to him nonsensical. If the Santhalese had not the right of occupancy, then the remedy was change of law in Bengal but not keeping the Santhalese backward. The arguments used were those that appealed to all despots.

Mr. Joshi said that he was neither a lawyer nor a money-lender. Therefore his desire for the Santhalese being given civilised form of Government was not influenced by any professional considerations. It was said that the Santhalese were kept under special regulations because the majority of them were uneducated, that it was intended to keep them away from the clutches of money-lenders, that outsiders would dispossess them of their land and that they were addicted to the use of liquor. He asked whether

the Government had taken any steps to remedy any of these state of affairs. Why did not the Government educate them, bring special laws to eradicate the drink evil or pass laws to save the people from money-lenders and stop encroachments on their land? What was the good of using these arguments when the object was suppression? Under the present circumstances, it was only fair that the Santhalese be given the ordinary form of Government.

Mr. ANEY pleaded for the inclusion of Sambalpur under civilised laws. He could not find any justification for the exclusion of this district when Mandla which stood on a par with Sambalpur was included in the C. P.

Kumar Ganganand SINHA, replying to the debate, quoted from the speech of the Hindu Minister, Bihar and Orissa Government, who said that the peculiarity of the position lay in that the law applied not to men but to land. The unanimous feeling in Bihar could be judged from the fact that the entire non-official element of the Bihar Council including the ministers solidly had voted for the proposition he had advocated.

The House then divided and by 50 to 40 votes passed the resolution as amended by Mr. B. Das for bringing about the withdrawal of special laws from Chota Nagpur Division, Districts of Angul, Sambalpur and Santal Parganas.

Enquiry into Indian Banking.

Mr. S. N. HAJI next moved for a commission consisting of a majority of Indian members with an Indian chairman to examine the position of Banking institutions, facilities and conditions in India and make recommendations for their improvement and expansion with particular reference to provision in adequate appropriate form of capital or finance necessary for the development of industries and agriculture in India. Mr. Haji, at the outset, explained that his resolution was more or less in identical terms with that passed by the Indian Industrial and Commercial Congress in Christmas last at Calcutta. His idea was not to restrict the scope of the Commission to industrial and commercial spheres only. He was prepared to include co-operative bank as well. Want of communication between capital and industries of the country had been so remarkable that it was drawn attention to at almost every Industrial Conference. Resolutions moved by Sir B. N. Mitra in 1919 in the Imperial Council and Prof. Kale in 1923 in the Council of State were practically agreed to by the Government, but no committee was appointed. The matter was, however, raised by the External Capital Committee which had now strongly pleaded for an all-India survey into the banking conditions after ascertaining the opinions of the local Government and publicists. These opinions having been received and published a few days ago, now was the time for instituting an inquiry. If further proof was needed for this enquiry, there was the report of Hilton Young Commission which had said that recommendation regarding Reserve Bank would be fruitful and the super-structure of the scheme lasting only if there was proper foundation laid for banking throughout India. But what was the position? India could boast of only 315 banks, while Australia had 2,000, Canada 4,000, Japan 6,000 and United Kingdom 9,000 and the United States 35,000. The number of exchange banks in India had increased during the last ten years from 11 to 18 dealing now with 71 crores of rupees while joint stock companies handled deposits of only 52 crores. Moreover, there was hardly any industrial bank worth the name. The indigenous bankers had been ignored by the Government and the indigenous banker was the one banking asset in this

country, to quote the language of the External Capital Committee. Some scheme should be devised to co-ordinate the activities of indigenous bankers.

Concluding, Mr. Haji reiterated the language of the resolution for a Commission consisting of an Indian majority with an Indian chairman in order that the out-look of the commission might be national, although the Government could appoint experts from England or any other country to help them.

Mr. V. K. A. IYENGAR, an official of the Finance department, who was the Joint Secretary to the Currency Commission, quoted from the opinion of an expert witness before the Committee, that a Central bank was the best means of establishing a money market and without it a money market could not be properly developed. This was his reply to those who wanted banking facilities to precede the Reserve Bank. The American crisis of 1908 in this respect was an eye-opener. When he was gazing from the corridors of the train at the lovely fields of France, the President of the Commission, on being asked what he was thinking of, replied that if India would have what his Commission was giving them, their labours would be a better land to live in. The Reserve Bank Bill introduced recently was the fight of the Commission. This bank would get into touch with banking and co-ordinate policy in regard to control. The Government of India were also collecting statistics of various indigenous banks in India. The Imperial Bank had had to be given inducement to continue banking facilities. It would like to know where it stood in relation to the Reserve Bank and the Indian tax-payer. The Government had already taken the best course in the interest of India by moving for the establishment of the Reserve Bank which would help to develop Indian banking facilities. The resolution of the mover was thus, to borrow Sir Purshothamdas's phrase, suggesting a most unnatural course.

Mr. Vidyasagar PANDYA wanted not a packed commission like the Hilton Young Commission which had to be boycotted by Southern India—a commission which was concerned more with how Europe would be benefitted. He wanted first of all that the Government should change its heart in the matter of appointing commissions because invariably these have been very unsatisfactory. Concluding Mr. Pandya bitterly complained against the Madras Government in giving reply to the request of the Indian Bank for being included among the list of approved banks for investment of funds by local bodies.

Sir Basil BLACKETT admitted the importance of the subject of banking, but there was already the Agricultural Commission covering a portion of the ground of survey. It was impossible for the Government to create banking habit in the people but it was growing and if the habit could grow further then the Government could hope to some extent in improving banking facilities: but the Government of India during the last few years had not been idle in the matter. They had given an immense fillip by war loans to increase the habit of investment and after the war there had been loans raised which were subscribed by the people, all for productive purposes such as railways and irrigation. Moreover, the Government had increased the popularity of Postal Savings banks and cash certificates with the result that there had been a quiet increase in banking habit among the people. The reserve bank would complete the chain of connection between

local bankers and the apex bank. If anything could be done in the way of giving additional liquidity to the resources of these bankers and increasing through them the habit of depositing, then very considerable advance might be made.

On the question of banking education the proposal for an Indian institute of bankers which had been before the country for two years was very nearly an accomplished fact. The British Institute of Bankers had been giving advice and assistance in the matter. The Government were following the recommendation of the External Capital Committee in the matter of changes in the Negotiable Instruments Act. He agreed with the mover that there must be an enquiry but the question was whether it should be by experts or by a small expert committee or by non-experts. It was too early at this moment to appoint an enquiry committee for the Agricultural Commission was already engaged in the investigation of facilities for agricultural banking and such like matters. It was hoped that the Reserve Bank would, through Co-operative Banks, use its influence for advancing agriculturists.

Sir Basil Blackett, concluding, defined the Government's position by remarking that when the Reserve Bank had been brought into existence and the Linlithgow report was available, the Government would establish a searching enquiry into the banking facilities of India and the best means of improving them. He rather doubted whether the House would like to commit itself to the demand for a Royal Commission at this particular moment.

Sir Purshothamdas THAKURDAS congratulated Mr. Iyengar on his maiden speech but remarked that if Sir Basil charged Mr. Pandya of advertising his Indian Bank, Mr. Iyengar had given a little publicity to what was near to the heart of the Finance Member (Laughter). Mr. Iyengar had innocently misquoted the Governor's strong evidence about the development of money market. The reference was for creating a bill market for the Reserve Bank. He wished the Government had done something to bring India into line with other countries. The present banking facilities did not touch the fringe of the messes of India who were served by great banking communities of Marwaris of Rajputana, Shikaris of Sind and Chetties of South India. He regretted Dr. Hyder's wish to see these indigenous bankers diminish. Rather would the speaker advocate that indigenous banking be recognised and healthy check provided over it by giving these bankers facilities so that they charged 7 per cent. The Finance Member need not wait for either the report of the Linlithgow Commission or the Reserve Bank Scheme to initiate enquiry for this purpose.

Further discussion was then adjourned and the House rose.

The Steel Protection Bill.

On the 14TH FEBRUARY Sir Charles INNES formally moved the consideration of the Steel Bill as amended by the Select Committee. He had kept his promise of letting the Select Committee discuss the whole Bill in its broadest aspect.

The Commerce Member repeated the assurance on the floor of the House which he had given to Mr. Jinnah in the Select Committee regarding the points mentioned in Mr. Jinnah's minute attached to the report regarding wagons and heavy rails.

Mr. Jamnadas MEHTA moved recommitment of the Bill to a Select Committee. He said that the majority report of the Select Committee was really a minority report, (Voice : Question) because the speaker was held up at the Railway Standing Finance Committee. The Select Committee had failed to take notice of the emphatic opinion of this house against imperial preference. It was true that there was imperial preference all round. Occupants of the benches opposite would not be there but for this preference (laughter) and India was being used as a tool to enslave all countries of the world. This preference was without the consent of the legislature. They could not willingly be a party to this preference. The Tariff Board's proposal, he maintained, was not a sound economic proposition nor did it give adequate protection to the industry. The recommendation, moreover, according to his reading of the report, was based on most speculative plans and would for the first four years be a precarious one. The Tata Company would not be a paying proposition. This policy of just keeping above water was against the policy of generous handling which would bring about internal competition.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta's third and conclusive objection was that the Tariff Board had gone outside its scope in suggesting duty on continental steel which two-thirds of India used and which Tatas did not at all compete with. Thus without the Tatas benefitting by a rupee users of continental steel would pay forty lakhs of extra cost merely to benefit British steel. The Bill was, therefore, suspicious enough to be sent back to the Select Committee. He advocated the adoption of a scheme of basic duty and bounty which would equally be effective but cheaper and less burdensome. They would under his proposal save the consumer 40 lakhs of rupees by paying 25 lakhs in respect of bounties. This principle of supplementary bounties was proposed deliberately by the Tariff Board themselves. Foreign import of steel was seven lakhs of tons a year, the Tata's produce being five lakhs of tons a year. The Government would get 65 lakhs extra-revenue from imported steel out of which 24 lakhs bounties could be paid easily. On the other hand, merely to benefit British steel and raise additional revenue, the Government would impose 40 lakhs burden on the consumer and also pocket 65 lakhs return from the proposed duty. Why increase by 105 lakhs the Government revenue when production to the Tatas could be more cheaply given by the system of bounty. He read telegrams and resolutions from some parts of the country and from independent sources contesting the Tariff Board's contention against the reliability of continental steel and affirming that exclusion of continental steel would adversely affect the consumer and petty trade and particularly referred to the opinion of Mr. Dogrej that continental steel was reliable and cheaper.

Mr. Shanmukham CHETTI acknowledged the help of the Commerce Member in supplying material facts and figures. He said the policy hitherto pursued had been justified by results. No less than 200 lakhs had been paid in the form of bounty alone. Time had come to take a comprehensive review of the situation. He maintained that all the six alternatives discussed by the Tariff Board assured adequate protection and the difference lay only in the incidence of burden proposed by various schemes. If the Board's scheme was not Imperial preference, why did the Board go out of its way to rebut it. His knowledge of feeling expressed at the Empire Parliamentary Conference in Australia convinced him that the fiscal policy

of neither Australia nor any other dominion was based on Empire. The difference between his scheme and the Government's was that while the former would protect Indian steel against all foreign competitors, the latter gave protection also to British steel against continental steel. It was no use trying to tell the House that Imperial preference was not proposed as it had been deliberately provided that under no circumstances for the next seven years was duty on British steel to be greater than the duty imposed on continental steel. Supposing the position reversed and the continental steel became costly, then this would leave no alternative to cover that development. This was definitely British preference policy. Mr. Chetti finally declared that though he had held that the policy of weighted average proposed by the minority was the best, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta had made out a splendid case for reconsideration by the Select Committee. He had no doubt that the steel industry would develop into a great national asset.

Mr. Arthur MOORE supported the motion for recommitment of the Bill to a Steel Committee. He regarded the Tatas as an insurance against war and must be protected. It was significant that in South Africa the Steel Bill was in charge of the Defence Minister. They wanted to protect but also wanted to know the cost of protection. He was surprised that every time the Tariff Board reported it recommended a new scheme. In 1924, they proposed a system of weighted average and in 1925 a bounty scheme. The speaker favoured keeping on to the bounty scheme or going back to 1924 system of weighted average. He was surprised that the Tariff Board should have argued that considerations of public safety required the exclusion of soft steel. This was the business of engineers and customers and not of the Tariff Board or of the Government. Such arguments should not be used in a scientific examination of the subject. If the Tariff Board consisting of Indian personnel had recommended imperial preference, he would have welcomed it: but they were told that it was a question of cold economics. Had any consideration been paid to the growing stability of the mark and the franc and other continental currencies? When the customs authority imposed duty on the basis of the country of origin, it was preference, not protection. (Hear; hear). "We cannot surreptitiously do this. I am convinced that India and Great Britain, at any rate India and Lancashire, can ultimately come to an agreement against unfair foreign competition. For the sake of this puny and equivocal proposal, let us not interfere with that prospect. I would ask the Government to be mindful of the future and think of the issue before us to-day in that light."

Mr. G. D. BIRLA congratulated Sir Charles Innes in being able to capture the leader of the Independent Party in this matter. England also manufactured non-standard steel and yet that product, because it was British, was recommended for a lower duty. On continental non-standard steel, the consumer was compelled to pay a larger price. Thus, even on economic grounds, the Bill was very unsatisfactory. Semi-finished continental articles had already to be used by Britishers and Sir Charles Innes, in a note supplied to the Select Committee, had admitted the danger and that rejections had found an outlet in preferential markets of the United Kingdom. By making India one of such markets, they would make Britishers dump.

Sir Charles INNES was applauded by official benches as he rose to reply. He said that the issue really was whether the Bill should be sent back

to a Select Committee. Mr. Chetti's minute was temperate, but that of Mr. Jamnadas' exuberant. The reason was that the latter was not present at the Committee's meeting. Both Mr. Chetti and Mr. Birla were not enthusiastic about Mr. Jamnadas's proposal. When Mr. Chetti's amendment came before the House, they could discuss it on merits in the light of criterion laid down by the House that a scheme of protection should be consistent with the well-being of India. Touching Mr. Jamnadas's arguments, the Commerce Member admitted that the Board's scheme was speculative; but it had to be so in view of the fact that it had to take a long seven years' view of the situation so that fresh capital may be attracted into the industry. The Tariff Board was a highly expert body and the estimates produced by its eight months' enquiry were the best that could be had and Mr. Jamnadas, even though he calls them speculative, had used them. As for the precarious position of the Tatas, the Board had made a greater examination than Mr. Jamnadas.

Proceeding, Sir Charles Innes explained that when bounty was given to the Tatas for two years, it was to save that company. It was given to only one company now. However, they were trying to work out not for two years, but for seven years and therefore bounties would be an unknown liability while the source of income to pay for bounty would certainly go on drying up. Secondly, there would be definite discouragement to fresh capital coming into the industry under the scheme of bounties. Then again Mr. Jamnadas proposed excessive protection of five rupees per ton while, under the Tariff Board's scheme, the Tatas could vary their production according to the requirements of the market.

Concluding, Sir Charles Innes put it to the House whether it was not impossible for fourteen to fifteen amateurs now to sit down and try to work out details of the bounty scheme. They would have to refer the matter back to the Tariff Board who would raise numerous objections and if the Government proceeded with Mr. Jamnadas's scheme it would have no expert authority behind it. Then again, the state of business was congested and there would be confusion if they were found on the 31st March to be without legislation to follow that already on the Statute Book. "We have as the House is aware done our best to make effective the policy of protection of this industry. I would urge the House to be most careful to voting for a proposal which gravely imperils the future of the industry."

Further discussion was then adjourned till Wednesday the 16th February.

Indian Registration Act Amendment.

Next-day, the 15TH FEBRUARY, the House met to transact non-official business. After questions Mr. C. Duraiswami Iyengar moved that the Bill further to amend the Indian Registration Act 1908 be referred to a Select Committee with instructions to report on or before the 1st March 1927.

Mr. Dunnett pointed out certain legal and administrative difficulties which will arise if the principle of the Bill was accepted.

Sir Hari Singh Gour moved the circulation of the Bill to elicit opinion to which the House agreed.

Indian Succession Act Amendment.

Maulvi Mahomed Yakub next moved that the Indian Succession Act Amendment Bill be referred to a Select Committee. The object of the

Bill is to provide whether certificate can be applied for or granted in respect portion of a debt. It is intended to give effect to the Calcutta High Court's view.

Sir Alexander Muddiman, in moving for circulation of the Bill to elicit opinion, said this was not an urgent matter. There were conflicting decisions which must be given further time for consideration by the public.

Mr. Yaqub agreed to the circulation which was agreed by the House.

Societies Registration Act.

Mr. Kelkar moved for the second reading of the Bill amending the Societies Registration Act with a view to include political bodies and associations.

Mr. Kelkar paid a compliment to the usefulness of the Act and instanced its narrow operation by pointing out that the Servants of India Society was refused registration not in one but in two provinces. If Mr. Gokhale had started a society of domestic servants and training for governesses, the society would have been admissible for registration, but because Gokhale wanted the society to train a future governor (laughter) it could not be registered.

Dr. Gour, while agreeing with the object of the Bill, found some technical flaw caused by the ambiguity of the expression "public utility" and moved for a Select Committee.

The Home Member assured he was very anxious for dissemination of political education and desired to help the societies to do that. The object of the Bill, however, he thought, was to help missionary bodies like the Servants of India and others to have a corporate existence to hold property and have other advantages of incorporation. This, he thought, could be secured even now under the Indian Companies Act 1913. Had this been tried? he asked.

Pandit Hirdaynath Kunzru said they had not registered the Servants of India Society under the Companies Act, but it was registered under the Charitable Societies Act. The Home Member agreed to the principle of the Bill. Mr. Kelkar expressed his inability to dispel Dr. Gour's dense ignorance. No self-respecting political body would get itself registered under the Companies Act.

The Home Member, replying, said that he was surprised that any slur should be held to attach to registration under the Companies Act. The European Association and the Religious Catholic Association of South India were, for instance, registered under the Companies Act and they were respectable bodies. Mr. Kelkar's speech had only confirmed his view that instead of looking to the antiquated Societies Registration Act, the better alternative was to register under the Companies Act. He would not, however, oppose the Bill but if he was told by legal advisers that the provisions of the Bill were unnecessary he would take up a different attitude in the revising chamber.

Dr. Gour's motion for a Select Committee was defeated and the motion for second reading was agreed to. When clause 2 was put to vote, Mr. Srinivass Iyengar expressed his opinion that political associations and societies could not be registered under the Companies Act, that they would prefer a compendious provision of the Societies Act to the elaborate machinery of the Companies Act. A limited company must have a share capital which these associations could not be expected to have. Moreover, there would be complication in their having to submit accounts and having

them supervised. Personally, the speaker was opposed to any political association being registered under the present system of Government but those who wanted to be registered should be permitted by law.

Mr. Kelkar's Bill was then passed without amendment. This is the first non-official Bill to be passed by the third Assembly and that without dissent.

Land Acquisition Act Amendment.

Mr. Kelkar also moved for the circulation of the Bill amending Land Acquisition Act 1894. It was intended, -he said, to minimise iniquity and consequent discontent which marked the operation of the Land Acquisition Act. He wanted the Assembly merely to bless the measure so that opinions of interested persons and public bodies might be ascertained.

The motion for circulation was carried.

Criminal Law Amendment Act.

Sir Hari Singh Gour moved the consideration of his bill to amend and repeal the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908. He recalled the history of the case. It was Mr. Patel now in the chair who first unsuccessfully moved the old Imperial Council and was followed by Mr. Sastri in the Council of State in 1921. Sir William Vincent, then in accepting the motion, stated that by that Government prestige would enhance and not go down. This, Sir William added, was the effective reply to the critics that the Reforms were sham. He hoped that the present Home Member would reciprocate those feelings. The Repressive Laws Committee's report was then accepted by the Government en bloc but effect was not given to them fully. Both Mr. Patel and the mover brought forward motions repealing the Bills which, though passed by this House, were rejected by the Upper Chamber but they were not daunted and he had come to the new Assembly to make it express its view on the subject. Any local Government could declare any association unlawful and there was no judicial check and a person who was a member of that association would be simply handcuffed and sentenced. "What country, I ask, subordinates its judiciary to the Executive in the manner it is done by part 2 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908?" His bill was a diluted measure. It did not proposed total repeal and met all reasonable objections of the Government. It gave the right of appeal to persons convicted under this special law. It did not modify the executive powers relating to non-British subjects and merely extended protection of the Habeas Corpus Act to British subjects.

After a few members had spoken the House adjourned.

The Steel Protection Bill.

Next-day, the 16TH FEBRUARY, after interpellations, the adjourned debate on the Steel Bill was resumed. Mr. JINNAH who spoke first referred to Mr. Birla's remarks on Monday and said he would not take notice of them. The question before them was if really, as alleged by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and Shanmukham Chetti, the Bill was imperial preference. If it was and if it was against the interests of India, the speaker would be the first to oppose it; but it was not imperial preference. To his mind, imperial preference was imposition of unfairly lower duties on British steel so as to reduce British prices in India. Here it was nothing of the kind. Mr. Jinnah then read the report of the Joint Committee of Parliament on the Government of India Bill and the conditions laid down for the fiscal policy of India by that body which had said that no scheme of imperial preference ought to be adopted which has not behind it

the sanction of the legislature. This, the speaker thought, ought to be made clearer by the Government. Continuing, Mr. Jinnah referred to Mr. Mehta's criticism that the measure was speculative in its tendency and remarked that every hypothetical proposition was such. Was not Mr. Jamnadas Mehta's amendment suggesting bounties an equally speculative proposition? The truth was that they are embarrassed as it smacked of British imperial preference. He would prove that the so-called preference to British steel was in the interests of the Indian consumer. British steel was now available in India at Rs. 120 a ton as against Rs. 111, the price of continental steel. The latter was due to fluctuations in exchange and severe dumping in India. That was unfair. If they did not impose additional duty on British steel it was not for favouring British manufactures but intended to save India. If they imposed heavier duties on British steel, British steel prices in India would be sold at higher prices which the Indian consumer had to pay. That would mean Rs. 48 lakhs. Moreover, the Tatas themselves who wanted protection only to steel at 12 would further raise their price to the detriment of India, but as soon as continental disadvantages disappeared additional duties on continental manufactures would be withdrawn. If this is the interest of India, said Mr. Jinnah, are you going to oppose it merely because this is preference for the British?

Pandit Motilal: Yes. It is the thin end of the wedge.

Mr. Jinnah: I will have even the thin end of the wedge if it is in my interest. If it is to oppose even when in the economic interest of India, then I stand here alone to support the scheme and you go into the other lobby.

Continuing, Mr. Jinnah said his first point was that 90 per cent of the continental steel that came into India was non-standard and he quoted figures to prove it. Thus on the principle of different qualities they would be justified in imposing differential duties. Secondly, would they not impose duty if it was the case of dumping and unfair competition? The figures showed that continental steel which was dumping had doubled within the last four years. Continuing, Mr. Jinnah said the bounty scheme was condemned because with the growth of industry imports would decrease and with it protective revenue would decrease while bounties would increase. (At this stage Mr. Jinnah was reminded by the Chair that he had already taken an hour and a half and at this rate if dozen other members spoke there was no chance of the Steel Bill being passed by the 31st March.) Mr. Jinnah explained the peculiar position in which he was, for he had to defend the position taken by him against a majority of non-official opinion expressed against the Tariff Board's proposal. A great deal of misapprehension on the subject had to be removed. He agreed that Sir Charles Innes should make it clear that there was no question of imperial preference at all and that the differences between the two scales were due to differences in quality and a desire to secure minimum protection with the minimum burden on the consumer. Every protection must bring additional revenue and it must go into the Government pockets. Where else would it go? He did not want to impute motives but Mr. Birla's objections showed to the speaker that the cry was for the middleman's profit which would be circumscribed under the Tariff Board's scheme. Recommittal would produce no result as the Government could never act without referring the matter back to the Tariff Board if any other scheme was to be adopted. In any case, the House was to decide and instead of wasting time let them decide between the three schemes before them because even if the Select Committee made Mr. Chetti come with a majority, Sir Charles Innes would come up with his amendments.

Pandit Motilal NEHRU said that he would confine his remarks to that part of Mr. Jinnah's speech which related to the question of imperial preference. He said: "If it is true that the scheme of the bill involves the principle of imperial preference or of the principle of conceding preference to Britain, then I may say here and at once that whatever the developments of the bill, whatever the boon to the Tatas, I have absolutely no sympathy with the bill. So long as Britain is favoured against any other country of the world, I say it is preference. Now it is only a question of Britain being entitled to better terms on account of supply of better goods, but what would happen when she sends out cheaper goods? By this process she would exclude other countries from Indian markets. Is not this the thin end of the wedge?" He had no faith in the Government statement that the bill did not amount to imperial preference. He was as a rule a great disbeliever of assurances from official benches. He agreed that additional duties were imposed with a view to protect the Tatas, but the bill also imposed a discriminating duty on continental goods in the interests of Great Britain alone. He instanced the cases of Madras and Rangoon where the Tatas' goods had not reached and would not reach for a long time to come where under this bill British goods alone were to benefit. There-

fore, the bill would operate at least in some great ports of India as protection to British goods and would have nothing to do with the protection of the Tatas. If once the principle of imperial preference or of preference to Britain was recognised, it would be impossible to get rid of it. He, therefore, suggested that the bill be recommitted to the Select Committee for consideration.

Sir B. N. MITRA emphatically declared that the House was not being asked to vote on imperial preference. They had sufficient data before them to come to a definite decision. His reply to Pandit Motilal Nehru was that the Tatas would have gradual access to the parts where now they did not compete with continental steel. Sir Charles Innes had not uttered a threat; but having a special interest in the industry, the Commerce Member had spoken the language of a plaint. The speaker had visited Jamshedpur and had not found labourers so well looked after in any other industrial centres as at Jamshedpur. He warned the House against any action which would break up this happy colony.

Mr. JOSHI said Mr. Jinnah had thundered for long. There was in it more sound and fury than arguments and the dust raised had clouded the issue. He opposed the Bill as he did not want the Government of India to have any financial benefit out of the scheme of protection. He urged the nationalisation of the industry or failing that payment of a bounty from increased income-tax; but the House was not democratic enough to entertain them. He would least of all have preferred a scheme of combination of duties and bounties. Labour at Jamshedpur was not as happy as Sir B. N. Mitra had painted it. Housing conditions were still backward. He was for recommitment.

Mr. M. R. JAYAKAR confessed that the Bill was not imperial preference in the sense that the same quality of British steel as the continental was preferred; but there were two or three elements which gave away Mr. Jinnah's case. For instance, the Tariff Board had taken it for granted that British steel prices were unalterable, while continental prices were always alterable. By what process of sifting of evidence, this conclusion was arrived at he could not say. Then there was cheap mild steel which was not supplied by the Tatas and still even that commodity was subjected to this imposition. In other words, they said to the consumer:—"If you want continental steel you shall pay a higher price." Continuing, Mr. Jayakar averred that this dictum was not only penalising the Indian consumer, but was also strangling many an infant industry depending for its raw material on the continent. Proceeding, Mr. Jayakar referred to Mr. Perin's interview to a Bombay paper where he made no secret of the fact that this Bill was nothing short of imperial preference. Mr. Perin, said Mr. Jayakar, was a great engineer of undoubted ability and experience and his expert view could not be rebutted even by the opposition benches.

Proceeding, Mr. Jayakar said that he could understand the people asking for imperial preference in Empire interest; but then it was a case of "Heads you win and tails we lose." The Empire burdens were shoved on India's head, but privileges were denied. It was for respectful members of the Empire to put forward this plea and not for India. Mr. Jayakar concluded with a reference to the numerous telegrams and representations from affected merchants and consumers to the Commerce Department of the Government of India protesting against this unfair preference shown to British goods to the detriment of Indian consumers.

Motion For Recommitment Lost.

It was now 4 o'clock and the House accepted closure of the debate and dividing on Mr. Jamnadas Mehta's motion to recommit the Bill to a Select Committee rejected the motion by 61 votes against 50 amidst official applause.

Bill Taken into Consideration.

The House then took the Bill as reported by the Select Committee into consideration.

Mr. Shanmukham CHETTI now moved his amendment and replied very briefly to the salient points by Mr. Jinnah. He said the scheme propounded in the minority report was a modified system of protection and whatever disadvantage there was in it, it was more than counter-balanced by the lower quality of continental steel. They must arrange their tariff in such a way as not to penalise the consumer of continental steel. Under the minority scheme consumers of continental steel would be under a distinct advantage. The

Government Bill was seeking to give protection not to Indian steel but to British manufactured steel.

Sir Charles INNES, in replying on behalf of the Government, said he was not asking the House to accept a general scheme of imperial preference nor anything which was against the economic interest of India; but he was only asking the House to accept the recommendation of the Tariff Board, which the Government was convinced was in the best interests of India. He saw the force of the argument that this would be discriminate protection; but there would be no serious difficulty in making discrimination. This would give Indian steel adequate protection and help the economic well-being of India. Proceeding, Sir Charles Innes said the Assembly would unnecessarily hamper the development of industries if they unnecessarily raised the value of standard steel. India did not infringe in any way the most favoured nations treatment if she showed preference to British steel but continental steel was non-standard steel and was not safe to be used on bridges. So, excepting the fact that the Government scheme made differentiation as regards the origin of produce, there was no other objection. He pointed out that by lowering the duty on British steel, they would not bring one single ton of British steel more than at present. On the other hand, they would be indirectly encouraging continental steel to come in at a lower rate. The Government scheme was more favourable to encouraging the Tatas' industry and more favourable to the consumer than the scheme proposed by Mr. Chetti.

Further discussion was adjourned till Friday the 18th February.

The Railway Budget—18th February 1927.

On this day Sir Charles Innes presented the third Railway budget under the scheme of separation of Railway budget. This was also his last budget. He had the ear of the House for half an hour as he summed up his tale ending with a feeling of sober optimism that estimates for the next year may not be again belied by circumstances beyond human control and that the course of events may be more even. He was applauded by all sides when he resumed his seat.

The following is the speech of Sir Charles Innes, the Railway Member, in introducing the Railway Budget of the Government of India for 1927-28:—

I rise to present the Railway Budget for 1927-28 and I confess that I do so with a certain sense of embarrassment. For, after having made one farewell speech on the Railway Budget, it is awkward to have to make another. I can only plead that my predicament is not one of my own seeking, and for that reason I feel that I can claim the sympathy of the House.

2. As usual, the Budget which I am presenting is not merely a departmental compilation. In preparing it we have had the assistance of the Standing Finance Committee for Railways, we were handicapped this year by the fact that the Standing Finance Committee for Railways naturally went out of existence when the last Assembly was dissolved, and that this House was not able to elect a new one until January 25th last. Thus, we were not able to spread the examination of the figures over a period of several weeks as was the case last year. But when the Committee was constituted, Mr. Parsons lost no time in placing the Budget before it, and I understand that at considerable sacrifice of personal convenience and by dint of much hard work, for which we owe them grateful thanks, the Committee was able to make a very thorough examination of the Budget. In the Budget papers which will shortly be circulated, Hon. Members will find some changes which I hope they will appreciate. In the first place, we have prepared the statement of railway revenue and expenditure in foolscap instead of octavo form. We have made this change because in the Budget debates of last year there was some complaint that the figures could not be studied without an undue strain on the eyes. Secondly, a feature of the Budget papers this year is the provision of maps and diagrams. We have appended to the explanatory memorandum a Railway map of India which will enable the Hon. Members to see at a glance what new lines we propose to construct, and what new lines we propose to survey. Then in the pink books will be found a sketch map of each Railway system showing exactly how we are developing and how we hope to develop the system. In addition, one book contains a diagram which gives full information as to the gauge of each extension, its length and cost and the progress we hope to make in each of the next 5 years. Our object of course is to

enable Hon. Members readily to grasp what our programme is for the extension and development of the Indian Railway system and to see whether we have made provision for particular new lines in which they may be interested.

As this Assembly is a new Assembly some Hon. Members may not be aware of the practice we have established in the last two years. It is the custom now for Hon. Members, when they give notice of motions for reductions, to add a few words to indicate the nature of the subject they wish to bring up for discussion. This procedure is of great assistance to the House generally and to Government Members in particular, and I should be very grateful if it could be repeated this year.

3. Full explanations of the figures in the Budget are given in the Budget Memorandum, in the explanations attached to each of the demands for grants and in the pink books for individual railways. Following my usual custom, therefore, I propose to confine myself to a brief review of the more important figures, and to some account of the more important activities of the Railway Board and the Railway Administrations.

Financial Results of 1925-26.

4. I need not spend time over the actuals of 1925-26. It was a good year for Railways though not as good as 1924-25. In my Budget speech last year, I told the House that we expected to have a net surplus (that is, the gain from commercial lines minus the loss on strategic lines) of 877 lakhs, and that we expected that we should transfer 532 lakhs to General Revenues and 345 lakhs to Railway Reserves. Actually, we did a little better than we anticipated. I will not go into the figures in detail, for they are given in Administration Report for 1925-26. But in the result we transferred 549 lakhs to General Revenues and our Reserves benefitted to the extent of 379 lakhs. The return on Budget lines in 1925-26 was 5.31 per cent., and if this figure is not quite so good as in the exceptionally prosperous year of 1924-25, when the return was as high as 5.85 per cent., it is better than any of the other post-war years and better than it was in 1913-14.

Revised Estimate for 1926-27.

5. I am sorry to say that I cannot give as favourable an account of the probable financial results of the current year. We budgeted on commercial lines for gross receipts amounting to 102.58 crores and gross expenditure, including interest charges, of 92.13 crores. That is, we counted on a gain from commercial lines of 10.45 crores and deducting an anticipated loss on strategic lines of 174 lakhs, on a net surplus of Rs. 871 lakhs. On the basis of these figures, we expected not merely to be able to pay our net contribution of 601 lakhs to General Revenues but also to transfer 270 lakhs to our own Reserves. But we now know that our budget figures are not likely to be realised. We now estimate that our gross receipts will be 98.31 crores or 4 and one-fourth crores less than our budget estimate, and that our total charges will be 90.56 crores, or 157 lakhs less than our estimate and that the gain from commercial lines will be 775 lakhs instead of 10.45 crores. The loss on strategic lines is now put at 181 lakhs instead of 174 lakhs, and the final result is that we now expect a net surplus of 594 lakhs instead of 871 lakhs. The net contribution payable under the Convention to General Revenues is, as I have said, 601 lakhs. We expect, therefore, to have to draw on our Reserves to the extent of 7 lakhs to enable us to pay dues to General Revenue. As Clause 4 of the Convention shows, that is the primary purpose for which the Reserves exist. 1

6. These figures are disappointing, but I confess that I take a philosophical view of them. It seems at first sight a serious matter that we should have to cut 4 and one-fourth crores off our budget estimate of gross receipts, but railway earnings depend so largely on factors outside railway, or rather I should say human, control that we can never be sure that our budget estimates of gross receipts will not be falsified by the course of the season and the state of trade. And this is what has happened in the current year. Up to the end of July, in spite of reductions in passenger fares and coal freights, we were ahead of the earnings of last year. The monsoon seemed promising, and we had hopes of a really good year. The prospects took a turn for the worse, and now we expect our earnings from goods traffic to be worse than our estimate by 2 and half crores and our earnings from passenger traffic to be worse by nearly 1 and half crores. Two Railways, the Eastern Bengal and Assam Bengal Railways, have done better than we expected. The explanation is that they serve areas which have been favoured by an exceptionally abundant jute crop and a good tea crop. For the rest, the failure of gross earnings to come to our expectations is common to all Railways. As usual, we have suffered much from floods. They affected the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, the Great Indian Peninsula Railway and the Bombay Baroda and Central India Railway, but they were

particularly disastrous in Burma. The main line of the Burma Railways was so badly breached that communications could not be restored for several weeks with the result that earnings on this Railway are half a crore below our estimate. Again, the season proved unfavourable for the cotton crop. The final estimate for the year is nearly a million bales below last year's figure, and in addition the crop was abnormally late. Our earnings from raw cotton were less by 60 lakhs in the first 8 months of this year than in the corresponding period of last year. Cotton is now moving freely to Bombay, but the effect of the bad start is clearly seen in the figures of the two Bombay Railways, while the earnings of the North Western Railway have been similarly affected by a comparative failure of the crop in the Punjab. Between 1st September and the 29th January 1927, only 36,000 tons of cotton were exported from Karachi compared with 61,000 tons last year. I have thought it worth while to take this one instance of cotton by way of illustration but the drop in our gross earnings especially in goods traffic reflects just the fact that trade has not been as good as we expected. Slackness of trade too has no doubt affected passenger earnings, but it is possible that we were a bit too optimistic in our estimate of the effect of the reductions of fares brought into force last year. We expected the immediate effect to be detrimental to our earnings, and for that reason pitched our estimate of gross receipts 2 crores lower than otherwise we would have done. But now we have to reduce our estimate by a further 137 lakhs. It is not that there has been no increase of passenger traffic, but it has fallen short of our estimate and in spite of the increase in traffic we expect to earn 57 lakhs less from passengers this year than we did in 1925-26. It is too early to assess the effect of the reductions we gave last year in long distance coal freights. Owing to the coal strike in England, the circumstances of the year have been quite abnormal in the matter of coal. At any rate, we have carried more coal and I do not think that we have lost money by the reduction.

7. The drop in earnings is partially counterbalanced by considerable reductions in our working expenses. On commercial lines our revised estimate of working expenses is 1 and three-fourth crores below the budget estimate. On this amount, nearly 1 and half crores is in the cost of operation. Our coal bill in particular should be about half crore less than our estimate, partly of course because of cost at which we can now buy, but also as the result of vigorous measures taken by the Railway Board to secure great economy. The statistics given in Volume II of the Administration Report for 1925-26 show how consumption has decreased relatively to the work done and bear testimony to the effectiveness of the measures taken by the Railway Board.

8. I have said that I take a philosophic view of the disparity between our revised and budget estimate. I go further. I think that the results of the current year illustrate the strength of the position Railways are now in. We have had a comparatively poor year marked by exceptional floods, partial crop failure amounting to scarcity in parts of the country and slackness of trade evidenced by the fact that up to the end of December last our total foreign trade was nearly 50 crores less than in 1925-26 and 60 crores less than in 1924-25. Nevertheless, we hope to earn this year a net return of 4.77 per cent on the capital at charge enabling us to pay our interest charges and to pay all but 7 lakhs of our contribution to General Revenues. It has also to be remembered that the contribution payable this year is based on an exceptional prosperous year and amounts (leaving strategic railways out of account) to the big sum of 760 lakhs. In my view having regard to the inevitable fluctuation in Railway receipts from one year to another these results go far to justify the wisdom of the policy to which we are working.

Budget Estimate for 1927-28.

9. For the year 1927-28, we have adopted a more cautious estimate than last year. We are budgeting for gross receipts from commercial lines amounting to 100.40 crores and for a total expenditure of 91.47 crores. If our expectations are realised, the gain from commercial lines will amount to 8.93 crores and the net gain, after deducting the loss on strategic lines, will be 7.10 crores. Out of this sum, we shall have to pay 548 lakhs to General Revenues that being the net contribution payable on the results of 1925-26, and we hope to strengthen our reserves by 162 lakhs.

10. I do not propose to comment on these estimates at length. The main feature of them is that we put our gross traffic receipts on commercial lines at 99.24 crores or 2 crores more than the revised estimate of the current year, and that we expect to earn these receipts at a working cost of only 8 lakhs or so in excess of the working expenses of this year.

On the whole I should describe these estimates as framed in a spirit of sober optimism,—in the hope that we shall on the whole be free from the misfortunes which have beset us this year, and that trade and traffic will pursue a more even course; and

also in the hope that our continued efforts will result in further economies in our charges. For example, the House will notice that though we should ordinarily have to expect an increase of about 15 lakhs in the cost of administration on account of increments to salaries we are actually budgeting for a reduction of 10 lakhs in the cost. This is because we hope that Agents will be able by improvements in their administrative machinery, to cut down the existing scale of their expenditure by perhaps a quarter of a crore. We cannot of course be certain that we shall be able to get this reduction in full next year, part of which must be occupied in investigating the existing methods and procedure and seeing how they can be improved. But at least we shall do our best to do so. We have also been able to place our contracts for coal at cheaper rates in the current year, and to this and further economies in consumption, we look forward to a reduction of 38 lakhs in our coal bill.

Capital Expenditure.

11. The House will remember that the approved programme for capital expenditure in the current year authorised a total capital expenditure of 34.58 crores. This was the estimate given by the railway administration of the amount which they hoped to spend during the current year on approved works. I explained last year our principles with regard to fixing the capital budget. We do not wish to restrict the execution of sanctioned works nor to hamper in any way the Agents' efforts to carry to completion such works as rapidly as possible, and we accordingly authorised them to spend up to the full amount they thought they could spend during the year. We knew, however, from past experience that their actual expenditure would be very much lower, and we asked the Assembly to provide a sum of only 22 crores in addition to the 4 crores required from the purchase of the Delhi-Umballa-Kalka Railway. The actual expenditure during the current year is now expected to be 27 crores more than was provided for, and we shall place a supplementary demand before this House in due course for the additional funds required to the last few years, as indeed the House has noted on more than one occasion in the Budget debates, there have been considerable lapses in the amounts provided for capital expenditure, and this is the first year in which actual expenditure is likely to approximate closely to our estimate. We must, I think, congratulate the Railway Board on the success of its efforts to attain greater accuracy in estimates and to expedite the execution of sanctioned works. One of the methods adopted deserves a passing mention, for it represents a new and important departure. We are now beginning to make use of private contractors for important railway works. A number of important railway bridges are now being built for us by firms of contractors, the latest example being the rebuilding of the bridge over the Nerbudda on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway main line which was washed away last summer. Another important work which has been entrusted to contractors is the elimination of the Bhor Ghat Reserving station on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, and we hope that we may shortly be able to devise a system which will allow us to hand over to contracting firms the entire construction of some new lines. Of the total expenditure of 27 crores, just over 4 crores represents the purchase price of the Delhi-Umballa-Kalka Railway. Twenty-one lakhs roughly is the expenditure incurred in taking up new issues of share capital of certain branch line companies in which Government are financially interested in order to replace loan capital by share capital. This method is directly remunerative to us in that it adds to our share of surplus profits or reduces our liability to pay rebates. As regards the balance, the expenditure on new lines is expected to be 6.47 crores, and on open lines 16.32 crores. The former figure represents a lapse of only 9 lakhs on the budget estimate. Progress on some projects has unfortunately been retarded by a variety of causes such as late receipt of imported material and unexpected delays in the acquisition of land, but on others it has been possible to accelerate the rate of expenditure. The principal sufferer has been the Raipur-Parvatipuram line where we now expect to spend less than a fifth of the 125 lakhs provided for the current year. On open lines, expenditure has proceeded at a more rapid pace than we expected when the Budget was framed and our latest anticipation is that the budget estimate will be exceeded by a little over a crore. This however is partly counter-balanced by a reduction of 50 lakhs in our estimate of expenditure from the Depreciation Fund which is a counterpart of the programme of open line works.

12. For the year 1927-28 the total amount of funds asked for by railway administrations is 39.77 crores. As usual we propose to authorise them to spend up to the full amount they have included in their estimate, but we are asking the Assembly only to vote a sum of 25 crores as a whole, which we believe is at present about the limit of the administrations' capacity of spending. Of this total of 25 crores, we propose to distribute 7.62

nistrations' capacity of spending. Of this total of 25 crores, we propose to distribute 7.62 crores to new lines (as against nearly 15 crores asked for by Agents) and to open line works the balance of 17.38 crores as against roughly 2 and three-fourth crores demanded.

13. The full details of open line works are, as usual, given in the budget memorandum and in the various pink books dealing with the estimates of new railways and I think it unnecessary for me at present to deal with any of the details of these estimates. I need only say that of the total amount of 24.77 crores, which it is proposed to distribute among Agents as desired by them, 19.41 crores are for improving open line facilities. Sums amounting roughly to 3 crores each are provided for improvement of track, for remodelling of station yards and for the electrification of lines and stations. The provision for doubling and quadrupling tracks, strengthening of bridges, workshops and stores and station buildings, and staff quarters amounts to about 6 crores. I would specially emphasise the large share that electrification of lines and stations has of the total expenditure. The total provision made is over 3 one-half crores. The Great Indian Peninsula Railway alone accounts for nearly 2 crores of this. The projects included the electrification of the main line from Bombay to Igatpuri and Poona (costing altogether 5 one-half crores) for which a crore is provided in the following year, and the construction of the power house at Kalyan consisting altogether 97 one-half lakhs, for which 40 lakhs is provided in 1927-28. In this connection, I think that it would interest the House if I give them certain figures which I have extracted from a recent report on the Harbour Branch Railway of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway system. The section between Victoria Terminus and Kurla, a distance of 9 one-half miles, was electrified with effect from 5th February 1925. On 2nd February 1926 the electrification of the Mahim Chord, an addition of 2 one-half miles, was completed and the whole of the Harbour Branch Railway was operated by electric service. A comparison between the statistics of January 1926 with those of October 1926 shows that the train miles have increased four times, that passenger traffic has doubled and that earnings have trebled. I may also call attention to the provision of about 2 one-fourth crores made for amenities specially intended for lower class passengers as separate from such general improvements as remodelling and electrification of stations and yards and improved train services from which also they derive benefit in common with others. The special amenities include arrangements for water-supply, the increased provision of waiting-rooms and halls and refreshment rooms and the improvement of booking facilities and sanitary arrangements, but the main item on which expenditure is to be incurred is nearly 1 and three-fourth crores under additions and improvements to lower class carriages. Under additions, the programme for 1927-28 contemplates 636 coaching vehicles and 552 of these are lower class carriages.

New Construction.

14. One of the most interesting parts of the Railway Budget is of course the programme of new construction. Our programme for next year will involve a total expenditure of 142/3 crores in the case of commercial lines, but we have thought it necessary to provide only 7.41 crores. The programme for both commercial and strategic lines is set out in full in the Budget memorandum. It includes 48 lines covering 1,813 miles which are already in progress and 51 new lines extending to 2,827 miles. Thus, our immediate programme covers 4,640 miles. Only 320 miles of new line will be opened in the current year, but next year I hope that we shall see a more substantial return on the money we have spent on new construction in the last two or three years. For we hope to open in 1927-28 nearly 900 miles of new line. And my successor is likely to be more fortunate than I have been in the record of mileage added to the Indian Railway system. I am confident that the House will welcome this development, and will agree that we should press on with the construction of new lines. This is our policy. Each Railway Administration is charged with the duty of exploring every avenue that affords scope for the construction of remunerative lines of a standard suitable to the traffic that may be expected and of keeping in close touch with Local Governments in this important matter. In order to afford every facility for the achievement of this object, we do not propose to adhere to one rigid standard of construction. Obviously a standard that is suitable for a main line carrying heavy traffic may be needlessly expensive for a feeder line serving a comparatively small agricultural tract, and the Railway Board have now laid down varying standards of construction in order that branch lines and extensions may be built to whatever standard seems most suitable to the area to be served.

Rates and Fares.

15. I am sorry that I am not in the happy position of announcing any further reduction of rates and fares, but after what I have said earlier in my speech the House

cannot have any expectation of boons of this kind. But it must not be thought that we have made merely the reductions in passengers' fares announced last year. On the contrary, at the beginning of the current year we expressly invited Agents carefully to review their passenger fares in the light of statistics and we told them that we should be prepared favourably to consider further reductions. As the result of this letter, the Agents of the East Indian, North Western and South Indian Railways felt justified in proposing these further reductions and they have already been brought into force in one case from 1st January last and in the other two cases from 1st February. The reductions on the two State-managed lines are substantial, and third class passenger fares for ordinary trains are now down to 2 pies per mile for distances over 300 miles. The House may think that we have been unduly bold in sanctioning these reductions in view of the fact that the reductions previously sanctioned have not yet given any material stimulus to traffic. But the recommendations of the Agents were based on their considered opinion that ultimately it would pay them to bring down fares to the level suggested and we decided to take the risk. I would here emphasise the fact that it is only the existence for our Railway Reserves that enables us to make experiments of this kind. For we have to remember that every year we are adding a sum of upwards of twenty crores to our capital at charge. Every 20 crores added to our capital means that we ought to obtain an increase in our net earnings of about a crore and 20 lakhs. For not only have we to pay our interest charges but in addition we have to pay one per cent to General Revenues on our capital at charge. On the other hand, much of our new money goes into works which take time to become remunerative, and there is also the fact that we must expect large variations from year to year in Railway earnings in accordance with harvest results and trade fluctuations. All these considerations point to the need for prudent management, for unceasing strivings after economy and efficiency, and for a wise policy of building up reserves. But provided that we keep these essentials in mind, I think that we can face the future with confidence and that we need not hesitate to make such well-considered experiments in the reduction of rates and fares as on the advice of our Agents we have so far embarked upon. But I have no doubt that the House will agree that the effect of such experiments must closely be watched and that if after a fair trial extended over a reasonable period they are found merely to involve us in a loss of revenue without bringing any compensating advantage in the shape of increased traffic, the matter may require reconsideration. But I hope that there is no fear of this result and that we shall not merely be able to carry on the reductions that have been made but also to try further experiments, particularly in the way of reducing freights.

16. I have just referred to the need for unceasing striving after efficiency and economy, and I have done so quite deliberately. For I think that I may claim that however far we may have fallen short of our ideal, that has been our policy during the last five years. Some members of the House, I know, think that we are too rigid in our adherence to this policy and they regard it merely as a rather soulless bureaucratic trait. But, believe me, it is not that. After all the Government of India and the Railway Board are responsible for what is, I suppose, one of the biggest commercial undertakings in the world. It is a business with a capital of something like 600 crores—say 450 million sterling. If we run it successfully, we provide India with a cheap and efficient system of transport. If we fail, the Railways become a burden on the general revenues of the country. In some respects I think that we can claim already to have made satisfactory progress. I do not wish to repeat what I said last year, but every one will agree I think that our financial arrangements are on a much sounder basis than ever before and that we have made some progress in carrying out the recommendations of the Acworth and Incheape Committee. But the Indian Railway system is a vast organisation, and recently in almost every year some new branch of our work has been brought under expert examination and review. This year it has been the turn of the workshops, and we have just published the report of the Raven Committee. Some people, I am told, call it an indictment of the Railway Workshops. It may be so. I am not particular about the word. But the plain fact is that the Railway Board thought that State Railway workshops required overhauling in the light of most modern workshop practice. We entrusted the task to two of the best experts we could find, and we have obtained from them what we wanted, namely, a frank outspoken report containing many valuable suggestions for improvement of our methods and our equipment. The publication of the report may expose us to criticism, but from our point of view the important thing is that we now know the directions in which to work for economy and efficiency, and we propose to follow up the suggestions which have been made. Similarly, an enquiry is now going on into our methods of railway accounting and into our workshop accounts, and another

enquiry has just been made into the medical and sanitary arrangements of one of our most important railways. I do not propose to enter into greater detail into the many other directions in which economies are being effected in the administration of our railway property as these are dealt with in Sir Clement Hindley's speech in presenting the budget in the Council of State.

27. And now, Sir, I propose to bring to an end this the last account I shall give of my stewardship of Indian Railways. I am conscious of its difficulties, and there are many other things that I should like to say, but I am afraid of wearying the House. I am sorry that I end with a less prosperous year than some of its predecessors, but at any rate it is a much more satisfactory budget than the one I had to defend in this House 5 years ago. No one could have had more loyal and devoted assistance than I have had from Sir Clement Hindley, Mr. Sim, Mr. Parsons and from Railway Officers generally and as for this House, Sir, though I have had much criticism, I like to think that it was kindly criticism and there is not one of us on these Government benches who does not realise the value of the close scrutiny to which our budgets are subjected by the Legislative Assembly.

The Steel Bill.

After the Railway Member's speech was over discussion was proceeded with the Steel Protection Bill.

Lala Lajpat Rai spoke first in support of Mr. Chetti's amendment for average weighted duty. He did not question the motive and intention of Mr. Jinnah, who did not see any imperial preference in the Government proposals but only discrimination in favour of British steel. But Lalaji feared that one discrimination would lead to further discrimination. Politics and economics were inter-twined and in this bill the vicious principle of imperial preference existed.

The President: This question of imperial preference was discussed threadbare the other day. I request the members not to make speeches on that but merely touch on it.

Lala Lajpat Rai averred that even economically the principle of discrimination was unsound and urged the House to consider the advantage of weighted average duty which outweighed those proposed under the Government scheme. He contended against the view that there was dumping of continental steel and pleaded against penalising a large mass of consumers who used continental steel. Continuing, he said that by penalising the use of continental steel they would be throwing out of employment thousands of poor Indians who were engaged in the manufacture of small articles out of continental steel.

("Official Benches cried: No no, where are they") He instanced the small manufactures in Bombay, Poona, Gujranwala, Sialkot and other places. Concluding, he complained against the Indian students not being given adequate facilities by English educational and technical institutions, while continental countries whose steel the Government wished to exclude from India were showing consideration in this respect. This treatment of England did not deserve concessions as was proposed by the Bill. He accepted that the steel industry should be given adequate protection for seven years. To that extent he favoured the Tariff Board's report, but he differed as regards the form of protection.

Mr. Jinnah, replying to Lala Lajpat Rai, said that the telegraphic representation which the latter claimed were pouring in were all from the iron merchants (Hear, hear). None of them were, however, from traders or artisans for whom the Lala had pleaded. However, the Tariff Board had taken into consideration the consumer's point of view, but Mr. Chetti's amendment, if put into effect, would give excessive protection to Tatas and would profit the middlemen. Figures showed that under Mr. Chetti's scheme there would be unnecessary burden of 4 crores on the consumers in the course of 7 years, but at the same time he wanted the Government to see that small traders and artisans did get the requisite protection.

At this stage, several members on the official benches applied for closure but the President called upon Mr. Birla to speak.

Mr. Birla quoted figures to show that there was no profiteering on the part of middlemen. Figures related to beams, angles, etc. Mr. Birla asked the House not to be led away by the argument of Mr. Jinnah and Sir Charles Innes about profiteering when in some cases these middlemen actually lost.

Mr. B. Das said that Sir B. N. Mitra did not reflect Indian opinion in the Executive

Council. Sir Charles Innes had himself said on a previous occasion that whether it was imperial preference or preferential rates, there was politics behind it. Now, however Sir B. N. Mitra, the Indian member, poohpoohed the view advanced by the non-officials.

When Mr. B. Das finished his speech it was a quarter to four and there were renewed cries from official and other benches for closure. The House divided on the closure motion when the Hon. Mr. Patel came back and occupied the chair. 57 voted for closure and 50 against it.

The House again divided with the result that 60 voted against the amendment and 49 for and, therefore, the amendment was lost.

The Kharagpur Strike.

After the amendment of Mr. Chetti had been defeated, the adjournment motion on the Kharagpur strike was taken up. Mr. V. V. Jogiah wanted the House to discuss the conduct of the B. N. Railway administration in not enquiring into the repeated representations of the subordinate employees of the B. N. Railway which occasioned the strike causing inconvenience to the people; secondly, the conduct of the Government in calling out the Railway Auxiliary Force to shoot indiscriminately not only the workmen but some members of the public and in not giving warning or persuading the crowd to disperse, and lastly, in censoring despatches of telegrams sent from the Labour Union to a large number of the members of the Assembly. He reminded the House of the representations of the labourers which was promised to be considered but which was repeatedly postponed on very flimsy grounds. The chief grievances of the labourers were insecurity of service, dismissal without proper action, insufficiency of wages and ill-treatment of subordinate officials. The Labour Union advised men against going on strike and but for the attitude of Mr. Lewis, Acting Chief Engineer, the situation would have been easily solved.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Aiyar who spoke next regretted that Mr. Jogiah had no time to develop the main theme of grievances, namely that there was indiscriminate use of bayonets and this was done by using Col. Gidney's Anglo-Indian race against Mr. Jogiah's labourers (hear, hear). If they wanted to shoot Indians, why did they not bring Europeans? Why should Anglo-Indians have been brought? Was this another proof of the policy of *divide et impera*? From a perusal of the account of the events, it appeared as if the men were instigated to use violence so that superior forces of violence might be brought into being. Let Sir Charles Innes mark his departure from India by conducting an impartial enquiry.

Colonel Gidney regretted the tone of Mr. Ranga Aiyar's speech which itself was for *divide et impera*. It was the Railway Union and political infusion in it that were at the bottom of the riot. Why should this House of legislators accept what all the Railway Union said in their statement and in effect send a message for other Railways to follow suit? By carrying the motion they would disorganise Railway as they disorganised the Police in Calcutta riot. Let us not be guided by telegrams sent by the rioters. Concluding Col. Gidney asked the Government to see that there was no dismissal, removal or reduction in accordance with rule fourteen of the Home Department.

Mr. N. M. Joshi drew the attention of the House to the fact that the Auxiliary forces were composed of railway officers. The speaker asked if it was fair that the very officers under whom these men were working should turn out to be the military when the men struck work?

This was not the first time in which the military was used for firing in the name of law and order. The Government of other countries did not use military for such purposes. Mr. Joshi wanted an enquiry not only into the incidents of shooting but also into the grievances of the workers. If the Agent had failed in his duty, let not the Government of India fail in its duty.

Referring to the grievances of the men Sir Charles Innes said that he had never known a case in which the Agent of a Railway extended so much sympathy to railway men. As soon as the grievances of men over the transfer of Mr. Naidu was brought to his notice, the Agent himself took the trouble to explain the actual position. The men came back to work, but all of a sudden due to the influence of politicians a public meeting was called attended by a large number of persons and resolutions passed. Then there was a crowd marching to the station yard and preventing the running of trains etc., and if at that stage the District Magistrate ordered the use of not fire but bayonets, then Mr. Ranga Aiyar wanted him to be dismissed. The District Magistrate had to act on the spur of the moment. His task was difficult and no more than the necessary violence was used. So long as he (Sir Charles) was a member of the Government, no district officer would be punished or penalised for trying to do his duty in circumstances of this kind. The versions as received by him from the officials and as given out by men did not of course tally in all respect. Indeed, the House was not in possession of the facts. What then was the use of our enquiry at this stage? The danger of passing this motion at this stage was that they would prolong starvation of these men who were on strike.

Diwan Chamanlal said he was yet to hear the word of regret for bayonetting. Could it be denied that the head of the Auxiliary Force, Colonel Henderson himself, was a railway official?

The Commerce Member interjected that he said the Auxiliary Force was called out by the District Magistrate.

Mr. Chamanlal condemned the law being taken into their hands to the danger and detriment of the life of the people. A judicial enquiry must be held into the firing and bayonetting and an impartial enquiry into the grievances of the strikers. If a promise of this enquiry was given, the motion would be withdrawn but not otherwise.

Pandit Malaviya who followed prefaced his speech with a declaration that he was generally against strikes. He said that it had been suggested that strikers had done injury to the railway property. He was sorry that officials on the spot acted unwisely, for strikers had gone to the platform to advise their fellow-strikers also to stop work. They had perfect right to do so. If the speaker was convinced that violence had been resorted to by the strikers, his attitude would be different. The speaker regretted the want of patience and restraint on both sides. The authorities should have exercised greater restraint. It was not necessary to have called out the Auxiliary Force and asked them to resort to the use of bayonets and fire-arms. If Sir Charles Innes had only expressed regret for the action taken there would not have been need for this heated debate.

Mr. Neogy dealt at the outset with the constitutional aspect regarding which he said he was between the devil and the deep sea for a while. Sir Alexander Muddiman said that this question was to be discussed only in the local Council. The President of the Bengal Council had disallowed adjournment motions on the ground that this was a central subject. Proceeding

he referred amid cries of "shame" to the censorship on telegrams sent by the Labour Union to 18 members of the Assembly. Not only were their reports suppressed by the authorities but their own accounts were cooked up.

It was 6 when the President declared the motion talked out. The Assembly then adjourned.

The South African Agreement.

On the 21ST FEBRUARY Mr. Bhore made a statement of the agreement reached between the Union Government and the Government of India and he was applauded at the conclusion. (For the text of the statement see Section "India Abroad.")

The President reminded Mr. B. Das of a reference made by Mr. Bhore that so far as the Government of India were concerned, they had ratified the agreement.

The Steel Bill Passed.

Mr. Jamnadas MEHTA then moved his amendment putting forward his alternative scheme in respect of duty cum protection. He declared that the Bill did embody Imperial preference and that it would be contested inch by inch and step by step. He showed that as a result of three years' protection scheme the Government had benefitted in revenue by Rs. 200 lakhs, the creditor by Rs. 150 lakhs and the wage-earner, by Rs. 425 lakhs while the owner of the company had in three years benefitted in the shape of dividend only to the extent of Rs. 4 and half lakhs, which did not yield even half per cent. How could this be expected to serve as an inducement to the investor. The people of India had made heavy sacrifice in these years to help Tata Steel to stand firm. Thanks to the exchange, capital had to be written down.

Continuing, Mr. Mehta averred that the protection extended was so small that it would not attract capital. He contested the view of Mr. Jinnah that it was the middlemen ring in Bombay who would benefit by his scheme. He showed that according to Godrej, Tata had quoted Rs. 228 per ton for steel which could come from Germany for Rs. 141 or at 170 with additional duty. Then under no circumstances could Tatas compete with this. The consumer in Calcutta benefited because of the competition with British Steel and because of the nearness of Calcutta. He maintained that his scheme alone would give protection to the industry, impose the least burden on the consumer and would put the least possible sum in the hands of the Government.

Mr. JINNAH, replying, remarked that he never said that the Bill was perfect but that of the 3 schemes before the House the one embodied in the Bill represented the least evil. Mr. Jamnadas had only proved the speaker's contention that because Tata Steel did not reach the ports of Bombay, Karachi and Madras as easily as Calcutta it was the middlemen who really benefited. Did Mr. Jamnadas understand that if he gave bounties to Tatas the result would be that Tatas would concentrate on production of bounty fed material and give up production for instance of galvanised sheets? This would mean that the revenue derived from import duty under protection which amounted to half from these sheets would as a result of withdrawal of protection be lost. He saw no reason why new companies should not come into the field. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta had charged the speaker of being either in air or at sea but it appeared to Mr. Jinnah that Mr. Jamnadas himself was either in the lap of prejudice or had been misled by middlemen. He examined the amateur amendment of Mr. Jamnadas and showed how it would land the Government in difficulties and unknown liabilities. For instance, any firm could without much outlay undertake to manufacture bars out of scrap iron and scrap steel. To pay bounty for protection of such bars would involve an unknown liability. Speaking with all authority at his command of the working of three years protection, he described Mr. Jamnadas's amateur proposals as ridiculous and absurd and that to work the scheme proposed by the Bombay member would, if not impossible, be most difficult, very expensive and very inconvenient. He hoped that the House would realise its responsibilities in the matter.

Mr. M. K. ACHARYA regretted that Sir Charles Innes had not met the argument of the non-officials that under their scheme he (Sir Charles) was taking much more from

the consumer. They all agreed that adequate protection should be given to Tatas, but not in the way the Government suggested. He would have no objection if the entire scheme was withdrawn and another Bill which would be more acceptable to the House was brought forward. He, however, would accept Mr. Mehta's amendment as the lesser of the two evils.

Pandit MALAVIYA emphasised that on a matter of this kind Government should carry the House with them. To snatch a vote this way or that was not, the proper method of pushing through such legislation. He did not question the earnestness of the Tariff Board and of the Government to act in the very best interest of India according to their light. The opposition was not wanted, but because there was honest difference of opinion he expected that, instead of crying shame and telling the members that they did not know their business the Government and their supporters should show sympathy and consideration to the views of the opposition. Their view was based on some regard for the consumer to see that the consumer was not penalised in places where Tatas did not operate. He suggested that the Government with all its Secretariat machinery should co-operate with the House in removing the defect of Mr. Jamnadas's scheme. The speaker had worked with Mr. Jinnah for years but felt that Mr. Jinnah's special pleading on this occasion had disappointed many members. He rejected the plea that Tatas would play false to the Assembly and to the country by changing their plans for production. If they did, the Assembly would not help them again. He did not wish to hurt Englishmen, but must first have regard for the interests of his own countrymen. Why rush through this Bill? The manner in which the Bill was being handled had caused him great pain and he ended by suggesting the adjournment of the discussion.

At this stage the closure was moved by the official benches and was carried without division. The House then voted on Mr. Jamnadas Mehta's amendment and rejected it by 65 votes against 56. Thus, while whipping on both sides had brought in the absentee members, the majority for the Bill practically, remains the same as it was when the motion for recommittal and for approving Mr. Chetti's scheme was rejected.

Discussion on other Amendments.

Mr. Mukhtar SINGH then moved an amendment providing for rebate of duty in respect of imported steel used by bona-fide Indian manufacturers of small articles such as bolts, toys, utensils, cutlery etc. Sir Charles Innes, intervening said that this question was under consideration of the Tariff Board and he hoped this information might shorten discussion. Mr. Mukhtar Singh said he was not satisfied with the assurance given by the Commerce Member and pressed his amendment. The speaker explained how the rebate system could be calculated and worked.

Sir Charles Innes, in opposing the motion, said the amendment was vague and unworkable. The amendment was rejected.

Purchase of Steel by Government Departments.

Sir Charles Innes pointed out that the next amendment in the name of Mr. B. Das which asked for declaration of the Government by notification in the "Gazette" that the purchase of steel of Indian origin should be given preference by the Government departments, municipalities and local boards etc., was put out of order on the grounds that it raised the question of increase of import duty which was outside the scope of the Bill. The President agreed that the motion was out of order on the ground that it related to provincial subjects which could not be discussed in the House except by permission of the Governor-General. He would, however, admit the amendment if the mover omitted municipal and district boards from the operation of the amendment. Mr. Das agreed to this and the amendment was formally moved. Mr. Das, in moving his amendment, said that even the Tariff Board had recommended the use of Indian steel by Railways as it was the object of protection to create a market in India for Indian manufactured steel. He pleaded for acceptance of his amendment and complained of the circular issued by the Railway Member who recommended that Indian Railways might go in for Indian products. His objection was that it was not made obligatory. He wanted a statutory provision to be made with regard to the purchase of Indian steel and the mere assurance of the Commerce Member was not enough.

Mr. Das's amendment was pressed to division and lost by 45 to 33 votes.

Appropriation of Protective Duties.

Mr. N. M. Joshi rose to move the amendment laying down that the amount raised

by protective duties should be applied for technical training in steel industry and welfare of workers such as protection against sea-sickness, unemployment, and old age.

Sir Charles Innes, on a point of order, said the motion contravened Section 67 of the Government of India Act which clearly laid down that no motion for appropriation of revenues should be made except with the permission of the Governor-General. The President upheld the objection and ruled the motion out of order. Clause 2 of the Bill was then adopted.

Lala Bang Beharilal unsuccessfully moved an amendment to Clause 3 of the Bill demanding that in 1923, the steel industry's representation of insufficiency of protection should be a precedent of further protection.

Depreciation Fund for Steel Companies.

Dewan Chamanlal moved his amendment laying down that the Governor-General in Council should have power to frame rules directing steel companies to set aside for a depreciation fund a certain amount from the profits and also providing for housing, maternity and other benefits to workers. The mover said that the Assembly was entitled to direct the companies to so spend their profits as to ensure proper working. He complained of the bad lot of the workers who, notwithstanding the Tariff Board, were not well treated and had to suffer great hardships.

Sir Charles Innes, replying, asked what could be done if the steel companies disobeyed the rule for depreciation funds? His opinion, is that it must be left to the good sense of the companies' directors. Clause 3 was adopted after two more amendments were withdrawn.

Motion for passing the Bill.

Sir Charles Innes then moved that the Bill as amended, be passed.

Mr. S. Srinivasa IYENGAR, opposing the motion that the Bill be passed, observed that the methods adopted in giving protection were so hopelessly at variance that he could not agree to it. Sir Charles himself had agreed that the Bill provided for British preference. It was said that no scheme of imperial preference should be undertaken unless both the Government and the Legislature agreed. He would, therefore, ask the House to be careful in view of the fact that preference was both political and economical in character. The speaker objected to the Bill on another ground, namely, that it enabled the Government to raise more revenue than was needed for administration. It was bad and vicious in principle to encourage overflow of money into the exchequer. Concluding, Mr. Iyengar reminded the Commerce Member that on the last occasion when the Limitation Bill was before the House, he had dismissed the Tariff Board's recommendations for import duties as a burden on the consumer. Was the Tariff Board then an expert body or had it suddenly become expert because it suited the Commerce Member?

Mr. Rangaswami IYENGAR, in opposing the Bill, referred to the Imperial Economic Conference when the British representative had agreed that British goods were enjoying a large share of India's market even without preference. Now Sir Charles Innes sought unfairly to extend the preference at the cost of India. He referred to the position of the Indian wagon industry in relation to the Bill under discussion. The wagon industry had asked for protection. Obviously that industry could manufacture all the Indian needs; but strangely enough, the Commerce Member had placed orders in England in respect only of current wagon requirements but also of anticipatory requirements for the next five years. The position was that in spite of Indian steel protection the wagon industry would not enjoy any privilege. When the question of protection by bounty to wagon industry came up, the Government would say there was no necessity as they did not require any further supply of wagons. The result would be that while the local wagon industry was suffering British wagon would come into the country at a ridiculously cheap rate of duty.

Bill passed by a Majority.

After Mr. Jinnah had spoken in support of the Bill closure was applied and agreed to. Sir Charles Innes having relinquished his right to reply, the Assembly divided with the result that the Bill was passed by 52 votes against 40.

Civil Aviation Grant.

The House next proceeded to discuss the motion that a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 996,000 be granted to defray the expenses that will come in the course of payment during the year ending 31st March 1927 in

respect of aviation. On Diwan Chamanlal strongly objecting to a penny being spent on civil aviation, Sir Alexander Muddiman replied that the question was of great importance and at the fag end of the day the House was not in a mood to discuss it at length. He, therefore, formally moved that further discussion on the supplementary grant be postponed to which the House agreed and then adjourned.

Discussion of Railway Budget.

On the 22ND FEBRUARY the House proceeded to the general discussion of the railway budget which was initiated by Sir Purushothamdas Thakurdas.

Sir Purushothamdas THAKURDAS acknowledged the manner in which the Railway authorities took members of the Advisory Council and the Finance Committee into their confidence but it seemed to him that mostly it was a case of locking the doors after the horses had left. For, even with the said experience of Railway surplus stores after the war, there was to-day considerable surplus of wagons. Locomotives also ceased to be in excess. These enormous purchases were made at a time of high prices and had involved the taxpayer in an annual loss of the best part of one crore. He was pleased at the lower figure of compensation paid, but suggested that following the example of the B. B. and C. I. Railway who took the Advisory Council into confidence the Railway Member should also tell them of the number of claims received for compensation. Sir Purushothamdas then spoke particularly on the remarks of Mr. Parsons, Financial Commissioner, in his memorandum on the effect of exchange on the Railway budget. He held that in the whole railway tale told to the House the effect of maintaining the artificial ratio was visible unmistakably. While Sir Basil Blackett had told them that prices had adjusted themselves to 1s. 6d. Mr. Parsons was counting on the effect of sterling transactions for the next three to five years. He then examined in detail Mr. Parsons' observations.

As for the wages of the railway employees he was the first to stand, for not only adequate payment but for one that would ensure comfort. He recalled that three years ago Sir Charles Innes held the wages of railway employees to be very generous and those wages to-day were more favourable because of further fall in prices. To raise this issue to prejudice discussion on the ratio was not fair to the country. Sir Purushothamdas added that the Government had been artificially propping up exchange.

Sir Basil Blackett: You want artificial depression.

Sir Purushothamdas: It does not lie in the mouth of the Hon. Member to interrupt me when the time is so limited and when he knows well that he had not the courage to let the ratio issue be discussed earlier.

He continued: "As for the stores, here again, Mr. Parsons had shown that the Government had by its currency policy hit the Indian industries. Sir Purushothamdas further showed that the mileage of 38,039 in 1923-24 had earned on the average Rs. 24,907 per mile. The total mileage of 39,817 in 1927 to 1928 was estimated to earn practically the same, namely Rs. 24,923.

Sir Purushothamdas continuing drew attention to the remark in the railway administration report of 1922-23 that the railway earnings depended on the general prosperity of the country which in the case of India was most easily measured by the agricultural position and returns of foreign trade. The administration report of 1925-26 had referred to the heavy drop in the export of grains through Karachi. The Railway Member had in his speech on Friday admitted that the total foreign trade was nearly 50 crores less in the current year than in the previous year. The whole question then was that whenever they manipulated currency and especially the ratio in a manner that it either hampered exports and consequently also imports, the railways were bound to suffer. Sir Charles Innes was, therefore, not right in thinking that the budget which he presented with a heavy heart was dependent only on factors outside his human control but might very well bear in mind and examine the factors under the control of the Government of India. He felt that unless the Railway department make the Finance Department straighten facts and remedy them, the Railway Budgets of India not only for the next year but for some years to come would have nothing but a sad tale to put before the House. It was a very sad commentary on the Currency policy of the Government and the first reflection of it had been found in the Railways of India.

After several members had spoken Sir Charles INNES replied to the debate. The Railway Member said that for the last few years, the railways had got accustomed to

1s. 6d. ratio and there would be complication if that rate was altered. Much had been said of the question of separation of railway finance and both Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and Mr. Neogy had pleaded for revision. The terms of the present convention were to last for three years only and then the position should be re-examined: but if there was a general desire that the question should be reviewed earlier, then the Railway Board would be quite prepared even to undertake a preliminary examination of the subject. But the whole scheme was in an experimental stage and for that reason he himself would prefer postponement so that the experiment would work itself out. But it must be remembered that whenever examination was undertaken, there must be one condition, namely, that the profits of Railways must go towards improving the railways and cheapening the rates and freights and not for the general revenues of the country. Mr. Seshu Iyengar had considered that in the railway programme they were going too far; but most of the other members who had spoken had urged that the right policy for the Government to adopt was to push on their programmes especially in agricultural tracts, and this they were doing. He warmly contended against the charge that the policy in regard to railway programme was in the interest of England and pointed out that the lowest satisfactory tender was accepted by the High Commissioner and there was no preference for Britain in respect of the stores purchased.

Proceeding, Sir Charles referred to the criticism levelled against the Railway Board after the report of the Raven Committee on workshops and said: "We sought that enquiry at the instance of Mr. Wrench and we shall give effect to the recommendations. He informed Colonel Gidney that reduction in fares had taken place not only in State Railways but on all Company-managed railways. If Mr. Jogiah's suggestion for a uniform rate of 2 pies per mile on all railways for third-class passengers were adopted then there would be a loss of Rs. 11 crores. Mr. Ranga Aiyar was not right in his figures that 2,500 men had been transferred to Calcutta from Lucknow on the E. I. Railway having taken over the O. and R. Railway. The figures were not more than 300. He assured Mr. Ratnaswami that if there was remissness on the part of the Government of India in giving attention to South India in the matter of railways in the past, that was more than made up by the projected extensions in the coming year. Concluding, Sir Charles Innes amidst applause said that if the policy adopted by the Railway Board was pursued, then his successor after five years would be able to show a very remarkable record.

The Assembly then adjourned.

Voting on Railway Demands.

On the 23RD FEBRUARY discussion on railway demands for grants commenced with a full dress debate on the affairs on the Railway Board on the motion for omission of the whole grant, on which all the three non-official parties seemed agreed. About 125 motions for cuts, some token and some substantial, were on the order paper, but by mutual agreement discussion was concentrated on selected motions of both characters.

Mr. Srinivasa IYENGAR rose to move a reduction of the demand by Rs. 9,42,000 which would virtually amount to omission in effect. Mr. Iyengar complained the printing mistake in the motion on the paper which stated that demand be reduced to Rs. 9,42,900 and not by Rs. 9,42,000.

Mr. Graham protested that this was the mistake of the mover as original documents showed. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar expressed regret and the President permitted him to move the reduction by Rs. 9,42,000.

Mr. Iyengar, in moving the motion, said that the Railway Board was as supreme as the Government of India and had its revenue and expenditure in the same proportions as the general budget. There was no sanctity attached to the Railway budget. They wanted that railways should be a transferred subject in charge of an Indian Minister. The Railway Board was an irresponsible body. First class appointments like those of the Chief Commissioner and Members of the Railway Board were appointed without reference to the Assembly. He recalled it was an integral part of the convention that Indianisation should be proceeded apace and Indians should be appointed to the Railway Board.

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar maintained that this question was also a recommendation of the same resolution just as the Convention was, and though it was made apart from the Convention it became a further convention. Why take shelter under technical evasions? He further held that the Board should not be a technical body but a business body and Indians were available to man it to-day. There was mal-administration and gross breach of trust as was shown by the scandal. Sir Charles Innes had made virtue out of necessity in welcoming the Raven Committee's stricture. He finally charged the

Government that the Indian point of view had not been kept in connection with the Railway administration either in the matter of constitution or power of the Board or power of the legislature. The Indian point of view was not kept in view as was shown by the sorry tale of extravagance in respect of wagons and stores. It was still an alien administration out of touch with the Indian requirements.

Sir Charles Innes, replying, wished the attack had been directed to him and not to his railway officers; for, he maintained, the Railway Board was a technical body and did not control the policy. As for Indianisation, he recalled his words three years ago which did not hold out the hope of the early appointment of an Indian to the Railway Board. An Englishman or a Scotchman disliked nothing more than that he be charged with breach of faith. The Railway Board was a technical body and its appointments were prize posts for railway service and must go to men who had earned them by excellent work. It would be dereliction of duty on his part to recommend supersession to appoint an Indian. He realised the point of view of Indians that the Railway Board was a close corporation from which Indians were definitely excluded (hear, hear) but they must realise his point of view also that Indianisation was purely a question of time. He admitted that the Indianisation policy was belated; but it was having full effect and Indians were coming to the top. There was an Indian Chief Engineer and an Indian Superintendent.

Reduction Motion Carried.

The motion of Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar for a cut amounting virtually to the total rejection of the demand was then put to vote and carried by 59 votes against 52. The House then adjourned.

Capital Programme.

On the 24TH FEBRUARY, Pandit Kunzru moved a cut of Re. 1 and wanted to know what their commitments would be in respect of rehabilitation and capital programme. As for new construction he wished they went at a less rapid rate than they were doing at present. Let there be no undue burden on their resources in respect of interest charges.

The motion was put and negatived.

Railway Stores Policy.

Pandit Kunzru next moved a cut on demand under the Railway Board to protest against the purchase of stores direct without assistance and consultation of the Stores Department. The existing policy of the Government in general and Railways in particular for buying stores was highly objectionable. If stores were not bought through the Stores Department why was that department at all maintained?

The Chair put the token cut to vote and declared it carried. This being contested, division was called and Mr. Kunzru's motion was carried by 66 against 44 votes.

Separation of Railway from General Finance.

Mr. Kunzru next raised the question of separation of railway finance from general finance and made suggestions in respect of changes called for in the convention on the subject. After discussion, Pandit Kunzru withdrew the amendment on receiving the assurance that the House would be given an opportunity of discussing the matter.

Enquiry into Railway Employees' Grievances.

Mr. M. K. Acharya raised the question of Government not accepting the Assembly's resolution in 1925 recommending inquiry into the grievances of the subordinate railway employees. He described the attitude of the Government as one of great lack of sympathy and said that resolutions had since been passed by the conference of employees and All India Railway Federation earnestly praying for a commission of inquiry. Mr. M. K. Acharya gave a detailed list of grievances as received by him from employees particularly in regard to low wages. The plight of employees was indeed like that of a drowning man. Would not Sir Charles Innes with weight of his authority and influence come to their rescue by at least agreeing to appoint a committee of enquiry?

The motion was under discussion when the Assembly adjourned till next day, the 25TH FEBRUARY, when the motion of Mr. Acharya was pressed to division and carried by 54 against 47 votes.

Extension of Assam Railway.

Sir Darcy Lindsay then moved a cut of Re. 1 for drawing attention to the failure of the Railway Board to consider the possibility of railway communication between Gauhati

and Shillong. This was withdrawn on Sir C. Hindley assuring that Motor transport served better than Railways in the Assam Hill roads.

Decentralisation of Railway Board's Work.

Mr. Kelkar next moved a cut to elicit information whether the Railway Board had any scheme of decentralisation of board's work and power of supervision and control laying special stress on want of close touch of officials with public opinion. He urged that the advisory committee should not be confined to metropolitan cities, but should also be formed in mofussil. He suggested that committees be formed on the lines of those which existed in Prussia to which reference had been made by the Acworth Committee.

On receiving the assurance that all suggestions made in the debate would be fully considered, Mr. Kelkar withdrew his motion.

Concession Rates to Indian Manufacturers.

Mr. Kelkar next raised a grievance against railway rates of trade in relation to Indian manufacturers. He traced the history of this demand since 1915 when it was made in the Imperial Legislative Council and said the Railway Department never conducted proper investigations into the applications made by Indian manufacturers. He instanced inter alia the case of Kirloskar Brothers who manufactured agricultural implements. Such implements manufactured in England were imported at preferential rates by the Customs Department but the Railway Department took another view and would not allow concession even when this iniquity was drawn attention to by Dr. Harold Mann endorsing the application of Kirloskar Brothers. This was ultimately withdrawn by the mover.

Regulation of Expenditure.

Pandit Nilkantha Das then urged that expenditure should be regulated. He complained that expenditure was growing more and more because they were all raising the standard of living unnecessarily by imitating Europeans. This morning there was a view expressed that the salary of Indians should be raised to the level of Anglo-Indians. Why should this be done? On the other hand the tendency should be to make Anglo-Indians adopt a lower standard. At any rate Indians must not unnecessarily raise their own. The motion was finally lost.

Reduction of Petrol Rates.

Col. Crawford by a token cut pressed on the attention of the Government the necessity for reduction of petrol rates and providing facilities for carriage of petrol in tank wagons. Sir Clement Hindley promised to look into this question of petrol rates after consulting the Agents and informed that they were watching the question of carriage of petrol in wagons.

Other cuts on the agenda were not moved and finally the first head, the Railway Board, was passed by granting for it the reduced sum of Rs. 98.

Inspection Demand.

The second head related to inspection. Mr. Duraisami Iyengar objected to the salaries of certain officers being put as non-votable while they should have been put as votable. He based his objections under provisions of the Act which required that Inspectors should be appointed by the Governor-General in Council and as such their salaries must be made votable. The Assembly then adjourned.

Higher Appointments in S. I. Railway.

On the 26TH FEBRUARY, Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar moved a cut of over Rs. 2 lakhs to protest against the proposal of S. I. Railway to add to higher appointments while continuing to pay starvation wages to lower employees. He added that this railway was most inefficient and that there was nepotism. The motion was rejected.

Pilgrims' Grievances.

Pandit Kunzru by another token cut raised the grievances of pilgrims who are sometimes taken in wagons. He brought this matter particularly in view of the forthcoming Kumbha Mela at Hardwar. If it was felt absolutely necessary to carry pilgrims in wagons then it stood to reason that they must get some rebate in fares. This was withdrawn.

Reduction of 3rd Class Fares.

Mr. Acharya moved a cut to urge reduction of 3rd class fares. Reduction effected in respect of long journey helped only a very small proportion of passengers.

Sir Charles Innes, in opposing the motion, contended that the reduction of fares on East Indian, North Western and South Indian Railways had given a loss of Rs. 67 lakhs in eight months in spite of increased traffic. The Railways had gone as far as possible in the direction of reducing the fares. He emphasised that third class travelling in India was the cheapest in the world. The motion was lost.

Administration—Working Expenses.

Sir Charles Innes then moved for Rs. 1,230 lakhs in respect of working expenses under administration.

Mr. Prakasam moved a cut of Rs. 2 crores. He said the budget showed that no less than Rs. 65 were being spent in working expenses for every hundred rupees gross receipt. He elaborately mentioned to the House the result of his examination of Japanese figures and their comparison with corresponding expenses incurred in India. Thus, while in India, between Rs. 2,500 to Rs. 4,000 were paid monthly to the Agent and Rs. 6,000 to the Chief Commissioner for Railways, the salary in Japan of the Chief Commissioner for Railways did not exceed Rs. 1,020 per mensem. In India itself, the House must be aware that men like the Right Hon'ble Sastri worked patriotically for the sake of the country on mere pittance received from the Servants of India Society. If only the Government had for 60 years tried to open up these ranks to Indians, it would have enabled them to run railways at half the cost. The motion was put and lost.

Mr. Aney next moved a cut to protest against the violation of the Lee recommendation for giving 75 per cent of vacancies to Indians. During the year 223 appointments were made, of whom 132 went to Europeans, while only 86 to Indians including statutory natives of India.

Sir Charles Innes replied that on the State Railway between April to February 35 per cent appointments had gone to Europeans and 65 per cent to Indians and the reason why 75 per cent was not reached was the paucity of mechanical engineers in India, but the Government, fully mindful of working up to 75 per cent at the earliest possible date, were making arrangement for mechanical training and were employing Europeans temporarily on short contracts so that these appointments did not affect permanent proportion of the service.

Mr. Aney pressed the motion to division and it was lost by 45 against 43.

The demand under head "Working Expenses-Administration" was therefore carried without any reduction.

Repairs and Maintenance.

The next head related to the working expenses, repairs and maintenance and operation. Mr. Shunmugham Chetti moved a reduction of Rs. 50 lakhs in the amount of 10 crores set apart for repairs and maintenance charges of rolling stock. His authority for moving this out was the Raven Committee's report. This report had clearly remarked that the repairs were not being carried out as economically as they should be and that with better organisation and better methods of production, it should be possible to reduce the expenses to the level of expenses in England. The costs in regard to locomotives were 38 per cent higher than in England, 100 per cent higher in the case of coaching vehicles and another 100 per cent in case of goods vehicles. These worked out four and a half crores higher, but he pleaded that the Government should give an earnest of their intentions to accept the recommendations of the Committee by agreeing to at least half a crore. The motion was pressed to division and lost amidst official applause.

The total demand under this head namely Rs. 39,67,00,000 was then carried without reduction.

Other demands.

At this stage (5 p.m.) guillotine was applied and other ten heads of the budget were passed. The Congress Party and in some cases also the Nationalist party crying "No" but not challenging a division. Thus after 4 days' voting except that the first head the Railway Board which was given a reduced sum of Rs. 98 out of Rs. 9,48,000 the Railway Budget was sanctioned in entirety. The Assembly then adjourned.

The Financial Statement for 1927-28.

The House re-assembled on the 1ST MARCH 1927 to hear the speech of Sir Basil BLACKETT on the Budget for 1927-28. No appreciable reduction in taxation is proposed, but the duty on motor car and hides, export duty on tea and stamp duty on cheques are all to be affected. Some of them reduced and others abolished. Permanent remission of provincial contributions by 3 and half crores is made and Bombay gets the lion's share while Bengal is relieved to the extent of 9 lakhs leaving 54 lakhs. The actuals of expenditure under military for 1926-27 are expected to exceed the estimates by 63 lakhs.

In the course of his speech Sir Basil Blackett said :—

Customs receipts are expected to exceed the estimate by 130 crores, as a result of the buoyancy of the yield from sugar and protective duties. The Proceeds in 1925-26 of the sugar duty were 71 lakhs more than for 1924-25 and nearly double those of 1923-24, and were thought to have been inflated owing to the heavy fall in the world price of sugar in that year. But our cautious estimate of 570 crores for 1926-27 has now to be raised by 1.25 crores. Protective duties on steel in spite of their success in giving protection have proved unexpectedly efficacious in bringing in revenue and are now expected to produce 2.85 crores as against an estimate of 2.35 crores. This represents of course the total proceeds of these duties, not simply the excess over what the ordinary revenue duties would have brought in.

Taxes on Income are now estimated to bring in 29 lakhs less than the Budget estimate of 16.15 crores, but this is due almost entirely to an increase in refunds in connection with double income-tax relief consequent on the reduction in the standard rate of income-tax in Great Britain.

Our receipts from Salt were fully up to anticipations up to the end of December, but the hope, however slenderly buttressed, that the new Budget might bring a reduction of duty seems to spring eternal in the breast of the salt merchant and the most recent figures suggest that clearances have been retarded pending the opening of the Budget. If so, the March figures may show a substantial recovery, but I have felt it prudent to place the revised estimate at 6.70 crores, a reduction of 20 lakhs on the original estimate.

The net receipts from Opium are now estimated at 3.12 crores, an improvement of 86 lakhs on the Budget figure. We were unduly cautious in our forecast of the immediate effect of our new policy of restricting exports, while a poor crop succeeding three successive bumper years led to a saving of 48 lakhs in our payments to cultivators, etc.

There is no change in the figure of 6.01 crores for the Railway contribution, and among other revenue heads I need only mention a special receipt of 31 lakhs on account of German reparation which represents a payment in respect of the period before 1st April 1926 and does not therefore go direct to reduction or avoidance of debt under the provisions of the Finance Act of 1925.

Expenditure, 1926-27.

On the Expenditure side the most important variations are an excess of 67 lakhs in the net Military expenditure and a saving of 82 lakhs on interest on dead-weight debt. The latter is due to the reduction in the rate of interest paid on new borrowings. The excess on the Military Budget arises mainly from the necessity of increased expenditure on purchase and manufacture of ordinance and other stores amounting to 70 lakhs. Unfortunately this is not a non-recurrent but a recurrent increase explainable by the fact that we have come to the end of our power to draw on the surplus stores left over after the War.

The revised estimate of revenue comes to 130.25 crores and the revised estimate of expenditure to 127.15 crores as compared with the original estimate of 130.43 crores and 130.38 crores. Thus for the fourth year in succession we are left with a realised surplus. The revised Budget of 1926-27 shows a balance on the right side of 3.10 crores.

These figures are drawn up on the basis which has been customary for the purpose of the presentation of the Indian Budget for many years but, as pointed out by the Public Accounts Committee in their Report on the Accounts of the year 1924-25, they do not, strictly speaking, represent either the gross or the net revenue and expenditure of the Government of India. A break of continuity is always to be deprecated. I have not thought it desirable to depart from the method of presentation sanctioned by past practice. There are indeed drawbacks in any form that might be adopted. But that the present form is, in some ways, inconvenient and may even be misleading is illustrated by our experience in 1926-27. In spite of considerable improvements in the main Revenue heads, it is very surprising to discover that the revised estimate of revenue for 1926-27 actually

shows a decline of 18 lakhs as compared with the original estimate. The explanation has to be found in the way in which Railway figures are brought into the figures of the General Budget. Both the receipts and expenditure on Railway Account, which appear as items in the General Budget, are substantially lower in the revised Budget than in the original. Yet the Railway contribution is exactly as originally estimated and has undergone no change whatever. The revised surplus of 3.10 crores for 1926-27 is accounted for to the extent of rather over 2 crores by a real improvement in our revenue; yet the revised figure for revenue is less than the original. The figures of net revenue and expenditure referred to below give a truer picture in this respect. On the other hand, the net figures tend to obscure the magnitude of the Government of India's activities and of the expenditure which they and the Assembly control. We must turn to the gross figures to get an adequate conception of what these are.

The gross expenditure of the Government of India including the working expenses of the Railways and of the Posts and Telegraphs and Irrigation Departments aggregates well over 200 crores. The exact figure is 204.72 crores. Even this figure excludes certain small items of expenditure which are shown net—not gross—in our accounts. I have not imposed on the Finance Department, to whose loyal and exacting labours during the Budget season the Government and the Assembly and in a special degree the Finance Member are deeply indebted, the task of arriving at exact figures in this connection. For the purpose of presentation of the facts to the House and the country, the gross expenditure figure of 204.72 crores conveys a sufficiently true picture.

The task of working out accurate figures of our net revenue and expenditure requires preliminary decisions on many problematical points, for example, the question arises whether expenditure on the collection of taxes should appear as expenditure or as a deduction from the revenue raised by means of those taxes; or again, whether the interest received on our advances to the Provincial Loans Account should be treated as a deduction from our interest charges or as revenue. Statement D of the Budget sets out the figures of net revenue and expenditure on the same basis as last year. According to that Statement our net expenditure amounts to 84.07 crores. One fact which the figures of net revenue and expenditure bring out with somewhat startling clearness is the extent to which under the reformed constitution the activities of the Government of India have been transferred to the Provincial Governments, the functions of the Central Government being limited in the main to the defence of India, her relations with the exterior and with the Indian Princes, major communications, the Public Debt and the Currency, some miscellaneous duties in connection with subjects such as surveys, archaeology and research, and the responsibility for general superintendence, direction and control of the Provincial Governments.

Debt position.

In the year 1926-27, while our total debt will have increased from 969.04 to 975.541 crores, our sterling debt will have decreased from 456.55 to 452.40 crores. Our productive debt will have increased from 737.98 crores to 773.83 crores, and our unproductive debt will have decreased from 234.06 to 201.71 crores. Satisfactory as these figures are in themselves, they are still more pleasing in their reaction on our Budget expenditure and on the rate of interest at which we borrow in India whether for new capital outlay for productive purposes or for repayment of maturing debt. Thanks mainly to our policy of making regular provision for reduction or avoidance of debt, we borrowed in the market in India at the rate of 4.69 per cent, subject to income-tax in 1926 as compared with 6 per cent tax-free in 1922, and the charge on the Budget of 1927-28 for interest on dead-weight debt is about 5 and half crores less than it was in 1923-24, a saving considerably larger than the total amount of our present provision for reduction or avoidance of debt.

Budget estimates for 1927-28—Revenue.

The ground is now cleared for the presentation of the figures of revenue and expenditure of 1927-28. I put the net revenue from Customs at 49.15 crores, an increase of 2.75 crores over the original estimate and of 1.46 crores over the revised estimate for 1926-27. Allowance has been made for a reduction of about 40 lakhs in the revenue from protective duty on steel owing to the effect of the new Steel Industry Protection Bill. It is wise to anticipate some reduction in the imports of sugar as compared with the very high figures of the past two years. The reductions under these two heads should, however, be compensated for by the normal growth of revenue under other heads.

Under the head of 'Taxes on Income,' I put our net receipts at 16.50 crores which is 35 lakhs more than the Budget figure for the current year and 65 lakhs more than the revised estimate. The improvement under this head is due in part to slightly more

profitable trade generally and in part to the substitution of tax-subject for tax-free Government of India securities.

The original estimate of revenue from salt duty for 1926-27 was 6.90 crores and I put the figure for 1927-28 at 7 crores, the increase being justified on the basis of the normal growth in consumption.

Under the head 'Opium' we have to allow for a reduction of 10 per cent in our exports in accordance with the policy announced last year. On the other hand, the considerable reduction which has been effected in the area of cultivation curtails our outgoings. I put the figure for gross revenue from Opium at 3.83 crores, which is 35 lakhs less than the revised figure for the current year, and the expenditure at 91 lakhs which is 16 lakhs less than the figure in the revised estimates for 1926-27. The net revenue will accordingly be 2.92 crores as compared with 3.12 crores in the current year.

The net receipts from Railways for 1925-26 were considerably below those for 1924-25 and in spite of the increased value of 1 per cent on the capital charge, the contribution falls from 6.01 crores in 1926-27 to 5.48 crores in 1927-28.

Our receipts under other heads of revenue are estimated at 15.70 crores, being a reduction of 1.74 crores from the original estimate for 1926-27. This estimate assumes the continuance, pending the inauguration of the Reserve Bank, of the present practice of crediting to revenue the excess over £40 million in the Gold Standard Reserve and the income from investments of the Paper Currency Reserve. The amount of these receipts has, of course, been diminished as the result of the reduction both of the sterling and of the Government of India rupee securities in the latter Reserve.

Our total estimate of revenue for 1927-28 comes to 128.96 crores as compared with an original estimate of 130.43 crores for 1926-27 and a revised estimate of 130.25 crores.

Expenditure.

I estimate our net military expenditure for 1927-28 at 54.92 crores, or almost the same figure as the original military estimate for 1926-27, but 36 lakhs less than the revised figure for that year. The disappearance of post-war charges for demobilised officers accounts for a saving of 64 lakhs, but this is counterbalanced by the extra provision necessary for the expansion of the Air Force, by increased expenditure on improving the barrack accommodation for both British and Indian troops, and by the necessity for an additional outlay of 90 lakhs on ordnance and other stores to which I have already alluded.

Civil expenditure.

The most significant variation in our civil expenditure from the figures of the current year occurs under the head 'Interest on deadweight debt,' which I put at 10.63 crores as compared with 12.53 crores in the Budget for the current year. I have already drawn attention to the way in which our steady adherence to the policy of making regular provision for reduction and avoidance of debt and confining new borrowings to productive purposes in bringing in an annual dividend to the tax-payer in the shape of a progressively increasing saving in the charge for interest on dead-weight debt. The saving in gross interest charges is not less striking and the people of India are securing year by year, in addition to the tax-payers' saving on interest on dead-weight debt, all the advantages of lower interest charges on the capital which is being newly invested in productive works of development. This benefit is felt alike by the Railways, the Irrigation and the Forest departments, and the Provincial Governments as a whole to whom an improvement in the credit of the Government of India brings a much-valued boon in bringing down the rate of interest they have to pay on the sums borrowed by them from the Provincial Loans Fund or direct from the market.

Beneficial services.

For the last two years, the Government of India have been seeking gradually to restore some of the cuts made on the advice of the Retrenchment Committee in the Government of India's expenditure on beneficial services. It is no reflection on the Retrenchment Committee to say that some of the cuts were short-sighted. Temporary expedients had to be adopted in the existing financial situation. It was absolutely essential that expenditure should be reduced and it is to the labours of that Committee that we owe our present ability to take a somewhat longer view. Among the new items of expenditure, which have been approved by the Standing Finance Committee, I would draw special attention to the five-year programme for the expansion of education in the Frontier Provinces and other territories directly administered by the Government of India. This programme was drawn up by the Department of Education, Health and Lands on the suggestion of the Finance Department and is, we hope, only the first of a series of

programmes relating to the other activities of that Department which largely monopolises the privilege, so far as the Government of India is concerned, of watching over those comparatively few services which have not been transferred to the Provincial Governments, where expenditure is directly and obviously related to the advancement of the social well-being of the masses of the people. The programmes for additional expenditure on sanitation and other services are not yet ready, though individual items of new expenditure on their services are included in the estimates for 1927-28. The educational programme which extends up to 1931-32 involves, during the five years, an additional non-recurring expenditure of 29 and three fourth lakhs and a recurring expenditure, rising gradually from 4 lakhs in 1927-28 to 10 and half lakhs in 1931-32. The total amount of additional expenditure for the year 1927-28 is just under 12 lakhs.

Post and Telegraphs.

The Indian Postal and Telegraph Department is, as the House is aware, treated not as a profit-earning institution but as an organisation whose energies are directed to supplying postal and telegraph facilities to the general public in as full a measure as is compatible with the fundamental principle that the Department should not be a burden on the general taxpayer. Under normal conditions, the working expenses and interest charges should be, as nearly as possible, the same as the gross revenue of the Department. With the gradual improvement in trade, it is permissible to hope that the revenues will grow to an extent sufficient to show a substantial surplus over working expense and interest charges. But that happy state of affairs is not yet actually in sight. It is clear, therefore, that any important reduction in the present postal and telegraph rates cannot be secured without saddling the general taxpayer with the necessity of paying a heavy subsidy.

In the case of the Indo-European Telegraph Department, the estimated net results of working in 1927-28 show a small loss of 3 lakhs which is slightly more than the figure in the current year.

Our estimate of the aggregate expenditure of the Government for 1927-28 comes to 125.26 crores. Our estimate of revenue on the basis of existing taxation is, as already stated, 128.96 crores, resulting in a surplus of 3.70 crores.

The surplus of 3.70 crores for 1927-28 is arrived at on the assumption that there will be no departure during the year from the established rate of exchange of 1s. 6d. per rupee. The House will, I know, desire to be informed what effect a reduction of the rate of exchange from 1s. 6d. to 1s. 4d. would have on the Budget figures which I have presented. It is by no means easy to arrive at an accurate estimate. In a statement which is being circulated to-day, the many and various considerations which have to be taken into account in order to show the effect of a reduction to 1s. 4d. on the Budget for 1927-28 are set out in some detail. The effect on the Budgets for the following years is also considered in the same statement. The conclusion arrived at is that on the assumption that during the year 1927-28 it will be unnecessary to compensate any Government employees in any way for the loss of approximately 11 per cent. in the value of their wages, the reduction of the ratio to 1s. 4d. would result in 1927-28 in a total worsening of our position by 5.26 crores. I do not feel that it is my duty to-day on behalf of the Government to make suggestions how the resulting deficit of 1.56 crores should be provided for.

Changes in taxation.

The surplus of 3.70 crores is arrived at on the basis of the existing level of taxation. With 5.45 crores of Provincial contribution apart from Bengal's contribution of 63 lakhs still unliquidated, it is obvious that we cannot afford to give away any important portion of the surplus in reduction of taxation if we are to live up to our declared intention of directing our financial policy to the reduction and eventual extinction of the Provincial contributions as soon as may be. We are, therefore, not yet in a position to make full use of the valuable report of the Taxation Enquiry Committee whose recommendations the Government and the country have been studying during the past year. I shall, I hope, have the approval of the House in saying that our general policy as regards taxation ought to be directed first towards a more equitable distribution of its incidence, so far as that may be attainable with due regard to the other canons of taxation, and the abolition of those imposts which are obnoxious in principle, such as some of the existing export duties, and that, when our finances permit, we should aim at a gradual reduction of taxation to a level which will give some relief to the tax-payer and leave a larger margin available for the Provincial Governments' needs. Once the Provincial contributions have been extinguished, we shall find ourselves in a freer atmosphere in which we can consider the question of taxation entirely or almost entirely from the standpoint of

the Central Administration. With a surplus of 3.70 crores, the House will, I think, not desire us to propose additional taxation for the purpose of increasing the surplus. In 1927-28 therefore, we clearly cannot do more than effect minor changes, the net results of which will not be seriously to modify the surplus of revenue over expenditure.

Export duty on hides.

The first proposals which I have to put before the House in regard to taxation affect two of our existing export duties, the export duty on hides and the export duty on tea. The export duty on hides has been condemned by the Fiscal Commission and the Taxation Enquiry Committee as wrong in principle and dangerous in effect. The trade is at present in a depressed condition and the Government have for some years seen no justification for the retention of the duty except on purely revenue grounds. The export duty on skins, which is open to some of the same objections, is both more productive and less positively harmful than the export duty on hides, and we do not feel that we are in a position this year to propose its reduction or abolition. We do, however, propose the immediate abolition of the export duty on hides involving a loss of 9 lakhs of revenue.

Export duty on tea.

The export duty on tea brings in approximately 50 lakhs a year. Our finances clearly do not permit of its abolition unless we can find some means of compensating ourselves for the loss involved. Fortunately, we are in a position to make a proposal which will secure the disappearance of the export duty on tea with no ultimate loss to the revenue and at the same time other definite advantages to the producers of tea. The tea companies are now assessed to income-tax on 25 per cent. only of their total profits, the balance being regarded as agricultural income and therefore not liable to income-tax. The proportion of 25 per cent. was based on imperfect data and later enquiries show that the non-agricultural profits of the tea companies amount to at least 50 per cent. of the whole. The Government, therefore, propose that the export duty on tea should be abolished and that the tea companies should in future be assessed to income-tax at 50 per cent. of their total net income, subject to the proviso that where there is a market for green tea and the non-agricultural profits can be exactly ascertained, income-tax should be assessed on the total of such non-agricultural profits. The abolition of that export duty on tea costs us 50 lakhs. We expect to get an additional 45 lakhs from income-tax on the non-agricultural profits in 1927-28 rising to 50 lakhs in 1928-29.

Import duty on motor cars, etc.

The next proposal which the Government have to make is one which will, I hope, be universally popular. We propose that the import duty on motor cars should be reduced from 30 per cent. to 20 per cent. "ad valorem" and the import duty on tyres from 30 to 15 per cent. After making allowance for the stimulus to imports which this reduction of duty is expected to give, I estimate the cost of this proposal at 10 lakhs only. The reduction is in accordance with the views of the Taxation Enquiry Committee which rightly drew attention to the importance of encouraging the development of motor transport in India. Neither the Government nor, I think, the House would feel perturbed if the Provincial Governments seized the opportunity of this reduction of the import duty to impose Provincial taxation on the users of motor cars for the improvement and development of their systems of road communication.

Import duty on rubber seeds.

There will be found included in the Finance Bill a provision for removing to the list of articles which can be imported free of duty rubber seeds and rubber stamps which are at present subject to a duty of 15 per cent. "ad valorem." The proceeds of this duty are inconsiderable but it is hampering an important adolescent industry in Burma, whose production promises to become an increasingly valuable item in our export trade. The Government of Burma have made a special representation to the Government of India in support of this concession. We are very glad to be in a position to meet their wishes.

Stamp Duty on Cheques.

I have one more proposal to make for reduction. The Government have decided to accept the recommendation made independently in several quarters and endorsed by the Currency Commission that the stamp duty on cheques should be abolished. With a view to the development of the banking habit in India, we propose at the same time to abolish the duty on other Bills of Exchange payable on demand. For the moment, we do not propose the abolition of the stamp duty on Bills of Exchange not payable on demand which requires further consideration and will involve a loss of about 25 lakhs of revenue. It will be desirable that the abolition of the stamp duty on cheques and

other Bills of Exchange payable on demand should not come into force until the 1st of July next in order to give the banks time to make the necessary preparations. The cost of the abolition of the duty on cheques in a full year will be 7 lakhs but is estimated to amount for the nine months in 1927-28 to 5 lakhs only. This loss falls on the Provincial Governments but does not make any very material difference even to those Governments such as Bengal and Bombay, where the bulk of the duty is collected. In these circumstances, the Government do not think it necessary to compensate the Provincial Governments for the temporary loss of revenue involved, partly in view of the relief which will be given to those Government in other directions, as the House will presently observe, and partly because we hope to be in a position a year hence to bring forward proposals for a division of the Stamps Head into Central and Provincial, coupled with a revision of the Devolution Rules which will fully make good to the Provinces what they will give up under the head "Stamps." The cost of abolishing the duty on other Bills of Exchange payable on demand will fall on Central Revenues, but will not be considerable, and I have felt it unnecessary to make any special provision for it.

Import Duty on Tobacco.

Apart from the loss of 5 lakhs owing to the abolition of stamp duty on cheques which will not affect the Central Government's Budget, the proposed reductions and changes in taxation involves a diminution of our revenue by 24 lakhs. In order partially to cover this loss, the Government propose to increase the import duty on unmanufactured tobacco from Re. 1 to Rs. 1-8 per lb., an increase which is fully justified on statistical grounds and while giving some additional production to Indian grown tobacco, will not materially affect the Indian cigarette industry which is now in a strong position. I expect to obtain 18 lakhs from this source.

The net effect of these measures on our estimates for 1927-28 will be a reduction of 51 lakhs under the head Customs, and an increase of 45 lakhs from Taxes on Income, with the result that our surplus will then stand at 3.64 crores.

Provincial Contributions.

The natural use of a recurring surplus is to reduce Provincial contributions. I propose,—and I am sure that the House will unanimously agree—that our surplus should be devoted to a permanent reduction by 3 and half crores of the Provincial contribution distributed in strict accordance with the provisions of the existing Devolution Rules. This will leave only 1.95 crores of the contributions unremitted, excluding the Bengal contribution. Bengal is entitled to a share in the recurring remission of 3 and half crores to the extent of 9 lakhs, so that her contribution of 63 lakhs will be reduced to 10 lakhs. As, however, Bengal will not be paying any contribution during 1927-28, the actual cost to the Government of India of the permanent remission of 3 and half crores of the Provincial contributions will amount only to 3.41 crores in 1927-28.

Unfortunately the amount of our surplus is not sufficient to enable us to make a clean sweep of all the Provincial contributions. It falls short of the amount required by 1.81 crores. It is an interesting coincidence that the deficiency is approximately equal to the amount of revenue sacrificed a year ago when the Cotton Excise Duty was remitted. Even more unfortunate is the fact that the permanent remission of 3 and half crores, while bringing welcome relief to every Province, leaves 37 lakhs out of Bombay's contribution of 56 lakhs still unliquidated. The Bombay Government's Budget is, I am sorry to say, in a very unsatisfactory state. Bombay is faced with a considerable realised deficit on the working of 1926-27 and is under the shadow of a further estimated deficit of 51 lakhs in 1927-28 on other than Development transactions, which will be reduced to 32 lakhs by the remission of 19 lakhs of her contribution, this being Bombay's share of the 3 and half crores. The Bombay Government have made a very strong appeal for help to the Government of India. It is needless for us to embark upon a critical examination of the causes of Bombay's difficulties. Even though we might be inclined not to acquit Bombay altogether of responsibility in the matter, we must in fairness recognise that the existing Devolution Rule 15 regarding the grant to the Provinces of an interest to the proceeds of Taxes on Income which was designed for the benefit of Bombay and Bengal in particular, has altogether failed in its purpose. Any special claims Bengal might have urged in this connection have been liquidated by the relief already accorded; she has been relieved from 1922-23 onwards of the payment of any part of her annual contribution of 63 lakhs, a gift of the aggregate value of 3.15 crores up to 31st March 1927. The only corresponding gift made to Bombay was a special non-recurring reduction of her contribution of 22 lakhs for the year 1925-26 only.

In these circumstances, the Government of India have been convinced that a very special effort ought to be made in 1927-28 on Bombay's behalf. We are equally convinced

of the inexpediency of altering the existing Devolution Rule for the distribution of relief among the Provinces in a way which would help Bombay at the expense of other Provinces. Some other solution must be found and the Government of India propose to find it by having recourse to the realised surplus of 1926-27. This amounts, as I have already stated, to 3.10 crores. After careful consideration, we have decided that the best way out of our difficulty will be to use a part of this surplus for the purpose of remitting the whole of the remainder of the Provincial contributions for the year 1927-28. This procedure will permit us to meet Bombay's needs in full measure and enable her to balance her Budget for 1927-28 without in any way infringing the rights or arousing the resentment of any of the other Provinces. On the contrary, it will bring them additional and welcome relief. It will carry with it relief to all the Provinces from any liability to pay any contribution to the Central Government in 1927-28. I may add in order to make the story complete, that we propose also to relieve Coorg of her contribution of Rs. 12,000.

These measures will exhaust the surplus in the Central Government's Budget for 1927-28 and reduce to 1.29 crores the estimated surplus in the revised Budget of 1926-27. The proposals so far made regarding the Provincial contributions, while fully meeting Bombay's needs for 1927-28, do nothing to make up to her for the disappointment of her expectations regarding a share in the proceeds of taxes of Income under Devolution Rule 15 in the past year. In order that the Bombay Government may not feel that we are deaf to her claims on this account, we propose further that a sum of 28 lakhs out of the still remaining surplus for 1926-27 should be devoted to relieving Bombay of one-half of her contribution of 56 lakhs for the current year. We propose to couple this special concession with the condition that her Budget for 1927-28 shall show a balance on the right side. I am glad to know from the figures of the Bombay Budget presented in the Bombay Legislative Council last week, that there is every prospect of this condition being satisfied.

There remains a sum of 1.01 crores still left unallocated out of the realised surplus of 1926-27. I have already observed that the inauguration of the Reserve Bank in 1928-29 may cause some temporary diminution of the Central Government's revenue. It would be undesirable, if we can avoid it to make any special call on the tax-payer for the purpose of tiding over temporary Budget difficulties connected with the financing of the new Gold Bullion Standard and Reserve Bank. The Government accordingly propose to utilise the remainder of the realised surplus of 1926-27 as a nest egg either for the purpose of relieving the Budgets of 1928-29 and 1929-30 of temporary charges incident to the inauguration of the new currency system or for the purpose of increasing the strength of the reserves to be handed over to the Reserve Bank as cover for the note-issue or for both purposes, according as circumstances dictate.

Revenue Reserve.

The procedure which we propose is to open a special Deposit Account and pay into it the whole of the realised surplus for 1926-27. In the estimated receipts for 1927-28, there would be included a payment from this Account to revenue of the sum required to balance revenue and expenditure in 1927-28, on present figures 1.81 crores. The amount finally credited to revenue in 1927-28 would, however, be not this exact amount but such sum as may ultimately prove necessary in order to bridge whatever the final gap may be between the expenditure for the year and the ordinary revenue, apart from this assistance from the special reserve. In order that this may be done the Government propose to the House, at the time when the Finance Bill is taken into consideration, a special supplementary estimate covering the transfer to the surplus of 1926-27.

I desire to emphasise clearly the fact that the non-recurrent remission of the Provincial contributions must be regarded as definitely temporary, so that if a recurring surplus is not available a year hence sufficient to enable us to make this remission permanent, it will be necessary either to restore the temporarily remitted contributions wholly or in part or else to propose fresh taxation.

The House will recognise that even though the Government are formally safeguarded against the accusation of counting unhatched chickens by the provision that the final portion of the Provincial contributions is remitted for one year only, they are clearly taking the risk that if the monsoon of 1927 is specially unfavourable, both the Government and the House, and in a special degree the Finance Member, will be faced next year with difficulties which will in a measure be self-imposed.

Our proposals are also open to another objection which I should be the last to minimise. They involve a diversion of the realised surplus of 1926-27 from its proper application to the reduction or avoidance of debt. The House will, I am sure, do me the justice of recognising that I have not been backward in insisting on the virtues of

strictness and purism in the matter of debt redemption. My defence for this lapse from virtue must be that complete liquidation of our liabilities to the Provinces in respect of Provincial contributions is a very big prize, justifying a very special effort, and that a succession of realised surpluses has enabled us to outdistance our own fixed programme of debt redemption in the last few years, and that the fixed programme remains unmodified and involves us in any case in a charge of 5.12 crores for reduction or avoidance of debt in 1927-28. We can, I think, justifiably make this concession without denying our principles, in order to secure the advantage for India, economic and social, and the stimulus to the successful working of the reforms, which will flow from the release of 5.45 crores of revenue to the Provinces for expenditure on those nation-building services which all true friends of India and of the Reforms have so deeply at heart.

Finally, we should not be unmindful of the fact that so long as Provincial contributions remained unliquidated, the occurrence of a bad monsoon, which would affect Provincial finances more directly and more severely than Central finances, would make the position of the Central Government an uneasy one in the face of demands from the Provinces for assistance from the Central Budget,—a state of affairs which will be fundamentally changed once we have ceased to exact any contributions. From the standpoint of our Ways and Means Budget, the complete release of the Provincial contributions make less difference than might at first sight be expected. It is improbable that the Provinces will find it expedient to embark immediately on heavy additional expenditure, as time will be required for working out plans and programmes. Indeed, so far as the year 1927-28 is concerned, I anticipate that the surplus of 1926-27 will, in effect, remain in our balances and be available temporarily for the avoidance of debt, so that the amount of new money which we shall ask for from the market, when we issue our Rupee Loan in the summer, will not be increased as a result of these proposals.

Let me sum up the Government's plans for dealing with the surplus of 1926-27 and 1927-28. The current year's surplus of 3.10 crores will be reduced to 2.82 crores by the special remission of 28 lakhs of the Bombay Government's contribution for 1926-27. This sum of 2.82 crores will be transferred in its entirety to a special reserve so that the revised estimate for the current year will not exhibit either a revenue surplus or a deficit. The next year's surplus of 3.64 crores will be supplemented by such sum, at present estimated at 1.81 crores, as may be required to be transferred from the special reserve in order that the out-turn of the year 1927-28 may also show neither a deficit nor a surplus. The credit balance in the special reserve at the close of 1927-28, at present estimated at 1.01 crores, will be kept in hand as a nest egg for use in connection with the inauguration of the new Gold Bullion Standard and Reserve Bank.

Concluding the Finance Member said :—

Each of the three Budgets laid before the Second Assembly was not only balanced at the time of its introduction but has presented India with an appreciable realised surplus of revenue over expenditure. The necessity of reducing the salt tax from Rs. 2-8 to Rs. 1-4 per maund in the Budget of 1924-25 postponed the beginning of the remission of the Provincial contributions. The Budgets for 1925-26 and 1926-27, relieved finally of the uncertainties of Railway Finance by the separation of the Railway Budget from the General Budget, effected a reduction in the Provincial contributions amounting to 3.75 crores or, if the Budget contribution be included, a reduction from 9.83 crores by 4.38 crores to 5.45 crores. In addition, the Budget for 1926-27 signalled the demise of the unlamented Cotton Excise Duty. In the first Budget, this new Assembly has before it proposals for the complete extinction, at any rate so far as the year 1927-28 is concerned, of the Provincial contributions.

I account it a great stroke of good fortune for myself and a happy augury for the financial work of the new Assembly that its first Budget should be the first since the Reforms in which our revenues are independent of assistance from the provincial taxpayer. Ever since the Reforms were inaugurated the Provincial contributions have been a millstone round the neck both of the Central Government and of the Provincial Governments of India poisoning their mutual relations and hampering their every action. Their quality even more than their amount, has strained the resources of the giver and the patience of the recipient. They have brought curses, not blessings, both to him who has given and to him who has taken. The year 1927-28 sets India free from this incubus.

It is true that final and complete freedom has still to be won and that we are still relying on the Budget of 1928-29 to consolidate the ground now occupied. The year before us must be devoted to a further and final effort to this end. But meanwhile the Provincial Governments will have at their immediate disposal large additional resources and they can turn confidently to the work of framing projects for the advancement of the

well-being of their citizens. Governments and, in particular, Finance Departments, and even Finance Members, are often taunted with being heartless and inhuman, and it is doubtless difficult and occasionally dangerous, to wax sentimental over figures. There is nothing to capture the imagination or stir the emotions in the figure of 5.45 crores. But what romance lies behind this figure when it is translated into spending capacity in the hands of the Ministers in the Provinces! It is always wise, when discussing figures and accounts, to remember that money represents nothing more than a power to command goods and services. The programme of educational expenditure in the territories directly administered by the Government of India, to which I referred earlier in my speech, involves over a period of 5 years a total expenditure recurring and non-recurring, of 68 lakhs. In addition to improved accommodation and a higher standard of teaching for hundreds of existing schools and thousands of existing scholars, these 68 lakhs represent something like 600 new schools and 30,000 children brought within reach, for the first time, of the privileges of education year by year. What will 5.45 crores a year, transfigured into goods and services, available year by year in the hands of the Provincial Governments, mean in the promotion of human happiness, in the prevention of preventable disease and ignorance, in the widening of the opportunities for a good life for many crores of the people of India! It is in the belief that by the acceptance of this Budget, Members of this House have it in their power to promote the health and happiness of millions of the masses of India that I commend the Government's proposals to the House and to the country".

Civil Aviation Grant Passed.

There was a fair attendance on the next day the 2ND MARCH, when the House met with an important motion, being a Supplementary demand of Rupees ten lakhs for Civil Aviation. Sir B. N. Mitra made a long speech in commending the motion. He said that the money now asked for was really for acquisition of land for a future air harbour. The Standing Finance Committee had agreed to this subject to the question of policy being accepted by the Assembly. The essence of the policy was to ensure that India shall have an effective voice in the conditions on which contracts are given for services touching her shores and that opportunities were afforded for the investment of Indian capital and for training and employment of Indian pilots and personnel. From the questions put in this House, it was evident that members were taking great interest in the question of aviation. The Assembly itself ever since its establishment in 1921 has been voting money year after year for expenditure on measures which received the approval of the Standing Finance Committee. Aeroplane transport services were started in various parts of the world mostly in 1920 and since then Europe had about eighteen thousand miles of air lines in place of six thousand miles, America about eight thousand miles in place of 2,800, Africa 3,600 in place of 900 and Australia and Asia where there were no air lines in 1920 had 3,300 and 1,300 miles respectively. An important advantage of aerial over surface transport was speed. To the businessman, time was money and economy of time was of great advantage in regard to goods traffic. Aerial transport had other advantages over surface transport. Carriage of goods by air had several important advantages, particularly in the case of transit between different countries. After explaining the growth in air services in Great Britain under which the number of passengers and quantity of goods carried had increased, Sir B. N. Mitra said that in Australia the air services were now a useful and important feature of regular transport system. Japan too had taken up an elaborate programme of development of civil aviation which would take 20 years to complete. Aeroplanes had been used in certain countries for administrative purposes such as forest fire protection, survey of tracts, anti-malarial operations, ambulance and medical duties etc. It was, therefore, undesirable that India should lag behind other countries. Imbued with a spirit of progress India which was a continent even more largely benefitted than most other countries by the development of her air transport. As a matter of fact Burma Government was already making use of air service for the survey of about 1,400 miles of forest and Creek country in the Irawadi delta. With the development of air services between England and India, the transit between the two countries would take only five or six days, that between Bombay and Calcutta less than 12 hours, of Delhi Calcutta and Bombay within nine hours, Madras in a straight route would be a little more than 12 hours' journey and if night flying develops Rangoon would be reached within 24 hours.

Proceeding, Sir Bhupendranath Mitra said that however poor India might be, she could not wholly overlook the need for the development of her aerial transport. Unless India took an active interest in this matter, there was the real danger of this transport passing into the hands of foreign capitalists to whom India could not refuse the right of flight over her territory under terms of international Air Convention. He corrected the impression created by Dewan Chamanlal that the policy was to help England's supposed military adventures in the Far East. In the Budget of 1927-28 they had provided for the expenditure of about Rs. 4 lakhs of which only Rs. 70,000 was recurring and the balance was non-recurring.

Concluding Sir B. N. Mitra explained the details of the scheme as already published and said the air harbour at Karachi was being constructed with financial assistance from British Government and it was only proper that the Government of India should later on take over the harbour by paying back to the British Government the money they are spending on it. Apart from four main air harbours at Karachi, Bombay, Calcutta and Rangoon, it will be necessary gradually to provide a chain of aerodromes across the main air routes. With the approval of the S. F. O. A. a sum of Rs. 1 and a half lakhs has been entered in the budget for 1927-28 to meet expenditure on the acquisition of land for intermediate aerodromes on the main route from Karachi to Calcutta and Rangoon. An additional reason for incurring this expenditure at an early date was to enable the Government of India to exercise some control on the route adopted by foreign aircraft in their flights across India. This foreign aircraft has nothing to do with the Imperial Airways Company nor is it engaged on commercial flights, there being as yet no commercial air route traversing India. It is engaged on what is known as experimental, world flights.

After some discussion the Assembly passed the demand of Rs. 10 lakhs and adjourned till the next day when the Budget was discussed.

General Discussion of the Budget.

On the 3RD MARCH, the House re-assembling, Mr. Rangaswami IYENGAR, General Secretary, Congress Party initiated the general discussion on the budget. Mr. Iyengar said that the budget had left him in a depressed state in spite of the Finance Member's sound financial methods. The House had repeatedly failed in its attempt to exercise its power on account of certifications. The Government, instead of enhancing their powers, was curtailing them. He complained specially of a large number of votable items which the Government had made non-votable such as passage money, travelling allowances and pensions of officials. Why should the Assembly be considered incompetent to deal with questions of the carpet in the Government House in Calcutta and state carriages and motors of the Governor-General? It was quite clear that the Government did not trust this House. The Government had thus been going on crippling the powers of the legislature both here and in the provinces. It was a travesty of truth to say that this Assembly had the power to conduce to the happiness of the masses.

As for the main budget, he said the tale of realised surpluses was that of over-estimating of expenditure and under-estimating of revenue, a tale which Mr. Gokhale was the first to raise in the Imperial Legislative Council, the defect of which had never been rectified. The Finance Member should have, instead of starting his provincial loans fund and debt redemption scheme, given relief to the tax-payer. Then again he protested against the proposed abolition of export duty on hides. His province had the industry of hides and skins alone to boast of and the present protection was thus proposed to be withdrawn. He had received a protest from the Hides and Skins Merchants' Association.

Mr. G. D. BIRLA said :—"The Finance Member, when presenting the Budget, announced with no little jubilation amidst cheers from treasury benches that he was in a position to place before this House a surplus budget for the fourth year in succession. I wish, Sir, I also had felt as joyful as my friends opposite on this occasion and had been in a position to swell the chorus of congratulations to the Finance Member. But my difficulty is that I cannot help feeling that although we have had the fourth surplus Budget in succession we did not have it without resorting to a large increase in taxation which the Finance Member has been able to conceal through his manipulation of exchange. Taking figures for 1924-25 we find the net expenditure in the year was Rs. 132 crores which at the gold rate of 1s. 2-9-16d. ruling on 1st March of the year amounted to £ 80 millions. The expenditure budgeted for 1927-28 is 125 crores or

7 crores less than in 1924-25, so far as rupee figures go, but expressed in terms of gold this 125 crores at the exchange rate of 1s. 6d. comes to £98 millions which means we shall be spending in 1927-28 £13 millions more than we spent in 1924-25. Sir, to quote the Finance Member himself, money represents nothing more than power to command goods and services and that being so he cannot deny that he has already in the years 1925-26 and 1926-27 exacted from the taxpayer about £ 30 millions more than what he got in 1924-25 and by the end of 1927-28 he will have added another £ 13 millions to this exaction. In other words, in the triennium 1925-26 to 1927-28 he will have taken from the country about 43 millions or Rs. 64 and half crores more than he took in the year 1924-25. The real surplus in 1927-28, if expenditure were kept at the level of 1924-25 should have been about £13 millions or about Rs. 20 crores, which in the Budget presented to the House is only Rs. 3.64 crores. It did not require any great skill to present a fourth successive surplus budget with enormously concealed increased taxation and I do not know whether the Finance Member should claim any credit for it. It speaks volumes for the present unsatisfactory state of things that by means of manipulations the Finance Member has been able to exact such huge amounts as taxation without the knowledge and consent of the Assembly.

Sir Victor SASOON'S speech on the budget discussion was important as it dealt with a statement on the effects of 1sh. 4d. rupee as he did in the Railway budget and was restricted to that subject during the short time at his disposal. Before doing so, he referred to the remark of the Finance Member in reference to the amount of revenue he has foregone by remission of the cotton excise duty. Sir Victor said:—"I sensed a note of disappointment in that the mill industry has not expressed, shall I say sufficient, lively spirit of gratitude for the relief afforded to it and I do feel that some explanation is due to the house for any such lapse. It may be that any lack of warmth is due to the fact that though the remission of duty relieved us of 3 and half per cent of the cost of our product, the exchange policy of the Government has penalised us to-day by over 5 and half per cent. In other words we have been given what is known as an Irishman's rise. I wonder whether if to-day it were announced that the leader of the house were to be given an increase of salary of Rs. 600 p. m. provided that he paid Rs. 1,000 a month more for a comfortable residence leased to him by a beneficent Government, I wonder whether we should see tears of joy coursing down his cheeks? I doubt it and that must be my excuse for any lack of warmth in the expression of gratitude on the part of mill industry.

Now, let me turn to the statement. As to para 2, I will content myself with saying that as fall in the cost of living has been negligible during rise from 1sh. 4d. gold to 1sh. 6d. gold I see no reason to anticipate readjustment of an adjustment to a ratio which has never taken place. In para 3 (a) I accept the statement that there will be an extra expenditure of rupees necessary for sterling obligations, but I cannot accept the estimate in 2, (b) of a 7 and a half per cent increase in the costs of local produce. Experience has shown them that prices have not adjusted themselves in the aggregate except to a trifling degree to the 1.6 ratio and so I would suggest dividing the estimate by about 4 and allowing say Rs. 30 lakhs instead of Rs. 112 lakhs. I now pass to 4 (c). Here the author of the statement trots out the bogey of general dislocation of trade whose parents are the two bogeys called sudden rise in prices and financial effects of a sudden drop in exchange or the Sir Basil Blackett bogey. I have previously shown the house how little the cost of living has dropped through rise in exchange and how little it, therefore, is likely to rise through proposed exchange readjustment. That disposes of the bogey of high prices as far as the consumer is concerned. Now for the bogey that a sudden drop of 2d. to 1sh. 4d. would cause an acute crisis, I ask how? To-day importers have, I have been creditably assured, covered all their forward commitments. They have learnt the lesson of not trusting Government assurances and are now not gambling in exchange. A drop in exchange, therefore, would on the contrary, engender confidence in a body of merchants who have been having a very thin time during the last few years and by stimulating business offer an opportunity to the large class of unemployed clerks of finding new situations and thus be in a position to earn their daily bread once again. I therefore see no reason for estimating a deficit of crore in returns due to dislocation of trade. On Messrs. Hardy and Tottenham's minute, one need not waste time. If we take Mr. McWatters' note to the Currency Commission, we find the estimated gain to customs through a return to 1sh. 4d. rupee as being Rs. 262 lakhs. He assumes admittedly no diminution of imports. The authors of the joint memorandum, Messrs. Hardy and Tottenham give what diminution they consider will ensue and by this means turn Mr. McWatters' profit of Rs. 262 lakhs into a loss, a difference of Rs. 388 lakhs. I will only say that if the effect of a 11 per cent rise in

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which the Government had deliberately brought about by their recent series of outrage against public conscience and the spirit in which the Transferred Departments had been worked during the first term of the Reformed Council when the Swarajists were out of it, this constitution could not be worked at all to any purpose. It had been suggested that Congressmen were shirking responsibility. He did not know what responsibility could attach to a Minister who could not move an inch without the consent of the Governor, the Finance Department or the Secretary of his Department. Lord Birkenhead would not condescend to tell them how far he could meet their idea of responsible Government until they performed the impossible feat of working of the unworkable constitution. They know and the Secretary of State knew that dyarchy had failed. Still at the point of bayonet, he would compel them to work. As representatives of a self-respecting people they could not but protest against and oppose this attitude. Refusal to accept office might or might not lead to any definite result in the immediate future, but at the present stage of their national struggle, that mentality was far more important than any positive result to be expected. To the Government he would say that even if by taking advantage of their disunited front they succeeded in gaining their object this time, the spirit of resistance in the country could not and would not be broken and would go gathering strength under the stimulus of their stubbornness till sooner or later it could compel justice and fairplay to the people.

Sir Provas Chunder MITTER, ex-Minister, said that he had not changed his views that dyarchy was extremely unworkable, but dyarchy was an existing constitution and they should work it for the benefit of the people. When he was a Minister, he had difficulties not only in the Government but also outside. If the Ministers had the backing of the country, they would have achieved more good to the country in spite of the defects of dyarchy.

Mr. J. M. SEN GUPTA, Swarajist leader, said that the Governor was illogical in asking them to support dyarchy before making a better constitution. Nowhere the salary of the Ministers was brought out without letting the people know who the Ministers would be. The object of the Government was to kill opposition and organisation of the Swaraj Party. Whatever might be the result of the motion, the spirit of opposition and organisation would not be killed even if dyarchy was resuscitated.

The Swaraj Party's motion refusing the entire sum on account of Ministers' salaries was lost by 94 votes to 38. The Hon. Mr. Moberley's demand for Rs. 24,775 on account of two Ministers' salaries was thus carried. The Council was then prorogued sine die.

The Budget for 1927-28.

The Budget Session of the Bengal Council commenced on the 21ST FEBRUARY. In introducing the budget, the Finance Member said that with the disappearance of the disturbing factors and better insight into the working of the departments, we have now got down to a more normal basis and as the result of that we have found ourselves in a better position to determine more accurately our true financial condition and the amount available for schemes involving "new" expenditure.

After stating the figures for receipts and expenditure, the Finance Member touched briefly on the main items of expenditure. He said: We continue the special grant for improvements in our Government estates as well as the expenditure on the colonisation schemes in Sunderbans. Excise expenditure shows little variation. The estimate is in fact below the budget provision for the current year. We have had a good increase in revenue from our forests. Provision has been made for charges on account of the Damodar Canal project, flushing of Bhairab Inscerpur sub-division of Nadia, improvement of the Gobra Nala in Murshidabad, measures of protection in Ghatal sub-division and operations in Madaripur Bhil route. The only new proposal of any magnitude is the Bakreswar irrigation project in the district of Birbhum. This will irrigate about 10,000 acres of land. The most important new item in the Jail Budget is the scheme for a Borstal institution. The idea is to convert the Jail at Bankura into a Borstal institution and to provide a Sub-Jail at this place for ordinary jail administration. Until the Borstal Act is brought into force, it is intended to concentrate all persons between the ages of 16 and 21 with comparatively long sentences in this institution. The police budget is some what higher than the revised estimate for the current year.

The main new items of expenditure centre round better equipment of the force, inclusive of better and more adequate housing conditions. There is also a proposal to strengthen the striking strength of the Calcutta Police force by the creation of an additional

company of armed police. We intend also to commence work on construction of our own buildings to house married officers and servants whom we now have to accommodate in hired buildings at considerable expenditure to the Government. Education came in for a very substantial share on money allocated for new expenditure. The chief item is further instalment of subventions towards improving the remuneration of primary school teachers. A large amount has also been set apart for the introduction of a scheme of agricultural education in middle English and High English schools. We have provided for the appointment of a professor of Islamic studies and culture in the post graduate department of the Calcutta University and have agreed to provide funds necessary for the construction of a Muslim Hall at the Dacca University. In the Medical Department, the proposed expenditure is about a lakh less than that estimated as charges of the department for the current year. Public Health which we increased largely last year also shows a lower expenditure in 1927-28. In agriculture, we propose to add an additional expert officer to the department in the shape of an Agricultural Engineer and certain expenditure will be necessary under this head in connection with the scheme for agricultural education in middle English and high schools.

In the department of Industries, it is intended to add new buildings to the Serampore Weaving School. It is now proposed to erect new buildings for the school and to augment progressively in the next three years the grant placed at the disposal of the Director of Industries for grants-in-aid in such institutions.

Grant for new Council Chamber.

After the presentation of the budget, Mr. B. Chakravarti, Minister, moved that the proposed new Legislative Council building should be entirely stone-faced at the cost of Rs. 33,77,000 instead of a brick building at the estimated cost of Rs. 25,50,000.

The motion was opposed by the members of all parties. The Finance Member said that they had already sanctioned for this purpose Rs. 25 lakhs and they wanted Rs. 8 lakhs more. Mr. S. C. Bose, in opposing, said that they wanted a stone building to meet the arrows of conscience. Sir Abdur Rahim was surprised how the Minister could bring such a proposal. In Delhi the amount of money they were wasting in stone was simply enormous. Bengal was too poor to have that luxury. Mr. J. L. Banerjee said that the Council Chamber with stone outside and brick within would be like the Reform scheme so stately outside and so hollow and rotten within. This Council was ushered into existence with much pomp but under pressure of the rules and the President's rulings, it was going to be shorn practically of all its glory.

The motion was negatived by an overwhelming majority. The Council then adjourned.

Next day, the 22ND FEBRUARY, the first resolution that was moved urged the making of provision for the third Minister who was to be a Mahomedan and it was negatived, 29 voting for and 72 against it.

Release of Bengal Detenues.

The next resolution urged the immediate release of Bengal detenues restrained either under Regulation III or under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act. It was moved by Mr. K. Chatterjee (Swarajist). The mover had not concluded his speech when the time fixed for discussing the adjournment motion regarding the shooting at Kharagpur arrived and the Council at once proceeded to discuss the adjournment motion.

Adjournment Motion on Kharagpur Strike.

Dr. B. C. ROY moved an adjournment motion to discuss the firing on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway employees and strikers at Kharagpur on the 11th February. He said his object in bringing the motion was to make two points clear. The first was the statement made by Sir Charles Innes in the Assembly that no more violence was used than was necessary. The public would not be satisfied with that statement, unless it was tested by a mixed committee of enquiry. It was not denied that violence was used and the question was whether the Magistrate was justified in calling out the Auxiliary Force, the members of which were men with whom workers and strikers had already been at variance.

Babu Akhil Chunder DUTTA said that this was a dispute between black labour and white capital and the Government threw its weight on the side of capitalism. This fight was part of a higher fight for the freedom of the country.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOBERLY, in replying, said that they had been told that workmen got entirely out of control of their leaders on the night of 11th February. There was a meeting that night at 7 p.m. and at about 9-30 p.m. a large number of men variously estimated at between 500 and 1,000 rushed to the station. They attacked the signal cabins

at each end and the people there ran away and were in possession of the station. The District Magistrate who was at Kharagpur immediately sent for armed police and went to the station with the Police Superintendent and some railway officers and tried to clear the platform. They got the crowd to move down. The men then commenced to stone the officials and police officers retreated to the station. Realising that the situation was beyond the power of 30 or 40 armed police, the District Magistrate called out the Auxiliary Force which arrived at about 10-30 p. m. Continuing, he said that after the arrival of the Auxiliary Force they were asked to clear that part of the platform where the Puri Express was held up. According to regulation, the Auxiliary Force fixed bayonets to their rifles. The Auxiliary Force was received with a shower of brickbats and the people lay down in front of the Puri Express and considerable difficulty was experienced in getting them to move.

The best method of dealing with a crowd which was stoning was to get as close to it as possible and that was what they did. The casualties found in the hospital numbered ten, seven slightly and three or four seriously injured. Apparently what happened was that as the Auxiliary Force were moving the crowd, they pricked them with their bayonets. There was a "dip-end" and apparently some of the crowd and members of the Auxiliary Force fell over, which might account for some of the injuries. There was no proper bayonet charge.

Dr. Roy :—So the Hon'ble Member is prepared to deny that Auxiliary Force had anything to do with shooting?

Mr. Moberly :—I absolutely and emphatically deny that. Continuing, he said the Auxiliary Force was armed with ball cartridges. There was one case of gunshot caused by buckshot with which the armed Police were armed. He had a letter from the Colonel Commanding the B. N. Railway Regiment to the effect that on the night of 11th February the Regiment did not fire any shot and that ammunition and rifles were checked and were all found to be correct. Continuing, Mr. Moberly said the Assistant Police Superintendent came back with a section of the armed police. He found a number of men stoning a small picket of six or seven constables.

He tried to move the crowd back to bazar. The crowd fell back as far as the entrance to the bazar and from there they stoned the police. A number of policemen as also the District Police Superintendent and the Assistant Police Superintendent were injured. Mr. Cook, Assistant Police Superintendent, repeatedly warned the crowd that if they continued to advance he would have to fire. The men did not obey and Mr. Cook issued order to two constables to fire a round each which they did. That time there was no Auxiliary Force in the neighbourhood.

Subsequently, a section of the Auxiliary Force came up and reinforced the police and a little later the District Magistrate came there. After the firing took place, the crowd retreated behind a corner and again threw stones.

The matter was talked out for two and a half hours, the time allotted for discussion of the motion, after which the Council rose for the day.

Release of Bengal Detenues.

Next day, the 23RD FEBRUARY, after interpellation, Rai Harendranath Chaudhuri moved a motion for adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing a matter of urgent public importance, namely, the recent hunger strike of the Bengal detenues at the Insein Jail, Burma. The President fixed 5 o'clock in the afternoon for the discussion of the motion. But subsequently Rai Harendranath Chaudhuri withdrew his motion in order to allow the discussion of the resolution for their release to continue.

There was a long debate in reply to which Mr. MOBERLY, Home Member, referred to the recent speech of the Viceroy in which His Excellency stated that the Government were prepared to release them the moment they were satisfied that their release would not defeat the prevention of terrorist outrages and said that although it was obvious that information about secret organisation could be obtained only from persons who were or had been members of that organisation, whether they were detenues or at large, he most emphatically denied that any agents provocateurs had ever been employed by the Police in Bengal. Apart from the immorality of the course, the terrorist conspiracy was far too serious a matter to be trifled with and the object of the Government was to reclaim those who had leanings in that direction, not to add to their number. The Government never attempted to take action against every one whom they knew to be connected with the conspiracy. Nor did they claim to know everyone who was connected with it. They did deal with those whom they knew to be leaders and with the most dangerous of members and they did claim to have disorganised the conspiracy to

a very great extent. Evidence of this fact was furnished by the lull which followed the action taken immediately on the promulgation of the Ordinance as compared with the succession of outrages during the preceding 18 months. Some of those who were not arrested, however, soon began to organise again and the result of their activities was brought to light in the finds of arms and explosives at Dakshineswar and in Calcutta. The persons who were convicted in the Dakshineswar case were responsible for the brutal murder of Rai Bahadur Bhupendranath Chatterjee in the Alipore Jail. The find of materials for the manufacture of explosives in Domjur and Howrah last July, the find of loaded bombs in Chittagong last August and the find of revolvers and bombs ready for loading in Calcutta last month were outward signs that a conspiracy still existed and was still widespread.

Mr. Moberly read extracts from the following among other documents which had been recently seized showing the mentality of the members of the terrorist organisation. The first was from a letter which was found in a house search in January and reads:— "Non-co-operation will not produce any good result now-a-days. The present condition of the country is not fit for that movement. The era that is coming is an era of bloodshed. That era is the most terrible and you are the heroes of that age. Perhaps, you can remain idle at the present moment; but a time will come when no one would be able to remain inactive. Therefore, I say, prepare yourselves for that time. The day is near at hand. Acquire strength in your body, rid your mind of fear and awake enough force within you. If freedom is ever achieved in India, it will come through bloodshed alone. India can never be independent without bloodshed. Why India alone, all dependent nations and countries have become independent through the path of blood. Terror must be instilled into the minds of the people. They will have to be shown that the Bengalis know how to die for their country and to shed blood for it. When this fact can be driven into the bones of the people, the country will blaze up in flames, such flames as none can extinguish."

The second extract was from a statement made by a person arrested under the Criminal Law Amendment Act within the last few weeks. "It is absolutely necessary that 'rebellious spirit' should be fostered in youngmen and they should be encouraged to take part in violence. The Government would take drastic steps, but they should court extreme measures of the Government to create anarchy and chaos in the country. We thought of murdering a few informers and active C. I. D. officers; but that was not our ultimate aim. We were preparing the revolutionaries to take part in a general rising by guerilla warfare. We conspired for a simultaneous rising in all districts when the revolutionaries would attack the police lines, capture their guns, burn some police thanas and jails. We know that the Government would post the military, oppress the innocent, and hang many men and eventually crush the movement, but still we ventured to bring it upon the country as the people would get some precedent to take part in this in future. Men become more bold by failures and oppressions and we wanted to create our atmosphere when people would be killed by hundreds. We wanted to see the blood of our countrymen flowing by torrents. Secret organisations have been formed in every district, in many sub-divisions and in the villages. There is a Central Committee in Calcutta which guides these district organisations and supplies them with books and arms. All the revolutionaries are taught these blood-thirsty idea, their utter helplessness, the futility of open organisation and about their extinction if they do not rise up immediately."

The third extract was taken from the report by a European Police Officer of a conversation with another terrorist who was arrested at about the same time last month. "His sole regret was that he had not had an opportunity of killing some police officer so that he might have sacrificed his own life for the good of the country. He would have considered it an honour to go to the scaffold. He realised that it was impossible to drive the British out of the country; nor was he anxious that they should be driven out until the country was ready to rule itself and life could be put into the lifeless bodies of the Indians. This metamorphosis could only be brought about by creating a 'rebellious' spirit in the country, and this rebellious spirit could only be cultivated by martyrdom such as that of Kanai Lal and Gopi Shaha. Their deaths, he said, in each case resulted in an amazing impetus to the revolutionary movement. If he had had a bomb in his possession in the jail he would quite cheerfully have thrown it at me, not as an Englishman with whom he had no quarrel but as an official and a police officer. He warned me that there were numbers of others to take up the work where he had left off."

Mr. Moberly would ask the members of the Council if they considered that the facts which he had set forth were such as would justify the Government in coming

to the conclusion that the conspiracy had been so far suppressed, that it would be impossible for the former leaders to revive it in a dangerous form even if they so desired. He thought there could only be one answer. The conspiracy was there; the materials were there and though it had still not fully recovered from its disorganisation, recruitment and organisation were steadily going on. With the old leaders back again it could, if they wished, speedily be revived in its most dangerous form.

Mr. Moberly next came to the second point in the Viceroy's speech which restated exactly what has always been the policy of the Government, namely, that the latter did not desire to keep any person under restraint a moment longer than they could help; but before they released him, they must be satisfied that there was no longer any danger that he would employ his freedom in taking part in the terrorist movement and it was here that he would appeal to the members of the Council to help the Government to move rapidly in the direction of releasing political prisoners than had hitherto been possible by creating an atmosphere in which it would be safe to release them. What he urged was that leaders of public opinion and the press should unreservedly condemn the methods of terrorism, the cult of the revolver and bomb murder and dacoity even though the object be political. He did not ask that the patriotism and enthusiasm of these men should be belittled; but he did ask those whose convictions would permit them to do so to stress the fact that in employing methods of terrorism these men were misguided and were misapplying their talents, that far from advancing the cause of their country they were retarding it.

He knew that there were some who believed that the pronouncement of advance which was made in 1917 was extorted by the success of a former terrorist conspiracy. This was abundantly clear from the writings of old revolutionaries. Such persons may believe that no further advance would be secured except by similar methods; but he did not think that they can complain if the Government take measures to counter the methods which they advocated. All Governments were bound to accept and meet the challenge of violent coercion.

Referring to the charges which had been made in the press that the treatment of these men in jail had led to general deterioration of their health, Mr. Moberly said that although the Government regretted the necessity for detaining persons in jail and fully realised that such detention was not an ideal condition for health, it was anxiously watched by medical officers and everything possible was done to treat them if they fell ill.

Mr. Moberly concluded:—"The situation in Bengal is not yet such that leaders can be released again to take their places at the head of the terrorist conspiracy which is far from extinct. The prospects of expediting relaxation of restraint will be very greatly improved if young men who organise and join the terrorist groups can be made to feel that the public condemn their policy and that they are hindering rather than helping advancement of their country and I would once more appeal most earnestly to leaders of public opinion to create an atmosphere hostile to terrorism so that releases can be made more rapidly and safely."

Details of the Debate.

One noticeable feature in the discussion of the resolution on the release of detainees was that except Mr. Moberly no one opposed it. All non-official Indians supported the motion. The two Ministers did not vote. Supporting the motion, the Swarajists said that the arrest of political leaders was a move against the Swaraj Party. Mr. Akhil Datta challenged Mr. Moberly's statement that the revolutionary party still existed and said that the Government brought them into existence. Nationalist leaders, Maharaja Natore and Raja of Nashipur, supported the motion as they did not believe in the existence of an organised revolutionary party.

Sir Abdur Rahim, leader of the Moslem Party, while admitting the necessity of a special remedy in special circumstances, was opposed to indefinite detention without trial and asked his followers to obey the resolution passed by the All-India Moslem League at Delhi.

Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta described the plea taken that witnesses would be in danger in case of a public trial as false and cited several cases where Indian witnesses deposed against political accused. If terrorism still existed as said by Mr. Moberly, then the persons under detention had nothing to do with it. As regards Mr. Moberly's suggestion to create public opinion against terrorism, Mr. Sen Gupta said that the National Congress was pledged against violence and the late Mr. C. R. Das issued a manifesto asking all to shun violence.

Mr. S. C. Bose said that Mr. Moberly's speech was libellous. Reckless charges had been made on the basis of police informers of a questionable character without allowing the

detenus to refuse those charges. To ask the Council to believe those vague charges on such flimsy basis was an insult to the intelligence of the House. He referred to the petition made by two detenus to the Secretary of State bringing serious charges against the authorities in India and praying for an impartial enquiry. The Government had not the boldness to meet those charges nor the courage to appoint a committee of enquiry. He characterised the letters relied on by Moberly as forged and tainted like those produced in the Parnell case.

Closure being moved, the resolution was put to vote without allowing Mr. Moberly and the mover of the resolution the right to reply. After the President declared the motion carried, Mr. Sen Gupta who voted for it asked for division.

President: Did you say "Aye"?

Mr. Sen Gupta: I am not bound to answer that.

President: I rule it that as you have claimed division after my decision was given in your favour and as I understand you said "Aye", you will not be entitled to record your vote on the resolution. The two Ministers and Mr. Sen Gupta did not record their votes.

The resolution for the release of political prisoners was carried by 71 against 26. The Council then adjourned.

Budget Discussion.

General discussion of the budget commenced on the 28th FEBRUARY. A comparatively thin house bore testimony to the scant attention paid by the members to the discussion. Budget was described by some members as a masterpiece of illusion and full of financial juggling. Several members complained that enough time was not given to them to study the budget and make suggestions. They regretted that in the budget there was no mention of any scheme or definite policy. The Council then adjourned to meet on the next day, the 1ST MARCH, when after three hours' manuscript eloquence the House had to be adjourned till the 11th March for want of a quorum. Some thirteen members spoke on the small allotments made in the Transferred Departments.

Mr. J. Campbell-Forrester regretted that no allotment had been made for the Midnapore Labour Colony and for solving the beggar problem. Concluding he said it was time that the Government woke up to the fact that Europeans had actually made up their minds that they were going to take an active part in politics, that they were going to put forward propositions and see them carried out.

Dr. Promothonath Bannerji referred to the fixation of currency and said if the Finance Member looked to the wealth and prosperity of the country the speaker had no objection to listen to him on the controversial currency question.

Mr. K. C. Ray Chowdhury, Labour Member, said they must resist the preposterous demand of the Bombay financiers and industrialists to fix the ratio at sixteen pence per rupee. In support of his contention, he quoted extracts from the letter written by a Swarajist leader Mr. Satyendra Mitra now confined in Mandalay Jail who said "My views about the coming currency legislation are not in agreement with Bombay capitalists. The real interests of the ryots will suffer at the lower rate of exchange. The interest of the capitalist and the general public is at variance in this particular case. The whole propaganda of demanding the sixteen pence per rupee is engineered by Bombay capitalists of Bombay cotton mills."

Sir Abdur Rahim said that in order to solve important problems, all provincial Governments should meet the Government of India to discuss what should be done and also suggested to start a modern loan policy for Bengal alone. The House then adjourned.

On the 11TH MARCH the Hon'ble Mr. Donald, Finance Member, who had no opportunity to reply to discussion on the last occasion made a statement. Replying to some of the criticisms of non-official members, he said although they had been able to balance their receipts and expenses he was not satisfied with their financial position. Their finances were inadequate for their needs. The Hon. Mr. Donald then referred to the public health department and said that the late Mr. C. B. Das had handed over to him a scheme for public health organisation. He passed it on to his department but there had been no examination of that scheme for some time which was rather due to Dr. Bentley's absence. He had much to say upon it when budget was presented. He waived the rule which prevented the Finance Department from putting into budget schemes which they had not seen or examined and as a result of that he could tell the Council to-day that they had accepted the principle of the scheme prepared by Dr. Bentley which he said was Mr. Das's scheme for public health organisation in Bengal. When the scheme was carried out in full, very considerable sum of money, say between

Rs. 11 and Rs. 12 lakhs would be required. They were going to make a beginning next year with 3 lakhs of rupees in the budget. It was of course not possible to have such a big organisation all at once. He left it to the Hon. Minister to explain when he presented his demand. It would be in full working order at a very early date. He thought he made a good case in answer to those who criticised Mr. Das's scheme.

Voting on Demands for Grants.

The demand for grants was then initiated by the Hon'ble Mr. MOBERLY who made a demand for grant of Rs. 94,38,000 for expenditure under General Administration. A number of amendments were moved some making cuts and others refusing grants for particular departments. There were 106 such motions on this demand, nine of which were moved on this day and in the case of one only the Swarajists, with the help of some of the followers of Sir Abdur Rahim, were successful. Elated with this small success the Swarajists and Mahomedan members called for division on every motion they moved and in all of them they were defeated, though not by a large majority and in one case there was a tie. The first motion in which the Swarajists defeated the Government was the demand of Rs. 3,000 under the head 'Staff and Household of the Governor'. Other items in which cuts were not accepted related to the pay of the Private Secretary Rs. 24,000, travelling allowances of the Military Secretary Rs. 7,000, Governor's Band Establishment Rs. 70,000, Governor's Bodyguard Establishment Rs. 1,13,000. The Council then adjourned.

Minister's Salaries Voted.

On the 12TH MARCH the Council rejected by 65 votes to 58 the motion of Dr. P. Banerjee, Swarajist, totally refusing Rs. 19,000 under the head "Executive Council" and thereby raising a constitutional issue.

Then after 3 hours' discussion the three Swarajist motions against the Ministry were defeated by an overwhelming majority. The first motion moved by Mr. J. L. Bannerjee (Swarajist) was against the total demand of Rs. 1,46,000; the second motion was for the refusal of the salary of Rs. 1,25,000 of both the Ministers and the last one for the refusal of the salary of one Minister, Rs. 63,000. All the three motions were negatived, 59 voting for and 73 against. Among Hindu members only Swarajists and among Mahomedans Sir Abdur Rahim and his followers supported the motions for refusal.

Mr. J. L. Bannerjee said that the Ministers lost confidence by not voting for the resolution demanding the release of the detenus and in not going to the scenes of communal riots. Mr. B. Chakravarti before election said that so long as the detenus were not released, no one should accept Ministership. The detenus were still in jail; yet Mr. Chakravarti accepted a Ministership.

Mr. Chakravarti, Minister, said that the Ministers had had joint responsibility and their duty would be to serve both the communities. He detailed the policy that would be followed by him.

Mr. S. C. Bose said that the present Ministers neither enjoyed the confidence of the House nor were capable to lead the House. They were enthroned on the votes of 44 Government nominated members. By not voting for the release of the detenus the Ministers had contributed to the slavery of the House and the slavery of the country. The Ministers had not made any suggestion for a forward march for the freedom of the country.

Sir Abdur Rahim, after referring to the circumstances in which the present Ministry was formed, said that so far as Mr. Ghuznavi was concerned the entire Mahomedan public was opposed to him for the ignominious part played by him.

The Hon. Mr. Moberly said that if the resolution was carried, there would be no Ministers. The motion was not against particular Ministers but against dyarchy and the present constitution.

Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy protested against the insult hurled on the supporters of Mr. Ghuznavi as hired voters and also against the method of intimidation employed by certain sections.

The resolutions were put one by one and declared lost. Mr. Moberly's motion that Rs. 94,38,000 for expenditure under General Administration as amended by the Council be granted was carried 88 voting for and 36 against it. The Council then adjourned.

Land Revenue Demand.

On the 15TH MARCH five more motions for reduction of grant under land revenue were negatived, Swarajists and Nationalists adversely criticised the survey and settlement

operations which they said was the root cause of the ill-feeling between landlords and tenants. The Maharaja of Nadia, on behalf of the Government, gave an assurance that he would enquire into the grievances if brought to his notice. The original demand was agreed to.

Government's Forest Policy.

The policy of the Government regarding administration of the Forest Department was criticised when Rs. 11,43,000 was demanded for that department. In proposing token cuts the Swarajists urged Indianisation in the Forest Service and asked for the steps taken by the Government to accelerate Indianisation. Replying on behalf of the Government, Nawab Nawab Ali Chaudhuri said that since 1923 there was steady indianisation of the forest service. Out of 5 appointments in the superior service there are four Indians and only one European and in subordinate service all officers were Indians. The demand was granted without a cut. The Council adjourned.

Other Budget Demands.

On the 16TH MARCH the debate in the Council on budget demands was very tame. Attendance was poor. Owing to the election of the Calcutta Corporation Councillors, Calcutta members could not attend.

Nawab Nawab Ali Chaudhuri moved that Rs. 51,38,000 be granted for expenditure under irrigation. There were on the agenda 20 motions for reduction but only four, all token cuts for one rupee, were moved and negatived.

The Hon. Mr. Moberley moved that Rs. 85,02,000 be granted for administration of Justice. Moulvi Sadique moved that the demand for the Original Side of the High Court be refused. He said that the Original Side of the High Court was maintained at the expense of the poor villagers for the benefit of the people of Calcutta. It was a monument of an iniquitous system of taxation.

Mr. Moberley replied that it was a matter for the Government of India. The motion was negatived.

Mr. J. L. Bannerjee next moved that the demand of Rs. 82,000 for the appellate side of the High Court be reduced by Rs. 26,184. He said that his object was to refuse the demand for the paper book department.

Mr. Moberley pointed out that the Governor made this item for paperbook non-votable. The President said that any censure on the paperbook department was a censure on the Government and he would not allow that. At the same time he would allow Mr. Bannerjee to move a cut out of the whole demand without reference to the paperbook department. After some discussion the motion was negatived. The Council adjourned.

Discussion on Jail Expenditure.

On the 17TH MARCH the demand of Rs. 34,16,000 for expenditure under Jails and criminal convict settlements was discussed and eventually granted without a single cut. In making the demand, the Maharaja of Nadia said that during recent years special enquiries had been made in connection with this department and the Government had given effect to some of the recommendations of the Jail Committee. Steps had been taken to improve the condition of prisoners, that of jail staff and also jail building. Steps also had been taken to separate adults from juvenile prisoners. A bill would soon be introduced for the benefit of adolescent offenders.

In proposing a token cut Professor J. L. Bannerjee narrated his personal experiences for he had been an inmate of jail for 21 months. Indian jails he said were not as bad as described by some. Punishments were not barbarous and diet was sufficient. The bulk of prisoners were not habitual criminals. The first necessity was segregation of habitual offenders, next the provision of better clothing, supply of tobacco and amusements to prisoners and abolition of convict warders.

Other members also narrated their jail experiences. The Maharaja of Nadia gave an assurance of conducting an enquiry into the prisoners' grievances. Dr. Promotho Nath Bannerjee suggested the release of detenus to reduce jail expenditure on grounds of humanity and economy.

Discussion on Police Demand.

The police demand amounting to Rs. 1,72,25,000 was next discussed. In moving a token cut non-official members took exception to the increase of European sergeants. Another member suggested that the Calcutta Municipality should pay the cost of the Calcutta Police and not the general rate-payers.

Mr. Moberley reminded the House of the excellent services rendered by European Sergeants during the Calcutta riots. The House then adjourned.

On the 19TH MARCH further discussion of motion for reduction of Police Demand was resumed. The House was as thin as on the last two previous days. Only three reduction motions were discussed, two relating to the demand for the Presidency Police and the other in connection with the District Executive Force. All these motions were negatived.

An adjournment motion to discuss the action of the District Magistrate of Maldah in interfering with the worship of Kali was not allowed for want of support of the House. The first cut on the Police Demand was the motion to reduce the demand under the Presidency Police by Rs. 2 lakhs. There was also another motion on the same demand of a token cut of one rupee. The mover and his supporters spoke of the hopeless inefficiency of the Calcutta Police throughout the last year and said that they did not deserve any increment. During communal riots the Police failed to preserve peace.

One speaker said that it was not impossible for Mr. Moberly to discover the ringleader of communal riots. After the whole mischief was done, the authorities exterminated the Goondas to their native villages to spread trouble there and rewarded one of the leaders by giving him high appointment. Another member suggested drastic re-organisation of the whole system.

The Hon. Mr. Moberly, replying, said that last year the communal riots in Calcutta were better managed. As to the alleged inefficiency of the Calcutta Police, Mr. Moberly quoted figures showing decrease of the cases of theft and pickpocketing. The cocaine smuggling business had been considerably checked. As regards communal troubles Mr. Moberly said:—"The attitude of Europeans throughout communal riots had been to let the two communities settle their disputes between themselves and whatever we do cannot have any finality. Until we get the leaders on both sides to find a modus vivendi, I am afraid communal trouble would not be stopped. What we do is to try to maintain peace. We dislike to be dragged into a dispute which has a religious basis. As regards processions, we have to make special arrangements when riots are going on. A procession should be allowed to take a particular course. Steps are to be taken to see that no disturbances arise as far as possible. We are perfectly willing, and the Commissioner of Police is prepared, to maintain the rights of the Hindus, but I think the House will agree with me that when a procession comes along and we have reason to believe that it is to annoy Mahomedans, the Commissioner of Police is perfectly right in suggesting another route in order that the two communities may not come into conflict."

Another motion to reduce the demand under the head "District Executive Force" by Rs. 5 lakhs was lost. The Council adjourned.

Conditional Release of Mr. S. C. Bose.

On the 21ST MARCH, replying to a resolution on Criminal Investigation Department Rewards to private persons, the Hon. Mr. Moberly, referring to the condition of Mr. Subash Chunder Bose, a detenu, said: "I would like to take the Council into my confidence as regards the case of Mr. S. C. Bose. I think members will agree that the incarceration of Mr. Bose has exposed the Government to severe criticism and that it follows that if the Government have not released him or at any rate relaxed the degree of restraint to which he has been subjected, it is because they honestly believe that it would not be safe to do so." The present situation is that both the Government and Mr. Bose realise that they can detain him until the expiration of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. Unfortunately, the Government have received unfavourable accounts of Mr. Bose's health. He was examined jointly last month by his brother, Dr. Sunil Chunder Bose, and Lt.-Col. Kelsall, Senior Medical Officer in Burma. I do not propose to read the whole report as the time at my disposal is very short. But the general conclusion is as follows: "Although one of us has only seen him recently for the first time, we agree that his general appearance is not indicative of good health. Taking into consideration his loss of weight, his slight but persistent rise of temperature we are inclined to the views that there is a possibility of early tubercle, although there is not enough evidence on which to base a diagnosis. We agree he were a private patient of either of us, our advice to him would be to regard himself as a suspicious case of early tubercle and to put himself under the best condition as regards climate, food, rest etc., to combat this disease. We do not regard the condition under which he must necessarily be during confinement in jail as conducive to restoration of his health." Subsequently Dr. Sunil Chunder Bose wrote a further opinion: "In regard to diagnosis and treatment of Mr. Subash Chunder Bose's illness, I am prepared to go one step further. After carefully weighing the evidence before me, I should regard his case as definite one of tuberculosis of the lungs. My advice regarding treatment resolves itself into (1) an immediate sea voyage and (2) prolonged stay in a sanatorium in Switzerland

of which I have just recently intimate personal knowledge and experience." This note was seen by Lt.-Col. Kelsall who remarked "I have nothing to add to our joint note which, I think, expresses the exact condition of affairs."

It will be seen that at the moment Mr. Subash Chunder Bose is not seriously ill and certainly not incapacitated but he has been advised to go for a sea voyage and to stay in Switzerland. Now, the Criminal Law Amendment Act does not run outside Bengal except as regards detention in jail in other parts of India. All that we can do under the Act consistent with safety is to arrange for his transfer to a jail in a better climate and that is not what is recommended. The Government are not prepared to bring him to Bengal and in any event they are advised that Bengal would be as bad as or worse than Burma for his health. Effect can only be given to the suggestion that he should go to Switzerland if he were released and if he was once released there would in the ordinary course be nothing to prevent his return to Bengal, at any rate a contingency which the Government are not prepared to face. We are willing, however, that Mr. Bose should have such opportunities as we can afford him of recruiting his health. We are, therefore, prepared to release him if he will give us his word of honour that he will proceed from Rangoon to Europe by a ship which does not touch at any port in India and that he will, thereafter, not attempt to enter India, Burma or Ceylon until the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act has expired. It will be observed that we shall not demand any admission as regards his past or any promise as regards his future conduct. We are merely asking that we be kept in the same position as regards control over his movement in India as we are at present. This proposal, concluded Mr. Moberly, has not been made to Mr. Bose as I do not wish him to think that we want to force it upon him. But I put this forward publicly in order that if he thinks fit he may avail of it. He will know in advance that we are prepared to accept it."

Government's Excise Policy Attacked.

On the 22ND MARCH the demand of Rs. 22,98,000 for Excise was further discussed. The Swarajists and Mahomedans condemned the policy of the Government scheme leading to total prohibition in a short time. The demand was carried without any cut. The demand of Rs. 22,98,000 under registration was also granted without cut. The next demand of Rs. 13,85,000 for expenditure under education transferred was taken up. Discussion had not concluded when the Council adjourned.

Government's Education Policy Criticised.

On the 23RD MARCH, after a heated debate lasting for full two hours, in which the education policy of the Government with reference to the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University was severely criticised, the House passed the total demand of Rs. 1,13,85,000 provided for education by 61 votes to 2. Swarajists did not vote. The surprise of the evening was the speech of Mr. J. L. Bannerjee who defended the Vice-Chancellor and twitted the Swarajists that they were clamouring because the monopoly of a particular party in the University was now broken.

Mr. Oaten, Director of Public Instruction, made a statement denying the charge that there had been any attempt on his part to officialise the University:

The Swarajists headed by Mr. Sarat Ch. Bose and Dr. B. C. Ray, maintained that an attempt to officialise the University had been going on since the year 1923 when Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee, in a letter to His Excellency Lord Lytton, pointed out that the Government did not want an independent man as Vice-Chancellor but one who could carry out the mandate of the Government and act as the spy of the Government.

The Minister for Education was not taken to task by the House as the members all agreed that all these things happened before he assumed office, but they warned him to be cautious as grave danger was ahead. Incidentally the House in one voice asked the Minister to introduce a bill to reform the University on the lines of the recommendations of the Sadler Commission.

The Hon'ble Mr. B. Ch. Kravarti, in reply, assured the House that his intention was to introduce a proper bill which would meet requirements of the situation.

The Council then adjourned to meet on the next day the 24TH MARCH when it discussed demands for grants under the head "Medical."

The Governor's Speech.

On the 26TH MARCH the Swarajists in a body abstained from attending the Council when His Excellency Lord Lytton prorogued the Council and bade farewell to the members and through them to the people they represented. In the course of his speech His Excellency said:—

"The period in which we have been brought together and worked either in agreement or in opposition to each other has been a transitional period in which some have tried to prove the value and the others the futility of the present constitution. I recognise that both have been sincere. It will be my endeavour, when I return to England, to be equally sincere and to interpret as fairly as I can to my own countrymen both the merits and defects of the system of Government which, after full enquiry in this country they hoped, would be found suited to the existing conditions. I trust you will agree that I have rightly interpreted the facts of the situation, if I tell them that, while all parties in India desire the main principle of the British constitution to be applied in this country as nearly as possible, no constitution is likely to be acceptable which proceeds on the assumption that political conditions in India are similar to those which exist in Great Britain. Equally no constitution is likely to work well which is based more upon an abstract political than on a study of the actual conditions of the country. The existence of an Executive, which cannot be removed by the Legislature and of a Legislature which cannot be removed by the Executive, is not calculated to produce harmony between the two, and without harmony between the Legislature and the Executive efficient government is impossible. To ensure harmony an elected Legislature requires an Executive responsible to it and removable by it and an irremovable Executive requires a nominated Legislature. A system which secures the supremacy of the Executive, not by the support of the Legislature but by exercise of an over-riding authority, is not, I think, proving the best preparation for full responsible government.

Provincial Contribution.

"It will be agreed, I think, by all that we have had a difficult machine to work and the machine has been more difficult to work in Bengal than elsewhere, because of the inequitable financial basis on which the new Government was established in this province. The Meston Settlement has been a mill-stone round the necks of successive Governments, rendered all the heavier by the period of trade depression which followed the inauguration of the Reforms. The remission of all provincial contributions, which we are promised in the near future, will not help, but only accentuate the handicap which has been placed upon Bengal; for, the inequity consisted not in the amount of our contribution to the Government of India, but in the inadequacy of the sources of revenue, made available to the province. Those who criticise the failure of the Reforms in Bengal, must not, therefore, ascribe it to any special perversity in the Bengali race, but should recognise that, apart from the effects of the constitution itself, which Bengal has shared in common with other parts of India, this province has been placed under a handicap peculiar to itself.

Plea for Political Education.

"The Reserved Departments of the Government have suffered because they are reserved and therefore attractive targets for criticism and the Transferred Departments have suffered because there was no money for their development. There has been little attraction to the political parties to undertake responsibility for administering the departments that could not be adequately developed and party unity has been impaired by the rivalry of individual ambitions. Such conditions have facilitated political blackmail and led to charges of corruption, evils which must be attributed not to the country but to the system. In Great Britain during the evolution of the constitution, in the 17th and 18th centuries, when powerful families contended for power, similar evils were prevalent to a far greater extent. The remedy was found in the extension of the franchise and in the growth of organised political parties. The same remedy will no doubt, be found in India, but an extension of education is an indispensable preliminary to the first and adequate resources for the development of local needs are necessary for the second. During the life-time of this council, a new Parliamentary Commission will arrive in India to study the experience of the eight or nine years and to hear opinions from all sections of the population regarding the alterations, if any, which are desirable in the constitution of 1919. During that enquiry you will have an opportunity of explaining the past and of recommending changes in the future. May I suggest to you, in the capacity which I have asked you to allow me to assume to-day, that the larger the measure of agreement you can secure, the greater will be the value of the evidence you can give on both these points? It is for this reason that I have ventured to express an opinion on some of the larger issues involved in the framing of a constitution in order that

in the time that remains, you may be considering these issues and crystallising opinion upon them".

Hindu-Moslem Unity.

Concluding, His Excellency referred to the problem of Hindu-Moslem unity and said that the two communities were equally divided in the province; but to say that the rivalry was an insuperable obstacle to any constitutional advance would be absurd, but to ignore altogether such a fundamental fact would be equally foolish. He welcomed the fellowship Movement. The only road to peace, said Lord Lytton, which offers any hope of success, is the one which the late Mr. C. R. Das tried to follow and which I have equally tried to follow in the formation of the Ministries, namely, the organisation of parties on political rather than on communal lines. How best to frame a democratic constitution, which will facilitate this object, and, whilst safeguarding the due representation of all, make the representatives answerable to a mixed rather than to a communal electorate is, therefore, another issue which I commend to your special consideration. If the leading men of all parties and all communities in Bengal will concentrate their attention upon this problem, with which they are so especially qualified to deal, instead of waiting for outside suggestions, which each can criticise from their respective points of view, I feel sure that a solution will be found even before the Parliamentary Commission arrives, and in that case Bengal will justify the claim it is proud to make of leading the political thought of India. The suggestion that the British Parliament must decide the time and form of each successive stage in the development of the Indian constitution is often resented in this country and in one sense very naturally resented. But, gentlemen, there is no need to wait for Parliament if you can yourselves find a solution of the admitted difficulties which beset the path of constitutional development. The ratification by Parliament of an agreement reached in this country would be an easy matter and involve no humiliation. It is only attempts to force prematurely a one-sided solution by violence and intimidation that bring strife and humiliation. In conclusion, I desire to assure you that nothing which has happened during my term of office in this province has at all shaken my faith in the necessity for developing the Indian constitution as rapidly as possible on lines which will provide for national expression. I have found the difficulties to be greater than I knew before I came here, but difficulties are made to be overcome. It is the test of statesmanship to recognise them and with unwearying patience and undiminished faith to overcome them.

The Bombay Legislative Council

The Third Bombay Legislative Council under the Reforms Act met at Bombay on the 18TH FEBRUARY 1927. The business of the House on this day consisted of swearing in of Members and the election of Mr. Dehlavi as President. Next day, the 19th instant the business of the House included an adjournment motion which was disallowed and the election of Rao Bahadur Kambli as Vice-President.

The Governor's Opening Speech.

On the 21ST FEBRUARY addressing the members of the Council His Excellency the Governor noted with satisfaction the much greater interest taken by the electors during the last election than on the previous occasion as was clear from the number of votes cast.

Referring to Dr. Paranjpye's new office, he felt sure that the members would congratulate him and would realise that not only would India benefit by the ability and experience which he would bring to the India Council, but that Bombay would have on it a representative fully acquainted with the needs of the Presidency. His Government had suffered a great and unexpected loss; but while Dr. Paranjpye's departure was a loss to them his services in London would be a great gain to India in general and to Bombay in particular during the next five years which were fraught with so much importance.

Coming to the budget His Excellency remarked that a deficit of Rs. 50 lakhs in Bombay's budget for 1927-28 was approximately equal to the amount of provincial contribution to the Government of India, so that but for what they had to pay away to assist the finances of the Central Government, they had in fact a budget which was balanced. His Excellency reiterated that the Meston Award had a very injurious and, to his mind, unfair effect on Bombay's finances. It was impossible, he continued without serious detriment to essential services and irreparable damage to the security of law and order and to the nation building services, to reduce expenditure further than had already been done.

"My Government does not feel justified in asking the Council to vote any further taxation in order to enable us to meet our liability to the Government of India and we are fortunate in being able for the time being to meet the excess from the savings. We do not do this without a misgiving, but with the confidence that a revision of the settlement coupled with some return of trade prosperity will enable us to continue to provide for the inhabitants of this Presidency those services to which they are accustomed and to which they have a right."

Regarding the agricultural situation, His Excellency assured the members, it was unlikely a situation of a very serious character would arise. Dealing with the roads, it would appear to him desirable that before any Central Road Board for India was set up full enquiry should be made into the question as to whether at any rate for a few years to come, development of roads should not be solely a question for local Governments and before any decision was arrived at, every presidency and province including Indian States should be consulted.

Concluding, His Excellency said that no one at present could forecast the constitution of the next elected Council, for during the life of the present Council the Statutory Commission would visit India and it might be that the recommendations of that Commission would have received Statutory sanction. So, the next Council might be a very different one. He did not mention this with any idea of suggesting that it should in any way influence the action of the members. On the contrary, he would urge them to do as they had done in the past, namely, to voice their views freely and honestly and consistently carry out their obligation to their constituents and their country. Judging by the past six years it might truly be said that the members of the Bombay Council had endeavoured to work the reforms, however limited in their scope and difficult in their application in many respects the statute might appear to some of them. That was the right spirit and the presidency had every reason to be proud of its elected representatives.

Budget for 1927-28.

After the Governor's speech, Sir C. V. Mehta, the Finance Member, presented the Budget for 1927-28. In the course of his speech he said :—

The opening balance of the year 1926-27 was estimated at Rs. 664 lakhs which was expected to be reduced at the end of the year to Rs. 474 lakhs due to revenue deficit of Rs. 75 lakhs and deficit of 115 lakhs under capital and debts section. The revenue under the former head was Rs. 1,532 lakhs and expenditure 1,607 and under the latter head receipts were Rs. 317 lakhs and disbursements Rs. 432 lakhs. For the next year the revenue under revenue account is estimated at Rs. 1,508 lakhs and expenditure Rs. 1,558 lakhs leaving a deficit of Rs. 50 lakhs, while under debt deposits and advances receipts are Rs. 369 lakhs and disbursements Rs. 423 lakhs with deficit of Rs. 54 lakhs. The deficit of Rs. 75 lakhs, continued the Finance Member, was principally made up of decrease in revenue under three best revenue-earning heads, Land Revenue, Excise and Stamps. The decrease under the first head was due to unfavourable seasonal conditions and even larger suspensions and remissions would have to be given than had been estimated when the budget was made. Under Excise the fall was explained by the experiment of trying a system of simultaneous actions which, however, had not yielded the expected results though the cost to the State was certainly exorbitant. The third head, Stamps, had suffered owing to depression in trade.

Coming to the Development Department transactions which were not included in the figures given above, Sir Chunilal said that an additional subsidy of 7 and a half lakhs had been provided for in the budget for next year to meet estimated loss on suburban schemes. The activities of the department had been curtailed but it was extremely difficult to make any reliable estimate of the loss. The department had put down what it considered liquidation value. This loss amounting to Rs. 111 lakhs was proposed to be covered by a subsidy of Rs. 7 and a half lakhs from general revenues to meet both interest and sinking fund charges on a 60 years basis.

Proceeding, the Finance Member referred to economy in public expenditure and said that in every country the Victorian ideal of letting the people do everything for themselves was being abandoned and the activities of the Government were extending in directions which were not only not contemplated before but where interference of Government was resented as objectionable. That the process of retrenchment could be carried on indefinitely and that it was possible to put limit on public expenditure would, he thought, be belied by the experience of every member who had taken part in Municipal or Local Board administration. Sir Chunilal quoted figures to refute the statement that reserved departments were allowed to obtain major part of the revenues, while the transferred departments were starving.

While the expenditure on the latter had increased by over Rs. 45 lakhs, expenditure on the former had actually gone down by Rs. 15 lakhs.

Turning next to the criticism that per capita revenue and expenditure in Bombay was the highest, the Finance Member justified high per capita taxation on the ground of largeness of the area administered together with the comparative sparseness of the population and the high incidence of salary owing to Bombay being more urbanised and industrialised than any other province in India. The necessity of a higher cost of administration in this presidency was conclusively demonstrated by the fact that district municipalities, which were entirely controlled by elected representatives had also to spend more per head of the population in Bombay than other provinces. The five lakhs provided in the budget for expenditure on roads, said Sir Chunilal, was all that the provinces' attenuated resources could afford until the Central Government was in a position to release a portion of the motor and petrol taxation to be shared in or utilised by the province.

He concluded with an appeal to the House to approach their work informed by the principle of deciding each question on its merits inasmuch as the policy of persistence in unreasoned and continuous opposition must indirectly tend to bring in the evils of communalism and time-serving expediency.

Discussion of the Budget.

On the 22ND FEBRUARY led by Mr. Lalji NARAINJI the opposition groups delivered a strong attack on the Government's financial policy when the general discussion of the Budget was taken up. Severe criticism was directed to the policy of incurring big debts expenditure on the Backbay scheme and the development programme and Meston settlement.

Mr. Lalji referred at the outset to the South African agreement and expressed satisfaction at the amicable understanding arrived at. He thanked the Union Government for the assistance rendered to the Indian Delegation in arriving at the agreement.

Proceeding to discuss the budget Mr. Lalji said that he was gratified at the appointment of an Indian Finance Member, but was surprised at the remark made by him in presenting the budget that the debts of the Bombay Government were less than two years' ordinary revenue and had been incurred for productive purposes. He considered such a statement an apology for the untenable financial policy of the Government. He appealed to the House to prevent the Government from spending the presidency's revenue in the Backbay scheme. He suggested that the deficit be wiped off by reducing top heavy expenditure. Why should not the Government for instance reduce one Executive Councilorship and one Ministership?

Mr. B. T. DESAI, Swarajist, said that he had been pained to read in the Finance Member's speech presenting the Budget who suggested that the policy of the Swarajists encouraged communalism. There was no occasion for making such a criticism of a party whose programme the Finance Member "had not the sense to understand."

Sir Joseph KEY said that much of the criticism that had been heard was due to the fact that members appeared to have forgotten that Bombay had been passing through a period of depression. The only criticism which was reasonable was that there had not been enough retrenchment. In this particular, the Finance Member should endeavour to do his best. After a few more speeches the House adjourned.

Next day, the 23RD FEBRUARY, when the general discussion on the Budget was resumed, Mr. B. V. JADHAV, ex-Minister, took exception to the remarks of the Finance Member in his budget speech about communalism and said that communalism was not of recent growth.

Mr. K. F. Nariman : Whom are you lecturing to ?

Mr. Pahalajani : Is the subject of communalism before the House, Sir ?

President : Where remarks relating to communalism are concerned I have to be particularly careful. The Hon'ble member is replying to certain remarks of the Finance Member about communalism. He is in order.

Mr. Jadhav resuming his address said that the essence of the financial problem was the lot of the agriculturist and all the attention and resources of the Government should be devoted to its betterment.

Mr. CHATFIELD tried to disabuse the members' minds of the impression they seemed to entertain that the whole Presidency was in the grip of famine. Whatever distress there was was only in some parts of the Presidency where there had been scarcity of water due to partial failure of the rains. That was nothing unusual. The Government were quite alive to the seriousness of the situation and prepared to do all to relieve distress.

Mr. ANGADI suggested that the Government ought to be able to carry on with less number of Ministers and Executive Councillors.

Mr. J. L. RIEU, Revenue Member, explained in detail the steps the Government had taken in tackling the agricultural situation. Revenue collections were being made with very great care and consideration.

Moulvi Rafiuddin AHMED maintained that so far as Muslims of the Presidency were concerned there was no communalism about them. It was not right to say that communalism was the result of separate electorates. Formerly the Government used to nominate Muslims to represent Muslim interests. Now the community elected its own representatives which was an improvement.

Mr. WINTERBOTHAM, Chamber of Commerce, appealed to the House to develop provincial patriotism and stand by the Government in their fight against the Meston Settlement. The House then adjourned.

Excise Minister's Statement.

On the 24TH FEBRUARY Mr. G. B. PRADHAN, the Excise Minister, explained the Government's excise policy. Since 1920-21, he said, as a result of the policy of rationing, consumption had come down so far as country liquor was concerned. In regard to foreign liquor, provincial Governments did not enjoy sufficient control. He declared that every effort was being made to enforce a policy of prohibition. The Government were determined to go forward with the policy at as rapid a pace as possible. Nevertheless, two members speaking on prohibition criticised the Government's policy and deplored that very little had been done towards enforcement of complete prohibition.

The Government's educational policy was also strongly criticised by Khan Saheb Abdul LATIF KHAN who said that the portfolio had been entrusted to Ministers who were unmindful of Muslim educational interests and cared only for Brahmin education, Marathi education or Gujarati education.

Explaining the Government's position regarding the need for retrenchment on which many members had spoken, the HOME MEMBER declared that cuts in the Police Department alone had been carried out to the extent of over Rs. 12 lakhs recurring expenditure. After such sweeping reduction, a strong demand came from the public and the press for increase in police establishment, particularly in the north of the city, where development was being retarded by insufficient police force. In the face of such a situation, it was difficult to make any further retrenchment.

Replying to the debate Sir Chunilal MEHTA, the Finance Member, asked the house to remember in criticising him that the Finance Member of a provincial Government which is a subordinate administration with many statutory obligations, was not free to do anything he liked. He was subject to many limitations of the system he had to deal with. Referring to his remarks on the Swarajya Party, which had been criticised at great length, Sir Chunilal said his intention was only to invite the attention of the House to the directions along which the party's programme led the people. He had, however, no hesitation to concede that he owed his present position as the Finance Member to the fact that he was a member of the public and also to the fact that the public demand for participation in the actual administration had its effect on authorities. Coming to the budget, he repudiated the charge of himself being referred to as a Baniya. He accepted the designation and said that he would do his best to bring to bear the Indian point of view with all the skill attributed to a Baniya on the administration of the finances of the presidency.

The Budget discussion then terminated and the House adjourned.

Stamp Act Amendment Bill.

On the 25TH FEBRUARY the Government and the opposition came to grips and ultimately the Government won. A bill further to amend the Indian Stamp (Bombay Amendment) Act 1922 was before the House. Moving the Bill, the Finance Member explained that the object of the Bill was to make the Act permanent. The Act was passed for the purpose of increasing the revenue of the Government, and was to remain in operation for four years and if, at the end of that period, the financial position still made it necessary, its life was to be extended. A Bill to make the Act permanent was introduced last year, but the Council agreed to the extension of the Act only by one year. The result of five years' experience had proved the necessity of retention of the revised scale of fees enacted in the measure. The rejection of the Bill by the House, continued Sir Chunilal, would mean a loss to the Government of about Rs. 20 lakhs. By making the Act permanent, Bombay would only be coming into line with other provinces where the stamp duty was revised at about the same time as in Bombay but was made permanent at the enhanced rate.

Opposition to the Bill was mainly based on two conditions that no more money should be given to the Government inasmuch as it had not spent its resources in the past and that the duty proposed to be made permanent would fall heavily on the poor people more than the richer classes. The house rejected the Swarajist motion for postponement of consideration of the Bill till the next session and passed its first reading by 52 to 27. The second and third readings were also passed. The House then adjourned.

Demand for Supplementary Grants.

On the 26TH FEBRUARY a number of supplementary grants were discussed and passed in the Council. One of them was a demand for Rs. 10,000 excess expenditure in connection with elections. The Home Member explained that the increase of Rs. 10,000 over the estimate was necessitated by larger number of electors who polled and larger number of polling booths. In the course of discussion, members drew attention to many defects and shortcomings of the voters' list. The House then agreed to the grant.

Aden Civil and Criminal Justice Act.

The Home Member then moved that the Bill further to amend the Aden Civil and Criminal Justice Act be read for the first time. The object of the Bill was to appoint a judicial assistant to the resident at Aden who would be able to exercise in cases referred to him all powers of the resident with a view to relieve the latter of at least a greater part of his civil judicial work. The first reading was passed, Swarajists supporting the measure. The Bill was then proposed to be read a second time.

Mr. Amritlal Sheth moved an amendment that the Bill be referred to a select committee of nine. The amendment was carried and the house adjourned.

City Municipalities Act Amendment Bill.

On the 28TH FEBRUARY the House passed a Bill further to amend the Bombay City Municipalities Act 1925. The object of the Bill was to give power to the Government to extend beyond the period prescribed by Section 24 of the Act and up to date not later than 31st December 1927, the life of an expiring Municipality or of a municipality whose term had expired validating all acts and proceedings done by the latter municipality as from date of its original term of office. When the section referred to was inserted in the Act, it was expected that time given to newly constituted borough municipalities would be sufficient to enable them to digest rules for holding of new elections. But this expectation had not been realised and the present measure was found necessary.

The next motion the Council considered was the acquisition of the sailors home and plans for proposed new Council Hall be approved and 8 lakhs and thirty-thousand be spent on work of building proposition which was moved by the Finance Member and it evoked considerable hostile criticism especially from Mr. J. C. Swaminathan who, as representative of the cultivators, "would much rather sit under a banyan tree and legislate than squander as much as 8 and a half lakhs on acquisition of new hall." The proposition was eventually passed. The Council then adjourned.

Voting on Budget Demands.

Demand Under Land Revenue.

Voting on demands for grants in the Council commenced on the 1st March 1928. The first demand taken was under the head Land Revenue. The debate on this demand continued till the 3RD MARCH when Rao Saheb D. P. Desai moved that the provision of Rs. 51,86,000 for revenue collection be reduced by seven lakhs. He appealed to the Government not to enforce collection wherever famine conditions prevailed.

Supporting the motion, Mr. W. S. Mukadan, whip of the Congress party, said that the situation was so serious that some agriculturists were borrowing at the rate of four annas per rupee per month. He even knew of an instance in which a farmer was obliged to go to the humiliating extent of pledging his womenfolk. Though the last was an extreme example, it nevertheless indicated the extent of the evil.

After further discussion the motion was thrown out and the Council adjourned.

On the 4TH MARCH, the Council passed the demand of nearly Rs. 52 lakhs under the head Land Revenue after all of the nearly 60 motions for either reduction or omission of provisions were withdrawn or lost in the course of yesterday and to-day.

Demand under Irrigation.

On the suggestion of Sir Joseph Kay (Chamber of Commerce) the House agreed to postpone till 7th March consideration of the motions for cuts in grants for development schemes. Demands for construction and irrigation works were then taken up. Mr. Cowasji Jehangir, General Member, at the outset made a statement on the progress made in Sukkur Barrage works. The first motion for a cut in the demand was moved by Mr. G. I. Patel who wanted that provision of Rs. 24 lakhs for special tools and plants should be reduced by Rs. 10 lakhs.

Mr. B. T. Desai, Swarajist, demanded an inquiry into the complaint so that the presidency might be saved from a repetition of the history of the Backbay Reclamation Scheme. The Chief Engineer in charge of the Sukkur Barrage explained that during the three and a half years of his regime only three engines costing about Rs. 6,000 were found inefficient and thrown into the store room. They were working against time and had, therefore, to employ labour-saving and time-saving machinery as much as possible.

After further discussion the motion was put and lost and the house adjourned.

The Sukkur Barrage Scheme.

On the 5TH MARCH discussion was resumed on cuts under construction and irrigation works. Mr. Pahalajani moved that the total amount of Rs. 1,58,33,000 be reduced by Rs. 53,33,000. This provided an opportunity for the general criticism of the Sukkur Barrage construction works in which all sections of the House joined. Several members gave expression of apprehensions that there were many defects in the carrying out of work. Allegations of waste and irregularity were made and a strong plea was put forward for the appointment of an expert Committee to investigate the present state of affairs and

lay before the public the exact condition in which the scheme was. Criticism was particularly directed to what was described an extravagant scale on which bungalows had been built for the convenience of officers engaged on the works. The Sukkur Barrage scheme, it was contended, would, if successful, be not only to the benefit of the Government of Bombay but also to that of the Government of India. It was only proper therefore that the Government of India should bear a part of the expenditure on it.

Mr. Wiles, Finance Secretary, Mr. Harrison and the Chief Engineer replied on behalf of the Government and assured members that strictest control was being exercised on every item of expenditure and the position of the scheme was very satisfactory. The Chief Engineer denied that bungalows were in any sense luxurious and said that even after completion of works, these would be in use as residence of officers in charge of the scheme.

Further discussion was adjourned till the 7TH MARCH when Mr. Pahalajani, replying to the debates, re-iterated the demand for a committee of enquiry into the Sukkur Barrage Works.

The General Member, on behalf of the Government, admitted that the work had been 18 months behind scheduled time, but in big schemes like the Sukkur Barrage some delay was possible. The construction of canals was progressing at a very satisfactory speed and irrigation could be commenced in the hot weather of 1931. The dredgers, it was true, had not done what was expected of them but that had not impeded the progress. The Government had no objection to a committee being appointed as suggested to scrutinise the works and the officers in charge would give it all help they could. The motion was put and lost.

Demand under Excise.

The Government's Excise policy then came under discussion when a number of cuts were proposed in the demand for about Rs. 52 lakhs made by the Excise Minister. The debate evoked declaration from the Finance Member that several distilleries had been closed and every effort was being made to enforce the declared policy of prohibition. All motions for cuts were lost and finally the house took up discussion on a cut of one lakh in the whole demand which raised the question of policy. After a few speeches the discussion was adjourned.

Bombay Development Schemes.

On the 8TH MARCH an important statement on the activities of the Development Department was made by Mr. Cowasji Jehangir, General Member, in moving the demand for Rs. 66 lakhs for development schemes in Bombay. With regard to the Reclamation he said that the Government had accepted the Mears Committee's recommendations to complete Blocks 1, 2, 3 and 7, but the Government would fully abide by the Council's opinion regarding the work on Block 6. Dealing with the recent accident to the dredger, Sir George Lloyd, he said that the committee which had inquired into it had found that no individual was responsible for it. The dredger was covered by insurance, but the company with whom the insurance was placed had not yet accepted liability. Meanwhile, work on Block 7, which was interrupted by the accident, has been continued with the help of the Kaku. As for suburban schemes, about Rs. 7 and one half lakhs would have to be provided for meeting losses on them. In conclusion he announced that the Government of India had agreed to reduce the interest charged in 1921-22 of Rs. 153 and one half lakhs from 6 and one fourth to 4 and three fourth per cent. and to deduct the loan from the cost of Block 8 of Back Bay which is to be handed over to the military authorities. He also announced that the Development Directorate had been taken under direct control by the Government.

Sir Joseph Kay moved a cut of about Rs. 21 and one half lakhs in the Rs. 43 lakhs provided for Back Bay and pleaded for abandonment of the work on Block 6. The motion was widely supported.

The discussion was continued on the next day the 9TH MARCH when all speakers expressed strong opposition to filling Block VI on the ground, chiefly, that it would not find a ready market when reclaimed, seeing that all the land already there had not been taken up.

The Government member replying reiterated the assurance that the Government were prepared to abide by the Council's decision as to the work on Block VI.

Sir Joseph's motion was pressed to a division and carried by 68 against 28.

The House then considered the reduction Re. 1 in the total demand for development proposed by Mr. Lalji Naranji. Mr. Lalji criticised the policy and working of the Development Department, which he characterised as a "fraud on the Council and the public."

which had had the effect of mortgaging the progress of the Presidency for about two decades. The motion was defeated by a large majority.

The Administration of Aden,

On the 10TH MARCH surprise was expressed by the Home Member at the settlement announced in the Assembly regarding the future administration of Aden. The Government of Bombay, he said, did not, in view of that settlement, propose to proceed with the second reading of the Bill further to amend the Aden Civil and Criminal Justice Act of 1884. During the first reading of the Bill a few days ago he and the Chief Secretary had no reason to suppose that this decision was imminent. The fact that the Government of India had permitted the Bombay Government to proceed with the Bill showed that this decision was not expected. As to what the nature of the future administration of Aden was going to be was not known to the Government of Bombay beyond what had appeared in newspapers and it was obvious that many of the details in regard to that administration had not been settled. The Home member added that the Government of Bombay would press their claims in regard to the expenditure recently incurred by them.

Demand under Excise.

The House then proceeded to discuss the excise policy of the Government and had not concluded when the Council adjourned.

On the 11TH MARCH, replying to the debate, the Hon. Mr. G. B. Pradhan, Excise Minister, reiterated that the Government did not propose to go back on their declared policy. Several of the recommendations of the Excise Committee had been given effect to. Steps which the Government had so far taken were rationing, reduction in the number of shops, bringing down the strength of liquor, increasing the still-head duty on hemp drugs and opium. They had also curtailed the hours of sale. Clubs selling foreign liquor had been brought under control by the imposition of vend fee. The Government were anxious that people should not go in for cheap foreign liquor in the place of country liquor. The main difficulty was bringing the Native States in line with the prohibition policy adopted by the Government. As a result of the fall in revenue, many of these States were clamouring and the Government were trying to secure their Excise rights by paying more compensation. The most effective method by furthering the policy of prohibition was to make the tax on liquor as high as possible without stimulating illicit production to a degree which would increase instead of diminishing the total consumption and without drawing people to substitute drugs and other harmful form of liquor. The Government were not anxious to continue this form of raising revenue if other ways and means could be found which would throw the burden on broad shoulders and not on the shoulders of the poor.

Mr. Patel's motion to reduce the demand under Excise from Rs. 51 lakhs was then put and lost and the total demand was carried.

Demand under Education.

The House then took up the demand under the head Education and proceeded to discuss the policy of the Government with reference to the European education.

After animated discussion the Council threw out Mr. Shirdasani's token motion for a cut of one rupee in the demand for Rs. 7 lakhs for European education in the presidency. The mover said that his motion was intended to record the protest of the House against the system by which the subject of European education was kept beyond the pale of popular control. The House then adjourned.

On the 12TH MARCH the discussion on grants for education was continued. Rao Sahab Dr. Patil moved a cut of Rs. one lakh from Rs. 7 lakhs provided for Government Arts Colleges and complained that the Government was spending more in higher education and starving primary education. On the Education Minister's explanation that local bodies had been asked to submit schemes for the progress of primary education and these the Government would consider and sanction, the Rao Sahab withdrew the motion.

A motion for a cut of Rs 51,000 for inter-science classes at the Deccan College, Poona, evoked considerable discussion. Supporters of the motion argued that it was not fair to give artificial support to any institution and complained that the claims of Dharwar College had not been considered. It was also maintained that the Ferguson College had science classes already and there was no urgent need for opening similar classes in the Deccan College. Opposition to the motion ran on communal lines. One Muslim member declared that there was great demand for inter-science classes in the Deccan College as

Mahomedan students were kept away from the Ferguson College, since the intention of the Brahmins who controlled the latter was to keep Mahomedans uneducated so that they might not compete with them. The motion was eventually withdrawn.

The House then proceeded to discuss the total grant of about Rs. 2 crores for Education—Transferred. The Government was subjected to severe criticism on the score of having transferred the responsibility for primary education to local bodies who were hardly capable either financially or otherwise to bear the burden. The discussion was adjourned.

Administration of Aden.

On the 14TH MARCH Mr. A. Sheth moved an adjournment of the House to consider the transfer of Aden to the Imperial Government and voiced the resentment felt by the members at the failure of the Government of India to consult the Bombay Government or the Council before reaching a decision. The motion called forth a statement on behalf of the Government of Bombay from Sir Chunilal Mehta who put the House in possession of certain information on the subject which had been communicated to the Government. Firstly, the transfer related purely to military and political matters. The civil administration would continue to be in the hands of the Government of India and it was understood that Aden would continue to be as at present part of British India. Military and political administration of the settlement, continued Sir Chunilal, were never the concern of the Bombay Government as relations with neighbouring powers or authorities and with European powers who had interest in that region were not in their charge or of concern to the Bombay Government in whose position therefore the decision announced made no change. In view of the explanation, the motion was withdrawn.

Demand under Education.

The Minister for Education then announced that he was considering the appointment shortly of a Committee to go into the curricula of primary, secondary and higher education with a view to co-ordinate these courses and to give them a vocational bias. In regard to the working of the primary Education Act, he had issued instructions to officers in his department not to work the act in a harsh manner, but so as to give the local bodies as much freedom of action as possible in all domestic matters. The demand for education was then unanimously passed.

Demand under Agriculture.

The House then took up discussion of the demand for 25 lakhs for agriculture and rose for the day before concluding it.

On the 15TH MARCH Sir Chunilal Mehta, speaking on the demand under the head agriculture of Rs. 25 lakhs, admitted that there was a big gap in the requirements of the agriculturists while there was no agency to supply the co-operative movement contributing about six crores out of seasonal needs of agriculturists amounting to 25 crores. There was, therefore, some truth in the complaints from the cultivators that large areas of lands were lying uncultivated for lack of funds and when this was brought to his notice in Khandesh, the complaint was investigated by a committee and the maximum limit of the borrowing of the cultivators in these parts was raised from 300 to 600 rupees. There were several tracts in the presidency where the cultivators could safely be given more loans than at present and provincial co-operative banks had large sums of money which could be utilised for the purpose.

Mr. G. B. Pradhan, Minister for Agriculture, said that the whole question of fragmentation of holdings was under investigation by the Government. The total demand was then made.

Demand Under Public Health.

The demand for Rs. 21 lakhs under public health was discussed at length. Mr. Shivdasani complained that Gujarat did not receive a fair treatment in the matter of grants for works relating to public health. After further discussion, the demand was made in full and the House adjourned.

Non-official Bills Introduced.

On the 16TH MARCH a number of non-official bills were introduced. Out of eight bills formally introduced two related to the President's salary, one of them seeking to reduce it from Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 2,000 and the other allowing him a salary only so long as he devoted the whole time to the business of the Council. The third bill moved by Mr. J. Addynan had the object of enabling the Government to authorise the Western India Turf Club to permit the presence on the race-course in Poona and Bombay of a limited number of bookmakers. It had been found by experience, he said, to be im-

possible to suppress unlicensed bookmakers from the premises of the Turf Club and despite the efforts of the police it was known that the bookmakers existed outside these premises. It was obviously better that such gambling as did exist should be under proper control and it was believed that, under strict conditions which it would be possible to enforce, much of unlicensed gambling could be suppressed. The fourth bill was intended, as the mover explained, to remove inequality between the rich and the poor candidates in an election under the law as it existed, hiring of vehicles was included in corrupt practices but a rich and influential candidate evaded it by borrowing vehicles from friends, while the poor rival was at a disadvantage in that his only recourse was to hire vehicles which was prohibited by rules.

Election to Advisory Committee.

The House then devoted over two hours to the question of electing members to the Advisory Committees of the three railways in the city but finally postponed the election till the next day.

Land Revenue Assessment Committee's Report.

The first non-official resolution standing in the name of Rao Bahadur Kale and recommending that immediate effect be given to the suggestions contained in the report of the Land Revenue Assessment Committee recently published was then taken up and was still under discussion when the House rose for the day.

On the 17TH MARCH only one non-official resolution could be disposed of by this session of the Bombay Legislative Council before it was prorogued. With the exception of an hour for questions the day was occupied with discussion on Rao Bahadur Kale's resolution for giving effect to the recommendation of land revenue assessment of which two were specially stressed by non-official members as most urgent and important. They were, first, that in revising assessment of land revenue regard should be had to the profits of cultivation. The Settlement officer should take into account the following factors: (a) The state of communication during the previous settlement; (b) Proximity of markets; (c) Trend of prices; (d) General economic conditions and history of tract; (e) Result of crop experiments and (f) Rental value. In order to ascertain the rental value the real rents paid in open competition by tenants to landlords during the five years immediately preceding the revision settlement excluding years of abnormal prices should be taken into consideration.

Secondly, that the standing to examine all revision settlement proposals. The non-official section of the House maintained that permanent settlement should be introduced after equalising assessment by fixing it as 25 per cent. of the profits of cultivation. Failing this no revision of the settlement should be made without the approval of the Council. They condemned the Government's action in proceeding with the revisions while the whole question was still under consideration of the Council. Officials pointed to the delay that had already taken place in arriving at a decision on the question and contended that several lakhs of rupees would have been lost to the State if revision of settlement had not been carried out by the Government.

Finally, the resolution was carried by 53 to 29 with the addition that pending legislation along the lines of the recommendations of the committee, orders should be issued to the revenue authorities concerned not to collect assessment changed in revision after the 15th March, 1924.

The Council was then prorogued.

The Madras Legislative Council.

On the 24TH JANUARY His Excellency the Governor, accompanied by Viscountess Goschen drove in State to the Council Chamber and opened the third Reformed Madras Council, which he addressed. Mr. C. V. S. Narasimha Raju, the President, was in the chair. There was full attendance of members and nine new members took the oath of allegiance.

The most important business after the Governor's address was the election of the Deputy President, for which the Independent Party nominated Mrs. Muthulakshmi Ammal, the lady member of the Council. Other candidates having withdrawn from the field, she was elected unopposed as Deputy President.

Governor's Address.

H. E. the Governor, in addressing the Council, observed since the last session there has been considerable change in the position of parties, but there has been change in the needs and requirements, in the hopes and aspirations of the people of this Presidency and of India as a whole as to the measure of time in which these can be fulfilled and the ultimate extent to which they can be satisfied. There may be difference of opinion, but I would venture to hope that at least on the road towards those ideals we can all march together in a spirit of joint endeavour and determination, that no action of ours shall obstruct the forward march, although different paths may be chosen all leading in the same direction.

It is for us here in Madras, in the Presidency in which so strong effort has been made to work the Reforms to demonstrate at this psychological moment in the history of the Reforms our fitness for further responsibilities.

In conclusion, the Governor referred to the Statutory Commission provided for by the Government of India Act, which will begin to function at the latest in 1929, and in any case in the life-time on the present Council. He was convinced that the members of the House were cognisant of the paramount need of demonstrating to that Commission that the education of the electorate and the country at large and the development of team spirit, which should underlie and was the necessary concomitant of all democratic institutions, had proceeded on right lines towards further constitutional development and reorganisation of the machinery of the Government so as to conduce to the best advantage of the Presidency.

H. E. hoped especially that with ungrudging co-operation of the Council a strenuous campaign will be initiated for educational advancement and general amelioration of the depressed and backward classes, whose progress would without doubt facilitate all further steps.

Adjournment Motion on Metturu Project.

On the 24TH JANUARY, after interpellations, a motion for the adjournment of the business of the house to discuss the unsatisfactory nature of the irrigation department and the necessity for modifying with a view to grant irrigation facilities to the district of Trichinopoly was moved by a representative of that district. The President allowed the motion which was set down for discussion on the next day subject to the approval of the Governor. The house then proceeded to transact non-official business.

The first item was a resolution recommending that famine relief works should at once be started by the Government in non-deltaic tracts of Nellore district. A number of amendments extending the scope of relief works to other areas were also tabled.

The House next permitted Mr. Saldanha to introduce an amending bill to the Elementary Education Act. The Amending Bill to the Andhra University Act was not moved.

After lunch the adjournment motion brought by the member from Coimbatore to discuss the unsatisfactory nature of Government order on irrigation and the urgent necessity to modify it, specially with a view to granting some irrigation facilities under Mettur scheme to districts of Coimbatore and Salem was discussed.

Mr. Narayanswamy Pillai moved an amendment to include Trichinopoly also, but it was ruled out of order. Representatives from Salem, Coimbatore and Trichinopoly supported the motion. The mover pointed out that the Mettur project had depopulated 55 square miles of land for purposes of stagnation water and had rendered useless about ten

hundred thousand. The speaker urged that the Government should provide for irrigation by way of compensation of about 25,000 acres of land below Mettur dam for which the people of Salem and Coimbatore were prepared to pay even at maximum rates.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, replying on behalf of the Government, said that the scope of the Mettur Project was such that the extension of the scheme to Coimbatore and Salem was impracticable while the district of Trichinopoly was well served by Kattalai system.

The member for Tanjore was speaking on the motion when the President announced that it was five and the discussion automatically stopped.

On the 25TH JANUARY, an adjournment motion brought by a member from Coimbatore to discuss the "unsatisfactory nature of the Government order on irrigation and the urgent necessity to modify it, specially with a view to grant some irrigation facilities under the Mettur scheme to the districts of Coimbatore and Salem," was talked out.

The mover pointed out that the Mettur project had depopulated 56 square miles of land and had rendered homeless about 200,000 people. He urged that Government should provide for the irrigation of about 25,000 acres of land below the Mettur Dam, for which the people of Salem and Coimbatore were prepared to pay even maximum rates. Sir Ramaswami Iyer, replying on behalf of Government, said that the scope of the Mettur project was such that an extension of the scheme to Coimbatore and Salem was impracticable, while the district of Trichinopoly was well served by the Kattalai system.

On the 26TH JANUARY, a resolution urging the Government to start relief works, including remission of revenue for the next three months in the non-deltaic tracts of Nellore and in areas affected by the failure of the monsoon in the districts of Ganjam, Godavery, Guntur, Kurnool, North Arcot, Trichinopoly, Tinnevely, Bellary, Anantapur, etc., was passed after a prolonged discussion. The Revenue Member explained the Government policy and said that relief measures could not be directed to compensating farmers for any loss they may have sustained during a bad season. The Government directed their attention primarily to taking steps to avert the loss of human life, and to support those who might become destitute. He, however, promised to take such measures as were possible through the agency of district officers.

On the 27TH JANUARY, Mr. Satyamurthi moved the adjournment of business for the purpose of discussing a matter of urgent public importance, namely, the need for the Government of Madras to represent to the Government of India the opinion of the Council that it wholly disapproved of the action of the Government of India in sending Indian troops to China, taken as it was without reference to the Legislative Assembly.

The President asked the mover whether the motion was in order.

Mr. Satyamurthi stated that the motion merely sought to communicate the opinion of the house, as a representative popular body, to the Central Government, and had no intention of interfering with the foreign relations of the Central Government. Besides, matters affecting the Central Government had on previous occasions been discussed on the floor of the House. He pointed out that the matter was also of local importance as troops, especially Sappers and Miners, were reported to be despatched from the Madras Presidency.

Sir Ramaswami Aiyer, the Leader of the House, objected to the motion as it affected the relations of the Government of India with a foreign Government.

The President satisfied himself that the motion was in order, and allowed its discussion being fixed for the afternoon, subject to the Governor's approval.

Before the Council rose for lunch the President announced that the Governor had disallowed Mr. Satyamurthi's adjournment motion.

Moplah Colonisation of the Andamans.

There were about 45 resolutions on the agenda, of which only three were discussed and passed. The most important of these was one on the Moplah colonisation of the Andamans which recommended to the Government that immediate steps be taken to cancel the scheme and to transfer all Malabar rebellion prisoners from the island to Indian jails.

Khan Bahadur Mahomed Osman, Home Member, stated on behalf of the Government that the Government of India was responsible for the scheme, that at present there was no such things as Moplah colonisation, since the scheme had been made an all-India one, and that the objections raised against it were purely sentimental. Several members spoke condemning the scheme and asking for its immediate cancellation. The resolution was passed by 66 votes to 28.

Another resolution passed on this day recommended to the Government to amend the Famine Code in order to facilitate famine relief works by zamindars and landowners.

Hindu Religious Endowments Act.

Replying to interpellations regarding the Hindu Religious Endowments Act, the Law Member said that in view of the circumstances it was the intention of the Government with the help, if possible, of members of all the interests concerned, to explore the subjects about which a controversy had taken place, and to bring forward an amending Bill at the earliest opportunity to improve the Act, wherever necessary, and make it acceptable to the people for whose benefit it was intended.

The first Session of the Madras Council closed on this day after a four days sitting to meet again on the 1st March for the Budget session.

Financial Statement for 1927-28.

On the 1ST MARCH, in presenting the financial statement for the year 1927-28, Mr. T. E. Moir, the Finance Member, summarised the position thus:—

"Against a revenue of 1654.80 lakhs we anticipate an expenditure of 1724.13 lakhs in 1927-1928. Expenditure on that scale is rendered possible only by the fact that we have accumulated revenue balances amounting to 134.71 lakhs. These balances once spent do not recur and represent in part unanticipated windfalls, in part expenditure in previous years less than what provided for in their budgets. We are also labouring under the disadvantages of an unfavourable season which will affect the revenues of the coming as well as of the current year. Even under normal circumstances these revenues increase but slowly and our existing commitments will for several years continue to absorb the major share of such additions to our resources. We have also large commitments under schemes of a non-recurring nature while schemes of capital expenditure are for the present making increased demands on our revenues in connection with the payment of interest and the re-payment of capital.

"It might under these circumstances be urged that there is an element of recklessness in the budget now placed before the Council. I do not deny that all these considerations give food for thought but in the first place we may reasonably hope that the next monsoon will not follow the example set by its predecessor. Our commitments are not so out of our control that we cannot adjust future expenditure to our existing resources, should that, I sincerely hope it will not, prove necessary. And I am so impressed by the immense amount of ground yet to be covered in all administrative directions that I am unwilling to give the signal for reduced speed until convinced that it is essential.

"And here it is well to remember that our potential resources are not exhausted, though when and to what extent they will be released rests ultimately in other hands than ours. Although it is a matter in which a heavy responsibility rests upon our representatives elsewhere, we still pay a contribution of 165 lakhs from our provincial revenues to the Central Government. With that sum at our disposal we would have sufficient resources to meet all reasonable or possible administrative developments for the next three years.

"It is the peculiar misfortune of our Presidency that in its Pilgrim's Progress towards possession of its own estate, it has encountered and still encounters formidable obstacles and that at each stage fresh and fierce lions roar against it. But so far as the Government of India are concerned the long fight is over. In the budget which was produced in the Legislative Assembly yesterday the Hon'ble Sir Basil Blackett announced that if the Government of India's proposals for 1927-1928 are adopted they ensure a total recurring remission in respect of the provincial contributions of 350 lakhs and a non-recurring remission of 258 lakhs. The share of this Presidency is 116 lakhs recurring and 49 lakhs non-recurring, that is to say our province will at last stand in full possession of its proper revenues.

"It would be rank ingratitude on my part if, knowing as I well do how colossal the task has been, I fail to pay a tribute to the sincerity and the determination with which Sir Basil Blackett has laboured to remove what he has termed 'a millstone round the neck both of the Central Government and of the Provincial Governments poisoning their mutual relations and hampering every action.' I do not ignore their lions still in the path nor am I prone to count my chickens before they are hatched but I fervently trust that his efforts will be crowned with success and that that success which will mean so much to this Presidency will be secured not merely by the goodwill of the Government of India but by the active co-operation of our own representatives in the Central Legislature.

"I have already stated that given our revenues we can contemplate a noteworthy and continuous development of our ameliorative programmes during the least three years, that too without any additional taxation; such is the prospect opened before our eyes. It

exceeds our most sanguine anticipations and it is one which I venture to think this Council and the people of this Presidency will not readily forego."

With the expenditure put at an advanced figure with large commitments under schemes of a non-recurring nature with schemes of capital expenditure making increased demands conceded, it might be urged that there was an element of recklessness in the budget. But he hoped for better monsoon next year and Govt's commitments were not so out of control that they could not adjust future expenditure to their existing resources. Still, their potential resources were not exhausted. Even the present schemes were made possible by reason of accumulated revenue balances which to-day amounted to 134 lakhs.

Discussion on Important Bills.

After the Finance Member's speech the Council granted a sum of Rs. 50,000 to the Government for the purchase of sera and vaccines required for the inoculation of cattle. A heated discussion next ensued on the Finance Member's resolution asking for approval of the house for continuation of unfinished irrigation and civil works. The opposition characterised the motion as illegal. After considerable discussion the motion was put and lost without division.

Small Causes Courts Act.

Sir Ramaswami Iyer then introduced a Bill to amend the Madras Presidency Small Causes Courts Act giving jurisdiction to the city civil court now vested in High Court to try cases relating to the title of property of small value. The Bill was passed into law. Two other official bills were then introduced and referred to the Select Committees. The first was a Bill to amend the Madras Prevention of Adulteration Act providing effective remedies against sale of watered milk, adulterated cream, butter and the second Bill to repeal the Madras Planters Act. The Council adjourned.

The Budget Discussion.

That dyarchy is unworkable in practice was the sum and substance of the speeches made in the Council on the 3RD FEBRUARY in course of the general discussion on the budget. While the Congressmen said so directly, members of other parties gave out enough material to enable any impartial observer to come to that decision. The first speaker was a Swarajist, Mr. P. C. Venkatapathi Raju, who drew attention to the lack of irrigation facilities and starving of nation-building departments.

Sir A. P. Patro, ex-minister, congratulated the Finance Member and said that financial independence was a condition precedent of provincial autonomy. He pressed for relief in taxation notably in court fees and stamp duties.

Mr. G. Harisavithama Rao subjected the budget statement to a critical analysis from the democratic point of view, and proved how it hopelessly failed to stand that test. The cause of the ryot was advocated by everyone of the speakers and the encouragement of cottage industries and hand-spinning was also advocated. Mr. Krishna Nair sounded a note of warning against proceeding with further work in connection with the gigantic Cauvery mettur project which is estimated to cost more than six crores without placing on the statute book an irrigation law which the irrigation member himself had very often emphasised as essential before launching upon any big project. The way in which selections are made to the High Court Bench came in also handy for criticism while a Christian and two Mohamadan members pressed for communal justice. The discussion was on the whole on a high level compared with the previous years.

On the 4TH MARCH, in course of the general discussion on the budget, attention was drawn among other things to the need for promotion of rural sanitation, Indianisation of higher posts, notably in the police department and the improvement of the machinery of administration of civil justice in mofussil.

Doctor Mothulakshmi Ammal pleaded for the establishment of children hospital for Madras and opening up of new secondary schools for women. Opposition members also urged retrenchment and reorganisation of the departments of agriculture and industries.

Mr. C. Wood, Madras Chamber of Commerce, welcomed the budget as a lucid and business like one and expressed appreciation of the provision for agricultural and industrial development but regretted a lack of provision for combating social evil. The Council then adjourned.

Voting on Budget Demands.

Voting on Budget demands commenced on the 14TH MARCH. Token motion on demand under Survey and Settlement, under the head Land Revenue afforded opportunity for opposition members to criticise the Land Revenue Policy of the Madras Government,

Speakers emphasised the need for the introduction of a satisfactory Land Revenue Settlement Bill giving the Legislative Council power to fix rates.

Mr. Marjoribanks, Revenue Member, replying said that the Council had no mandatory voice in the matter and that the proper course would be for the responsible Minister to bring in a motion. The token cut was carried. The Council next negatived by 57 votes to 38 the Swarajist motion for total omission of Rs. 24,78,300 allotment for Survey and Settlement.

Demand Under Excise.

On the 16TH MARCH discussion centred round the Swarajist motion for a token cut in the salary of the Excise Commissioner.

During question time the Home member stated in answer to interpellation that the number of women and children taken to Andamans under colonisation scheme was 336 and 510 respectively.

Swami Venkatachalam Chetty, opposition leader, warned the Ministry that no country would tolerate a Government which did not quicken up the pace to total prohibition. Mr. Krishnan Nair in calling on the Independent Ministry to carry out the policy of prohibition took occasion to declare that the "Justice" party had decided not to accept office in the present Council. The President asked him to confine himself to the Excise policy. Mr. Krishna Nair drew attention to the fallacy of the Swarajists condemning dyarchy and at the same time supporting Ministry. Several speakers emphasised the need for forward step towards total prohibition.

Replying to the debate Mr. R. N. Arogyaswami Mudaliar, Excise Minister, declared that the Ministry had accepted the ideal of a dry Madras and would work up to it by definite and progressive stages. His policy would be a further reduction in consumption by the extension of prohibition areas, extension of duty on spirits and such other methods as were suitable. The financial aspect of the matter was under consideration and the Finance Committee had not yet reported. Subject to the limitations of diarchy he would work up to the goal.

Mr. Satyamurti declared that Congressmen were there to kill diarchy. The policy of the present Ministry was an advance on the record of the "Justice" Ministry. He added that if the Raja of Panagal as the leader of the "Justice" Party stated from his place in the Council that diarchy was unworkable, the Swarajists would readily join the "Justicites" in defeating any Ministry. But they would not break the present Ministry on the strength of what the "Justicites" had been saying with a view to coming to power again.

After further discussion the token cut was carried by 59 against 50 votes. Next the whole demand under Excise was put and carried without a division.

On a token cut under the head "Stamps" the opposition members urged a reduction in Court Fees. The Council then adjourned.

Demand for Provincial Autonomy.

On the 18TH MARCH the grant of further constitutional reforms, particularly provincial autonomy for Madras was strongly urged by the opposition members in the debate over a token motion under "Allotment for the Governor's Household".

Mr. S. Satyamurti, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party, declared that he would not raise the larger question of Swaraj for India, but would deal with the question of abolishing diarchy by granting autonomy to the province. He added that diarchy could not be worked. The Government should always be whole and indivisible. He asked those who felt that they could resist the advancing wave of modern democracy, whether they were going to drive all to despair and make of India a greater Ireland.

The speaker was there because he believed that the political question would be solved by mutual goodwill. He quoted the views of the Raja of Panagal and Sir A. P. Patro submitted to the Muddiman Committee in support of the contention regarding the unworkability of diarchy. He contended that when the party whose members were the "pet children of the bureaucracy" had stated that diarchy was unworkable and autonomy was necessary, there was no case for the Government. Sir Malcolm Hailey's assurance that his Government would do all that could be done was empty. He was sure that the present Ministers would find very soon that they were there to carry out the behests of unseen powers and that under diarchy they had no real power, responsibility or initiative. It had been said that the Britisher was out to civilise and train the Oriental in self-government. The speaker urged that Madras should get substantial political reforms as her people were the oldest pupils. The debate had not concluded when the Council rose for the day.

Next day, the 19TH MARCH, the discussion of the constitutional issue on a token motion under the Governor's Household was resumed.

Mr. Krishna Nair characterised the diarchy as an unsuccessful experiment and stressed the need for a forward step in Constitutional Reforms, like the transfer of all subjects to the transferred half.

Dr. Muthulakshmy Ammal paid a tribute to the British for inculcating respect for law and order and for the maintenance of peace. She said that India's yearning for freedom was a natural and legitimate craving and her national consciousness was the result of contact with the freedom-loving nations of the world. It was time for the Indians to shoulder more responsibility. She appealed for the spirit of brotherhood and for the throwing open of the temples and schools to all classes without distinction and added that when unity was achieved no power on earth could stifle India's aspirations.

The representative of the depressed classes spoke on the value of the British connection and emphasised the need for the protection of minority interests.

The Hon. Mr. Marjoribanks, Revenue Member, replying, said that the Madras Government was a subordinate Government and as such it had no power to alter the constitution. Their duty was to work it in the best interests of the people. It was probable that at no distant date the Government would be called upon to report on many aspects of the diarchy, and when the time came the Government would communicate the weight of resentment given expression to in the House. He wanted the House not to imagine that any section of the Government was hostile to their claims.

Swami Venkatachellam Chetty, leader of the opposition, enumerated the defects of diarchy and urged the grant of provincial autonomy.

Mr. Srinivasan, depressed classes representative, declared that the removal of untouchability should be the first step towards Swaraj. He invited the Royal Commission on Reforms to visit the villages and devise means for the amelioration of the lot of millions of the masses.

The motion was put to the House and carried, 67 voting for and 26 against it. The Ministers remained neutral.

Other Demands.

The reduction of the number of Executive Councillors to two was urged by the opposition members this afternoon on the motion for a token cut in the allotment for the Executive Council under the head "Secretary." The cut was effected, 51 voting for and 31 against.

The Council passed the demands under the heads "Legislative Bodies" and "Provinces" of Rs. 2,70,000 and Rs. 5,94,000, respectively. The token motion calling for a change in the hours of the sitting of the Council was negatived. Attention was drawn to further Indianisation in the Secretariat and effecting retrenchment by the Swarajists members on the motion for a nominal cut in the demand for the Chief Secretariat.

A "Justice" party member brought forward a cut motion to raise the question of allotting seats for ex-Ministers in the front opposition benches. The President ruled it out of order at that stage, stating that one of the party leaders had informed him of his intention to raise the question on the floor of the House and that he (the President) would fix a day convenient to the member concerned. The Council then adjourned.

Demand for Ministers' Salaries.

The demand for Ministers' salaries was taken up on the 21ST MARCH. Mr. B. Muniswami Naidu, of the Justice Party, moved a token cut to express no confidence in the Ministry.

Swami Venkatachellam Chetty, leader of the Congress party, explaining that his party would not vote on the question, said that they would always be ready to use their vote against the Ministry when they were satisfied that such a course would achieve the objective of the Congress, namely, preventing any Ministry under Dyarchy.

Dewan Bahadur Krishnan Nair (Justice) and the party in power was drawn from a minority and the Ministers did not have the confidence of the people.

Dr. Subbarayan, Chief Minister, replying, said that he accepted office because he felt it his duty to undertake the responsibility of constitutional government of the province. So long as he had the confidence of the House through the neutrality of his friends opposite (Swarajist benches) he had the right to be in the ministerial office. He assured the House that he would not tour at the expense of the State during six months before the elections. He added that the token cut on the Excise demand was one of no confidence in the policy of the previous Ministry than on the policy of the present Ministers.

Members of the Independent Party emphasised that their party programme was one acceptable to the Swarajists and the Justice Party. To-day the Swarajist policy was under-

going a welcome change from boycott to honourable co-operation and the Justice Party had no reason to look down upon such a change.

Mr. C. E. Wood, Madras Chamber of Commerce, desired to know if the token cut was a minor matter intended to draw attention to certain policies. He meant that the Ministers should resign if the latter was the idea, but he strongly deprecated the attempt to censure the Ministry at so early a stage in its life.

By 53 votes to 12 the Council negatived the motion of no confidence, 16 members remaining neutral of whom 11 were of the Congress Party.

The Council also voted down another Justice Party motion for a substantial reduction in the demand under the head "Ministers." The whole demand of Rs. 4,32,000 was then put to the House and carried without a division.

The practice of appointing temporary judges to the Bench of the Madras High Court was condemned by several members who spoke on a Swarajist motion for a reduction in the allotment under the head of "administration of justice".

The cut was effected, 56 voting for and 30 against. The Council adjourned.

Madras Police Budget.

On the 23RD MARCH the Government sustained a defeat on a Swarajist motion for a reduction by Rs. 5 lakhs of the allotment of Rs. 151,86 lakhs under the head "Police." Opposition speakers urged the need for retrenchment and drastic Indianisation of the Police Department.

Sir Ramaswami Iyer, replying, stated that during the last three years a reduction of Rs. 12 lakhs had been effected in expenditure under the "Police Department," and he would do all in his power to further Indianisation. The motion was put and carried by 46 votes to 44. The whole demand was next put and agreed to, subject to the above cut, by 55 votes to 28.

Anti-Drink Propaganda in Madras.

On the 25TH MARCH the need for rescinding the Government order prohibiting officials of the Public Health Department from doing any propaganda work against the drink evil was emphasised by several speakers in the debate on a motion to reduce by a token cut the allotment under the head "Public Health."

Dr. Muthulakshmi Ammal said that Public Health officials should be allowed to carry out anti-drink propaganda as part of their duties.

Swami Venkatachellam Chetty, leader of the Opposition, condemned the present prohibitory order and called on the Health Minister to make the position of the Ministry clear. Members of the Justice Party also supported the motion.

The Minister, replying, said that he was glad that there was unanimity of opinion on this question. What surprised him was that even members below the gangway (Justice party) should have changed their views in the matter. Those members were showing a change of heart in various other matters and it was all to the good. The Government had decided to remove the restriction and an order to this effect would be issued shortly.

In view of the Government's decision the motion was withdrawn and the grant passed.

The voting of the Budget demands concluded on this day. It is noteworthy that during the ten days' voting only one substantial cut was effected, that of Rs. 5 lakhs in the police grant, all other cuts being token ones. The Council then adjourned.

Debate Over the Supply of Khadi.

On the 28TH MARCH, after question time, Mr. B. S. Mallayya, Swarajist, moved for an adjournment of the House to consider a matter of urgent public importance, namely, reconstruction and remodelling of the Madras General Hospital.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, the leader of the House, pointed out that the motion could not be in order as it sought to revive discussion on a matter already discussed. He added that the matter involved was not of recent occurrence.

The President said that there was a precedent during the time of Mr. Swamikannu Pillai.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer questioned that ruling with due respect to the former President.

Swami Venkatachalam Chetti, the leader of the opposition, observed that the question of remodelling the hospital was dealt with in the budget and it was proper that discussion should be raised on that provision over adjustment motion.

The president finally ruled that the motion was in order.

A strong plea in favour of supplying Khadi for uniforms and other supplies was put in by Swarajist speakers in the debate over a token cut in the supplementary demand of

Rs. 75,000 for stationary and printing (transferred). Dr. Subbarayan, Chief Minister, reiterated his faith in handspinning and weaving industry as a welcome subsidiary occupation to India's millions and said that he could not do anything in the matter as cloths coming under the demand were made in jails with Indian mill yarn. Several members stressed the economic value of Khadder to the vast rural population in these days of famine.

Replying to the debate Mr. T. E. Moir, Finance Member, made it clear that they had no prejudice against hand-spun yarn and hand-woven clothes. Possibilities of encouraging such cloth would be explored if quality was found to be the same as that produced in jails. Handspinning was introduced even in jails in order to help the convict to earn a honest livelihood after their release.

The Motion was by leave withdrawn and the supplementary grant was agreed to. The Council also voted the supplementary demand of Rs. 12,000 for Ministers' travelling allowances.

Madras University Act Amendment Bill.

On the 29TH MARCH, Mr. S. Satyamurthi, member for the University, moved for permission to introduce a Bill to amend the Madras University act, 1923. The amending bill proposed the number to be elected by registered graduates to the Senate to be raised from 30 to 40 and the repeal of the principle of proportionate representation so as to allow normal voting to be the rule. It provides for the abolition of the council of affiliated colleges and doing away with the representation of District Boards on the Senate.

Before Mr. Satyamurthi rose, Mr. M. Krishnan Nair "Justicite" moved for the postponement of the Bill on the ground of want of time to study provisions. Another "Justicite" member characterised the amending Bill as a piece of mischievous and vindictive legislation.

Dr. Subbarayan, Education Minister, said that he felt that an amendment of the Madras University Act was urgently called for, but he did not agree with all the provisions of the amending Bill. He left that question of postponement entirely in the hands of the House.

Several Swarajists protested against the motion for postponement and said that it was an attempt to strangle the Bill. The motion for postponement was then put and negatived.

On the 30TH MARCH a Swarajist motion for the adjournment of the House to discuss the question of the acquisition of a farm belonging to the Andhra Ayurvedic Pharmacy at Avadi for the purposes of housing the Malaya Emigration Depot was withdrawn on an assurance being given by the Revenue Member that the Madras Government would withdraw the acquisition proceedings.

Introducing his Bill to amend the Madras University Act of 1923. Mr. Satyamurthi, member for the University, repudiated the suggestion that the Bill was the result of a conspiracy between himself and the Chief Minister. It was not a Government Bill masquerading under the name of a private Bill. It was not his intention to Brahminise the Senate. The amending Bill sought to expunge the elements of conflict.

While Mr. Satyamurthi was speaking Sir A. P. Patro, ex-Education Minister, referring to the Bill, exclaimed "such trash."

Mr. Satyamurthi sought the protection of the Chair and the Deputy President ruled that the word was not in order, upon which the ex-Minister withdrew the offending remark.

Dewan Bahadur Krishnan Nair, Justice Party, opposed the reading of the Bill on the ground that its provisions were not calculated to further communal justice.

Several Swarajists and Independent members gave their unstinted support to the Bill.

Dr. Subbarayan, Chief Minister, denied having had to do anything with the drafting of the Bill. He said that communal justice ought to be the watchword of the Council. The system of proportionate representation should be the rule and the reduction of gradual representation on the Senate was undesirable. He proposed to introduce the amending Bill in August, in which some of the desirable amendments of the present Bill might be embodied.

The debate had not concluded when the Council rose for the day to meet on the next day, the 31st March when, after some discussion of the University Bill, the Council prorogued.

The U. P. Legislative Council.

The Third Reformed United Provinces Legislative Council met at Lucknow on the 10TH JANUARY 1927. Out of a total of 123 members as many as 113 took the oath of allegiance to the Crown. The remaining ten members were absent.

The only item of business on this day's agenda was the election of the Council President. Rai Bahadur Lala Sitaram who held this office in the previous Council was unanimously re-elected and after he had been congratulated on his re-election by a number of speakers belonging to every party, the Council adjourned till the 24th January.

Discussion on Prohibition Resolution.

On the 25TH JANUARY there was a prolonged debate with considerable excitement on the resolution moved in the Council by a Swarajist member urging on the Government to speedily bring about a total prohibition of liquor and adopt local option.

An amendment was moved to this resolution recommending to the Government to bring about total abstinence (instead of prohibition) as speedily as possible and circulate the Bill embodying the principle of local option for public opinion. The heat of the debate was due to the fact that whereas the mover of the resolution and his supporters, mostly Swarajists and Nationalists, would have nothing short of prohibition, the mover of the amendment, his supporters and officials expressed the view that prohibition was not within the scope of practical politics. People could not be forced to give up liquor; but they could be educated to dread its use. The Government were doing their best to promote the cause of temperance. They had restricted hours of sale, reduced the number of shops by 42 per cent during the last five years and had extended the sealed bottle system. Regarding consumption of country liquor, the Excise Minister pointed out that it had fallen down by nearly 60 per cent since 1920. Government's Excise revenue had fallen down by nearly 50 lakhs in the course of these few years; but the Government only felt gratified at this fall of revenue since it clearly showed that their Excise policy was bearing its fruits. There could be no better proof of sincerity of the Government's profession than that total abstinence was their goal.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani questioned the Government if they had any means short of prohibition the adoption of which could bring total abstinence. To this the official reply was that the Government hoped that the measures they had adopted since 1920, in other words, prohibitive excise duty, reduction in the number of shops, restriction in the hours of sale, were likely to lead to total abstinence.

After a prolonged discussion, the Council carried the amendment by 57 votes against 29. Thus the Swarajist resolution was defeated.

Abolition of Commissioner's Posts.

On the 27TH JANUARY the Council by a majority passed a resolution recommending abolition of five out of ten commissionerships in the United Provinces. Supporters of the resolution including Mr. Chintamani argued that tax-payers should not pay for the bad selection of District Officers, which was the main ground stated for the appointment of Commissioners in the Province.

Sir Samuel O'Donnell pointed out that the appointments were necessary for efficient control over district administration which in the recent years had grown both in difficulty and complexity. Further, the Government of India had definitely ruled out the question of abolition of all Commissionerships or of exact half. The Government was, however, prepared to consider if any particular post could be reduced as it was hoped that the recent tenancy legislation would reduce substantially the number of revenue appeals.

Government Contribution to the Benares Hindu University.

The Council then adopted without division a recommendation to contribute to the Benares Hindu University a substantial grant-in-aid. The Education Secretary pointed out that it was an All-India institution.

Rural Development Scheme.

On the 28TH JANUARY, after the election of the representatives to three committees, Mr. Govind Ballabh Pant, Swarajist, moved the first resolution. It was a recommendation to the Government to prepare a scheme for promoting primary and vocational

education, sanitation, agriculture, cottage industries, co-operation, means of communication and medical relief in the rural areas and to allot a definite amount annually for the above purposes for the next three years and to grant therefrom substantial additional aid to District Boards.

The debate took an interesting turn when member after member from the Government benches enlightened the Council with the activities of their departments. Nearly all heads of departments in the Transferred side spoke on the resolution.

Sir Sam O'Donnell, the Finance Member, observed that their revenues increased very slowly. They were not suffering from lack of programme. He emphasised that co-ordination was necessary among the various nation-building departments. They were doing everything they could within their limited means. Unless and until the local bodies increased their resources, the Government would be able to do little.

After a full day's discussion the original resolution was carried. The Government did not challenge a division.

Sir C. Walsh's Attack on the Judiciary.

On the 29TH JANUARY there was an unexpected development during question time in the Council. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani drew the attention of the Government to the following sentence in the preface written by Sir Cecil Walsh, Acting Chief Justice of the High Court to a law book published from Allahabad:—"I have been shocked by the number of cases of deliberate rascality both in the provincial judicial service and at the bar." Mr. Chintamani wanted to know if the Government had taken any steps to protect the officers of the service and members of the bar from that vilification.

The Nawab of Chattari, the Home Member, replied that the quotation should be read in its context. It was followed by the following sentence: "There are black sheep in every fold and there are rogues in every profession. They do not represent the bulk nor does their conduct discredit any one but themselves." That, the Home Member pointed out, made it clear that Sir Cecil's attack was not of a general nature. The preface to the book was not written in his official capacity. The Government, therefore, saw no necessity to take any action.

There was a volley of supplementary questions. Several members wanted to know if the Government would ask Sir Cecil to expunge the sentence from the next edition of the book and, failing that, if the Government would forward to-day's questions and answers to Sir Cecil.

The Nawab of Chattari, in reply, said that the Government was not agreeable to adopt either procedure, because in their opinion, there was no occasion for the Government to take any notice of the matter.

An Adjournment Motion.

This reply was followed by a fresh crop of supplementary questions with the result that eventually Mr. Chintamani gave notice of a motion for adjournment of the House to discuss the unsatisfactory nature of the Government's reply.

Lala Sitaram ruled the motion in order and it was taken up for discussion at 4 in the afternoon.

In moving the adjournment, Mr. Chintamani remarked that the Home member's replies were deliberately provocative. What harm was there in Government agreeing to ask the author to expunge the sentence or at the worse to send the day's proceedings to Sir Cecil Walsh. Was he to understand that Government shared Sir Cecil's views in regard to the provincial judicial service. Deliberate rascality was a serious charge against Government servants and those officers certainly looked up to Government to protect them from such ungenerous attacks. There were 264 officers in the provincial judicial service and during the last six years not more than six officers were compulsorily made to resign on suspicion of having sold justice. Was that number shocking or did the author imply that there were more such corrupt men still in service. The sentence was a deliberate affront to the entire service.

Mr. Chintamani was supported by several Swarajist and Nationalist members who wanted to know if the Government would have been equally impassive had such an attack been made against the Indian Civil Service.

Opposition to the Motion.

Messrs. Habibullah, Masadul Hasan and some other landholder members opposed the motion for adjournment and said that the issue before the House was not the conduct of Sir Cecil Walsh in writing the preface, but the attitude of the Home member in replying to certain questions. There was nothing to make a grievance of the Home member's replies and there was not much to find fault with Sir Cecil either. Sir Cecil's language

might have been strong, but he had condemned the black sheep alone and not the entire judicial service. It was the duty of the Government and also of the Council to protect and shield good, honest and upright men and not all and sundry including black sheep.

Kunwar Jagdish Prasad, the Education Secretary, said that the inner import of the sentence could not be judged without reference to the context. In another passage of the same preface, Sir Cecil had praised the Indian system of promotion of judicial officers from the lowest rank to the highest. That clearly indicated that he did not hold an ugly view of the entire subordinate judicial service. Had he shared that view, he would never advocate the system of promotion of such officers to highest offices of responsibility. Members who were loudly clamouring against the Government to-day for not shielding their subordinate officers had, on previous occasions, themselves stated in Council that corruption was rampant among the subordinate officials of the Government. The Education Secretary quoted the speeches of several members in previous debates to support this statement. The Council then adjourned.

Budget Estimates for 1927-28.

On the 4TH MARCH after disposal of some minor business, the Hon'ble Sir Sam O'Donnell, the Finance Member, presented the provincial budget for the year 1927-28.

According to the Finance Member's statement revenue and receipts inclusive of the opening balance in the budget year are expected to amount to Rs. 1,528 lakhs, whilst disbursements are estimated at Rs. 1,557 lakhs. There is, thus, after allowing for balance of Rs. 13 lakhs in famine insurance funds, a deficit of Rs. 39 lakhs. This estimate is of course independent of any remissions which the Government of India may make in provincial contribution. As, however, the Government of India has proposed to make a recurring remission of Rs. 99 lakhs and non-recurring remission of Rs. 52 lakhs, there is every hope that the deficit of Rs. 39 lakhs will not only be wiped out altogether, but there will be a closing balance of Rs. 112 lakhs. If, however, the Assembly turns down the proposal for remission, this Government would have to borrow a sum sufficient to cover deficit and to provide the closing balance.

Revised Estimates for 1926-27.

The budget of 1926-27 as originally presented to the Council provided for revenue amounting to Rs. 1,290 lakhs and receipts under debt heads amounting to Rs. 206 lakhs making with the opening balance as then estimated total receipts amounting to Rs. 1,575 lakhs. In expenditure side there was provision for expenditure amounting to Rs. 1,288 lakhs under revenue heads and Rs. 256 lakhs. The revised figures of 1926-27, however, differ materially from budget figures. In the first place, the opening balance of 1926-27 is 26 and three-fourth lakhs less than was anticipated when the budget for 1926-27 was prepared. Secondly, receipts during 1926-27 are better by Rs. 5 and half lakhs than the estimate and thirdly, disbursements during 1926-27 are 28 and half lakhs more than the estimates and in consequence the closing balance of 1926-27 originally estimated at Rs. 65 and half lakhs has been reduced to Rs. 15 and three-fourth lakhs.

The revenue for the year 1927-28 is estimated at Rs. 1,291 lakhs and receipts under debt heads at Rs. 220 and three-fourth lakhs. Together with the opening balance of Rs. 15 and three-fourth lakhs and total revenue and receipts for 1927-28 amount to nearly Rs. 1,528 lakhs. On expenditure side, provision has been made for expenditure of Rs. 1,294 and half lakhs under revenue heads and Rs. 262 lakhs under debt heads. In other words, the budget for 1927-28 as presented to-day is a deficit budget; but in case the Government of India's proposal for remission of provincial contribution is given effect to there will not only be no deficit but a substantial closing balance and the Government will present in April supplementary estimates aggregating Rs. 51 and half lakhs, of which 10 lakhs will be on account of reserved departments and Rs. 41 and half lakhs for transferred departments.

Provincial Debt Charges.

The Finance Member next made a detailed reference to the debt position of the province. Provincial debt charges were now nearly one-eighth of the total provincial expenditure. At the Reforms the Government took over two large debts; first, the old provincial loan account which amounted to 296 and two-third lakhs and the second the pre-reform irrigation debt of Rs. 1,219 and half lakhs. The latter debt represented capital cost of all canal systems in the province and is a type usually described as permanent, that is to say, repayable entirely at the option of the borrower. The province thus took over with the reforms a total debt of Rs. 1,516 lakhs. Up to the year 1927-28

inclusive it had incurred further debt to the extent of Rs. 1,200 lakhs making a total of Rs. 2,716 lakhs. The total interest and other charges on these debts in 1927-28 are Rs. 165 lakhs.

In closing his statement Sir Sam whose term of office will conclude in the budget year, made some observations by way of retrospect and forecast. During the last 4 years, he said, the financial position of the province was never free from anxiety. Nevertheless the period had not been one of stagnation. Since 1923 enrolment in primary schools had risen by about 20 per cent. In vernacular middle schools from 45,000 to 55,000, in secondary English schools from 52,000 to 62,000, in Intermediate Colleges from 2,100 to 3,400 whilst the number of post-intermediate students had increased from 2,200 to 3,300. There were now 98 technical institutions under Industries Department as against 37 in 1923 and the number of students was higher by nearly 83 per cent. In the Agricultural Department notable progress had been made in production and distribution of seeds, demonstration processes and extension of private farms. A health scheme had been introduced in 17 districts. Co-operative movements had received special attention of late and a number of measures for improvement would shortly be carried out. Provincial roads were being reconstituted on modern lines and liberal grants had been made to the local bodies for improvement of sanitation and water-works.

Voting on Budget Demands.

Ministers' Salaries Voted.

On the 11TH MARCH the first of the budget demands, the one under the head "General Administration" amounting to Rs. 1,07,39,448, was presented in the Council. As notice had been given of as many as nine motions for reduction of Ministers' salaries, there was a large attendance of members and the visitors' gallery was packed. Debate on the motion for omission of the demand in respect of Ministers' salaries lacked interest and as was observed in the course of the ruling from the chair it contained an element of unreality.

Pandit Govind Ballabh PANT, Swarajist leader and mover, made it abundantly clear that his motion had no direct concern with the personality or policy of the present Ministers. His protest was against the present constitutional defects. He wanted to end dyarchy in this province. He sincerely believed that his country would be served best by getting rid of all Ministers. Mr. Pant was supported by several Swarajists.

Rai Rajeswari BALI, Education Minister, in reply, expressed his gratitude that Mr. Pant's attack was constitutional and not personal. To have Ministers or not to have them had become a historical problem in Indian politics. It had been discussed threadbare and was responsible for the origin of different political parties. The whole country was divided on it. It would serve no useful purpose to reiterate the arguments either in favour of or against dyarchy in this Council. He for one would be glad to see the end of dyarchy. He and his colleague as long as three years ago had expressed the same view in their minute before the Muddiman Committee. Indian opinion was all in favour of provincial autonomy. The reason that he and his colleagues continued to keep dyarchy living was that they did not believe in losing half the loaf in search of the whole one. Whatever defects dyarchy might have, it had to be admitted that since the reforms came into being there had been considerable advance in the departments under the control of the Ministers in this province at least. The Council had concrete proofs before them in the shape of reorganised universities, popularised district boards and in the progress made by the Departments of Industries and Agriculture. He would like to know what Bengal and Central Provinces had gained by getting rid of their Ministers. Not much apparently, since they had now retraced their steps and reconsidered their decision.

After some further debate the motion for omission of the provision for Ministers' salaries was lost without a division. The House then adjourned.

Reduction of Commissioners' Posts.

On the 12TH MARCH the Government sustained several defeats when the Council resumed and concluded voting of the demand under the head "General Administration." The biggest cut effected was in respect of provision for the Commissioners' establishment. Mr. G. B. Pant, Swarajist Leader, who proposed a reduction of Rs. 2 lakhs under this head, urged the abolition of all commissionerships or if that was not possible at least a considerable reduction in their number. The motion was opposed by two lawyer members, Mr. Chowdhury Niamatullah and Mr. Masudul Hasan, on the ground that it

was impossible to do without the Commissioners who had a number of functions to perform in regard to rent and revenue suits, and also in regard to municipalities and district boards administration.

Sir Sam O'Donnell, in opposing the motion, pointed out that a considerable reduction in number would result in the jurisdiction of the remaining Commissioners becoming too large and too unwieldy. The motion for reduction was adopted by 42 votes against 30.

Secretarial Establishment.

Another substantial cut of Rs. 33,000 was also adopted by 50 votes against 43 on the motion of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani in respect of the item concerning Secretariat establishment. The mover and his supporters urged the abolition of appointments in the Department of the General Secretariat.

Along with Mr. Hafiz Hidayat Hussain, Mr. Chintamani was also responsible for a token cut in respect of the Secretariat demand. This cut was effected in order to bring to the notice of the Government the desirability of having more Indians as Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries and also of the abolition of the post of the Chief Secretary.

Meeting Place of the Council.

Mr. Pant, Swarajist leader, moved for a nominal cut to express the desire of the House to have the Council meeting at Nainital. This motion was adopted without any serious opposition from any quarter. The total reduction effected by the Council in respect of the demand under the head "General Administration" amounts to Rs. 2,58,131. The rest of the demand was voted.

Discussion on Police Demand.

On the 14TH MARCH, the business before the Council was voting on Police demand. One of the passages to which objection was taken by the Council in the shape of a token motion for reduction expressed the grievance that the High Court seldom awarded the extreme penalty of law to persons found guilty of murder. In the course of the debate the Inspector-General said that he had no intention to attack the judiciary. He had only expressed his honest opinion. He admitted that the expression was unhappy and regretted having used it. Mr. Dodd expressed his regret for another passage in the annual report which run as follows:—"And wild assertions of less responsible politicians regarding C. I. D. Factory of revolutionary crime was as baseless as they were stupid." Mr. Dodd denied that the passage had any bearing on the Council discussions. He was sorry that it was liable to be so interpreted. Both those token cuts were withdrawn by the respective movers at the suggestion of the President who hoped that in view of Mr. Dodd's replies, the matter should be allowed to drop.

Reduction of D. I. G's Posts.

A token cut was adopted in spite of the Government opposition with a view to reduce one of the four posts of Deputy Inspectors-General in the United Provinces. A motion for reduction of the C. I. D. demand by Rs. 25,000 was rejected by 48 votes to 35.

Protection to the Maharaja of Nabha.

Reference was then made supporting the motion for a token cut under the head C. I. D. by Thakur Manjit Singh that the Maharaja Sahib of Nabha, now a citizen of Lohia Dun, sent a petition to the district authorities of Dehra Dun that he was being subjected to a mysterious surveillance by certain unknown persons suspected to be the agents of his enemy, a well-known prince of the Punjab, it is said Patiala.

The Hon'ble the President:—Does the Hon'ble Member suggest who the persons shadowing His Highness actually are? Are you referring to Patiala?

Mr. Manjit Singh:—I only want to say that the persons are suspected to be the agents of his enemy. I cannot, however, say who they actually are. They may even be C. I. D. men of the Government for aught I know.

Thakur Manjit Singh then went in to say that the life and honour of His Highness, his wife, and children were in danger. He asked the district authorities to afford him necessary protection in his present condition of enforced helplessness but no action has so far been taken on the petition which has caused a sensation throughout the country. Thakur Manjit Singh said that it was the duty of the head of the Police Department in the province to make adequate and suitable provision for the protection of life and honour of His Highness. The House then adjourned.

On the 15TH MARCH discussion of the police demand in the budget for 1927-28 was resumed and concluded. The C. I. D. came in for a considerable amount of criticism

on a token motion for reduction. Several Swarajist members advised the Government to ask the C. I. D. to direct its attention to detection of crimes instead of wasting its energies on shadowing political workers and Swarajist members of the Council.

Pundit G. B. Pant, Swarajist leader, referred to the arrest of a number of Congressmen in connection with the Kakori conspiracy case and their subsequent release without trial. The Pandit wanted to know what steps the Government had taken against C. I. D. Officers who were responsible for those useless arrests. Another Swarajist member wanted to know what steps the C. I. D. had taken to apprehend persons who were said to be a menace to the life of the ex-Maharaja of Nabha and his family and about whom the Maharaja had made an application to the District Magistrate of Dehra Dun.

Mr. R. J. Dodd, Inspector-General of Police, opposing the motion, assured the member that nobody was being shadowed by the C. I. D. because of his political views or activities. He challenged the member to bring specific instance of such activity on the part of the C. I. D. to his notice. In regard to the ex-Maharaja of Nabha, there were no reasons to believe that there was any danger whatsoever to his life. The motion for reduction of C. I. D. demand was rejected by 42 votes to 39. All the motions for reduction of Police demand except two minor ones which were accepted by the Council were one after another rejected by the House by a large majority and most often without any division. There was an incident towards the close of to-day's meeting when there was a walk-out and subsequent walk-in by several members belonging to the Nationalist Party.

The Walk-out Episode.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, leader of the Nationalist Party, moved a token reduction and expressed his doubt if the province got 16 annas for every rupee spent on the Police Force. A curious characteristic of the U. P. Police he said was to refuse investigation in a large number of cases. In 1924 they refused investigation in 22,940 cases and in 1925 in 23,401 cases. The percentage of refusal was 20.6 and 20.2 respectively. The corresponding figures for 1924 was Madras 2.4, Bombay 1.8, Punjab 3.4, Burma 4.3, Behar 4.6 Assam 6 and C. P. 35.7. Again, in regard to recovery of stolen property U. P. had an average of 11.7 while All-India average was 14 in the year 1924.

Mr. Mukandilal, Deputy President, who was in the chair at this stage, remarked that the House has enough figures and it was time the speaker stated the facts. Mr. Chintamani replied he would only deal with the figures for once and leave the facts to other members and he proceeded to deal with further statistics. Mr. Mukandilal intervened again and remarked that the speaker had been quoting figures for the last 15 minutes and he would be allowed only 2 minutes to conclude his speech. There was a presidential ruling fixing the time limit of 15 minutes for every speech. Mr. Chintamani retorted that under no rules the President had any right to fix the time limit for this discussion.

The Deputy President again ruled that he would allow only 2 minutes more.

Mr. Chintamani said:—As a protest against this unauthorised ruling of yours, I shall stop my speech.

With these remarks Mr. Chintamani sat down and shortly afterwards left the Chamber followed by all Nationalist members. Later in the afternoon when Lala Sitaram, President, came back to the chair, the matter was brought to his notice. He regretted that his Deputy had misunderstood a ruling of his and had under a misapprehension stifled the debate. The Chair, however, must be given some privilege and indulgence and must receive hearty co-operation from members. He hoped the unhappy episode would now end. Mr. Chintamani and his followers thereupon returned to the House but took no part in the debate.

The Council then adjourned until the 22nd March.

Voting on Irrigation Demand.

After one week's respite the U. P. Council reassembled on the 22ND MARCH to vote the budget demands. Attendance was poor and debates lacked both heat and interest. Towards the close of the day's meeting, Mr. Mukandilal, Deputy President, who at that hour occupied the chair, made a reference to the episode of the Nationalists' exodus from the Council on Tuesday last as a protest against his (Deputy President's) ruling about Mr. Chintamani's speech and the time limit. Mr. Mukandilal made it clear that his ruling was based on a misunderstanding for which he was sorry and he assured the House that he had not the slightest intention to stifle debate when he reminded Mr. Chintamani of the time limit.

The demand under discussion on this day was under the head expenditure of irrigation works charged to revenue which amounted to Rs. 61,45,000. By 31 votes to 29 the

motion for substantial reduction of the demand by Rs. 1 lakh was adopted by the Council in respect of the item concerning establishment charges.

Discussion of the demand was yet in progress when the Council adjourned for the day.

Constitutional Issue Raised.

On the 23RD MARCH the Council concluded the discussion of the irrigation demand. Attendance of non-official members was poor, but there was some heat in to-day's debate, more particularly once when Mr. Chintamani raised a constitutional issue whether or not irrigation should be a transferred subject and placed under the control of the Minister of Agriculture in order to facilitate co-ordination of work.

Sir Sam O'Donnell, Finance Member, expressed the view that the Provincial Council was not the proper forum for the discussion of a large constitutional issue, namely distribution of various subjects between the reserved and transferred sides of the Government. The Indian constitution was neither made nor amended by the Local Government but by Parliament. The best place for such discussions was the Assembly in India and the House of Commons elsewhere. Sir Sam's statement led Pandit N. Gurtu to raise a point of order.

Rai Bahadur Lala Sitaram, President, doubted whether a constitutional matter of grave importance could be raised in connection with the budget demand in such a hasty manner and be voted upon without sufficient discussion. It was a matter of common knowledge that India as a whole demanded provincial autonomy, in other words, transfer of all departments to the control of Ministers. He would not say that a grave constitutional matter could not be discussed at all in connection with a particular demand; but such discussion must be particularly restricted or else it would give rise to side-tracking and constitutional discussion would recur with intolerable frequency in connection with each and every budget demand.

Mr. Chintamani's motion for a token reduction was carried without division.

Administration of Jails.

On the 24TH MARCH the Jail demand came up for discussion. The Nawab of Chattari, Home Member, in moving for a grant of Rs. 34,18,040 under the head "Jails and Convict settlements" briefly reviewed the administration of the department during the current year. At the outset, he admitted that constructive criticisms in the Council on various occasions were responsible for a number of reforms in jail administration. He was, therefore, grateful to non-official members and welcomed their attacks. Revision of the Jail Manual which had been undertaken during the tenure of office of the Maharaja of Mahomedabad was very nearly complete and would soon be published. Sundays were now complete holidays in jails except for essential services and ten days holidays were given for important religious festivals during the year. In 1925 arrangements were made to purchase grain on wholesale basis with the result that the quality of grain had greatly improved. Oil mills of improved type had not been supplied and prisoners were not made to work for more than 14 days at a stretch on oil mills unless they volunteered to do so. Rules had been framed to provide special diet for prisoners to whom ordinary diet was found unsuitable. Arrangements had been made for better segregation of female prisoners in selected jails and for increased number of female warders. The Government had also decided to open vocational school in jails to impart training in carpentry, blacksmithy, weaving and dyeing. There was also a proposal to build a new Central Jail at Meerut. Health of prison population was excellent, mortality rate being almost the lowest in India.

Nearly 64 per cent of prisoners had gained in weight in 1926 whereas only about 8 per cent. had lost in weight. The Government had a scheme for electrifying Agra and Naini Jail.

Nearly hundred motions for reduction of jail demand had been tabled, but most of the reductions proposed were of a token nature and were not pressed. There was a prolonged debate on the question of transportation of Bhandus (criminal tribe of Bohil-khand district) to Andamans. A number of non-official members protested against the present policy of transportation of Bhandus, but in the end motions for omission of the item concerning transfer of Bhandus to Andamans was negatived by 43 votes to 39.

Reforming Criminal Tribes.

There was another interesting debate on the motion for token reduction where the issue involved was that the task of reforming criminal tribes mostly composed of depressed class Hindus should be entrusted to Arya Samaj and other Hindu organisations and not to the Salvation Army. The motion was adopted without division.

Discussion on Jail Demand.

On the 25TH MARCH the Council concluded discussion of the Jail demand and also voted the demand under the head Public Works and Civil Works. Two token reductions were adopted to-day by the Council in respect of the Jail demand. On one motion the issue involved was the appointment of a jail commission to enquire into the complaints regarding diet and dress in prisons. The motion was adopted without division. Mr. Zahur Ahmed, proposer of the other token reduction, wanted the Government to issue telegraphic instructions to all jails in the province to the effect that Muslim prisoners observing fast should not be given hard labour during the remaining twelve days of the Ramzan. The Government reply was sympathetic but the Government refused to issue telegraphic instructions. The reduction motion was adopted by 53 votes against 25.

Public Works Demand.

The Public Works demand was voted in its entirety. The Nationalist members moved for reduction of the provision in respect of additions and alterations to the three Government houses at Lucknow, Allahabad and Nainital, but their reduction motion was negatived by a large majority of votes and the demand voted *in toto*. In presenting the demand for Public Works, Nawab Yusuf, Minister in charge, stated that in view of the complexity and urgency of the problem of communications and transport in the province, the local Government had decided to continue their policy of road reconstruction on a wide scale at a total cost of about one crore and a half.

Education Minister's Speech.

On the 26TH MARCH Sir Samuel O'Donnell, Finance Member, informed the house that the current meeting of the Council would terminate with the disposal of supplementary estimates on the 2nd April and that the Council would meet next at Nainital.

Sir Samuel was unable to give the exact date or duration of the Nainital meeting. The principal business before the Council to-day was voting of the education demand amounting to Rs. 17,204,464. Notice had been given of over 200 motions for token and substantive reductions against the demand; but of them barely 40 were discussed to-day, the consideration of the rest being postponed till Monday. Hitherto not a single reduction motion was accepted by the House.

Rai Rajeswar Bali, Minister of Education, in presenting the demand reviewed the progress of education in the province during the current year. At the outset he regretted that this year's demand under education did not compare very favourably with that of the previous year. The budget was framed in January when this Government was face to face with a huge deficit. Allotment for new items of expenditure in the budget for all Transferred departments amounted in the aggregate to five lakhs of which half a lakh was earmarked for the Education department. Half a lakh was a disappointing figure, but if the remission of contribution promised by the Government of India materialised Rs. 20 lakhs more would be allotted to the Education department on 2nd April when supplementary estimates would be presented. Figures of educational expenditure in the U. P. since the reforms presented interesting reading. In 1920 it stood at one crore and nine lakhs. In 1921 it went up to one crore and 54 lakhs. In 1922 it dropped to one crore 32 lakhs. In 1923 it went up again to one crore 52 lakhs and one crore 54 lakhs in 1924. Besides these amounts spent from the provincial exchequer there were also private endowments and donations aggregating over one crore. These figures, the Minister pointed out, showed that since the reforms there had been some expansion in regard to education at least.

University Education.

Referring to the criticism that there was growing expenditure on University education to the detriment of primary education, the Minister agreed that primary education was of first importance, but at the same time it could not be ignored that University education played a great part in the development of the nation. It was said that Universities in the U. P. had failed to grow into centres of creative thought. To such critics the Minister would point out the recent selection of Dr. M. N. Shaha of Allahabad as a Fellow of the Royal Society. An important event of the current year, the Minister proceeded, was the creation of the Agra University. This 5th University in the province was bound to open new spheres of educational activity. Mr. K. P. Kichlu, Deputy Director of Education, has been appointed special officer to bring the University into existence so that the first examinations could be held in 1928. Referring to the policy of high school and intermediate education inaugurated in 1921, the Minister said that it had come in for severe criticism, but the Government was decided upon giving it a fair trial before

making any radical alterations. In his opinion all Ministers had to build up sound traditions of administration in Transferred departments and they should work against rapid changes of policy from one Minister by his successor and against excessive individualism. Regarding the need of imparting physical training to the students, the Government were tackling the question in two ways, one of which was the introduction of a new scheme of medical inspection as an experimental measure in cities.

Primary Education.

Coming to primary education, the Minister said that it had been made compulsory in altogether 25 municipalities. The committee which had been appointed to enquire into the progress of primary education among Muslims and other backward communities had lately submitted its report which was under the consideration of the Government. In concluding his speech, the Minister referred to the Marris College of Hindustani music which has made good progress since it was started last year. The college filled an obvious blank in the present education system. The idea of a picture gallery at Lucknow still remained to be translated into action.

Voting of Education Demand.

On the 28TH MARCH the education demand of Rs. 1,79,04,464, less Re. 1 for which amount a reduction motion was adopted was voted by the Council. The issue involved in the token reduction was the question of grant to Benares and Aligarh universities from the provincial exchequer. Non-official opinion was solidly in favour of substantial grant to those two institutions but Sir Samuel O'Donnell on behalf of the Government stated that the two all-India universities were primarily the concern of the Government of India and not of the provincial Government. This Government could provide for grants to them only after it had discharged its financial responsibilities to all provincial subjects. After a prolonged debate the token motion was adopted without division.

A Heated Debate.

There was a heated debate on Pandit G. B. Pant's motion for substantial reduction in the provision for Roorkee College of Engineering. Among other things, Pandit Pant urged reduction in and Indianisation of the personnel of the college staff.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, ex-Minister, supported the motion. This support was the immediate cause of heat in the debate.

Kunwar Jagdish Prasad, Education Secretary, quoted some facts and figures and said that Mr. Chintamani while in office did little either to reduce the staff or to indianise it. Once out of office he was criticising his successor for not doing what he himself when in power never cared to do. The Education Secretary in his turn was subjected to a violent attack by Pandit Iqbal Narayan Gurtu for having taken up that particular line of argument. Mr. Gurtu blamed the Education Secretary of foul play, lack of discipline and judgment for his attack on his former chief, Mr. Chintamani, who could not possibly take any further part in the debate and was therefore debarred from the right of reply. Mr. Gurtu in connection wanted to know whether the Ministers after they vacated the office should not be immune from criticisms of the Secretaries who had worked under them.

Rai Rajeswar Bali, Minister of Education, was sorry that owing to some misunderstanding between Mr. Chintamani and the Education Secretary some unpleasantness had been created. Heat in the debate was not due to any difference of opinion in regard to the question of policy, but solely due to regrettable personal misunderstanding. He earnestly hoped that the personal affair would be allowed to rest where it was and not pursued further.

The motion was rejected by 52 votes against 42.

European Education.

Pandit G. B. Pant also criticised the grant to European schools. He said that on the basis of population Government spent nearly 100 times more on European education than on the education of the people of the land.

Mr. A. H. Mackenzie pointed out that there was not a single European school maintained solely by the Government. All European schools in the province were aided institutions and the basis of aid was the same as in the case of Indian schools. The amount of grant was equal to and in the case of European schools was less than the amount raised from private sources. The endeavour of the European community as a whole on behalf of education was great. There were generous donations and also voluntary work from missionaries. If the proportionate expenditure per head was great it was because of the smallness in the number of scholars in European schools.

The Government never showed any partiality to European schools in the matter of grants-in-aid. The motion was not voted upon when the guillotine was applied and the Council adjourned.

Discussion on Land Revenue.

On the 29TH MARCH the Council reassembled to discuss the Land Revenue demand amounting to Rs. 88,33,718. The agenda contained nearly a hundred motions for reduction of the demand but only seven of them could be disposed of to-day. The House divided three times in the course of the day and on every occasion the Government sustained defeat. The worst defeat was in connection with the Swarajist motion for omission of the item of Rs. 9,23,742 concerning survey and settlement. There was a prolonged and animated debate on the motion, the issue being the withdrawal by the Government of the Land Revenue Bill during its second reading at Nainital. The Government policy was severely criticised by a large number of non-official members. The motion for omission of the item was eventually adopted by 64 votes to 21.

All Demands Agreed To.

On the 30TH MARCH the Council concluded the voting on the budget demands. In the course of twelve days that were allotted for consideration of budget provision, the Council managed to discuss demands under seven out of thirty-two major heads. Of them, five, namely, general administration, land revenue, irrigation, police and jails were in the reserved group and only two, namely, education and public works, in the transferred group of subjects. All the undiscussed demands had not however an easy passage. When after the guillotine had been applied at 5 p.m. to-day they were put from the chair there were vigorous attempts to vote some of them out altogether. The first item that the Council would not readily agree to vote amounted to Rs. 18,26,800 and represented charges against the famine insurance fund. During the general discussion on the budget several members had protested against exploitation of the famine insurance fund for payment of irrigation interests. Apparently to record that protest very emphatically the Nationalist and Swarajist members shouted out "No" when the question was put in regard to this demand. The House divided on the question and the demand was eventually granted by 47 against 30 votes. The next attempt at total refusal was directed against provision for public works and other outlay not charged to revenue. The grievance of the Opposition as voiced during the general discussion was that Government should not utilise borrowed money either for construction of police buildings or for reconstruction of roads. The House divided when the question was put and voted the demand by 44 votes against 31. Mr. B. G. Pant, Swarajist leader, challenged the provision for expenditure in England and once again the House divided. The demand was voted by 42 against 32. There was yet another division when the demand under the head of account interest on debt was put before the House. In this instance, too, the Council agreed to grant provision, but voting was slightly different, figures being 42 for and 33 against. The Council then adjourned to meet again on the 2nd April.

Voting on Supplementary Grants.

On the 2ND APRIL the Council assembled to consider the demands for supplementary grants for the year 1927-28. The budget as originally presented provided for a deficit of nearly Rs. 40 lakhs but because of the remission of the provincial contribution not only has the deficit been completely wiped off but there is in fact a surplus of over one crore and twelve lakhs. Partially to utilise that surplus the Government presented to-day supplementary estimates aggregating nearly Rs. 52 lakhs of which nearly 42 lakhs are for transferred services and about Rs. 10 lakhs for reserved services. On the transferred section education alone claims nearly Rs. 19 lakhs, agriculture about Rs. 7 lakhs, and industries a little over Rs. 2 lakhs. Notice had been received for as many as 515 motions to omit or reduce the amounts of demands for supplementary grants.

The Finance Member's Statement.

Immediately after question time Sir Samuel O'Donnell, Finance Member and Leader of the House, made the following statement:

"We had hoped that supplementary estimates would be disposed of in a single day. Judging from our past experience that was a reasonable anticipation. Yesterday we received motions for reduction and they total over five hundred. It is clear, therefore, that our anticipations were mistaken. Further we have reason to believe that it will be very inconvenient to many members to return after the Id holidays. Therefore, it has been decided that any supplementary estimates that we shall not finish to-day will stand over till the next meeting of the council which will be held in the month of June in Nainital.

H. E. The Governor's Message.

The President next read out the following message from H. E. Sir William Marris to the Legislative Council :—

"The Governor wishes to congratulate the members of the Legislative Council upon the termination of the present budget session for the consideration which it has given to the public business of the province during a session which, owing to the inconvenient occurrence of holidays, has involved greater demands than usual upon the time of the members. He is indebted to the Council for having provided the funds necessary to carry on the administration for the ensuing year and to place the provincial finances upon a satisfactory basis. For reasons stated by the Hon'ble the Finance Member it has been decided that any supplementary estimates which are not disposed of to-day shall stand over till the next meeting of the council which it is the Governor's intention to summon in Nainital in June. The Governor hopes that by the next budget session it may be possible for the Council to meet in comparative comfort in the new Council Chamber. The Governor declares that the Legislative Council is hereby prorogued with effect from the termination of this day's session until such further date as may in due course be announced".

Deputy-President's Salary.

Not much business could be transacted in to-day's meeting of the Council owing to unnecessarily prolonged debates on motions of minor importance. This was due to a grievance among the Swarajist and Nationalist members at the allotment of a single day for the consideration of the supplementary estimates totalling over half a crore. An additional cause of grievance was that unlike as in previous years no days had been fixed for non-official business during the budget session. After H. E. the Governor's message to the Council had been conveyed by the President, Sir Samuel O'Donnell, the Finance Member, presented the Bill to amend the U. P. Deputy-President's Salary Act. The object of the Bill was to obtain the sanction of the Council for certain concessions which might be made to him in respect of travelling allowances for journeys undertaken by him with the previous approval of the Local Government. Mr. Chintamani moved an amendment substituting the word "President" for "Local Government." The amendment was adopted and the Bill as amended was passed.

Spinning in Jails.

The Council next proceeded to discuss supplementary estimates. The demand under the head 'Jails' was first taken up. There were several attempts from Swarajist and Nationalist benches to postpone the consideration of the supplementary estimates altogether but the President ruled all such motions out and the House proceeded to discuss the jail demand. The supplementary estimate under this head was brought to make provision for the establishment of vocational schools in central jails for instruction in handicrafts to suitable prisoners. A Swarajist Member moved a token cut and wanted to know what kind of vocational training was going to be given to prisoners. More than twenty speeches followed in which various suggestions were made but the speakers mostly supported the scheme of the Government. The closure was at last applied by 54 votes against 42. The Home Member replying said that the subjects to be taught to the prisoners were weaving, dyeing, carpentry and blacksmithy. The Swarajists wanted to add spinning to the list of subjects. The House divided on this question with the result that Swarajists gained their point by 50 votes to 41.

Special Pay for Medical Officer.

Another motion for reduction of the jail demand was dismissed in the course of the day. The item concerned in the motion related to provision for special pay for a medical officer who had specialized in the treatment of tuberculosis to be placed in charge of Sultanpur Jail where tubercular prisoners were all segregated. The mover of the reduction objected to tubercular prisoners being kept at Sultanpur Jail and urged that they should be sent to Bhowali or Almorah. Numerous speeches in support followed the same line. The Hon. the Nawab of Chhattari, Home Member, pointed out that the provision in the budget was not for the establishment of a new prison for tubercular prisoners but to specially remunerate any medical officer who would be placed in charge of the existing jail. If funds were available the Government would readily consider the question of erecting a prison for such convicts in some healthy spot in the hills; but that was not the issue before the House. The motion for reduction was eventually put and rejected by 51 votes to 34 and the Council was prorogued. The remaining demands were taken up at Nainital in June next. (For Proceedings See Vol. II.)

The Punjab Legislative Council.

The third Reformed Punjab Legislative Council met on the 3RD JANUARY 1927 at the Council Chamber, Lahore, for swearing in of new elected and nominated members. Of 98 members more than 90 took oath one after the other and it took them three-quarters of an hour to do so. No other business was transacted and the Council adjourned till the next day when the election of the President took place. Khan Bahadur Choudhuri Sahabuddin was declared duly elected President of the Council and Sardar Buta Singh as its Deputy President. The Council then adjourned sine die.

Three Ministers Appointed.

H. E. the Governor of the Punjab appointed the following as Ministers to administer the Transferred Departments in the Punjab:—Agriculture, Excise and Public Works—Sardar Jogendra Singh; Education and Industries—Mr. Manoharlal; Local Self-Government, Medicine and Sanitation—Mr. Malik Ferozekhan Nun.

In the last two Councils there were only two Ministers, but this time the Governor appointed a third Minister. Thus all the three communities were represented in the Ministry, the Sikh, the Hindu and the Muslim. Sardar Jogendra Singh was re-appointed, and Mr. Manoharlal was appointed in place of Rai Sahib Chaudhri Chhoturam, Education Minister, who was not re-appointed. The third portfolio was created for a Muslim Minister and Malik Ferozekhan Nun was appointed to hold the charge of this portfolio.

There was a strong agitation amongst the Punjab Mussalmans and in the local Muslim press during the last two weeks for the appointment of a Muslim Minister and this sentiment was voiced by the Muslim League at its recent session in Delhi. Mr. Malik Ferozekhan is a young Barrister practising in the Lahore High Court and had been thrice elected to the Reformed Punjab Council. Mr. Manoharlal was a member of the first Reformed Punjab Council when he was its Deputy President.

The Governor's Opening Address.

The next meeting of the Council took place on the 28TH FEBRUARY when His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab addressed the members of the Council. His Excellency, after welcoming the members, referred to the changes in the people's minds brought about by the Reforms scheme and the influence that the new Councils had exerted on the public and the general course of administration.

Explaining his motive in appointing a third Minister, he said that he had found in the history of the Punjab Council many of the beginnings of genuine party spirit, but definite formation on party lines had constantly been obscured by the influence of other issues, at one time by the after results of the non-co-operation or the Khilafat movement, at another by agitation among the Sikhs and so forth.

Continuing His Excellency said: "It was because I felt that though there were beginnings of party life in the Council, the divisions had, nevertheless, not crystallised finally on party lines that I took last December the course of adding a third Minister to the Punjab. I believed that in the present state of things when the Punjab was still feeling its way to definite party system it would be a real advantage to have as early as possible all the main elements represented in the Government." Proceeding, the Governor said:—"My hope was to secure for the Punjab at so interesting and active a period of its development a Ministry constituted on such basis that no important section could complain that its interests were likely to be disregarded and lastly I hoped that by widening somewhat the basis of administration I should make some contribution towards the stilling of communal difference, at all events in the political sphere. The present session will show how far I have correctly assumed that there exists in this Council a genuine desire to unite in promoting ordered and harmonious progress in the province, a desire strong enough to induce various sections to abate something of their mutual differences in order to secure the greater good of the whole. It is no mean ideal, yet it is not one which in truth asks of any man to make an unreasonable sacrifice.

Referring to other problems of administration, the Governor said in respect of crime the province was returning to the normal, but communal differences were still being deliberately exploited and fomented. There seemed to be one clear feature of the present situation. Communal feeling nowhere reached a real state of tension and nowhere

manifested itself in any dangerous form unless there had been keen activity in the communal press or on those disreputable platforms where this form of excitement was purveyed to the public. "It is a distressing feature of affairs to-day" said the Governor, "that ordinary men of each community were not allowed to live at peace and find their own adjustments. Mischief comes from above and not from below. I cannot judge of the truth of the rebuke sometimes brought against the Punjab that it supports the worst communal press in India; but I should pity any other province which could show so many examples of indecent virulence. Of all infernos which the imagination of mankind has painted, surely the deepest and the most dreadful hell must be reserved for those whose only claim to consideration on the day of judgment will lie in the plea that they have damned the faith of others. We have warned and we have prosecuted; we have made direct attempts at conciliation; but this is a matter in which one well directed movement of public opinion would far outweigh any effort which the Government can make or any effect which it can produce. In all sincerity, I ask for the assistance here of members of this Council and for the exercise of the influence which they command outside its walls".

In conclusion His Excellency hoped the members of the Council will realise that the life of the Council had reached one of those critical stages which in ancient medicine would have been called climacteric; for it is the work of this Council which would come under the direct observation and view of the Statutory Commission.

No-confidence Motion.

Dr. Mahomed Alam, Leader of the Nationalist Party, then moved a resolution expressing want of confidence in the three Ministers in charge of the Transferred departments of the Punjab Government. Before the mover had made his speech and the motion was discussed in the House, the President requested the members who were in favour of leave being granted to stand in their places. As less than 30 members stood up in favour of the motion, leave was not granted to discuss the resolution. Only 24 members supported the discussion of the motion and the announcement by the President that leave had not been granted by the Council was received amidst cheers of Ministerialists.

The Budget for 1927-28.

Sir Geoffrey De Montmorency, Finance Member, then presented the budget estimates of the Punjab for the year 1927-28. When Sir Geoffrey concluded his speech he was greeted with cheers from all sides of the House.

According to budget estimates the balance of all accounts at the close of 1927-28 is expected to be Rs. 43 lakhs. Rs. 1,173 lakhs of ordinary revenue expenditure and Rs. 252 lakhs of capital expenditure will be met during the year. Ordinary revenue account and insurance fund accounts will show plus balances of Rs. 21 and 41 lakhs respectively at the close of the year. Latter balance includes the appropriation of Rs. 15 lakhs out of revenue to the revenue reserve fund which will stand at Rs. 26 lakhs on 1st April 1927.

Receipts.

In ordinary revenue account receipts are estimated at Rs. 1,113 lakhs or 36 lakhs less than the original estimates of 1926-27. Decrease is due to the remission of Rs. 17 lakhs in taxation announced in June last, an increase of Rs. 14 and half lakhs in irrigation, working charges and a fall under excise of Rs. 4 and half lakhs. Allowance has also been made for expected contraction in the area under cotton on account of fall in prices. Ordinary revenue expenditure is estimated to be Rs. 1,173 lakhs or Rs. 10 lakhs in excess of modified grant of the present year. Chief increases are Rs. 5 and half lakhs under Civil administration, Rs. 7 lakhs in beneficent departments and 12 lakhs in P. W. D. Substantial portion of increase is to be devoted to improvements in the administration of jails, agriculture, education, industries, provincialisation of hospitals and communications.

Expenditure.

Steady progress in the development of nation-building activities generally is provided for under capital expenditure. The main objects of estimated expenditure of Rs. 252 lakhs are Hydro-electric Scheme, Sutlej valley irrigation project and communications in Nili Bar. It is hoped to finance the year's programme mainly from the proceeds of the past and future sales of Government lands though ordinary revenue account shows a balance at the close of the year. The rate of increase in expenditure has recently been greater than the rate of increase in income.

In presenting the budget, the Finance Member pointed out that though irrigation scheme promised sure additions to the permanent revenue within a few years, yet mean-

while prudence demanded that the growth of spending activity shall not outrun the limits set by the rate at which resources expand. No remissions of taxation are proposed for the purpose of financing the capital projects. A small loan of about Rs. 30 lakhs may have to be taken from the Government of India towards the close of the year 1927-28.

The Council then adjourned till the 5th March.

Voting on Budget Demands.

Provision For Beggars.

On the 5th and 6th March the Council devoted its whole time to the discussion of the Budget. Voting on Budget demands commenced on the 8TH MARCH when the Government's demands for grants came up for discussion and the first thirteen demands from demand No. 32 to demand No. 20 were voted without any discussion. Demand No. 19 moved by the Finance Member in respect of miscellaneous departments (reserved) raised a short discussion owing to amendment moved by Mr. Chaudhri Afzal Haq for a cut of one rupee with respect to item of Rs. 6,000, the total donation for charitable purpose to discuss the policy of Government regarding provision made for beggars, poor vagrants, indigent and old persons. The amendment was supported by a large number of non-official members, all of whom urged the Government to open poor houses and make some provision for Indian beggars, vagrants and old persons and introduce some sort of legislation to stop beggary in public streets. The Finance Member who expressed sympathy with the mover of the amendment said that the matter was primarily for local bodies to deal with and Government did not like to force on local bodies measures which they were not prepared to undertake. The mover, however, pressed his amendment to vote which was carried and which amounted to a vote of censure on Government. The demand was then passed with this nominal cut.

Development of Industries.

The next demand No. 18 moved by Mr. Manoharlal, Education and Industries Minister, for a grant of Rs. 1,00,31,000 in respect of industries (revenue and capital) evoked a likely and animated debate and after a minor amendment had been moved by Mr. Chaudhuri Afzal Haq and withdrawn, discussion continued for more than one hour on the motion in which members from all sides of the House took part. All non-official members strongly criticised the small amount provided for industries and attacked Government for their apathy towards promotion and development of industries in the Punjab. Lala Dhanpatrai (Industries constituency representative) characterised the action of the Government in appointing a Development Board without sufficient provision of money as a farce. Sheikh Mahomed Sadiq and Sardar Ujjal Singh suggested to the Government to start factories which would provide work for the unemployed. Lala Bodhraj (Swarajist) urged for total rejection of the demand so that the Finance Department might provide more money for the development of industries next time. Raja Narendranath and Dr. Gokalchand Narang while deprecating the small amount provided for industries by the Finance Member asked the House not to throw out the demand but accept whatever they had got, and fight for more. Dr. Gokalchand said that Ministers had no hand in framing the budget and, therefore, they should not be punished for the fault of the Finance Department. He urged the house to reject the demands in respect of land revenue, stamps and general administration etc., when those demands would come up for vote so that the Government might note their feeling in the matter, but he asked the House not to reject totally the industries demand. The motion being put to vote was declared by the President, but oppositionists claiming division votes were taken and the total demand was passed by 47 votes against 22 amidst cheers of Ministerialists. The Council then adjourned.

Government's Co-operative Policy Criticised.

On the 9TH MARCH the Council devoted full four hours to the discussion and voting on Government demands for grants and after prolonged debates passed only two more demands No. 17 and 18 in respect of agriculture and medical and public health without any cut, though some members strongly criticised the working of the co-operative societies in the Punjab and pointed out to the Minister of Agriculture that this excellent movement was unfortunately manned by one class of people alone and was confined only to agriculturists. Medical and Public Health department also came in for a good deal of criticism at the hands of the members who urged for more adequate provision for dealing with epidemics and malaria, further promotion of vedic and unani systems of medicine and creation of more hospitals for villages. Lala Bodhraj drew the

attention of the Government to corruption in the Medical department and suggested the appointment of a committee to enquire into the matter. Chaudhuri Dulichand urged for better protection of rural interests and suggested that only agriculturist doctors should be appointed in rural hospital and dispensaries. This suggestion evoked strong resentment from urban members who said no question of rural and urban should arise in the matter of medical treatment. Dr. Gopichand, speaking as a medical practitioner, requested the Minister of Public Health not to bring in the question of agriculturist or non-agriculturist in the Medical College and medical treatment and condemned the spirit of communalism which rural members were trying to introduce even in the medical profession.

The debate having taken a communal turn, the President had to intervene. He regretted that on every subject the Indian members brought in the question of rural and urban interests which he thought was very unfortunate and he informed the House that in future he would not allow such discussion and hoped the members would not compel him to exercise his right in disallowing communal discussions unless they were meant for a particular and specific purpose.

Education Grant,

The demand No. 15 for a grant of Rs. 1,44,05,000 in respect of education (transferred) was moved by Mr. Manoharlal, Minister of Education. Chaudhuri Afzal had moved an amendment for a cut of one rupee with respect to the item of Rs. 69,91,370 for primary education to discuss the Government's policy regarding compulsory primary education and the mover had not concluded his speech when the Council adjourned.

Representation in the Services.

On the 11TH MARCH Mr. Chaudhuri Afzal Haq resumed his speech on the amendment moved by Mr. Chaudhuri Jafarullah Khan yesterday proposing a cut of Rs. 1 from the total grant of Police to discuss the Provincial Police Committee's report. The speaker was quoting extracts from the report when the President asked members whether all of them have been supplied with a copy of the report. As all members did not possess a copy of the report, the President asked the Finance Member whether the Government could supply copies to members and as copies were not available at the amount, the President stopped discussion on the amendment and he put the demand under Police to vote which was declared lost. The Finance Member claiming division, the motion was declared carried by 38 to 10 votes.

The next demand under jails and convict settlements was then voted without much discussion after the amendment moved by Mr. Afzal Haq to suggest improvements in the department had been lost.

General Administration Demand.

The Finance Member then moved the demand under administration of justice. Rai Sahab Chaudhuri Chotu Ram moved two amendments for a cut of one rupee to draw attention to paucity of agriculturists in the ranks of public prosecutors and in civil judicial service. Both amendments were withdrawn after a lengthy and lively debate which again took a communal turn and there were several requests to the President by Dr. Gokalchand Narang to disallow all communal discussions in the House according to his ruling given two day ago. The mover of the amendment made it a matter of great grievance that agriculturists in the Punjab who formed eighty per cent of the population and who contributed to Government major portion of the revenue and who gave their lives for the sake of the King and country during the War did not receive their due and proper share in civil judicial service and hoped that, when the future appointments are made by the High Court and other subordinate courts, special preference would be given to the claims of agriculturists.

Hindu non-official members, who opposed the amendment, pointed out that agriculturists as such without proper qualifications could not claim preference in public services, and the mover of the amendment, in the guise of demanding preference for agriculturists, was really advocating the cause of Mussalmans of the province who also formed a majority of the population.

The official point of view was explained by Mr. Craik, Secretary, who said he was the only member of the House who was a member of the Committee which led up to the resolution of 1919 referred to by the mover of the amendment. He thought no member could accuse him of lack of sympathy with Zamindars (agriculturists). He assured the House that it was always the practice of the Government when selecting recruits to various branches of public service to scrutinise their records, their educational qualifications with most anxious care and it was the desire of the Government to see that landed classes secured adequate representation in public services and in regard to nearly all

services. Definite proportions have been laid down by the Government and they were getting year by year increasing the number of recruits to various branches of public service from Zamindars. They should not ignore that there were other classes who at present led the way in education and intellectual attainments.

Proceeding, Mr. Craik said it was not fair to keep out men of outstanding educational merits merely because they did not belong to certain tribe and in these days of higher standard of qualifications for public services, it was not fair to take a Zamindar with inferior education merely because he was a Zamindar. Subject to these reservations, the Government was faithfully endeavouring to follow and give effect to the policy laid down in 1919. The Government admitted that progress made in the last few years had not been so rapid as they as well as the mover of the amendment would have liked, but the Finance Member had given an undertaking that the matter would be taken up in consultation with the High Court and in view of the undertaking, he hoped the mover would not press the amendment.

Shaikh Faiz Mahomed referred to the paucity of Mahomedan Judges in the High Court since 1919 and was discussing the question of the resignation of Sheikh Abdul Quadir, an ex-Judge of the Lahore High Court, and was mentioning that it was due to difference between Sir Shadilal Lal, Chief Justice and Sheikh Abdul Quadir that the latter was forced to resign his judgeship when Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency rose to a point of order and asked the President's ruling whether the member could discuss the conduct of a Judge of the High Court in the Council. After short discussion on the standing order on the point, the President said if the Member referred to any Judge even in his administrative capacity and meant to reflect upon him he ought to withdraw his remark. Quoting Parliamentary practice on the subject, he said no reflections or disrespectful mention of any kind should be made in respect of any Judge of any High Court and no member should introduce the personality of any Judge of any High Court or even of subordinate courts in discussion on the floor of the House. Only administrative actions of collective body of the High Court, if absolutely necessary, might be introduced and if possible references to that also might be avoided. Sheikh Faiz Mahomed withdrew his remarks and references to Sir Shadilal and Judges of the High Court and apologised to the House for making any such reference.

The Demand under administration of justice was then put and carried.

Transferred Department Demand.

Sardar Jogendra Singh then moved demand under General Administration (transferred). There were ten amendments for cuts by non-official members under this demand to reduce salary of Ministers, to discuss the arbitrary manner of appointment of Ministers and to discuss unconstitutional acceptance of Ministership. The President ruled out four of these amendments remarking that under Parliamentary practice the members could not discuss the action of the Governor about the selection of a Minister. Before other amendments urging reduction of Minister's salary could be moved, the Council adjourned.

Debate on Ministers' Salaries.

On the 14TH MARCH the public galleries were crowded when the Council reassembled and resumed discussion on the Government's demand for grant relating to General Administration (transferred).

Dr. Shaikh Mahomed Alam moved that the grant be reduced by Rs. 72,000 with respect to the item of Rs. 1,80,000, the total pay of officers urging a reduction in the salary of the Ministers from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 3,000 each per mensem. In the course of a lengthy speech in Urdu, Dr. Alam said if the Ministers agreed to take a reduced salary they would be more honoured by the elected element of the House than would be the case if they continued to draw Rs. 5,000 a month. The financial condition of the province did not allow the provision of such a big sum for the salary of the Ministers. Out of the reduction proposed, a considerable amount could be spent on charities and other needs of the province. He could not understand why a sum of Rs. 15,000 instead of Rs. 10,000 was being asked from the House when nothing extraordinary has happened to the province and no new departments have been created for the Ministers. If the House sanctioned an additional sum of Rs. 5,000 to-day for the Third Minister, they would be asked some time later to provide for four, five and ten more Ministers. On principle he objected that the best of their members should be taken away from the treasury benches on fat salaries from elected seats where they could be of use and service to the country and the people.

Raizada Hansraj supported the amendment and reminded the House that when discussing the budget he had appealed to the Ministers to voluntarily take a less salary

than Rs. 5,000 as has been done by the late Sir Surendranath Banerjee and some other ministers in other provinces in India; but he was sorry to find that it had produced no effect on their Ministers. He could not understand why the Ministers should take a higher salary than the High Court Judges who were drawing Rs. 4,000 per mensem and hoped they would not care more for money than for service of the country.

Sir Geoffrey De Montmorency, Finance Member, explaining the reasons of the provision of salaries of the ministers as it stood in the budget, said in the Punjab the maximum salary had been fixed by the statute at Rs. 6,000 and that once the Legislative Council had voted a smaller salary for the Minister that salary could not be raised. Moreover, he thought it would be very undesirable and invidious that a Minister should receive a smaller salary than a member of the Executive Council. It would at once give rise to the impression that the charge of the transferred departments was less important than the reserved departments. In the Punjab, a greater part of the new money went to the transferred departments which were rapidly expanding. It was on these departments that interested criticism and suggestions, both inside and outside the Council, took place. It would, therefore, seem undesirable to take any step which should belittle the grave importance of the beneficent and nation-building departments.

Continuing, the Finance Member said if a smaller salary was voted for the Ministers men of good stamp would hesitate to accept the posts and he thought everybody recognised that men of good stamp were required to take charge of these very important departments. Looking back at the history of the Council, they found that the classes of persons from which their Ministers had been drawn were persons interested in commerce and industry owning and managing large estates and engaged in the legal profession. To all these three classes of persons, the Ministry involved severing of personal touch and direction and loss for three years in those sources which they would have been otherwise personally managing. People of good stamp in a good many cases may be patriots. Nevertheless, they had duties towards their dependents and families and they could not seriously afford to jeopardise those interests by neglecting their business and occupying themselves in public duties unless a fitting remuneration was paid for those public duties. The result of lowering the salary might be that for A-1 Class of men they would get C-3 Class of men. Moreover, even in days of financial stringency they did not suggest reduction of salary of the Ministers and the Finance Member thought that in these days of comparative affluence, there seemed far less reasons, indeed hardly any reasons, to take the step of reducing the salaries of the Ministers.

After 3 hours' animated debate the amendment was put to the House and rejected, the supporters not claiming a division. The demand under General Administration (transferred) was then put and carried. The Council then adjourned.

Exemption of Sword from Arms Act.

On the 15TH MARCH three more demands were voted in the Council without much discussion and proceedings were more or less dull compared to yesterday's animated debate. The demand under General Administration (reserved) was voted with a nominal cut of one rupee which was proposed by Chaudhuri Afzal Haq to raise a discussion for the exemption of the sword from the operation of the Arms Act and carried in spite of official opposition.

Sir Fazli Hussain, speaking on the motion on behalf of the Government, informed the House that the sword had been exempted from the operations of the Arms Act for certain class of persons in the Punjab, namely, those who paid incometax or certain amount of land revenue and title-holders etc., and that the Government of India had been pleased to accept the recommendations of the Punjab Government on the resolution moved and adopted by the House some years ago; but the Government could not exempt the sword for all persons on account of unfortunate communal tension in the province and riots that broke out after the resolution on the subject was adopted in the House in 1924.

The Bhakra Dam Scheme.

Five motions for cuts were moved by various non-official members to reduce the grant under irrigation two of which were withdrawn, two ruled out of order by the President and one was rejected by 27 to 24 votes and the total demand was voted after a short discussion. Speaking on the amendment moved by Mr. Chaudhri Ohhotu Ram proposing a token cut to protest against the delay in pushing forward the Bhakra Dam scheme and that project, Mr. Smith, Chief Engineer, informed the House the reason why the Bhakra Dam scheme was delayed. He said that in the opinion of experts no suitable site for the dam was available which could benefit the districts of Rohtak and Hissar where distress owing to scarcity of water was acute and they could not build the

scheme on something that would eventually fail and be a source of great danger to the districts and before spending the taxpayers' money they wanted to be sure that they were going to build on something certain and which would be a benefit to the agriculturists of the districts. Speaking about the project Sir Fazli Hussain, Revenue Member, informed the House that they were waiting for the decision of the Government of India and the sanction of the Secretary of State on the scheme submitted by them and that the Government did not show any lack of sympathy in the matter which was still being examined by experts.

The Council was discussing the demand under registration when it adjourned.

Debate on Excise Policy.

On the 16TH MARCH further demands for grants were discussed and voted. The demands under registration, forests, and stamps were voted without any cuts and much discussion but the demand under excise created considerable excitement and was not carried until division was called. The token cut proposed by Rai Sahib Chaudhri Choturam to denounce the present system of recruitment in the Excise Department which, according to him, resulted in very poor representation of Zamindars, particularly Hindu Zamindars, was eventually withdrawn by the mover after an assurance had been given by the Minister for Agriculture that everything possible is being done for proper representation of Zamindars in the department.

Sardar Narain Singh then moved another token cut to discuss the excise policy of the Government and, in his speech, asked the Government to reach the goal of their policy, namely, total prohibition without delay even at the sacrifice of revenue. The amendment was warmly supported by a large number of non-official members all of whom urged the minimum consumption of liquor to be brought to zero and save the people from the drink evil. Those who opposed the amendment said it was excessive drinking which was a vice and total prohibition would never be a success and would result in increase of illicit distillation.

Sardar Jogendra Singh, Minister for Agriculture, expressed his sincere sympathy with the object of the mover and welcomed all suggestions which would prevent drinking in the provinces. High duties on liquors, he told, had been proposed by the Government to prevent excessive drinking and not to get high income. He pleaded for co-operation fully with the Government in eradicating the drink evil and illicit distillation. After assurances from the Minister, the mover wanted to withdraw his amendment but leave to withdraw was refused by the Council and the motion reducing the demand under excise by one rupee was put to the House and was carried by 37 to 24 votes.

The Council was discussing the demand under land revenue when it adjourned.

Remission Of Tax On Well-irrigated Lands.

On the 17TH MARCH discussion and voting on the Government's demands for grants were considered in the Council. Of 32 demands 31 had been disposed of up to yesterday evening and only the last demand under land revenue was discussed to-day and voted after the amendment moved by Rai Sahib Chaudhri Chhoturam proposing a cut of one rupee urging the Government to remit taxes on well-irrigated lands had been carried by 30 to 26 votes. Altogether six amendments proposing cuts under this demand were moved three of which were withdrawn, one ruled out of order and one was not moved at the request of the Revenue Member and the last one was carried reducing the grant to rupee one despite Government opposition.

On the total Government's demands for grants only four cuts in the form of token cuts were carried by the Council and the rest of the demands were voted in full. Four token cuts that were effected related to the demand under Education (Transferred) General Administration (Reserved), Excise and Land Revenue. The House then adjourned.

Release of Sikh Prisoners.

On the 21ST MARCH after 4 hours' lively debate the Council carried a non-official resolution moved by Sardar Kundan Singh recommending to the Government to forthwith release Sardar Kharak Singh, President, Central Board and all other Gurdwara prisoners. The Government did not claim a division. The resolution was warmly supported by the non-officials of all parties and appeals were made to the Government to close the chapter of the Sikh struggle for Gurdwara reform by showing magnanimity and releasing the Gurdwara prisoners especially when the Gurdwara Act was passed and the Gurdwara disputes were being disposed of by the Gurdwara tribunal, thus showing that the Sikhs had given up direct action and had taken recourse to constitutional methods and ordinary law of the land.

The Finance Member's Statement.

Speaking on the resolution regarding the release of the Sikh Gurdwara prisoners, Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency, Finance Member, said that he was fully aware how genuinely the sympathies of the Sikhs were engaged in the resolution and the Government knew full well the importance they attached to it. While sympathising with individual cases, no one could set aside the fact that the acts of these persons individually and in mass had certain more serious aspects. They were all apostles of direct action. Offences under the Civil law, which governed the rights of their fellow citizens have been committed by them, in addition to causing grave disturbances to public tranquillity. They have actually committed offences against persons and property involving in some cases violence in varying degrees. It was the earnest desire of the Government to ensure the working of the Gurdwara Act, to compose troubles and take all such measures as would remove rancour. The offer of the condition by the Government to the prisoners was made in a fair and just spirit and did not involve expression of regret by the prisoners for what had been done. It merely constituted a fair and just invitation to those who had been convicted to abandon direct action in future and to adopt those provisions of the law which had been passed by the Sikh community approved by other communities and even passed into law by this legislature. Those who did not elect to take advantage of the offer indicated that they had elected to pursue the old and bad way of direct action. They would no doubt like to emerge as martyrs in a cause and as persons of different calibre to those who had accepted the offer. Experience had shown them that general amnesties did not always have beneficial results as was supposed they would have. This was specially the case with the Sikhs. The release of Sikh prisoners in 1922 did not bring peace. Similar action in 1923 after the Guru-ka-bagh affair did not bring immediate improved relations. He admitted that the prestige of the Government would in no way suffer. Nevertheless, the question was whether this act of kindness in the general interests of the public was going to be an act of wise administration. In the present case they were dealing with men who still were unrepentant and who had a predilection for applying the doctrine of direct action and force as the sole solution of questions of civil rights. No Government would be justified in taking an easy-going view of such predilections or any glossing over such predilections by amnesties. The Government could not afford to be thought as ready lightly to condone breaches of the law which broke the civil rights of citizens. Even if the Government, in spite of these weighty considerations, had been inclined at the beginning of this year to consider this as a very special case, did they receive any encouragement in any Sikh quarter to do so? asked the Finance Member. Recent unbridled speeches and formation of jathas were signs that those unrepentant persons in favour of direct action would, if they emerged from jail, unfortunately still find elements among the Sikhs prepared to fall in with their views. For this reason, said the Finance Member, the Government must oppose the main object of the resolution. But so far as Sardar Kharak Singh personally was concerned, he said he had finished serving out his sentence of substantive imprisonment of 4 years in April last and was now serving sentences in continuation of the sentences under the Prisons Act which will expire about December next. He was sentenced three times for offences under the Prisons Act and has now served out the first of these sentences and was serving the second. The Governor in Council has decided to release him on the expiry of his second sentence and to remit his third sentence. He will accordingly be released about the beginning of June next.

Non-official Resolutions,

On the 22ND MARCH four non-official resolutions were discussed in the Council, two of which were withdrawn, one was carried and the last was talked out. When the Council reassembled, discussion continued on Chaudhri Afzal Haq's resolution recommending to the Government to take necessary steps to stop the institution of Honorary Magistrates within the period of the next three years. The resolution did not receive the full support of the House and though supported by a number of members, was strongly opposed by a majority who defended the institution of Honorary-Magistrates and said that they were doing a good deal of public service and should not be abolished.

Sir Geoffrey De Montmorency, speaking on behalf of the Government, said that abolition of this honorary agency which existed in the most democratic countries and was doing useful work, specially in small towns, would cost the Province about Rs. 9 and one-fourth lakhs. The Government was of opinion that the agency should be continued and new rules and instructions would be strictly enforced in future while making appointments. If at any future time strong, impartial, and honest Panchayats came into

being, the Government would re-examine the matter and might dispense with some of the Honorary Magistrates. The resolution was withdrawn.

The next resolution which was also moved by Chaudhri Afzal Haq recommended to the Government to take necessary steps to accommodate in the Punjab jails all political prisoners of this province including martial law prisoners who are serving their terms of imprisonment in the jails of other provinces. The resolution which was supported by a number of Sikh members did not excite any lively debate and the Finance Member made an important speech explaining the Government's position in the matter.

The Finance Member said so far as he had been able to discover, no martial law prisoners were confined in jails in other provinces. Some time ago, 9 martial law prisoners were confined in the penal settlement of the Andamans. He was quite willing to send for the rolls of these prisoners and to see how the case stood as regards these prisoners. There were, however, 35 convicts confined in jails in other provinces who were not martial law prisoners, but persons convicted of serious criminal conspiracies against the State and of offences against the Arms and the Navy. With one exception, these prisoners were convicted during the war and between the years 1915 and 1917. There was proof that the leaders of these conspiracies in some cases received assistance from sources outside India and were instigated in the foolish acts which they committed by those sources. Most of them were sentenced to transportation for life or transportation to 20 or 25 years. In the ordinary course, all of them would have been transported to the Andamans; but at that time the Government of India considered that in view of insecurity of the seas and the pressing need of the troops it would be unsafe to transport a number of such dangerous conspirators at that time to the Andamans. It was considered at the same time dangerous and undesirable to confine these dangerous conspirators in the Panjab jails. After discussion with the Panjab Government, therefore, it was finally decided that the gang should be split up and be incarcerated in jails in other provinces. This was accordingly done and the wisdom of this step became almost immediately apparent because of the very dangerous mutiny organised by a few of these prisoners in Hazaribagh jail. At present there were 35 of these convicts, of whom 34 were convicted in the circumstances above mentioned. They were confined in jails in other provinces in the following manner: 12 in Central Provinces, 14 in Bombay, 1 in Bihar, 7 in Madras and 1 in Burma. After giving the most careful consideration to these points, the Government have come to the conclusion that it would be highly undesirable to bring back at once the whole of these prisoners to the Panjab jails; but the Government have decided that owing to the change in the atmosphere, it may now be possible to consider the return to the Panjab jails of some of the convicts if carefully selected. The resolution being pressed by the mover was put and carried amidst non-official applause. The Council then adjourned.

Agriculture Minister's Statement.

On the 23RD MARCH the last sitting of the Council was held and after a number of demands for supplementary grants were voted and Sir Fazli Hussain had introduced the Punjab Land Revenue (Amendment) Bill the Council adjourned *sine die*.

Sirdar Jogendra Singh, Minister of Agriculture, made a lengthy statement to-day explaining the programme of work to be carried out during the coming years and the policy to be pursued by his department. The Minister was constantly interrupted and several points of order were raised by members while he was reading his speech. Members who raised the points of order wanted to know from the President whether a Minister could make a statement of the policy without allowing the Council to discuss it. The President informed the House that the Minister was reading a statement with the permission of the chair. Sardar Jogendra Singh describing his five years' programme said they would be opening in the present year 7 farms and 26 veterinary hospitals and had also been able to secure the services of a fruit expert. They were also studying the problem of lift irrigation and hoped as the result of investigations, they would be able to afford dry areas of the Punjab some facilities of organised irrigation. In his opinion, meat or milk was essential for proper nourishment and he was making arrangements for increasing milk supply and was trying to quicken up the pace of selected breeding of cows. He hoped to open two thousand more co-operative societies in the new year and thought there was great scope for capitalists to join together and to make money available both for agriculture and industry. Regarding the excise policy, he could not see the possibility of enforcing prohibition but for the next few years if they could make use of local option in cities and could organise temperance societies in villages and close down shops where conditions permitted, they would have done a good deal to pave the way for prohibition.

The C. P. Legislative Council.

The first sitting of the Third Reformed Legislative Council was held on the 8TH JANUARY 1928 in the noon in the Council Hall, Nagpur under the presidency of Mr. C. U. Wills. The business on the day was the election of five members to the Court of the University by non-official members of the Council. The election of the President was held on the 10th, when Sir S. M. Chitnavis was declared elected president by 47 votes against 20 votes secured by his rival Mr. G. S. Gupta. The house then adjourned after some minor transactions.

Governor's Address to Members.

On the 11TH JANUARY His Excellency the Governor entered the Council Chamber in procession and congratulated Sir Chitnavis heartily on his election as the President and the Council on having got him as their President. He said that Sir Chitnavis's family had played a notable part in the history of this city and province and of this Council. He said that it was a remarkable thing that one brother should succeed another in the high office to which Sir Sankara Pao had been called and wished him success during his tenure.

He, then addressing the Council, expressed satisfaction for filling up the blank left in the rules for working the new constitution by the just mode of election. He was anxious to have it settled as soon as possible whether they wished him to take action to restore the working of the constitution to the form intended by Parliament and in vogue in most of the other provinces. So long as the ban placed by their predecessors in this Council on the formation of a Ministry existed, he said he was not a free agent. He could not as in the provinces in which no ban existed proceed to give effect to what seemed to be the verdict of the constituencies without calling these together and taking their formal decision. He sympathised with the unsuccessful old members and congratulated the successful old and new members. As many as 21 old members have been re-elected and 34 are new ones.

He said that he had nominated the full number of eight officials permissible under the Act. This has been done partly to gain time to look around and see whether there are other interests deserving of representation or more representation in the Council, but mainly because he wanted to make more opportunities of bringing into touch with each other official and elected representatives of the people. Many of the misunderstandings which now occur are due to that lack of free intercourse on an equal footing which works in the legislatures. He said that he learned so much from mixing in the lobbies of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State with those who would guide public opinion that he attached special importance to this training for as many officers of the Government as possible. He thought that there were few public men who will deny that they in the turn had derived benefit from similar intercourse with officials.

While addressing the Council in last March, he called upon them to sink racial, communal and sectional differences and join forces with his Government in the battle against ignorance, disease and poverty. Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Irwin's visit to this province gave a remarkable stimulus to the development of this spirit. He remarked that where the atmosphere was wrong, no measures, however perfect in form and conception, would do much good. Where the atmosphere is right, even faulty measures are effective. He then referred to several improvements particularly for medical treatment of women and children. His Government has also been reviewing its jail policy and tackling the problem of released prisoners. His Government has at work the steam tackle for ploughing authorised by the last Council and is preparing a Bill to facilitate the consolidation of scattered holdings for the consideration of the Council. His Government has prepared materials for the reorganisation of the provincial services, but has postponed any decision until they shall have shown whether they wished the Governor in Council or their own Ministers to take the final responsibility with respect to what should be transferred departments.

Concluding his address, he said that the time had come to leave them to the discussion of the constitutional question they had been called together to decide. He said that on public and personal grounds, he wanted them to take part in the great scheme inaugurated by Parliament of developing self-governing institutions with a view to the

progressive realisation of responsible Government in British India as an integral part of the empire. He assured his help towards the realization of that great conception. He had no prejudices as by now they must have realised about any person or any party in this Council. His sole desire is to act constitutionally to the best of his ability. He always held that to have any permanent value, the decision to have Ministers must be theirs and not his. It is for them to take or to refuse the opportunities offered to them.

Motion for Ministers' Salary Passed.

After the Governor had addressed the members, the Hon'ble Mr. Marten moved for the supplementary demand amounting to Rs. 9,000 on account of salaries of two Ministers for one month and Rs. 1,000 for travelling allowance.

Mr. Gole opposed the motion and proposed a cut of Rs. 8,996 thus fixing the salaries of the Ministers at Rs. 4 only. Rao Bahadur N. K. Kelkar supported Mr. Gole.

Mr. Raghavendra Rao, on behalf of the Nationalist Party, supported the supplementary demand stating that his constituency has given the verdict for working the reforms. Mr. Dick supported the motion for the supplementary demand.

Dr. Khare opposing the motion asserted that there were many inconsistencies in the utterances of the members who were in favour of supporting the Ministers' salaries and working the reforms. He further said that the heavens would not fall if they waited for a month and a half.

Khan Bahadur Gulam Mohideen severely criticised the Responsive Co-operation Party and the newly formed Nationalist Party. He said that they were for working the reforms and would vote for the supplementary demand; but they did not approve of the personnel for the offices of Ministers.

Mr. Ghanshyam Gupta, on behalf of the Congress Party, opposed the motion, stating that the pledges of the Responsive Co-operation Party or the Independent Party did not allow them to accept offices. He then appealed to all Congressmen to protect the prestige of the Congress.

Mr. Umesh Dutt Phatak said that he was for opposition, but on hearing the speeches of the Congress Party he came to the decision to support the supplementary demand.

Mr. Kedar said that the Ministers' posts were not in the gift of the Government. If backed by the majority party, they will have the privilege of suggesting persons for ministerships.

Mr. Mahomed Sharif Hussain said that the formation of the ministry at this stage was a mere show and that it could not be a stable ministry.

The motion for the supplementary demand was carried, 55 voting for the demand and 16 against it.

Voting on other Demands.

The second supplementary demand amounting to Rs. 3,25,000 for advances to cultivators under the Agriculturists Loan Act and the third demand amounting to Rs. 75,000 for advance to cultivators under the Land Impregment Loans Act were accepted by the Council without any debate and the Council then adjourned.

On the 12TH JANUARY the Hon'ble Mr. Marten read a statement on behalf of the Government announcing the appointment of Mr. Raghvendra Rao of Bilaspur and Mr. Ramrao Deshmukh of Amraoti as Ministers. Mr. Khaparde, Responsivist, was declared as Deputy President and the Council then adjourned.

Budget Estimates for 1927-28.

The Council next met for its Budget Session on the 3RD MARCH with the Hon'ble Sir Shankara Rao Chitnavis in the chair. The visitors' galleries were sparsely attended. For the first time during the last three and half years, the two Ministers, Messrs. E. Raghavendra Rao and R. M. Deshmukh sat in the Treasury bench. The Hon'ble Mr. Raghavendra Rao was dressed in white khaddar and wore a Gandhi cap.

The Hon. Mr. J. T. Marten, Finance Member, in presenting the Budget for 1927-28, said that last year he ended his speech on note of hope preceded by a note of warning. The circumstances of the year had shown that the warning was necessary though the year had proved less favourable than they hoped. There was no cause for alarm but with a right understanding of the situation they had substantial grounds for guarded optimism owing to unfavourable conditions of the year which resulted in the fall in prices of cotton and the effect on the money market of that fall, land revenue had to be suspended in Berar and Nagpur Divisions. The decrease in the spending capacity of the people had reacted on other heads of revenue. Instead of a deficit of about Rs. 25 lakhs as originally estimated, the revised estimates showed a deficit of over Rs. 60 lakhs and

the balance had, therefore, been reduced by that much. The free opening balance which stood at Rs. 78 lakhs in the beginning of the current year was now down to under Rs. 5 lakhs.

Estimates for 1927-28.

Turning to the Budget for 1927-28, Hon. Mr. Marten said that they had budgetted for revenue of about Rs. 563 lakhs and expenditure of 593 lakhs which resulted in a deficit in revenue account of Rs. 30 lakhs. A sum of Rs. 55 lakhs would be borrowed from the Government of India to meet certain items of capital expenditure which had been met in the past from the provincial balance and thus add a corresponding amount to the balances. This will give a free closing balance of Rs. 13 and half lakhs. The actual balance in Famine Insurance Fund at the end of the next year is estimated at over Rs. 2 crores. For the coming year Rs. 33 and half lakhs have been allotted for new expenditure, bulk being non-recurring of which about Rs. 6 and half lakhs will be on the reserved side and about Rs. 27 lakhs on the transferred side.

After pointing out that the proportion of expenditure on transferred side had steadily increased, Hon. Mr. Marten said that the excess of fluid assets over liabilities which was estimated at Rs. 136 lakhs at the end of the Budget year to Rs. 51 lakhs. The Finance Member referred to the welcome news of the announcement in the Assembly regarding the remission of provincial contributions in part permanently and concluded : "We shall have exhausted our previously accumulated balances in useful expenditure mostly in the transferred and nation-building departments while at the same time steadily building up our Famine Insurance Reserve. Presuming that the receipts from land revenues, excise, stamps and forests keep steady, we can hope for a slight excess of income over ordinary expenditure. But our hopes of expansion in the near future lie chiefly in the prospect of the abolition of the provincial contribution and the completion of Famine Insurance Fund. Meanwhile, our prospects have been brightened in the last few days by the hope of an immediate relief from the provincial contribution. An addition of Rs. 22 lakhs to our resources will enable us as soon as we have recovered from our temporary embarrassments to proceed with our nation-building schemes and the province will watch with the greatest interest the fate of the proposals in the Government of India's Budget which are of such tremendous importance to our progress and development."

Official Bills.

After the budget was presented, Government legislative business was taken up. The Hon. Mr. Tambe moved a bill to amend the Central Provinces Courts Act 1917 in order to increase the Small Cause Court jurisdiction as suggested by the Civil Justice Committee.

Mr. D. K. Mehta moved that the bill be circulated for eliciting opinion thereon and the motion was carried.

The Hon. Mr. Raghavendra Rao moved a bill to amend the C. P. Excise Act in order to extend the prohibition of cultivation of Cocoa plant in all its varieties. The mover said that the bill was being introduced at the instance of the Government of India. Leave was given for consideration of the bill at once; but the Hon. Mr. Rao promised to move its passage next day.

The Hon. Mr. Marten moved a bill to amend the C. P. Tenancy Act, but Rao Bahadur N. K. Kelkar proposed that it should be circulated. The motion for circulation was adopted.

The Hon. Mr. Tambe moved a bill to amend the Public Gambling Act with the object of checking Satti Gambling. The Council granted leave.

The Hon. Mr. Rao moved a bill to amend the C. P. Primary Education Act with the object of prescribing the period during which a child liable to compulsory education shall attend a primary school and to render it possible for local bodies to apply compulsion gradually and to enable children to enter upon a course of instruction.

Rao Bahadur Kelkar moved that the bill be referred to a select committee in order to see whether the draft could be improved.

Mr. R. H. Beckett, Director of Public Instruction, answered the objections of the previous speaker and pointed out that the bill introduced compulsion by stages and fixed a reasonable age. He asked the House to treat educational matters as non-party questions.

The Hon. Mr. Rao accepted the motion to refer the bill to a Select Committee and the House agreed.

The Hon. Mr. Deshmukh moved a bill to amend the village sanitation and Public Department Act with a view to allow panchayat to charge fees for the use of slaughter houses and to insist on their being used. The bill was referred to a Select Committee.

B. N. R. Strike.

The Council then took up the motion for adjournment moved by Mr. B. G. Khaparde in connection with the failure of the B. N. Railway to maintain an efficient goods and passenger traffic service, thus causing great inconvenience to the people of the province. Mr. Khaparde said that owing to the strike the Railway traffic was being worked by inexperienced men which led to the trains coming several hours late and which may lead to accidents and loss of life. Mr. Khaparde hoped that the strike would soon end in favour of the workers and the public inconvenience would be stopped.

Mr. W. Fulay, nominated labour representative, supported the motion.

Mr. R. G. Pradhan, said that it was high time for the Government of India to see that they fulfilled their duty to the people of this province by interfering in and settling the strike in favour of the strikers. He asked the O. P. Government to move the Government of India to end the strike.

Mr. Bartlett opposed the discussion of the question as he thought that it would not help matters but would only raise hopes in the strikers and cause great disappointment.

Some members characterised as a great horror that ordinary goods clerks of the B. N. Railway were allowed to work as guards of the Railway trains and they pointed out that passenger trains should not be entrusted to such untrained hands.

Mr. H. C. Gowan in reply to the above charge, said that he was present in England during the general strike and though untrained men worked the essential services the number of accidents was extraordinarily small.

Dr. Khare asked that when an acute condition of distress prevailed in the province what had the Government done, what had the Minister of Industries done to ameliorate the condition of the strikers and to remove public inconvenience? Several non-official members also spoke in support of the motion.

The Hon. Mr. Marten, Finance Member, said that the Railways was a central subject and it was not possible for the local Government to do anything in the matter. They all felt the annoyance caused by the strike, but the local Government's functions were limited. The Government was in sympathy with those who were affected by the strike troubles, but it had no powers to interfere in the strike. Although a debate in the Council was beyond its purview, the Government allowed it with a view not to stifle discussion. The Hon. Mr. Marten promised to forward the proceedings of the debate to the Government of India.

The mover of the motion, Mr. Khaparde, accepted the force of the argument of the Finance Member that it did not lie in the hands of the local Government to end the strike. Mr. Khaparde said that if the motion was pressed to division it would have been carried as support came from all sides of the House; but seeing the attitude of the Government he did not wish to press the motion. The motion was withdrawn and the Council adjourned for the day.

Transaction of Official Business.

On the 4TH MARCH the Hon. Mr. Ragavendra Rao moved that the O. P. Excise Amendment Bill be passed into law. The Council agreed unanimously.

The Hon. Mr. Raghavendra Rao moved that the O. P. Weights and Measures of Capacity Bill be referred to a Select Committee. The Council unanimously agreed.

The Hon. Mr. Rao further moved that a bill to amend the O. P. Prevention of Adulteration Act be circulated for eliciting opinions thereon. The Council agreed.

The Hon. Mr. S. B. Tambe moved that the Central Provinces Borstal Bill be referred to a Select Committee. The object of the bill is to make provision for the detention and training of adolescent offenders. The Council agreed to this unanimously.

Budget Discussion.

General discussion of the budget was held from the 5th to 7th March. The non-official members emphasised that more money had not been provided for expenditure on nation-building departments. Berar members criticised that remissions and suspensions of land revenue granted to agriculturists had not been adequate. Some members pointed out that more money should have been spent on primary and secondary education. Criticism was also made against payment of extravagant salaries to officers of the Imperial Services. Replying to the various criticisms the Hon. Mr. Raghavendra Rao defined the policy of the Minister. After a brief reply from the Hon. Mr. Marten, Finance member, the Council rose for the day.

Voting on Budget Demands.

On the 8TH MARCH the Council took up voting of demands for grants. There were over 550 motions to reduce or omit grants in the budget for the year 1927-28. The

demand under Land Revenue was taken up first and there were over 100 cuts under this head of which notices had been given. Most of the cuts relate to the expenditure on Survey and Settlement operations in various parts of the province.

Cuts Under Land Revenue Passed.

On the 9TH MARCH, the Council discussed the several items under the land revenue. (reserved). Cuts under different heads amounted to Rs. 29,42,700. The Nationalist Party and the Congress Party jointly voted for cuts. While demands under Excise (Transferred) were under discussion, the Council adjourned.

Debate on Excise Policy.

On the 10TH MARCH demand under excise transferred Rs. 15,53,950 was taken up. Dr. Khare moved a cut of Rs. 13,200 being the pay of distillery expert of Govt.

The Hon'ble Mr. Raghavendra Rao, Minister for Excise, said that the present incumbent was due to retire in a few years and after his retirement the Government will consider the questions whether the post should be retained or not.

Dr. Khare passed his motion which was lost by 18 votes against 40. There were several other cuts under excise, but discussion developed into a debate on the excise policy of Government. Several Swarajists attacked the Minister and Dr. Khare called him Minister for consumption. They also pointed out that the credit for whatever fall there was in the consumption of liquor was due to Congress movement and not to the Government and when the Congress movement began to wane, consumption of liquor was showing a tendency to rise.

Mr. B. N. De, Revenue Secretary, pointed out that the Government acknowledged in their reports that Non-Co-operation gave an impetus to the movement towards prohibition, but its beneficial effects did not last long. Mr. De narrated the efforts of the Government to reduce consumption.

Mr. B. G. Khaparde said that the Minister for Excise had taken office recently but if the Council laid down a definite policy, he was sure the Hon. Mr. Rao would carry it out.

The Hon'ble Mr. Raghavendra Rao explained his excise policy further. Mr. Rao said that in 1921 the Legislative Council dictated a policy and that policy he was prepared to pursue. If the Council wanted any change, it was for it to express an opinion. As regards propaganda work if the Council suggested any methods, the Government would consider them, but Mr. Rao was against picketting.

After Mr. Rao's reply, a motion for a cut of Rs. 30,000 under District Executive establishment which gave rise to the whole discussion was withdrawn.

After further discussion the Council voted the entire demand under excise.

Other Demands.

The demand under stamps was voted without any discussion. Discussion of the demand under forests was not yet over when the Council rose for the day.

On the 11TH MARCH discussion of the demand under forests was taken up. Non-official members criticised the forest policy of the Government. Out of a total demand for Rs. 36,53,450 under 'Forest' the Council carried cuts amounting to Rs. 1,06,267 under general direction and contingencies.

Registration.

When the demand under Registration was taken up, Mr. G. S. Gupta (Swarajist) proposed a cut of Rs. 100 under 'Superintendence.' The mover said that the Registration Department was one of the most corrupt departments. Mr. Gordon and Hon. Mr. Raghavendra Rao, on behalf of the Government, gave an assurance that if the mover brought instance of corruption to the notice of the Government suitable action would be taken. The motion was withdrawn. The total demand of Rs. 22,500 under Registration was voted without reduction.

General Administration.

Demand under 'General Administration' (Reserved) was then taken up. Mr. G. R. Pradhan moved a token cut of Re. 1 under General Administration—Heads of Provinces. Mr. Pradhan said he moved the cut as he was dissatisfied with the whole administration and especially with the Government's indifference to the problem of providing houses for clerks. He also complained that more days were not allotted for non-official business. The Hon. Mr. Marten replied that three days provided for non-official business were sufficient as the members had an opportunity of discussing various questions at the time of the budget discussion. He repudiated the charge that the Government was in any way indifferent to the welfare of the clerks. Mr. Pradhan pressed his cut which was

carried by 25 votes against 18. Discussion under General Administration was not over when the Council rose for the day.

Grievances of Agriculturists.

On the 12TH MARCH the Council discussed Rao Saheb Korde's cut for Rs. 1,000 under the head of General Administration (Reserved) as a protest against the bad conditions of agriculturists in Berar.

The Hon. Mr. J. I. Marten assured the house that the discussion on the subject would receive due consideration and the Government would look at the agriculturists' grievances with sympathy. The motion was carried.

Abolition of Commissioners' Posts.

After lunch the Council discussed a cut amounting to Rs. 1,42,700 for abolishing the Commissioners' posts and it was declared carried by a majority of three votes. 27 members voted for the cut and 24 against. Independents and a few members of the Nationalist Party voted with the Congress Party.

Government's Irrigation Policy.

On the 14TH MARCH discussion of the demand under irrigation was taken up. The Hon'ble Mr. Marten moved for a grant of Rs. 6,44,000 both under irrigation works charged to revenue and productive irrigation works. Mr. C. R. Pradhan moved a token cut of a rupee under working expenses. He complained against the enormous working expensess of the Irrigation Department. Thakur Chedilal pointed out that the tenants did not get much benefit. Huge amounts were wasted by the department in spite of the fact that there were several experts in charge of it. The people, said the speaker, was afraid of the department and it was the duty of the Government to so alter its method of working as to convince the people that the department was for their good. Mr. G. S. Gupta supported the cut and, on doing so, asked whether the Government was willing to appoint a special Irrigation Committee.

The Hon'ble Mr. Marten replied that the Government would be willing to appoint a Committee. He also explained the irrigation policy of the Government. The Government would appoint a Committee and take it into confidence, in regard to the whole irrigation policy so that the future work might be carried on under favourable conditions.

Mr. Gupta thanked the Finance Member for his assurance and said he was satisfied that there was no necessity for pressing the cuts. Mr. Pradhan considered the assurance satisfactory and the motion for cut was withdrawn.

Several other token cuts were also withdrawn. Discussion proceeded for sometime more under other cuts and the Council reduced the demand by Rs. 1,90,000 and voted the rest.

Ministers' Salaries Voted.

The demand under General Administration (transferred) Ministers' salaries was then taken up. Mr. Rajendra Sinha, Swarajist, moved a cut of Rs. 98,996 out of Rs. 99,000 provided, thus reducing the figure to Rs. 4. Mr. D. K. Mehta, Dr. Khare, C. G. Misra, Mr. Gole and several other Swarajists supported the amendment and criticised the Ministers for accepting office and explained that they had no faith in the reforms. The speakers also criticised the attitude of the Ministerialist Party and quoted the words of Mr. Jayakar in the Assembly to prove that the Government had done nothing to respond to the wishes of the people. The Swarajists hoped that the two Ministers would redeem their tall promises which they had given to the electorates though they themselves had no faith in the ability of the Ministers to achieve anything under the present constitution.

The Hon'ble Mr. Raghavendra Rao said that he did not question the right of the Swaraj Party to criticise them, but he asserted that the verdict of the electorates was in favour of working the reforms. He and his colleague, Mr. Deshmukh, accepted office because they were assured of sufficient power, initiative and responsibility by the Governor: but the moment they felt that they were not getting these things they would have no hesitation in giving up office. Salary was no consideration for them and they were prepared to abide by the decision of the Council on this matter. Mr. Rao said he always held the view that those who worked for the country need not live on the country and he had always acted up to that ideal and there was no reason for him to deviate from that.

Mr. B. G. Khaparde defended the *bona fides* of the Nationalist Party and pointed out that this party dictated the personnel of the Ministry. Members of this party disagreed with the Congress Party and fought the election on the issue of working the Reforms and they had entered the Council in a majority. The party proved that the

Ministerships were in the gift of the people. Mr. Khaparde announced that the National Party had come to a unanimous discussion on the question of Ministers' salaries.

Mr. Gupta, Swarajists leader, said that whatever support the Ministers may be receiving now was due to the agitation and the pressure of the Swarajists during the last three years and not due to the Responsivists. After some more speeches the Swarajists' amendment to reduce the salaries of Ministers to Rs. 4 was put to vote and lost, 16 voting for and 46 against. Both the Ministers remained neutral.

After the Swarajists' amendment regarding the Ministers' salaries was thrown out, the Council further discussed the salary question. There was a proposal to fix the Minister's salaries at Rs. 2,000 per mensem each. Mr. Dick, nominated member, supported the proposal. This was rejected by the Council, 18 voting for and 41 against. Eventually a motion fixing the salary of the Ministers at Rs. 3,000 per mensem each was carried by the Council.

Censure Motions on the Government.

On the 15TH MARCH the House cut down a demand for administration of justice by Rs. 15,000 on the ground of economy.

The House then censured the Government on its policy regarding the appointment of Honorary Magistrates and the Government's negligence in giving effect to the wishes of the House regarding separation of the Executive from the Judiciary by carrying a cut of Rs. 1,000.

The Government was further censured on its administration of Police Department, the House having carried a cut of Rs. 40,000.

The House further recorded their protest for having kept European Education (Reserved) by carrying one rupee cut in the demand for Education (Reserved.)

The House also ventilated its many grievances regarding educational policy with regard to the transferred side of the department and carried a cut of Rs. 1,000.

The House also censured the University Law College authorities for unjustly rustivating a student, by refusing to increase the grant. Voting was 31 against 19. Many Swarajists did not vote.

The House also refused to sanction Rs. 6,275 for the Personal Assistant to the Director of Public Instruction and censured the High School Education Board for its policy towards vernacular medium and carried a cut of Rs. 100.

Voting on Budget Demand Concluded.

After lunch the Council proceeded with the consideration of the remaining demands. As the days allotted for the discussion and voting on demands were over, the President put the demands to the vote. Out of a demand of Rs. 1,33,000 under the head "Education (Reserve)" Rs. 1,32,999 was voted. Out of the total demand Rs. 51,27,777 under the head "Education (Transferred)" Rs. 51,15,402 was voted. The total demand of Rs. 13,30,000 under the head "Medical (Transferred)" was voted. Out of the total demand of Rs. 3,23,600 under the head "Public Health (Transferred)" Rs. 3,13,600 (?) was voted. The total demands under Agriculture, Industries, Miscellaneous Civil Works Superannuation Allowances and Pensions, Stationery and Printing expenditure in England, Capital outlay on forest works, productive irrigation works, famine insurance fund amounting to Rs. 26,25,000, loans and advances and refunds of revenue, amounting to Rs. 2,23,191 were put to vote and carried, all cuts being withdrawn. The Council then adjourned.

Transaction of Official Business.

On the 16TH MARCH the Council voted some supplementary demands.

The Public Gambling (Central Provinces Amendment) Bill was introduced without any dissenting voice.

The Central Provinces Primary Education (Amendment) Bill introduced by the Hon. Mr. Raghavendra Rao was passed.

The Hon. Mr. Marten introduced a bill to provide for the consolidation of agricultural holdings and moved that it should be referred to a Select Committee. The House was divided in giving support to the Bill immediately and it was decided that the Bill should be published and circulated to ascertain public opinion.

The Council was then adjourned.

Scheme for Mass Education.

On the 21ST MARCH Mr. K. P. Vaidya moved a resolution that the Government should allot Rs. 15,000 towards a scheme of mass education.

Several non-official members supported the resolution. Mr. Jaiswal moved an amend-

ment that the scheme should be referred to a committee to be appointed by the Education Minister.

Mr. Beckett, Director of Public Instruction, pointed out that he was not against adult education. Instead of the Council agreeing to grant money for a particular scheme, Mr. Beckett suggested that the whole scheme of adult education should be examined by a committee. Some non-official members supported Mr. Beckett's proposal.

The Hon. Mr. Raghavendra Rao, Minister for Education, said that the best way would be to get any scheme for mass education examined by a committee. If the House passed the resolution, responsibility for the success or failure of the particular scheme placed before the Council would rest with the Council.

Eventually the Council decided to refer the question to a Committee.

Government's Exodus to Hills Opposed.

On the 22ND MARCH non-official business was resumed in the Council. Mr. K. P. Pande's resolution that the Headquarters of the Government be not moved to the Hill Stations during summer and the months of September and October was carried by a large majority in spite of the opposition of the Hon. J. T. Marten.

A Medical College for the Province.

Dr. N. B. Khare moved a resolution recommending to the Government that steps should be taken to establish a medical college in these provinces as early as possible. The mover said that the Province should be made self-contained in every respect.

Mr. G. S. Gupta, Swarajist, moved an amendment that the proposed medical college should also include an ayurvedic section.

There was another amendment from Mr. Thakur Chedilal to the effect that a committee should be appointed to formulate a scheme for establishing a medical college on modern lines.

Col. K. V. Kukdey, Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, while not opposed to the resolution, drew attention to the various essentials of a medical college.

The Hon. Mr. Raghavendra Rao, Minister, said that the Government was prepared to accept the resolution as amended by Mr. Thakur Chedilal. The Minister also added that he will investigate into the possibilities of the ayurvedic system also.

Eventually the amended resolution recommending the appointment of a committee to formulate a scheme for the establishment of a college inclusive of an ayurvedic section was carried.

Removal of Sex Bar.

Mr. Charde moved a resolution recommending to the Government that the sex disqualification for the registration as voters in the electoral rolls of the constituencies sending representatives to the Council and also for election or nomination to the said Council be removed in respect of women generally in the Central Provinces and Berar.

Several speeches were made in support of the resolution.

Mr. C. N. Trivedi opposed the resolution and pointed out that women should engage themselves in maternity and child welfare and social reform.

The Hon. Mr. S. B. Tambe, Home Member, said that the Government would take no part in the debate. The decision entirely rested with the Council. But at the same time the Hon. Mr. Tambe placed certain difficulties such as bringing women to the polls for the consideration of the House.

After some more discussion the resolution was put to vote and declared carried.

Honorary Magistrates' Appointment.

On the 23RD MARCH the non-official resolution moved by Mr. Gole recommending to the Government the appointment of a district advisory committee for selection of honorary magistrates was taken up for discussion. It was opposed by the official members on the ground that the political parties in power holding strong views should not be invested with the power of recommendations.

The motion was put to vote and declared carried, 31 for and 25 against.

The Settlement Bill.

Mr. Mehta moved a resolution recommending to the Government for placing the Settlement Bill before the Council and, pending final consideration, no new settlement be undertaken and all settlements now in progress be suspended.

The resolution was declared carried, 27 against 15.

Some miscellaneous resolutions, relating to the improvements of roads, etc., were under discussion when the Council adjourned for lunch.

Abolition of Divisional Commissionerships.

After lunch the Council proceeded with the non-official resolution recommending to the Government to take proper steps to abolish the posts of Divisional Commissioners in this province. The Hon'ble Sir J. T. Marten, in opposing the resolution, said that wholesale abolition of the posts of the Commissioners was inconceivable; but the Government would consider the reduction of one post, if so desired. The resolution was put to vote and declared carried 35 against 15.

Amendment of Local Self-Government Act.

Leave was granted to introduce Thakur Chhedilal's Central Provinces Local Self-Government (Amendment) Bill which, after a lengthy debate, was decided to be circulated for ascertaining public opinion.

Sale of Country Liquor.

Mr. Gokulchand Singai then moved a resolution recommending to the Government to stop the sale of country liquor in the rural area of Damoh District from January next.

Mr. De opposed the resolution on the ground that the consumption of foreign liquor would be increased if the sale of country liquor was stopped and people would take to illicit distillation.

The Hon'ble Mr. Raghavendra Rao, Minister in charge of the Excise Department, assured the House that he would personally investigate into the matter, as the mover raised a question affecting Government's excise policy. The resolution was put to vote and declared carried by 29 against 11 votes. The House then adjourned.

Governor's Certification.

Out of a total sum of Rs. 15,84,397 under various heads refused by the C. P. Council H. E. the Governor certified amounts totalling Rs. 8,17,859 as essential to the discharge of his responsibilities for administration. The details are as follow: Rs. 6,50,000 under the head Land Revenue (Reserved); Rs. 19,250 under the head Forest (Reserved); Rs. 1,42,699 under the head General Administration (Reserved); and Rs. 5,910 under the head Police (Reserved). The Government resolution says that the remaining reductions made were in the nature of token cuts which will be considered by the Government in due course. The reduction under the head Land Revenue would be throwing out of employment 445 Government servants, permanent or temporary. It is also obvious that if the trained settlement staff were disbanded it would be difficult to assemble it again later on.

B. & O. Legislative Council.

The first meeting of the Third Reformed Bihar and Orrissa Legislative Council was held at Patna on the 13th JANUARY 1927. After swearing in of members the Chairman announced that His Excellency the Governor has approved of the election of Khan Bahadur Khwaja Mahomed Noor as the President of the Council. The new President then took the chair and various sections of the House and party leaders joined in congratulating him on his election. The Council then adjourned till next day when Mr. S. M. Mahanty was elected the Deputy President of the Council.

The Governor's Speech.

On the 14TH JANUARY, addressing the new Council, His Excellency Sir Henry Wheeler said that it had been his good fortune to have been associated with two Legislative Councils during his term of office and he rejoiced to believe that working together, they had been able to do something for the benefit of the people of the province. He could only hope that that record might continue to be maintained. The sole wish of the whole Government, added His Excellency, was to further the progress of Bihar and Orissa and they asked their whole-hearted help in their efforts towards that end. Personally, he would only see the start of their career but the beginning not infrequently defined character of the whole and so long as he remained here, he would follow their proceedings with deepest interest and with the earnest hope that they might prove to be wise, fruitful and beneficial.

Congratulating Khan Bahadur Khwaja Mahomed Noor on the election as the President of the Council, His Excellency expressed the hope that his tenure of office might be smooth and successful. The Khan Bahadur, said His Excellency, had already given practical evidence in the past Councils of his fitness for the post to which, therefore, he did not come untried. It must be gratifying to him to feel that he continued to enjoy the confidence of his fellow members. Sufficient experience of the new Councils had now been had to demonstrate to all the importance of the presiding officer. To him was entrusted the duty of ensuring that the proceedings of the Council were conducted in a dignified and orderly fashion and he had a right to expect fullest co-operation of all members irrespective of party in discharging this responsibility.

Voting on Supplementary Demand.

On the 17TH JANUARY public galleries were fully packed in view of the interest aroused in the constitutional issue raised by the Swarajists over what they thought was a violation of the constitutional convention by the Ministers in accepting office without commanding a majority of elected members of the Council and not advising the Governor to call upon the leader of the Swaraj Party (which according to them was the largest party) to form a Ministry.

Opportunity was taken by the Swarajists to discuss this question under a motion for supplementary demand for providing Rs. 12,000 for teaching accommodation for the Jamshedpur Technical School. The debate lasted for the whole day. Mr. Sri Krishna Singh, leader of the Swaraj Party, stated that constitutionally the Ministers had no business to continue in office when they did not have behind them the support of a majority of elected members. They could not exist merely on the supports of official and nominated members.

The Hon'ble Sir Fakhruddin (Minister of Education) replied that he knew no instance in the British constitution in which a leader had refused to form a Ministry when called upon by the King to do so. Though he believed that dyarchy was not perfect, they should at any rate work it to point out the defects therein in order to rectify them and gain more powers. Personally he was prepared to resign it, provided the Swarajists were also prepared to accept office and shoulder the responsibility.

On division being called the motion for supplementary demand was carried by 43 votes against 33 of the Swarajists. The Council then adjourned till the 14th February.

Budget for 1927-28.

On the 14TH FEBRUARY the Hon. Maharaja Bahadur Keshav Prasad Singh of Dumraon, Finance Member, made his first budget speech in the Council while presenting the

budget estimates for 1927-28. At the outset the Finance Member emphasised the fact that the system of public finance should not only be well-designed but well-understood and jealously maintained and it was in every way to be desired that people's representatives in the Council should realise their responsibilities with regard to it and the close connection between the financial proposals of the Government as set forth in the budget and the practical well-being of silent millions whom the represented.

Receipt and Expenditure.

Coming to the budget proper and financial position of the province, the Finance Member stated that they anticipated starting the current year with a balance of just over 2 crores but when the final accounts were made out they proved to have a balance of some Rs. 20 lakhs more than they expected, the figure being Rs. 2,24,37,000 including the ordinary balance available for general purposes of Rs. 1,68,13,000 and Rs. 56,24,000 in the Famine Insurance Fund. The difference was principally due to the revenue of the last year being Rs. 11 lakhs above and expenditure debitable to revenue Rs. 9 lakhs below the revised estimate of that year. During the current year they now anticipated that revenue would amount to Rs. 5,72,01,000 or about Rs. 9 lakhs more than the budgeted figure of Rs. 5,63,33,000, while on the other side of the account they anticipated that expenditure debitable to revenue would amount to Rs. 6,13,15,000 or about 1 and three-fourth lakhs more than the figure of Rs. 6,11,59,000 originally anticipated and provided in the current year's budget. Whereas their total revenue was expected to amount to Rs. 5,67,42,000, their total expenditure debitable to revenue omitting provision for new schemes was expected to amount to Rs. 5,85,21,000 or about 18 lakhs more than their revenue. The corner stone of their financial edifice was the relation between their revenue and revenue expenditure and it would therefore be at once recognised that there was ground for serious thought when they would have to enter upon the new year with their existing liabilities well ahead of their revenue. He, however, maintained that the outlook was not so gloomy as it might at first sight appear and so would sum up the situation by saying that failing a breakdown of excise revenue their prospects should improve during the next three years but owing rather to reduction of expenditure than to increase of revenue. In their present position, it was not considered safe to incur new expenditure to the extent of more than 17 and three-fourth lakhs. Of the money available for new schemes 5 lakhs and 19 thousands had been allocated to the Reserved and 12 lakhs and 57 thousands or more than twice as much to the transferred. Taking all these proposals their total revenue expenditure would amount to Rs. 61,47,000 and total expenditure to Rs. 6,34,01,000. They would thus close the year with the balance of Rs. 1,44,25,000 of which Rs. 81,15,000 would be in Famine Insurance Fund while their ordinary balance would amount to only Rs. 63 lakhs.

Concluding, the Finance Member said that they had a series of good years and Government in their wisdom had taken full advantage of them. What were visions in 1912 were now solid realities. They had a University, a Medical College and an Engineering College. Schools and hospitals had been increased and improved beyond all knowledge. Nearly half a crore of recurring expenditure on the transferred nation-building departments had been incurred during the last four years. But it was obvious that the poorest province in India could not go on indefinitely adding to its permanent burdens at this rate. He hoped that this time next year, the outlook would be brighter than it was to-day.

Self-Government in Chota Nagpur.

On the 18TH FEBRUARY a long discussion centred on the first non official resolution on the agenda paper demanding that the privilege of electing non-official chairmen should be extended to district boards in Chota Nagpur.

Babu Sri Krishna Singh (leader of the Swaraj Party) moving this resolution said that Chota Nagpur was unjustly deprived of an important political right. The Local Self-Government Act was intended to train people in the art of self-government and it had a great direct influence on public life, as people in villages were directly connected with affairs of district boards and they properly understood them. He traced Lord Ripon's policy with regard to local self-government in India and pointed out that it was his genuine desire to see that the cause of local self-government advanced in this country. He hoped that the Council would register its verdict in favour of the resolution.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray moved an amendment that the board should be empowered to elect chairmen from among themselves, official or non-official, or from outside.

Babu Sridhar Samal (Depressed Classes) opposing the resolution said that it would be to the advantage of the people of Chota Nagpur that the Government were the custo-

dians of their interests. When the proper time came the Government would give them that privilege. He complained of the disabilities imposed upon them by the higher castes and pointed out that no regard was paid by them to their interests. Only Government and the Christian missionaries had done something for their advancement.

Mr. Sifton (Chief Secretary) on behalf of the Government stated that he was surprised at this demand being put forward by Bihari and Oriya members who had their own pressing questions to consider. His observations were based on personal knowledge and not on abstract theories. He had worked in Chota Nagpur in his official capacity for 10 years and he had therefore come into close connection with the people there. For the backward areas the Government was a person, and as their motions did not extend beyond the limits of the district and their vision was restricted the Government was de facto the District Officer. On account of their backwardness the Government was bound to take care of those classes. Mr. Hammond pointed out that they had official chairmen to protect colliery interests and to see that justice was done to colliery owners.

The amendment was lost and the main resolution was carried, 52 voting for and 39 against it. The Council then adjourned.

Committee to Enquire into Coal Depression.

On the 21ST FEBRUARY the coal industry and the Santhal Parganas district figured in the debate in the Council, when two non-official resolutions were moved demanding a committee of enquiry into the causes of the heavy depression in the coal industry in the Province and extension of the operation of the Local Self-Government (Amendment) Act (1923) to the district of the Santhal Parganas.

Babu Jagat Narain Lal, pleader, of the Independent Congress Party, moved a resolution urging the appointment of a committee of enquiry into the causes of the heavy depression in the coal industry with a view to suggesting means to remove them. Within the year 1924-25, 156 companies had closed down. The industry had been greatly handicapped owing to enhanced railway and shipping rates.

Babu Gur Sahay Lal moved an amendment that enquiry be made with special reference to the fostering of the by-products relating to coal.

Mr. Devaki Prashad Sinha pointed out that such a committee would be futile, as the remedy of the causes lay with the Government of India, and the Local Government had nothing to do with the question involved.

Mr. Lewis (Revenue Secretary) explaining the attitude of the Government, said that the resolution raised an all-India issue with which the Local Government was not concerned. The depression was not due to local facts. On the assurances given by Mr. Hammond, leader of the House, that a small committee would be acceptable to the Government, under certain limitations, the resolution was ultimately withdrawn.

Babu Ram Dayalu Sinha, Swarajist, moved that operation of the Local Self-Government Act be extended to the Santhal Parganas.

Mr. Hammond, on behalf of the Government, opposed the motion and observed that the Santhals were a simple and credulous people, and they needed protection, firstly, from the pressure of landlords, secondly from moneylenders, and thirdly from the evil of litigation.

The resolution was carried by 41 votes to 38.

Administration of Sone Canals.

On the 22ND FEBRUARY, Kumar Rajiva Ranjan Prashad Sinha moved a resolution demanding a committee of enquiry into the grievances of cultivators in regard to the administration of the Sone Canals and to suggest measures for affording relief. The grievances were mainly enhanced water rates, insufficiency of water supplied, irregularity of supply and relaxation of supervision over the subordinate staff of the canals. Rai Babadur Bishun Swarup, Chief Engineer, replying on behalf of the Government, stated that during the years 1923, 1924, and 1925 the Government convened three conferences of officials and non-officials to suggest all possible improvements with regard to the administration. Constant efforts were made to enquire into the complaints made and the Government had done everything that could reasonably be done to meet them. Under the circumstances there was no necessity for a committee.

The resolution was ultimately carried without a division.

Another resolution, which occupied much time, was regarding the improvement in the pay and prospects of members of the subordinate educational service, several members representing that these men were poorly paid. The resolution was carried by 36 votes to 32.

The Budget Discussion.

General discussion of the Budget commenced on the 24TH FEBRUARY and continued till the next day. On the last day in summing up the discussion the Hon'ble

Maharaja Bahadur of Dumraon, the Finance Member, claimed that the nation-building departments had been more generously treated in Bihar than in any other province in India. He stated that since the introduction of reforms, the total expenditure that has been incurred on new schemes on the reserved side was Rs. 4,17,000 recurring and Rs. 47,66,000 non-recurring. On the transferred side corresponding figures were Rs. 1,43,30,000 recurring and Rs. 1,28,67,000 non-recurring. Again comparing the expenditure of 1921-22 with those of 1927-28 excluding non-effective charges, they found that there had been an increase of only 11 per cent under Reserved side, while under Transferred, the increase was one of 55 per cent. They had incurred nearly half crore of new recurring expenditure on the transferred departments. He did not believe that there was any other provinces in India that could show such a record.

Voting on Budget Demands.

On the 5TH MARCH the Council voted three budget demands of Rs. 21,66,508, Rs. 19,52,118 and Rs. 3,04,593 in respect of land revenue, excise and stamps respectively. A token cut of Rs. 100 was moved on the excise demand to urge the prohibition by the Government, but was ultimately rejected. The Government pointed out that the policy of total prohibition was not feasible from a practical point of view although the Government had always aimed at a policy of maximum revenue and minimum consumption.

Acquisition of Private Forests in Chota Nagpur.

On the 7TH MARCH by 55 votes to 33 the Council refused provision of Rs. 1,00,500 for acquisition of private forests of Chota Nagpur. Non-official members who moved omission of this item urged that acquisition of these forests meant encroachment upon the rights of land-lords and tenants and the Government should not follow this policy of acquisition. The Government replied that rapid denudation of private forests of Chota Nagpur had become a matter of serious public concern and the only effective salvation of these forests lay in acquisition. The Government was, therefore, aiming at conservation of the forests which would in course of time prove to be remunerative as well as of great utility in removing one of the causes of floods in Orissa.

Censure Motion on Ministers Defeated.

On the 8TH MARCH the Swarajist members in the Council raised once again a constitutional debate in moving a token cut of Rs. 100 on the demand for Ministers' salaries.

Babu Nirsu Narayan Singh (Swarajist) who moved the cut said that the motion was intended as a vote of censure against the present Ministers and against the Ministry. His first grievance against the Ministers was that they violated the very spirit of the constitution in accepting the office without enjoying the confidence of a majority of elected members and in not advising His Excellency the Governor to invite the Swaraj Party which he claimed was the majority party. The constitution meant that Ministers should depend on a majority of elected members. No instance, continued the speaker, could be found where Ministers had violated the constitution in such a manner. He contended that the Ministers had not enunciated any definite policy in their term of office. It was a great slur on the province that no capable men could be found to replace these Ministers who had been appointed for the third time. Thus the members other than the Swarajists were refused the opportunity of shouldering the responsibility.

Babu Lakshmidhar Mahanthi (Orissa), supporting the motion, complained that Orissa had not been given a proper share in the administration of the province and put forward the claim of Orissa for a third Minister.

Babu Bhagwati Saran opposed the motion as he thought that the present Ministers who had done good work should not be censured like that.

The Hon'ble Mr. Hammond, speaking on the motion, said that the Ministers should enjoy the confidence of the House as a whole. The Ministers had discharged their duties to the satisfaction of the elected members of the Council. As regards the suggestion for the third Minister for Orissa, he said that in the first Reformed Government they had a Minister from Orissa. He pointed out that the representation on the Ministry on the basis of claims of localities and communities was destructive of the development of a true sense of nationalism. It was wrong to say that the claims of Orissa had not received due consideration. He thought that it was not the proper time for the Orissa members to raise this side issue. The Ministers had discharged their duties to the best of their ability and enjoyed the confidence of the Council as constituted.

Khan Bahadur Mahomed Naim, opposing the motion, said that the whole idea of the Swarajists was to wreck the constitution and make the Government impossible as

they had come with a definite pledge not to accept office. It was, therefore, the duty of those members who had come to work the Reforms to support the Ministers who had done excellent work and enjoyed the fullest confidence of members of the House barring the Swarajists.

Babu Rajandhari Singh, opposing the motion, said that the Ministers had not violated the constitution as they knew they enjoyed the confidence of the people.

The Hon'ble Mr. Ganesh Dutt Singh (Minister for Local Self-Government), replying, said he knew that as a Minister, he was not a permanent fixture nor would those who succeeded him. The Orissa members wanted a third Minister and that was why they had joined in the motion for censure. But that was for the Government and His Excellency to decide. He knew that the Swarajists had their block in the Council, but barring them, he claimed that he and his colleague, Sir Syed Mahomed Fakruddin, had a larger following than any other members in the Council.

The Hon'ble Sir Syed Mahomed Fakruddin, Minister of Education, replying, said that after six years of strenuous work to advance the educational progress of the Province, he found that expressions and gestures were used against him which were highly disappointing. It was said that ministership was sweet and tempting to him. He would tell them that it was not sweet but sour. (A voice: Why not resign it?) He had a high position in the Bar with no ministerial responsibility and worries. The Oriya members said that they had nothing personally against the Minister. If so, why should they join in this motion of censure which challenged the character and honour of Ministers? It was wrong to say that Ministers had violated the constitutional convention.

Motion Lost.

On a division the motion was ultimately rejected by 44 votes to 37. Members from Orissa kept neutral.

Government House Garden Parties.

By a majority of 54 votes to 23, the Council rejected and dissociated itself from the motion for a token cut of Rs. 100 for provision for staff and household of H. E. the Governor.

Mr. Devaki Prasad Sinha (Independent Congress Party) who was the author of this motion criticised the management at garden parties of the Government House and asserted that a distinction was drawn between Indian and European guests. A number of members made speeches dissociating themselves from the motion.

The Hon'ble Mr. Hammond (leader of the House), replying, said that His Excellency the Governor accepted full responsibility for the management of his parties and he did not desire that any official member should defend the household management on the floor of the House. He continued that in discussing this they could not separate the host from hospitality. He pointed out that there were two kinds of guests, one who accepted the hospitality and the other who, on political considerations, did not accept it. But the mover wanted to create a third kind of guests to which India was unaccustomed and the House resented as they enjoy the hospitality and would at the same time criticise and cavil at it. The Council then adjourned.

Ministers' Salaries Voted.

On the 9TH MARCH by a majority of 53 votes to 35 the Council rejected another Swarajist motion for the total omission of the provision of Rs. 1,15,911 for the Ministers Swarajists tabled this motion against the dyarchical system of Government.

Mr. Krishna Ballab Sahay, Swarajist, who moved for the omission of this provision pointed out that the Devolution Rule 6 entitled the Governor-General to suspend or revoke the transferred department. Rule 10 made the services not subordinate to the Ministers but to the Governor. Section 53 (3) made the Ministers mere advisers. Section 82 entitled the Governor to withhold his assent from any act of the Council and Section 72 directed that no appropriation of revenues could be made except with the consent of the Governor. How could a Minister be said to have any powers? While other countries, continued the speaker, have completed the progress of literacy, India had progressed from 3.1 in 1891, to 5.1 in 1921 and to 5.6 in 1925. At this rate literacy would be complete in 50 years. Bihar made less progress than India as a whole. Technical education had been started long before the Reforms. If the Reformed Government could boast of engineering and medical colleges the pre-Reform Government could boast of the Govt. of India Act which had given more powers to the Governor and made Ministers powerless.

Mr. Sridhar Samal (Depressed classes) opposing the motion said that the question of Hindu-Muslim, Brahmin-Non-Brahmin differences had to be settled before they demand

Swaraj. It was wrong to say that the Reforms had not given them anything. He thought that the constitutional advance should be in stages.

Mr. Sri Krishna Singh (leader of the Swaraj Party) supporting the motion said that he had got the highest respect for the Ministers; but he condemned the system of diarchy. He contended that the Government of India Act had given the Governor greater powers with regard to the transferred departments. The Governor dealt with the Ministers separately and overruled them when he happened to differ from them. Then he urged that the Ministers be given a free hand with regard to the administration of the transferred departments. He then pointed out that they had not the power of the purse. By the Reforms there was no change in the system of administration and the administration had become more expensive. This was admitted even by the Ministers in their memorandum to the Reforms Enquiry Committee. By not allowing this system to continue they would show that this Government was not carried on by the consent of the people. He asked them how they could sanction a system of Government which had no real powers. Some members saw the hand of the wrecker in this motion, but posterity would judge if their action was not guided by national impulse.

Mr. Chandreshwar Prasad Narayan Sinha opposing the motion said that there was no reason why a section of the people having faith in working the Reforms should be obstructed by another section which had no faith in it.

Rai Shiraj Krishna (Swarajist) supporting the motion asked if 6 years of working the Reforms had not revealed to them that it had nothing in it.

The Hon. Sir Syed Mahomed Fakhruddin, Minister of Education, replying, said that his views about diarchy were well-known. He admitted that there were defects in it and that Ministers had to work under various restrictions. He himself wanted that the system should be changed. They had on their part in spite of these restrictions and limitations done their best. He then referred to the educational progress made in the province.

The motion was ultimately rejected by 53 votes to 35. Then the whole demand of Rs. 50,99,515 under general administration was put to vote and agreed to. The demand under Administration of Justice was being discussed when the Council adjourned.

Demand under Justice and Jails.

On the 10th MARCH the Council voted demands of Rs. 29,75,694 and Rs. 17,06,738 for administration of justice and jails and convict settlement respectively. There was a discussion on a token cut of Rs. 100 proposed on the administration of justice in the course of which the members called attention to the delay in giving effect to the proposal of separation of the judicial and executive functions and urged the appointment of a Muslim Judge on the bench of the Patna High Court. It was replied on behalf of the Government that the recommendations of the local Government with regard to the proposal of separation of judicial and executive functions were under consideration of the Government of India and the Government would in future most carefully consider the propriety and desirability of appointing a Mussalman as a High Court Judge. The motion was ultimately withdrawn. The demand under "Police" was being discussed when the Council adjourned.

On the 11th MARCH the Council voted a number of budget demands for grants including Rs. 73,84,187 for Police and Rs. 1,39,791 for Education (Reserved) respectively. His Excellency Sir Henry Wheeler and Lady Wheeler were present in the Distinguished Visitors Gallery.

Primary Education in Bihar.

On the 14th MARCH the Council discussed the Swarajist motion for a token cut of Rs. 100 in the demand for education (transferred). A number of members including Mr. Ramdayalu Sinha, mover, Mr. Nirsu Narayan Singh and Mr. Mubarak Ali took the opportunity to discuss the education policy and call attention to specific questions connected with it. The mover and Mr. Nirsu Narayan Singh centred their criticism on primary education which they considered had not sufficiently advanced and urged that local bodies should be given free discretion to work out the education policy regarding primary education. Mr. Nirsu Narayan characterised the policy as detrimental to the interests of the people and asserted that, during the last 6 years, Ministers of Education had not laid down any definite policy with regard to primary education which was most essential for educating the masses.

Mr. Mubarak Ali drew attention to Moslem education in the province and demanded that fair treatment should be accorded to it.

Hon. Sir Fakhruddin, Minister of Education, replying, assured the members that it was not his policy to impose any restrictions upon local bodies with regard to any pro-

gramme of primary education. He would be the last person to interfere with the discretion of the local bodies in working out a programme. If any restrictions had been put, they had been put from *bona fide* motives. It was the desire of the Government to see that primary education was spread as quickly as possible. But the whole question was about funds. The Hon. Minister had not concluded his speech when the Council adjourned.

Mr. Hammond Congratulated.

On the 15TH MARCH, the Council reassembling, members from all sections and party groups took opportunity to congratulate the Hon'ble Mr. Hammond (leader of the House) on his new appointment as Governor of Assam.

Mr. Sri Krishna Singh, leader of the Swarajya Party, Messrs Mubarak Ali, Devaki Prasad Sinha and Sri Krishna Mahapatra and others participating in chorus of congratulations wished Mr. Hammond success in his new exalted office.

The Hon'ble Mr. Hammond thanked them in reply and said that he was very sorry to leave Bihar with which he had old associations.

Voting on Budget Grants Concluded.

To-day was the last day for voting on Government Budget demands for grants. At five in the evening the guillotine was applied and all the remaining Government demands were put to vote and carried. The Council adjourned till next day when supplementary demands were taken up.

Sir H. Wheeler's Farewell Address.

On the 16TH MARCH, in his farewell address to the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council, His Excellency Sir Henry Wheeler said that he did not leave the province in a state of financial despondency in which he found it and he regarded it with satisfaction that they, under the constitution as it stood, whatever might be their views regarding it, had been able to do some work of value. Relating the parable of the Stranded wayfarer, His Excellency exhorted them to face facts, shoulder loads, welcome the help of all who offered it, trust to a wise leader and disregard false guides and set forth along the winding road in good heart and with single-minded sincerity of purpose and the dawn would see them home. He assured them that they had many official well-wishers on their journey. Some of them perchance were apt to regard them as the hosts of the maidan prowling round and round, others to resent it when they deprecated short cuts or pointed out false trails. But officials, he continued, had already shared the fatigue of many a hot, long and dusty march and they offered them their help on the remainder of the way.

Concluding, His Excellency said that they had come to a stage together and his good-will went with them on the rest of the route. To all who had helped in accomplishing whatever during the last five years had been achieved, he offered his sincerest personal acknowledgments and his parting wishes were for the welfare of them all and of the province which he had endeavoured to serve.

Voting on Supplementary Grants.

After going through the last day's programme and voting a number of supplementary demands for grants which occupied the whole day the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council adjourned to-day "sine die."

The Burma Legislative Council.

The Budget Session of the Burma Legislative Council was opened by H. E. the Governor on the 24TH JANUARY 1927. There was a large attendance of members. The visitors' gallery was also full. There was a large crowd in the vicinity of the Council to greet His Excellency.

In addressing the Council His Excellency spoke on the advancement of Burma and Rangoon. After referring to the visits of the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Basil Blackett and Sir Ronald Ross, he made a general survey of the condition of the province which he said was satisfactory. In the course of the survey he touched on agricultural expansion of maritime trade and progress made by the development trust, public health, breaches on railway line, crime position, communications, university and recent despatch of expedition to the Triangle to abolish slavery. As regards agriculture, the Governor said there was a record rice crop and although harvests in Upper Burma had suffered, the general outlook was satisfactory. In maritime trade there had been great expansion in the year 1925-26. The number of ships which entered into the ports was 1676, as compared with 1894 of Bombay and 1194 of Calcutta. The net registered tonnage was 4 millions tons in Rangoon as compared with 4 and half millions in Bombay and about 2 and seven-eighth millions in Calcutta. Rangoon was now the second port in the Indian Empire. Public health on the whole had been satisfactory and, in this connection, His Excellency referred to the presence of the British Social Hygiene Council Delegation in Rangoon and enquiries now being conducted by the Health Committee appointed by the local Government. Regarding railway breaches, he remarked that the Government realized that the question of flooding was a very serious one and that no unnecessary delay would take place in taking action on the reports of the Committee which would be published shortly. The latest returns of crime, the Governor observed, were very encouraging, though the crime season was not yet in full swing and he was not disposed to prophesy. He thought they were proceeding on the right lines to bring crime back to reasonable dimensions. Murder, he said, had not yet shown an appreciable tendency to decrease; but the Committee appointed to tackle this difficult question would shortly submit its report. Here he testified to the excellent hard work of the District Officers and police forces in the suppression of crime. Communication, His Excellency pointed out, were steadily improving. He expected to get some return for the heavy outlay on the Migaldon Cantonment which should be ready for occupation in the next October. The University, he observed, was emerging from difficulties which beset its birth and everything was in the train for rapid advance. He gave the assurance that the Government would do all in its power to assist the University to an early completion of its building schemes. His Excellency spoke on the recent Durbar held at Myitkyina and on the setting out of Mr. Barnard and his assistants on the detailed work of the emancipation of slaves in the triangle. He trusted that this would be carried out promptly and successfully and the blot on the fair name of the Province would be removed. In this connection His Excellency acknowledged the great assistance received from Lord Irwin and Sir Basil Blackett.

Concluding he referred to the great importance of the Session, this being the last over which Sir Robert Giles presided. He thanked Sir Robert for the services rendered to the Province and felt that it would be hard to find successor to him.

The Budget for 1927-28.

After the Governor had left the Council, there was a short interval when the Council resumed its session. New members including Mr. U. Mg. Gye, ex-Education Minister were sworn in. The Finance Member then presented the budget.

The budget sanctioned by the Legislative Council in March 1926 assumed the opening balance of Rs. 2,82,50,000 receipts amounting to Rs. 10,67,83,000 and an expenditure of Rs. 11,81,86,000 (of which Rs. 2,03,32,000 was classed as capital expenditure) and a closing balance of Rs. 68,28,000. The opening balance fell short of the estimate by Rs. 39,27,000. The year 1925-26 was considerably less favourable to the agriculturist than the previous year and although receipts exceeded expenditure, it fell short of the estimates adopted in March 1925. The surplus was below anticipations during the current year. So far as can be seen at present and despite the facts that rains have been normal,

the estimates both of receipts and expenditure which were adopted last March will be worked up to within the exception. Provision was made under debt heads for a loan of Rs. 65 lakhs. to the Rangoon Port Trust. The Commissioners have decided to raise a loan in the open market and provision for the loan will not be required. On information at present available, it has been estimated that the closing balance on the 31st March 1927 will be Rs. 90 lakhs or Rs. 21,72,000, more than the estimate. This amount of Rs. 90 lakhs has been adopted as the opening balance in the budget for 1928.

Estimates for 1928.

For the purpose of the budget for the coming year, continuance of the existing taxes is assumed. It is estimated the ordinary revenue receipts will amount to Rs. 10,36,24,000 and ordinary expenditure charged to revenue to Rs. 10,03,84,000. It is proposed to incur a capital expenditure amounting to Rs. 2,58,61,000, of which one Rs. 1,29,11,000 represents expenditure for which loans are not admissible under Debt Heads. Receipts anticipated are Rs. 30,75,000 (excluding the loan of Rs. 1,36,00,000 which it is proposed to take from provincial loans fund) and expenditure Rs. 28,44,000. Towards this there is available from the anticipated opening balance (excluding the amount to the credit of Provincial Famine Insurance Fund Rs. 1,26,000 which cannot be used for ordinary expenditure) only Rs. 88,74,000. It is proposed to bridge the gap by borrowing one Rs. 1,36,000 from Provincial Loans Fund of the Central Government less any remission of Provincial contribution which the Central Government may grant. This amount is less by Rs. 38,47,000 than the balance which is expected to be at the credit of the local Government on the 1st April 1927 on account of its loans and advances to local bodies, agriculturists and others and it will not be necessary to borrow for any specific purpose or to transfer from revenue to capital account any capital expenditure incurred in the past on the objects for which loans were admissible.

The financial position of the Province on the 31st March 1928 is thus:—It is estimated on the 31st March 1928 provincial balance will be reduced to Rs. 2,10,000. Balance at the credit of the Province on account of loans and advance by the local Government will be Rs. 1,72,88,000 and the Province will owe Rs. 1,36,00,000 to Provincial Loans Fund of the Central Government. The Province will be committed a large programme of expenditure on public works. It will be impossible to carry these to completion without borrowing some two and half crores annually. Charges on loans necessary to carry the programme through to completion could be met by the margin between ordinary receipts and ordinary expenditure supplemented by the entire remission of the provincial contribution; but it will be necessary to avoid further heavy commitments on non-productive schemes and to curb severely the present tendency to increase recurring liabilities.

The Finance Member pointed out that on the reserve side, increase in expenditure has been comparatively much less than on the transferred subjects and in support quoted figures. He paid a tribute to Mr. Booth Gravelly, Secretary, Mr. Gilliatt, Additional Secretary, Rai Sahib Ashutosh Basu, Assistant Secretary and others of the Finance Department for their unstinted co-operation in the laborious task of the preparation of the budget.

Other Business.

The official business transacted after the presentation of the budget was the introduction of a Bill to determine the salary of the President of the Burma Legislative Council (Rs. 4,000). The Council then adjourned till the 1st February.

Foreigners' Marriage with Burmese Women.

On the 1ST FEBRUARY, discussion was resumed on the resolution for application of Buddhist laws to marriages contracted between Burman Buddhist women and foreigners. Mr. A. Eggar, Government Advocate, explained what the law on the subject was at present. He pointed out the objections which came in the way of carrying out such a motion. He thought the matter was of all-India importance and could have been better discussed in the Legislative Assembly though he doubted it ever would have met with much success there. If the intention of the mover was to protect ignorant Burmese women, the best means would be to start propaganda showing the dangers arising out of such marriages. He stated that codification of Buddhist laws was coming up before the Council and the mover would have then a better opportunity of moving an amendment to the main Bill to carry out his desire.

The Home Member said that the committee was now discussing the Bill and the mover could give his views to one of the three members of the Council on the Committee. He expected the Bill would be before the Council in the September session.

The resolution was then withdrawn.

State Management of Burmese Railways.

The question of State management versus company management was the subject-matter of another resolution discussed in the Council. Mr. U. Pu, leader of the Home Rule Party, moved that this Council considers that the best interests of the province are in the present circumstances likely to be served by State management of Burma railways on the termination of the present contract and requests the local Government to take the opportunity of recommending this view to the India Government and the Secretary of State. The mover, in urging the reasons, said that practically they had no voice in the management and that Burmans were not given sufficient encouragement to join railway service.

A number of members took part in the discussion, most of them supporting State management.

The Finance Member informed the House that Government benches would not vote on the motion. In explaining this attitude, he said that a similar motion was disallowed last year by the Governor, the subject matter being central. This year the motion has been allowed as the India Government wanted to know the opinion of the local Government and the latter would like to be guided in this matter by non-official opinion in this House. According to the present arrangement, the contract with the Burma Railway would terminate on a year's notice. He asked the House to consider the disadvantages that may result from State management so long as Burma remains part of the Indian Empire. He also quoted instances of several countries where State management had not proved to be a success.

Mr. Crosthwaite, Officiating Agent of Burma Railways, spoke refuting the mover's reason regarding employment of Burmans and the Railway Advisory Committee.

The resolution was then carried without division. The Council then adjourned.

Removal of Sex Disqualification.

On the 3RD FEBRUARY Mr. Thein Maung, the Nationalist Party's chief whip, introduced a Bill for encouraging the national sports of Burma. It wanted to provide a permanent institution to be called national sports institution and association for Burma as a body corporated with a common seal with the head office in Rangoon. The Bill stated that the association should have the power to take all lawful steps in any part of Burma for promoting field and aquatic sports and games or exhibitions of skill in which competition or display depends upon human endeavour without the aid of horse or other animals. The mover proposed referring the Bill to a Select Committee.

The Home Member, in opposing, said that the Bill would clash with the village and police acts and such associations could better be formed with private enterprise. The motion was put to vote and lost by 21 against 41.

Removal of Sex Disqualification.

The next item on the agenda which evoked much interest was Mr. A Maung Gyee's resolution recommending to the Government the removal of sex disqualification clauses from the Burma electoral rules. The mover described the important position occupied by women in Burma and the amount of freedom enjoyed by them both in the past and the present times. In many respects, he opined they were far ahead of the women in India. He pointed out to the advancement made by Indian women in the direction of political emancipation of the country and he could find no reason why Burmese women should have any bar on them. He thought their presence in the Council would be very useful during the discussion of such subjects as public health and sanitation.

After the resolution had been discussed for sometime by the non-official members, the Home Member, opposing the resolution, said Burma was never known to have a representative institution on western lines and women not being versed in western institutions of this kind, the resolution was, in his opinion, premature. He thought they would wait for the Statutory Commission and then place their views for the removal of such disqualification before the Commission. Though there were numerous women's associations all over the province, no representation has been received from them. He raised the question whether Pongyis would at all like to be legislated by women and expressed strongdoubt. The resolution was pressed to a division and lost by 46 against 31.

Closure of Rice Liquor Shops.

The only other item of business disposed of at the Council meeting on this day was a non-official resolution recommending to the Government to close all Hlawza (rice liquor) shops in Burma on the expiry of their current licences. The resolution was lost. The Council then adjourned.

General Discussion of the Budget.

On the 4TH FEBRUARY, the whole day was devoted to a general discussion of the budget. Nine non-official members participated.

Mr. U. PU, leader of the Nationalist Party, and ex-Minister, opened the debate by thanking the President for unfailing courtesy to his party and for his fairness and justice in dealing with the whole house on all occasions. He criticised the budget as a whole and pointed out how extensive retrenchment could be carried out first of all by reducing the number of officials. He said, that Yonzamin water-supply scheme was the gigantic and did not approve of money being spent on it. The Government having paid no heed to the warning against squandering money, the result was the parlous state of finances of the province. He regretted nothing has been done so far regarding the suggested scheme of land mortgage bank. He criticised increased expenditure in police estimates. The burden of taxation, he said, was growing heavier and the Government was spending money lavishly instead of trying to reduce expenditure and to decrease taxation.

Mr. TYABJI (Swarajist) felt that the financial position of Burma was deplorable. The province did not possess a balance. If the Government intended to borrow, they would not be able to pay the loan next year whilst the expenditure was increasing. There was no corresponding increase in the revenue. Unproductive projects of civil works swallowed up large sums of money. He opined that a great deal of money could be saved by economy and expenditure.

Mr. Narayana RAO (nominated labour member) regarded it as the clearest budget. He had not the same horror for borrowing as other speakers so long as the finances of the province were sound. During the past few years, he said, Burma had made rapid strides specially in education. The budget had also made generous contributions to the building of hospitals etc. He asked the Government to enquire why excise licences were going up and to find out means to stop illicit traffic of liquor if it was a fact.

Mr. U. PU, leader of the Home Rule Party, also paid a tribute to the President. He agreed with the leader of the Nationalist Party in the criticisms made by him. He considered the working of the various departments unsatisfactory and urged systematic and rigid scheme of retrenchment. The country, he opined, was groaning under the taxation. He wanted the development of the country to be carried along lines beneficial to Burmans, such as increase in the number of co-operative societies and banks, further expansion of education etc., and not along the lines which facilitated outsiders to enrich themselves. He remarked that if the Government only took trouble to make people contented and happy there would be less crime and consequently less expenditure on the police force.

Mr. DEGLANVILLE, leader of the Independent Party, reminded the House that most of the civil works projects were started by Nationalists when they were in office and he left it to them to insist that these schemes be proceeded with. He saw that Mr. Tyabji wanted to cut down the expenditure in communications and devote money to cottage industries and agriculture. What could they do with their produce without communications? He regarded the criticisms made by opposite benches (Nationalist, Home Rule and Swaraj Parties) were destructive. With regard to the deficit of two crores in budget, he was in favour of issuing premium bonds.

Official Reply to Criticisms.

On the 5TH FEBRUARY, members of the Cabinet replied to criticisms of the budget.

Dr. PA YIN, Minister in charge of Education, local Self-Government, Public Health and Excise, stated that the Government was doing its best to educate children of the country. He denied the allegation that the University of Rangoon was the monopoly of the rich as described by one member. With regard to public health, the Government was also doing its best both for urban and rural population. He instanced some measures adopted to show that rural population's interests were not overlooked. He informed the House that the Government was collecting information for a scheme of benefit both to medical practitioners in indigenous system and to the country. The excise policy he remarked was not influenced by revenue consideration. So long there was the demand, the Government could not cut supply as such a policy would lead to illicit traffic. He quoted figures to show that there had been steady gradual expansion in the expenditure on transferred subjects.

Mr. L. AHYAIN, Minister in charge of Forest and Agriculture, referring to criticisms about the land mortgage banks said that detailed steps were taken to draft the bill for the purpose and he expected that he would present it to the House next August. Deforestation scheme was being tried at Prome, deforested areas being given to the poor

for cultivation. He was surprised at the statement that communications and civil works are unproductive. As regards roads, he remarked they were important for trade, while civil works comprised buildings for hospital, for the education of children and for judicial and public officers, all necessary for the better Government of the country. Regarding the suggestion made that Burma should be raised to Japanese standard in industries, he pointed out that Burma was principally an agricultural country and there could be no comparison. There were ample cottage industries for the present needs of Burma and they were encouraging them.

Sir J. A. MAUNG GYL, Home Member, considered himself fortunate that few criticisms had been levelled against him, perhaps due to the fact that the opposition benches realised that he had been in office for only a few months. Replying to criticisms made by a member about cutting down the expenditure in housing the police, he said the police were badly housed and considering the important work they were doing they should be made comfortable. About increased police expenditure, he said that as soon as crime decreased, expenditure would also decrease.

Sir William KEITH, Finance Member, replying said that very few criticisms had been made at the estimates for 1927-28. Hitherto, Burma had found money for capital expenditure from rice control profits, but towards the end of the year, they would have to borrow not a very large sum and they would have to continue doing so. But so long as income was steady, the position was not serious as some members tried to make out. What they would have to be careful about in future was to see that recurring expenditure did not rise as fast as it had. The matter rested with the Finance Committee who would have to scrutinise carefully fresh proposals in future to see money spent on capital expenditure so as not to involve recurring liabilities. Regarding the outcry against new police courts, he said that from a commercial standpoint the building was a good proposition as it would house many courts and offices which were now in rented buildings. Yunzalin scheme to augment water-supply was already in progress and the Council would have an opportunity of discussing the whole scheme when demand was made for grants. He pointed out the importance of civil works. The Finance Member admitted the return from irrigation was much quicker than roads, but he pointed out that roads, though they did not bring any revenue directly, were of great importance to the development of trade and agriculture. Turning to excise, he emphasised that the policy was not guided by financial considerations. So far, Burma was the only province in India which has not imposed fresh taxation and he did not think the people had much cause for grievance, even in case fresh taxation was imposed.

The total increase in expenditure on education was much greater than that on police. He reminded the House that the expenditure on police depended on the state of the country. In regard to the suggestion of raising money by premium bonds, the Finance Member was in favour of it and if some suitable schemes were put forward and the Government of India were induced to sanction it, then Burma would be able to have such a scheme within its borders.

Official Business.

Four official bills including the President's Salary Bill fixing the salary of the elected President at Rs. 4,000 per month were passed without discussion. The Council then adjourned.

Voting on Demands.

On the 7TH FEBRUARY the Finance Member submitted certain revised figure of the budget. He then moved the demand for Rs. 2,67,31,500 on behalf of his departments. Several cuts were proposed but all of them were either lost or withdrawn.

Mr. U. Pu, Leader of the Home Rule Party, moved a cut of four lakhs of rupees to be paid as commission on capitation tax collection under land revenue. The mover said that the Government had promised the abolition of capitation and thathameda taxes within a year. He was surprised to see the two taxes included in the budget estimate for the coming year. Whenever demand was made for the abolition of the taxes, the Government opposed it by asking what substitutes the opposition proposed to introduce. His reply was if the Government practised economy, there would be no necessity of substitutes. He opposed the collection of these two taxes.

The Finance member said that a similar amendment was made last year, but the House did not accept it. Village headmen had to be remunerated in some way for the collection of the taxes. The Government was awaiting the report of the Capitation and Thathameda Taxes Enquiry Committee appointed to enquire into substitutes for the taxes and until

that report and the Secretary of State's assent to the substitutes proposed were received, it would be futile to ask for abolition of the taxes. The motion was lost.

Discussion on the Working of Reforms.

On the 8TH FEBRUARY the Finance Member's demand for Rs. 2,67,31,500 was put to the House and carried.

The Home Member then asked for Rs. 3,34,74,600 for his departments.

Mr. J. K. MUNSHI, Independent, proposed a cut of Rs. 100 in connection with the demand under "Provincial Legislative Council". Heated debate extending almost over the whole day took place over this amendment and several non-official members, both nominated and elected, representing different parties and interests, as well as several officials, participated in it. Mr. Munshi said the objects of his motion was to raise a discussion on the working of the Reforms and to give the council an opportunity of expressing their opinion thereon. At the outset, he desired to know whether nominated members were sent to the House to vote for the Government, irrespective of personal views. Continuing, he said that during the earlier period of the Reforms, the Government gave all the information the House desired but now with an assured majority the attitude of the Government was changed. That was not the way to work the Reforms successfully. There were occasions on which official members might have refrained from voting; but they did not do so. He instanced the motion for the removal of sex-disqualification which was lost. He criticised the Independent and Golden Valley parties for always voting with the Government in spite of the shortcomings of the Government benches. He thought that Burma had no reason to be discouraged and he hoped there would be a return to a spirit of co-operation which marked the working of the Council in the first three years.

The Nationalist leader, Mr. U. PU, said the attitude of the Government in the present council showed that they had no desire to do things the people wanted. The present Government was in reality bureaucratic though apparently representative in form.

Mr. U. PU, Home Rule leader, accused the Government of luring the members of the Nationalist, Swarajist and Home Rule parties to the Government side. He opined if the Government would adopt a spirit of friendly co-operation, many existing grievances would disappear.

Mr. Mahomed AUZAM, member of the Independent Party, opposing said he had heard opposition members saying that they are going into the council to oppose the Government but he had not heard a single member saying that he was going to oppose what was wrong. He was ready for co-operation if he found the proposals put forward were constructive.

Mr. Narayana RAO, nominated labour member said he had no other aim than to do some thing good for the labourers. He repudiated the criticisms made about his change of attitude since he became a nominated member. He thought officials in Burma were more democratic than those in India and Burma had made substantial progress.

Mr. BRANDER, Chief Secretary, said the reason why the Government was unable at times to give the desired information was due to delay in obtaining such information. He assured the House that the nominated members were free to vote as they liked.

Mr. Booth GRAVELY, Secretary, Finance Department, said that the present House was more parliamentary in character, there being a Ministerial party in the House to vote with the Ministers.

After further discussion, the FINANCE MEMBER said that the Government had been accused of non-co-operation, but if the proceedings of the council were considered, it would seem that the Government seized every opportunity not only to co-operate but to work the Reforms successfully. He referred to the formation of many Standing Committees to show how the Government was desirous of co-operating. When the Government opposed the resolution it did so in the best interest of the country. The Government had given way in many instances against better judgment simply to meet the wishes of the people. Comparing the last council to the present one, he said the last council was unreal. For example, one of the Ministers had been the leader of a party which was playing the role of opposition, while in the present both Ministers had their recognised following and were supported by them. Continuing, the Finance Member said that the nominated members voted with the opposition on many past occasions. They never came into the council with a mentality amenable to reasons adduced by the Government. He concluded by saying that the government had been doing its best to serve the interests of the country. The Home Member assured that

every consideration would be given to their grievances. He also explained the attitude of the Government.

Mr. Munshi then withdrew his motion. The Council adjourned till next day.

Home Member's Reference to Revd. Ottama.

On the 9TH FEBRUARY the Council disposed of some of the cuts proposed in the Home Member's demand. At about 4 p.m. members of the Home Rule, Swaraj, and Nationalist parties walked out as a protest against what they regarded to be the slighting reference made by the Home Member against U. Ottama in the course of a discussion over a cut moved by U. Pu, leader of the Home Rule Party.

In moving the amendment Mr. U. Pu said he asked two questions about U. Ottama now in jail. The first one wanted to elicit information about the time of his release and the second to ascertain whether he was in Rangoon jail or elsewhere. The Government reply was that they were not prepared to make any statement on the subject. He could understand that the reason of the Government for not replying to the first one was to avoid demonstration by the public but he condemned reticence of the Government regarding the whereabouts of U. Ottama.

The Home Member, in the course of his reply, remarked that Ottama was one of about 20 to 30 thousand criminals in Jail and it was not possible to keep information of each and Ottama was not such a prominent man as Lord Birkenhead or Lloyd George. This remark about Ottama provoked strong criticisms by several members who spoke highly about Ottama's services and strongly criticised the attitude of the Home Member in his reference to U. Ottama.

Mr. U. Pu, winding up the debate on the cut, said he would leave the Council if the Home Member did not withdraw his remarks. The Home Member, replying, said that the reference he had made about Ottama was nothing extraordinary. He described Ottama as one of the many ordinary prisoners. The mover of the cut said that the Home Member must withdraw his remarks about Ottama. The Home Member could not change his attitude and he did not consider he had done anything wrong or anything for which he could be taken to task.

At this stage, the mover left the Chamber and members of the three parties walked out of the Council.

Continuing the Home Member said it was a matter of opinion whether Ottama was the idol of the country as described by some members. Ottama was convicted for sedition and under "Vinaza" rules any monk dabbling in 'politics was pseudo-monk. The mover had not waited to hear what the Home Member had to say.

As the three parties left the Council, only three members, Messrs. Campagnac, Rafi and Munshi voted for the cut, while members of the Independent and Golden Valley parties besides officials voted against it. The motion for cut was thus lost by an overwhelming majority. The Council then adjourned.

A People's Party Formed.

After the walk out the members of Nationalist, Swaraj and Home Rule Parties and some non-party members of the Burma Legislative Council assembled and passed a resolution that in view of the peculiar defects in the dyarchical system of Reforms in Burma and undue advantage thereof by official members as demonstrated by their indifferent and uncompromising attitude in the Council towards the people's representatives and also because of the discourteous remarks made by the Home Member in reference to Rev. U. Ottama, it is becoming imperative that the people's party composed of Nationalists, Home Rulers and Swarajists and some of the non-party Independents be constituted forthwith. It was further resolved that the fundamental principle of this party be the refusal of acceptance of any office in the gift of the Government until the revision of reforms when the position will be reconsidered. An Executive Committee was formed and the leader, deputy leaders and whips were elected.

Discussion of Police Expenditure.

On the 10TH FEBRUARY, discussion mainly centred round the demand for Rs. 1,27,53,000 under the head "Police." The motion for cut was eventually lost by a majority of 30 votes. Members who walked out yesterday attended the Council to day.

Mr. U. Ba Pe, Nationalist, in moving the cut said that the total police expenditure was the highest so far. The Government point was that the increase was due to their desire to suppress crime, but he was of opinion that mere increase in police force would not reduce crime and if the Government looked after the economic conditions of the people, there was no necessity for such high expenditure under this head. Instead of spending money on police stations etc., it would be better to spend money on the poor, to give them

education, to encourage industries, to assist the cultivators financially and to improve public health. These improvements would considerably help reduction of crime. He criticised new appointments of two Deputy Inspectors-General of Police. He referred to the lack of co-operation between people and police and attributed the fault to the latter.

Mr. Brander, Chief Secretary, in opposing the motion, said that the increase in expenditure was not so heavy as described by the mover. He quoted previous years' figures in support of his statement. He added that the increase in the estimates for 1927-28 was partly for the purpose of putting into operation schemes already approved. Some increase in expenditure was also caused by increments in salary. New appointments of Deputy Inspectors-General were created to solve the crime problem and the position in this respect would be reviewed in future. He opined that these appointments would help better detection of crime.

After a number of members had spoken in support of and against the cut, Mr. U. Ba Pe replied urging better village organisation to reduce crime.

The Home Member quoted figures to show that increase in police force has taken place and this he said was necessitated by the increase in crime in the recent past. As regards economic conditions of the people, he said Burmans themselves were responsible for that; for he himself as a Burman knew that Burmans were "the laziest under the sun." He regretted the absence of constructive criticism. The motion as already stated was lost. The Council then adjourned.

Forest Minister's Demands.

On the 11TH FEBRUARY the total demand for Rs. 3,31,74,600 made by the Home Member was carried, all cuts proposed having been lost. The Forest Minister then moved a demand for Rs. 2,26,45,400 for his departments. The only cut proposed to-day on the Forest Minister's demand was that by U. Pu, formerly leader of the Home Rule Party, and now deputy leader of the newly formed People's Party refusing the Forest Minister's salary of Rs. 60,000. The motion was debated the whole day and eventually lost.

U. Pu in moving the cut said that he wanted to kill dyarchy by refusing the Minister's salary, because dyarchy was unworkable. The opposition had arrived at this conclusion from the experience gained by the Nationalists after they had worked the reforms for three years. Another intention was to express no confidence in the Ministry because they were puppets in the hands of glorified Under-Secretaries and guided by what the Secretaries thought. He criticised the appointment of the Hon'ble L. Ah Yain on the ground that he was a member of the Chinese community.

U. Ohn Pe, in supporting, complained of the fact that only a few Burmans had been recruited for the Indian Forest Service and been given promotions from Provincial to the Imperial Service.

Both Mr. Auzam and Mr. Munshi opposed the motion and criticised the racial issue raised by the mover. Mr. Munshi also said that nothing would be gained by non-co-operation.

The Forest Secretary, Mr. Cooper, in explaining the principle of recruitment for the Imperial Service, said it had ceased since the Lee Report had been published. Promotions from Provincial to Imperial Service were restricted by the authorities higher than the Minister of Forests.

The Hon'ble Minister, in opposing the motion, said that the mover had stated that his idea was to kill dyarchy and to that end he moved a cut on the demand for Minister's salary; but a similar attempt made in Bengal, he pointed out, resulted in the transferred subjects becoming reserved. The Forest Minister was as good a Burman as any with Burmese names were in the opposition benches. Section 96 of the Government of India Act stated:—"No native of British India nor any subject of His Majesty resident therein shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any office under the Crown in India." After giving his experience as the former Forest Minister, he said the present Minister was also as desirous of doing good to Burmans as he was. He asked wherefrom the mover got the information that the Ministers were puppets in the hands of the Secretaries. They should naturally look to the Secretaries for necessary help as they were trained men. If the present Ministers were puppets, then the leader of the people's Party (U. Pu) must himself have been a puppet as he was a Minister. He concluded by saying that there was no substance in the argument adduced by the mover.

The motion was pressed to division and lost, there being 54 votes in favour of the Government against nil as the other side did not go to the lobby.

The President in criticising the members who pressed for division but did not go to the lobby said they had abused the privilege and had shown discourtesy to the Council.

The Council then adjourned.

Deportation of Chinamen.

At question time to-day the Home Member replying to a question said that 147 Chinamen were deported during 1925 and 162 in 1926 under the Foreigners Act from Burma.

Forest Minister's Demand.

On the 12TH FEBRUARY, U. Pu (ex-Minister), leader of the People's Party, referred to the charge of discourtesy made against the members who refused to go to the lobby yesterday and said his party was under the impression that the matter was left to their discretion, consequent on what the Government benches did in September last. The President accepted the explanation and said it was not justifiable to force a division unless there was some reasonable doubt as to the result. Cuts under the Forest Minister's demand were then taken and disposed of, majority being withdrawn after discussion. The total demand for Rs. 2,26,45,400 made by the Forest Minister for his departments was then put to vote and passed.

Education Minister's Demand.

The Hon'ble Dr. Bo Yin, Education Minister, then moved for demand for Rs. 2,60,69,300 for department under his charge. Two important cuts under this demand, one refusing Rs. 60,000 for salary to the Education Minister and the other refusing Rs. 5,00,000 for Mergui Scawall and reclamation works were put to vote and lost without division.

Mr. U. Pu, Leader of the people's Party, moving to-day the refusal of the Education Minister's salary, urged the same grounds as he did yesterday in refusing the Forest Minister's salary. His further point was that Ministers were unable to act up to the people's wishes as expressed by people's representatives in the Council. So he wanted to kill dyarchy by refusing the salary.

Mr. Narayan Rao spoke strongly on the racial question being raised and opposed the amendment.

The Home Member, in opposing the motion, said if they could not work such simple form of Government as they had they could not expect anything better. It was members of the G. C. B. A. and Y. M. B. A. who formed the opposition in the Council and brought in this dyarchy and it was only the jealousy of India that had led them to have dyarchy which no one claimed to be perfect, but they must prove their ability to govern before they could expect self-Government. The motion was put to vote and lost. All cuts under the Education Minister's demand having been disposed of, the total demand for Rs. 2,60,69,300 was carried and the Council adjourned.

Burma Spinning and Weaving Company.

On the 14TH FEBRUARY, the Council disposed of the three non-official resolutions, one of which was carried, the next withdrawn and the third one lost.

The first resolution moved by U. Kyaw Dun recommended to the Government to take over the whole of Burma Spinning and Weaving Company's properties, both moveable and immoveable which were under mortgage to the Government in full satisfaction of the loan of Rs. 15 lakhs and the interest due thereon. The Forest Minister, after giving the history of this pioneer industry as a public limited company, pointed out that the company on the 1st November 1926 unanimously passed a resolution which was almost the same as was now before the House. He informed the House that the fate of the resolution would be decided entirely by non-official voting, the Government remaining neutral.

Mr. E. Wroughton, representative of the Burma Chamber of Commerce, expressed disapproval of the motion and associated himself with the remarks made by the Accountant-General who stated that the motion offended against the canons of financial propriety.

The resolution was put to vote and carried without division.

Institution of Land Mortgage Banks.

The second resolution moved by U. Pu, leader of the People's party recommending expedition of the institution of land mortgage banks was withdrawn on the Forest Minister having remarked that he had been informed that a Bill was in the hands of the Government Advocate who was recasting it in the light of the criticism received and the Government was anxious to expedite the matter.

Abolition of Book-Makers at Race Meetings.

The last item of business was a resolution by Mr. N. M. Rafi recommending the abolition of book-makers at race meetings throughout Burma. The subject was debated at length, six members supporting and seven opposing it. An amendment was moved by

Mr. J. K. Munshi recommending to the Government to ascertain whether the best interests of the public would be served by retention or abolition of book-makers. On the mover objecting that the amendment would negative the resolution, the President disallowed it. The arguments adduced in favour of the resolution mainly were that in racing a clean fraud was practised on account of book-makers who were sometime bought off by large owners and the dishonesty perpetrated at race meetings brought about privation to many a poor man's home. The mover emphasised that his resolution was directed against this particular system of betting.

Mr. Brander, Chief Secretary, Mr. Booth Gravelly, Finance Secretary, and five other non-officials opposed the resolution and generally urged that abolition of book-makers would lead to the springing up of a number of bucket shops all over the town and gambling would go on no less vigorously and under much worse conditions. Messrs. Brander and Wroughton who are stewards of the Rangoon Turf Club with their experiences of the inner working of the club said that the allegations against book-makers were not true.

The Forest Minister, in opposing the resolution said that a similar resolution was talked out in the last Council and to-day's discussion did not disclose further arguments in favour of the abolition. He said that the Government was willing to ascertain the desirability of retention or abolition of book-makers in the best interest of the people. The motion was pressed to division and lost, voting being 30 for and 46 against. The Council was adjourned.

Discussion on Non-Official Resolutions.

On the 15TH FEBRUARY five non-official resolutions were disposed of, four of which were of purely provincial interest. The last resolution moved by Mr. M. M. Rafi recommended the appointment of a non-official committee to enquire and report on the drink and drug traffic in Burma in all its aspects including total prohibition. The resolution was lost by a majority of three votes.

On the 16TH FEBRUARY two non-official resolutions were carried without division in both cases the Government refraining from voting. The resolution moved by Mr. S. A. S. Tyabji recommended to the Government that the session of the Council at which the budget was presented and discussed should be restricted to business directly connected with the budget and business that was either formal or of real emergency and that to enable the Council to deal with other businesses two other sessions should be held in each year. The object of the mover was to have three sessions instead of two as at present. The reason urged by him was that the budget session was held at a time of the year which was the busiest season for members most of whom are interested in paddy trade. Consequently, it was difficult for them to remain throughout the session long as it was, for business other than budget was disposed of at the session. Another reason of his was that members had short time to study the budget. The Finance Member said the Government had always been anxious to meet the wishes of the Council in this matter, but it was difficult to please all. It was a matter for the Council to decide and he wished to hear the views of non-official members on the subject. The resolution had support from several members of the different parties, while only two non-official members opposed it.

The Finance Member then suggested that the best way to settle the matter was to have a small informal committee to suggest to the Governor what month would be suitable for Council meetings. The motion was carried.

Daily Allowance to Rangoon Members.

The other resolution moved by Mr. U. Po Thin representing Kather recommended that a daily allowance of Rs. 20 be also given to members of the Council residing in Rangoon as those who reside out of Rangoon. The motion was also carried. The Council then adjourned.

On the 17TH FEBRUARY which was the last non-official day in the present session of the Burma Legislative Council, Mr. U. Pu, Deputy Leader of the People's Party, moved a resolution requesting the local Government to withdraw its resolution appointing a Committee to consider the question of modifying the existing orders regarding the manner of detention of the persons arrested and confined by a headman with special reference to the use of stocks and make recommendations thereon. The resolution also recommended to the Governor-in-Council to abandon the idea of renewal of the use of stocks for the purpose of confinement of the arrested persons. The mover's object was to bring to the notice of the Government the undesirability of the use of stocks. He said it was illegal, barbarous and un-British. Of course, stocks were used by Burmese Kings, but they were not consistent with a progressive Government like the British Government. The late Sir Maung Kin

condemned the use of stocks. He had no objection to the Government suggesting some other means of detention. He characterised the Committee appointed as farcical, for the only opinion it would hold would be Governmental.

Mr. H. L. Nichols, Deputy Secretary, Home Department, said that the Government had not come to any decision on the matter of the use of stocks and had appointed a committee to obtain advice with a view to coming to a decision. The Government had no intention of using stocks as a means of punishment; but purely as a means of detention of violent drunkards and dangerous criminals. The Committee would carefully consider the views placed before it. It had nothing to do with the question of the legality of the use of stocks. It was a matter for the local Government to decide. The mover's arguments were purely sentimental.

After a long discussion in which several non-official members participated either in favour or against the motion, the Home Member said that on the representation of several headmen who had found great difficulty in checking violent criminals in detention he appointed a committee to enquire into the question of the use of stocks. He instanced cases to show how some criminals though handcuffed could cause injuries to others. He said the criticism levelled against the use of stocks were inopportune, for no decision had yet been arrived at. There was nothing to show that the use of stocks was illegal. The Stock Committee were composed of men with administrative experience. He pointed out that as Home Member he was responsible for law and order.

The resolution was lost by 28 against 41.

Burma Cotton Weaving Industry.

Mr. S. A. Tyabji moved that this Council views with great concern the rapid decline of the cotton weaving industry of Burma and urgently recommends to the Government to support the industry by making it incumbent on all departments of the Government to utilise cloth only such as may be manufactured in Burma (exceptions to be specially sanctioned by the Government). Mr. Tyabji said that as Industries was a transferred subject, the Ministry should spend more time and energy in their development. He quoted figures to prove that cotton industry was on the decline in Burma, but the Forest Minister and the Development Commissioner produced other sets of figures to dispute the mover's statement. Mr. Tyabji challenged the accuracy of these figures, stating they were not figures for cotton weaving industry alone.

The Finance Member, leader of the House, explained the policy of the Government in respect of the purchase of stores which was that they would give preference to locally manufactured goods, provided they were good in quality and prices were reasonable.

The resolution was lost without division. The Council then adjourned till next day which was the last day of the present session.

Transaction of Official Business.

On the 18TH FEBRUARY motions for additional and supplementary grants amounting to Rs. 6,23,300 required by the Finance Member, the Home Member and the Education Minister were carried. There were two official bills on the agenda, the Burma Oilfields Amendment Bill and the Burma Municipal Bill. The former was passed and the latter referred to a Select Committee.

The Oilfields Bill.

The object of the Oilfields Bill, the Finance Member said, was to facilitate the maintenance of law and order in oilfields during the strikes and other periods of emergency by conferring on the warden prohibitory powers regarding carrying of weapons and doing acts which constitute preparations for or incitements to the commission of a breach of the peace. Several non-official members, mostly from the People's Party opposed the Bill, particularly criticising the provision prohibiting public exhibition of persons or of corpses or figures or effigies and singing of songs or playing of music. The trend of the remarks was that this piece of legislation was a direct challenge to whatever liberty the labourers still enjoyed in the oilfields.

The Finance Member, replying, said that the provisions of the Bill were identical with certain provisions of the Rangoon Town Police Act. No voice was raised against such powers exercised by the Commissioner of Police in Rangoon. There was no general prohibition of carrying of corpses and of singing of songs. It has been distinctly stated in the Bill that prohibiting powers would be exercised by the warden only when necessity arose. The Bill was carried after division, the result of voting being 45 against 28.

The Burma Municipal Bill.

The Hon'ble Dr. Ba Yin next introduced the Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to Municipalities in Burma other than Rangoon. He said the Burma Municipal

Act of 1808 was in many respects unsuited to the existing administrative and political conditions. The object of the Bill was to bring the law into close harmony with them. On his motion, the Bill was referred to a Select Committee.

The Council was then prorogued.

The New Council.

On the 19TH FEBRUARY, Sir Robert Giles presiding, the election of the new President took place in the new Council which met on this day.

There were two nominations for the presidentships, Mr. Oscar De Glanville, Leader of the Independent Party and Lieut-Col. U. Ba Ket (Rangoon University). The President explained the procedure to be adopted and the Council proceeded with the election which resulted as follows:—Mr. Oscar De Glanville 57 votes. Lieut. Col. Ba Ket 38 votes.

Mr. De Glanville was elected President.

Governor's Appreciation of Sir R. Giles's Services.

His Excellency sent the following message of appreciation:—

"I take this opportunity of expressing my high appreciation of the services rendered by the Hon. Sir Robert Giles as President of the Council. He has long occupied a unique position in the public life of the province and I believe that I am expressing the general opinion when I say that he has presided over the Legislative Council with rare ability and impartiality and that he has zealously maintained the privileges of the Council. It is very great regret to me that Sir Robert Giles is soon to leave Burma."

The Finance Member, in reading out the above message, paid an eloquent tribute to Sir Robert Giles who looked much moved at these tokens of appreciation.

The Finance Member said: "I venture to think that in the message His Excellency has expressed the sentiments of all the members of the Council."

"When the presidential chair fell vacant on the death of your distinguished predecessor, Sir Frank McCarthy, you were clearly marked out for his successor. You have fully maintained the high standard which he set and have more than justified the hopes which were entertained on your appointment. You have presided over our meetings with dignity. You have guided our debates with firmness and fairness. You have shown indulgence where indulgence was appropriate and you have reproofed when reproof was due. Under your supervision the reforms and procedure of the Council had been established on sound lines and the introduction on your initiative of the Mace has added authority to its proceedings. We shall miss your familiar figure within these walls. We venture to express the hope that when you are asked how the infant Council comported itself under your guidance you will feel able to say that it made good progress and that in respect of decorum of its proceedings and behaviour of its members within this Chamber the Council has nothing to learn—at least nothing that is desirable for it to learn from other legislative bodies of which you have knowledge or even from the mother of parliaments herself."

Eulogistic tributes were then paid to the retiring President, Sir Giles, by different parties and other members. Mr. U. Pu, ex-Minister and leader of the People's Party said he was voicing the feelings of his party when he begged himself to be associated with the sentiments expressed by the Finance Member. He said that they found the President firm and fair and his judgment in deciding questions of procedure at the spur of the moment had given the Council entire satisfaction.

Mr De Glanville, President-elect, said it was with regret they would say goodbye to him. He need not enlarge on the sentiments already expressed, but he would like to say that the members of the House and people outside felt that in losing Sir Giles they were losing a man whose loss would be felt by the Rangoon University also, with which he has so long been associated. The country would also lose Lady Giles who had done a great amount of good to the country in connection with many charitable works. He extended good wishes on their departure and hoped they would not forget them.

Messrs. Campagnac, Rafi and Parekh having spoken, Sir Robert Giles thanked the members for the kindly sentiments expressed by representatives of various parties in the Council towards himself and his wife. He said:—My term of office as President had been a time of absorbing interest for it has given me opportunity of assisting in moulding the procedure of the Council during earlier years of its life. I thank you sincerely for your unfailing support and ask you to continue it with my successor whom you have just elected. I welcome the new stage of the Council's sitting that begins with the election of Mr. De Glanville as your President. I shall watch the future life of the Council from a distance with intense interest in the confident hope that whatever function and whatever

powers may from time to time be entrusted to the Council it will continue to exercise them with that orderliness and dignity which have hitherto prominently characterised it.

The members then shook hands with Sir R. Giles and the Council adjourned for a short while.

Congratulations to the New President.

When the Council resumed its sitting, Mr. Oscar De Glanville, the newly elected President took the chair.

The Finance Member read out His Excellency the Governor's message conveying his approval of Mr. De Glanville's election to the presidential chair.

The Finance Member said: "As the leader of the House, it is my privilege and pleasure to tender the sincere congratulations of the official members on the signal distinction which has been conferred on you. To-day is a landmark in the history of reforms in Burma, a landmark also in our successful career. The probationary stage of the Council is at an end. For the first time, it has exercised the right to select its own President and you have reason to be proud that its choice has fallen on you. It is a good omen for the continuance of Burma within the British Empire that the first elected President of her Legislative Council is an elected representative of the European constituency. It is a happy augury for Burma's early attainment of Home Rule within the Empire that the first elected President is a son of Ireland. But if you owe allegiance to Ireland as the country of your birth you owe high allegiance to Burma as the country of your career. We welcome you to your high office as a Burman in the fullest and truest sense of the word. You have identified yourself with the interests of your adopted country. You have taken an outstanding position in her affairs political and from the first you have been recognised as the leader of moderate views in this Council. No member of the community has done more than you to work the reforms in the spirit in which those who framed them intended that they should be worked. If Burma occupies a high place, perhaps the highest among the provinces of India which have made a successful start on the journey to Home Rule within the Empire, it is due in no small measure to your wise counsels, to your obvious sincerity and to your unwearied efforts to secure the working together of representatives of diverging interests.

"The European constituency was fortunate in its choice of a representative and although by your elevation to the presidential chair that constituency loses an active spokesman in the Council, it will have the proud satisfaction of knowing that constituency's loss is the Council's gain. Henceforth you belong to no party. You belong to the Council and we are confident that your tenure of high office will be marked by the same tact, same fair-mindedness and same courtesy as you have shown in your capacity as party leader; that you will protect the interests of minorities and that you will suffer no encroachment on or diminution of rights and privileges of the Council."

Concluding, on a personal note, the Finance Member said: "I am deeply grateful to you and I know that my humble colleagues in the Government share my gratitude for the devoted service which you have rendered on various committees of the Council since the inauguration of the reforms. Our best wishes go out to you for your success in your high office and I for one venture to express the hope that when the life of the present Council comes to an end its successors will follow the example of mother of Parliaments, of the Indian Legislative Assembly and of other Councils in India and re-elect you without opposition as its President."

Several speakers then followed in welcoming him and congratulating him on his election to the chair making eulogistic references to his ability and services.

Mr. U. Pu, leader of the People's Party, in welcoming him on behalf of his party said he agreed with the Finance Member with all he said except the constitutional point on which he disagreed. He hoped he would uphold the dignity and tradition of the House.

Mr. Champagnac congratulated the President remarking that he had risen high by his own personal merits and expressed the hope that he would hold the scales even and that the house by common consent would re-elect him in future.

Mr. Rafi, in congratulating him, said the honour was heightened by the fact that the President was placed on the chair by suffrages of the majority of the House. He remarked that the bar would be poorer by his election but it was a gain for the Councils and wished him every success. Mr. Narayana Rao also spoke congratulating the President.

Mr. De Glanville then thanked the members for the high honour conferred in electing him as the first President and for kind sentiments expressed by members. He assured the House that he would try to discharge his duties to the best of his abilities.

The Council was then prorogued.

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Proceedings of
Congress & Conference.
Jan.-June 1927.

The Kerala Provincial Conference

The Third Kerala Provincial Conference assembled at Calicut on the 16th April 1927 in the afternoon in a very spacious and elegantly decorated pandal erected for the occasion. There was a very large and representative gathering and great enthusiasm prevailed. The proceedings commenced with some national songs by a choir of girls.

Welcome Address.

The following are extracts from the Welcome Address of Mr. K. Madhavan Nair, Chairman of the Reception Committee. After welcoming the distinguished delegates and visitors Mr. Nair dwelt at length of the communal problem and said :—

“ If Kerala was the Province which gave the first impetus to the non-cooperation movement by dispelling, under the lead of Mr. Yakub Hussain, the fear of the terrors of jail from the minds of our workers, it was also the first to deal a deadly blow to it by renewing, as a result of the rebellion, in a new but bitter and dangerous form, the Hindu-Muslim feud which appeared to have been almost crushed out of existence by the Khilafat movement inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi. This fact is my excuse and justification for referring to a topic which of all the problems connected with our fight for Swaraj is the most vital and baffling and which, the collective restraint of all our leaders, more than their collective intelligence will alone ultimately solve. I do not ignore or minimise the gravity of the suspicious and distrustful attitude of the generality of the Hindus towards the Mahomedans and the desire for the spread of Islam and the establishment of a Mahomedan supremacy which the more ignorant and fanatic among the Mahomedans betray at times. These are facts which some of us have learned from our bitter experience of the Rebellion, but we can safely assert that this mentality, however deplorable it is, does not assume dangerous form except in a state of anarchy or under other exceptional circumstances.

“ In normal condition, the relationship between the masses of both the communities is peaceful and cordial and it is perhaps only once in a century that a general collision takes place between the two communities as a result of the dormant feelings of distrust born of religious hostility. The real danger which makes life intolerable and impedes the march to freedom does not proceed from the masses but from a section of the leaders of both the communities whose intelligence and imagination impart to the most trivial incidents and differences an importance and magnitude which such incidents or differences neither possess nor deserve. In no part of India, ever since the dawn of British Rule in the country have the Hindus and Mahomedans come into such horrid conflict and on such large scale as they did during the period of the Malabar Rebellion and yet none who knows Malabar after 1922 could believe that the two communities, whose mutual relationship at present discloses nothing but absolute peace and cordiality

behaved more like brutes than men, against each other within such a short distance of time. The communal feud ended as suddenly as it began, because it was not abetted and blessed by cultured leaders or perpetuated by them through controversies on the platform and the press. The two organisations, one Hindu and the other Mahomedan, whose workers belonged to the Punjab, the nursery ground of communal feud in India (for whose relief work, Malabar will ever feel grateful) carried the seeds of bitterness and dissensions from Malabar into the congenial soil of Northern India where it was taken up by communal leaders and made to grow into such proportions that we in Malabar, who have long ago forgotten our feud, are amazed to see the wild and luxuriant growths of communal animosity that have sprung out of them. In Malabar such quarrels began to rear their heads, after the Rebellion ended, between people living outside the rebel area, but they were nipped in the bud by an amount of restraint, patience and tolerance, which have brought home to us the truth that hatred is never conquered by hatred but only by love and forgiveness. How much one kind word, one expression of sympathy, one act of liberality, touches and softens the mentality of the opposite side is illustrated by the happenings during the Assembly Sessions at Delhi this year and if only that section of the leaders who believe and perhaps believe bona-fide that their duty to their community is greater than their duty to the country follow up the example of Lala Lajpatrai and Mohd. Yakub as manifested in their speeches in the Assembly, I am sure we shall enjoy life more peacefully and reach our goal of Swaraj more speedily than we ever dreamed of. The agreement to a joint electorate is the first step in the right direction towards the consummation of our fond hopes of political unity, and I implore both the Hindus and the Mahomedans of our Province not to say or do anything, however unwillingly, which may be calculated to frustrate the noble attempts at rapprochement made by our leaders at Delhi.

No Programme of Work before the Country.

"With regard to the other questions of All-India importance, I shall leave them alone as I do not think they fall legitimately within the province of a speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee. I may be permitted simply to say that the lull and inaction in political activities is not confined to Kerala alone but is an unfortunate feature of the other Provinces as well, though perhaps it is not so striking there as in Kerala. There is no programme of work before the country new into which people of a political turn of mind can plunge with enthusiasm because the constructive programme of Mahatmaji appeals only to those who have absolute faith in the doctrine that khaddar will bring Swaraj and the Council programme is at best only of negative value and gives work only to those that enter them. It is a matter for consolation that a unanimity is being reached among all sections of political opinion, that khaddar is an indispensable adjunct of nationalistic activities, but this does not signify that people are prepared to accept khaddar as the only outlet for the political fire and spirit that burn within them. The no-changer may quarrel with the mentality which refuses to appreciate and follow the teachings of Mahatmaji but the fact is there and no exhibition of spleen will or can undo it. People differing from the no-changers' view hoped to find some satisfaction in their work in the Council but any one who has been there will testify to the fact that of all the devices that a foreign

nation's ingenuity has discovered to divert the energies of a recalcitrant subject race through the futilest of channels this is the most wonderful and efficacious. Of course, by your entry there you exclude those whom you consider enemies of progress. But at the same time you not only achieve nothing there but run the risk of falling that pervades the atmosphere making you forget at times even the elementary idea why you are there for. Of course, in the absence of any better plan, we have to abide by and follow the Congress policy of Council-entry and try to make the very best of a very bad bargain.

The Tenancy Question.

"If of all the Indian problems, the Hindu-Muslim relationship is the most vital, the one problem that exercises the mind of the people of Malabar most relates to the question of the relationship between the landlord and the tenant. In Cochin and Travancore where the rulers and the ruled have greater affinity with each other than in British Malabar, this question has been to some extent satisfactorily settled. For 50 years now, the Government has been 'considering' the question, issuing Commissions, collecting evidence, receiving reports, preparing bills and throwing them all into the waste paper basket and still we are told that the Government wants another Committee, to consider the question again.

"I am not one who advocates radical or revolutionary change in land reform and I don't think the generality of the tenant population in Malabar do want such changes. Occupancy right to the cultivating tenants and protection from arbitrary eviction and Melcharth as regards other classes of tenants is the demand made by the moderate section of it. A legislation that regulates the relationship between the jenmis and tenants will be a boon to a very large section of the Jenmies as well. In many parts of Malabar, the impecunious Jenmi is at the mercy of the recalcitrant tenant against such of whom as have effected improvements of large value, he is quite powerless to enforce his legitimate claim for renewal fees without costly and protracted eviction suits. A legislation which secures a summary method of realising rent and renewal fees to the Jenmi and protection from arbitrary eviction and Melcharth to the tenant and regulates the rate of such rent and renewal fee will be productive of happiness to the Jenmi and the tenant and permanent good to the land.

"Before I conclude, I must refer to one matter which compels the people of Kerala hide their head in shame on account of the inhuman and disgraceful treatment they accord to their brethren known as "Theendal" castes. The sanctity of the higher castes including Nair is measured in this land of Kerala by the distances which their unfortunate brethren have to keep from them and which in different cases vary from 15 ft. to 500 ft. This is a land where not only touch and proximity pollutes but even sight.

"Another question which is peculiar to Kerala and which deserves our earnest and urgent attention is the reform of the Marumakkathayam system of law that prevails here. The Nairs, Thiyyas, Moplabs and other communities that follow the Law labour under various disabilities and are bound down by customs quite out of joint with modern ideas and conditions. A change has become highly necessary and it is for the Conference to give a lead to the country in this matter. The problem has been solved in the neighbouring States of Cochin and Travancore and an accidental and

unfortunate division of Kerala into three different political units has been in this case too responsible for the continuance of such evils in Malabar. Though the question will have to be solved by us separately, there are various other matters which only a consolidation of Kerala into the political unit can solve and though it is not possible to prophesy what is in the womb of future for Kerala, attempts must be made early enough, whenever practicable, to unite in all possible ways and for all common purposes. It is some consolation to the Congressmen of Kerala that they have striven in however humble a way to fight against the abominable evil and well may they congratulate themselves for the successful termination of the Vykom Satyagraha. Time has wrought remarkable changes in the mentality of the orthodox section but the evil is there and we require many more stalwarts to fight against the demon and root out the evil from our province. Let us hope that a time will soon come when as a result of earnest endeavours and spread of liberal ideas, we shall be able to hold our head aloft and proclaim to the world that in this beautiful country of ours, it is not only nature that is kind and charitable but also man".

The Presidential Address.

The Presidential Address of Mr. B. G. HORNIMAN was delivered extempore. After thanking Mr. Madhavan Nair and the delegates of the Kerala Conference for the honour they had conferred upon him by electing him as President of that Conference Mr. Horniman said:—

"I just want to refer briefly here in this connection to another matter which is closely related to it and that is the outrageous plan of colonising the Andamans with Moplahs and the questionable method (to use a mild expression) which have been used to force such an unpopular and repellant proposal on an unwilling people. I desire to say nothing as to the motives of those, who are responsible for this but I earnestly hope that not only the members of the Moplah community but the members of all communities in Malabar will do all they can to resist this monstrous proposal from being carried further into effect."

Referring to the Malabar Tenancy Bill, Mr. Horniman said that there could not be a more scandalous instance of the unrepresentative character of the Government in this country, its lack of sympathy with popular grievances and demands and its indifference to the economic needs of the people. "Here we have a system of land tenure and tenancy which is prima facie wrong in principle, differs from that prevailing in other parts of the country, notoriously causing great hardship to those real producers of the nation's wealth, the tillers of the soil, by placing them at the mercy of hereditary owners who like the lillies of the field toil not neither do they spin. Moreover, this system has been condemned again and again by committees of enquiry appointed by Government itself." He then traced the history of the various enquiries conducted by officers and committees appointed by the Government since 1881 which had all reported recommending occupancy right to the cultivating tenants and said, "Thus we come to the year 1925 when a measure dealing with the question in a very moderate way was introduced in the Legislative Council by a non-official member and went through all its stages and was finally passed. Lord Goschen saw fit to veto the measure on the advice I suppose of the Law Member, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. How the Governor of Madras can reconcile this with his

conscience and the responsibility he bears to the people over whom he has been appointed to govern passes my comprehension. What ever else may be said about the Reforms Scheme it is not mitigated as we see day after day by such instances of the irresponsibility of Governors and bureaucrats who are still teaching the people the value of responsible Government and the urgent need of it not by giving by instalments but by the example of irresponsible Government which they themselves are continually practising."

The next Congress.

"I think Madras is to be congratulated on having the honour of being the venue of the next Congress. A Madras man is the President of the Congress and we are looking to him to give the country a strong lead, a programme of uncompromising resistance to foreign rule in whatever form it is offered that will be consolidated and unanimously sponsored by the representative of the nation when the Congress assembles in the city of Madras next December. The national movement has receded lamentably during the last two years and there is much ground to be recovered. Indeed a fresh start must be made. There is only one way to succeed in politics especially in a great struggle for national freedom. Once you have adopted a policy and programme, stick to it, stand by it in fair weather and in foul. If we allow ourselves to be turned aside into other paths by every obstacle we meet or by the specious invitations of our opponents to consider the attractiveness of some weakening compromise, we can never expect to attain success. It seems to me that no sooner do we get started along a straight path than all sorts of so-called leaders to whom we have trusted begin to fall out on the way, discovering various kinds of reasons why they do so and why they should give up the programme that has been laid down. The result of the abandonment, or to be strictly accurate, the suspension of the non-co-operation programme, was the demoralisation of its followers. But I want to say this for myself because I have been accused of having personal antipathies. I want to say that I have no personal feeling in regard to any of the leaders of the Indian national movement to-day; but I do feel strongly when I see men who have been trusted by the rank and file with the mandate of the Congress which carried the considered decision of the national voice of India when I see them instead of performing that duty turning aside into other paths doing something against the policy and programme which has been authorised by the National Congress.

Dangers of Council-Entry Programme.

Adverting to the dangers of the Council-entry programme, the President said "We see now that those dangers are very real dangers indeed and have actually produced the result that we feared they would produce. We find the Swarajist party in the Indian Legislative Assembly, instead of carrying on a strict policy of uncompromising non-co-operation and obstruction, carrying on a policy of following a mode of conduct which to my mind friends, is nothing less than actual co-operation with the system of Government which they wanted to abolish. It is the most deplorable thing that while the mandate of the Indian National Congress very clearly laid upon the Swarajist party, that is to say, the Congress party in the Indian Legislative Assembly the duty of obstruction and especially the duty of throwing out the finance bill, we find the Congress party in the Legislative Assembly actually, or at any rate the leaders of the Congress party

in the Assembly, giving orders to their followers that the reading of the Finance Bill is to be allowed to be passed without a division. I say it reflects very great credit on those younger members of the Congress party in the Assembly who were more loyal to the Congress mandate, refused to accept that order to disobey the Congress mandate, and insisted upon the division against the third reading of the Finance Bill being taken. I want to say here from this platform that what has happened recently in the Assembly and in some of the Councils is a greatest betrayal of the Congress mandate.

"In the Madras Legislative Council where the hopes of the country had been so highly raised by their wonderful success at the elections we find there again the mandate of the Congress being defied and betrayed by actions which, whether directly or indirectly, at any rate, result in the support of the Ministry, a thing which they were definitely instructed by the Congress that they must not do. I have been reading in some papers this morning reasons put forward for us on behalf of the Congress Party in the Madras Legislative Council for the action that they pursued and I am told that they were faced with the prospect of either the Justice Party being put into office or of a dissolution and they thought that it was not to run the risk of either. My friends, it does not matter what they were faced with, it does not matter what danger they thought was before them, what would be the results of the consequences of their action.

"If they have had any misgivings at all about it, there is the way open to them and to all of us when we cannot carry out a mandate and that is to resign their seats and to say that they are unable to carry out the mandate that has been confided to them."

"Now I want to draw your attention to this. We have arrived at a stage when it seems to me that we are going to be faced with the question of whether we are going to continue to stand for the principle and practice of non-co-operation or whether we are going to admit failure and abandon the policy and programme that we pursued during the last seven or eight years, and agree to a policy of co-operation. Because there is no alternative between the two, there can be no compromise between co-operation and non-co-operation, no matter what adjectives you may use because they are two absolutely contradictory and different principles. Now why did the country adopt a policy of non-co-operation, why after striving for years and years in the path of co-operation with the foreign rulers did the whole country as by the stroke of a magic wand suddenly come to the conclusion, and the right conclusion, that so long as they co-operated and compromised their political serfdom, so long as they acquiesced in political slavery, so long could there be no hope that the country would ever be free."

"If India wants to be free, no matter whether in the immediate future or no matter how long it may take to achieve freedom, if India wants to be free—a free and self-respecting nation among the peoples of the world—that can only be by the steadfast pursuit of the uncompromising determination not to co-operate with the foreign Government in the imposition of foreign rule on the country."

"I ask you whether there is to be seen any encouragement in the attitude of the British Government at this moment to justify us in departing in any way in the smallest degree from the rigid programme of non-co-operation that we had hitherto pursued. Is Lord Birkenhead offering any

sort of generous gesture that would encourage us to believe that he means seriously to give the country anything that is worth having if he gets the co-operation for which he is always asking? He quotes Lord Chelmsford as saying that autocracy in India is dead. But it is dead neither in India nor in Whitehall. This twentieth century ex-Lord Chancellor will continue to inflict on India the wicked methods of the Chamber rule of the 17th century in England, methods which led to the dethronement and execution of a king when they were practised on Englishmen in those days. He refuses to release the Bengal detenus. Indian troops are sent to China without reference to the opinion of the Indian legislature which is refused permission even to discuss the question. Is autocracy dead? India's elected representatives by an overwhelming majority rejected the one shilling six pence ratio but it is forced on the country by the official block voting to the order of the Government. Is autocracy dead? India's elected representatives reject the army vote as a protest against the monstrous burden of military expenditure for imperial purposes. It is restored by the certificate of the Governor-General. Again, we ask, is autocracy dead? India's elected representatives reduced the salt tax, the most hated burden of the Indian people. It is restored by a second chamber which cannot claim to be in any way representative and the Viceroy was ready with pen in hand to restore it again if the Assembly again rejected it, as he had the power to do so. Again, I ask, is autocracy dead? Such instances could be multiplied indefinitely. The talk of autocracy being dead is a cruel mockery and cruel jibe at the helplessness of the Indian people. Lord Birkenhead knows that autocracy is not dead. The central feature of the Montagu reform scheme was to ensure its survival. I ask you, are we going to give up the policy of non-co-operation? I have no doubt that so far as this conference is concerned the answer which Lord Birkenhead will get will be uncompromising adherence to the policy of refusing to co-operate with him and his Government until they come to their senses.

"Overhaul Congress Machinery."

"Now there are two things that I want to put before you for your consideration to-day. One is a consideration in view of the matters that I have discussed, the consideration of the programme and policy which the country is to pursue in the near future. The other matter which I want to put before you is the urgent need for making the machinery of the Congress constitution a really democratic and national machinery instead of the unsatisfactory machinery that it is at the present moment."

After describing certain alleged irregularities in the procedure of the last Congress at Gauhati Mr. Horniman pleaded for a thorough overhauling of the machinery of the Congress for the purpose of ensuring the election of all its bodies to Provincial Congress Committees to the All-India Congress Committee and the Working Committee of people who really represent the voice of the nation, the rank and file of the Congress. He said: "It would take a very long time, ladies and gentlemen, to go into the whole of that matter in detail at present. All I am going to suggest to you this afternoon is that you should give your support to the proposal for an enquiry in order thoroughly to overhaul the elective machinery and constitution of the Congress in order that it may be made a genuinely democratic body."

The Conference then adjourned (to meet again on the next day the

17th April when the resolutions as drafted by the Subjects Committee on the previous night was discussed and passed. The following are the text:—

Resolutions.

(1) This Conference fervently prays to God that Mahatma Gandhi may soon be restored to health and be enabled to continue his work.

(2) This Conference while appreciating the enthusiasm evinced by all classes of people in subscribing towards the Khaddar Fund appeals to them all to help the national movement further by taking to spinning and habitual wearing of Khaddar.

(3) This Conference places on record its sense of profound loss the country has sustained in the death of Swami Shradhananda and calls upon the people to carry on the great national work he was doing as the fittest tribute to his services and sacrifices for the country.

(4) This Conference congratulates the Maharani-Regent of Travancore on her liberal and courageous action in stopping the barbarous practice of sacrifice of animals and singing of obscene song carried on in the name of religion and urges upon the Maharaja of Cochin and the owners and trustees of temples and the public generally to follow the lead of the Maharani-Regent.

(5) This Conference condemns the action of the Government in persisting in the Andamans scheme in callous disregard of the dictates of humanity and justice and in utter defiance of public opinion and calls upon the people to continue the agitation against the said scheme till the Government finds itself compelled to give up the same.

(6) This Conference heartily sympathises with the people of China in their struggle for freedom and places on record the sense of humiliation and resentment of the people of this country at the action of the British Government in compelling India to be a party to their unworthy imperial adventure in China.

(7) This Conference requests the A. I. S. A. to do its best to improve hand-spinning and khadi-wearing in Taliparamba, N. Malabar, which is a cotton-growing locality and also the M.L.C.'s of Cochin to move the State to do the needful in the matter of hand-spinning in the cotton-growing localities of the Chittur taluk where the art of spinning has gone out of fashion only a decade or two ago.

(8) This Conference is of opinion that strenuous attempts should be made to organise peasant labourers and depressed classes all over the province and to bring about their social and economic prosperity.

(9) Untouchability and unapproachability.

"This Conference earnestly appeals to the people of Kerala entirely to do away with the custom of unapproachability and untouchability and appeals to all Hindus not to exclude any Hindu from any temple, tank, well or road on account of his caste or class."

(10) Mr. M. P. Narayana Menon's Case.

"This Conference solemnly declares its emphatic faith in the absolute innocence of Sriman M. P. Narayana Menon and records its deliberate opinion that in continuing to keep him in jail, the Government is guilty of an act of gross injustice. This Conference is further of opinion that the terms recently offered to him by the Government are an insult to the public and merely a ruse to avoid satisfying their demand for his release."

(11) Amnesty to Rebellion Prisoners.

"This Conference considers it essential in the interests of justice as well as economy that general amnesty of rebellion prisoners should be declared or at least of those who have not been found guilty of acts of violence."

(12) Non-Co-Operation against Oppressive Jenmis.

"This Conference is of opinion that legislation giving fixity of tenure to the tenants of Malabar is essential in the interests of the economic, social and political advancement of the district and condemns strongly the action of the Governor of Madras in vetoing the Malabar Tenancy Bill. This Conference is further of opinion that the Committee of Enquiry contemplated by the Government is superfluous and a device to delay legislation or if possible to shelve it altogether and urges upon the Provincial Congress Committee to organise a campaign of non-violent non-co-operation against oppressive Jenmis until a properly framed bill removing the grievances of the tenants has been passed into law."

(13) Congress Party in the Madras Council.

"This Conference strongly condemns the action of the majority of the Congress

party in the Madras Council in refusing to vote down the salaries of the Minister as a betrayal of the mandate of the Congress and urges upon the A. I. C. C. to take steps to prevent a repetition of such action."

(14) Congress and Native States.

"This Conference recommends to the All-India Congress that the Indian National Congress do henceforth actively participate in the internal affairs of Native States and that the Congress constitution be altered if necessary to this end."

(15) Commercial Distress and Jealousies.

"This Conference calls upon the Hindus and Mussalmans alike to make a determined effort to put an end to communal distress and jealousies by adopting the suggestions to give up communal electorates."

(16) Congress to Capture Local bodies.

"In as much as the work of the Municipalities and local boards throughout Kerala is unsatisfactorily carried out, this Conference resolves that all municipalities and local boards be captured by the Congress and that Congressmen be put up for election to these wherever possible."

(17) Future Policy of the Congress.

(a) "This Conference reaffirms the principle of non-co-operation as the basis of the policy of the Indian National Congress and urges that there should be no departure from the strict principle of non-co-operation in any way whatsoever.

(b) "This conference regrets that the Congress representatives in the Indian Legislative Assembly and some of the Councils have betrayed the mandate of the Congress and calls upon the A. I. C. C. to demand from such representatives an explanation of the Congress and to take steps to ensure that, in future, the mandate of the Congress should be carried out both in the Assembly and in the Councils.

(c) "This Conference is of opinion that the time has come for the reinstitution of an active programme of non-co-operation in the country and urges the appointment of a Committee of the A. I. C. C. to consider and report within three months such a programme of non-co-operation as will lead the country by stages to the culminating stage of mass civil disobedience.

(d) "This Conference is of opinion that recent events have shown the constitution and the machinery of the Indian National Congress to be defective and in some respects undemocratic, especially in regard to the machinery for carrying out the elections of various committees and urges that in all such elections the principle of secret ballot should prevail and that a regular and unanimous procedure in this principle be instituted for all such elections and it calls upon the Working Committee of the A. I. C. C. to take necessary steps to place an amendment and expansion of the present constitution and rules before the next session of the Congress for these purposes.

(e) "This Conference is strongly of opinion that the better organisation of the peasant and workers is essential for their due representation in the Congress and to enable them to play their part fully in the national movement for the attainment of Swaraj as well as the amelioration of their own conditions. For the protection of their rights and the assurance to them of their rightful share in the wealth of the country of which they are the producers, this Conference calls upon the Working Committee of the A. I. C. C. immediately to take the necessary steps by appointing workers and peasant organisation Committees to carry on without delay the work of such organisation."

(18) "Complete Independence for India."

"In the opinion of this Conference, the time has come to define the creed of the Congress as complete independence, and this Conference recommends to the Indian National Congress that necessary alterations to this effect be made in the Congress creed."

President Thanked.

Mr. U. Gopala Menon then in a short speech expressed their deep debt of gratitude to the President for coming down from the distant Bombay and presiding over the Conference. He wished a day would come when they would have more men like their worthy president to work for their political salvation.

After a short thanks-giving speech by the President the Conference terminated.

The Bengal Provincial Conference.

The little village Maju about 20 miles from Howrah was astir on Saturday the 16th April 1927 when the Bengal Provincial Conference commenced its sitting at Deshabandhu Palli. The proceedings commenced with the singing of the national song 'Bande Mataram', the whole house standing.

Dr. Nandi's Welcome Address.

This over, Dr. P. Nandi, Chairman of the Reception Committee read his welcome address.

In welcoming the delegates, Dr. Nandi said that what they wanted more than anything else at the present moment was to restore India to the position she had lost. In order to secure independence for her it was essential that nationalism should be remodelled. Every Indian should think that, although their manners and customs might be different, they all belonged to one and the same great nation. The greater the number of communities the less was the chance of salvation. An insult to one ought to be regarded as an insult in all the others; and nationalism would only be built up when every Indian would respond equally to all endeavours for the welfare of the nation. The present Conference was an instance in point. There might, however, be those who did not sympathise with such movement; and it was only when they would be able to apply themselves heart and soul to endeavour of this kind that nationalism and independence would be regarded as having been established. The goal would be reached only when the country would learn to value public opinion, at least the opinion of the majority. This, in fact, was the foundation stone on which the edifice of nationality could be built.

Dr. Nandi dwelt at length on the two most important political questions of the day, namely, the split in the Congress camp and the existing Hindu-Moslem relations, and emphasised the need of physical culture and female education. He regretted the action of some of his countrymen, who were well-known for their patriotism, in standing aloof from the affairs of the nation and concluded that the time had come when they should come forward and guide their misguided brethren in the work of national reconstruction.

President's Speech.

The President then rose amid prolonged cheers and shouts of "Bande Mataram" and delivered his Presidential address.

"Unite, carry the message of charka to every cottage, take to the boycott movement. This will be the right challenge to the bureaucracy who are keeping our youngmen in prison without trial," said Sj. Jogindra Chander CHAKRAVERTY in course of his lengthy presidential address. Deploring the schism in the Congress camp in Bengal and the communal quarrel he appealed to the good sense and patriotism of all to sink their differences

and to give a united fight to the bureaucracy who might be rejoicing at their discomfiture to gain their own ends. By their quarrel they are losing their hold on the people and the congress its prestige. He expressed the hope that members of both parties would attend the Maju conference and as a result of their joint deliberation would evolve a new congress organisation to take to the work of the nation with renewed vigour and enthusiasm.

"About ten days ago" said Sj. Chakraverty, "a request was made to me to accept the presidentship. I was at first unwilling to undertake the task in view of the prevailing atmosphere but I felt that every humble worker in the cause of the country ought to make his utmost endeavour to see that due to differences the work of the conference might not be frustrated. With this end in view I undertook the responsibility which Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta has not ventured to accept. I feel it has been an act of great hazard for me but it would have been unjust to see the efforts of the Reception Committee go for nothing. I have full confidence that with the blessing of the Almighty and help and co-operation of friends I shall be able to discharge my duty under a most difficult situation with satisfaction to all.

Bengal's Woes.

Referring to the woes and worries that are afflicting Bengal and the problems that confronted her at the present moment the President said:— "The communal question which has assumed such serious proportions and which is oppressing men and women of Bengal attracts our foremost attention. The ugly and unseemly scenes that were enacted on the streets of Calcutta about this time last year had their repercussion in the mofussil, have converted the whole Bengal into a veritable pandemonium. Hindus and Moslems had lived together for the last 800 years in villages in bonds of fellow-feeling and brotherhood with no question of music to disturb the serene tranquility of the villages and to-day mutual hatred, intolerance and suspicion is driving the nation headlong into ruin. From the excesses committed it appears that the dream of the Hindu-Moslem unity has vanished like a phantom. Is there no hope of reunion between these two communities? I beg of you, brother Hindu and brother Moslem, do not shatter our dream of establishing Swaraj in the land through the united efforts of Hindus and Moslems. Hindus and Moslems might be obsessed with a nightmare for the time being, but I have full faith that they will come to realise their follies very soon and the fact that for their self-preservation they will have to make up their differences themselves.

Moslems and Congress.

"I have to note with great regret that the Moslems as a part and parcel of the Indian nation have practically cut off their connection with the Indian National Congress. The organisation which has been reared up as a result of 40 years' sincere efforts of the best minds and brains of the country can alone direct us the way towards freedom. When a nation steeped in woes of age-long slavery feels the stirring of a new life of freedom within itself it cannot be expected that everyone will take the same route in the march towards freedom. But if the Moslems think that they are to strive for their own freedom independently of Hindus and the Hindus think likewise, this mentality should be knocked on the head as soon as possible. Seven years ago, at the call of Mahatma Gandhi, Hindus and Moslems vied with each other

in furthering the work of the Congress but things have changed since then. It is natural that our trustees—the bureaucracy who are keeping us under subjugation at great pains—cannot look upon the Hindu-Moslem Unity with favour. These differences are strengthening our trustees and giving them delight. I beseech you, brother Hindu and other Moslem, forsake this suicidal policy, come under the banner of the nation hand in hand and take up the proposals made by the All-India Congress Committee and the atmosphere of suspicion and distrust will vanish in no time”.

Wrongful Detention of Patriotic Youths.

The President then strongly criticised the Government policy regarding detention of youths of Bengal without trial. Such detention, he said, was possible only because we were weak. The statement Lord Birkenhead made in Parliament the other day was an insult to India and it was possible only in a country like India. The Secretary of State for India in defending the policy of indefinite detention in jail declared that these youngmen would be confined in jail so long as the present political atmosphere of Bengal had not changed and even the semblance of revolutionary movement was not remembered. But what hope was there when it depended on the report of the C. I. D. police who would never say that danger was over. The secret of it all is that unless these flowers of the nation was shut out from public activities there was no chance of throttling the Swaraj movement which the bureaucracy was always seeking to do by” all means. With brute force at their back the bureaucracy can pass any legislation they chose to curtail the birthright of the people. The Indians they say can bark but cannot bite. Had Indians been strong all these would have been a thing of the past.

Stand against Exploitation.

“We have accepted Mahatma Gandhi as our political Guru but we have failed to take up in right earnest the means suggested by him for the attainment of our goal—means which he has suggested as a result of long service in the cause of the country: Foreign domination is based on exploitation, pure and simple. It is possible to stand against this policy. Remedy lies in the spread of Charka and Khaddar but unfortunately we have not as yet been able to fully appreciate this invaluable message of Mahatmaji. Had we been able to work out this message even partially British merchants would have realised that Bengalis have strength”.

In the memorable words of Deshbandhu Das the President said: “The great answer which I want to give to the bureaucracy to-day is boycott of foreign cloth. This is the answer which I want to give to the bureaucracy. It not only demolishes their claims but at the same time builds your national life in a manner which nothing else can do. Those who do not spin must look to the organisation of spinning. Those who do not weave must look to the organisation of weaving. And if we all work hard and do our little, the least that anybody can do, I feel sure that within a short time you will encompass the boycott of foreign cloth. And that day is the beginning of our freedom. That day will be the foundation of our salvation. That is the gospel which I always preach.”

Utility of Charka.

“As long as the Bengalees will live they will carry this message. Where is that organisation which Deshbandhu urged so repeatedly? Have the Con-

gress committees in Bengal made any sincere effort towards the spread of Khaddar? Have they been able to do even one hundredth part of what the Khadi Pratisthan and Abhoy Asram have done? Let us then rectify our mistake. Let us take to the boycott movement in right earnest and carry the message of the Charka into the cottages of the poor. I feel the problems of Hindu-Moslem unity, reconciliation among Congress workers, of untouchability and other items of the Congress programme can be profitably solved by the introduction of Charka and Khaddar". The President then made several suggestions in which village reconstruction work can be conducted and health, prosperity and bounty can once more be brought back to the ruined villages of Bengal.

Peasants and Labourers.

"We have to explore wherein lies the woes and agonies of the peasant and the labourer. Congress will become powerful only when the peasant and the coolie will themselves be able to carry the flag of the Congress. The story of the woes of the Hindus and the Musalmans is the same and village work must form the meeting ground of the Hindus and Moslems. Many think that the establishment of Hindu Sabhas and Tanzim Committees in the land will cause harm to the country as being communal institutions. Communal interest has no quarrel with the larger interest in the country. We have been unable to make up our differences because we were not able to lead our respective communities on proper channels".

The Council Programme.

Referring to the Council programme the President said that he did not think that the Council was the only programme of the Congress. The President continued: "When we find that Government ride roughshod over the feelings of the Council members by disregarding their opinions, that members are allowed only to express their opinion on the budget without having any power to fix the amount for any item and that resolutions supposed to be in the interest of the country which are accepted by the Council after discussion are not binding on the Government, we cannot but conclude that it is useless to remain in the Councils. But there is another aspect of the question which can not be ignored. The Government want that any act before it is passed into law must be accepted by the Council where some members represent Government whose duty it is always to vote for Government. Legislation accepted by the Councils can be paraded before the world by Government as having been accepted by the representatives of the people. We should not allow Government to do this. It is to foil this trick on the part of the Government that Congress wanted to capture the Councils. In the words of Dashbandhu, the President said, "I have said over and over again that the Council does not give you Swaraj but the Council is at the same time an institution which works against you. You must remove that obstruction in order to get Swaraj from it. But you must get Swaraj by your own activity." The Council is not the only programme of the Congress. Nor do we hope to do any substantial good to the country by leaving the Councils. During the first three years of the Reforms when the Councils were boycotted by the Congress, men could be found to enter them with the result that Council proceedings went on unhampered. Our leaving the Councils can be supported only when men are not forthcoming to contest the election".

Concluding, the President made a fervent appeal for unity and in the name of S. Subhash Chandra Bose and other unfortunate youngmen of Bengal who were rotting in jail he implored the leaders of all parties and communities to unite on a common platform of service to the nation forgetting all petty differences and take up the true work of the country in right earnest.

Resolutions.

The following are the full texts of the resolutions passed at the Bengal Provincial Conference held at Maju on April 16 and 17:—

(1) This Conference places on record its sense of the irreparable loss the nation has sustained by the tragic death of the brave and noted patriot Swami Shradhdhananda, who dedicated his life to the service of his country and espoused with fearless devotion the cause of the lowly, the fallen and the weak.

(2) This Conference records its sense of deep sorrow at the untimely death of Krishnajibhan Sanyal and sympathises with the bereaved family.

(3) That as a measure of effective protest against the continued detention without charge and trial of a large number of our countrymen (under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act and Regulation III of 1818) this Conference urges the adoption and "vigorous pursuit of a programme of intensive boycott of all British cloth and also of all such British goods the like of which are produced in India or obtainable in any other country other than Britain.

(4) This Conference regards handspinning and handweaving as an essential programme for constructive work and requests all Congressmen and public to spin and wear Khadi. It further recommends the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to form a Khadi Board for helping the provincial work and carry out the Gauhati resolution.

(5) (a) This Conference, while deploring the virulence of communal outbreak in various parts of Bengal makes a solemn and earnest appeal to all Congress members and Congress workers to hold before their vision the ideal of Hindu-Muslim unity, to work incessantly and strenuously for the promotion of better understanding between the two great communities as far as possible, to keep aloof from all sectional and communal movements which tend to keep alive the present tension and always and everywhere to act as messengers of peace, good-will and a spirit of humble compromise.

(b) This Conference deplores the serious loss of life that took place at the village Kulkati on the 22nd of March last as the result of an order to open fire upon Mahomedan crowd given by Mr. Blandy, the District Magistrate of Barisal and while reserving final judgment upon the necessity or otherwise for giving such order, this Conference emphatically urges that a full, open and impartial enquiry should be held into the matter, and this Conference would request the B. P. C. C. to appoint a non-official commission for that purpose.

(6) This Conference urges on the B. P. C. C. the appointment of conciliatory Board of equal number of members from both the communities

of Hindus and Moslems to settle communal quarrels and look to the re-establishment of friendly relationship between the two communities. The Board will tour in the localities where trouble is apprehended and establish a conciliation board there.

(7) This conference strongly condemns the culpable delayed negligence of the Government in the matter of re-introducing their Bengal Tenancy Amendment Bill and urges that a Bill should be introduced at the next Session of the Bengal Legislative Council when among other things will make provision for the following :—

(a) Transferability of occupancy holdings upon payment of a minimum amount of selami by way of Landlords' fee.

(b) Recognition of the tenants' right to cut trees, big tanks and erect pucca structures upon the Zeminder's land.

(c) Maintenance of the status quo as regards bargadars bhag tenants and Korfa of under ryots.

(8) This conference declares that the country will not consider any scheme of taxation for education until and unless the proceeds of such taxation and the policy of Primary Education is completely vested in the popular control.

(9) The conference requests the B. P. C. C. to arrange publication for the information of the public of reports at least every three months regarding the grievances, health and whereabouts of the political prisoners in Bengal.

(10) (a) The conference urges appointment of an enquiry committee and organisation of relief for help of those needy families who had suffered or are suffering in the hands of the Government in their struggle for the country's freedom and (b) urges starting of relief fund for help of such sufferers.

(11) In view of the fact that an honourable settlement between the two disputing Congress parties cannot further be delayed without serious harm to the cause of the country, this conference resolves that the leaders of both parties in consultation amongst themselves should fix a date within the 30th of April to meet once again to discuss and settle the lines of an effective compromise between them and requests Sj. Jogendra Chandra Chakravarty, the President of the Provincial Conference at Maju, to take all necessary steps in the behalf.

(12) This conference urges upon the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee immediately to appoint a strong and representative committee in order to enquire into the origin, administration and the present position of the Village Reconstruction Fund which was Deshbandhu's last and most striking legacy to his countrymen.

(13) This conference while it dissociates itself from and disapproves of the military policy of British Government to send troops from India to fight against the Chinese people, congratulates the young China and the Chinese nation on the recent success and assures them of the sympathy and good-will of the Indian people in their hour of peril.

The All-India Hindu Mahasabha.

The tenth session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha opened at Patna on the 16th April 1927 and continued for the next two days under the Presidentship of Dr. Moonjee. Three hundred delegates and about 1,300 to 1,400 visitors attended. Madras and Bombay were unrepresented. Those present on the platform besides the President and the Chairman of the Reception Committee included Raja Narendranath, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. Rajendra Prasad, Mr. Gouri Shanker Misra, Hon'ble Mahendra Prasad, Mr. S. Sinha, Mr. Deviprasad Sinha, Mr. Sheopat Gupta, Mr. Jagatnarain Lal, Sri Gurumukrai Swami, Swami Satyadev and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Mr. P. Ray Chaudhuri, Secretary, Hindu Sabha, Glasgow, cabled sympathy and a donation of £3-10s. for the Shradhanand Memorial Fund. Raja Rampal Singh, Mr. Bhagwandas, Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar, Sir J. C. Bose and the Hon'ble Mr. B. Chakravarthi also sent messages of sympathy.

A dozen Akalis holding swords went about the pandal shouting Jai Jai and Sri Sat Akal.

At 4-30 p.m. the President-elect accompanied by the Hon'ble Mr. Ganesh Dutt Singh, Kumar Ganganand Sinha, Maulvi Abdul Bari, Messrs. Jairamdas Daulatram and others entered the pandal and was warmly applauded. A Vedic chorus was then led followed by Hindu music. Kumar Ganganand Sinha, Chairman of the Reception Committee, then delivered his welcome address.

The Welcome Address.

In the course of his address the Chairman pointed out in brief some of the urgent problems that must engage the serious attention of the Hindu Sabha. He first of all dealt with the importance of Sangathan, Shudhi and removal of untouchability and referred to the Patuakhali Satyagraha movement and urged the Hindu Mahasabha to take up that question in its own hands. For, if it was not taken up by that body, there was the danger of that movement being ultimately crushed, but before doing so the Hindu Mahasabha should enquire into and judge of the situation from all points of view.

Proceeding he deprecated and condemned the communal riots that had taken place in the country in recent times.

Regarding the question of joint electorates the speaker pointed out that the Hindu Sabha had to consider that question seriously with considerable far-sightedness. He was glad that the Mussalmans prompted by a spirit of nationalism had agreed to the joint electorates but the Hindu Sabha had to consider the various conditions from the larger interest of the Hindu public. There could be no greater achievement if real unity would be effected between Hindus and Mussalmans.

He also referred to the case of Kharg Bahadur and urged the Hindu Sabha to express its opinion on that case as also to devise means to stop this blot of traffic in girls.

The Presidential Address.

Dr. B. S. MOONJEE then delivered his speech extempore in Hindi. The following is a summary of his address :—

He referred at length to the Mahomedan conquest of Hindustan and to the methods adopted by the Mahomedans in converting people whom they conquered in Afghanistan, Kashmir and Bengal. By their slow process of conversion, Mahomedans had been able to make up their minority in Bengal into a distinct majority reacting on Hindu conservatism. He pleaded, therefore, for a more liberal outlook on the part of the Hindus in matters such as re-admittance of those Hindus who had been converted to Islam under compulsion, better treatment of women ravaged against their will and a more humane and considerate treatment of untouchable classes. The treatment meted out to them by the so-called higher classes of Hindus was helping to swell the ranks of Muslim population in India. He had no doubt in his mind as to the unfitness of Hindus, in their present helpless plight, against a sister community's aggression, to wreck British rule and earn and maintain Swaraj. Continuing, he referred to the Mahomedan organisation to convert the Hindus by instilling the idea into every Mahomedan's head that it was a virtue to get at least one kaffir converted to Islam and asked what steps the Hindus proposed to take to prevent depletion in their numbers. Dr. Moonje then proceeded to discuss at length the question of the removal of untouchability and differentiated between what he termed temporary untouchability from a hygienic view-point and permanent untouchability handed down from father to son. He condemned in strong terms the latter disability which was welcomed by Mahomedans for purposes of getting these disabled men into their own fold. He then quoted a number of Sanskrit texts from the Dharma sastras and other Hindu scriptures to prove that there was no meaning in the perpetuation of caste differences and in permanently disabling a certain section of the society by the institution of untouchability. Pleading for an effective reconstruction of Hindu society, the President urged the withdrawal of many a social custom such as the ban on sea voyages, the ban on inter-marriage and inter-dining, etc. He would remind his hearers of the ancient rule, namely, that by the process of education and learning the lowest could rise to the highest. He then appealed to the Hindus to support the Suddhi and Sangathan movements in which alone their salvation lay if they desired to save themselves from disintegration.

Joint Electorates.

Continuing, Dr. Moonji referred to the Hindu-Moslem relations of to-day as a perpetual civil war and said that the communalism of Mahomedans was very much encouraged by utterances of Hindu Congressmen. Analysing the causes of communal relations, he said that, while the Hindus, although fired by great ambitions, were weak in physique the Mussalmans with a better physique had shown a better instinct for politics and higher independence of thought. He charged the Moslems with having imported religion into the purely political movement of non-co-operation thus leading to a wave of pan-Islamism. To this mentality he attributed Raja Ghaznafar Ali's proposed amendment to Mr. B. Das' resolution reiterating the National Demand in the Assembly. That showed that the Mahomedans were unwilling for the extension of Reforms without separate electorates. For this reason the speaker paid an eloquent tribute to Sir Sankaran Nair for his resolution in

the Council of State recommending the suspension of any extension of Reforms until the Hindus and Mahomedans agreed to work in a joint electorate. This opened the Mahomedan eyes with the result that Mr. Jinnah formulated his Delhi offer of a settlement. The President then analysed Mr. Jinnah's Bombay interview in which he had said that the settlement must be accepted or rejected wholesale and averred that, taking those conditions critically, the implications that arose from Mussalman conditions were (1) that responsible Government would be to the benefit of the Hindus; (2) that, if the advent of Swaraj was delayed by the folly of Hindus or Moslems, the latter did not mind if the present system benefitted Britishers at the expense of both Hindus and Mahomedans; (3) that the system of joint electorates generally accepted to contribute to the growth of nationalism and dissipation of communalism was regarded by the Muslims as something bad which, however, they were prepared to accept if a sufficient price was paid by the Hindus; (4) that a Hindu who is more eager for Swaraj must pay the price demanded. Calling this a retaliatory competition Dr. Moonjee shuddered to think what would happen to India if ever the Hindus were to be infected with this virus.

Necessity of Sangathan and Suddhi.

The President then dwelt at length on the discussion of the Hindu-Muslim unity. He observed that the moment the Hindus said Swaraj could not be attained without Hindu-Muslim unity, that unity became a marketable article and all laws of economics concerning demand and supply immediately came into operation on it. This unity was to his mind a volatile commodity appearing very real and worth having till the price was paid when it assumed the form of impalpability and intractability. Moslems cared not whether there was or was not unity. Examining from another point of view he said that the Hindus numbered twenty-three crores and Moslems seven crores and both had to live under the rule of a race hardly five crores in strength and having its home more than 5,000 miles away. Yet that race had established an empire. Still the Hindus were assiduously taught that until the other seven crores in India joined them it was impossible to establish Swaraj. Physically, intellectually and commercially an individual Indian compared favourably with a Britisher but the difference lay in that the latter was more highly organised while Hindus were disintegrated. Swaraj attained through internal organisation was everlasting and he would therefore urge that for a Hindu situated as he was Swaraj was encompassed in his Sangathan and Suddhi and the more he concentrated his energies and resources on accomplishing these appreciably, the nearer would he bring the advent of that Swaraj which should be a pride to possess. It could be looked at from still another point of view. The struggle for Swaraj dated as far back as the defeat of Prithviraj after many successive wars. When the Hindus tried to regain and realise their Swaraj they were advised either to adopt Sangathan and warfare or ease and comfort. Such of them as adopted the latter became Mussalmans beginning to trace lineage from Mahomet Paigamber himself and proving that all religions led to the same goal and embraced Islam, while others more manly and more self-respecting risked their life and prestige by their assertion. To the latter category belonged Rana Pratap, Guru Govinda, Shivaji. In regard to the argument that Swaraj was impossible without Hindu-Muslim Unity he said that the road to unity meaning Swaraj bifurcate into bye-lanes, one of ease

and comfort and the other of struggle and worry. By travelling along the byelanes and merging into the Islamic community radical and permanent unity was attainable, but if one must follow the traditional and thorny path of his forefathers he must whole-heartedly concentrate on Shuddhi and Sangathan. Relaxation of orthodoxy and tearing of sentimentalism were the two elixirs toning up the Hindu muscles.

Lucknow Pact—A Blunder.

As to the Hindu reply to the Muslim offer he would say that he had never been a believer in pacts and concessions in bringing about Hindu-Muslim unity. He believed in straight and fair laws of the realm for the administration of the country and open competition for Government loaves and fishes. Those, who having survived the prescribed test, were qualified ought to get loaves, while others might step aside until their preparation was complete. His whole nature revolted against the introduction of any kind of communal representation in the elective bodies of the country. There had never been any experience of any community in India, however small, not having got its due deserving share in the administration of the country and the patronage of the Government compatible with its competency. After instancing the cases of Christians and Parsis in this respect, he asked why Mahomedans should not follow their example. The Hindu history never showed an instance of the tyranny of majorities; on the other hand the behaviour of Moslems towards Hindus in Malabar, Kohat, East Bengal and Larkana was proof of their tyranny. The Hindu was steeped in the policy of "live and let live". He was therefore decidedly of the opinion that Hindus should never accept that communal instinct. They should leave Moslems alone in their present mentality to think and act as they pleased but they must give them a solemn assurance that there ought to be no fear of any possibility of the Hindus exercising tyranny of the majority in any shape or manner. If the Moslems were unsatisfied and declined to join hands with the Hindus to put forward a united demand before the Statutory Commission, the Hindus must do so of their own accord leaving Moslems free to try their best and get what they wanted from the Government. "Let the Hindus be firm and stern in their opposition", declared Dr. Moonje, "and let us be wise over the bitter experience of the blunder, though committed in good faith and with best intentions, of the Lucknow Pact. Despite the fear that even that might prove another blunder he would agree in a spirit of compromise with the Hindu legislators' decision at Delhi recently under Pandit Malaviya's presidency. After quoting the resolution passed at the meeting Dr. Moonjee went on to say that the Hindus should never accept the reservation of seats for the Muslims in excess of the proportion and should remember the lesson that the Muslim bloc in the Assembly taught in respect of the Ratio Bill and Imperial Preference. As for redistribution of Provinces, he wanted to make it absolutely clear that the Hindus were satisfied with the present distribution and could never agree to redistribution on the principle of manufacturing a majority in population for one community or another.

Concluding, Dr. Moonje remarked that if they left the Muslims severely alone the Muslims themselves would realise the folly of separation and communalism and might eventually come to feel that it should be to their and Indians' interest if they veered round and merged into Indian nationalism for the common good of India which connoted communal prosperity also.

Resolutions.

Following are the full text of the resolutions adopted at the 10th session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha held at Patna. They have been rendered into English from the original Hindi :—

(1) This Mahasabha places on record its sense of indignant regret at the murder of Swami Sradhanand. The Mahasabha looks upon his activities with honour and respect and places on record its sense of profound gratefulness for the same and feels that as his every day life was a life of sacrifice in the cause of the uplift of the Hindu race his death likewise may be a source of great impetus and strength to the sacred cause for which he has sacrificed himself. This Mahasabha earnestly impresses upon the Hindus that they should push on the work of shudhi and sangathan and removal of untouchability, for which Swamiji lived and died with such vigour and strength that none may dare again commit an atrocious crime like the murder of Swamiji.

(The resolution was put from the chair).

(2) This Mahasabha appreciates the heroic spirit of self-sacrifice displayed by that brave Nepalese youth Kharag Bahadur on the cause of keeping inviolated the sanctity of our womanhood and urges upon the Governor of Bengal to exercise his prerogative of mercy on him.

(Proposed by Babu Padamraj Jaid and seconded by Swami Vicharananda.)

(3) This Hindu Mahasabha urges upon the Hindus in general to fittingly celebrate the tri-centenary of Shivajee which falls on the 3rd of Baisakh and special arrangements should be made to study and remember his heroic deeds on that day throughout the country.

(Put from the Chair).

(4) In order to infuse fresh life and energy into the Hindu race, this Mahasabha urges upon all branch sabhas and other Hindu organisations to fittingly celebrate every year the festivals consecrated to their national heroes like (1) the birth anniversary of Lord Budh, (2) Rana Pratap (3) Guru Gobind Singh (4) Bir Benda Vairagi (5) Shivajee and (6) Swami Shradhanand.

(Proposed by Mr. Srihari Bajpai and seconded by Baba Guruditt Singh).

(5) This Mahasabha heartily appreciates the work of Hindu Missions in Bengal and impresses upon every Hindu the necessity of their being ever ready to help in every possible manner the work of the propagation and advancement of the Hindu religion.

(Proposed by Pandit Nekiram Sharma and seconded by Swami Satyanand).

(6) This Mahasabha expresses its appreciation of the judgment of the Madras High Court in the case relating to the free use of public roads by all classes of people in Kalapahari, wherein they (the High Court) declared that the King's high ways are open to all. The Mahasabha further impresses upon the Brahmans of South India, that in view of the present circumstances round them they not only concede the right of free use of roads to all but should treat the untouchables in a humane manner so that they may not be compelled to become converts to other religions. The sabha further urges the leaders of South India to discharge their duties in this connection.

(Proposed by Babu Anand Priya).

(7) This Mahasabha looks upon the Chinese as their brothers for they (the Chinese) are the followers of Buddhism which formed but an integral part of Hinduism. This Mahasabha therefore wished early termination of the civil war that the Chinese people are engaged in at the present moment and expresses dissatisfaction at the attempt of the foreigners in that land to crush the new Chinese spirit of independence and assertion and protection of their rights.

(Put from the Chair).

(8) This Mahasabha regrets that the system of Begar is still in existence and is ever on the increase every day. The Government should therefore draw attention of their officers to this and stop them taking Begari.

(9) The Khasias, Bhils, Kols and other tribes formed but part of the Hindu community both from the point of religion and civilisation. But all the same they have been classed as Animists in the last census reports and thus they have been excluded from the Hindu community. This Mahasabha therefore urges upon the Government that in the next census they should be classed as Hindus.

(Put from the Chair).

(10) This Mahasabha strongly protests against the imposition of Punitive Police tax upon the Hindus of Pabna as also against the imposition of tax for giving compensation to the Hindus who have been looted by and suffered at the hands of the Musulmans in the villages and urges upon the Government to withdraw the same.

(Proposed by Babu Madan Mohan Burman and seconded by Babu Ananga Mohan Dam).

(11) In view of the fact that participation in conducting musical processions along the King's highways and public thoroughfares which are the inherent right of every citizen generally and the religious rights of Hindus particularly and that right has been recognised by the Privy Council, the highest court of Justice in the British Empire, this Mahasabha is pained at and emphatically condemns all attempts that are made by the executive authorities curtailing and circumscribing this right of the Hindus by improper use of powers given under the Police Act and the Code of Criminal Procedure for meeting temporary exigencies of situation. Under the circumstances the Hindu Mahasabha calls upon the Hindus to insist upon free and unmolested enjoyment of this right and considers it justified. (a) This Mahasabha therefore congratulates the Hindus and Satyagrahis of Patuakhali on their taking a bold stand in the matter of insisting on free and unmolested enjoyment of their religious and civil rights of conducting musical processions along public thoroughfares and maintaining the struggle practically single-handed so long and with such commendable determination and calls upon all the Hindu Sabhas particularly of Bengal to render to the movement every legitimate support. (b) That in view of the fact that the Hindu Satyagrahis of Patuakhali have been and are carrying on their Satyagraha for the preservation of their well-established rights in a manner thoroughly peaceful and constitutional and that disturbances of public peace are caused by the members of other community, this Mahasabha condemns the action of the Bengal Government in deciding to realise punitive police tax from the Hindus.

(Proposed by Sj. Harish Chandra Vajpay and seconded by Sj. Satindra Nath Sen).

(12) This Mahasabha strongly condemns the kidnapping of Hindu women and boys by Musalman Goondas in this country, particularly in Bengal. It has been increasing every day particularly in North Bengal. The Mahasabha therefore urges upon the Hindu leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha in Bengal the necessity of their collecting particulars about these atrocities and submit the same to the Hindu Mahasabha. They should also take steps to stop these atrocities in an organised manner by forming associations of their young men for that purpose, as also they should take every step that these Goondas received due sentence whenever there was a case before a court of law. This Mahasabha impresses upon the Hindus in general to organise bands of volunteers in every town and villages to protect the Hindu women and children and save the Hindu community on other occasions as well. This Mahasabha urges upon the Government also the necessity of making sufficient arrangements in East and North Bengal and where these atrocities have become so common as also the desirability of not having Mussalman Police officers in those areas as far as possible.

(Proposed by Mr. Deshbandhu and seconded by Prof. Gopi Chand).

(13) The next resolution asked the high caste Hindus to allow free access to the untouchables to schools, temples and wells and declared that in the opinion of the Hindu Mahasabha a Hindu of any rank was better than a non-Hindu under all circumstances from both religious and social standpoint. The resolution was proposed by Pandit Neki Ram, and duly seconded.

(14) This Mahasabha looks upon the condition of the Hindu widows with concern and resolves that (a) such arrangements should be made for the education of widows in their homes or in Ashrams as may enable them to appreciate the ideals of 'Sati Dharma' and live the rest of their lives in an honourable manner. (b) That the disrespectful treatment on ceremonial occasions in Hindu household meted out to the widows should be done away with. (c) That suitable steps should be taken to save them from going astray and from the clutches of the followers of other religions.

(Proposed by Pt. Nekiram Sharma).

(15) Another resolution moved by Pandit Ramchandra Dwivedi expressed its disapproval of the proposal to make Hindi and Urdu both compulsory at certain stage in schools in Behar.

(16) The most important resolution moved by Mr. Jai Ram Das on behalf of the Chair ran as follows :—

(1) While reaffirming the resolution passed in the session of the 9th Hindu Mahasabha in regard to the principle of communal representation, the Mahasabha is prepared to consider any proposal for the settlement of political differences between the Hindus and Muslims with regard to representation in the legislatures.

(2) (a) In view of the facts that the Muslim community as such has not endorsed the proposals made by certain Muslim leaders assembled at Delhi in March last and has, on the contrary, in several places expressed its disagreement; (b) that even according to the manifesto issued by the Muslim leaders, the said proposals are liable to be rejected by the Muslim organisations referred to therein and (c) that Mr. Jinnah has stated that the said

proposals can only be accepted or rejected in toto without modification; the Mahasabha feels that it will serve no useful purpose to express any definite opinion at this stage on the proposals as a whole.

(3) The Mahasabha deprecates any attempt to constitute new provinces or legislatures for the purpose of giving a majority therein to any particular community. In the opinion of the Mahasabha the question of the creation of new provinces should be considered, if necessary, independently of any proposals and exclusively on their merit.

(4) In view of the fact mentioned above, the Hindu Mahasabha is of opinion that the matter is not ripe for discussion and consideration by the All-India Congress Committee. In the opinion of the Mahasabha any discussion on the part of the All-India Congress Committee at this stage will be premature and harmful.

(5) In view of the fact mentioned above the Hindu Mahasabha, however, suggests the following principles as the basis for discussion :—

(a) Mixed electorate for all legislatures; (b) Reservation of seats for a definite period of time to be agreed upon by parties in all legislatures on a uniform basis of representation, such as population, voting strength or taxation; (c) Uniformity of franchise in each province. (d) Constitutional safeguards for religious or quasi-religious rights and customs.

The Mahasabha calls upon the Working Committee to sound various sections of the Hindu community in different provinces on the question and formulate definite proposals and discuss them with Muslim leaders and report its conclusions to the All-India Hindu Mahasabha for ratification.

(Put from the Chair and passed unanimously without any discussion).

After passing three other minor resolutions the proceedings of the Mahasabha came to a close.

The All-India Khilafat Conference

The annual session of the All-India Khilafat Conference commenced at 11 a.m. in Kifah-i-Am Hall, Lucknow on the 26th February 1927. Considering the All-India character of the meeting attendance was meagre as there were hardly more than 600 people in the hall. Most of the prominent Khilafatists were, however, present. Proceedings commenced with recitations from the "Quran" followed by the "ghazal" specially composed for the occasion.

Maulana Abdul Majid Daryabadi, Chairman, Reception Committee, read a very interesting and instructive address welcoming the delegates to the historical place where the Khilafat organisation was first started. Discussing whether the existence of the Khilafat organisation was now needed, he very ably defended its existence, from religious and other aspects. He described the past activities of the organisation and remarked that it was willing to co-operate with all other Muslim bodies for the welfare and progress of Muslims. He exhorted Mussalmanus to be up and doing unitedly with full vigour.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

After the reception address, Maulana Shaukat Ali informed that the President-elect being unwell, Maulana Shafi Daudi would temporarily

preside. Maulana Abdul Majid Badayuni seconded. Maulana Shafi briefly asked the delegates to enforce the resolutions with full vigour. Mr. Haji Haroon's printed address was then read by Mr. Abdul Rahman, Editor, "Al-Waheed". The address dealt with pan-Islamic and Indian activities, appealed to the Mussalmans to be united in the policy about Hedjaz and submit to the correct policy of the Khilafat Committee. About India, the constructive programme greatly stressed economic and social Muslim betterment, and urged Hindu-Muslim unity. While regretting Swami Shradhdhanand's murder, the address asked Hindus not to blame the whole community for an individual's irresponsible act and appealed to the Hindus to respect the just claims of the Muslims and not to view their efforts to better their condition as antagonistic to non-Muslim interest. Finally, the address asked the Hindus to respect the Indian Muslim States in the same way as the Muslims respect the integrity and honour of the non-Muslim Indian State. When the Muslims fully sympathise with Nabha and Indore, they expect similar treatment from the Hindus and Sikhs.

After the presidential address was over, the meeting dispersed to meet again on the next day, the 27th February when the Conference was converted into "The World Muslim Conference, Indian Branch."

Maulana Shaukat Ali announced that the president-elect, Hakim Ajmal Khan could not come on account of the illness of the Nawab of Rampur and proposed Dr. Ansari of Delhi to occupy the chair. He dwelt at length on the services of Dr. Ansari in this cause and said that he was the most suitable man for presiding over their deliberations.

Dr. Ansari on assuming the chair delivered an extempore speech. Referring to the World Muslim Conference just constituted he said that naturally it might be asked that such an organisation was likely to clash with the Khilafat Committee but a cursory perusal of its aims and objects would assure everyone that it was neither antagonistic nor parallel to Khilafat. The aims and objects of the organisation were to have a common public platform for the Indian Muslims of all shades of opinion and it would have nothing to do with the Indian affairs and would deal with Pan-Islamic matters and try to make a common cause with the Muslims of the whole world. The Khilafat Committee on the other hand was a political organisation of people of definite ideals and such Muslims as were unwilling to join the political organisation should not hesitate to join the "Motamar".

Continuing the President said that no doubt they were Muslims but they should not forget that they were Indians first and last and always and as such they should give up communal mentality and bear in mind that communal leaders, be they Messrs. Lajpat Rai and Malaviya or Sir Abdur Rahim or Jinnah, were not friends of India. This communal mentality was responsible for all the bloodshed and riots that had greatly perturbed the national life of the country. He, therefore, appealed to them to have nothing to do with communalism but try their utmost to liberate their country.

The President then asked Mr. Shwaib Qureshi to read the draft constitution of "Motamar" which is the Urdu equivalent of the organisation.

The Conference then effected some minor alterations in the constitution which was read.

The Conference was then adjourned in the afternoon when speeches were delivered and the remaining work of the Khilafat Conference completed.

All-India Women's Conference.

The First All-India Conference of women was opened at Poona in the afternoon of the 5TH JANUARY 1927. It was the climax of a series of women's conferences held in various parts of India during the past few months and was the outcome of the effort to co-ordinate their work and formulate lines of advance on all fronts, especially educational. Delegates from all parts of India attended. The Rani Saheb of Sangli, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in her address, said that women's education had passed through all stages of total apathy and indifference, ridicule and criticism and the time was, therefore, ripe for further advance wherein women might help in formulating the basic principles of educational policy and programme. It would help the Government if women themselves declared what they should have their children taught. They would be able to clearly say what was wanted by women and she believed that the Government would welcome such effort on the part of the women of India. Whatever the policy and plan of female education laid down by the Conference as a result of the discussions, she was emphatic that Indian culture, Indian tradition and all that was best in the past of Indian womanhood would have to be preserved and secured in any future scheme.

The Maharani of Baroda's Address.

The presidential address of the Maharani of Baroda was a stirring call to action. "A few decades saw the curse of 'suttee' removed from our land. With a like determination these social evils can all be overcome," she declared after a brief review of the many social practices retarding women's advance. "Women of Turkey broke from these bonds; so can we." It was pleasing, the Maharani continued, to watch the signs of general awakening in the public mind throughout the country in the cause of advancement and emancipation of women. A noteworthy feature of rapid progress the women had made recently had been the sincere co-operation of the sterner sex in contrast to the experience of other countries.

Referring to physical training she said that it was a simple thing to say that girls should receive it. It was nothing so simple to decide on the actual forms it should take. Physical culture should bring not only firmness of body but vigour and freedom and joyfulness of spirit.

Turning to the subject of co-education, the Maharani observed that though, it must be admitted that separation of sexes was in itself artificial, separation was also required in order that a peculiar type of mind, of personality and of culture which constituted the attraction of womanhood might be developed. There was thus a definite need for "separate schools and colleges for girls and women in which life and not merely courses of study shall have reference to the nature of pupils and character of women we wish to cultivate." Here a difficulty of no small dimension was that the majority of women were occupied with problems of female education and had their education along lines laid down by men. The great difficulty, therefore, was to attain sufficient freedom of judgment from bias which this kind of education had given. She urged on them to free themselves of the bias and obtain a really distinctive point of view. Viewed from the standpoint of different types of character which should be developed in boys and girls, there should be differences even in the kinds of literature which predominated on the one side and on the other.

On compulsory primary education what the Conference had to consider was not the necessity of such a measure but the ways of removing difficulties in the application of an educational policy which they desired. What was needed for the success of the measure was active and persistent propaganda among women and she felt that local organisations under the guidance of a Central Women's League could do a great deal in that direction.

Coming next to the economic value of education the Maharani said that there was a tendency to retard, even to oppose, urgent reforms in women's education because it was believed that for women's education to have economic value it must be on the same line as that of men. The Conference must show it to be false. "If our girls' education is to be on other lines, education of those who are to teach them must be on other lines. I can conceive no way in which Lady Irwin could assist in the progress and advance of Indian womanhood more than in using her capacities to obtain the establishment of a really efficient training college for women teachers which will train women for the task of re-birth and regeneration of Indian education for women and girls."

The whole question of the legal status of women in marriage with regard to property, divorce, control of children and many other matters should be systematically enquired into and proposals discussed. Thinking as they should do of Indian women in general, they would not be able to devote their attention specially to any particular groups. There was, however, one group of women, small perhaps in number, who, once emancipated and soundly educated, could do much for the women of India. She spoke of the Indian princesses. The Conference should state in no uncertain terms its views on the reforms needed in this direction.

Discussion on Resolutions.

There was full attendance of delegates when the Conference reassembled on the next day, the 6TH JANUARY 1927. The strong appeal of the President, in her address, to cultivate women's distinctive outlook free from bias induced by the man-made system of education was embodied in a preamble to the resolution. The present system of education, it maintained, was thought out primarily in the interest of the boys and was formulated by men. The time has now come for women to review and reform this system and resolutions hereinafter to be adopted would offer a constructive programme to those who had already shown a sincere desire to promote advancement of education. The first resolution was adopted defining education as training which would enable a child or individual to develop his or her latent capacities to their fullest extent for the service of humanity and should include elements for physical, mental, emotional, civil and spiritual development.

(2) Compulsory moral training.

Sister Subbalaxmi then proposed the next resolution demanding that moral training based on spiritual ideals should be made compulsory for all schools and colleges. Mr. Arundale, seconding, expressed the opinion that the fundamentals of all religions should be taught in schools so that the present lack of understanding among the race and individuals might be removed and the nation's progress be ensured. Mrs. Hans Mehta led the

opposition with the slogan "Morality and religion can grow from within. They cannot be engrafted from outside." After some more discussion the resolution was carried by a majority.

(3) Compulsory physical training.

The third resolution that a complete course of physical training should be made compulsory in boys and girls' schools was adopted.

(4) Education of women.

The last resolution of the day was that in education of girls and women, teaching in ideals of motherhood, beautifying of home as well as training in the methods of social service should be kept uppermost. Mrs. Menon, on behalf of the unmarried professional women, urged that the Conference should not lay too much stress on motherhood. Mrs. Kamala Chattopadhyaya made out a strong plea for teaching the art of beautifying home which was the best place for them to develop mentally and spiritually. The resolution was carried and the Conference rose for the day.

Some more resolutions were adopted by the Conference in its sitting on the 3rd day, the 7TH JANUARY. The first read: "This Conference deploras the effect of early marriage on education and urges the Government to pass legislation to make marriage below the age of 16 a penal offence. It demands that the age of consent be raised to sixteen. It whole heartedly supports Sir Hari Singh Gour's Bill which is to come before the Legislative Assembly this month as a step towards raising the age of consent to sixteen and sends a deputation to convey to the Legislative Assembly the demand of this Conference on this vital subject." Mrs. Cousins moved and Lady Sadasiva Aiyar seconded the resolution. Mrs. Hans Mehta pleaded for legislation to declare marriage below the age of 16 illegal. This evoked a strong opposition from Poona delegates who resented the idea of declaring marriages illegal after they had been once performed. They, however, favoured the proposal to penalise the parties concerned. After further speeches, the resolution was unanimously adopted.

Two more resolutions were also passed on this day. The first demanded that primary education for boys and girls be made compulsory, that the present vernacular text-books be revised and supplemented by books suitable for children and that women should be on all attendance committees. The other urged inclusion of preparatory manual training in the curriculum suited to the child's need and daily experience.

The All-India Women's Conference concluded on the 8TH JANUARY, after adopting several resolutions urging addition of fine arts, advanced domestic science, journalism, social service and architecture as optional subjects to the college curricula and that scholarships be offered to women students to attract them to take up law, medicine, social science and fine arts. Other resolutions favoured the establishment of residential colleges for women and appointment of a lady professor as adviser in colleges where there were women students and requested the Government to provide mistresses for teaching women in their homes. The Conference recommended that Government recognition should be given to successful educational institutions which had adopted the curricula suggested by the Conference, like the Indian Women's University. A standing committee was appointed consisting of the Maharani of Baroda as President, Rani

of Sangli, Mrs. Naidu, Lady J. C. Bose and Rani of Vizianagaram as Vice-Presidents; Mrs. Cousins as Chairman and Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, Secretary with 14 other members with powers to co-opt.

A. I. Youth Conference.

The following address was delivered by Mr. T. L. Vaswani, the President at the A. I. Youth Conference held at Gurukul, Hardwar during the Jubilee celebrations of the National University on Friday the 18th March 1927.

"Friends, If I had my own option in the matter I would not speak, I would rather sit amidst you in silence; for in silence is strength. Many centuries ago there appeared in ancient China a Rishi called Confucious. And he said "Heaven is silent; the seasons change and all things multiply,—Heaven is silent." If Heaven is silent, must not man, also, learn to be silent? And I have felt again and again that India needs inspiration of what is more than words—the inspiration of silent service, the inspiration of a mighty deed of sacrifice. And even as I speak to you, young friends, I breathe out an aspiration that our actions may go much further than all our words.

"You have chosen for this chair a poor unworthy man, a 'darvish' of the desert. You have summoned me from my seclusion and silence to give you a message. The Lord has linked my heart with the young from the beginning of my days. I come to you not as a scholar or leader; I come as a servant of the young. I come to have your blessings. I come with love in my heart. I come with some thing else also—with faith in you, the youth of the Nation, with faith in India and her destiny. I believe profoundly that you who are young can build a nation of the strong, a nation of the free. I give you the tribute of my homage and affection. you are the path-finders of to-morrow. You are the builders of a greater India. Many have told me, many have sent me letters to say, that young men are going astray. Some think the young are running into ruin. Many of my countrymen are pessimistic about the youth. I come to you with immense optimism in my heart. In my quiet retreat, away from the high noise of the day, I have command with the stars of the clear star-lit skies of my native land. And I have said to myself:—"The same star looked upon the India of the long ago. India then was mighty as she is fallen to-day. India then was strong, rich and prosperous as she is poor to-day. India then was the leader of the nations, a 'guru' of humanity, as India, alas! is treated to-day almost as an untouchable among the nations of earth." Then have I shed tears and cried in the darkness of the night: "Oh mother, the ancient mother, Mother India! why hast thou hidden thy face of beauty and strength from thy children to-day?" And I have heard a voice saying:—Be not dismayed,—my young sons and young daughters will build a new nation on nobler lines in the coming days." Yes, the youth will build a greater India. I come to you with the message of hope and faith. To-day the country is divided. To-day there is a depression in many hearts. I am an humble servant of the young. I come to you with

faith immense in India and her Destiny. Young men of India can work wonders. But they must be united in one body in a common service. They must be united in the strength of faith in India and the Indian Ideals. To-day we start the "Bharat Yuvak Sangha," an Order of Young India.

"The very first article of the Order's faith must be faith in "Bharat Dharma." India has not lived for herself. India lives to give the message of the Rishis—the message of the Ancient Wisdom—to the world. Let young men be filled with the inspiration of Indian ideals. If they perish, they must perish the hope of India. One important object of the Order of Young India should be to study and spread Bharat Dharma. I ask you that are young to turn your thoughts away from the distractions and depression of to-day to the mighty destiny that awaits India. An Upanishad has well declared:—"A man becomes what he thinketh upon." Think, then, of what India may be in the coming days. Think of the mighty potentialities within you to make her fulfil her mission to humanity.

Bharat Yuvak Sangha.

"The Bharat Yuvak Sangha should have "ashramas." There must, gradually, be built a net-work of "ashramas" throughout the length and breadth of India. I have in my mind a picture of an ideal "ashram." I have not the time to describe the picture to you in its several aspects to-day. I shall be content with an imperfect statement of three or four aspects of the picture. The "ashrama" as I think of it, should, among other things, teach this central truth of national advance:—Be strong. I want India's youth to be sons of 'Shakti.' I want every young man to develop strength, and therefore to develop first his body and train it to be a servant of the ideal. To-day young men are weak. Many years ago an Englishman came to Sind. He described the Sindhis as strong in physique. To-day Sindhi young men are weak in body. Coming to the Punjab, rich in noble traditions and memories of the martial spirit, what do I see? The Punjabi young men, too, are declining physically. And my esteemed friend, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. P. K. Ghosh will agree with me that the Bengalis, too, have declined physically. I want the young to be strong. India needs strength. — all possible strength to-day, strength of body, strength of mind, strength of the Atman. No weak nation may hope to be free. Look not for freedom to Council debates, look not for freedom to parchments of Parliament. Freedom will grow out of "Shakti". Be strong. Weakness is a sin. And believe me, the body is the temple of God. How true is the ancient Sanskrit saying, "Shariram Brahmanamandiram"! The first lesson, I would have the young learn in the "ashrama" is—"be strong", the second is "be simple." Indeed, in true simplicity is strength. A Lahore friend told me that young Punjabis are running after fashions. Fashion is folly. Study the lives of India's great men. They have been simple. The 'rishis' of Aryavarta,—how simple they were! The heroes and teachers of India,—from the mighty days of Shri Ram Chandra, down to our own dark days,—illuminated by the life and example of Mahatma Gandhi,—have been simple.

"In the 'ashrama,' as I think of it. I would also have every young man observe this rule that he must do at least one act of service every day. 'Shewa,' service of the poor, is what ennobles and enriches life. Service of the poor is the end of knowledge.

"We stand on the threshold of a new age. Shall we have a new India,—a liberated India? Who will lay the foundation of a new nation?

In every province are needed youngmen, who would be sons of strength and courage, 'shakti' worshippers. Such youngmen, filled with the Indian ideal and rich in wealth of renunciation and sacrifice will open a new chapter in our history. Youngmen, who would be "Bhikkhus" in spirit united together in the service of love, can work miracles.

"Believe me, they wait for you—the multitudes in the country. They wait for you. They wait for the message in towns and villages. There is a beautiful story in an ancient book. A boy says to his mother:—"Mother! you have spoken oft to me of Shri Krishna. Is Krishna alive?" "Yes," the mother says, "the Lord is not dead, he lives." "I see him not," says the boy. And the mother says, "If you would see him, my child, you must practise one Sadhan." And he says, "I am ready, teach me." And the mother says, "My boy, if you would meet Krishna, thy Lord, offer every day, this little simple prayer, with faith and love in thy heart, "May I, O Lotus-eyed! be a sacrifice to thee."

Message of India.

"Youngmen! offer this ancient prayer. Purify and strengthen your life with this ancient aspiration: "May I, O, Lotus-eyed, be a sacrifice to Thee?" Then go out to the multitudes that wait with hungry hearts for the message of India,—the message of "Bharat Dharma. Go, and tell them that India lives for a mighty mission." Carthage and Babylonia are gone, India lives on. Rome that dreamt the dream of dominion and conquest, Rome is gone,—India lives on. Greece, the cradle of culture, the shrine of art and philosophy, Greece is gone,—India lives on. Not without a purpose. India lives to give a mighty message to the nations; and what greater privilege than this,—to do and die in the service of India? Go and spread this message in town after town, village after village. And with the beauty of the ancient ideal, hypnotise the whole of Hindusthan!"

Punjab Provincial Muslim League.

At a general meeting of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League held at Lahore on the 1ST MAY 1927, Sir Mahomed Shafi, President, delivered a long opening address in the course of which he referred to Mr. Kelkar's presidential address at the Hindu Maha Sabha held at Cawnpore in December 1925 and the offers made by him to the Muslim community and said all that the Delhi Conference did in March last was to accept the offer thus made only 15 months previously; but he expressed great disappointment that the Hindu Sabha politicians have now turned a complete somersault, almost immediately after the publication of the statement issued by Mr. Jinnah. The Punjab Hindu Sabha passed a resolution that the Congress had no right to represent the Hindu community in any negotiations with the Muslims and further that any kind of settlement arrived at between leaders of the Muslim League and those of the Congress among whom Mahomedan leaders are included, would in no way be binding on the Hindu community and this in spite of the fact that an overwhelming majority of Muslims present at the Delhi Conference had nothing whatever to do with the Congress organization.

Sir Mahomed then referred to the resolutions adopted at Patna by the Hindu Mahasabha and the opinions of the Hindu press, and said that there was not a single Hindu newspaper whether conducted in English or in any vernacular languages which had accepted the proposition adopted at the Delhi Muslim Conference. In spite of Mrs. Naidu's effort to draw him out, Mr. Gandhi had refrained from expressing any opinion on the specific proposition adopted at Delhi, indulging merely in vague general platitudes not calculated to give any definite lead to Hindu public opinion. Neither Pandit Nehru nor Mr. Sen Gupta has come out with any declaration one way or the other. Concluding his address, Sir Mahomed Shafi said that until the mentality of the Hindu Mahasabha undergoes the necessary change and that body comes to realise that without Hindu-Muslim unity the attainment of Swaraj for our common motherland is absolute impossibility, and finally until an effective guarantee of the protection of its vital interests is forthcoming, the Muslim community will continue to insist on the retention of separate communal electorates as an integral part of the Indian Constitution. In the existing unfortunate conditions obtaining in this country, the introduction of the joint electorates is certain to prove a periodically recurring cause of friction between the two great communities, fatal to the cause of Indian nationalism and creative of difficult and complicated administrative problems for the Government.

Resolutions.

After the presidential address was over the League held a three hours' discussion and unanimously adopted 4 lengthy resolutions. The first resolution was moved by Sheik Abdul Khader, noting with regret the scant courtesy shown by the Hindu press and the Hindu Mahasabha towards the Delhi Muslim Conference propositions, exhorting Muslims to close up the ranks, and support the valuable guarantee of their legitimate interests furnished by the right of communal representation in the country's legislatures which they have enjoyed for the last seventeen years and considering it useless for the Muslim minority in this country to formulate any proposals particularly in the face of the irreconcilable attitude adopted by the Hindu Mahasabha.

The second resolution moved by Sir Mahomed Iqbal reiterated the League's conviction that in the existing political condition in the country separate communal electorates provided the only means of making the central and provincial legislatures truly representative of Indian peoples and emphatically opined that, so long as an equally effective guarantee of Muslim interests was not forthcoming, the Muslim community could not but continue to insist on the retention of communal electorates as an essential part of the Indian constitution.

The third resolution repudiated the allegation that separate communal electorates were responsible for Hindu Muslim dissensions and asserted that they were the outcome of the Suddhi and Sangathan movements started by the Hindu Mahasabha.

The fourth and last resolution protested against the pronouncements made by Dr. Moonje at the Hindu Sabha, Calcutta, and at the Hindu Mahasabha at Patna, regarding them as being fatal to the cause of Indian nationalism and warned the Mahasabha to stop Dr. Moonje's activities.

The Bengal Muslim Conference.

The Bengal Provincial Muslim Conference, held at Barisal on the 8th May 1927, concluded abruptly on account of a rain storm. The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Khan Bahadur Hemayatuddin Ahmed, had read only a portion of his speech welcoming the delegates when it began to rain. The rest of the Khan Bahadur's speech as well as the presidential address was delivered on the next day, the 9th May, the Conference sitting at 8 a. m. instead of in the afternoon.

Sir Abdur RAHIM, presiding, began with the Kulkati incident in which several Mahomedans were shot dead by the police. He expressed absolute disappointment at the attitude which the Bengal Government had assumed in this case, but hoped that when the new Governor found time to study the facts relating to the Kulkati occurrence he might try to accept the Muslim view of it, notwithstanding what his Muslim and Hindu Ministers have advised him. He expressed similar disappointment at the attitude taken up by many Hindu politicians, chiefly among the supporters of the Government. In suggesting remedies, Sir A. Rahim said:—"We have failed to secure an independent enquiry in this important case. The only other means left to us is to seek such remedy as persistent constitutional opposition in the Legislature affords. For that purpose I have sought a clear mandate from my community in North Calcutta constituency whom I more particularly represent and thrown out a challenge to the supporters of the Government to defeat me if they can and thus prove that the Muslim public opinion does not support me. If this constituency gives a verdict in my favour there will be no reasonable excuse left to anyone for doubting what our community wants and if any Muslim member of the Council still hesitates to respect the decision of the Mussalmans of North Calcutta his duty will be to resign his seat and seek re-election. Otherwise, I should be entitled to call upon every Muslim member of the Council to offer constitutional opposition to the present Government until redress is obtained.

After condemning communal propaganda, he referred to music before mosque, stating the general propositions regarding this question. He referred to the local practice and said: If these principles are acted upon by both communities it is possible that even in the present tension of feelings there will be very few collisions; but whatever we may lay down the key of the situation must always remain in the hands of the Executive authorities. If they consult leading men of the two communities whenever they apprehend any trouble and come to a bonafide decision no reasonable man should object to the enforcement of their orders in accordance with the law and in the manner required by the true needs of the situation. The most satisfactory and lasting solution however can only be reached if influential leaders of both communities approach the question in a spirit of give and take and then resolutely exert all their influence to see that the agreed decision be properly carried out.

Regarding the Shuddhi movement, Sir Abdur said: Under the law every believer in a particular religion is entitled to preach its doctrines and to bring within its fold any one who wishes to come in. No Muslim that I know of has ever questioned such right; but I do not understand why such great zeal and energy should be devoted to proving that with the exception of a handful the rest of the Mussalmans in India were originally Hindus. I

believe a fair body of opinion is growing in Barisal which demands that these disputes and collisions, which are so entirely alien to the traditions and spirit of the people of this province, should not be allowed to continue to mar the peace and harmony of social life.

Referring to the elections, he discussed both communal and joint electorates. "On an important question of this character and magnitude no departure should be made from the existing practice except with the approval of both the parties concerned. That is why Lord Lytton in his farewell address the other day said that this was a matter for arrangement between the two communities. What is very significant is that while Hindu opinion is strongly in support of joint electorates, Muslim opinion, except perhaps of a few individuals, seems to be equally set in the opposite direction. It is my own personal belief that, but for the pronounced anti-Muslim propaganda of a certain class of politicians having considerable position and influence in their community and the unfortunate collisions that are taking place almost daily Muslim opinion would not have been so decided against joint electorates. When mutual trust and confidence have been so largely destroyed, the foundation for co-operation in an electorate is necessarily weakened. The feeling has grown strong among the Mussalmans throughout the length and breadth of the country that if we yield to the demands and threats of those Hindu politicians, who started the movement for a change, Muslim interests will be seriously endangered.

Concluding, Sir Abdur Rahim said that the desire for communal or class or caste nomination must be replaced by a spirit of co-operation and goodwill in advancing the interests of the general population. This is the pivot of the entire policy which I placed before the country in the manifesto of the Bengal Muslim Party. I venture to state on behalf of my community that it is not within the scope of its ambition to dominate other communities. They are sincerely anxious to work in friendly co-operation with the Hindu community in a self-governing India. It is not my belief that it is the desire of the general community to dominate over us; but we cannot ignore the fact that there are distinguished and accredited leaders of a large school of political thought who from time to time express sentiments which add to the anxiety of Mussalmans as to how a Hindu majority may exercise its powers. We are so anxious to advance the political status of our country that we are prepared to settle differences in a friendly conference with the leaders of the other community, however provocative may be the attitude of some of them.

Sind Hindu Provincial Conference.

The session of the Sind Hindu Provincial Conference opened at Sukkur on the 1ST MAY 1927 under the presidency of Lala Lajpat Rai. The Chairman Mr. Virumal Begraj, in a bold and fearless but restrained speech, after condemning the atrocious murder of Swami Shraddhanand, deplored that Sind which was the birth place of Sufism (union of religions) had now become the hotbed of communal dissensions as a result of fanatical propaganda in Muslim quarters, both from within and without. And the result was the Larkhana riots followed by the byplot at Begraji. If Mahomedans claimed the right of conversion why were Hindus being deprived of the right of Shudhi and reclamation. With regard to separation of Sind,

he declared that apart from political and economic expediencies Mahomedans had forfeited the trust of the Hindus and completely shaken their faith and aroused numerous doubts and fears in their minds by their conception of Mahomedanising everything. He urged reorganisation of Hindu panchayats and sangathan so as to make them a living force and through them of starting of separate educational and other institutions for Hindus. He also stressed on the study of Hindi, physical development, reformation of temples, and eradication of social evils like early marriage. With regard to music before mosques he cited the recent instances in which a Mahomedan living in the neighbourhood of his press kept beating drums, trumpets and musical instruments for a number of days continuously on the occasion of a marriage, and when he asked his other Muslim neighbours to stop him they all laughed and had to admit that their desire to enforce this demand against the Hindus was extremely arbitrary and unfair.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

Lala Lajpat RAI then delivered his address extempore for over two hours in which he asked the Hindus to give up mildness and develop sternness of character, mind and body so as to offer successful resistance against any encroachment on their rights.

He regretted that a fitter person than him was not appointed President because temperamentally he felt he was not the fittest for this work and he was not so well acquainted with the Sind problems. Expressing regret at Pandit Malaviya's absence owing to illness, he paid a glowing tribute to his piety, learning and unflinching and ardent love for Hinduism. Referring to communal tension, he said he was pained to see that the two great communities, who formed the nation and who were destined for ever to live in this land, could not pull on peacefully together. His one consolation was that in their national evolution this stage was not only inevitable but also necessary. He hoped that when they emerged from this ordeal they would be purer and stronger. Without this real strength Swaraj, even if got as a gift, could not long be retained. He exhorted the Hindus to face this fire manfully and come out of it purer like gold.

Referring to local problems, Lala Lajpat Rai said that although he was not intimately conversant with them he realised that the position of Hindus as an extinct minority was very delicate but he assured them that they were not alone in their battle. Hindus in other provinces would always be ready to help and support them. He exhorted the Hindus of Sind to participate in the All-India Hindu activities. To the wealthy men of Sind he reminded that their wealth was useless and might disappear in the wink of an eye as it did in Kohat and Saharanpur and all their paid keepers and watchmen would be of no avail if they do not use it in opening institutions for the development of the mind and body of their young men and training them up as a defence force. He regretted to find the physical condition of Hindus and Hindu children in Sind so poor. Early marriages were rampant in Sind and the habit of drinking appeared to be common. The condition of women too was very backward. He, therefore, exhorted them to strive to remedy these deficiencies. He appealed to the young men to develop sternness of character, mind and body.

Referring to the ensuing All-India Congress Committee meeting, he said that although he was a devotee of the Congress whose prestige was higher to him than of any other body, he was of opinion that the Congress decision on communal questions should be arrived at after due consultation with the Hindu Maha Sabha and some recognised Muslim body.

Concluding Lala Lajpat Rai said that the problem before the Hindus was twofold, firstly, Samajic reformation and, secondly, relations with Mussalmans and Government. If the Hindus were to set their house in order no force on earth could resist them. The lack of organisation which had brought the downfall of Hindus in Sind at the time of the invasion of Sind by Mahomed Bin Kassim was also responsible for the present helpless plight of Hindus in the whole country. The community had taken to external superficialities which were undermining Hindu Samaj. Hindus had forgotten their Dharma, the Dharma taught to them by the gospel of the Gita. He exhorted the Hindus to give up their mildness and develop sternness of mind, body and character and rise to occasions to do their Dharma. To Mussalmans who yearned for the emancipation of Muslim countries outside India, Lalaji would say that it would be impossible without the emancipation of India.

Resolutions.

The resolutions that were passed in the Conference relates to:—

(1) Expressing satisfaction at the efforts of several panchayats in ameliorating the condition of the depressed classes and earnestly requesting all Hindus to allow them the use of public wells, schools, mandirs and cremation grounds. (2) Protesting against the restrictions of music before mosques, and sympathy with Patuakhali Satyagrahis; (3) Reformation of temples; (4) Condemnation of child marriages and of uneven marriages of elderly men with child brides; (5) Propagation of Shuddhi and appeal to Hindu panchayats to take back within their fold reclaimed Hindus; (6) Condemnation of Swami Shraddhananda's murder and appeal for the Shraddhanand Fund; (7) Ratification of the Patna Maha Sabha's resolution on Hindu-Muslim relations, provincial redistribution and reconstitution of provincial legislatures, recording opinions against separation of Sind from Bombay as injurious to economic, political and educational interests of the province and especially of the Hindu community in Sind and stating that Hindus will not be bound by any decision of the All-India Congress Committee or any other body unless ratified by the Hindu Maha Sabha. An amendment for the appointment of a committee to consider the above question was negatived by an overwhelming majority.

Other resolutions passed condemned the Larkhana riots and the conduct of the Mussalman Police officers at Bagarji as failing in their duties and inspired by religious animosity causing panic among the Hindus in Bagarji and the neighbouring places and ill-treatment of respectable Hindus who were arrested, handcuffed and roped.

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SEVENTH SESSION OF

The Trade Union Congress.

The seventh session of the Trade Union Congress opened on the 12TH MARCH 1927 in the Hindu College Hall, Delhi. Prominent among those present were Messrs. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, Clow, Saklatwala, Lajpat Rai, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Messrs. G. D. Birla, D. Chamanlal, Ranga-swami Iyengar and Barucha.

The Executive Council Meeting.

Before the Congress met, the Executive Council of the Congress, discussed at considerable length some of the resolutions. About a dozen applications for affiliation presented before the Executive Council by Mr. Aftab Ali were rejected at the instance of Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose who protested against the practice of affiliation of unions without making any enquiry as to their bonafides. Mr. Bose said that he had already given notice of moving important changes in the rules relating to affiliation.

Mr. Thengdi's resolution to declare the willingness of the Congress to bring about the greatest possible solidarity and co-ordinated activity on the part of the Trade Unions throughout the British Empire in order to counteract the ruthless exploitation carried on under the aegis of British Imperialism provoked considerable discussion, some of the delegates expressing the opinion that the Trade Union Congress as such should not consider the subject. Mr. Chamanlal in an eloquent speech said that politics could not be divorced from Trade Unionism and the Trade Union Congress should emphatically declare from its platform that it would fight imperialism as it would fight capitalism. The resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority.

Constitutional Changes.

Mr. Mrinal Kanti BOSE, in moving his resolution for the modification of the Congress constitution, said that some of the glaring defects in the constitution have stood in the way of the Congress developing to the full height of its power and usefulness. By payment of the prescribed affiliation fees any person could create as many paper unions as the length of his purse permitted.

Mr. SAKLATVALA at this stage expressed his desire to offer a few suggestions on the defects of the constitution. Permission being given he spoke for about an hour. Labour in India, he said, was experiencing the same difficulties as Labour did in England. But Indian Labour was not required to start from the very beginning. It has inherited the traditions and experience of the British Labour movement. The Trade Unionists in India were to forge ahead and keep themselves abreast of the Labour movement in the world. He said that the Congress should have a standing committee for international negotiations. It should have a labour research bureau and district organisers to settle local disputes. As to the constitution of the Congress he suggested that affiliation rules should be more rigid so as to secure that none but bonafide trade unions

might get affiliation. Once this was done the forces of intrigue would get a set back if not destroyed. He suggested that there should be a permanent office of the Congress so that the Trade Union world might know whom to apply for information etc. He suggested also the institution of a central fund to meet the travelling expenses of delegates to and from the Congress.

On the conclusion of Mr. Saklatvala's speech, the House adjourned for half an hour and when it met, Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose continued his speech. The most important amendment of the constitution he proposed relates to rules regarding affiliation of unions to the Trade Union Congress and is as follows:—

"That applications for affiliation of Unions should be forwarded through the provincial committees to the General Secretary. (A rider was proposed by Mr. Joshi and accepted by Mr. Bose that no provincial committee would be entitled to withhold any application for affiliation).

"That no Union should be affiliated to the Congress without being first affiliated to the Provincial Committee.

"That no Union should be affiliated which has not been in existence for at least one year and has not its account and statement of membership audited by a qualified accountant or an authorised representative of the A. I. T. U. Congress."

Other modifications included the substitution of the Provincial Committee for the Provincial Secretary in matters relating to the formation of Reception Committee for the purposes of holding the Congress. The constituents of the Congress were to be, over and above the office-bearers mentioned in the rules, other office-bearers whom the Congress might elect from time to time. (This was suggested by Mr. Saklatvala and accepted by Mr. Bose.)

Resolutions.

Resolutions were then passed regarding the emphatic protest of the Congress against the system of "Licensed Coolie Contract" at Howrah station and urging the High Commissioner of Railways for its abolition and appointment of a whole time officer for the supervision of the luggage porters' work at Howrah Station and for appreciable reduction of the license fee of Rupees seven per month levied by the contractor and urging upon the Agent of the East Indian Railways to publish the report of the Railway officer deputed by Mr. Legg, the late Agent of the E. I. R. to investigate the grievances of the licensed porters and to place it before the East Indian Railways Local Advisory Committee urging the abolition of the piece system of work in Government Presses and regretting the steps that are being taken by the authorities of the E. I. R. Press to convert a large number of the salaried hands into piece workers, urging upon the Jute Mills' Association to acquire the bustee in the jute mill area and urging on the owners of the jute mills to revise the scandalously low wages averaging Rupees Fifteen per month to the worker of the jute industries which has been paying an average dividend of 90 per cent for the last ten years, urging upon the Government of India to take as a first step towards combating unemployment in the country to establish immediately public employment bureaus in all industrial and commercial towns, expressing the opinion that the so-called menials employed by Government, Municipalities and other local bodies should be given the

same privileges as are enjoyed by the ministerial staff with regard to leave, pension and Provident Fund etc.

The Congress passed also a comprehensive resolution dealing with the grievances of Railwaymen, and urged upon the Government of India to carry out the resolution passed by the Legislative Assembly without division on the 5th February 1925 for an enquiry into the grievances of the Railway subordinate employees and for the amendment of the Indian Railways Act by inserting provisions for the constitutions of a Central Wages Board.

The Congress also passed a resolution about seamen's grievances disapproving of the failure of the Government of India to give effect to the recommendations of the Seamen's Recruitment Committee.

The President's Address.

Rai Sahib Chandrika PRASAD, then delivered his presidential address. In the course of his address he said that the workers in India were exploited both by the well-to-do classes of the country as well as by foreigners in various ways. They mostly based their attitude on the theory of supply and demand and did not concern themselves whether their employees got a living wages. The responsibility for low wages rested with both employers and employees and the latter were forced by circumstances to accept what was offered to them. If labour in India was properly organised, it would be at an advantage to bargain and things would improve. To-day a small fraction of persons engaged in industry, transport and mines were only organised, while agriculturists were totally unorganised, Government taking land revenue, Government servants taking their illegal tolls, money-lenders and speculators buying the farmers' produce at low rates and selling it to the consumers at market rates, left the agriculturists in a state of chronic poverty. Were the agriculturists in India properly organised in unions, they would jointly sell their produce under intelligent joint management as was done in Denmark. The speaker thought that the co-operative movement in India was not likely to make a substantial improvement in the lot of Indian Kisans unless it was brought under the people's own control and worked on Danish lines. He suggested the formation of village panchayats. Trade Union in India was still in infancy and was growing as it possibly could. Illiteracy of workers and opposition of exploiters were the chief difficulties in the way of its progress. Among Government servants they had a fairly good organisation of men employed in the posts and telegraph departments but the same could not be said of the employees on State Railways. The speaker attributed this to the capitalist tendencies of British companies which, he said, had usurped the management and working of State railways. Cases of victimization had occurred on several railways, while in some places men had been threatened with summary dismissal in case they talked of forming a Union. Men who were kept down under such restraint needed their assistance and encouragement. He hoped that such intimidated railway employees would soon come forward in the open and form their Unions.

Railway Employees' Grievances.

The speaker then referred to the grievances of railway employees such as the absence of minimum living wages, low rates of salaries and wages of Indians generally as compared to Europeans and Anglo-Indians. State

Railway rules for leave, free passes, warrants for reduced fare tickets, educational grants in aid, residential quarters and supply of uniform should be applied to all. Appointments should be made by open competitive examinations conducted by independent commissions instead of by patronage. The form of agreement executed by railway servants should be revised on equitable conditions applicable to Government servants. Hours of work should be properly regulated and the system of fining should be abolished. The speaker complained of racial discrimination on Indian railways and said that with non-Indians at the top of the services in the Railway Board and in administrative departments, Indians could have no justice. Apart from this the present salaries of superior officials of railways were inordinately excessive. This was to be cut down and the Government should lay down for the future scales of salary for all classes of railway servants on the lines of the Japanese State Railways. Regarding Indianisation, he said it should begin from the top rather than from the bottom.

B. N. R. Strike.

The President next made a reference to the B. N. Railway strike and said that though the terms offered by the Agents were not satisfactory, the strike had been called off in the interest of public convenience. They, as a rule, did not advocate strikes as a weapon to secure redress of their wrongs. Their policy was to settle all differences between employees and employers by negotiation, arbitration or conciliation boards.

The Trade Union Act.

The speaker referred to the increasing unemployment among the people in the country specially among educated classes and suggested that an enquiry be conducted for suggesting adequate measures of remedy. Referring to the Trade Union Act of 1926, the speaker said that it had several defects like the application of Section 120-B of the Indian Penal Code to unregistered Trade Unions and joint action by workers without forming a Union, which should be removed. Immunity from civil liability of members and officers should be extended to all Unions in India. Objects of registered Trade Unions should be as in England. Restrictions placed upon the powers of the Unions in spending their funds in helping the working classes generally should be removed. The Indian Railway Act was to be revised and they should particularly urge that provisions for the constitution of the Central Wages Board and National Wages Board for settling disputes concerning wages and conditions of service and for making it obligatory on railway administrations to establish councils on the lines of the English Railway Act should be embodied in the contemplated Railway Bill.

Labour Representation on the Legislatures.

The question of forming an independent labour party was needless so long as the majority of workers in India had no vote for sending members to the legislatures. He regretted that their tentative scheme for labour representation in the legislatures had not been responded to by the Government. He suggested 12 selected seats in the Assembly, 12 in Bengal, Bombay and Madras, 8 for Bihar and Orissa, the United Provinces and Burma and 6 for Central Provinces and Assam.

Referring to the South African Settlement, the President held it to be honourable to both parties and hoped that its actual working might prove

satisfactory. In conclusion, he appealed for unity amongst the different sections of labour, irrespective of caste and creed.

REVIEW OF THE WORK OF THE CONGRESS.

After the President's speech Mr. Joshi, reviewed the work of the Congress for the year 1926. In doing so he said that there were 57 Unions affiliated to the Congress. The scheme for labour representation in legislative bodies as approved by the Congress at Madras was not adopted by the Government though two additional seats in Bombay and one each in the Panjab and Central Provinces were created. Referring to labour legislation in India, Mr. Joshi welcomed the Indian Trade Union Act and the Indian Factories Amendment Act, but regretted that the Government should have permitted the Coorg Legislative Council to pass legislation on the lines of the Workmen's Breach of Contract Act.

Reviewing the work of India's representative to the International Labour Conference, the speaker welcomed the appointment of a national correspondent in India by the International Labour Office from the beginning of 1928.

SECOND DAY—THE 13TH MARCH 1927.

Next day, the 13th March, after a protracted meeting lasting for about five hours the Executive Council of the Trade Union Congress converted itself into an open Congress and adopted resolutions most of which had already been passed in previous years. Attendance was mostly confined to delegates. About thirty resolutions were passed.

Mr. Shapurji SAKLATWALA, addressing the Congress, declared that freedom was a mockery unless the workers could not become their masters. Trade Unionism was devised to secure that object. It was established with the set purposes of overthrowing Capitalism and Imperialism and its substitution by a workers' state and their control. It was no use saying that they should wait until every body was educated. As a matter of fact trade unionism in great Britain started in 1858 and compulsory education after it. The speaker averred that in all western countries the trade union movement was beginning to take possession of powers and the movement had reached a higher importance than five or seven years ago. Their task had been made easier by the ready-made reputation and prestige of movement in other countries and they must arrive to come into line with advanced trade unions of the world.

Proceeding, Mr. Saklatwala suggested certain improvements in the existing management of the trade union movement in India and advised them to call a meeting of every branch at least once a month, exchange literature and systematise their accounts. They should also maintain a research department to collect data regarding the ramifications of companies and institute an economic enquiry into the condition of the workers.

RESOLUTIONS.

The following resolutions were carried on this day :—

The Congress first adopted the annual report and expressed its confidence in Mr. N. M. Joshi, General Secretary of the Union Congress.

The Congress extended its cordial welcome and greetings of the Indian workers to Mr. Saklatwala, expressed its protest against the action of the

Indian Government for sending Indian troops to China to further the aims of imperialism and called upon the Government to call back all Indian troops. The advance made by the people of China towards the attainment of national freedom was approved and work of the Kuomintang was appreciated which leads the trade unions and peasant organisations in China.

The Congress thanked the Union Congress of South Africa for giving a hearing to Mr. C. F. Andrews and for agreeing to have a conference with the representatives of the All-India Trade Union Congress, but felt that in view of the South African settlement such a conference was unnecessary. It, however, urged upon the South African Union Congress to support and initiate measures for the uplift and organisation of Indian labour in South Africa.

A resolution was adopted opining that the time has come for immediate legislation for all workers engaged in factories, mines, tea, coffee, and rubber plantations and in all other organised trades and industries and providing for (1) adult franchise, (2) an eight hours' day, (3) machinery for fixing minimum wages, (4) sickness and unemployment insurance, (5) old age pensions and pensions for widows and orphans, (6) maternity benefits and, (7) weekly payment of wages.

The Congress declared its willingness to bring about the greatest possible solidarity and co-ordinated activity on the part of the trade unions throughout the British Empire in order to counteract the ruthless exploitations carried on under the aegis of British Imperialism.

Another string of resolutions passed urged upon the managements of mills and factories to revise the low wages, observance of Sundays as full holidays in mines with full pay, prohibition of employment of women working underground and requesting the Government to take immediate steps to reach the goal of prohibition at an early date as liquor traffic had considerably affected the general welfare of the working classes in India. The Congress expressed its protest against the Government of India for not accepting the modest Congress demand for labour representations on Indian legislatures and also urged upon the Government to grant to menials all privileges as given to the ministerial staff in matters of leave, pensions, provident fund, gratuity etc. The Congress approved the efforts of the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee to bring about unity between trade unions and the Red International of labour unions and expressed the hope that international unity would soon be achieved. It, however, regretted its inability to join the international movement till such unity was achieved. Deep regret was expressed for the unwillingness of the Government to set up an enquiry into the railwaymen's grievances and the Government was called upon to amend the Indian Railway Act setting up a central wages board for settling disputes concerning wages and conditions of service on railways and making obligatory on the railways to establish joint industrial councils on the lines of the English Railway Act.

The Congress concluded its session at 8 p. m. Mr. Chamanlal was elected Chairman of the Executive Council and Mr. N. M. Joshi was re-elected General Secretary for the next year. The next session of the Congress was decided to be held at Cawnpore.

Madras Chamber of Commerce.

The 17th Annual General Meeting of the Southern India Chamber of Commerce, Madras, was held on March 19th, Sir M. C. T. Muthiah Chettiar presiding. The meeting was very largely attended, prominent among those present being, Dewan Bahadurs Govindoss Chathurbujadoss, G. Narayana-swami Chetti, and M. Balasundaram Naidu, Messrs. C. Abdul Hakim, Narayandoss Girdhardoss, M. Kothan, C. V. Venkataramana Iyengar, A. R. Doraiswami Iyengar, Khan Bahadurs Valji Lalji Sait, Jammal Mahomed, and Mahomed Abdul Aziz Sahib Bahadur, Rao Bahadur V. Shanmuga Mudaliar, Rao Sahibs P. Ramchandra Chetti and G. Venkatapathi Naidu. The Secretary presented the annual report and accounts of the Association for the year 1926 and the same was taken as read.

Chairman's Speech.

The Chairman, Sir Muthiah Chettiar in moving the adoption of the report, spoke at length about the condition of the money market, the present position of trade and industries and the various disabilities of Indian merchants. He began by saying that the finances of the Chamber were rapidly improving, the Chamber had practically emerged from the dead-weight of the building loan which had been rather unduly restricting its activities right from its infancy. He was sure the Chamber would maintain its rightful place in the larger sphere of an all Indian organisation afforded by the establishment of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce.

Proceeding, Sir Muthiah Chettiar said: "The Indian money market has been presenting a taxing problem in the period under review. As usual the Government was the Agent Provocateur in the market.

"The progress of the Currency Commission through the country raised great hopes and great fears. As usual the hopes have disappeared and the fears have remained. More than anything else the position of silver and of the Imperial Bank caused no little anxiety. At the close of the export season the rupee exchange seemed to find its moorings round about 18d. but, when it began to show signs of weakness soon after, the Government promptly came to its rescue with their magic wand and misled the unsuspecting Commission. I do not propose to go into the ratio controversy but it remains to be seen whether the rupee will choose to remain where it was kept by heroic efforts for a brief period of two years or whether it will seek its old comfortable resting place. In any case, while it is clear that an abrupt return under present circumstances to the 16d. ratio is ridiculous it should be admitted that the higher ratio both in regard to its practicability and its consequences is not the proper one for immediate stabilisation. The stupendous fall in exports in 1926 and the upward tendency of imports at once reflects the fact that trade is becoming shy of the exchange and that it is going to bring it to a severe trial in the off-season.

"What has made the market more nervous is the steady fall in prices in several of the staple articles like cotton, sugar and steel. That is a second home-thrust to our farmer and our industrialist. The slight recovery of industries after the post-war slump has received no encourage-

ment from the panic-stricken investors. The result was that industrial securities have been continually in disfavour and Banks have been hard put to it to employ their funds profitably. Naturally therefore the favourable exchange and the higher rate of interest obtainable abroad induced a considerable volume of remittance of funds. The Government too have not been slow to aggravate the situation by their persistent sale sterling and deflation of currency in order to work the rupee to the 18d. ratio. The Government have for the moment attained their end at the cost of the country's best interests and have succeeded in allaying the fears of the importers and safeguarded the position of European capital and European service men out in this country. But the exchange trouble is going to remain the crux of the Indian currency problem notwithstanding the introduction of what is called the Gold Bullion Standard in which the rupee is going to remain the standard of value and the standard coin, unsupported by any legal tender gold coin. We are confidently assured that it is our next advance towards the eventual establishment of the Gold Standard with gold currency. We may however congratulate the Government on their attempt to centralise the control of Currency and Credit in the hands of the Reserve Bank and thus wash their hands clean leaving the Imperial Bank free to pursue its commercial bank. We shall then have an ideal organisation ready to assist in the expansion of banking facilities with the sole purpose of promoting the interests of the country. In doing so the banks in the country will find much use for an All-India Institute of Bankers functioning as a common recruiting ground and as a representative authority on the science and art of banking.

Trade and Industries.

"The recent steady decline in prices coupled with the inflated exchange has been seriously affecting the internal purchasing power of large sections of the community and the producers of raw cotton, and cotton yarn and piece-goods have had an anxious time and will have to exercise a great deal of caution in the current year also. The Madras mills however have stood the troubles with greater firmness than those in Bombay and Ahmedabad. The inroads of Japanese goods into our market are being slowly repaired and I do hope that any relief that the Textile Tariff Board can recommend will be most welcome to set the industry on its feet again. In this connection I cannot omit to mention that the operations of the Cotton Transport Act in this Presidency have brought about unnecessary internal restrictions on the movement of cotton, although the object of preventing adulteration is none to be despised. The Act as it stands is not only ineffective in so far as the road traffic is unrestricted, but extremely harmful to the cultivators and the merchants; it would however be worth trying whether the Act can be saved by enlarging the Tiruppur cambodia area so as to include the districts from Tinnevely to Coimbatore. In fact, having regard to the variety of soils, and the peculiar needs and conditions of cultivation in each locality, it would appear that such territorialisation of grades of cotton is the last thing to be attempted.

Need for Protection.

"The circumstance of prosperity budgets that are passing through the Legislatures now is a curious comment on the poverty of the industries.

There are several industries that remain in a nervous and unstable condition under the quasi-protection of revenue duties, as for instance sugar, match, oil products, fruit-canning, paints and colours, and tobacco all of which deserve to be carefully investigated by the Tariff Board. It should be remembered, however, that while asking for a protective wall, an industry has a great deal to do for itself by way of internal improvement. It is hard to live down a bad reputation. If Indian produce is to maintain its reputation in foreign markets the different trades ought to have independent organisations and ought to exercise strict internal control as in the case of tea, lac, cotton, coal, and wheat. It is high time that similar internal control were exercised in the case of tanned hides and skins, hemp, tobacco and indigo. In all these cases there is a great deal to be said against Government intervention and each trade has got to set its house so as to retain its position in the international market. In respect of hides and skins a serious situation has arisen by persistent adulteration in tanneries for weight purposes. Whatever immediate profit there may be in transactions with indiscriminating countries like Japan it would not be long before the foreign markets make common cause and raise a revolt against all Indian skins and hides, to the prejudice of all tanners, honest and dishonest alike. Hide tanners have just passed through a bad year and on the top of it comes the abolition of the export duty. It is an untruth to say that the export duty has failed in its purpose of encouraging the tanning industry. The export of raw hides and skins in 1919-20, the year of the imposition of the 15 per cent duty, stood at 90,977 tons and in 1926 it stood at 50,226 tons, viz., a decrease of 45 per cent; the exports of tanned hides and skins have during the same period risen from 6,724 tons in 1920-21 to 18,034 tons in 1926, viz., an increase of about 270 per cent. These are facts which no Government which professes to patronise the indigenous industries can ignore without drawing upon themselves considerable public distrust, and this Presidency having a share of about 70 per cent in the exports of tanned hides and 90 per cent in the exports of tanned skins can hardly reconcile itself to the free export of raw skins or hides without serious detriment to our tanning industry.

Taxation.

The subject of the burden of taxation on trade and industries has all but escaped the attention of the Government. During and after the war the country gave its ready response to the Government's appeal for extra taxes to get over the deficit Budgets. Now the season of surpluses has begun but the Government refuses to let go any of its revenues. The Government of India have been accumulating surpluses all these four years and hope to do so in the years to come. In the circumstances the trade and industry of the country should be substantially relieved. Above all, the company super-tax, and the stamp duty not only on cheques and demand bills of exchange as proposed in the Finance Bill but on all negotiable instruments, should be abolished, and the court-fees and registration fees should be brought down to the level of 1921-22.

A serious handicap has been repeatedly brought to the notice of the Government in the administration of the Income-tax Act, for the purpose of enabling assesseees to cover their losses in lean years by lumping and averaging the incomes of, say three years, for assessment. It is a

method long adopted in several other countries and there is no doubt of its utility in India where the conditions of currency, trade and monsoon are peculiarly uncertain. With reference to the Finance Bill, I wish to add that the proposal to raise the import duty on unmanufactured tobacco from Re. 1-8 per lb. is calculated to check the large local manufacture of cigarettes in which is used a considerable proportion of imported tobacco. It should be the duty of the legislatures and the public bodies to set their face definitely against any further increase of duties in these insidious ways and urge Government to proceed with legislation in regard to the remaining recommendations of the Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee, several of which require to be carefully examined by the Commercial community in order to place the system of taxation of this country on a scientific basis.

RAILWAY AND ROAD COMMUNICATIONS.

Mr. Govindoss Chathurbujadoss seconded the motion. In doing so the speaker made a few remarks on the transport facilities of the country. Hardly anything, he said, was more important to the merchant and the manufacturer than his access to the cheap and rapid means of transport. While they thanked the Government for the present proposal in the Finance Bill to reduce the import duty on motor cars and cycles from 30 to 20 per cent, on tyres and tubes to 15 per cent, he would much like the Government to take a corollary step for the purpose of improving and extending road communications by centralising the control and policy of their maintenance and extension in the hands of the Provincial Road Board on which all the district boards and important public bodies may be adequately represented. "In regard to railway extension" the speaker said, "I am glad to say that the Railway Board has a reasonably extensive programme for this Presidency and I only wish that the same rate of progress be maintained for at least a decade in order to fill in the web of trunk lines. Meanwhile, the railways will be well-advised to reduce the freight substantially if India should enjoy cheap transport as in foreign countries, though it be at some cost to the annual contribution to the general revenues, in case the working expenses do not admit of a substantial cut. In regard to passenger traffic it must be expected that the recent small reductions in fares will stimulate traffic to some extent though not immediately, but it is a matter for regret that the South Indian Railway and the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway are far behind the other lines. It would be a great relief to second-rate mercantile firms if the coupon system is extended to second class travelling also. Another matter which requires the serious attention of the Railway Board is the practice of charging minima rates in the first stage of travelling in each line passed through in long distance travel. Another difficulty in long distance travel is the want of connecting trains, as for example, the want of a Madras express direct to Manmad or at least of a few through carriages obliges one to proceed to and halt at Bombay, prolong his journey, and pay initial minimum fare to the G. I. P. Railway once again in a journey to Delhi. It would be much use to businessmen if these small matters will also occupy the attention of the Railway Board when they are not absorbed in constructions and replacements, and railway colonies. The report was then unanimously adopted.

Bombay Mill-owners' Conference.

P R E S I D E N T ' S S P E E C H .

What is intended to be a country-wide campaign against the Government of India's refusal to grant protection to the mill industry was inaugurated on the 20th June at a Conference in Bombay of millowners all over India. About 25 centres of Indian Chambers of Commerce, who, owing to the shortness of notice, could not send their representatives, telegraphed messages of sympathy with the purposes of the Conference. Mr. H. P. Mody, President of the Bombay Millowners Association, who presided, referred to "the inexcusable delay" in the publication of the Government's decisions and said that when they were published at last they were typical of the way in which millowners had been treated all along in this business. A more casual and indifferent treatment of a grave problem had never been known. If there were any reasons for decisions so contrary to the assurances given to millowners and so greatly at variance with all canons of fairplay they did not appear in the Government's communique. All that the communique did was to misread the important findings, to set up minority against majority report and to dismiss the whole subject in a few casual sentences much as if the Government were disposing of the question of a grant for a village well.

It was a matter of keen disappointment that so high-minded a Viceroy as Lord Irwin should have been a party to such decisions but they trusted that when His Excellency realised the strength of their case and the seriousness of the situation he would not allow false notions of prestige to deter him from doing the right thing. The remedy before the millowners was to bring together all their resources and educate public opinion so that a united demand might go forth for the righting of this wrong such as would compel the Government to reconsider their position. Mr. Mody appealed to the press and the public to lay aside their petty differences and lend their whole-hearted support to the millowners as anything, that hit the mill industry, hit the vital interests of the country.

He concluded with a note of warning to the Government that the conviction was growing that the Department of Commerce and Industries existed for every other purposes than that of serving the commerce and industries of India. Did the Government realise that they were alienating the sympathy and support of all those elements which stood for progress and good government and formed the strongest bulwark of a constitutional government? If they realised these things he hoped they would identify themselves with the true interests of the mill industry and the country at large.

R e p r e s e n t a t i o n t o t h e G o v e r n m e n t .

In their representation to the Government the Millowners' Conference confines the observations to the decisions of the Government on the Tariff Board's main recommendations as in their views it is most essential to point out how untenable is the case set up by the Government to support those decisions. The Conference refers to the statements made

by and on behalf of the Government from time to time which were in the nature of an assurance to the industry that, if a case for protection was established before the Tariff Board, the Government would be prepared to act on the Board's findings. The Board has definitely endorsed the millowners' case in respect of the unfairness of Japanese competition and the Conference is astonished that the Government should now attempt to avoid the implications of their statements.

The Conference proceeds to argue that the attitude taken by the Government that the 10 per cent handicap on Indian industry is more than covered by the 11 per cent duty already existing is absolutely untenable and quotes the Board's findings in their support.

The Conference maintains that the Government with its resources should be able to involve a scheme of bounty on the production of yarn of counts above 32s.

The Conference holds that the destruction of the spinning section of the indigenous cotton textile industry, which is threatened by the decision arrived at by the Government of India, will ultimately be to the disadvantage of the handloom industry for which the Government evince so much solicitude. It also holds that the handloom industry could be far more effectively assisted by the adoption of the policy which would enable it to realise better prices for its final product than the policy which may give the handloom weaver an immediate advantage of allowing him to purchase his yarn at a figure below the cost of production at present; but which will eventually lead to his exploitation and ultimate disadvantage.

The Conference asks whether the Government realise that by rejecting both the minority and majority recommendations they are persisting in a policy which gives to Japan a 10 per cent preference against every other importing country in the world. The Conference also draws attention to the drop in the exchange value of the Yen since the report was written, thus rendering the position more difficult for the industry.

Concluding, the Conference declares that in their decision the economic interests of the country did not weigh with the Government and urge that they should reconsider their decision.

Principal Resolution.

Mr. MODY moved the following principal resolution:—"This Conference of the representatives of the cotton spinning and weaving mills from every part of India, while recognising the patient and conscientious way in which the Tariff Board conducted their enquiry, expresses its disappointment at the meagre character of their recommendations which fail to take into sufficient account the various difficulties and disabilities from which the industry has been suffering and which called for a more adequate measure of protection than the Tariff Board have thought fit to recommend; this Conference considers that the true economic interests of the country have been sacrificed and the welfare of the cotton textile industry and those dependant on it have been seriously jeopardised by the unjust decisions of the Government of India which entirely fail to protect the industry against unfair competition; this Conference maintains that the reasons advanced by the Government for withholding protection are absolutely untenable and strongly urges on the Government the desirability of the immediate reconsi-

deration of their decisions and a grant of adequate protection to the textile industry of the country.

Mr. A. GEDDIS of the Bombay Association in supporting the principal resolution said: Here we have what is really the only large industry in India which has been built up by Indian capital, Indian enterprise and Indian labour facing ruin. It is facing ruin not through its own fault but gradually it is brought there by unfair means. Here, on the other hand, we have a Government intended like all other Governments to rule for the good of the country which sets up its own tribunal to decide whether the industry is or is not ruined by unfair means and which when that tribunal decides that the industry is being ruined by unfair means makes a reply which amounts to "then let it be ruined." Have we as industrialists to accept this verdict as the last word? Surely not. Do not let the mill-owners be misled by the talk of difficulty being got over if the millowners "put their houses in order" which is an overworked and stupid phrase or that those difficulties can be got over by the adoption of the suggestions of the Tariff Board which, nevertheless, are welcome. Do not let them be misled into the belief that the mill industry can work out its own salvation by overcoming unfair handicaps thrust upon it because the hard fact has to be that it cannot do so. The ruin of the mill industry means the ruin of Bombay City and, therefore, I say, are the citizens going to accept this verdict of Government without a struggle? To the country as a whole the mill industry is appealing to realise that not only the existence of the mill industry of which Indians have every right to be proud but the future of Bombay City also is in jeopardy. I cannot but think that the country will take every step in its power to prevent such a calamity.

The resolution was seconded and supported and unanimously passed.

OTHER RESOLUTIONS.

By the second resolution the Conference approved and adopted the draft representation to the Government of India presented for its consideration.

The third resolution urged on the members of the Assembly and the Council of State to do all in their power to secure for the industry a measure of protection adequate to the needs of the situation.

Mr. N. B. Saklatvala, moving the resolution, referred to the view urged in some quarters that any bill designed to carry out the intentions of the mill-owners would be a money bill and could not under the rules originate except from the Government benches; but he was informed that the Government could, if desired, allow such a bill if brought by a private member. He hoped the Government would not take protection under technicalities in a matter of such grave importance.

The Conference unanimously adopted the resolution.

The Chairman was authorised to send copies of the representation and resolutions to the Secretary of State, to the Government of India, and to the Provincial Governments. The conference then terminated.
